

**AFRICA IS NOT A COUNTRY: MEDIATED REPRESENTATIONS AND
THE LIVED EXPERIENCES OF AFRICAN IMMIGRANTS IN
AUSTRALIA.**

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the gap between how African immigrants living in Australia are represented in the media when compared against their lived experiences. African immigrants are currently considered by the Australian government to be a statistically significant population, yet very little research has been conducted into how they regard their social placing in the Australian society. The challenge associated with academic research that has investigated African immigrants and the media is trifold. Firstly, almost all research tends to be conducted through a content analysis of media sources. This presents numerous problems. Deploying content analysis does not provide original data. Instead it (re)organizes texts crafted for a particular audience and for a specific purpose. Secondly, in conducting the content analysis, the main focus of all the studies conducted in Australia emphasized the Sudanese population. This displaces 99% of the African population. Thirdly, there is lack of critical investigation through the use of contemporary theory to better understand the consequences of the negative representations.

My original contribution to knowledge is to capture the media-related experiences of the wider African population as a frame to understand a racial, ethnic and cultural group. In delving into the group's everyday lives, I seek to investigate the roles media and social perceptions play on how the group produces and regulates diasporic identities. In previous research, Africans have been presented as objects of mediated representations. As objects, they occupy the part of the observed in which they are positioned in social and political discourse that is bound in a particular ideological and social construction. They are written about and not for, thus removing them as participants of the discourse. Giving African immigrants in Australia an empowered position of a subject within discourse would allow the opportunity for the group to have a say in how they think they are positioned in society, what space they are offered and how this bears on their lives.

This study is situated in cultural studies, a paradigm that analyses how discourse and social contexts have an impact on the lived experience of an individual or group. This thesis engages with the theories of one of the pioneers of the field, the late Professor Stuart Hall. The field of cultural studies allows for the use of varied theories and methodologies to capture the experience of a social phenomenon. In this thesis, I have used three varied

approaches to best conceptualise the African experience. The first of these was discourse analysis, I criticised the use of content analysis in the academic study of Africans. However, in this instance, I conducted a media analysis of how print media over a twelve-month period represented African populations. This was shepherded to establish the social position Africans occupied and how language was used to achieve this aim. Stuart Hall (Hall, 1987, 1990, 1996b, 1997c, 2000, 2013) maintained that language has the power to fix meanings that become associated with particular groups. Language is formed within a culture, therefore it is important to look at language in its originating context as well as a tool of empowerment and subjugation.

The second study investigated how African immigrants in Australia used the media and the social consequences that the representation on their social lives. I employed the use of a cross sectional survey to cast a wide net on a range of respondents. This was in order to understand the individuals sharing their experiences, how they believed they were understood in society and how this impacted their lives. This was a novel research approach in the study of African immigrants in Australia. It provided a data set of 101 unique responses that allowed some power to African immigrants; to share their experiences and become active participants in the discourse. This study also sought to recruit 10 interview participants for the following study.

The final study was based in the oral history methodology. This methodology was selected because I wanted to transform and agitate the power relations around African migrants. I wanted them to share their stories of their lives in Australia, their pasts, present and futures based on what meanings they derived from their everyday social interactions and media consumption. Again this was another novel study method used for this particular group. It was imperative for me to give the participants the space to articulate their experiences, in their own words and create their own perspectives. They have long been a silenced group in Australian society and were not afforded the same space as other migrants groups.

Through this research, I found that there was resentment amongst Africans in how the group was represented in Australian media. The participants unanimously agreed that they were not treated the same as their peers in professional, casual or legislative capacities. What it means to be African within the media seemed to be lodged in colonial discourse. In this study, the participants showed that they were a contemporary, dynamic and intelligent group. They felt that they had the right to be perceived as any other ethnic group, however their skin colour

carried a currency as to how much they were valued in society.

The imperative of this research is to track a shift in the dominating discourse surrounding Africans. Research into the African population in Australia seems to be based on trying to contain the group as primitive and inept. This type of research does not allow for the thorough investigation of the social and economic value that this group brings. By engaging in critical theory it is possible to uncover how African immigrants negotiate mediated discourse, the social context in which it is received and the lived experiences the group derives from it.

SIGNED DECLARATION

I certify that this thesis does not incorporate without acknowledgment any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any university; and that to the best of my knowledge and belief it does not contain any material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text.

Signed.....

Date.....

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*Please note; I have not used the services of an editor in the construction and or preparation of this thesis.

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Introduction: Why Cultural Studies? Why Stuart Hall?

Thinking about my own sense of identity, I realise it has always depended on that fact of being a migrant, on the difference from the rest of you...the colonised subject is always other than where he or she is. Or is able to speak from. Stuart Hall (Hall, 1987, p. 44)

This thesis offers a strong engagement with the theorisations of Stuart Hall that forms the foundation on which the research questions and methodologies are designed. It is my intention to present Stuart Hall's *version* of cultural studies, his significant contributions to the field, alongside some of the limitations that are present in his research theorisations. In my engagement with Hall, my intentions are not to highlight the superficial acclaims commonly associated with his physical and oratory attributes. Rather, my emphasis is placed on Hall as a product of colonisation, a British immigrant and a racialized subject suffering from a crisis of identity. It is of paramount importance to locate these three factors as contributing to how Stuart Hall viewed the world. In a career spanning almost 50 years, he sought to bring a new way of looking at cultures, ideological institutions and the political and economic environments in which they took place. In his earlier and perhaps most thought provoking work, Stuart Hall was theorising about a new set of challenges that were being faced by new immigrant groups around him (Alexander, 2009; Hall, 2000, 2002; Hall & Du Gay, 1996; Hall & National Committee for Commonwealth Immigrants, 1967; Jhally, 2015; Lewis, 2000; Solomos, 2014). If one takes a closer look at Hall's work on race, ethnicity, representation¹ and politics, it is clear to see that he was confronting the forces that were limiting his existence. His middle-class colonial upbringing had not prepared him for what he was faced with in England. As he revealed, "I knew England from the inside. But I'm not and

¹ This term has received vast theorization (Abric, 2001; Deaux & Wiley, 2007; Hall, 1997c; Nunn, 2010; Saptefrati, 2008; Trebbe & Schoenhagen, 2011). Definitions of this term come from numerous fields of study such as psychology, media studies and politics. Thus the meaning of the term can vary depending on its usage. For instance, representation could be taken to mean 'an accurate depiction of an object or person' (Ahmed & Matthes, 2016; Rasinger, 2010). Representation could also be 'the mirror of society and its core values' (Fabian, 1990; Gale, 2004; Shaw, 2013). Representation can also be the re-presentation of an object or person in the desired way that the producer of the message wants it to be read (Deaux & Wiley, 2007; Doise, Spini, & Clémence, 1999; Nunn, 2010). In this thesis, I am using representation to mean the (re)presentation of Africans. Representation is not intended to mean the depiction of African individuals but the composition of images, audio and ideas that depict these images. What are the active agendas being put forward and what informs these agendas?

will never be English (Chen, 2004, p. 490).” This feeling of inclusiveness through colonialism had not broken down the barriers that had been put in place by politics, the media and the economy. Perhaps as a direct realisation by the state that waves of colonised people were striking back wanting to claim a piece of what was rightfully theirs created an unbending and hostile British state (Hall, 1980; Swaine, 2009; The Telegraph, 2007). It was the understanding of this contextual background that Hall began to theorise the precarious nature of the non-Caucasian immigrant in England. Issues of race, ethnicity and ideology were beginning to be dissected with a cultural lens. Hall however was more modest in his acceptance of this ground breaking analysis, advocating that he was more at the margins rather than the centre of these ideas (Connell, 2014). I disagree with Hall in his refusal to acknowledge his significant contributions to the field of cultural studies, particularly with regard to race and ethnicity. In his research on the representation of Black British and Caribbean immigrants, his position was to reflect and project their experiences almost from a viewpoint of having lived it – this projecting himself in the centre position. My strong suspicion is that in wanting to be in the margins, Hall was attempted to reject the self-indulgent ‘centre’ label.

In his view of culture, he sought to view it as being comprised of two distinct factors. The first being “something which is deeply subjective and personal” the second (and also simultaneously) “as a structure you live” (Chen, 2004, p. 488). Culture is not commonly attributed as being an individual possession but much rather a shared experience. However in modern society the communal definition of culture is being challenged by the multiplicity of cultural communities. It now possible to belong to multiple realms of culture varying from the digital to the community and Hall viewed the individual as having autonomy of the selection. However this autonomy did not go unchallenged, the structures that he discusses are ideological structures that seek to regulate society such as political, media and legal institutions. Under these institutions issues such as race, immigration and society are discursively and in some cases legislatively debated and ruled upon.

Hall became firmly associated with a research direction called the New Left (Hall, 1980; Hall & National Committee for Commonwealth Immigrants, 1967; Hall, Williams, & Thompson, 1967). In his placement at the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) at the

University of Birmingham, he and his students would produce ground breaking studies into ethnic minorities, the working class, immigrants, identity, politics, economics, and subcultures, (Akomfrah, 2013; Connell, 2014; Gilroy, 1990; Hall, 1980; Hall, Critcher, Jefferson, Clarke, & Roberts, 1978; Lawrence, 2004). His work in the field of cultural studies continued even after his departure from the CCCS, when he assumed the post as Professor of Sociology at The Open University (OU). In this post, his work took more of a sociological turn and more emphasis was placed on the individual in relation to the society and culture in which they resided (Du Gay, 1996; Du Gay et al., 1997; Hall, 1996a, 1997a, 1997b, 1997c, 1999; Jhally & Hall, 1997).

This movement is visualised below:

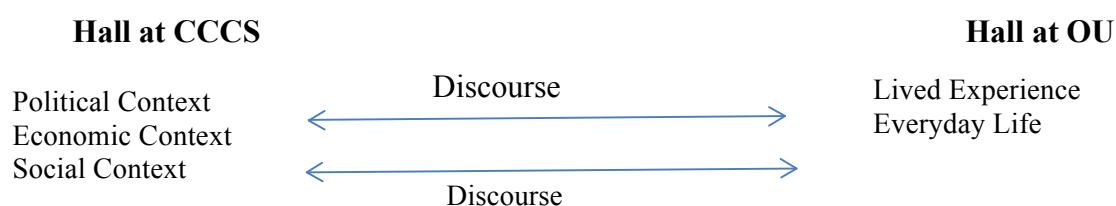


FIG. 1 Stuart Hall Theorisation Progression

This diagram is designed to present the theoretical standpoints of Stuart Hall in his career. At the CCCS, Hall was heavily involved in research that focused on the macrostructures in society. Hence, concentrated focus was placed on the analysis of political, economic and social discourses. Upon his appointment at the Open University his focus shifted to more analysis of the microstructures. The lived experience of the individual, the tools they use to build their identities based on the influence of the discourses and culture in which they live in. The commonality in both positions (at the CCCS and OU) being the study of discourse.

What this Thesis Offers

But this experience of, as it were, experiencing oneself as both object, of encountering oneself from the outside, as another – an other – sort of person next door, is uncanny – Stuart Hall (Meeks, 2007, p. 269)

This thesis provides a thorough and critical engagement with Stuart Hall's theories of media, discourse, race and ethnicity. Stuart Hall is celebrated as a key figure in the field of cultural studies however in recent times this acclaim has tended to predominantly focus on the development of the field (Goggin, 2016). This omits critically examining and engaging with his theories and arguments. As a result in the use of Hall as a key figure of cultural studies has been engaged with separate from the theory, Alexander (2009, p. 459) maintains:

While this has given rise to innovative and important work that has taken Hall's insights to new times, places and people, too often this process has stripped the depth and complexity of the originals, reducing them to a form of conceptual shorthand or convenient, oft rehearsed and repeated epigrams that substitute for rigorous analysis.

This thesis seeks to resurrect and apply the theorizations of Stuart Hall. It is not a simple matter of highlighting the *famous* quotes, but engaging with their meaning, their utilization as well as critiquing Hall's perspective on specific matters. This type of *active interrogation*, is what I strongly believe needs to be revived in the study of culture particularly in the Australian context. It is through challenging the *unspoken*, critiquing the *banal* and exercising academic rigor that ideological phenomena can begin to be unravelled. Stuart Hall's work, unlike other theorists such as Bourdieu, Foucault or Baudrillard – did not take the form of mass book publications. Much of Hall's publications from the Centre of Contemporary Cultural Studies till his retirement from the Open University were joint efforts with other researchers. He was as Back and Carrington (2016) put it “the last of the great public intellectuals” he was a prominent media personality, gave public lectures and most of his later work was written from interviews he had conducted with other researchers (Akomfrah, 2013; Connell, 2014; Solomos, 2014). Hall was true and timely in his research, through his career he seemed to have his hand on the pulse at significant moments. These *moments* were located in the study of what is now commonly known as *everyday life* (De Certeau, 1984; Goffman, 1959, 2012; Mackay, 1997). This field of study emerged from the early work of postmodernists and social psychologists analysing popular culture. Back and Carrington

(2016) best capture Hall's enchantment with the *popular* – they stress to Hall popular culture was not just an indulgence of the superficial but rather it was layered with “public political issues passing as banal triviality.” It was in the workings of everyday life that Hall found meta-narratives/ideologies of politics, economy and culture intertwining with the ordinary. In his analysis of the working class, immigrants and political figures it was how ideologies were being made to pass as being the normal functioning of life when in actual fact they demanded intervention and critiquing. Unlike most academics who hold their thoughts and theorizations dearly till an opportune moment; Hall was extremely generous in sharing and discussing his ideas with other thinkers – thus creating shared ownership of the research. In reference to Stuart Hall, Alexander (2009, p.459) quotes Grossberg (2007, p. 99) remarks on Hall's work as being “theoretical work of a seemingly loose and, porous but not without rigor.” Hall's theorizations were in sync with the specifics of “concrete” moments. This approach of keeping his hand on the pulse of cultural movements made him part of the experience. Theorizing in the moment and being part of the event provided a unique perspective that other earlier cultural theorists could not offer. What makes Hall's relevant to this thesis is the way in which he managed to capture the issues concerned with new immigrant groups particularly those of non-Caucasian backgrounds with particular emphasis on their location in themes of politics, economy and the media. Back and Carrington (2016) maintain Stuart Hall had “an understanding of the black experience in British culture and politics of the postcolonial society.” In *Policing the Crisis* (Hall et al., 1978; Hall, Critcher, Jefferson, Clarke, & Roberts, 2013), despite Hall not being the lead author (in terms of his contribution to the text, this will be expanded on in Chapter Two), there is a sense of urgency created through attempting to capture the uncertain climate that was emerging in Britain. This sense of inclusive research is replicated in *The Young Englanders* (1967) as well as in *Representation: Cultural representations and signifying practices* (Hall, 1997c; Jhally & Hall, 1997). Hall's migratory history against the colonial background that he lived in Jamaica provided key ingredients for him to place himself in these phenomena. He was positioned as an *insider* based on his colonial background; he understood what it was to be British. However by the colour of his skin and migratory background his body symbolised his *outsider* position.

In this thesis, Hall's experience as an outsider with an insider's perspective on a cultural phenomenon mirrors my own, as I seek to situate myself as both the researched and

researcher. My having an African background as well as being a recent immigrant to Australia provides me a unique viewpoint in which I am placed in the Australian context. Similar to Hall's experience with the West Indian community in 1950s Britain, I am situated as both the insider but with and outsiders perspective. My task in this introductory chapter is to highlight how Stuart Hall's theorizations on immigrants, the media and the socio-political discourse intersect race, ethnicity and belonging. It is through the understanding of the how these themes have functioned in the past in other geographical regions and political times that we can begin to understand some of the "forces at play" in the present. These include "discourses surrounding policing evidenced in *Policing the Crisis* (Hall et al., 1978; Hall et al., 2013). The manifestation and dissemination of political ideologies maintained in *Thatcherism: A New Stage?* (Hall, 1980). How the understanding of race, nationhood and globalization function in post- colonial times echoes through a majority of Hall's publications (Akomfrah, 2013; Hall, 1992, 1996a, 1997b, 2002). Stuart Hall's biography is useful in providing a 'roadmap' for conducting a 'significant analysis and understanding of the functioning of particular cultures. It is through the conjuncture of the past and present that one can better understand the context of the lives of African immigrants² in Australia. As evidenced, Hall's ideas are pivotal because they emerged from examining the day-to-day lives of social groups in real life situations. This is what makes these theorizations powerful in capturing the real (Alexander, 2009; Rojeck, 2003).

British Cultural Studies in Australia?

This is a problem in so far as it seems the internationalisation of cultural studies has somehow tended to undermine its political edge...in the process of institutionalisation in the academy, cultural studies can easily lose that 'edge.' (Chen, 2004, p. 395)

Other scholars and centres of Cultural Studies are – too frequently – minimized and decentred in comparison to the *status* that is bestowed on the Birmingham School. The Birmingham School is still revered as one of the peaks of Cultural Studies and cultural knowledge. Despite this, there have been other significant and commendable contributions from scholars

² In this thesis I am using the term African immigrant as an inclusive term of all Africans in Australia. I acknowledge that there are different entry pathways into Australia such as through work visas; student visas and marriage, asylum. Some of the African population have become Australian citizens. The use of the African immigrant is being used to reflect that this African population is not indigenous to Australia.

internationally such as Fiske (2010), Ang (1998), Grossberg (1997, 2007), Chen (2004).

There seems to be a struggle for a wider range of theorists to be held in as high esteem as the founders of the field. G. Turner (2012, p. 126) uses the example of Frankovits stating, , there is an “inordinate number of left academics wandering Australia but talking about Birmingham.” This could be comprehended as a nostalgic yearning for that motherland connection. The Birmingham School is still being herald as the highest measure of Cultural Studies investigation even if the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) has been out of active action for nearly a decade. In response to the number of British cultural theory scholars who migrated from Britain to other parts of the world such as Australia, Canada and the United States, Graeme Turner (2012) maintains that in their fleeing of Thatcherite Britain in the early 1980s they still strived to hold on to the British modes of research in their new geographical locations. Thinkers such as Fiske (2010), in this text and reprints are using dated textual examples of Britain. Turner (1992, 2012) to this date still provides examples that are based in historic England.

Political Engagement and Cultural Studies

Perhaps one of the chief reasons that continues the relevance of British Cultural Studies, as opposed to work that has been carried out in other geographical locations such as the United States and Australia; is the ability of British cultural studies to locate and underpin social phenomena in the macro and micro narratives of politics, power and the people. This expertly the relationship of particular political ideologies (Gilroy, 1990, 2007; Hall, 1980; Rule, 1991) and areas of unrest and angst in society (Hall, 2013; Lawrence, 2004, 2007). In the championing of British cultural studies, it is not to undermine the contributions made by other cultural theorists globally. My aim in this thesis is to critically demonstrate the importance of utilising British cultural studies in the study of race, politics and social relations. Chen maintains:

This is a problem in so far as it seems the internationalisation of cultural studies has somehow tended to undermine its political edge...in the process of institutionalisation in the academy, cultural studies can easily lose that ‘edge.’ (Chen, 2004, p. 395)

In response to Chen’s comment on the problems associated with the internationalisation of cultural studies Stuart Hall maintains (diplomatically) that he does not regulate what is and

what is not cultural studies. Instead, Hall advocates that even though the tradition started in Birmingham, he does not own the rights or does he want to police how it is applied to differing contexts internationally. In Turner's (2012) disdain for what he terms the *colonial* following of the British cultural studies particularly in the Australian context he highlights one of the core issues impacting the field. Cultural studies in most institutions in Australia tends to bring up laughable remarks (Brabazon & Redhead, 2016)³. It is a field that has been replaced by pseudo studies of culture without the rigor of critical theoretical and contextual analysis. Turner (2012) attributes the decline of cultural studies in Australian Universities to:

University funding regimes, changes in the positioning of the humanities and liberal arts within these regimes, as well as a neo-liberal tendency towards either medicalizing or commercialising the preferred models of research practice – especially in state-funded university systems. (G. Turner, 2012, p. 138)

However if we were to step back from the constraints of the emerging neo-liberal institutions in Australia, one can observe much deeper issues at work. In their podcast entitled *Cultural Studies and its Futures*, Brabazon and Redhead (2016) emphasise there has been a drastic decline in the research and instruction of cultural studies from the early 2000s, cultural studies seemed not to move on with the times. After the global financial crash there seemed to be a crisis in how the arts came to understand this phenomenon. The lack of critical and contemporary conceptualisation seemed to mark the *new standard* of watered down cultural studies and have become blended in larger more established and conservative departments particularly media and communication studies and other sociological departments. Brabazon and Redhead (2016) maintain that this caused the loss of political, economic and social analysis in the study of everyday life. This move seems to undermine why the field was established initially, Grossberg (2006, p. 2) maintains that “Cultural studies seeks to embrace complexity and contingency and to avoid the many faces and forms of reductionism.” This is the major criticism that I have faced with the undertaking of cultural studies in Australia and in the United States, there is a loss of the critical application of theory to real events (Ang,

³ There is continued use of supervisory podcasts in this thesis. One of the primary reasons of using podcasts was to allow for sonic note taking and scaffolded learning from my supervisory meetings. It was intended in these podcasts to build knowledge in real time and have transparency in what was discussed in these sessions. The knowledge that was obtained from these discussions was later enfolded into the thesis. Flinders University does not have an oral examination of the doctoral thesis so it is also for the benefit of international examiners who might be assessing this thesis to have access to the podcasts to see if the research is competent in the area of research.

1998; Gatt, 2011; Goggin, 2016; Nolan, Burgin, Farquharson, & Marjoribanks, 2016). Instead, there tends to be a laissez-faire approach to conducting a cultural analysis, one that is not based in theory or critically focusing on a particular social or political context. Hall (1996b) maintains that in the undertaking of cultural studies one requires “rigorous application of ...the premise of historical specificity” (Hall, 1996b, p. 50). This is the fundamental reason why I chose to utilise British cultural studies in this thesis. In Hall’s analysis of cultural phenomena, he always maintained the object’s or individuals’ role and function in the grander scheme of things. This is particularly captured by his arguments about race and ethnicity “I have never worked on race and ethnicity as a kind of subcategory. I have always worked on the whole social formation which is racialized.” (Hall, 2001, p. 30). In relation to this thesis, the biggest missing part that dissuaded me from using Australian cultural studies was the lack of racial and ethnic theorisation being embedded in the larger context of social issues. There tends to be a siloing in terms of research focus whereby cultural issues are argued without a cultural basis (Materike, 2009; Nolan et al., 2011; O’Doherty & Lecouteur, 2007; Windle, 2008). Issues related to the challenges faced my multiculturalism (Ang, 1998; Hage, 2008; Poynting & Mason, 2008), race (Due, 2008; Spencer, 2006; Williams, 2015), or immigration (Dandy & Pe-Pua, 2015; Durham, 2004; McGuire, Casanova, & Davis III, 2016; Nolan et al., 2011) are often investigated outside social and political contexts. This provides an analysis that is not grounded in any particular context which (in some cases) can trivialise or make the investigation seem like a one-time occurrence. In this thesis, despite my advocacy for the use of British cultural studies, I also critique some of its applications. There are areas of contestation that I provide and propose. I provide points of difference that I feel challenge the traditional British way of analysing culture and race in proceeding sections.

To open this study, it is necessary to present my positioning in the research. My identity and relationship to the research is integral to the mode and form of this doctorate. It is important for the reader to be aware of the background context that has shaped the researchers’ world view (Akomfrah, 2013).

White Noise: Internal monologues of a multicultural subject

Runyararo Sihle Chivaura is my full legal name, I rarely use my first name most of my family often shorten it to Rue, in my school years friends started calling my Sunny. Now I go by

Sunny or Sunny-Rue (a perfect blend of the two). Often times we go through life without really questioning why we do some of life's givens such as using a nickname, associating with certain people or even the way we present ourselves. My doctoral candidature started off at a university in regional New South Wales, Australia. I had to ask myself who I was in the context of my new surroundings. Now this was not the first time I had asked myself this question but I was forced to think more deeply about it more critically perhaps. This question was troubling; I let the words of a passing conversation that I had earlier on that day ruminate. "Are you a new refugee to the area?" I started wondering what do people see when they look at me. Before I can explain: who I am? Who am I? The question circles my mind.

Who am I? Well I already have a perfect script of where I'm from, after many years of being asked this question I have condensed my history into a sentence.

I was born in Zimbabwe, we moved to England when I was young, that is where I completed most of my education and now I live in Australia.

But the question "are you a refugee?" that caught me off guard. I laughed at the time thinking it was a peculiar question but much later I began to process the question. Initially it was an internal voice repeating the question "are you a refugee?" over and over.

Blackness in Regional New South Wales: My multiple lives as multicultural subject.

Cultural studies is the paradigm that frames this research of the multicultural subject. Cultural studies can be understood as a three pronged research field, in its undertaking it seeks to investigate the lived experiences of particular groups within specific discourses and with precise social contexts (Alexander, 2009; C. Barker & Galasinski, 2001; Hall, 2013; Saukko, 2003; Solomos, 2014). Questions such as "Who are you?" or "Where do you belong?" are explored in depth with the application of diverse interdisciplinary theory to understand the basis and underlying ideologies in these questions. Professor Stuart Hall (1932-2014) through an expansive research career attempted to conceptualise identity and how different processes in life worked. It was not only through research perhaps most importantly (in my case at

least) his theorisations were based on personal experiences he went through as a multicultural individual. Hall (2013) argued that in trying to define who you are and where you belong, one must be privy of what is made to matter in political discourse. Australia has had a complex relationship with the concept of multiculturalism (Ang, 1998; Due, 2008; Jakubowicz & Seneviratne, 1996; Robins & Aksoy, 2006) issues of what it means to be Australian are still being contested; there is the sticky colonial history that still is a contentious subject. Probing at the media as transmitters of knowledge, how do the viewers experience the body of the other? The ‘other’ in this case is an individual from a non-Anglo-Saxon or Celtic decent. How are cultural codes constructed and organised for certain individuals? (Hendershott-Kraetzer, 2014). In the case of the *immigrant other*, the media often provides a glimpse into the culture that they have migrated to. Through both the passive and active encoding and articulation of messages, the viewers decode the messages and come to learn the beliefs and practices associated with the culture (Akomfrah, 2013; Hall, 1997a, 1997b) It is through the decoding of this information that audiences learn what codes of behaviour are deemed right or normal in the culture. The media can be regarded as providing a *social gauge* on which to measure how one ought to act (Altschull, 1994; Nolan et al., 2016; Silverstone & Georgiou, 2005; Trebbe & Schoenhagen, 2011). Having been born in Zimbabwe eight years after colonial rule, I was taught that I needed to learn how the English act, it was a culture revered to be refined and the highest measure of being cultured (a similar point in raised in Stuart Hall’s autobiographical documentary (Akomfrah, 2013). With limited access to the white population, when I did have contact I tried to highlight that I did have a good command of the language and culture. “Hello, how are you?” “How do you do?” Battle of Hastings, the lineage of the royal family, British national holidays. Armed with this cultural knowledge I was almost certain that when my family relocated to England years later I would adjust to the culture quickly and maybe some of the English people might just be impressed how much I know their culture and traditions.

“Why do you speak like that?” he said “Like what?” I said. “You pronounce every letter in every word.” Part of me wanted to correct him and say, “you mean every syllable?” but he was white and English how could he be wrong? Even though his skin and nationality represented the epitome of culture, his speech and demeanour did not. Whilst I was trying to adopt a sense of belonging in Britain, my cultural identity and the way I spoke did not quite fit into the scheme to things. In academic literature, how immigrant others cope with the

contemporary challenges such as being different, segregation and racial abuse are areas that still need more input, particularly in the current climate of uncertainty that is being heralded by political figures such as President Donald Trump (C. Anderson, 2016). There is a vast collection of theories on racism; racialization and migration issues but very few that showcase the personal experiences of immigrants. Responses to external stimuli and the strategies that the immigrants employ to manage their visible and cultural difference could provide essential information as to the pitfalls that multicultural societies face. In this regard the immigrant perceptions would also provide the opportunity to be seen as active participants in the discussion. Herbert et al. (2008) argue that the way immigrants manage and cope with issues of exclusion and racism are not one-dimensional. Instead, they found that their respondents drew from varied sources ways of pre-empting situations to compensate and overcome negative experiences.

In the Australian context, migration of African nationals is relatively new. Information about how they adapt to their new lives in Australia as well as how they appropriate their everyday identities in social and private settings is largely unknown. The year 1996 saw Africans officially listed as a statistically significant population. Since then the way dominant institutions such as the media and government interact and represent this group has received some attention (Hugo, 2009). However, there is hardly any data on how Africans respond to these interactions and representations. The research that has been carried out about African immigrants in Australia tends to focus on two particular groups – refugees and asylum seekers (Baak, 2011; Due, 2008; Gale, 2004; Gatt, 2011; Hatoss & Huijser, 2010; Hatoss & Sheely, 2008; Nolan et al., 2016; Nolan et al., 2011; Nunn, 2010; O'Doherty & Lecouteur, 2007; Warriner, 2007; Windle, 2008). The research engages strongly with how these groups of Africans are represented in Australian media in particular Australian newspapers. The themes discussed centre around the depiction of predominantly Sudanese Africans great migration from 'war torn' 'guerrilla run' lands and their difficulty with adapting to their 'new' Australian lives. This literature does not represent my background and omits a large number of other African born individuals who left Africa in their formative years and find it difficult to identify where they belong.

Crisis of double consciousness

From my personal experience, I find it difficult to confidently confirm where I belong. Am I Zimbabwean? Or am I British? In Zimbabwe it is illegal to have dual nationality so I had to pick a country to which I pledged my allegiance. My parents made this decision for me and it was Great Britain. However in my being British, I am neither English, Welsh, Northern Irish nor Scottish so what does this make me? In my placing in Australia when people ask me where I am from I often say England but have to quickly add “but I was born in Zimbabwe.” I know my accent betrays me with English being my fourth language my accent is pretty muddled, my dark skin a clear signifier that I am not an English Rose. In Zimbabwe when I visit people can tell that I do not live there. Again, my accent betrays me, it is not deep enough, I have to apply for a visa to visit the country and my skin is not dark enough so who am I and where do I belong? Hall (2013) argues that identity is always constructed in the conversation of who we are and the political ideologies out there. “Who am I? “ In conversations in the past I have been referred to by both black and white friends, peers and family as a “coconut, bounty (a chocolate covered coconut bar) or Oreo” this situation is not unique to me but when a white friend says she is blacker than I am some questions arise. “Who am I?” I know I am not white nor do I desire to be white, I am a black woman. Why should I use Ebonics to justify my racial placement?

Why shouldn't I aspire to have a white-collar job? Why shouldn't I enjoy swimming or eating oysters?

These are questions that have circled my mind many times over. Going back to my upbringing, my parents always wanted my brother and I to speak well, have a good education and to know current affairs. Whenever I asked my mum what a word meant or how it was spelt she always had the same reply “check the dictionary” two out of countless summer holidays between primary and secondary school I was permitted to visit my cousins. The rest of the holidays I was in holiday study camps to better myself. Did I miss out on learning more about my culture? Being street smart? Or knowing the latest music? I sure did. Study and acculturation became a normal way of life for me. I gauged myself based on what I knew, I wanted to prove that I did make an effort to belong in British society, perhaps this was subconscious colonial conditioning? How could it be I could/can still fluently speak two Zimbabwean and one South African language/s, I know how to prepare traditional meals and

the proceedings cultural events that I have been exposed to, did this still make me a coconut, bounty or Oreo? I aspired to be everything that was good about Britain, I guess this gradually became a normal way of life that I took for granted.

Based on my upbringing a common sentence that I hear from one of my cousins: “Here, speak to them, you’ve got a white voice they might not understand me.” What does it mean? I know I am not White, I do not sound white but why does my cousin use this sentence on me? Does this mean the black community does not accept me either? Du Bois (2014, pp. 2-3) came up with the concept of double consciousness in which he describes it as,

It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one’s self through the eyes of others, of measuring one’s soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his two-ness,—an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder.

In this statement, Du Bois (2014) argues that identity is divided in to several segments, this segments however can never be fully reconciled making it impossible to have a unified identity. Du Bois (2014) was using this analogy to discuss the African American self, at the time when he was writing (1903) he maintained the African American population was suppressed and they could not combine their ‘roots’ with their American identity. Appelrouth and Edles (2008) reinforce Du Bois’ argument by highlighting that in this theory black people regard themselves in their uniqueness but also they view themselves in terms of how they might be regarded by others. This makes it tough to balance how one regulates and maintains their identity, firstly to appease oneself and secondly to appease those from the outside. This was the bind I was in; the question “Are you a refugee?” amplified this discomfort. Initially, I started over-qualifying myself in conversation to show that I too possessed the ‘social and cultural codes’ of behaviour of the western world. I wanted to lessen any difference that might have been projected by my dark skin; I wanted to show society I belonged in Australia. This however was draining, I felt like I was the walking billboard of assimilation, I wanted so

desperately to belong to the culture. Greenblatt, 2010 defines culture as a set of limits within which social behaviour must be contained, a repertoire of models to which individuals must conform. This made me more worried about what people thought of me. This was further emphasised by what Black skin represented and how it was discoursed in the Australian media (Hart, 2014; Innes, 2010; Seidel & Hopkins, 2013; Wells, 2015; M. Young, 2013). Africans are/were presented with uncertainty, as a volatile and problematic group in Australia, all the things that I wanted to distance and differentiate myself from (Pearce, 2015; Tan, 2016). This is an extremely difficult challenge particularly in the reconciliation of identity when you feel as though you are the unwanted other. Granted these views represented a smaller portion of the Australian population but when these views are perpetuated in main media and even from the former Australian Prime Minister Tony Abbott (The Age & Abbott, 2015):

Implicitly or explicitly, the imperative to love your neighbour as you love yourself is at the heart of every western polity ... but right now this wholesome instinct is leading much of Europe into catastrophic error.

When dominant sources of political and economic power begin to voice messages of bigotry, xenophobia and racism, as national representatives they would have failed the basic human rights of many immigrants. This comment was just the beginning of such messages that were to get further amplified by figures such as Donald Trump, Boris Johnson, Nigel Farage and Pauline Hanson; just to name a few. In the utterances of hateful messages, it seems as these figures have an *identity* to fiercely protect. Gilroy (1992) notes that this type of racism and xenophobia is arising in political discourse, however it:

avoids being recognized as such because it is able to line up 'race' with nationhood, patriotism and nationalism...homogenous in its whiteness yet precarious and perpetually vulnerable to attack from enemies (Gilroy, 1992, p. 87).

This presents an unsettling presence for the racialized other, as they are omitted on the basis of skin colour, social positioning and being immigrant new comers.

Reconciling with myself.

The life of the multicultural subject is not simple nor is it straightforward. It can be a challenging and confronting situation at times. Du Bois (2014) theorises my particular phenomenon as a "Psychological challenge of reconciling the African heritage with a

European upbringing and education.” The two cultures that inform who I am also trigger angst and confusion. With bias to the greater cultural capital of British culture particularly in the Western world, my African culture becomes a culture that is practiced and rehearsed in private and in moderation. The experiences and identities of my Zimbabwean culture are transmitted in limited occurrences. Does this make me any less African? When I travel to Zimbabwe again limited people want to learn of my African heritage instead they are fascinated by my European upbringing, again limiting the space in which to showcase my African identity. My feelings of belonging and exclusion are again brought to the fore.

“Who am I?”

My Original Contribution to Knowledge in the Thesis

In the task of conducting a cultural study investigation, it is not a task that lends itself to a simple linear method but rather varied and diverse method and methodologies. Saukko (2003, p. 24) emphasises that these

different methods are viewed as ‘magnifying glasses’ that help the scholar to see reality more clearly, or in a less biased and more systematic manner. The aim of combining different methods is to use different lenses to calibrate an optimally clear vision.

In previous research undertaken in Australia regarding African immigrants the go to practice has been to use content analysis as the chief research method. In the heavy adoption of this method other themes and realities that exist within the culture and ethnic group continually go untheorized. In this project I propose to use the cultural studies research field as a platform on which to build a new type of research practice into Africans living in Australia. Cultural studies is interdisciplinary in nature, thus it lends itself to the implementation of diverse methods to arrive at a clearer answer.

At this point I outline how I aim to undertake my research, my approach and the utilisation of the three prongs of cultural studies (economy, society and politics) in my investigations. My original contribution to knowledge in this thesis is applying cultural theory with emphasis on

the ideas of Stuart Hall and other poststructural injections in examining how *Africanness*⁴ is constructed in the Australian context and how this differs from the lived realities of African born individuals. This topic is of paramount importance because Africans are an emerging migrant group in Australia and numbers have been steadily increasing since 1996 when the group became a statistically recognised population (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2008; Hugo, 2009). Currently, (before the publication of the 2016 Australian census data), there is an estimated 250 000 Africans residing in Australia however this number is based on 2006 Australian census data (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2008). Some analysts estimate the number of Africans in Australia to be closer to 500 000 (Mercer, 2010). It is also crucial to investigate this group because of their economic contributions to the Australian society. In 2015 it was reported that Africans (notably Zimbabweans and South Africans) were the third and fourth biggest economic contributors in Australia (Masanauskas, 2015). Albeit, Africans rarely feature in the media, when they do feature there tends to be an overrepresentation of particular nationalities involved in certain types of negative discourse.

In analysing how the Australian government and media interact and respond to African immigrants, there is a focus on what Alexander (2009, p. 471) phrases as “framing ideologies of national and racial crisis.” The discourse surrounding these representations is explored in greater detail in Chapter Two: Discourses Surrounding Africans in Australian Media and Society. Established research has shown that commonly in the representation of ethnic minorities there tends to be a homogenisation of different groups (Van Dijk, 1988, 1991, 2000, 2015). The saliency of these mediated representations after a while can become *common knowledges*⁵ of what it means to be a member of this group. In this regard, no care is taken into delving into individual life stories or isolating particular events as being individualistic. Rather, in this instance in the representations of Africans they become *objects*

⁴ I deploy the term ‘Africanness’ to refer to a bundling of media political and social discourse (Biliuc, McGarty, Hartley, & Muntele Hendres, 2011; Hier & Greenberg, 2002). The term *Africanness* to a degree is *loaded*, in that its definition is not stable (R. Cohen, 1994; Helms, 1990; McIntosh, 2015; Windle, 2008) and is subject to interpretation by the user and the reader.

⁵ Common Knowledge is the term is intended to mean general knowledge that can be acquired by a large number of people. This is increasingly being obtained from mediated discourse (Gale, 2004; Mautner, 2008; Van Dijk, 2000). The rise in globalization has aiding in the rapid dissemination of information about others through media outlets (Altschull, 1994; Cottle, 2000; Dandy & Pe-Pua, 2015). As such, it is becoming increasingly common for populations to be given short-hand descriptors that will provide the common way they are known and understood by audiences (Jhally & Hall, 1997; Nolan et al., 2011; Rasinger, 2010; Sreberny, 2002)

within the discourse. As objects of discourse, Africans are written *about* and not *to*. In this, the concept being African becomes abstract. Without the provision of a space to respond to the representations or offer an alternative response their pasts, present and futures are told and retold for them. Hall (1967, p. 3) maintains that in the media race is depicted as a collective concept:

Essentially, race relations are relations between groups of people rather than individuals, relationships the personal exchanges between individuals are mediated though and affected by the whole body of stereotyped attitudes and beliefs which lie between one group and another.

This analysis from Hall is still accurate to the Australian context which I am analysing in this thesis I want to objectively examine the function of media in informing the public about new groups in Australia, in this case African immigrants. Whose agenda do the media place as most important? How is information about Africans in Australia reported? What role does this group occupy? How do the African immigrants in Australia respond to these images? It has long been established that increasingly people come to learn about themselves and those around them through mediated discourse (Hier & Greenberg, 2002; Mautner, 2008; Van Dijk, 2014). However, it is not just the media that aids in shaping public opinion. Politics plays a pivotal role in disseminating messages of what *the people* ought to think. Australian politics has been riddled by a long history of key figures and laws that stigmatised non-Caucasian groups (Butler, 2016; Kuhn, 2009; The Age & Abbott, 2015). In recent times this phenomenon is no longer restricted to Australia, instead over the past two years (2015-2017) there has been a remarkable shift to more conservative ideologies and nationalist politics (C. Anderson, 2016; Loewenthal, 2016; Winlow & Hall, 2016). Lewis (2000, p. 196) points out that:

Ideological practices have become understood politically as an attempt to fix meanings, yoke together in particular ways diverse facets of social life and thus assume authority to determine, and indeed authorise, that which is understood to be real.

What does this mean for ethnically and racially different people? In the dissemination of these ideological practices, language is used as a tool of power and subjugation in defining the spaces available to certain groups. It is through a critical analysis of the types of language used and in regards to whom that researchers can start to uncover the relationship between

nationhood, race and power. Multiculturalism in western countries at large is now being seen as diluting the Caucasian grip on the structural power of governance, “We are living through a profound transformation in the way the idea of ‘race’ is understood and acted upon” (Gilroy, 2007). This has been seen in countries such as the United States with the election of Donald Trump as President, Australia with the re-election of the right-wing Australian nationalist party One Nation, in France with Marine Le Pen being a serious contender of the French presidency, in the United Kingdom with the controversial Brexit vote. Race is now being viewed as something that has to be preserved and fiercely defended akin to 1930s Germany, which poses a great danger particularly in a time where the manufacture of hatred of others is steadily rising. Stuart Hall (1979, p. 16) maintains that the

Radical Right does not appear out of thin air. It has to be understood in direct relation to alternative political formations attempting to occupy and command the same space.

Political discourse, regarding the dislike of the visible other has been on going, drawing from examples from our recent history it seems certain ideas that were thought to be anti-multicultural are coming to fruition. Kovel (1984) argues that the more abstract the language that is used to describe minorities in society, the more alienated and dehumanized they are, the easier it is to control the types of discourse that they occupy. It is the dissemination of these messages through media outlets about the African ‘other’ in Australia that will be of key focus in this thesis. The next stage is examining the research that has been conducted about ethnic groups residing in Australia.

Research into Individuals of African origin in Australia

Academia is one of the places that ethnic minorities have been provided a space in which to be researched and offer their experiences for investigation. Countries such as The United Kingdom, the United States and Canada, with long histories of migration have long standing academic traditions studying these groups. Theorists such as Stuart Hall, Frantz Fanon, W.E.B DuBois have contributed vastly to the field of ethnic and race studies within their respective countries as well as worldwide. In the case of Australia this has not been so; in the analysis of research conducted about Africans living in Australia there seems to be a similar pattern as that observed in the mediated representations of the group. Most of the research

conducted into Africans living in Australia tends to be that of the Sudanese population (Baak, 2011; Due, 2008; Gale, 2004; Gatt, 2011; Hatoss & Huijser, 2010; Hatoss & Sheely, 2008; Nolan et al., 2016; Nolan et al., 2011; Nunn, 2010; Warriner, 2007; Windle, 2008). This research limits the space in which diverse African identities are researched. Considering that Africa has 54 countries this cuts out 99% of the population. Another similarity between the mediated representations and the academic work that has been carried out is of all the studies carried out with the exception of Baak (2011) who briefly noted first hand commentary, all the other research is based on second hand commentary. Data from studies was provided through content analysis of newspapers and media reports. For an entire ethnic and cultural group to be studied through one country (Sudan/South Sudan) and through content analysis severely limits the scope and understanding of the group. Instead, it presents a heavily filtered version of reality shown through a highly focused lens. By studying a group through content analysis alone, it presents an inflexible data set that has already been collected to achieve a specific goal. This data does not offer detailed knowledge of the studied group nor does it examine the subject in relation to the complex relations they have with different bodies outside the context of the representation (Bray, 2008). In the use of journalistic discourse, the message is designed and aims to control the perceptions of the readers. Meaning is solely derived from the context of that message and is not viewed in the context of the whole system of the culture in which the representations reside. This being said, it is essential to initially establish how a group is perceived in the society in which they reside. As mentioned previously the data analysed by (Baak, 2011; Due, 2008; Gale, 2004; Nolan et al., 2016; Nolan et al., 2011; Windle, 2008) notes how the Sudanese are represented in Australian media but what about the rest of the African population? Through this, it is observable that there is extremely limited focus on the diverse range of Africans living in Australia. The fact that the vast amount of research has been conducted into a group of Africans that have not been well received in Australia (Brook & Palin, 2016; Dobbin, 2016; Mills, 2016) could be regarded as an extension of the exclusionary politics and mediated representations of the group.

Original Study One: Discourses Surrounding Africans in Australian Media and Society.

In the first data collection chapter of this thesis, I conducted a discursive analysis study. This section is intended to capture the discourse that Africans in Australia occupy. The data for

this chapter was collected through a purposeful content analysis which I used to evaluate how the discourse surrounding African immigrants in Australia was created. This was achieved through a content analysis of media articles ranging between the periods of May 2015 and May 2016. This period is specifically selected because this is the period in which the thesis was being written and research participants were being contacted to take part in the study. In compiling this new data, my intention was to include the other 99% of Africans that were omitted from previous studies into African immigrants. Secondly it presented an up to date data set for the study, a lot has changed since the previous studies about Africans in Australia notably the European migration crisis and the increase of African immigrants residing in Australia. The content analysis for this thesis is aimed to achieve three specific goals.

1. Recording what types of representations Africans featured in Australian mediated discourse.
2. What positions Africans occupy within Australian mediated discourse.
3. How perceptions and generalisations of Africans were created based on these representations.

In this analysis African immigrants in Australia occupy the object position. Up to this point the content analysis that I will collect does not seem to offer any new insights into the experiences of the African population in Australia apart from possibly including the other nationalities that were left out in previous research. This might seem to be the case; however this section of the research sought to provide a foundation on which to build on the other sections of the thesis. By achieving the three goals set for this section of the research; I believe I successfully fulfilled my intentions to:

1. Update data about mediated representations of Africans in Australian media.
2. Identify the dominant discourses about Africans in Australian mediated discourse.
3. Seek to highlight which groups are included or excluded from the representations.
4. Identify the effect of this inclusion and exclusion of Africans in Australian discourse.

This approach significantly builds on previous Australian research into this diverse ethnic and cultural group and provides a more detailed scope of understanding. In doing so, I was not

simply just detailing the *what of* the representation but the *when, who, why* and *how*. In this context even though Africans are still being studied as the objects of discourse, the subject of Africanness is not just *floating* within the analysis. Instead, in this type of analysis the strategies and intentions of these mediated representations are observed. The causes and effects of these representations can be monitored, the implicit and explicit agendas of these representations can be analysed to see how Africanness is being sold to the *general Australian public*.

Original Study Two: Surveying the Demographic

The first study of this thesis was premised on constructing a foundation for the following chapters. In the initial chapter I stressed that I needed to compile an extensive data set of published media of Africans living in Australia. This was essential so as to attain an accurate gauge of how other non-Sudanese Africans featured in mediated, political, social and economic discourse. I strongly believe one cannot represent the whole continent through single country; it would certainly be laughable if one were to represent the whole of the Asian continent with Qatar. In this second research chapter I wanted to engage with the African immigrants and get brief insights into their media use and perspective. In this second original study into Africans living in Australia; I implemented a cross-sectional survey as a research tool. This marked the first section in the thesis where the opinions of Africans living in Australia were collected. I sought to compile an extensive database of the participants' media usage ranging from the frequency of use and favoured platforms to access the media. Their attitudes to how they were represented in particular media as well as insights into why they believed this was the case. Finally I wanted to garner how the participants believed particular representations had an influence on how they were perceived by the larger society. In doing so, I wanted to critique the favoured/traditional method of conducting studies into a particular culture or ethnic group through content analysis. My concern with this method was how it would be possible to adequately research a culture without understanding the fundamental workings of the culture first hand, as well as having tangible evidence on how the culture is perceived in the wider society? How could everyday experiences be captured, recorded and understood from content analyses without engaging with the culture first hand? In this respect the previous studies into Africans living in Australia seemed to be *tokenistic* in the sense that

the research was superficial. Huth (1983, p. 159) stresses that “the uses and functions of media in connection with minorities cannot be discussed without particular reference to the minority group or groups in question.”

As I noted earlier in this section, in the writing about Africans in the Australian media as well as academia, the opinions of Africans were almost always omitted. Instead their experiences were written for them, the effects were felt for them and the long-term impacts were not realized. In this chapter of thesis I compiled original first-hand data which positioned Africans in Australia as subjects. To capture this data I implemented an online cross sectional survey in which Africans were able to share their opinions. The intention of the survey was to get the real opinions of Africans living in Australia; responses on their media usage, mediated representations and how they thought this led them to be perceived as. This is an original contribution to knowledge because this type of cultural and ethnic investigation was one that had not been done in the Australian context. This begins to carve a space for Africans to share their thoughts and their experiences thus placing them in the subject position. As subjects the African immigrants were contributing to knowledge about the group, knowledge that had to that point gone unattained. This type of enquiry placed them in a position of power in which their opinions were an essential part of the research. In this approach, the group was not simply being written about; rather, they were contributing *to* how they were researched and *how* and *why* they thought they are regarded by Australian media and society in a particular way. One of the reasons this study is being carried out online was in order to cast a wide net on the demographic and geographic makeup of the respondents. In these digital times people are spending more time online (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2014) and social media has been proven to harness the biggest pool of users. By disseminating a hyperlink to the survey, I managed to generate a rich data set of diverse survey responses. I was aware that conducting a study solely online could have limiting impacts on potential participants who were not computer literate. As a precautionary measure offered hardcopies to every African society group I contacted. The key objective of this survey was to start to generate an insight into how Africans felt they are perceived in the media and how this channelled down to the wider society. By analyzing how the participants perceived the media to function as an information source it became possible to analyze the significance and power mediated representations had (Ahmed & Matthes, 2016; Durham, 2004; Rasinger, 2010; Silverstone & Georgiou, 2005) on how Africans were perceived in society. Ways in which

these messages function in the participants' everyday lives and what impacts they have as a consequence is an area of research that is novel in the Australian context. This research chapter created space for Africans to start having a voice as subjects of the discourse.

This research component required detailed analysis of the data compiled and an understanding of the experiences of the racial, ethnic and cultural group. Saukko (2003) maintains prior to undertaking the task of studying a culture one must successfully answer the following three questions:

1. Can you do justice to this culture?

I have the capabilities to undertake the study into Africans immigrants living in Australia, as I am not only a researcher of this group, I belong to it. The management of this 'insider / outsider' status is a key node of discussion in this thesis. The shared experiences, insider knowledge as well as the academic qualifications have enabled me to reveal information that would not be available to a researcher with a different identity.

2. Can you critically analyse the culture?

In the study of cultures, numerous methods, methodologies and theories have been devised as suitable ways of obtaining required research data. Take for instance ethnography which involves the researcher observing the group in question. Surveys that aid in showing data from a cross section of participants. Poststructural⁶ theory shows how discourse and ideological institutions are sources of power in society. These are all techniques that could be used in trying to understand a culture.

3. Is culture the most important topic to investigate?

In the case of African immigrants living in Australia, they are excluded from research in other fields such as higher degree research, economics, medicine and literature. Therefore, a foundation has to be built in order to understand the group, their ways of life, challenges,

⁶ Poststructuralism marks a definitive shift from structural thought, which was based in the categorization of binary oppositions and sign systems. This is particularly characterized by the rejection of meaning being founded in social agreements. The foundation of poststructuralism is quite recent (1960s), initially the field was about *deconstructing* messages and meanings (Caputo, 1997; Ryan, 2001). Over time the field of poststructuralism started to include *the agent* (individual) I as *active* in the way in which they understood the roles of language and cultural signification (C. Barker & Galasinski, 2001; Cap, 2017; Hatoss & Sheely, 2008; Jhally, 2015) which are fundamental to the understanding of individual experience.

discourses amongst other issues. Hence culture is a pivotal starting point for this thesis.

Original Study Three: Oral Testimonies of Africans Living in Australia

The final stage of this thesis was compiling the original and detailed testimonies of African immigrants living in Australia testimonies through oral history interviews. This was another original contribution to research that has been conducted in Australia about African immigrants. This section of the thesis sought to create space to enable the African's social and personal experiences to be recorded in the participants' own words. This viewing of the African immigrants as a rich information source and contributors to their own stories had never before been conducted in the Australian context. From the first research chapter, it is evident that I increasingly provided increased space for African immigrants to become part of the discourse in each subsequent chapter. This was a space that had to be forged starting from an almost lack of presence till a point in which the researched group was the dominant feature. In this third research chapter, I sought more detailed insights from the participants. The response database compiled from the cross-sectional survey offered the initial space and opportunity for the respondents to voice their opinions in a concise manner. Surveys are a research tool that offers a snapshot into the participants experience but do not afford the space to really explore and engage with deeper issues. In this thesis I have ensured that the participants are at the heart of the very investigation that I have carried out. I strongly believe it is through listening to the voices of others that one can obtain the *truths* of certain matters. This chapter's purpose was to challenge the dominant narrative of what is *commonly* thought of Africans in Australian media and some parts of society (Due, 2008; Nolan et al., 2016; Nunn, 2010). If Africans in Australia have voices, then why are they not allowed to share their experiences first hand? Is there a fear that they might say something damning about Australia/ns? Or is it because their voices are made not to matter?

Why the Authentic Voice Matters in Research

Brabazon and Chivaura (2016) highlight the fact that the authentic⁷ voice has been steadily

⁷ The term 'authentic voice' is taken to mean the articulation of the experiences as authentically as the African immigrant recalls them. There is no definite way of verifying with certainty the complete truth in these testimonies (Clary-Lemon, 2010; Finnegan, 2007; Grele, 1998; Portelli, 1998b). The fact that the information is coming from the subjugated subjects of media and social representations provides alternate perspective that are based on personal accounts rather than general observations.

losing place and space in academia. Theoretical perspectives are heralded as being more important than people's voices and views of their own lives. It is essential for cultural studies to go back to its grassroots of locating the researched groups as agents of power (Brabazon, Chivaura, Gatwiri, & Redhead, 2016; Hall et al., 1978; Hall et al., 2013; Hebdige, 1995). It is a simple task to write about identity, representation and marginalization without having to be *in touch* with the researched group. However, this only serves to shrink the originality of ideas and the space afforded for the study of true culture. This type of 'random stabbing in the dark theorization' will never yield a considered theorization of the agents that are going through the experience. It is a delicate balance in attempting to place equal importance on theory and lived experiences, however if done right this creates a truly holistic study. Brabazon and Chivaura (2016) draw on the battle between E.P. Thompson and Althusser in terms of the struggle between theory and cultural investigations. In regards to Althusser, they maintain that there was a kind of imperialist or modernist way of arriving at a predetermined truth. Althusser is argued to simply move characters around to fit into a script that was already written (Althusser, 1984, 2014). His work tended to place more emphasis of the macrostructures of politics and human existence, to some degree a similar critique can be placed on some of Hall's contributions. On the other hand E.P. Thompson took more care in listening to what his research groups had to say and allowing them to construct the play of their lives (Thompson, 1963, 1971). In this thesis my participants were empowered agents in reclaiming ownership of their knowledge. Despite my belonging to the cultural and ethnic group, I did not interject or try to express their views for them, in the oral history interviews I wanted to present their true and unadulterated views. Capturing the *voices* of the participants was imperative. I do not want this study to be yet another investigation that put the role of the researcher ahead of the participants. This has been one of the criticisms of ethnographic research that the researcher's interpretations and assumptions of what happens in *the field* are set up by the researcher and relies on a large number of generalisations. Hammersley (2013, p. 12) maintains that in ethnographic research the:

Qualitative analysis reifies social phenomena by treating them as more clearly defined and distinct than they are, and by neglecting the process by which they develop and change.

In this part of the thesis, I sought not to make assumptions of what the African participants

would interpret their situations to be or how they would tell their stories. Instead, in the bid to capture that *authentic voice*, I wanted them to share their opinions in their own voices, without provocation or translation. In my line of questioning, my intentions were concentrated on asking the participants questions that provoked responses into how they perceived their identities in the context of their Australian lives. This questioning was based on how the participants were presented in the media and in larger society; the objective of this was in a bid to comprehend how the media which functions as dominant discourse functioned in their day to day lives. It was not my aim to capture the participants' whole life histories but rather to capture those *moments* they felt were significant and relevant to their life story.

I implemented the use of digital audio recordings for the oral history interviews. Capturing the interviews onto a digital format eases the process of storing large sound files on multiple formats. As I wanted the interviews to be accessible to the examiners of this thesis, their digital nature made it possible for me to store them in an online database as well as transferring them on to a hard copy disk that was handed in with the thesis. This capturing of the interviews digitally was the closest readers and examiners of the thesis have to sharing the participants' thoughts, views and insights on the subject matter and almost experience being present with the interview participant in that moment. This was the first time in the academic study of Africans living in Australia that their experiences have been physically included as being the fundamental element of knowledge created. The research participants became empowered subjects through the sharing of their personal and intimate stories as well as offering a glimpse into their lived experiences. With no inference from the researcher, their accounts captured how they perceived themselves, in that moment. This made for powerful testimony that no level of theorization could ever fully capture in its entirety. In keeping with the regulations of academic presentation of work in a thesis I provided the full transcripts of the audio interviews in the appendix section of the thesis. I included both the digital interviews and transcripts as a transparency measure, to ensure that I was truthful in presenting the views and voices of those who had offered their time.

It is evident through the detailed explanation of the methods and methodologies that are being implemented in this research that this project depended on the knowledge of the group in

question, the insider knowledge of the researcher and the thorough understanding of how to undertake a cultural study. In this thesis it was my aim to utilise (and critic) cultural studies theory as a foundation of my investigations. From this foundation, I structured the first hand data that I collected through the cross-sectional surveys and oral interviews. In the following chapters, I will delve in detail how theory and lived reality intersects and how in some case further theorisation is needed to fully understand new cultural groups. Lastly, through the conduction of this research I aim to showcase the Africans living in Australia have more to offer on their lived realities than those *hypothetical* realities that are imagined for them by the media, politics and other ideological institutions.

Chapter One: Literature Review

1.1 Literature Review Organizational Framework

In pursuing research that aims to capture how media representations facilitate ideologies, how individuals consume these representations, and the role these representations play on the formation of particular identities requires research that is inclusive of the observed group and how they perceive and utilize these aspects as part of their everyday lives. These are rich and dense topics that straddle numerous research fields and theories. In the introduction section of this thesis I maintained that I wanted to pursue a particular line of research that aims to place Africans not only as objects of this research but chiefly as subjects of this research. In doing so, I outlined that my theoretical perspectives were influenced by the field of cultural studies in particular through the theorizations of Stuart Hall. This aspect is important in the development of a literature review section. In the presentation of theories and ideas that have developed the field of cultural studies one has to be thorough and vigilant but very clear in revealing the gap in knowledge they wish to contribute to. In this sense it becomes imperative to organize the literature in a way that best showcases and structures the argument in a persuasive and compelling manner. The core themes of this thesis are located in the research of media representations, media consumption and identity production and regulation. These four themes can be regarded as a sequential chain of events or *moments*. As stated in the introductory chapter, the core emphasis of the thesis is obtaining first hand perspectives of how the dominant discourse surrounding Africans in Australia impacts their private and public selves. It is therefore pivotal to breakdown this dense analysis into sections that would prove useful in the analysis of such a cultural phenomenon. The first point of call would be analyzing how Africans are represented in Australian media. What dominant cultural narratives are present in these representations and what space is afforded to this migrant group? What sort of societal perceptions and expectations are presented to the audience? Secondly, how do the African immigrants consume the media and representations of themselves? Hasford (2016) draws on the work of Hall (1990) on how colonization altered the way blacks viewed themselves through a white gaze “colonization forced blacks to see and experience themselves as other, ...this process is sustained in modern times through ‘regimes of representation’ in the media” (Hasford, 2016, p. 169). For most African adult immigrants coming to Australia directly from Africa they have lived against this backdrop of

colonization. This way of viewing themselves as ‘an other’ is not imaginary but has been a lived reality. Thus, it is through these regimes of representation that they come to know and understand how they are perceived in Australian society. The reverse is true for Australians who have never encountered anyone from Africa. They first to know about this group usually through the media, hence, the study of how these representations, social understanding and response are pivotal. The third essential site to study is identity – both its production and regulation. The study of identity is complex and has multiple ways that it can be analyzed. In this thesis I will be focusing on what types of identities are presented in the representation of Africans in Australian media. Secondly, what messages do the immigrants derive and utilize in their day-to-day lives. These areas of research are dense and the literature that informs these fields is vast. For the purposes of this thesis I want to present a review of the literature in a way that is logical and sequential just as the three distinct research chapters on offer in the thesis. As such, I intend on using a befitting structural framework to present this data.

As noted previously, the essential areas of study that I will be analyzing will be representation, consumption and identity. Du Gay et al. (1997) devised a model that studies cultural phenomena entitled the *Circuit of Culture*. Du Gay et al. (1997) maintained that for a cultural artefact to be adequately studied it must first pass through the five *moments* of the circuit which are representation, identity, production, consumption and regulation. The authors contend that objects are *encoded* or embedded with desired meanings and culture, thus in order to fully establish and understand their meaning they have to go through the five moments to be adequately analysed. Du Gay et al. (1997) stress that all five moments of the circuit are in constant *communication* with each other, some at different moments and some simultaneously with no beginning and no end point.

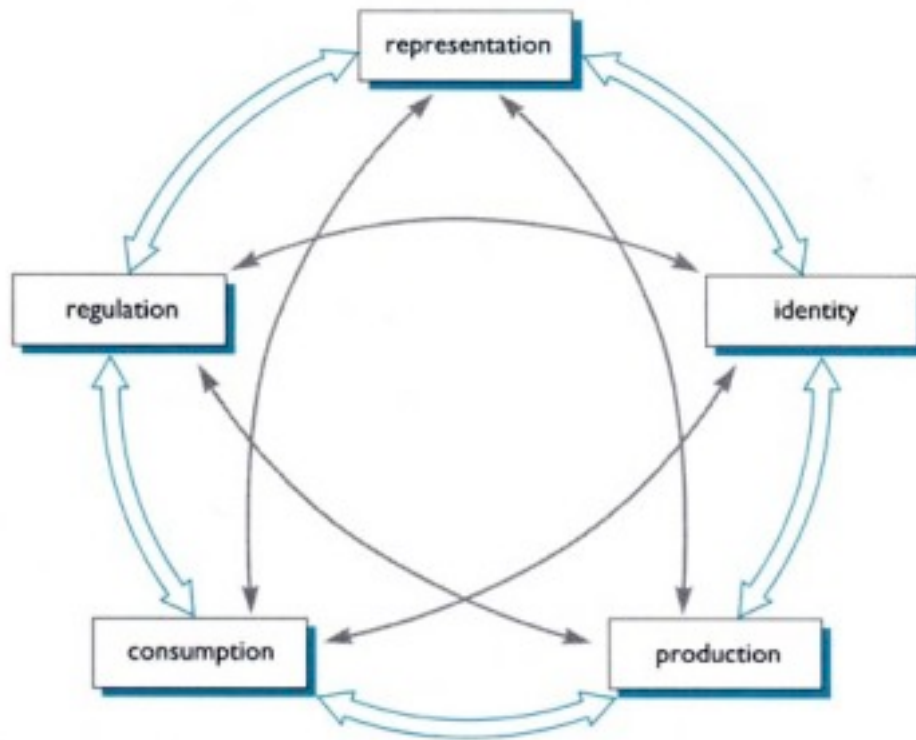


FIG. 2 The Circuit of Culture Du Gay, Hall, Janes, and Mackay (1997, p. 3)

In their use of the Circuit of Culture, Du Gay et al. (1997) capture how a physical artefact could be analyzed through the five moments. In my thesis, the *Circuit of Culture* is not being applied to a tangible object but instead to capture the African immigrant experience which is an original application of the circuit. This presents a slightly more complex analysis, with a tangible object meaning can be bestowed on the object, but the object itself cannot create its own meaning. With the human experience meaning can be created internally based on how certain groups are *represented* and what representations those people *consume* and what *identities* they *produce* and in turn *regulate*. This analysis positions the African immigrant as a subject within the moments of the circuit. On the other hand in the human experience, meaning can be created externally, the media carries *representations* in which certain *identities* are *produced* and *regulated* for mass *consumption* this view aligns with positioning the African immigrant as an object within the moments of the circuit. In this regard the *Circuit of Culture* presents an ideal framework in which to analyze how the African

immigrants are positioned both as subjects as well as objects in Australian discourse and society. This circuit is utilized to “provide a shared cultural space in which meaning is created, modified and recreated. There is no beginning or end in the circuit; the moments work synergistically to create meaning” (Curtin & Gaither, 2007, p. 38). This provides an opportunity for in depth-analysis of each moment and how resistance and incorporation of social processes and power relations are never complete. This type of analysis will form a more integrative study that presents the participants as the main focus of the study. The research seeks to provide new knowledge on how immigrants create and negotiate diasporic identities, how these are influenced by their representation in the media as well as how they are perceived socially. I intend on using the *Circuit of Culture* as an anchoring point of the literature review section in which I will utilize the five stages to the circuit to examine and structure the literature. Despite Du Gay et al. (1997) arguing that in the circuit there is no beginning or end and that the moments are in constant communication this is not conducive to writing a literature review section. I am investigating how one moment can influence the next in order to successfully present my argument. The structure of the literature review section will be as follows: representation, consumption, identity, production and regulation.

1.2 Representations of Race, Culture and Ethnicity in the Media

Culture can be understood as shared meanings or symbols that produce meaning. Hall (1996a) argued that shared meanings are spread through language in its operation as a representational system. In this analysis it is apparent that language is a key tool in cultural formation and meaning making. Stuart Hall amongst other cultural theorists maintain that language in representations is one of the dominant tools of power. It is through its use that meaning is fixed and becomes naturalized (C. Barker & Galasinski, 2001; Hall, 1997c; Rasinger, 2010; Saptefrati, 2008; Warriner, 2007). Hall (1999) maintains the media encode messages with desired meanings. Encoding being the process in which certain messages are produced drawing on what the media think are society’s dominant ideological values. Through this process representations carry certain meanings that inform a particular discourse Hall (1999b). Representations could therefore be viewed as encoded devices through which society creates meaning (Hall, 1997). From this perspective, identity within representations is set in an originating moment and there is a *true* authentic fixed set of characteristics that

belong to the particular group. These characteristics range from language ability, social status or even assumptions about race and ethnicity. Representations can therefore be seen as being a constructed reality, Hall (Hall, 1997c; Hall et al., 1978; Hall et al., 2013; Jhally & Hall, 1997) maintains that the media function to present these characteristics as being as being shared by all members of its group. In this meaning becomes naturalized and over time meaning does not become contested. Certain characteristics are presented in a way in which they do not change across time thus gradually become *shortcuts* of understanding a particular group, more commonly known as stereotypes. Stereotypes can be understood as limited definitions of groups that are commonly silenced in the production of these images (Hasford, 2016; Lawrence, 2007; Van Dijk, 2015). From these constructed views the public are provided with materials from which they can choose to construct their own meanings in relation to issues such as race or nationality and which subject position they occupy, dominant or submissive (Kellner (2003) in Orbe and Harris (2008, p. 74). The presentation of images is constructed to *reflect* societal values and ideas of certain matters as well as *reinforcing* or *shaping* widely shared ideals in terms of what is defined as normal. Through this, “media culture helps shape the prevalent view of the world and its deepest values” (Kellner, 2003, p. 1) through the use of images and the language of representation.

The Ideology of Blackness

The subject of race is one that has had some controversy in regards to how particular groups are *thought of* as being or how they ought to be documented. In the introduction section of this thesis I outlined how the subject of African immigrants has been documented and theorised (further elaboration can be found in Chapter Two: Discourses Surrounding Africans in Australian Media and Society). This is only a sliver of how race, culture and ethnicity exist in the grander narrative. The media is a powerful ideological institution that has managed to position itself as an authority on what national belonging and identity are (Altschull, 1994; Cover, 2012; Miranda, Young, & Yetgin, 2016), thus forming an imagined community⁸ (B. Anderson, 1983). In this particular imagined community insider and outsider groups are created which help create what Jhally and Hall (1997) term a social barometer. In this, the

⁸ Imagined Community is based in the definition provided by Benedict Anderson (1983) of communities created through colonization and empire. In the digital age mediated representations can be seen to offer a type of community based on images, discourse and ideas (Fielding-Lloyd & Blackshaw, 2010) that might be based in nationhood, patriotism and consensus. In the audience acceptance of these mediated representations they become part of this imagined community.

ways particular groups are represented or not represented begin to shape what society's *common sense* views on national belonging are (Lawrence, 2004, 2007). These common sense views are created through discursive messages in the form of languages of inclusion and exclusion, as well as through the symbolic representation⁹ on the groups in question. Hall (1992, p. 298) maintains that in doing so the media presents its self as a "structure of cultural power." This meaning what the audience come to know of a particular group or subject will already have been carefully handpicked to achieve a specific goal. This is commonly known as the Encoding/Decoding model (Hall, 1999). In his argument, he maintains that the media function as *the encoders* of society; this means the messages individuals consume are carefully selected and provided with desired meanings. In this, representations are embedded with particular messages that are created with specific intentions. These intentions are constructed to establish identification between the message and a particular target group. This is achieved through the use of images and language (Cottle, 2000; Durham, 2004; Miranda et al., 2016). Images play a large role in presenting a way of viewing a particular subject, both physical and metaphorical.

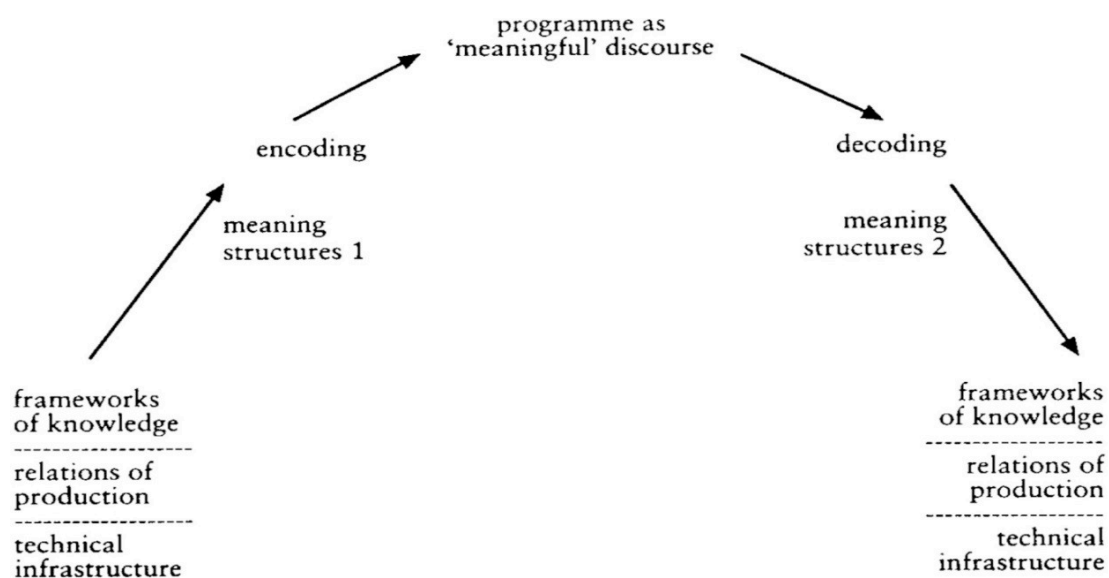


FIG.3 Encoding, Decoding Model (Hall, 1999, p. 480)

⁹ Stuart Hall uses the term Symbolic Representation to define an object symbol that represents an idea or concept (Hall, 1992, 1997c; Jhally, 2015; Jhally & Hall, 1997). An example of this is the flying of the Australian Flag represents nationhood and belonging and those who are not Australian will have a different definition of the flag.

Australia is facing a *crisis* of national and cultural identity (Australian Associated Press & Kwek, 2011; Bolt, 2016; Due, 2008; The Age & Abbott, 2015). For the first time in its short history the dominant white population seems to be feeling threatened by the steadily increasing *non-white* population. This is begged the question of what does it mean Australian and how do we protect it? This has become part of dominant discourse. Due to recent events such as terrorism, the European migration crisis and large numbers of refugees seeking asylum, multiculturalism is slowly being deemed to be a failure (Ang, 1998; Boese & Phillips, 2011; Cover, 2012; Nolan et al., 2011; Poynting & Mason, 2008). With this a particular type of uncertainty comes with suspicion of anyone or anything that does not conform to the *traditional Aussie* identity (Anglo-Celtic, Caucasian, English speaking) is viewed as a potential threat (Australian Associated Press & Kwek, 2011; Cover, 2012; Due, 2008; Gale, 2004) The hot topics at the moment are Muslims, Muslim immigration, Sudanese crime, influx of terrorists; loss of the Aussie culture through multiculturalism, the list goes on. This has seen a sharp increase in fraction right wing groups emerging such as Reclaim Australia, The Australia First Party and Australian Nationalist Movement. In this thesis I want to specifically focus on the issues related to African immigrants in Australia, how is their visible difference represented in Australian media and regarded by the Australian population. In my work I am not arguing that the whole of Australia is against immigration of non-whites however I want to highlight the *space* afforded to African immigrants in Australia.

1.3 Language as a Representational System

According to Hall (1999) decoding is a process through which audience members have a *meaningful understanding* or meaningful exchange of what the message is. Hall (1999) maintains that unless the encoded message produces the *intended* meaning with the audience it is not completely understood. In the previous section I introduced the idea of the role of images within mediated messages. These to a degree have a role in the creation of meaning structures however the way they are interpreted by the reader might vary. This type of thinking is linked with the work of Ferdinand de Saussure and the field of Semiotics. Saussure maintains that how we come to know ‘something’ or a *sign* is through a signifier and a signified (Fiske, 2010).

For example, if someone were to say water, there are multiple ways of calling to mind what

water is. It could be the spelling of the word water; it could be an animated blue pool or a bottled drink. In this instance there is no one way of conceptualising it. On the other hand the same could be said about reading the word water, what images or ideas come to the readers mind are varied and could be multiple. However if the word water was above a bottle drink then the correct intended meaning is achieved. This limits the level of confusion and thus the intentions of the encoder are achieved because the decoders can have a meaningful exchange. The work of de Saussure was marked as the *linguistic turn* in communication studies (Fiske, 2010; Hall, 1999) although texts are unable to police meanings that can be decoded from them, by carefully constructing the intended message this limits the margin of the message of being misunderstood by the intended audience. The work conducted by theorists such as Hall (1997c, 1999); Jhally and Hall (1997), Fairclough, Mulderrig, and Wodak (2011); Fairclough and Wodak (1997) Van Dijk (2011, 2013b, 2014), Wodak (2009; 2008a) emphasise that language functions as a source of *power* in society. This forms the basis of poststructural study in which power is maintained and controlled by elite or dominant institutions with the positioning of particular groups within the discourse being the key concern. Going back to the Encoding/Decoding model (Hall, 1999), how the audience receives the intended message is referred to as *decoding*. Hall (1999) maintains that the audience utilise varied ways of decoding a text, hence the meaning derived from the message is not always the same for each audience member. Hall emphasises that there three ways in which audience members can interrogate the text the first being the dominant reading. The dominant reading of a text is when the audience accept the encoder's message as they intended. Second to this is the negotiated reading, in this, the audience largely accept the message but may *modify* the message to suit their own position or interests. The third is the oppositional reading where by the audience members reject the message provided by the encoder. It is imperative to understand these three types of readings in the study of discourse. Primarily in the study of discourse the main concern is to study the power of language and its effects on the objects of discourse (Baker et al., 2008; Mautner, 2008; Neumann, 2008; Potter, 1996).

In this type of analysis, there can only be one type of decoding of the text: the dominant reading. In discourse it is assumed the audience members will always read the text in an intended way and feel dominated or relate to the discourse. Barker and Galasinski (2001, p. 2) emphasise that discourse plays a role in cementing meaning at least temporarily "though meaning is formally undecided, in formal practice it is regulated and temporally stabilised

into pragmatic narratives or discourses.” In critical discourse analysis, often oppositional readings of a text are not sought. In this thesis I want to explore how African immigrants as *subjects* consume their representations as *objects in Australian mediated discourse*. How do they respond to how they are thought of discursively and what impact does this have on their personal and social lives. Secondly how do particular discourses shape how certain races and cultures are perceived in dominant society? Although texts are unable to police meanings that can be decoded from them neither is the way in which we come to experience the *other* through representations. The other is never simply given, never just found or encountered *but made* through representations (Fabian, 1990, p. 755). Through discursive analysis we observe that dominant and subversive positions are constructed through the *language of representations*, which is used as a weapon of subjugation and discipline. Doise, Spini and Clémence (1999) offer a different perspective in which they argue for the reflexive nature of the consuming individual. They state that although the organisation of representations offers a common or preferred reading of an object or subject, this organisation of readings does not imply common positions. Different individuals can attach varying levels of significance to aspects of what they are presented with. Therefore not all texts will be read or utilised in the same way, the consumer has autonomy over what they choose to accept and ignore – in any case meaning is still created. This argument moves forward from Hall’s (1999, p. 508) decoding argument, where he states that “If no ‘meaning’ is taken, there can be no ‘consumption’. If the meaning is not articulated into practice, it has no effect.” Representational meaning and consumption still takes place even if the message is not accepted in its entirety.

The argument from Doise, Spini and Clémence (1999) seeks to highlight that representations are not always the primary tool of identification with all groups. How individuals interpret and consume the message depends on a range of factors such as their social power positions or how they relate to the message. This view contrasts the structural view of social representations in which meanings are organized around a central core that is consensual and wherein variations are formed only in peripheral elements that are not fundamental to shared meaning (Abric, 2001). The representation of racial difference, the writing of power and the production of knowledge is crucial to the way in which they are generated and function (Hall, 1997b). In this thesis, I maintain it is imperative to include the study of discourse in order to understand how Africans are perceived and discussed in Australian media and society.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Cultural Studies are rooted in the study of language

as a source of power. In the inclusion of CDA in a cultural study it my aim to provide an understanding of how the media help shape how the population understand African immigrants and how their culture and way of life is constructed and regulated through representations.

1.4 Consumption of Mediated Representations as Objects and Subjects of Discourse

In this thesis, the moment of consumption within the circuit is aimed to analyse how mediated representations of Africans are consumed by the Australian general public as well as the African immigrants themselves. This section seeks to explore the *techniques* that individuals' employ in discerning how they chose to consume mediated representations as well as social behaviours. The moment of consumption encompasses how publics make sense of a cultural artefact, "in their everyday lives and form new meanings around it as a consequence of its use" (Curtin & Gaither, 2007, p. 138; Du Gay et al., 1997). Through this description the consumers are considered to be active producers of meaning, this is true to a degree. For a person who belongs to the dominant culture that is responsible for the representation they hold an *empowered* position as a producer of meaning. Conversely, if someone who is new to the society they are seldom empowered producers of meaning within mediated discourse as they are often portrayed as objects in their representation (Mackay, 1997). It is during the moment of consumption that *desired* messages are extracted from mediated responses and those *conscious* choices made within the moment are a component to how part of a group's identity is constructed in the mind of the audience member (Spencer, 2006).

The cultural circuit suggests meaning making is an ongoing process, it does not end at a preordained place (Du Gay et al., 1997, p. 85). In this regard, mediated representations of a group are just one way of seeing them thus present a limited perspective into the group in question. On the other hand, for the African immigrant, it is during the moment of consumption that they consume representations of their ethnic/cultural group. As objects in these representations they get to *experience* how they are portrayed and what social positions are ascribed to them in the encoded representations. During this experience the individual decodes or interprets the mediated message to come to an *understanding*. Understanding of

the message is achieved when the individual imparts their 'experiences and beliefs' (Du Gay et al., 1997; Hall, 1999, p. 510) in deriving meaning. Hall (1999) conceptualizes this as the 'reproduction of meaning', at which point meaning will have transferred from the encoded message through its decoding by the individual. In the moment of consumption the individual *negotiates* their representation and how they feel they are perceived. This view is drawn from multiple perspectives such as the culture in which one resides as well as within the internal workings of the self where meaning is constructed and re-constructed (Sreberny, 2002, p. 218).

Consumption is a moment in which certain meanings and messages are appropriated and/or resisted (Curtin & Gaither, 2007, p. 139). During the 'reproduction of meaning' there is no one way of decoding a message. The practice of consumption means that different individuals create different meanings but the point to note is that the meanings they attach to the representations they consume are not random instead they are carefully devised and articulated (Baudrillard, 1988). Baudrillard (1988) argues that meaning resides not only in an object but in how the object is used by consumers. This take on consumption empowers the individual in the fact that they have a choice in what they choose to appropriate into their everyday lives as well as those other aspects they choose to discard. This viewpoint counters the views put forward by De Certeau (1984) when he argued that consumption always takes place within the bounds prescribed by production, this is not the case if we look at the participant as an active agent. The active selection and negotiation of meanings produced during the moment of consumption, how they are used in the individual's everyday life and what consequence and significance the person gains from this usage are key points of analysis. Du Gay et al. (1997) maintain that not all meaning that we form is of our own choosing; instead some of the meanings that we form are due to social structuring created by the media as sources of dominant discourse. It is this pull of the media that I will be seeking to get commentary on from my participants. The media is consumed to fulfil specific needs, which can be multiple. In this we see that consumption plays a great role in what the audience come to know about the world around them and how they are perceived. Meaning constructed during the moment of consumption can be utilized by the individual to fulfill their public (social self) or private (conscious being) lives. The second aim of this research is to learn how the audience incorporate meanings from their media consumption into their everyday lives (Curtin & Gaither, 2007). The desired result is not a consensus but balancing

and absorbing the competing meanings that inevitably arise during the moment of consumption.

1.5 Identity of the African Immigrant Individual

During the moment of consumption, individuals gain consciousness and identity. Their representations are mediated. In this section, the argument of the role of mediated representations and its effect on the individual are explored further. In the moment of identity I seek to investigate (a) how individuals negotiate meaning, (b) how they put these meanings to use in their everyday lives and (c) how they choose the meanings that they put to use and those that they discard. In this instance media representations provide a pivotal reference point from which consumers come to learn who they are and what they are not through inclusion and sameness as well as exclusion and difference. During the moment of consumption, the audience is constantly bombarded with mediated messages from which they must construct meanings from different, intersecting sources that are always in the process of transformation. After decoding the messages the audience start to devise strategies in which they negotiate meaning. In this process the audience is influenced by the discourse in which they participate (Leitch & Neilson, 2001, p. 138). This discourse arises from the personal, national and cultural influences to which they refer to in the creation of their identities. Identity like meaning is never complete, Hall (1996a, pp. 2-3) argues that identity is always under construction, it is never final but instead is always in process. In order to form an identity Hall maintains that one needs “material and symbolic resources to sustain it” thus the moment of consumption might influence the construction of identity from the ideas the audience forms from it. Material consumption of the media might influence how one perceives themselves in that moment or for an extended period of time.

In the moment of identity configuration, one of the main objectives is questioning how identities are produced and taken up through the practices of representation and consumption (Grossberg, 1997). Within cultural studies there is a tendency to heavily rely on theories that situate identity as being influenced by the culture one resides in as well as how one is positioned discursively (Ang, 1998; Cheryan & Monin, 2005; Clary-Lemon, 2010; Shaw,

2013; Song, 2003). Orbe and Harris (2008, p. 69) suggest that scholars need to analyse the individual's identity negotiation through another means to present its fragmented multiplicity¹⁰. They recommend that the study of identity should be conducted two fold, firstly through traditional psychology in order to place identity as an individual entity but to also use social communication theory to view identity as being relational. Cultural studies, particularly through poststructuralist inflections, focuses on contextual factors in identity development. In following Orbe and Harris (2008) in their recommendation to use psychology (specifically social psychology), the African immigrant's identity can be viewed as being subjective and not contingent on the encoded representations. Rather the African immigrants' personal meanings and conclusions are brought to the fore for analysis. The individual however is not bound to these definitions of identity negotiation, within the personal and cultural influences people are constantly creating identities that are "self-activated and self-defined" (Leitch & Neilson, 2001, p. 138) these negotiations are constantly being constructed and reconstructed. Symbolic interactionist Ervin Goffman provides theatrical metaphors to attempt to explain how identity is constantly in flux.

Goffman (1959, 2012) likens identity to a performance in saying individuals present "a selected display of behaviour that cannot go on continuously and which must, to some extent must consciously and unconsciously be planned and rehearsed." (Meyrowitz, 1985, p. 29). Thus within identity one actively and continuously selects aspects of their self that they wish to present to the public and these decisions are carefully controlled. From this position we observe that the meanings one takes on to help build their identity are in part created to achieve strategic goals. Goffman suggests "people are constantly mobilizing their energies to create socially meaningful *impressions*." Through this marking of difference we signify our difference and power positions. He terms this 'impression management' which he argues is done to serve as a "social shortcut through which people identify themselves and provide expectations about their behaviour – both to others and themselves" (Meyrowitz, 1985, pp. 29-30). This type of assessment privileges the discerning individual in that identity is regarded as something which is personal and can be regulated to achieve specific aims. This explanation of identity from a symbolic interactionist perspective it ties into what Stuart Hall theorizes on identity. Hall (1996a, p. 14) contends that we "are in a constant agonistic process

¹⁰ In defining the term fragmented multiplicity, Stuart Hall maintained that meaning was never complete and never singular. Meaning is always subject to translation, transformation and contestation. (Hall, 1992, 1996b)

of struggling with, resisting, negotiating and accommodating, the normative or regulative rules” in which we strategically regulate our identities. In this regard conceptualizing identity is not a simple experience but rather one which is learned and rehearsed.

1.6 Production of Identity

In the moment of identity, I discussed that not all meaning arises from discursive practices. Instead, meaning is also influenced by one's social interactions, which Du Gay (1996), Hall (1996a) and Goffman (1959, 2012) maintain aid in the formation of symbolic meaning for the individual. This in turn could make mediated discourses contradict with the symbolic meanings created by the individual. Scholars who belong to the poststructuralist school of thought have tended to stress the significance of the external factors that implicate the production of an individual's identity. Arguments within this school have relied strongly on looking at power relations and the effect of language in positioning the individual as either dominant or subordinate (Hall, 1996a; Jeffres, 2000; Trebbe & Schoenhagen, 2011). As previously discussed in the moment of consumption, in this type of analysis the individual is always positioned as the object of discourse. Without the inclusion of the individual having an active part in the discerning of mediated representations, they will always occupy the subordinate object position. In Hall et al.'s work on representation, identity, consumption and culture (Du Gay, 1996; Du Gay et al., 1997; Hall, 1996a, 1997b; Mackay, 1997) through the discursive perspective there is a tendency to 'decentre' the self by relocating or dispersing the self within a large set of structures and forces, most notably discourse and power (Dunn, 1997). Discursive theorists discuss issues of identity and express that people are always trying to negotiate between notions of themselves and cultural meanings (Akomfrah, 2013; Cottle, 2000; Mainsah, 2009). However, within this analysis the concept of identity or *the self* is over shadowed by external factors such as the discourse of ideological institutions that can limit certain groups from occupying empowered positions. Hall maintains that if identity is always in negotiation, the individual is always in a constant process of understanding social and cultural codes as well as notions of self. What one consumes and chooses to appropriate to their everyday lives and identity is then based on what they *want to become*. This can be understood as both a conscious or unconscious decision (more elaboration on this matter is offered in Chapter Four: Oral Testimonies of Africans Living in Australia) (Bauman &

Vecchi, 2004; Denzin, 1992; Goffman, 1959, 2012). Within this negotiation there is 'complex hybridity' (Akomfrah, 2013), this is due to the varied social and cultural meaning making that one is constantly a part of through their perceived representation and in what they actively consume. This sociological inflection in Hall's theorisations can be thought of as shedding away some of the rigidity of poststructural theorisations. For the contemporary individual to a degree, the seeking of meaning within social interactions is becoming limited. Currently, people derive their information from alternative sources such as the media and the Internet (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2014; Diehl, Weeks, & de Zúñiga, 2015; Miranda et al., 2016). The digital age has made it that in particular regions certain demographics and cultures base most of their 'social interactions' via non-physical human-to-human interaction, this type of digital learning suits the postmodern analysis of identity formation (Gubrium & Holstein, 1995; McRobbie, 1994). Identity production is something is in constant development and fluid (Baudrillard, 1988; Bauman & Vecchi, 2004; Hall, 1990, 1992, 1996a; Mead, 1967, 2003). Identity is not something that is organic to the individual but rather a *process of social experience*. From this standpoint, identity production is a reflexive process whereby external as well as internal influences, conscious as well as non-conscious are in a constant process.

1.7 Identity Regulation, Identity in Action

In the previous section, I maintained that identity is produced through external (discursive mediated messages) and internal (psychological) influences. This position privileges the agent or individual as they negotiate *techniques* of how they are going to regulate their differed identities. Hall (Hall, 1990, 1992) maintains that this negotiation of identity is informed by two factors. The first is what the individual believes to be their representation in society. This is based on the images and language that inform the dominant discourse (Potter, 1996; Van Dijk, 2014). Secondly, what perceptions of self the individual has based on what they consume in the media (Deaux & Wiley, 2007; Fabian, 1990; Trebbe & Schoenhagen, 2011). The moment of regulation can be understood as the moment in which we manage our various identities and what we choose to reveal to others about who we are. Hall (1997c) argues that it is within the moment of regulation that issues of culture and power are at the forefront. The key investigation aim for this section is to explore how the regulation of

identity is influenced by social interactions and mediated representations and to what effect within the individual?

The premise that identity is fluid or liquid (Bauman & Vecchi, 2004; Hall, 1996a, 1997c) and is constantly under construction and negotiation echoes the fact that within the *Circuit of Culture* (Du Gay et al., 1997). The moments are concurrently instable, constantly in flux, interminably creating and recreating meaning (Curtin & Gaither, 2007, p. 52). The processes of: consumption of representations, production and regulation of identity do not work independently. Instead, the reference points a researcher utilizes to understand and establish that meaning is constantly under construction. The moment of regulation therefore presents itself as a type of identity control, in which certain elements are hidden and revealed in varied circumstances, to achieve specific goals. This illustrates the reflexivity of identity, as that which can be influenced by internal and external factors. Within the poststructural strand of theory, the internal workings involved in the production of identity are often negated, as focus tends to lay in the workings of power institutions around the individual (Altschull, 1994; Gatt, 2011; Staples, 2011). This objectifies the individual; instead, if we view identity regulation through a more sociological influenced perspective this enables the individual to be placed in the subject position. The study of interactions within the sociological perspective is usually linked with symbolic interactionism, in this field the understanding of identity is rooted within symbols (Denzin, 1992; Rousseau & Cooley, 2002; Sohoni & Mendez, 2014). Symbols represent objects in our minds and thus language is pivotal to this connection without which we could not access the symbols necessary for thinking and acting (A. Elliott, 2011, p. 25; Jenkins, 1996). This chimes in to the ideas presented by Hall (1992, 1996a, 1997c) that it is crucial to study cultural processes discursively in order find to whom power is given through the use of language. Without the intention of combining these differed schools of thought, it is imperative to highlight points where they intersect.

1.8 Circuit of Culture and African Immigrants in Australia

In this section of the literature review section, I strived to illustrate that in order to research a cultural/ethnic group there is no linear way of going about it. The lives lead by the intended research participants are varied, dynamic and unique to their individual experiences. It would be adopting a position of superior knowledge on the group should one believe they fully understand the phenomenon of everyday life (Brabazon, Redhead, & Chivaura, 2015; Hammersley, 2013; Saukko, 2003). Research into ethnic minorities, in particular from a poststructural perspective tends to emphasise how the media represent and alienate minorities in its reporting (Mainsah, 2009; McIntosh, 2015; Van Dijk, 2000, 2015). There is gap in knowledge about ways in which ethnic groups interpret and use these representations in their everyday social lives without being powerless victims in their depictions. This is the gap in knowledge that I seek to contribute to.

For an immigrant of African descent who enters society in which race is a dominant discourse, a major task is come to an understanding of the societal representations of race and negotiate the meaning of ones identity within that context (Tormala & Deaux, 2006, p. 141).

By first understanding how and what African immigrants consume from their mediated representations and their positioning within society, researchers can better understand the influencing factors into (a) how these African immigrants negotiate meaning, (b) how they put these meanings to use in their everyday lives and (c) how they choose the meanings that they put to use and those that they discard. The way different ethnic minority groups view and distinguish themselves in the diaspora is often negotiated and influenced by the new culture in which they inhabit. How they come to negotiate their identity to a degree is shaped by what ideologies are regulated by the media. Just as changes in the media, identities could be considered as social constructions “emerging from discursive practices, that they form in relationship to something else” (Curtin & Gaither, 2007, pp. 168-169). Hall (1996a, p. 4) states through media representations one can either adopt the identity that they are

represented as being or conversely reject this identity the media presents in the way one chooses to represent themselves. In this he argues we come to see that “identities are constituted within, not outside representation.” (Hall 1996a, p. 4) It is therefore essential to study African immigrants’ use of the media from both object and subject positions. In their placing as objects within mediated representations, the immigrants experience themselves as echoes of the social group from which they belong to (Doise et al., 1999; Fabian, 1990; Willis, 1993, p. 34). In their consumption of the media, African immigrants are exposed to the attitudes of other individuals towards (themselves) within a social environment or context (Mead, 1967, p. 138). Linguistic poststructuralists such as Hall (1996a, 1997c) and Van Dijk (1987, 1988, 2000) would argue that this is enforcement of social control through discursive messages. In this case the media provides a ‘version of reality’ of how the African immigrants are regarded in society, thus a version of the African identity. The mediated representations seek to present the ideologies of Australianness. In these mediated representations, the African immigrant is positioned as an object.

As a subject, the African immigrant consumes the social attitudes that ‘confront the group’, based on this; the individual may start developing ways and strategies of producing and regulating their identity. In poststructural linguistic work the immigrant individual is hardly discussed as an active participant and occupies the object position. As a subject within mediated representations, this places the African immigrant in a position of power as they actively discern what they choose to use in the production of their identity. In allowing African immigrants the space to position themselves as empowered participants in the discourse this allows the researcher to observe how African immigrants learn about themselves through their mediated representations. From this, do immigrant individuals learn a new way of presenting themselves in their everyday lives in order to create a distinctive appearance to satisfy a particular audience? (Schaefer, 2012). Goffman (1959) suggests that many of our daily activities involve attempts to convey impressions of who we are – in which we learn to present ourselves socially (Schaefer, 2012). Thus performance then becomes an essential role in the regulation of identity within social contexts. This perspective of looking at the individual as a subject would create an explorative pathway to investigate how African immigrants monitor their impressions based on how they are represented and how they want to be perceived. This framework of the production and regulation of identity provides a rounded perspective to my research, which seeks to investigate the individual as a subject and

as an object within mediated representations. This affords an all-inclusive and credible argument in the pursuit of theorizing how identities are produced and how they are later regulated by the individual.

1.9 Research Questions and Concluding Remarks

Having established the value in understanding how African Immigrants utilize what they consume in their mediated representations as a basis to produce and regulate their private and social identities, the following research questions will be addressed:

1. What is the discourse surrounding Africans in Australian media and Society?
2. How do Africans in Australia appropriate the media in their everyday lives? What consequence does this have on their social lives?
3. In their own words, how do Africans living in Australia articulate their experience?

This literature review chapter has presented the scholars that will form the anchor of this research project. It is through the use of the *Circuit of Culture* as an anchoring framework that I have examined the core themes of this thesis, which are, representation, consumption of representations, identity production and identity regulation. Using the *Circuit of Culture* in the study of human life instead of a tangible object offers an original and unique of utilizing the circuit. It is through the design of its five key moment that make it a holistic tool for analyzing cultural phenomena. It is through these moments that I have showcased some of the critical thinking that will be explored in greater depth in the proceeding research chapters. In these chapters there will be a practical application of theory to the issues that I will be challenging and contributing new knowledge to. In this thesis I set out to revive engaged cultural studies and study an emerging racial, ethnic and cultural group through a critical lens. In the proceeding chapters, I will be contributing to original knowledge about African immigrants in Australia through the methods and theory that will be utilizing. My aim is to provide a foundation on which to build on the study of African immigrants in Australia that is informed by first hand research and original input by the African immigrants themselves. The following three research chapters will provide the evidence of this original contribution to knowledge.

Chapter Two: Discourses Surrounding Africans in Australian Media and Society.

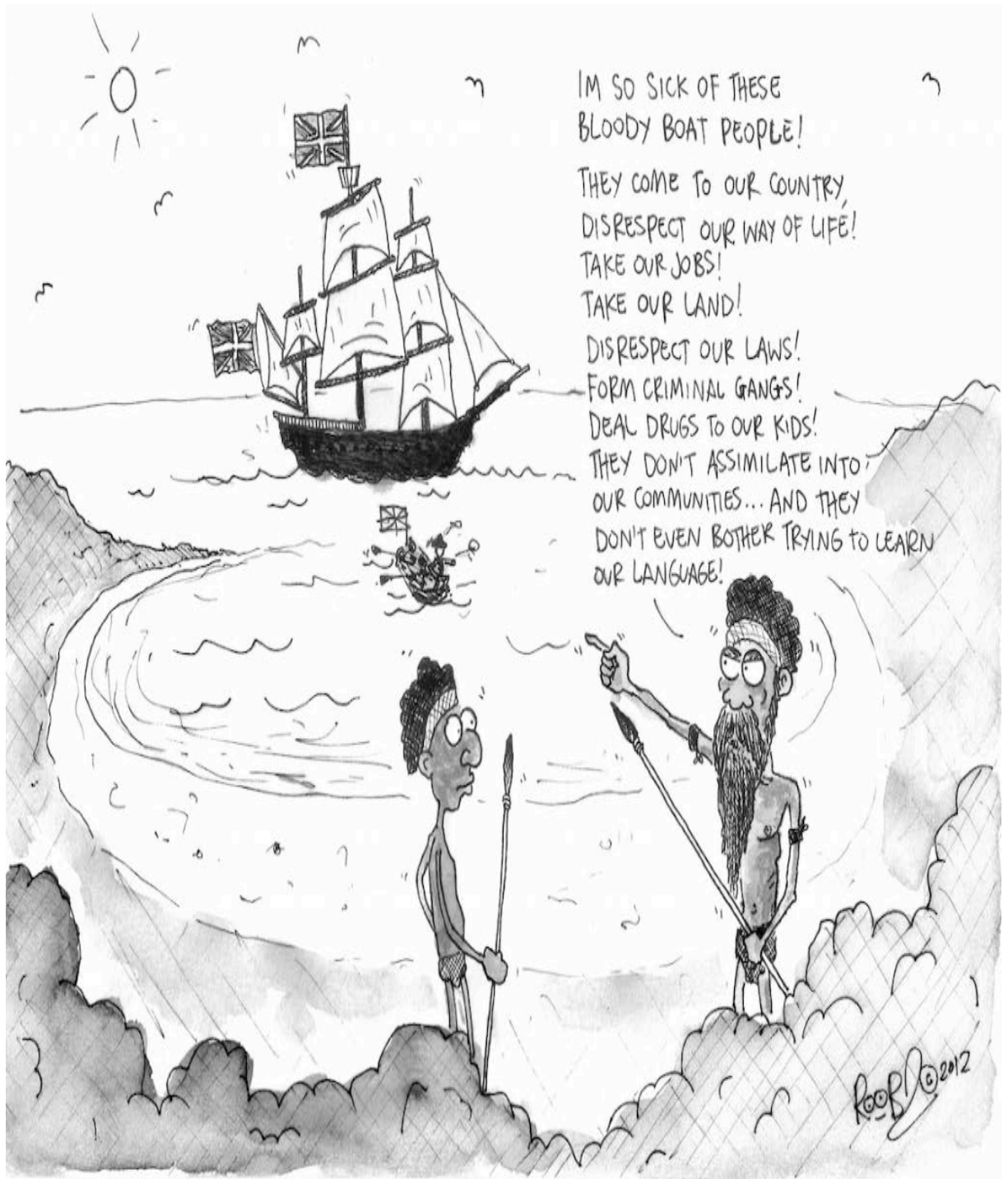


FIG. 4 Bloody Boat People – (Reuben Brand, 2012)

2.1 Introduction: Discourse and Race

This chapter is not being written as a tokenistic discourse chapter that does not serve a real, solid and profound intellectual purpose. The intention of this chapter is to provide the context of a historical moment which will be captured in the following two chapters, Chapter Three: Surveying the Demographic and Chapter Four: Oral testimonies of Africans living in Australia. The media sources that will be gathered and reviewed in this chapter are of key significance in the participants oral histories and how they offer recollections of events in their past.

In the study of discourses, particularly discourses surrounding dominant and subordinate groups, it is useful to establish how power is held and how others are made to occupy less empowered positions within this. In *Encoding and Decoding* (1999), Hall maintained that it was the role of media producers to encode or create messages to be transmitted and received by the decoders. In the receiving of the carefully designed message there are multiple ways in which the audience member/s could establish meaning. Stuart Hall coined this reception theory. The focus of this theory is based on revealing the relationship between the media content and the receiver of the content. Particular emphasis is given to how the receiver uses and makes meaning of the messages provided, Hall (1999) argued that in doing so there is no one way of understanding a message. Hall maintains that there are two forms of discourse, the first is what one ought to think – which is the encoded message. The second is what one thinks – after decoding the message.

In the creation of discourse, ideological institutions such as the government, the justice system and the media inform the production and presentation of certain ideas. The predominant way in which larger society gets to experience this system of ideals is through the media. It is through this transmission of information that audience members create an understanding of the matters at hand. In his work Hall used discourse to understand how power is held by certain groups and taken away from others (Hall, 1997c, 1999; Hall et al., 1978; Hall et al., 2013) in these examples of his work, his focus is primarily on the relationship between media and political institutions and certain groups particularly working class and ethnic minorities. Hall is not the only theorist to tackle issues of discourse and the media others such as Wodak, (2008, 2009; 2005; 2008a) whose orientation lays in corpus studies of discourses in texts. Neumann, (1999, 2002, 2008) paid particular interest in

European identities particularly after *The Cold War*. Van Dijk, (1987, 1988, 1991, 2000, 2011, 2013a, 2013b, 2014, 2015) who emphasised the significance of news reporting on ethnic minorities, have also significantly contributed to the field of media discourse analysis. What makes Hall's approach compelling, is the lens which he uses to analyse how "culture and political interests or class and social interests interlock. Not just by which the people are dominated by a system, but by which they come to invest in themselves." (Jhally, 2015). It is this last point of how the audience value themselves after being portrayed in a certain way that makes Hall's approach appropriate for this study.

Stuart Hall's work on discourses operating in society, particularly in his early work, focused on how the macro structures or institutions had a bearing on how power is articulated and demonstrated in society (Hall, 1979, 1980; Hall & National Committee for Commonwealth Immigrants, 1967; Lumley, McLennan, & Hall, 1977). Political and economic ideologies seemed to have a big impact in Hall's early work particularly in his publications in the *New Left Review*. In trying to *decode* this, it could be seen as an attempt by Hall to pacify and appease his conscious whilst reaping the rewards of his now controversial University of Oxford Rhodes Scholarship. There is a noticeable shift in Hall's theorisation from when he started his post at the Birmingham University's Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies. His research started developing more inclusion of the audience. The key text that will be of particular importance and a key reference point in this section is his 1978 collaborative work in *Policing the Crisis* (1978; 2013). This text marks the first instance in Hall's extensive work that race, politics and policing were explored through the discursive analysis of the media. In an interview with Sut Jhally (2015), Hall emphasises that this was one of the "first moments in cultural studies when the questions of race and culture came to the fore." (Jhally, 2015) Ideologies encircling blackness (Brabazon, 1998, p. 49), were presented as being the source of the ongoing 'moral panics' in society. Things such as violence, crime and the decaying colonial British identity were being channelled and represented as having being caused by non-Europeans. In this regard Connell (2014, p. 3) maintains "Race... became the prism through which the 'crisis' was viewed. Anxieties about permissiveness, economic decline and youth were transposed onto the figure of (a) black 'mugger'." It was through this channelling of blackness, of colonial migration, of high numbers of visibly different people that became attached to moral panics. Instead of seeing the positive of the West Indians providing labour force for post-war Britain, they were viewed as a visible and symbolic attack to the crown.

2.2 Policing the Crisis and significance in studying representations of African Immigrants in Australia

What makes *Policing the Crisis* particularly important in this study is the concern that is paid to questions of subjectivity, culture and identity. The shift from broad ideology to specifically focus on race, particularly visible difference makes *Policing the Crisis* a relevant guide and reference. Brabazon (1998) argues that certain:

Cultural qualities, like *black = problem*, are embodied as a physical presence. Representational logics imagine another place in a way that fits into familiar knowledge systems. For a person or community to be situated in discourse means that they must be depicted in the terms of that discourse, transforming the other into the same. West Indianness, or blackness, must be performed within the white/colonial regimes of value. (p. 53)

This study seeks to investigate how African immigrants are positioned ideologically and discursively in the Australian context. The same questions that Hall was asking about 1970s England are the same questions that should be asked about the dominant institutions in Australia and their relationship with the African population. The media is the primary focus, since the media is an institution that allows the *general population* to have tools to understand cultures and the cultural discourses that surround them. It is essential to analyse what discourses they use to achieve this goal. In most cases of discourses surrounding ethnic and cultural differences theorists often note that common assumptions or stereotypes are what is represented of these groups (McIntosh, 2015; Rasinger, 2010; Sohoni & Mendez, 2014). Quite often these groups do not get the chance to voice their opinions or views on their representations. In their work O'Doherty and Lecouteur (2007) define this type of exclusion as 'new racism', Brabazon (1998, p. 53) terms this particular media marginalisation as 'journalistic ventriloquism' whereby the people involved in the discourse are denied their voices thus the media maintain their "coercive maintenance of power."

O'Doherty and Lecouteur (2007, p. 44) demonstrate how categorisations in discourse are used to further agendas. They argue, "Categorisations are used for particular purposes in particular contexts." O'Doherty and Lecouteur (2007) point to the fact that if particular discourses are repeated constantly in the media they can soon become "taken-for granted categorisations."

In essence the repetition of representations of certain groups brings rise to the production of stereotypes of those groups. For instance, when you type Australian stereotypes, Google Australia (The most commonly used search engine in Australia with 16,903,000 users in 2015 (Roy Morgan Research, 2016) image search engine (20/04/2016) This is the order of the first row of images:

1. An image of a man in a cork hat holding up a sausage.
2. An image of the stereotypes and Australian perception of certain ethnic and cultural groups.
3. A joke card of what some colloquial sayings 'Aussie Gentlemen' use and what they jokingly could be taken to mean.
4. The translation of some colloquial phrases that Australian women or 'Aussie Sheila's use
5. A man riding a kangaroo past the Opera house steps and Sydney Harbour Bridge

I proceeded to type French stereotypes; this is the order of the first row of images:

1. A man in a striped shirt, a red scarf, black beret, two baguettes, a bottle of red wine and a *curious* moustache
2. A man in a striped shirt, a black scarf, red beret, three baguettes, a glass of red wine and a *curious* moustache
3. A poster of French clichés and whether they are true or false
4. A poster of the two types of French Chef
5. A man in a striped shirt, a red scarf, black beret, two baguettes, a bottle of red wine and a *curious* moustache
6. A stick figure of a French man, in a striped shirt, a red scarf, black beret, a baguette, a bottle of red wine and a cigarette on his lips.

The next search that I did was type in stereotypes of African people. Readers may – rightly – critique that Africa is not a country, but as mentioned in the Introduction chapter, this study provides a multi- dimensional perspective of how Africans regard the media and Australian society. I wanted to use the ethnicity to search what results were stereotypes were attached to it. This is the order of the first row of images:

1. A woman holding a piece of paper reading "I am Liberian not a virus"
2. A boy with the following words super imposed on his face AIDS, war, primitive, illiterate, victim, famine, violence, poor, slave.
3. A boy with the following words super imposed on his face AIDS, war, primitive, illiterate, victim, famine, violence, poor, slave.
4. A man in a t-shirt reading "Stereotype me! Society does.
5. A boy holding a machine gun
6. A woman holding a sign reading "'Do you speak African?" You know that's a continent, right? And you question my presence here?"
7. An image of a 23 year old man named Benard, he is a third year Clinical medicine student.

For interest's sake I decided to type in stereotypes of Nigerians. This was an arbitrary selection. This is the order of the first row of images.

1. An animation of a female African warrior and a smiling male playing a talking drum
2. A man painted in the Nigerian flag colours standing at attention and saluting
3. Three smiling girls with their faces painted in dotted patterns
4. A map of South America with the outlines of countries roughly drawn with stereotypical descriptions of the countries.
5. A meme of a man holding a large stack of money, the caption reads, “I will burn my money, those white people never answered my emails.”

There are many points that can be raised about each of the four stereotype groups presented. For now I will present a nutshell commentary of each of the four groups.

1. Australians = The Australian culture is very laid back and Australians have Kangaroo transport
2. The French = All male with a particular fashion sense and love baguettes and wine
3. Africans = Some serious perceptions and misconceptions of Africans
4. Nigerians = A happy, patriotic and philanthropic country and a Map of South America.

The reason why I wanted to present both Africans as a whole and a particular country's stereotypes is to see the difference in what the distinction was between the grouping of Africans and that of a single African country. In the stereotype images of Nigeria I would say apart from the meme (picture 4) of the *fake?* Nigerian Prince willing to donate part of his wealth and the map of South America, Nigerians are shown to be happy and patriotic. When researchers move to the stereotypes of Africans in general, the image is grim. Africa is stereotyped as Ebola, war torn, violent, primitive, illiterate, starving, poor and still in captivity as slaves. If I compare this stereotyped image of Africa and compare it to the Australian and French stereotypes there is a difference. With the Australian and French stereotypes they are laughable, might be annoying but will not dissuade people from wanting to find out more about the countries (as mentioned earlier the same applies to the Nigerian stereotype).

In Hall's work, he took a particular interest in institutions in society that defined what is normal and abnormal behaviour, (Hall, 1992, 1997b, 1997c). Particular research interest was paid to who defined and protected meanings of 'normality'. In *Policing the Crisis* (1978; 2013) blackness was viewed as being dangerous and unpleasant, the same can be inferred by

the Google Australia search of the term African people. Although it can be argued Google search results can be influenced by a range of factors including popularity and most searched terms. To have a better understanding of how African immigrants are represented in Australian media, it would be better to conduct a media search. In this media content analysis my intention will be to see the types of discourse that African immigrants feature in. By viewing the discourses surrounding them one is able to determine positive, neutral or negative positions in the reporting.

2.3 Representation of African Immigrants in Australian Media

The study of discourse surrounding African immigrants in Australia is imperative to this thesis as it provides a real picture of how Africans are perceived by dominant ideological institutions such as the media. The discourse analysis component of the thesis is being conducted on Australian media produced between May 26 2015 and 26 May 2016. These dates have not been chosen arbitrarily, these dates are specifically chosen because this is the timeframe in which the vast majority of participants were submitting responses to the survey questionnaire as well as sharing their oral histories in interviews. It is important to capture this moment in time because this will aid in providing the contextual backdrop to some of the experiences that the research participants draw on in informing their answers about how Australian media and society regard African immigrants. Unlike other discourse studies, which solely look at discourse as a standalone study, I am trying to locate its effects in the wider scheme of things. By applying discourse to people's lived experiences, it offers more insight and cause and effect relationships can easily be identified and rationalised. This technique presents discourse in action rather than a stagnant analysis that does not exist in an applied context.

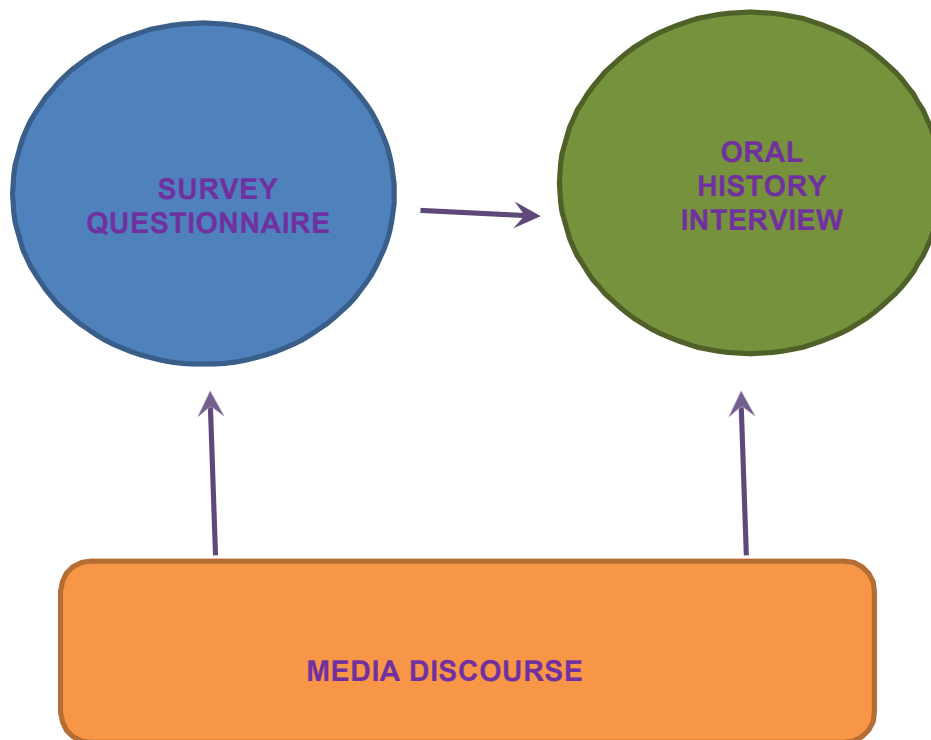


FIG. 9 Model of Inquiry in the Thesis

For my search, I used the *ProQuest Australia & New Zealand News Stream* database (formerly known as Australia & New Zealand Newsstand). This is a comprehensive database of Australian and New Zealand print, online and screen media, to date it is the largest database of current affairs in Australia and New Zealand. Other databases such as *Trove* or *Google News* could have been used however they contain other material that is not necessarily current affairs but because of the key words could be classified as such and produce tens of thousands of non-Australian news/information sources. Another database that I could have considered is *Informit News & Current Affairs Database Collection*; this is another comprehensive database however it only provides results of dates between 1995-2009. This makes it unsuitable for this study. The search that I conducted was based on the following key words in an advanced search, **African, immigrant/migrant and Australia**. Upon entering these keywords 614 results were generated; however not all these results concerned my research. Some of the results only contained one keyword, for instance *migrant* but did not relate to Africans. Another example could be *African American in Australia* so this result will not be counted in the final tally. Only results with African, immigrant/migrant and Australia will be regarded. I acknowledge the *ANZ News Stream* is

not a perfect search database and there might be omissions of some media, however to date in Australia it is the most reliable and comprehensive database to use. In the types of sources that I targeted, I included the following sources:

- i. Newspapers including front page/cover story, features, editorials, letters to the editor, articles, commentary, correction/retractions.
- ii. Government and Official documents
- iii. Magazines
- iv. Wire feeds

2.4 Data Collection Process

The data collection process began by entering the key words in the advanced search, which resulted in 614 results. The method of collecting the data that was useful for my study was implemented by recording the date on which the article/media was published. This was followed by the name of the news/media source and what type of media it was published in. for example, The Sydney Morning Herald: Newspaper. The title/headline and the main message of the article came next. The argument from the article was determined via the key points that related to African immigrants. In the end my data collection sheet looked like this:

19 May 2016

1. Perth Now: Newspaper
Title: Brazil-type Zika confirmed in Africa
Main Message: Tests have shown that an outbreak of Zika virus on the African island chain of Cape Verde is of the same strain as the one blamed for birth abnormalities in Brazil, the World Health Organization says.

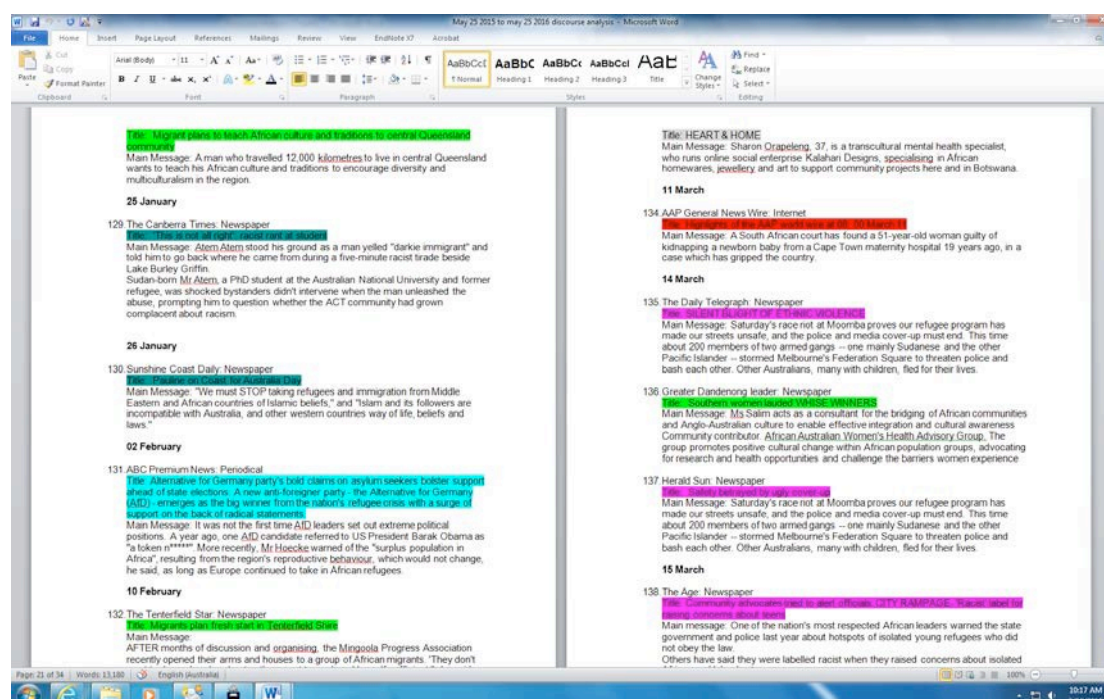
I started my data collection from 26 May 2015 – 26 May 2016. This was to ensure that by the time I came 26 May 2016 all the stories from that day would have been compiled by the database.

Shaping the Data

The data collection took three working days to complete and yielded 198 results from the initial 614 compiled by *ANZ News Stream*. The articles amassed were varied and covered events within Australia and abroad. I chose to include the events that were happening abroad

that included African immigrants because as they were presented in Australian media these articles contributed to the understanding of what it means to be African. Another reason why I chose to include these results is that some of the participants would have been privy to these discourses and they might have influenced some of the answers that they provided.

In order to have a better understanding of the results, a method of reviewing the data in a more manageable manner had to be devised. With the aid of the highlighting tool in *Microsoft Word* I decided to colour code different news stories. This was a preliminary way of categorising the data to vividly illustrate the different categories of stories that had been covered over this 12 month period.



Categorising some of the stories was simple and straightforward, for instance I decided to use aqua blue for the European migration crisis and all articles that covered this issue were coded by this colour. However, when to stories that covered several issues for instance:

April 27 2016

1. The Australian: Newspaper

Title: Dad's field of dreams come alive with Sydney Swans

Main Message: Aliir's parents fled the civil war in the Sudan. The boy was born in the Kakuma camp in Kenya and spent his first eight years in its crowded confines before surviving members of the family made their way to Australia. "I didn't know anything when I came here as a kid. I wasn't used to seeing big cities, big buildings, stuff like that; it was different," Aliir says.

This could be classified as a sporting story because of the reference to Australian Football League (AFL) or a refugee migration story because of Aliir's migration route to Australia. Both categorisations are correct, but which one would be more appropriate? I chose the sporting categorisation because this article was in the sporting section of the newspaper and the bulk of the story was about the AFL. In dealing with conflictions such as this the researcher has to be firm in their decision and provide the best categorisation of the data. After reviewing all 198 articles within this frame I ended up with 11 categories from the 12 month period. The categories are as follows: (The full categorisations of the articles can be found in the appendix section.)

Migration Crisis
Refugee Issues and Community events
Migrant Stories (non refugee)
African Crime
Refugee trouble
Racism and discriminatory discourse
Sport
African terrorism
African politics
Media criticism of representation of Africans
African disease

The next stage of data analysis was to tally each of the results of the different categories. Having the categories colour coded made it easier and faster to do this as well as proving useful for the graphic illustration of the results.

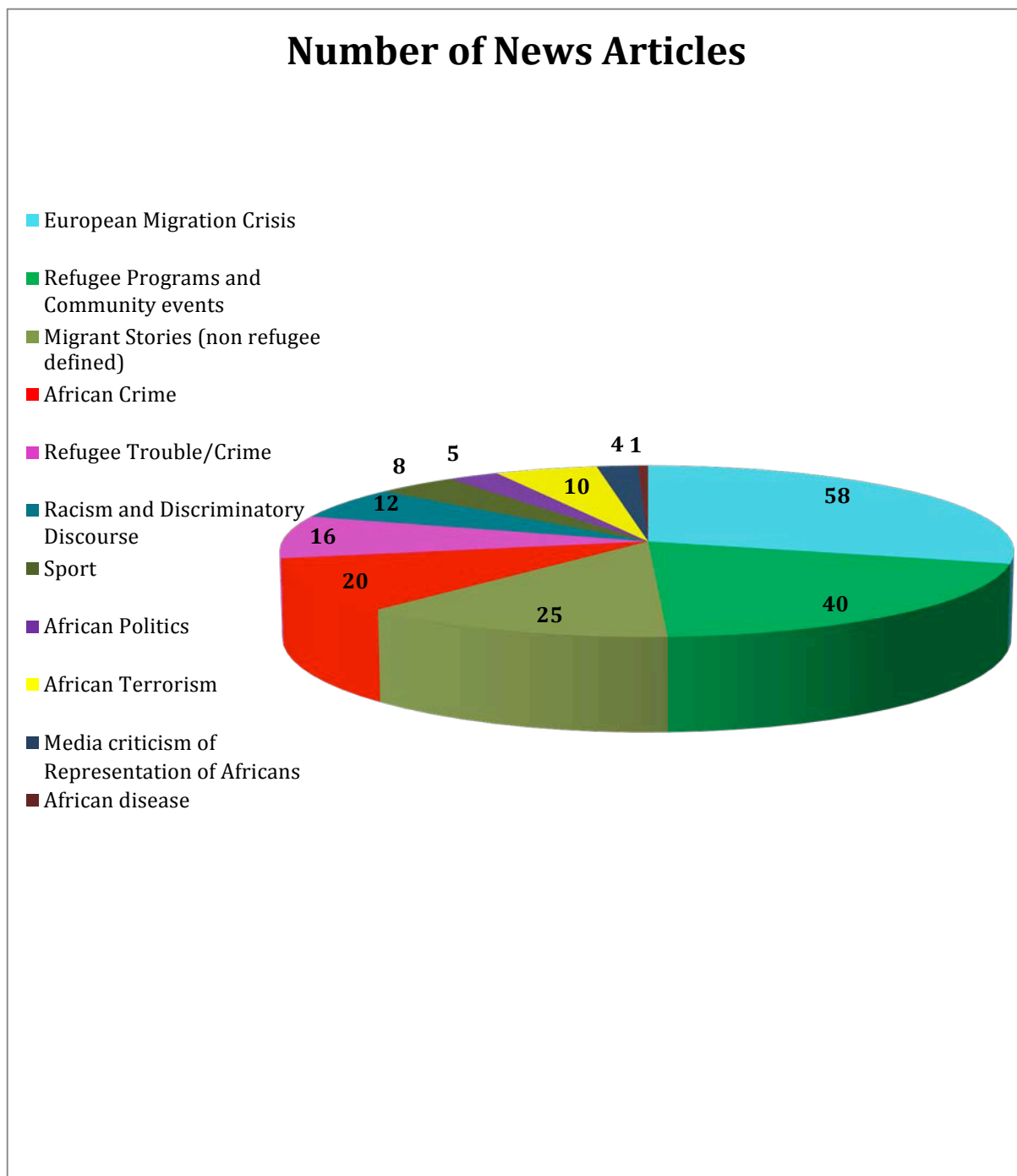


FIG.10 Breakdown of Number of News Articles

From the illustration above, the large majority of coverage concerning African immigrants was from the Migration Crisis in Europe, closely followed by refugee programmes and Community events then Positive immigration stories (that did not include people identified as

African refugees). It is important to note these various categories because when I was conducting the oral interviews with the research participants (Chapter Four) some of the participants gave examples from media that was produced from this twelve-month period in reference to how they think Africans are perceived in Australia. Without trying to blanket cause and effect results, the fact that certain categories are represented frequently in the media and the participants identify them as being subjects they encounter in their everyday life does show a relationship between the two. It is therefore imperative for this thesis to have a chapter on discourse analysis of Australian media because it helps to provide context to the survey and interview participant's responses and attitudes to how they are perceived socially based on how they are depicted in Australian media.

2.5 Probing the representation of Africans in the Media using *Policing the Crisis* as an Analytical Lens

Policing the Crisis is powerful through its imperfections (Brabazon, Chivaura, et al., 2016)

Strengths and Shortcomings of *Policing the Crisis*

In my use of *Policing the Crisis* I acknowledge that it has been 38 years since its original publication, with a reprint in 2013 to mark its 35th Anniversary. The book has received praise and criticism of its content and theorisation. Perhaps one of the under discussed facts is that the book was written over a six year period and the vast majority of the content was written as the events occurred. In this sense, having five authors writing over six years is revealed in some of the chapters where arguments tend to jump from different time periods which make reading the text quite challenging at times. In an interview with Connell (2015), Chas Critcher admits that writing the book was prolonged and difficult. As the book was written as the events that inspired it took place, this did not leave time for the ideas being presented to marinate and be developed before publication. This is the nature in which the authors intended to present the book “ Our aim has been to examine ‘mugging’ from the perspective of society in which it occurs.” (Hall et al., 1978, p. 327). In essence meaning it was more important to capture *the moment* with less emphasis on the development of theorisation.

The inclusion of Hall as a lead author (perhaps) lifted the book to higher acclaim however 35

years later in an interview, Chas Critcher let in on the fact that “Hall’s position as the first named author of the book carried a particular symbolic resonance” (Connell, 2015, p. 279). By way of having an acclaimed cultural commentator and head of the Centre of Contemporary Cultural Studies as lead author perhaps added to the power and significance of the book within the field of cultural studies and criminology. However, it can also be seen as a tokenistic association. Apart from Hall, the other four authors are all Caucasian. Through the inclusion of Hall this could be seen as a way of presenting a book that discusses issues of racialisation, criminality and marginalisation have the approval of a black male (through his life Hall had confusions of what his race was he never really disclosed where he felt he belonged (Akomfrah, 2013; Connell, 2014) in a study in which black males were being persecuted by the state and the media.

Another criticism of *Policing the Crisis* has been the under development of theory in particular sections of the book for instance theorisations of hegemony are criticised by some academics as being ‘hegemony 101’ (Brabazon, Chivaura, et al., 2016) and some of the criminology theories have since been further developed and others contested. The chapter that I am particularly concerned about in *Policing the Crisis* is *The Politics of ‘Mugging.’* This is the section in which the case of the *crisis* in England of the criminality of immigrants is examined at length. This is perhaps the most journalistic chapter in the book as examples of that six year period are presented but there is little to no theorization as what the causes or impacts of this type of reporting and police response could be. Connell (2015, p. 278) presents two key examples in which the disjuncture of the chapter is evidenced.

There were problems with this methodological approach. One reviewer of the original edition of *Policing*, for instance, thought it was clear that the authors were ‘lacking in full agreement’ and felt that much of the book appeared to be ‘transitional’ and ‘provisional’, particularly the final section (*The Politics of ‘Mugging’*) which—as Hall recently admitted—was the most speculative part of the book.

For this reason, this is why I have decided to do a full content analysis of this period, as well as devise a method of analysis that can easily be followed and replicated in future studies. *The Politics of ‘Mugging’*, provided a rough blue print from which discursive studies could be conducted. Yes, the fact remains that the chapter is perhaps difficult and not presented in a coherent manner the essence of what the researchers were trying to achieve is still evident

and is perhaps one of the reasons this book still hold great value particularly in the field of cultural studies. Despite all these shortcomings listed in the above paragraphs, *Policing the Crisis* still presents the first instance in British Cultural Studies whereby a case study of race particularly of immigrants was seriously studied. What makes *Policing the Crisis* particular the last chapter *The Politics of 'Mugging*, intergral to my study are two key points. Firstly how 'moral panics' of visibly different immigrants were fuelled and perpetuated by the State and the media. Blackness became synonymous with danger, criminality and *mugging*. Through my content analysis of media discourse over a twelve month period, a similar pattern can be observed in the reporting of African males in Australia. The second reason why *The Politics of 'Mugging* is valuable to this chapter is the way in which it presents perceived criminality and non-belonging of particular groups. In this chapter I seek to coin the phrase *Semiotic Violence*. Through the use of this term I will be exploring how blackness is presented as a defining identity (Brabazon, Chivaura, et al., 2016). In this I will be arguing how visible racial difference is a defining moment for Africans living in Australia and usually the race of the person is loaded with many connotations before they get a chance to present themselves. Lastly I will be delving into how particular representations of Africans further reduce the space made available for this already subjugated group.

2.6 Moral Panics: Look! A Negro! White gaze, Race and (Re)presentation

I cast an objective gaze over myself, discovered my blackness, my ethnic features, deafened by cannibalism, backwardness, fetishism, racial stigmas...I was responsible not only for my body but also for my race and my ancestors.

Fanon (2011, p. 424)

Since the arrival of the first fleet of Ships from England to Botany Bay New South Wales in 1788, Australia has since been in a battle (both physically and symbolically) of categorizing who belongs and who doesn't. This was initially marked by the categorization of visible difference between the English Roses and the English thorns they brought with them against the dark skinned, primitive Indigenous population. This way of thinking of whiteness being superior did not start then, it had been had been proclaimed in literature, religion and history. To this day, issues of race and Indigeneity largely remain unresolved in the Australian context. There have been some acknowledgements of wrong doing by the Australian people such as The Commonwealth Electoral Act 1918 (Australian Electoral Commission, 2016),

National Reconciliation Week (Australian Government, 2016c), Mabo Day (Australian Government, 2016b), Formal apology to Australia's Indigenous peoples 2008 (Australian Government, 2016a). However, Indigenous people are still not constitutionally recognized in Australia. There is a host of other issues that can be discussed in regards to the Indigenous population of Australia but for the purposes of this chapter space and time do not allow.

Coming as a visibility different migrant against this historical backdrop resurrects some past tensions within the Australia. Race and more recently religion are pressure points in society and flair up at different points and contexts. With race being the visible marker of 'non-belonging' (Mainsah, 2009; McIntosh, 2015; Van Dijk, 1988, 2015), this chapter seeks to explore how race is presented and represented in Australian society. How does the dominant population come to know of this visibly different other? To aid me with this I will be drawing from examples from the content analysis that I discussed earlier on in the chapter. This will assist in providing current presentations of the African body and the symbolic meanings that surround that imagery.

For an immigrant of African descent who enters society in which race is a dominant discourse, a major task is come to an understanding of the societal representations of race and negotiate the meaning of ones identity within that context (Tormala & Deaux, 2006, p. 141).

In this statement, Tormala and Deaux (2006) were discussing black immigrants in the United States. However the same argument applies to black immigrants arriving and residing in Australia. One has to understand the historical as well as the current definitions and debate surrounding national identity. The dominant media discourse alone is a clear example of who is included and excluded in the images of national identity. Take for instance the content analysis that I conducted from May 2015 – May 2016 out of the 198 articles and news publications, 116 of those were negative presentations of Africans in Australia and abroad. I will proceed to briefly expand on these articles by the categories they fell under. The category titles have been highlighted in bold and centred for emphasis.

European Migration Crisis = 58 Articles

The number of articles and media in this section could have been much larger than the 58

articles; however, I had to be strict with the articles that I compiled. I chose not to include the articles that had references to different nationalities/ethnicities such as “North African or Syrian” as it was not definitively clear as to which group the individual/s belonged to. All of the articles compiled in this section fell under the negative categorization; the vast majority were of the mass migration of North Africans to Europe via the Mediterranean Sea. Particular emphasis was on the thousands who had drowned or were saved from capsized boats. Their fate past this largely went unreported (Brennan, 2015; Pollard, 2015a, 2015b; The Canberra Times, 2015). The second popular topic was the European Union’s response to the immigration crisis. Emphasis was placed on what European leaders were doing to stop the migrants coming into Europe, this was further fuelled by the influx of African immigrants seeking economic asylum which was being viewed differently from those seeking physical asylum. Countries such as Italy and Israel were forcefully detaining Africans whom they deemed to be economic migrants but there was little to no coverage as to the legality and the fate of these detained persons (Illawarra Mercury, 2015; Porter, 2015). The British Foreign Secretary was quoted saying “Millions of African migrants heading to Europe are endangering the continent's living standards and social structure.” (Morris, 2015)

African Crime = 20

This category covered crimes or alleged crimes that had been committed by Africans in Australia and abroad. African migrants involved in the European migration crisis were not counted in this category. The most populous coverage of African crime came from the media reporting of an African man kidnapping a toddler in Melbourne (Australian Broadcasting Corporation, 2016; Galloway et al., 2016; Palin, 2016). A couple of days later the mother of the toddler was remanded in custody and later charged for the murder of her daughter after a full confession. However, the reporting of a drunk, shoeless African man continued to be reported despite the fact the murderer had been charged (9News, 2016; Australian Associated Press, 2016c; Cheer & Beers, 2016; Deery & Hosking, 2016; Mills & Booker, 2016; M. Young & Koubaridis, 2016). The second populous coverage of African crime was the trial of Oscar Pistorius, the South African Paralympian. In all the reporting of the negative articles dealing with Africans published in Australian media, Oscar Pistorius is the only Caucasian to feature in negative reporting.

Refugee Trouble/Crime = 16 Articles

Again for the section I decided to split it from the African Crime categorization. For this category, these were criminal misconducts/allegations carried out by ‘identified’ individuals who hold refugee or humanitarian visas in Australia. The stories reported in this category identified Sudanese males as the perpetrators of violence and crime (Brook & Palin, 2016; H. Cook, A. Dow, & T. Jacks, 2016a; The Age, 2016b). In the articles sourced there were letters submitted to the Editor, as well as the comment section alleging a cover up operation by the government and the police about the level of crime that was being committed by humanitarian visa holders (The Age, 2016a; The Bendigo Advertiser, 2016; Vanstone, 2016). In the articles there was no explanation of how the reporters assessed how the people involved in the incidents were Sudanese or gang related. Nor was there provision of the psychoanalysis report that evaluated that the criminality was directly related to the environments that they had been raised in Africa. These comments and assumptions were made as ‘common knowledge’ of this group.

Racism and Discriminatory Discourse = 12

In this category I was targeting stories that carried particular stereotypes and negative attitudes towards Africans. These were predominantly articles and media coverage where by Australian Caucasians were giving their view points on certain matters that could be classified as discriminatory discourse. The articles ranged from defence for using black face (Eddie & Tran, 2016a; Ward & Cherny, 2016). Pauline Hanson’s discriminatory speeches (Kirkpatrick, 2016) and the fear of black students in schools (Jacks, 2016). These are not particularly new discourses in the media; however their setting in the present context helps to understand some of the anxieties surrounding Australian national identity. In saying this, it is not to say the majority of the Australian population have these views; however it was interesting to see the rhetoric between official media bodies and comments written by users in the comment section beneath the articles/media.

African Terrorism = 10

With the spread of Islamic State (IS/ISIS) globally some of the people suspected of belonging to this group are African. In the compilation of articles, there were instances whereby the suspects were described as being Syrian, Iraqi or North African. In these cases the ambiguity

meant I could not consider this to be an African related story. In the production of media that directly linked Africans with terrorism sometimes Africans were ‘doubled named’ for instance "The Algerians and Africans accepted into Parisian society are all potential IEDs..." (Bolt, 2015; Paris, 2015). This implies that there is a difference between Algerians and Africans or that they are two separate groups. Recruitment and fighting of IS militants is also reported as a growing concern (A. Barker, 2016; Porter, 2016; Spyer, 2016)

African Disease = 1

There was only one mention of disease in the twelve month period that I analysed (Miles, 2016). My content analysis came after the declaration that Ebola had been predominantly eradicated in Africa, prior to this the Ebola discourse had been in the media for a period of over 48 months.

Out of the 196 articles collected, I managed to categorise 64 as being positive topics ranged from, speaking about positive achievements to programs run for and by Africans in Australia. This section could be argued does not solely hold positive presentations of Africans. Take for instance, the largest positive categorisation fell under refugee programs and community events which had 39 articles. The rest of the 25 articles were categorised as migration stories that were non refugee descript. One could argue that this shows an over representation of African refugee stories in the media and less of other African immigrants that came via alternative pathways. This could be seen as a way of pushing the idea that African = Refugee due to the over representation.

Refugee Programs and Community Events = 39

In this section, there were a range of topics covered, the dominant one was of African refugees and their stories of how they came to Australia and how grateful there were of the opportunities provided by the migration (P. Brown, 2015; Fairfield Advance, 2015; Maribyrnong Leader, 2015). The second most common coverage in this category was that of refugees activities run to bring these groups together as well as help them adjust to the Australian way of life (Comment News, 2015; Mani, 2015; Seeney, 2015; Stokes, 2015). The third most common representation was that of community arts and crafts groups, music and

theatre run by and largely for African refugees (Campbell, 2015; Capone, 2015). The bulk of the stories from this category came a few weeks before and after Refugee Week (June 14 - June 20 2015).

Migrant Stories (non-refugee descript) = 25

I chose to keep the categories of identified refugee and other migrants whose migration pathways to Australia were undisclosed for the reasons that will be explored later on in the chapter. In brief, I did this to see the types of media coverage the different groups receive and the discourses that circulate in these. This category yielded 25 articles of which the larger majority were sports related (particularly male sport) (Houghton, 2015; Jervis-Bardy, 2015; M. Turner, 2015; Whitehorse Leader, 2016). Coming second to this were reports of migrant successes in different communities this included Africans setting up business ventures (Stafford, 2015; The Morning Bulletin, 2015b), financial contributions to the Australian economy (Claridge & Lohberger, 2015; Masanauskas, 2015; Ostrow, 2015) and arts and music projects (Bodey, 2016; Edmiston, 2016; Frankston Standard Leader / Hastings Leader, 2016).

In the content analysis, there were two categories that I could not place as either being positive or negative. These were Sport and African politics; the articles had positive, negative and neutral standpoints and thus made it challenging to align with a definite outlook. Take for instance Sport, there were a total of eight articles altogether, four of which can be categorised as being negative, FIFA and the South African Football Association corruption (Feneley, 2015). Tensions over the South African and Australian cricket teams over the Adelaide day-night test (Lalor, 2016b), the ignorant comment of Netball Australia chief executive Kate Palmer that Jamaica is a country in Africa (Australian Associated Press, 2016d). Two of the articles could be classified as being positive, a South African golfer winning a Texas University tournament (Tucker, 2015) and a Sudanese refugee fulfilling the family dream of playing for the Sydney Swans (Lalor, 2016a). The last two can be grouped as being neutral as do they do not lean one way or another. Former South African cricketer wants the position of full time bowling coach (Australian Associated Press, 2016a) and lastly South Africa could have the chance to host the next World Twenty20 (Fox News, 2016). In this regard half of the articles could be considered to be negative and the other two quarters being neutral and positive respectively. In this analysis it is hard to miss that there is an overrepresentation of

South Africa in sports reporting.

African Politics = 5

This section also shares the same sentiments as the previous one. There wasn't a clear way of categorising the articles in a positive, negative or neutral category. There were a total of three positive articles. Presidential talks to try to resolve and end the Burkina Faso coup (Australian Associated Press, 2015b), Guinea- Bissau forming a new Government (Australian Associated Press, 2015a) and Alassane Ouattara being re-elected as president of Ivory Coast (Australian Associated Press, 2015c). In the neutral category I identified one article, South African President, Jacob Zuma surviving an impeachment vote (Brock, 2016). The negative category also had one article of a brawl erupting in the South African Parliament (Australian Associated Press, 2016b). An obvious observation that can be made in this section is that all apart from the last article were stories generated through the Australian Associated Press Newswire (AAP Newswire). The AAP Newswire is an independently run news gathering service at compiles short news articles as they happen, media institutions can then use these brief stories to develop a longer piece if there is interest. The lack such publication of the other stories meant there was no interest from media producers.

2.6 Analyzing the Data

The rationale of providing descriptions of content from each of the categories is to highlight how race and ethnicity are represented in Australian media. This content analysis is from a twelve month period from 26 May 2015- 26 May 2016. In viewing the data, the categories that relate negative aspects of *Africanness* seem to dominate media coverage. Out of the 198 articles this is the order of the frequency in reporting (ranging from most represented to least)

1. European Migration Crisis
2. Refugee programs and Community Events
3. Migrant stories (non-refugee)
4. African Crime
5. Refugee Trouble/Crime
6. Racism and Discriminatory discourse
7. African Terrorism

8. Sport
9. African Politics
10. Media Criticism of Representations of Africans
11. African Disease

From this list it is clear to see that media discourse tends to lean to the negative portrayal of Africans. Another reason why *Policing the Crisis* (1978) is a pivotal text to read and theorise from for this chapter is based on the similarities in racial vilification. If we replace the word African with West Indian for most of the categories (perhaps excluding terrorism and disease) similar parallels can be drawn from what was happening in 1970s Britain and Australia today. This is one of the many reasons why Hall's theories are essential for this study, they may be regarded as being old but in many ways they capture a moment in time that can be used to trace the looping of immigration anxieties. In the 1950-70s it was the presence of visibly different bodies (black bodies) in the British Isles that caused a lot of national and immigration anxieties Enoch Powell's *Rivers of Blood Speech* (The Telegraph, 2007) and Lady Thatcher's anti-immigrant views (Marks, 2013; Swaine, 2009). Similar sentiments can be deduced from these Australian media articles as well as political discourse (Australian Associated Press & Kwek, 2011; Farr, 2016; Kuhn, 2009). The dominant institutions preoccupation of national identity could be seen as reinforcing colonial ideologies of what it is to be African (Czajka, 2005; Said, 1978). Again going back to the context of 1960-70s England, we can see Brabazon's (1998) summation of black = bad, Hall et al black = dangerous mugger (Hall et al., 1978). In the Australian media context black (African) = Refugee and criminal. In saying this, I am not arguing that this experience is unique to Africans, other waves of migration to Australia have also fallen victim to exclusionist discourse. The Irish, Greek, Italians, Lebanese, Arabs have all been met with resistance but after a while have managed to *blend in* to a degree into the national fabric. However, the angst surrounding *blackness* has persevered. As mentioned before the discourse surrounding Africanness in Australia has predominantly been negative. Some theorists would view this as the media creating moral panics in society to further demonise or create folk devils of particular groups (S. Cohen, 2011a, 2011b; Erjavec, 2003; Martin, 2015). The term moral panic first came into use when it was coined by (J. Young, 1971), in his work he used this term to describe the panic in society caused by drug takers. The term is now more commonly associated with the work of Stan Cohen (2011a) in which he theorises that moral panics in the 20th and 21st century are catalysed by three prominent bodies (a) media representation, (b)

public perception and interaction and lastly (c) political action. S. Cohen in (Martin 2015, p. 306) describes the most important sites of moral panics being:

Anything connected with immigration, migrants, multicultural absorption, refugee, border controls and asylum seekers.

In this regard, he defines Moral panics as being episodic or periodic, in terms of just as they quickly flare up by also die down quite quickly. In his work Martin (2015, p. 307) begs to differ from this position. He argues that in the Australian context the

Societal reactions to asylum seekers...depart from the conventional meaning of moral panics because... the response is premised and persistent of recurring fears and anxieties.

Martin (2015) argues that in the Australian context groups that are considered as posing disturbances to the 'normal' society's values and way of life never actually die down. Instead they make constant resurgences in the media, public and political arenas. Martin (2015) maintains that issues of immigration never completely go away instead they are "suspended until resurrected at suitably opportune moments." Such opportune moments could be during election campaigns, periods of economic uncertainty or criminal flare ups. These are the times in which the *undesirable others* are "demonised by the mass media and societies moral custodians" (S. Cohen, 2011a, p. 1) These arguments mirror the same anti-immigration sentiments that were present during the writing of *Policing the Crisis* (Hall et al., 1978; Hall et al., 2013). The growing numbers of non-white others was reported as bringing decay and disorder to the British Society. Enoch Powell, the then Conservative Shadow Secretary of State for Defence attributed 'mugging' which was then generally categorised as a black problem as "criminal phenomenon associated with the changing composition of the population of some of Britain's larger cities"(Hall et al., 1978, p. 327). In the Australian context the same sentiments can be seen coming from political leaders. Blackness is created as an undesirable, savage and unAustralian trait. The visibility of this difference has a strong impact on how images and discourse surrounding blackness are produced. The construction of blackness in Australia is illustrated in the diagram below.

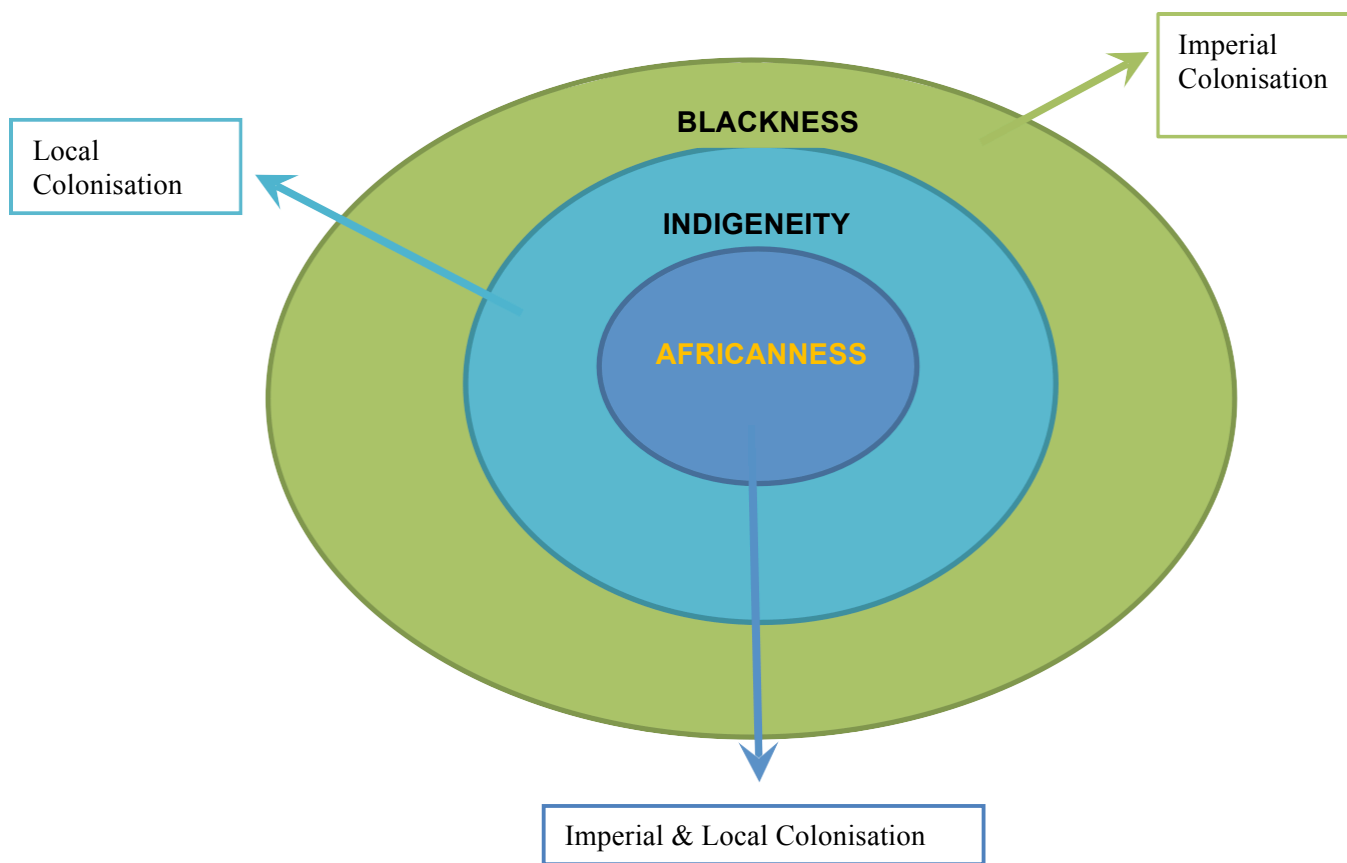


FIG. 11 Model of Africanness, Indigeneity & Blackness

I created this diagram to demonstrate the positioning of blackness in the Australian context. As aforementioned at the start of the chapter, Australia has a long and largely unresolved relationship with race and Indigeneity. I have taken the outer oval blackness to encompass blackness in its entirety. This definition of blackness is that from imperial or European colonial times, Matias (2016) and Morgan Consoli (2016) offer a definition of colonisation as “an action or process of settling among and establishing control over the indigenous people” of a particular geographic area. This type of colonialism (of chiefly non-white countries) had been going on before the invasion/colonisation/discovery of Australia. The middle oval titled Indigeneity captures this moment. Australia was regarded by the British as *Terra nullius*, which is a Roman law term meaning no-man’s land. This was used in law to define land with had not been claimed by any sovereign state (Australian Government, 2016c). In this regard the imperial definition of colonisation arches over the local colonisation. The centre oval is Africanness; the positioning of this category here is strategic because Africa fell to imperial colonisation. Africa was viewed as a provision continent; it provided colonies, slaves, minerals and other exports. All these things linger in its history and in some of its present. As

an African, navigating ones way into Australia one is also met with local colonisation. Whereby the dark skin Indigenous people were/are dominated thus there are two layers of blackness encircling the African being, imperial and local colonisation.

This analysis is the outward manifestation of African discourse in Australian media, at first glance of the headline/title of the media pieces. In order to have a more informed viewpoint it is necessary to delve into the content of the articles and uncover what embedded messages there are.

2.7 Semiotic Violence

As colour is the most obvious outward manifestation of race it has been made a criterion by which men are judged, irrespective of their social or educational attainment. Fanon (2011, p. 424)

The next stage in this study is to evaluate how race is ascribed meaning in Australian media. As previously mentioned it is not enough to simply look at headlines and come to a conclusion instead the whole *artefact* is symbolic to how one deduces meaning. For this section I will be using chiefly Stuart Hall's theorisations of how language is used as a representational system (Hall, 1997a, 1997c; Jhally & Hall, 1997) as well as criteria of how moral panics are created in society. Goode and Ben-Yehuda (1994) emphasise that there are five criteria or stages in the creation of moral panics; I shall briefly outline them below:

- i. **Consensus** - This coming to a decision that a particular person or groups are a particular threat to a dominant group's interests and ideals.
- ii. **Hostility** – This is the dissemination of discourse (often mediated) of this undesirable group. They are clearly identified and easily recognisable.
- iii. **Disproportionality** - There starts to be an over representation of this group in the media, thus rapidly building concern and anxiety around this undesirable group.
- iv. **Concern** – This public concern is often responded to by moral custodians (S. Cohen, 2002, p. 1) in the form of the press, government and key public figures.
- v. **Volatility** - In this last stage Goode and Ben-Yehuda (1994) maintain that panics usually die down on their own or social changes are made in response to them. However, Martin (2015) argues that they remain suspended and never completely go

away. From the data that I obtained from the content analysis I would say that my findings align with Martin (2015) theorisation. I will be demonstrating this further on in the chapter.

In a discursive study it is essential to study the use of language in a text, a text in this instance is taken to mean written and spoken language as well as images. Hall (1990, 1997a, 1997c, 2000) highlighted that the study of language is important in cultural studies as it creates and frames meaning. Fairclough and Wodak (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p. 258) provide a richer explanation in saying, language:

Constitutes situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people

This is not to say that language is the only tool that can be used to analyse discourse, however for this study a closer look at language is aimed to help provide insight into how moral panics are created about certain groups. Though the use of a combination of Hall (1997c) and Goode and Ben-Yehuda (1994) theories I am seeking to present how *symbolic violence* is committed against certain groups. I have coined the term symbolic violence to mean discourse or deeds that villainise or demonise particular groups in society through the way that they are presented in discourse. It is particularly important to consider how language plays a role on fuelling moral panics and stigma of particular persons and groups. I will be drawing from articles that I collected from the media content analysis study initially broadly then discussing particular articles in depth.

Discourse analysis and cultural studies align as their chief focus is establishing how power is maintained and demonstrated through language analysis. The interrogation of texts and images is seen as a way of revealing how dominant institutions want to shape society's understanding of particular groups and themes. When certain images are repeatedly presented time and time again they start to become familiar. For instance using the Google search that I conducted earlier, Kangaroos are associated with Australia, baguettes and berets are associated with France. These items and symbols aid in building a common sense understanding of a particular group. Thus in the reader's interrogation of the texts, *common sense* identifiers and comprehension of certain groups is easily achieved. Common sense is a term that has been heavily contested because it does not specify to whom the sense is

common to. In the majority of the work conducted by the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, the use of the work common sense was taken from the work of Antonio Gramsci in the *Prison Notebooks*. Gramsci took the term common sense as being “the traditional popular conception of the world.” This means what dominant institutions definition of how different phenomena should be understood. In media studies this term is often replaced or used interchangeably with the word stereotype. Saptefrati (2008) offers stereotypes as common, fixed and oversimplified images or conceptions of a particular type of person, group or thing, hence why stereotypes are sometimes regarded common sense knowledge of particular subjects. With this common sense knowledge came a new set of problems. In the creation of *usual* meanings and representations of images/people/cultures the association between the stereotype and lived reality could be seen as creating a distorted rendering of reality (Jhally & Hall, 1997). This distortion – that masks as real - makes stereotypes hard to break and disprove.

Using the 11 categories of the articles that I devised from the 12 month content analysis (again ranging from most frequent to least):

1. European Migration Crisis
2. Refugee programs and Community Events
3. Migrant stories (non-refugee)
4. African Crime
5. Refugee Trouble/Crime
6. Racism and Discriminatory discourse
7. African Terrorism
8. Sport
9. African Politics
10. Media Criticism of Representations of Africans
11. African Disease

I needed a systematic way of dealing with the data so as to best highlight the discourse surrounding Africans in these articles. I could have analysed each category separately but due to the space confines of this thesis, it would have proved to be vast. Instead a smaller further categorisation had to be devised in order to group particular news categories together and provide a more succinct way of presenting the data. I decided to deploy male and female

categorisations, the 11 initial categories were so varied this provided a way of grouping most of the articles into appropriate subcategories. However a pattern emerged that exposed the representation of both sexes in Australian media that was overly biased. The table below shows the 11 categories in their male/female subcategories:

Male	Female
European Migration Crisis (All male coverage with the exception of four pregnant women mentioned in one article)	Refugee programs and Community Events (Some female inclusion 10/39)
African Crime (All male with the exception of one South African Woman)	Migrant stories (non-refugee) (Some female inclusion 5/25)
Refugee Trouble (All Male)	
African Terrorism (All male)	
African Politics (All male)	
Sport (All male)	

FIG.12 Representation of Different Sexes in The Media

There is an over representation of males in the twelve month content analysis of media articles involving Africans during the period of 26 May 2015 and 26 May 2016. Another obvious observation is that in the male sub-categorisation almost all apart from the Sport category are articles that were considered to be negative. African politics has been included in the negative categorisation because of the five articles that were obtained one was about ending a coup in Burkina Faso, two were about Jacob Zuma the South African President facing challenges to his term, one was about The Ivory Coast electing a new President after a period of civil unrest and lastly Guinea-Bissau forming a new government after a two-month political stalemate. In reading the contents of this category there can be argued to be a one directional gaze of the African male.

2.8 Reading the African Male Gaze

From the articles collected in the content analysis, ethnicity and race can be seen as performing a discursive double function. In this discussion ethnicity signifies the geographical origins of the person. The second function provided by race would be seen as a form of qualification criteria in particular societies. Hall et al. (1978, p. 347) offers the perspective that race is “the principal modality in which black members of that class ‘live,’ experience, make sense of and thus come to a *consciousness* of their structured subordination.” This sentiment echoes that of Du Bois (2014) that black people experience the world *behind a veil*. The veil was a symbol for oppression and injustice; however they could also see the world outside of the veil whereby the black could also see how non-blacks viewed them. I will use the following example from the twelve month content analysis to illustrate this point:

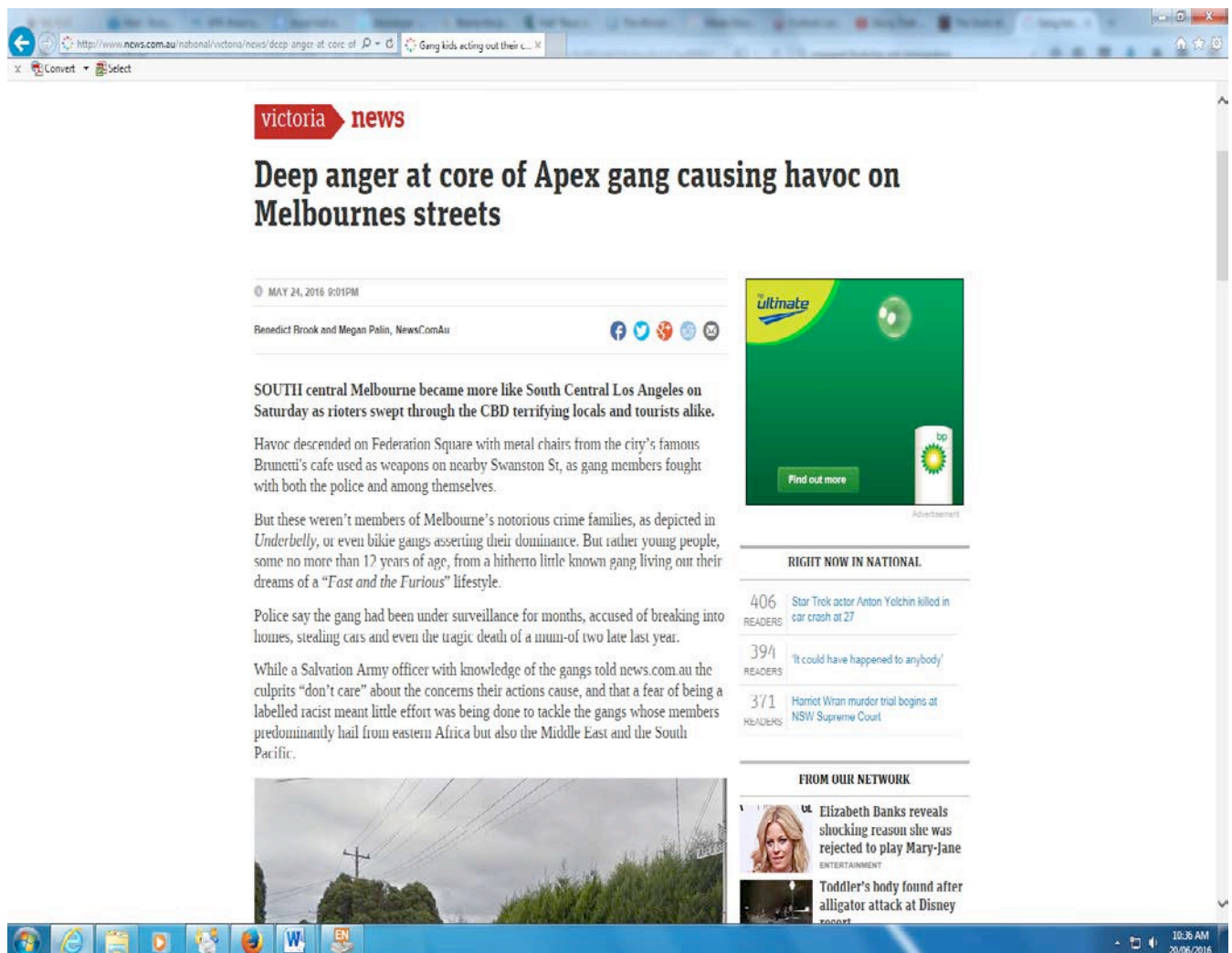


FIG. 13 Deep Anger at Core of Apex Gang

In this article, race can be seen as being positioned as a negative. This is achieved through the use of language and positioning of the groups. The lead to the story reads “South Central Melbourne became more like South Central Los Angeles on Saturday as rioters swept through the CBD terrifying locals and tourists alike.” The comparison to of South Central Melbourne to South Central Los Angeles carries great of signification. South Central Los Angeles has had a long history of gang violence, civil unrest and strained police relations (Sides, 2006). Comparing an isolated incidents in Melbourne with a generation long struggle in Los Angeles creates a lot of necessary fear and sensationalism in the reporting of the article. The use of language in this article could be seen as a way of evoking fear and stigma of a particular group. Another way by which fear and alarm is invoked is through the following sentence “young people, some no more than 12 years of age, from a hitherto little known gang living out their dreams of a “*Fast and the Furious*” lifestyle.” The statement of the age of the some of the violence provocateurs and the statement of living a *Fast and the Furious*, add another layer of meaning. *Fast and the Furious*, is a Northern American made film franchise that depicts young delinquents involved in carjacking, violence and other criminal activity. The merging of predominant black gang violence in South Central Los Angeles and Californian criminal activity this creates a double effect on the alarm of the violence and possible future effects from gangs. The gang’s predominant make up is described as being Eastern African; this is a very broad categorisation that involves the grouping of 20 countries and territories into one. There is no explanation in the article to understand how the reporter came to the conclusion that the perpetrators were Eastern African. Potter (1996) argues that it is through this type of grouping that descriptions of events or actions are presented in a way to maximize their impact by attaching particular qualities to their descriptions to make it seem shockingly bad or damnable. This is seen by the grouping of these ‘East African Youth’ with a penchant of the gangster and mob lifestyle. Using Du Bois (2014) concept of *the veil*; it is from outside the veil that this construction of the black male is created as a dangerous, terrorizing figure. Within *the veil*, an East African male reading this article could dispute this representation of the whole geographic region as being violent and thuggish. In this light, oppression is achieved without the consent or opinion of the *black soul*. In this representation, the *black soul* comes to the realization of their oppression and othering in society through the use of discourse.

Another example is obtained from comments further down the article that came from

Commanding Officer of the Salvation Army in Victoria, Brendan Nottle. It is not clear what Mr Nottle's role in giving an opinion of African matters is besides giving the '*white moral voice of reason*'. Mr Nottle was voted Melbournian of the year in 2013 for his work to the under privileged community (Green, 2013). His religious affiliation is the qualification of him being the *white moral voice of reason*, as well as being the voice of *Godly reason*. The following are excerpts of his comments in the article, which I will use to investigate the uses of language to create further fear and othering of African groups:

1. "I think it's driven by this deep seated anger. They don't care what impact they have, they're saying 'we don't care what you think.'"
"It's no surprise to me this happened," he said. "The only surprise was it happened at 10pm when people were still around."
2. Mr Nottle said African youth, mainly immigrants, had suffered through a deeply tortuous journey to Australia, often spending years in camps in "appalling" conditions.
3. "I went public about this and I got labelled as being racist but my comments were the complete opposite. Having met African youth I know they have a deep sense of anger. We need to have some very serious conversations, and not point the finger, about why people are so angry."

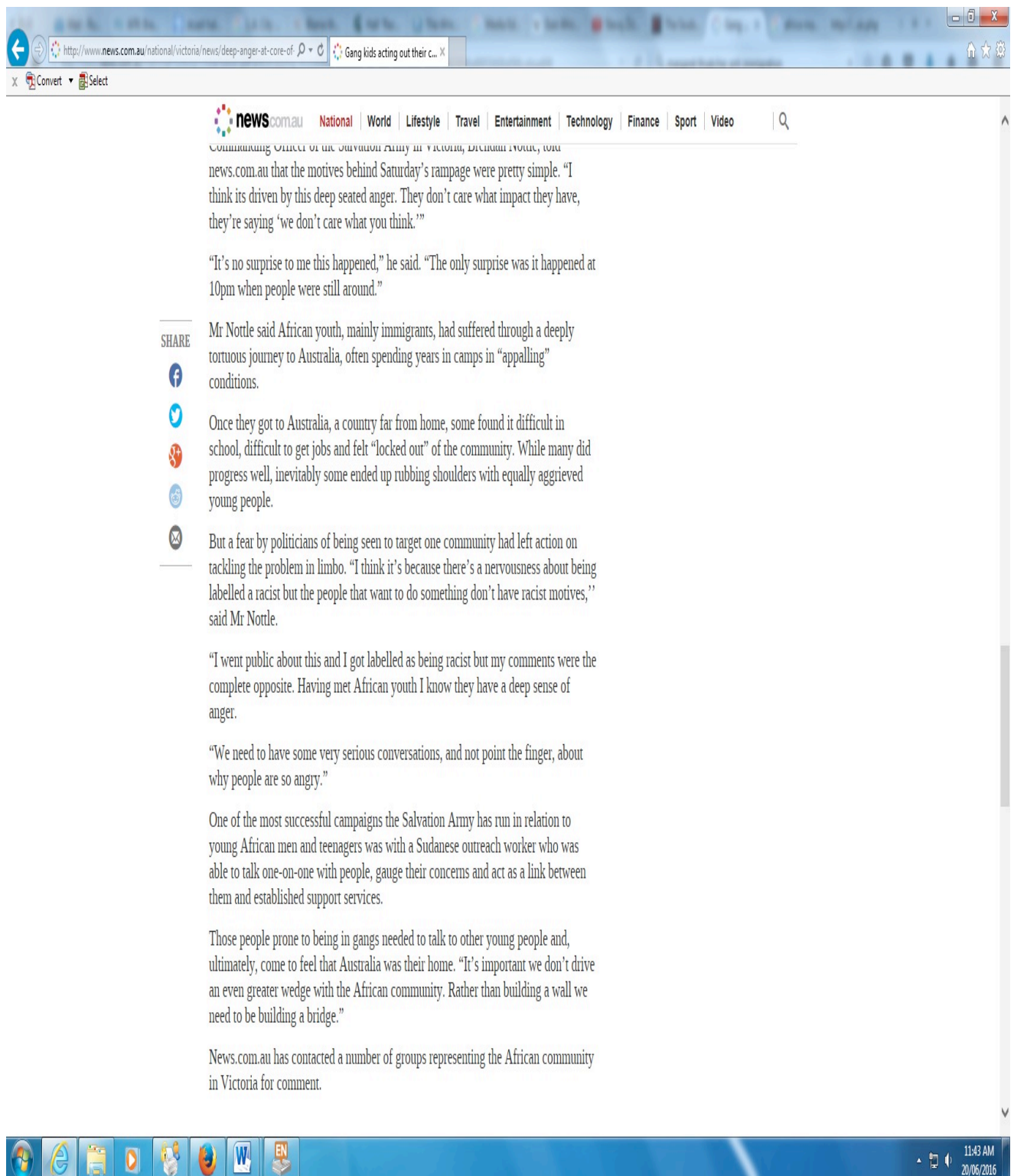


FIG. 14 Deep Anger at Core of Apex Gang 2

Stating with the first excerpt:

1. "I think it's *driven by this deep seated anger*. They don't care what impact they have, they're saying '*we don't care what you think.*'"

“It’s no surprise to me this happened,” he said. “The only surprise was it happened at 10pm when people were still around.”

The italicised sections of text show that Mr Nottle’s opinion is that this event was caused by inevitable and typical behaviours associated with this group of Africans. There is no explanation as to why he thinks that that these behaviours are associated with being African but he states that it is *no surprise to him*. This gives an insight into the frameworks that inform his thinking, that certain behaviours and conducts are readily associated with particular groups in society. This is what I termed earlier in the chapter as being *common sense* identifiers and comprehension of certain groups. In this example, discourse serves as a signifying practice. In the statement that “It’s no surprise to me this happened” a certain common sense identification has taken place. Lawrence (1982, 2004, 2007) maintains that common sense ideologies can quickly become racist ideologies. I will use the second excerpt from Mr. Nottle to expand on this point.

2. Mr Nottle said *African youth, mainly immigrants, had suffered through a deeply tortuous journey to Australia, often spending years in camps in “appalling” conditions.*

Mr Nottle categorizes Africans that were involved in the crime wave in Melbourne as being immigrants who have “suffered through a deeply tortuous journey to Australia, often spending years in camps in “appalling” conditions.” Most immigrant groups living in Australia would argue that their passage to Australia mostly on airliner was hardly tortuous. In this instance Mr Nottle can be seen as confusing the term immigrant, McGuire et al. (2016) offer immigrant as more recently a term *commonly* used as a blanket term for those who “occupy marginalised social categories” but traditionally this was a term used for a person who came to live permanently in a foreign country. With the term refugee understood as an individual or group that has been forced to leave their country in a bid to escape war, persecution, or some other type disaster (Baker et al., 2008; Colic-Peisker, 2006). The meanings evoked by these two terms are quite different and the confusion of these two terms was found to cause great offence to some African people (See Chapter Four: Oral Testimonies of Africans living in Australia.) This homogenous way of thinking that refugee = African or that black immigrant = refugee could be seen as supporting the results that were generated by the Google search on African stereotypes earlier on in the chapter. This threat to

the Australian way of life is best captured in Lawrence (1982, p. 47; 2004) work, where he is arguing for the stigmatisation of West Indian people in Great Britain in the 1970s and 80s. “The ‘alien’ cultures of blacks are seen as either the cause or else the most visible symptom of the destruction of the British (Australian by colonial relation) way of life.” Mr Nottle’s theorisation that every African immigrant in Australia has had a traumatic history, hence why the group is extremely prone to violence could be seen as reinforcing a stereotype of how Africans are perceived in Australian media and furthering ideological racism. In the next excerpt Mr Nottle acknowledges that his views might be seen as being racist:

3. “*I went public about this and I got labelled as being racist but my comments were the complete opposite. Having met African youth I know they have a deep sense of anger. We need to have some very serious conversations, and not point the finger, about why people are so angry.*”

He argues that he is not a racist but then proceeds to group all Africans as one and all suffering from the same afflicted past. His only support for this comment is that he has *met* African youth. However, how many of the 250 000 African people living in Australia (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2008) has he met and would vouch for his claims? In this, Jhally and Hall (1997) point to the use of language as a representational system. In this case, the excerpts presented from Brook and Palin (2016) show how language externalizes the meanings that people make of the world and events around them (Jhally & Hall, 1997). From *outside the veil*, this is presented as *the truth* that non-Africans have of Africans. This viewpoint is presented without contestation because in the article no Africans were approached to provide insight or a rebuttal to this discourse. Instead the authors of the article offered the following statement “News.com.au has contacted a number of groups representing the African community in Victoria for comment.” Again, out of the estimated 250 000 Africans residing in Australia none were available for comment. This is another example of how in this signifying practice there is a *circulation of meaning*. Hall et al. define the circulation of meaning as who holds power in discourse. It is clearly seen that the three Caucasians involved in the writing of the article have the power. Hall (1997c; 1997) argues that the absence of particular groups is just as important as what is presented in the production of meanings of inclusion and exclusion.

Hall maintains that the study of language in discourse aids in the creation of conceptual maps.

He defines conceptual maps as being “the ways in which we classify and organize the world” (Hall, 1997c). The article by Brook and Palin (2016) is not the only one that does not take into consideration of first hand African views on African matters. In the male sub-category of articles collected from the content analysis. There are only three instances of Africans being asked to provide a comment on African matters, Halle (2015), H. Cook, A. Dow, and T. Jacks (2016b) and Rigney (2015). Three out of the 116 articles shows a great lack of African voices in articles dealing with issues and affairs. Looking at the articles collected in the content analysis as a whole 22 out of 198 had African providing a comment media reports surrounding them, this is just slightly over 11% representation in Australian media. In this, it is observable that there is a silencing of Africans in Australian media. The exclusion of African voices from discourse presents them as objects of discourse or passive participants. In the introductory chapter to this thesis I argued that African immigrants occupy the object position within media representations. They are the observed and are positioned in social and political discourse bound in a particular social construction. This exclusion of African voices from discourse makes it easier to develop and devise particular tropes that will go uncontested. Thus, the media institutions have a large degree of control on this group and certain notions and perceptions. Over time these become common sense ideologies or stereotypes.

By over-representing certain tropes of particular groups, it becomes easier to control the public’s opinion and knowledge of these groups. This is not to say that everyone will have the same way of thinking but there is likely to be a larger group of people who do not question or counter the discourse. Hall (1997b) maintains that there is power in signification; it is through the power of certain ideologies that singular and uncontested meanings are fixed and provide a constructed reality. This makes it easier to establish moral panics and helping them stick. I will illustrate this through some articles collected from the content analysis. Melbourne, the capital of Victoria hosted the annual Moomba Carnival from the 11th till the 14th of March 2016. On March 12th a riot erupted in the Melbourne Central banking District (CBD) between two groups, one that was identified as being the Apex gang that is primarily comprised of Sudanese youth and a Pacific Islander gang identified as the Islander 23. However when media coverage on the story initially broke the ‘riot’ was reported as being exclusive rioting by an African gang (Calligeros & Gough, 2016; Willingham, 2016). Using Goode and Ben-Yehuda (1994) five stages in the creation of moral panics to illustrate how the incident was reported and was made into a moral panic. In my example I am not

condoning violence or gang activity but merely showing how language is used to alienate and target particular groups as being a ‘danger to society’.

Consensus: Threats to values and interests

To highlight how consensus works in the reporting of the Moomba riots I will be looking at the language that was used in the reporting of the incident. I shall be using two articles that were written for *The Age* newspaper and were produced on the same day (14/03/2016) two days after the gang activity in Melbourne CBD. In the article by Willingham (2016) the Apex gang was described as being *rioters*, *evil* and as *radicalised youth*. The incident was reported as being solely an African gang incident and there was no mention of the Islander 23 gang. The article by Calligeros and Gough (2016) provides more vivid use of language in reference to the Apex gang. The gang is described as being a *violent street gang*, hurling *missiles*, *taunting police* and leaving *innocent bystanders cowering* in restaurants and *others running in fear for their lives*. The description of this scene is reminiscent of scenes reported in Hall et al.(1978; 2013) and Brabazon (1998) of the new immigrant West Indian youth. This is particularly captured the description of the Apex gang taunting police. Police are generally regarded as protectors of civilians and law enforcers but in this instance, the polarisation of the police and the black youth show the ‘riot’ as slipping away from the control of the law. These descriptors sound as though they are coming from a report describing a war zone. This is further revealed in the excerpts taken from eyewitnesses.

I had to lock terrified customers inside, the rioters' had behaved "like animals" and left some fearing the city had come under a terror attack, there were children and old women at tables.” Ms Papale said she feared for her life as the rioters - from the so-called Apex gang and predominantly of South Sudanese descent. "I was worried I would not see my family again.

Looking at the underlined and italicised words, it is clear there seems to be a depersonalisation of the African youth. They are described as being *like animals* when it is clear that they are not. This adds a layer of savagery, of some kind of primitiveness that is associated with colonial Africa (Czajka, 2005; Said, 1978; Tan, 2016). The type of reporting gives the perception that there is a clear inclusive/exclusive divide through the presentation of comments from white Australia who are presented as the civilised victims coming under

attack by brute African savages. The article does not mention that there were other ethnic minorities including black Africans that were also caught up in the melee or the fact that pacific Islanders were also proponents of this ‘riot’. In this, the language of media discourse is seen as the chief carrier of negative language or discourse that provides a threat to the Australian way of life.

Hostility: The depiction of the threat

In the coverage of the Moomba Riots, the depiction of the threat was clearly and specifically identified. This was achieved through the use of language as a descriptor of the perpetrators as highlighted in the following, predominantly of South Sudanese descent (Calligeros & Gough, 2016), African gangs (Willingham, 2016), mainly South Sudanese (Johnston, 2016), left war-torn South Sudan for Australia (Dobbin, 2016). This leaves no question of who the aggressor is. In this age of digital media, language is not the only tool that media producers have to rely on. The use of images and video was evident on many news sites, these images and videos clearly showed the ‘riot’ making visible the undesired persons.

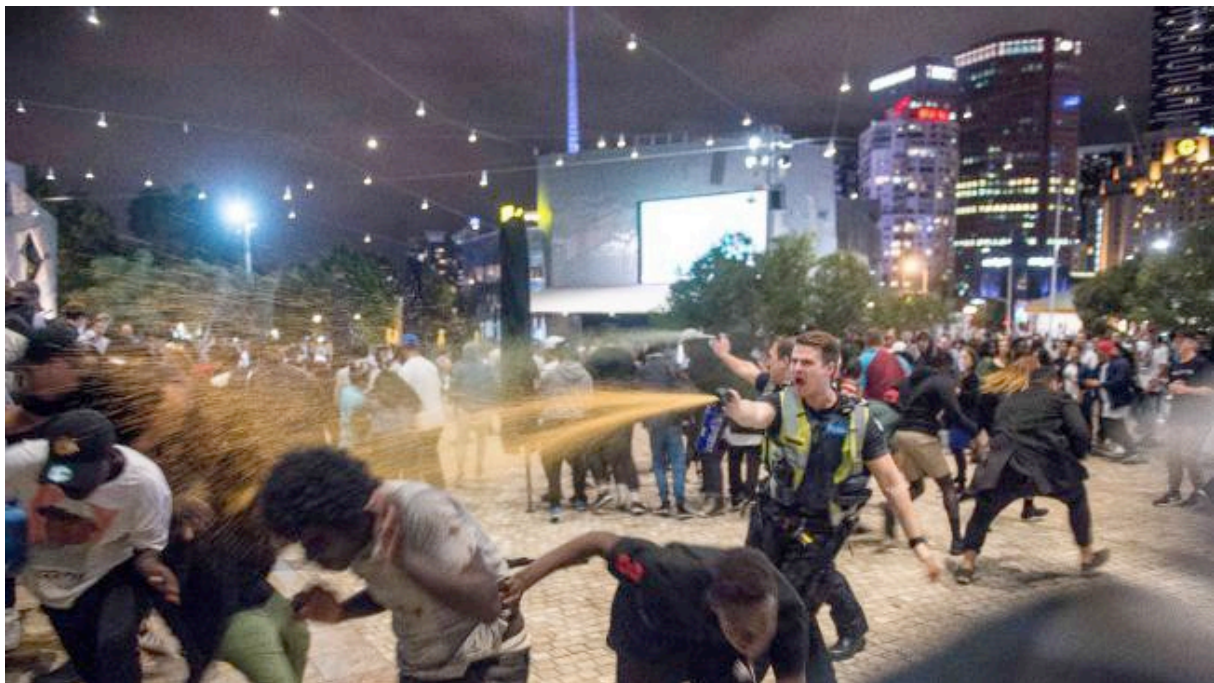


FIG. 15A



FIG. 16B



FIG. 16C

In this sense, panic and disorder are visualised and attached to the African group of males. In

light of this representation, Lawrence (2007, p. 605) argues that “it is not that race, per se, is the ‘problem’ but rather that “race comes to signify the crisis.” Just as ‘mugging’ was a crime associated with black youth in 1970s Britain (Hall et al., 1978; Hall et al., 2013), in this instance we see the ‘riot’ being associated with Sudanese youth with no mention of other races that were also involved in the incident. This is a form of ‘fixing meaning’ the reader’s mind, this fixing of meaning does not occur independently (Osgerby, 2002). Smith (2001, p. 188) maintains “meaning is relational and depends on the interplay of the text and the reader.” In the examples from the articles provided, the text presents, portrays and describes the African youth as *evil, animalistic, terrorising innocent old women and children* who were fearful to the point that this could have been a *terrorist attack* and could possibly *never see their families again*. The text is presenting a dire situation to the reader the majority of who are white Australian (based on the demographic makeup of Australia), thus this completes the identification of the hostile proponent, who is visibly different and unAustralian. An important note to make is in this depiction the Pacific Islander gang go unquestioned, reasons for this could be that although they are visibly different they do belong in Australia. Even though they could be a threat they are part of Australia and cannot be reported as a threat.

Disproportionality: Rapid build-up of public concern

Public concern could be seen as a measure to see if the receivers have decoded the encoded messages sent out by ideological institutions such as the media in the intended form. Public concern can be measured through differed methods such as straw polls, letters to the editor, online blogs, comment sections under online media reports, etc. In my reviewing of public concern I will be drawing upon letters sent to the editors and opinion sections of different newspapers in the days following the ‘riot’. These articles will be sourced from the content analysis data. The first article for review was published a day after the ‘riots’ the headline read “Our safety betrayed by ugly cover-up over refugee program” (Bolt, 2016). In this passionate and inflammatory commentary of the ‘riots’, race is clearly defined as the cause of the crisis (Lawrence, 2007), direct blame is placed on ethnic background

This evasion — or deception — is standard. Google “Apex gang” and see for yourself how *rarely* reporters identify its key characteristic — that most members are *African*

Bolt argues that the Apex gang is hardly identified as being African and challenges the reader

to search for this fact. I took the challenge and on the first two pages a Google search result all articles mentioned that the Apex gang were Sudanese or African and the first three rows of Google Image Search feature black males. African in this article is seen as a visible representation of undesirable, unAustralian behaviour and is seen as the invasion of the *white space*.

Yesterday's *Sunday Age*, for instance, refused to mention — again — that one of the gangs was African.

This repetition of the fact that one of the gangs was African is repeated for it to resonate in the readers mind. Bolt, does no mention the ethnicity of the other gang members who were Pacific Islander. Once again in media reporting Africa is being presented and viewed from a colonial lens (Czajka, 2005; Hochschild, 1999; Matias, 2016). Africanness is viewed as being the signifier of everything undesirable and offensive to Australian culture.

This level of *mass violence* — like the terrorism threats and the shootings in Melbourne's north and Sydney's west — is relatively new to Australia and demands an explanation.

How will people know *we are importing danger* when we take in *people from war zones who have a martial culture, few employable skills, and very different cultural or religious values?*

This type of discourse can be categorised as racist ideology, Lawrence (1982) argues that in times of uncertainty racist ideologies become an organic component of the crisis. He argues that “the ‘alien’ cultures of blacks are seen as either the cause or else the most visible symptom of the destruction of the British (Australian) way of life” (Lawrence, 1982, p. 47). In Bolt's article, he categorises all Africans as being from war zones, militant, unemployable and no having Anglo values. In this categorisation Bolt, does not acknowledge that there are significant differences between the 54 countries that comprise the African continent, instead race is the qualifier that fixes meaning on this ethnic group. This type of one-sidedness in reporting mirrors what Hall et al. (1978; 2013) were writing about in *Policing the Crisis* of race being used as a signifier of the crisis:

Race has come to provide the objective correlative crisis – the arena in which complex fears, tensions and anxieties, generated by the impact of the totality of the crisis as a whole on the whole society. (Hall et al., 1978, p. 333)

Again through the use of language, violence and antisocial behaviour are presented as a naturalised characteristic of African behaviour. This is the second article in a matter of weeks to use the phrase “it is no surprise” to attach a particular signification to Africans.

It's no surprise, then, that Melbourne had two more mass brawls of Sudanese immigrants — one involving 100 people — last December, and a rash of home invasions and car thefts by the Apex gang. (Bolt, 2016)

“It's no surprise to me this happened,” he said. “The only surprise was it happened at 10pm when people were still around.” (Brook & Palin, 2016)

Public concern was also observed through ‘Letters to the Editor’ section similar *anti-African* sentiments can be observed. What is curious to note is that there seems to be a *confusion* in the use of the words African and Sudanese as well as immigrant and refugee. It is a fair argument to say all Sudanese are Africans; however, it is not correct to say all Africans are Sudanese. In the excerpts used in this chapter the words African and Sudanese are used interchangeably and to the same effect.

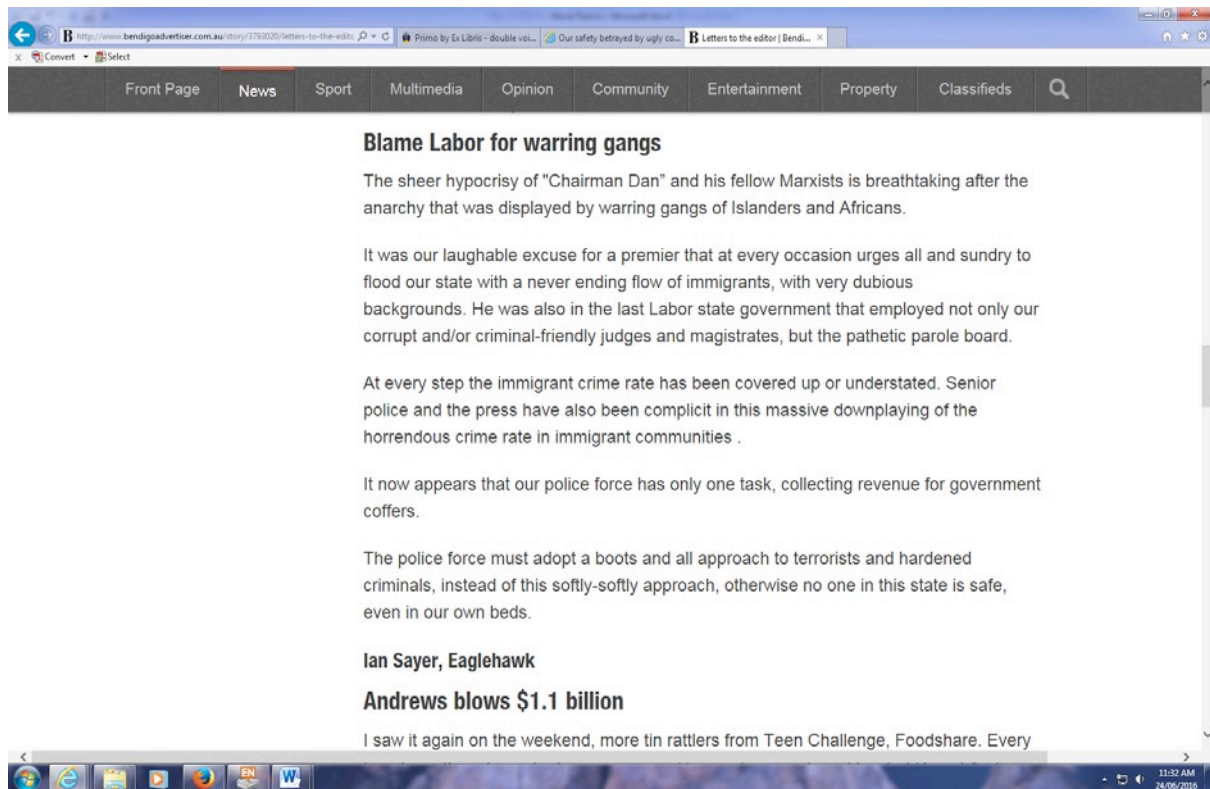


FIG. 16 Blame Labor for Warring Gangs

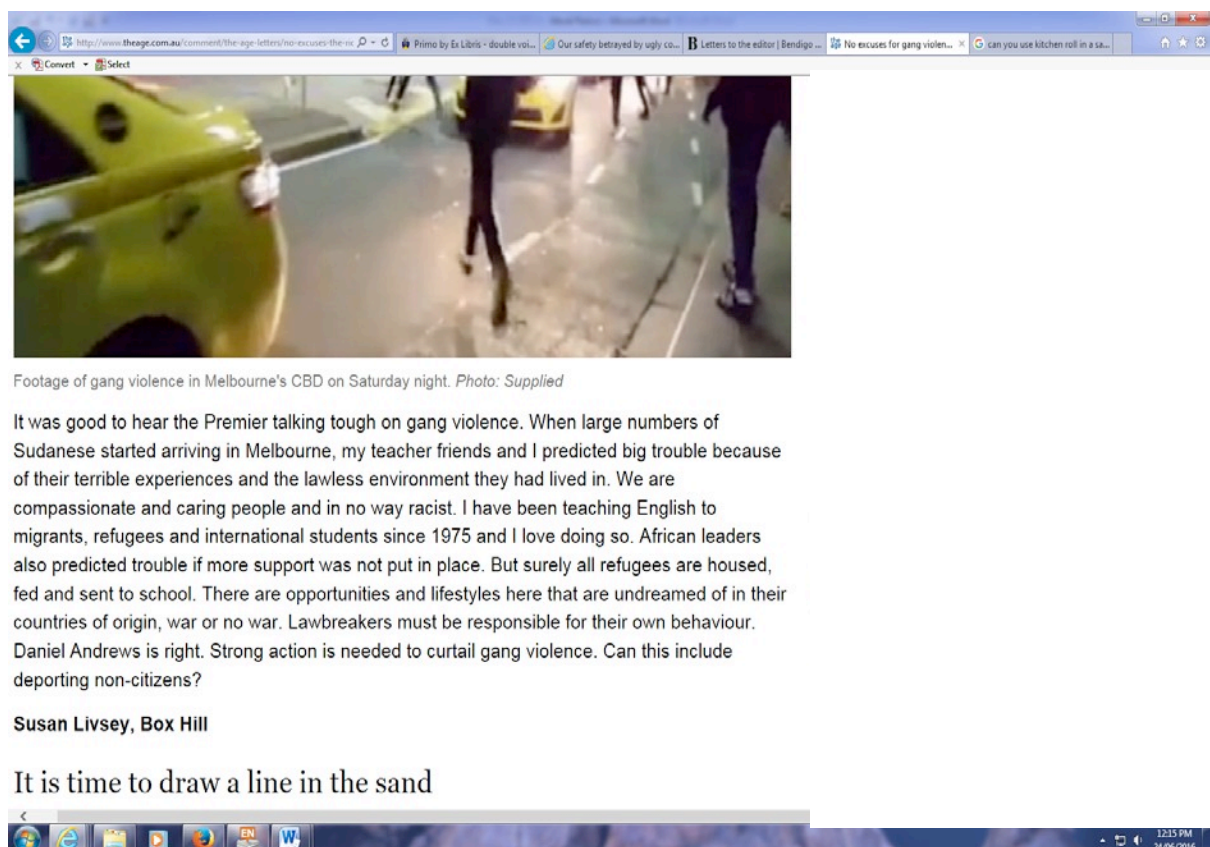


FIG. 17 Blame Labor for Warring Gangs 2

There seems to be an ignorance in highlighting that Africa is not a single country nor does it have a singular language and culture (Brabazon & Chivaura, 2016; Brabazon, Chivaura, et al., 2016). It would be laughable if one were to say that Asia is a single country and made up of a singular culture and language, however this *colonial* view that African is the Dark Continent without cultured civilisation persists. Previously discussed in this chapter were the differences between the words immigrant and refugee. These are completely differed migration routes into Australia with different visa and government requirements. With the two terms being used interchangeably in the texts it implies that all Africans who have come to Australia lived in militant countries, have little education and are prone to violence. This type of generalization in representation further reduces the available space discursively subjugated Africans occupy.

Concern: Official responses to the panic

In the digital age, the four stages of moral panics (Goode & Ben-Yehuda, 1994) - consensus, hostility, disproportionality and concern - are often raised and observed in the same article. Ideological institutions are regarded as 'the official voice of reason.' Institutions such as the police, religious leaders and politicians can be seen as proving the public with a solution or a course of action to aim to resolve the issues. The official response to the panic often captures and at times mirrors particular discourse that surround certain groups, for instance the official commentary on the Moomba 'riots'. The negative way in which Africans were discussed and represented in the media seems to inform official body's perceptions of these groups. In the commentary given in official remarks the positioning of the perpetrators is given in terms of inclusive and exclusive subject positioning. For example the comments provided by Peter Dutton Australia's immigration minister

If non-citizens are involved in violent criminal activity such as that seen in Melbourne last weekend, the Australian Border Force will work with Victoria Police to cancel their visas,(Hosking & Hamblin, 2016)

In this framing of discourse, the targets of deportation are Sudanese youth, Pacific Islander gang members that were also involved in the 'riots' are left out of this discourse. This is predominantly because they can't be deported nor can the government exclude them from Australian society. This provides reason as to why they are excluded from negative media

reporting of the ‘riots’ because even though they are visibly different and are a racialized other, unlike Africans, they have nowhere to be deported to. This type of action could be seen as a form of ethnic cleansing akin to the white Australia policy or Apartheid. Legal Anthony Kelly quoted in Mills (2016) argues that the fact that these young people (African youth) have grown up in Australia and are exposed to similar activities as any other Australian they should be treated the same. Instead in this case race and ethnicity are presented as being a contributory factor in violent and criminal behaviour. This type of comparison helps to reinforce stereotypes that are attached to particular groups. In the stage of concern, complicated social and cultural problems are simplified as being rooted in a particular group’s characteristics or behaviour. This however is presented in vacuum conditions whereby other factors such as socio-economic and political influences are ignored. This reinforces Martin (2015) claim that was stated earlier on the chapter arguing “Anything connected with immigration, migrants, multicultural absorption, refugee, border controls and asylum seekers, will be the most important site of moral panics.”

Volatility: Panic ceases or social changes are made?

Goode and Ben-Yehuda (1994, 2010) argue that moral panics do recede just as quickly as they arise. Viewing the Australian context of how Africans are represented in the media I would have to agree with Martin (2015) who argues that moral panics instead, lay dormant till an opportune time in which they are resurrected to achieve particular gains. A notable time is during election time where there are a lot of anxieties playing on people’s minds, throwing in hyper inflated information about particular groups can help sway votes. This happened during the rule of former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher whereby West Indians and Indians were villainised in the media and official discourse (Hall et al., 1978; 2013; Rule, 1991). The same can be observed in Australian politics through the campaigns of Former Australian Prime Ministers John Howard (Jakubowicz & Seneviratne, 1996; Kuhn, 2009), Tony Abbott (The Age & Abbott, 2015; Whyte, 2014). However, it is the media that still generates the most discriminatory messages about Africans living in Australia. I have given the example of the Moomba ‘riots,’ but in the period of two months following the riots (March 12th – May 26th when the content analysis cut-off date was) there were 16 additional articles of *disturbances* being carried out by African males in Australia. All 16 articles apart from one were about crimes thought to be committed by African men or comments and

articles discussing the *dangers* of having this ethnic group in Australia. 16 articles out of 198 (8.1%), in a two month period can be seen to be a great over representation of a one dimensional portrayal of African men living in Australia. In some of these media portrayals, even after it was established that African males were not involved in a crime the media produced still made it a point to state that the initial suspect was a black male.

Sofina Nikat, 22, told police a shoeless man smelling of alcohol pushed her to the ground, grabbed her 15-month-old daughter Sanaya and ran off with her at Olympic Park in Heidelberg West, about 10am on Saturday.

Ms Nikat said she never saw the face of the man, who she described as being of African appearance, between 20 and 30 years old and about 1.8m tall.

“The man unbuckled the pram, grabbed the baby and ran off towards the creek and the shopping centre.”(Palin, 2016)

A toddler who was found dead in a creek in Melbourne's north-east was snatched from a pram while walking with her mother in a park on Saturday, homicide detectives say. The man has been described as between 20 and 30 years of age, about six feet tall with short dark hair and not wearing shoes.

Police said he was wearing black pants and a black zipper top.

They said he had dark skin and smelt heavily of alcohol.(Australian Broadcasting Corporation, 2016)

Earlier police say the only suspect in the toddler's death is described to be a man of African appearance, between the ages of 20 and 30, six-feet-tall, wearing black pants, a black hooded zipper top, no shoes and smelling heavily of liquor. (Galloway, Hurley, & O'Rourke, 2016)

A Melbourne woman who police say confessed to killing her 14-month-old daughter hasn't appeared in court because of her mental state. At the time Nikat told police a barefoot man of African appearance and smelling of alcohol had pushed her to the ground and snatched the toddler. She said she gave chase but couldn't catch him. (Special Broadcasting Service, 2016)

The mother of 14-month-old Sanaya Sahib has been charged with her murder The after making a "full confession" to police. Ms Nikat had earlier told police her daughter was snatched from her pram by a stranger while they were walking in Olympic Park about 10am on Saturday. She had described the stranger as a man of African appearance who was wearing no shoes and smelt of alcohol. (Mills & Booker, 2016)

Her mother told police that on Saturday morning, as she walked in Olympic Park, an African man had snatched her baby and run off. But police told an out of sessions court hearing last night that Ms Nikat had now made a full confession to murder. (Deery & Hosking, 2016)

These extracts demonstrate that even when Ms Nikat was found guilty of murdering her daughter the media still included that the initial suspect had been an African male. This is highly significant because if a message is continually reported it is likely to resonate in people's minds. There is no observable benefit of continually reporting that initial the suspect was of African appearance when the murderer had been apprehended. This serves to keep the image of the African deviant in the minds of the reader. What is interesting to note is Ms Nikat's choice of kidnapper:

A man of African appearance, between the ages of 20 and 30, six-feet-tall, wearing black pants, a black hooded zipper top, no shoes and smelling heavily of liquor. (Galloway et al., 2016)

What purpose does this image serve? The use of this description serves as a *symbolically loaded* signifier of African males. The savage, uncivilised and delinquent male, this is a similar type of descriptors as that was used to refer to the African males involved in the Moomba Riots. This could be seen as a continuation of a stereotype that black African males carry in Australia. In this regard, the fact that the police were only considering this account by Ms Nikat as the only lead to follow shows that the stereotype of the black African male has become so *naturalised* that it goes without questioning even by officials. This stereotyping then carries a *to be expected from this ethnic group* signification. Austin (2001) maintains that the media's high levels of attention to black male deviancy is a way of hinting at their *natural criminality*. "this constant projection of their deviance causes many to accept their place in society as a that of a social pariah" (Austin, 2001, p. 215). The 'kidnapping' and murder of Sanaya Sahib came a month after the Moomba riots when sentiments of African males were not particularly popular. Thus an African male murderer would not be a farfetched concept. In this section I have sought to illustrate how language of media discourse aids in the creation of subject positions and othering, specially inclusive and exclusive discourse. My second argument was how particular behaviours and characteristics become naturalised and thus are taken as factual descriptors of certain groups (Osgerby, 2004). The aim of this was to highlight that if there were existing tropes about particular groups that made it easier to create moral panics and sustain them. Hall (1997b) argued that race was created through discourse and therefore did not exist outside of it; moreover he argued "race cannot perform the function of fixing the truth". In this section of the chapter I have disproved this argument race does exist within and outside of discourse. In the Australian media context race, particularly of African males is presented as the signifier of a person's character. I have sought to show that race in Australian mediated discourse provides a fixed identity for the majority African males and nothing is presented past that. But wait what about the females?

2.9 Where the Girls At?

The majority of this chapter has focused on the (re)presentations and perceived threats of the black male body. In this section, I seek to highlight the space black females occupy in Australian discourse. In the data collected in the content analysis a total of 15 out of 198 articles dealt with African women in Australia, that is a 7.6% representation in a 12 month

period. This number is even less than the articles published of the fictional, kidnapping, alcoholic African male who abducted a toddler in Melbourne. Some research has been conducted in Feminist and Women Studies in regards to representations and discourse of African women. Examples of these studies include, experiences of female refugees from Africa settling in the Western World (Haffejee & East, 2015; G. Hopkins, 2010; Warriner, 2007). Economic deprivation (Abdelkerim & Grace, 2012; Ghorayshi & Bélanger, 1996; Kehler, 2001), domestic violence and cultural roles (Baak, 2011; Brand, Loh, & Guilfoyle, 2014; C. Fisher, 2013; James, 2010). The work that has been done in the Australian context tends to focus on the refugee experience and issues concerning those communities. This leaves out a sizable population of African women who do not belong to that's immigration and cultural grouping. By sub-categorizing the results of the content analysis I wanted to observe how African women feature in Australian media. I shall demonstrate the distribution of the 15 articles collected during the 12-month period.

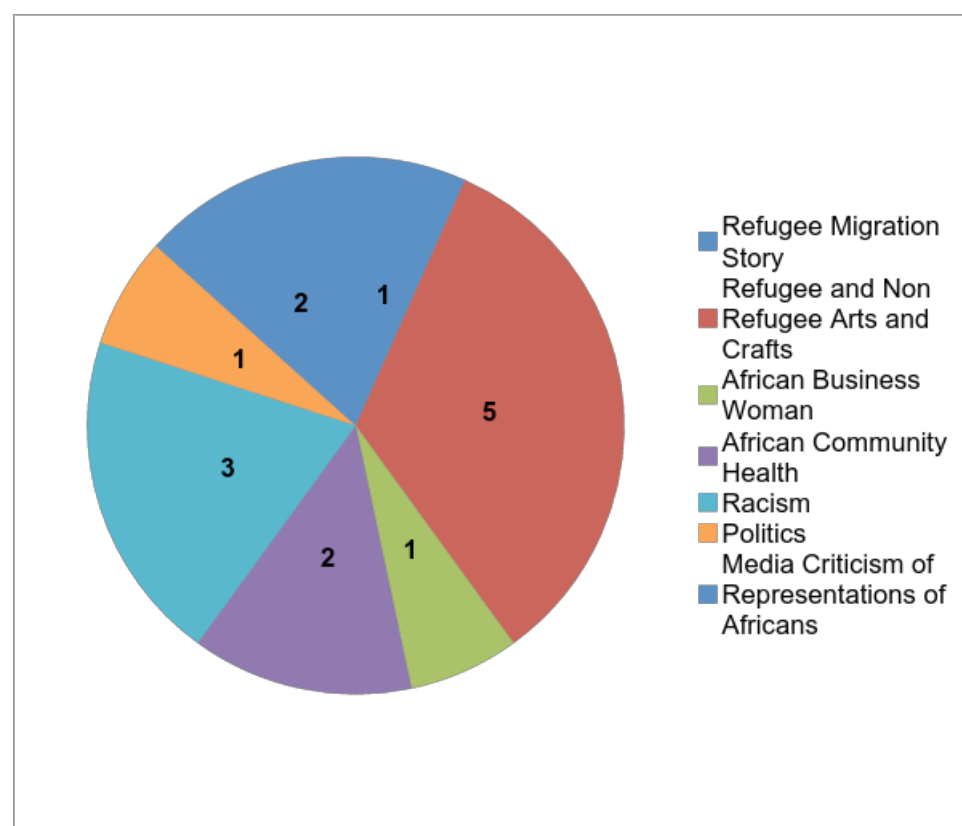


FIG. 18 How African Women Feature in Australian Media

Unlike in the male sub-categorization there are slightly more positive representations of African women in Australian media. Perhaps this is due to the limited media coverage that offers a space for African women to the (re)presented to the Australian public.

Refugee and Non-Refugee Arts & Craft = 5

The largest representation is afforded to Refugee and Non-Refugee descriptive arts and crafts projects. These were largely presented as community initiatives to get recent arrivals integrating with each other and not specifically the Australian community. This could be seen as a way of containing this group by giving them tasks that are commonly associated with this racial and ethnic group (further theorization is provided in the section: The Girls are busy crafting, singing and dancing).

African Community Health = 2

This section focused on initiatives by African women to improve cultural understanding in issues of mental health in African communities. In these articles, emphasis is placed on the trauma suffered by refugees in their respective countries and how they are settling in Australia (Cowan, 2016) instead of spending time explaining more about the services provided. More time is spent providing descriptors of horrific journeys and how grateful the refugees are to the Australian government. In this regard, this article becomes another revival of the past. In most news articles concerning the health and well-being of African refugees tend to fixate on past events and little to no regard is paid to how the individuals have settled and progressed in Australia. This reinforces the subject positions of Australians being superior and the refugees being forever indebted.

Refugee Migration Story = 1

This story was about the migration story of a Rwandan woman (Wynne, 2015), again the same trauma and horror of refugees is highlighted. It is made to appear as the dominant message of the article. This article was produced to coincide with Refugee Week 2015. Instead of writing stories of empowerment and progress since their destructive pasts, it seems easier to keep dwelling on the past and highlighting the greener pastures of Australia.

Politics = 1

In this article, Dr Watts is acknowledged as having been appointed as one of the six new members of the Victorian Multicultural Commission. Her appointment comes after her work in the field of social sciences; however she is quick to state that at her level she does not want to be just affiliated with African people. This is an interesting comment, perhaps because of the way that she phrased it. “I’m an African woman, of course, but I just think at my level I cannot tie myself to an ethnic group,” (Ilanbey, 2015). Working in social work she probably realizes that Africans in Australia are a subjugated group and might be one of the probable reasons why she was elected to help represent this group but there is some distancing created by her comment.

African Business Woman = 1

This is the only instance in which there is a Caucasian woman who is identified as being African. Unlike her other African female counterparts, she is referred to as ‘Our Elize’ (The Morning Bulletin, 2015a) a claiming by the people of Rockhampton. This is interesting because this is the first instance in 198 articles that an African has been positioned in inclusive discourse. There are factors that might influence this type of acceptance, her race is an obvious maker. Elize *fits* into the feminine ideal of the western world, slender, blonde with blue eyes. Nothing of her outward appearance signifies that she has African heritage or that she poses a threat to the Australian way of life. As discussed earlier on the chapter, race as an effect of locating people geographically and positioning them within particular signifying practices¹¹ (Hall, 1997b; Jhally & Hall, 1997). Thus the fact that Elize is Caucasian offers her some type of protection and removes her from the negative representations that surround other non-Caucasian Africans.

¹¹ The concept of signifying practices is derived from Stuart Hall (Du Gay et al., 1997; Hall, 1997c; Jhally & Hall, 1997). He maintained that the way particular groups are represented in the media or society e.g. ethnic people as the villains in films, over time this becomes the shorthand of how certain groups are understood, thus forming stereotypes.

Racism = 3

The section on racism was the second largest in the female category, the themes ranged from racism in the workplace, stereotyping and blackface. The common theme between the racism in the workplace (Donnelly, 2015) and the stereotype article (R. Brown, 2016) is that judgement is based on face value. In this chapter, I have maintained skin colour is a signifier of geographical origins as well as functioning as a *qualification* criterion in society. In a the report by R. Brown (2016), Osob, a young African Muslim woman states:

I'm African and everything. And I was born here. The first perception I get, especially when I walk into a store or whatever, especially with my dress code and everything, is that: "Oh, OK, she's an African immigrant or refugee," without getting to know me.

This is a clear example on how skin colour is encoded with particular meanings in Australia. Being black African and a Muslim is associated with being an immigrant or refugee, as non-Australian. As much as the government tries to push the fact that Australia is a multicultural society (Boese & Phillips, 2011), it seems there are still ideological certainties of what makes one Australian. Having dark skin and being Muslim do not fit that image (Ahmed & Matthes, 2016; Poynting & Mason, 2008). In Donnelly (2015), Keletso, a South African woman who works with *The Dreamseed Project* exposed the fact that not all racism is verbal some of it is done in a *subtle* way based on assumptions of what positions particular people occupy in society.

The man brushed past, leaving her standing in the doorway. This wasn't the first time someone coming to meet her had assumed she wasn't in charge.

Keletso Magano-Niebling, who has Anglicised her name to Kel, says *people don't often expect to find a black woman in a leadership position.*

"My admin staff didn't tell him that the Kel he was coming to see was black," says the childcare centre director. *"He was probably expecting to meet a person whose name was Kelly."*

Keletso's comment that, "people don't often expect to find a black woman in a leadership position" confirms my argument at the beginning of this section that feminine positions exist for women from particular races and ethnicities. Keletso, being a black woman does not fit

the stereotype image of someone in a leadership position (L. Young, 2000). In this, race, for women of colour can be viewed an *impenetrable double glazed glass ceiling*, whereby they have to occupy prescribed social positions. The article by Ward and Cherny (2016) reports of Alice Kunek wearing blackface for a dress up party. Blackface in The United States of America and The United Kingdom is considered to be offensive. However in Australia it is still a subject of debate. When Kunek was confronted over her post she assumed the defensive position, instead of acknowledging blame or accepting responsibility her initial response was to state in a series of tweets:

1/4. I'm sorry that people would think my support of Kanye as being racist in some way.

2/4 People who know me, know that I don't judge others based on the colour of their skin.

3/4 One of the things I love most about basketball is that I get to play with and against women from different countries

And then lastly

4/4 religions & upbringings and be united as a team. I never meant to offend any team mates, fans, or people in the community.

In this example we see that self-preservation is more important than apologising for offensive behaviour. A commentary was sought from teammate Lauren Jackson who is bi-racial, her father is of Nigerian decent. She excused her teammate as being ignorant to her offensive behaviour. In a way this could be seen as a tokenistic comment from someone who is to a degree affected by racism but on the other hand has the privilege of embracing her Caucasian heritage. No comments were sought from the Indigenous or African population at large. Two months after this incident, a Victorian football team hosted a dress up party where several teammates came dressed in blackface (Eddie & Tran, 2016b). The lack of seriousness of offence created is observed even from the reporting of the incident. Take for instance the headline to the article:

Sports club apologises for '*racist*' party where teammates dressed in blackface as rappers and singers - *after 'receiving abuse and threats'* on Facebook

The word racist is put in quotation marks which are often used when one is making light of a

situation or expressing point that is farfetched or unrealistic. This adds to the notion that the reporters are also making light of the possible offence it could have caused. Initially the football club refused to apologize and more deflected and placed criticism to other cultural groups:

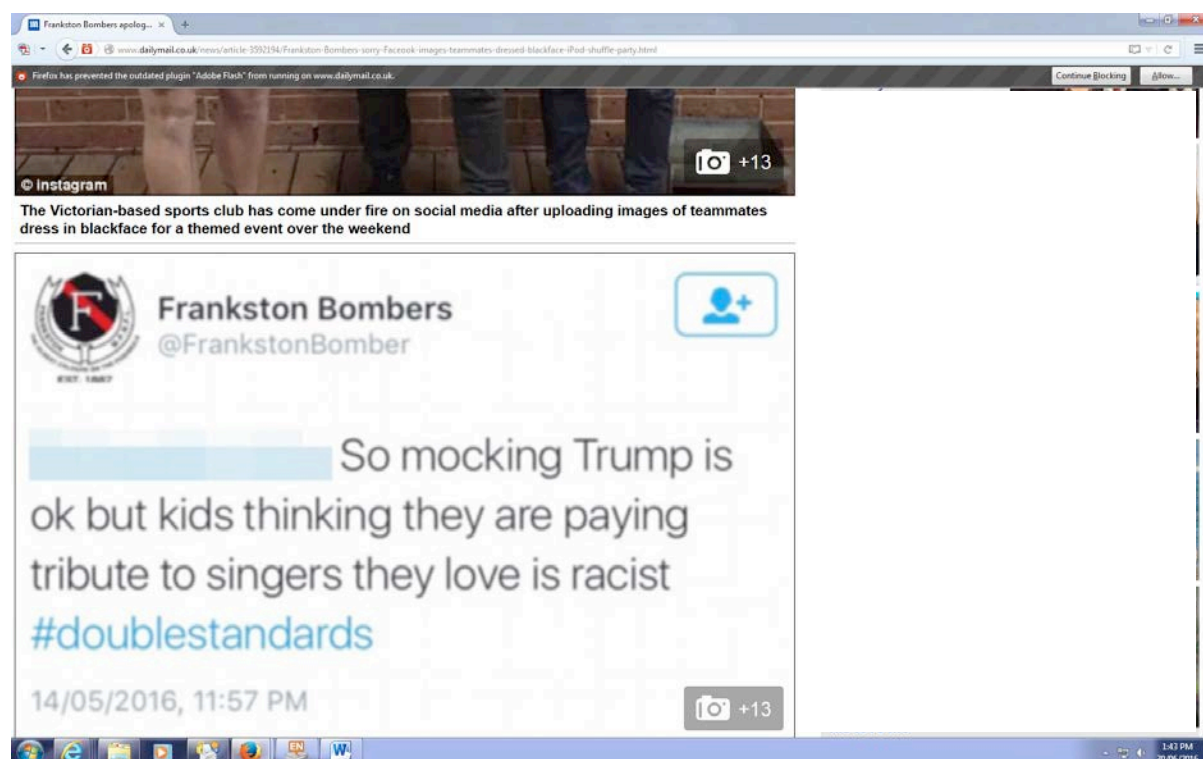


FIG. 19 Frankston Bombers Twitter Comment

The Frankston Football Club only apologised after receiving threats online, which shows that there were unremorseful for their actions but more succumbing to pressure from online shaming. In a way this can be viewed as some type of colonisation based on what is deemed to be offensive to people of colour by Caucasians. In this there is a claiming or ownership of race portrayals. The fact that it took hundreds of people to threaten and criticise the football club in order for them to apologise shows the sad state of racial affairs and cultural insensitivities in Australia.

Media Criticisms of Representations of African People = 2

This section comprised of two articles, the first by Pearce (2015) and the second by Tan (2016). In both of these articles the researcher provided media criticism based on the representations of African people. In a nutshell, both these articles draw on the points that I

have made in this thesis on the biases that lay in how Africans are depicted in the media. My argument is, it is possible to have a myriad of representations of particular groups without over saturating the consumers of media with a particular discourse. As a black woman living in Australia not only do I experience the invisibility of the African female but I am also engaged in research that aims to address the issues of Africanness from a range of perspectives.

2.10 The Girls are Busy Crafting, Singing and Dancing

The 15 articles that included African females gathered in the content analysis section do not allow for an observable pattern or theme to be generated. This absence of African women in Australian media shows invisibility of this visibly different group of people. The factors that limited the visibility could be theorised as a triple marginalisation as demonstrated by the vein diagram below:

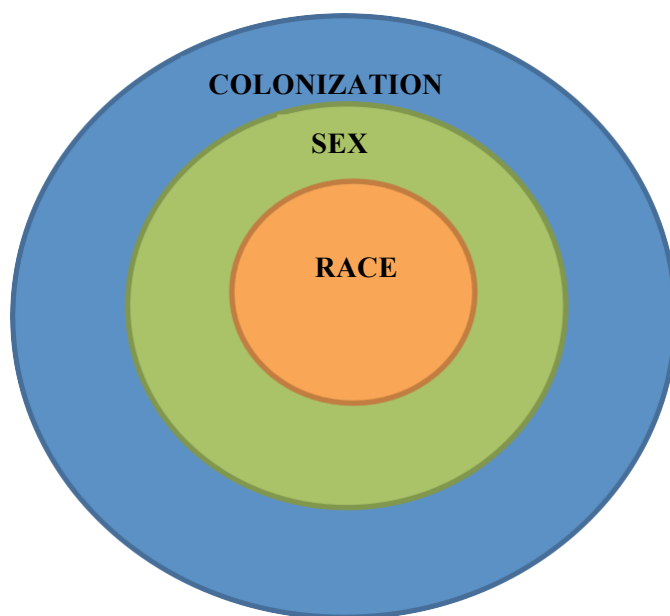


FIG. 20 Triple Marginalization of African Women

The diagram shows the three factors that I have theorized as impacting to the lives of African women living in Australia, colonization, sex and race. Colonization plays the chief part in this oppression, colonialism is a process often associated with the subordination of women. This subordination has been further sub-categorised by hierarchies created through race and ethnicity (Fredericks, 2010; Lake, 1993). Caucasian women were/are regarded as the *paramount* representation of femininity as well as being the most delicate (Hall, 1997c; Jhally & Hall, 1997; Lake, 1993). Indigenous women came/come secondary to this with varying

levels of acceptance. In mediated portrayals of Indigenous women lighter skin is presented as being more favourable and assessed by Western ideals as seen in the case of singer and actress Jessica Mauboy. The more popular she becomes it seems the lighter her hair and skin become and the more *petite* her figure in national publications (Sams, 2012; Scrimshire & La Cioppa, 2016). However on the other hand lighter skin Aborigines face discrimination and chastisement within the Aboriginal community (Liddle, 2014; Mendoza, 2015). In colonial times ‘inter-marriages’ between Caucasian men and Aboriginal women were permissible initially, this is because the union of a Caucasian man and Aboriginal woman was seen a way of achieving *biological absorption*. This was a form of racial cleaning ridding the black and slowly engulfing it into the desired shade of white or close to. “White men where the active parties here, their semen conceptualized as a bleaching agent” (Lake, 1993, p. 383). This was a form of control of the Indigenous population by *turning* the blacks white they hoped to *civilize* and thus reduce the chance of rebellion from the Indigenous populations. Torgovnick (1991, p. 192) maintains that this type of action by colonial cultures around the world was a ploy to mask “the controllers fear of losing control and power.” Similar practices can be observed with black female slaves in the United States of America.

The next second type of marginalization is through sex. In the colonial context discussed above it is observable that black females were not sexualized beings, instead they were breeding machines or available vaginas to their masters. They had to be ravaged by *white seed* to produce acceptable, disempowered mulatto or half cast children. In the African context, apart from the countries that were affected by slave trade women were/are largely excluded from the picture. The colonizers in Africa were after material goods, minerals, land, oil, etc. Women were largely left alone not even deemed suitable to reproduce and *engulf* the black race. They were/are outside of the consciousness of the white male, female and child apart from the provision of the carer or *mammy role*.

The third type of marginalisation is through race. In the 15 articles collected in the content analysis that feature women, it is clear to see that women still occupy the traditional role of what it means to be female through maternal tasks. The other space that is permitted to African women in Australian media is through arts, craft, song and dance. The “lets observe how you can culturally entertain and fascinate us” category. Mihesuah and Wilson (2004) in their discussion of Aboriginal female representation reason that this type of exposure of the ethnic female cultural traditions is a form of tokenism. It is a way of being seen to be

interested in a culture by cherry picking what interests and reassures the dominant population that the black woman is not a threat.

Such practices that focus on cultural expression and perceived exotic elements of Aboriginal culture... can operate as a form of tokenism and entertainment for non-Aboriginal(s) (Mihesuah & Wilson, 2004, p. 44)

In this “narrow focus of cultural expression” (Fredericks, 2010, p. 547), this controls how the African woman is to be perceived discursively. It significantly minimizes the small space that they have by funnelling these women through a one directional gaze. Western women in Australia have the luxury of being represented as professionals, sexual objects as well as caregivers. By presenting the singing, dancing, crafting African woman it reinforces and affirms the white woman’s structural power (Fredericks, 2010). A large number of non-Western countries are often represented as having artistic and craft skills, some more than others. Thus by presenting this already accepted image, the media are further cementing particular behaviours with this particular group. Durkin (1986) emphasises that the media specifically do this derogate or limit the forms in which certain individuals can be presented. It is important to highlight that in the Australian context, particularly in regional media, it is common to see women presented in the ‘traditional roles’ as care givers, non-professional and confined to the patriarchal feminine ideals (Hogan, 1999; Warner-Smith & Brown, 2002). Therefore, it is significant to note that all the articles that were dealing with African women engaging in arts and crafts came from regional media sources. This could be seen as incorporating African women into the gendered roles that exist in regional Australia and therefore reinforcing the role of the feminine.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have conducted a discursive study to review how African immigrants are represented and regarded by the Australian media. In this study discourse was the appropriate tool to use to analyze how power structures that are created through the use of language. Language is demonstrated to have a ‘fixing’ power in placing particular groups in inclusive and exclusive positions. This is particularly highlighted in the content analysis of media articles that featured Africans conducted over a 12-month period (26 May 2015- 26 May 2016). In the categorization of subject positioning, there seems to a great leaning towards

negative presentations of Africans in Australian media. This is overwhelmingly noticeable in regards to the one directional gaze of the African male. It is demonstrated that there is a tendency to attach negative, violent and undesirable behaviours to this group. In the abundant reporting of these issues, *Africanness* is presented in a way that seems to push the threat agenda further. Giving African males these particular characteristics and qualities fixes particular behaviours and makes them seem natural. They come to be viewed as to be expected behaviours of the group or stereotypes. In terms of African women, they are afforded very little space in media reporting. Using colonial history of the roles and exclusion of Indigenous and African women in national affairs, similar underrepresentation are observed. Racialised and ethnic women are assigned to domestic and passive positions. In these positions, they are not presented as being more than what they offer beyond their maternal roles - breeding, nurturing and crafting. This categorization only gives a microscopic view of how women operate in their everyday lives and again presents a way of managing this group into a particular discourse (Fielding-Lloyd & Mean, 2015). It is evidenced through the content analysis that in mediated discourse there is stereotyping of gender, racial and ethnic roles. Through association of particular behaviours and characteristics of African men and women through the media, it is easier to control how these groups are perceived in society. In the writing of this chapter, I have aimed to show that Africans in Australia live within *controlled discourse*. This group is not given the space to voice their concerns or opinions on matters that directly affect them. Instead, African men and women assume the object position within discourse. They are spoken about but hardly ever spoken to. Thus, fixed meanings of what it means to be African and living in Australia go uncontested.

In the Australian context, another issue that could have an impact on limiting the discourses surrounding African people is the problem posed by media ownership. News Corp and Fairfax Media own the majority of newspapers in Australia. This means the discourse produced is predominantly filtered to fulfill these two news publishers' agendas, this significantly limits diversity in the discourse produced. The lack of diverse news outlets makes it easier to create moral panics through the dissemination of messages that are fuelled with anger and fear as exemplified from the articles gathered from the content analysis.

This chapter has established that language has a great impact on how certain ideologies are created and maintained. By ostracizing particular groups in media, political and social

discourse, it becomes easier to control the way they are perceived socially as well as limit the space that they occupy. I have maintained that Africans living in Australia are not given the space to comment, contribute or rebuke comments and theorizations made of them. Instead, they are regarded as passive objects within discourse. In my conduction an original study of news media in Australia, this chapter has provided evidence of this fact as well as laying a foundation to build the next two chapters, *Surveying the Demographic* and *Oral Testimonies of Africans Living In Australia*. In these chapters, I present the attitudes of Africans living in Australia in relation to how they are represented in the media as well as the discrepancies between their lived reality and their (re)presentations constructed in the media.

Chapter Three: Surveying the Demographic

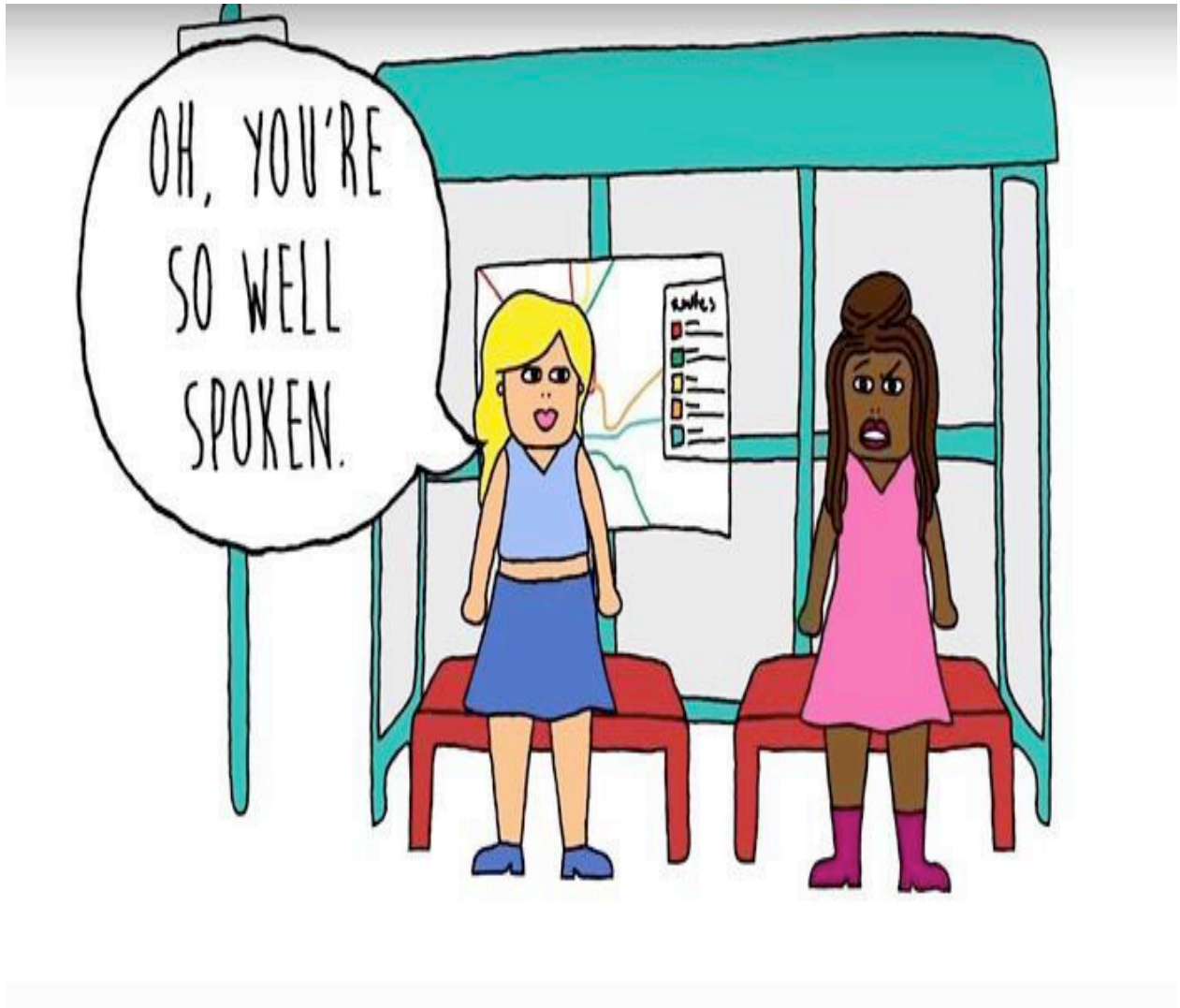


FIG. 21 'How macroaggressions are like mosquito bites'? (Fusion Comedy, 2016)

3.1 Justification & Appropriateness of a Cross Sectional Survey: Context of Research Problem

With Africans being a relatively new immigrant group in Australia, much of the information about how they adapt to their new lives in Australia as well as they appropriate their everyday identities in social and private settings is largely unknown. The 2006 census data¹² revealed that there were close to 250 000 people who were born in Africa living in Australia (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2008). This data is now ten years old, and since then some non-government polls have put the number of Africans close to 500 000 (Mercer, 2010). In 1996, Africans were officially listed as a statistically significant population by the Australian government. Since then, the way dominant institutions such as the media and government interact and represent this group has received some attention (Hugo, 2009; Special Broadcast Service, 2010), however how Africans respond to these interactions and representations is an area that is still largely unknown.

Academic research that has been carried out regarding African immigrants in Australia tends to focus on two particular groups – refugees and asylum seekers (Baak, 2011; Due, 2008; Gatt, 2011; Hatoss & Huijser, 2010; Hatoss & Sheely, 2008; Nolan et al., 2016; Nolan et al., 2011; Nunn, 2010; O'Doherty & Lecouteur, 2007; Warriner, 2007; Windle, 2008). The research engages strongly with how these groups of Africans are represented in Australian media in particular Australian newspapers. The themes discussed centre around the depiction of predominantly Sudanese Africans great migration from 'war torn' 'guerrilla run' lands and their difficulty with adapting to their 'new' Australian lives. With the exception of Baak (2011) the rest of the studies use content analysis of newspapers as a strategy of their inquiry. The content analysis of these newspapers predominantly focused around key events in Australia and within the communities that these Africans reside. Some examples include, Nolan et al. (2016; 2011) focus on the newspaper coverage and representation of Sudanese Africans around the time of the 2007 Federal election. Windle (2008) studies the discourse in newspaper articles focusing on a series of violent incidents in which African refugees were identified as either victims or perpetrators. Gale (2004) explores the relationship between 'populist politics and media discourse through the analysis of media representations of refugees and asylum seekers'. O'Doherty and Lecouteur (2007), examine constructions that

¹² 2006 Census Data – In this thesis I have used data from the 2006 Census to provide data for the African population. At the time of writing this thesis (2016), the Australian Government conducted the 10-year census however the data will not be made publicly available for at least a year.

constitute marginalizing practices toward people who request asylum in Australia. Due (2008) analyses newspaper articles that were published following the murder of Sudanese teenage Liep Gony. Baak (2011) explores the responses of a South Sudanese community following the murder of a young Sudanese. These studies do not provide understanding of the everyday events that impact and shape the general sentiment of Africans in Australia. Despite these research articles offering varied and deep insight into the representations of the Sudanese in Australia, Sudan is only one of 54 countries that make up the continent of Africa. This presents a disproportionate representation of one country and over representation of one type of African immigrant group in Australia. KhosraviNik (2009, pp. 13-14) argues that this type of systematic representation in authorship of a particular group might lead the *general public* to perceive immigrants as a homogenous group, “sharing similar characteristics, backgrounds, motivations and economic status through process of aggregation, collectivization and functionalization.”

In the reporting of Africans in the media, this might influence homogenous groupings in which “representations become one directional and creates errors in its representation and discourses that it forms about particular groups.” In their work Nolan et al. (2011, p. 659) maintain that the “Media serve as key mechanisms through which discourses around multiculturalism are produced and circulated.” However, they do not explicitly state that the type of representation that they are focusing on specifically centres on the representation of African immigrants that came to Australia as refugees. The dominant population come to know ‘other’ groups mainly through the media, thus the media functions as key site through which the general public are presented with what they ought to think of their social relationships, the culture of others as well their positioning in society (Altschull, 1994; S. Cohen, 2011b; Osgerby, 2003). Cottle (2000, p. 2) upholds that the media “provide crucial spaces in and through which imposed identities or the interests of others can be resisted, challenged and changed.” The media configures and promotes ideologies. These are perpetuated and manifest through racism, sexism and xenophobia.

The topics discussed in the listed articles above focus on topics that impact and show Africans in negative circumstances. Baak (2011), Windle (2008) and Due (2008) focus on the news reporting of violent murders of young Sudanese men. O'Doherty and Lecouteur (2007), Nolan et al. (2016); Nolan et al. (2011) and Gale (2004) discuss the representation of asylum seekers and illegal immigrants in Australian press. This facilitates in creating a type of image

of what it means to be African. These types of presentations of a particular group of Africans in the media circulate a particular type of social discourse which situate Sudanese Australians as outsiders to the Australian mainstream (Nolan et al., 2011). Sudanese Africans dominate most academic work conducted in Australia about Africans. This African group is presented as being problematic as compared to the *normal* Australian. N. Hopkins, Reicher, and Levine (1997, p. 324) argue that this is the sole purpose of these representations. Hage (2008) reiterates:

Work centring on media treatment of ethnic and racial minorities reveals that mainstream media tends to engage with ethnic and racial minorities through stereotypes, the invocation of fear and danger, and through stereotyped as well as generalised processes of othering. (Hage, 2008)

As a result the way the dominant (white) population come to learn of Africans is mostly through the process of othering and problematizing based on visible ethnic and cultural difference (Cottle, 2000; Gale, 2004; Hage, 2008). Without alternative sources of representation on show this cognition of what it means to the African filtrates down to the stereotyped version of what it means to be African.

3.2 Deficiencies in the Literature

The literature with the exception of Baak (2011), all base their research into Africans in Australia on the content and discursive analysis of newspapers. In the section above, the studies were conducted during periods of intense media and political scrutiny. Content analysis is typically used to interpret meaning from the content of text data and, hence, it adheres to the naturalistic paradigm (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). The nature of content analysis in the examples provided is based in the frequency and the construction of representations in the media. It does not take into account the personal perspective of the individual African groups in discussion. In the work of (Due, 2008; Gale, 2004; Nolan et al., 2016; Nolan et al., 2011; O'Doherty & Lecouteur, 2007), the authors come into *second hand contact* with African immigrants. They are basing their research on secondary ideas of journalists and their perception of African immigrants that are exclusively represented by the Sudanese. Basing whole research on content analysis and one African ethnic group presents deficiencies in the study of African immigrants in Australia. Firstly, research based in content analysis does not

seek to delve into what influences the media to report on this ethnic group in such a manner (negative, fearful). What are the conditions of production of these representations? Without providing context into the originating *moments of production* in which the representations come from, some representations become detached realities to which any context can be attached to fulfil the desired frame of representation. Different institutions play a role in what the general public come to know of certain groups (in this case I will be discussing media institutions). The ‘labels’ they use to tend to categorize certain groups indefinitely, Windle (2008) maintains that the danger of labelling/stereotyping is that in subsequent media reporting, these labels remain affixed to the particular group. In this, he states that representations are:

transformed from the ‘localised’ public opinion grounded in discussion of experience and media consumption into the mediated public opinion – often (this is)...relayed far beyond their originating contexts by virtue of this symbiotic relationship. (Windle, 2008, p. 555)

Secondly, research conducted on African immigrants in Australia, predominantly used content analysis as a strategy of inquiry. The above comments clearly show that only one group of African immigrants (refugees) has been represented in Australian academic writing. This does not discuss or expose that there are other non-refugee African groups that came to Australia through other entry routes e.g. skilled migration, students, etc. Current published work by researchers on African Australians does not explore the personal narratives of how these representations affect the groups involved. This reaffirms the representational power that media institutions have over individuals that does not seek alternative interpretations and perspectives (Deaux & Wiley, 2007; Hall, 1997c; Rasinger, 2010; Saptefrati, 2008; Shaw, 2013; Trebbe & Schoenhagen, 2011).

3.3 Appropriateness of a Cross Sectional Survey

Foddy (1993, p. 1) argues that asking questions is widely accepted as a cost efficient way of gathering information of past behaviour, private actions, motives and experiences, the responses to which can be subjective and variable. The subjective nature of everyday life makes it nearly impossible to directly measure reasons for individuals conducting themselves

in a certain way. Data about media consumption and the frequency of this consumption for larger and more established minority groups in Australia can be found in statistical reports. This is not the case for African immigrants in Australia, they are considered to be a recent minority group in Australia and extensive research into certain behaviours is yet to be carried out. Conducting the research using data collected from other minority groups in Australia might not yield the same results that are true to the African population. This could omit the immigrant's expressions of attitudes, feelings and opinions (Foddy, 1993). Conducting first hand research allows the researcher to observe and record the attitudes of the individuals as well as behavioural patterns that are specific to the participants in that moment.

To obtain this information, I filled the gap in knowledge by conducting a cross-sectional study. I believe this would aid in providing a 'snapshot' of a representative sample of African immigrants living in Australia, particularly how they consume and appropriate mediated representations at a specific point in time (Fink, 2003, p. 101). The nature of cross sectional surveys is that data is collected once and in a short period and it is the information that is obtained from this that sequences of individual action as well as responses to social and mediated change can be analysed (Payne & Payne, 2004). Since currently no data is available about media consumption by African immigrants in Australia, a cross sectional methodology using a survey questionnaire is useful in providing essential first hand data. Davies (1987, p. 2) argues that many surveys, include questions which provide direct measures of change over time. However to achieve an enhanced understanding of the causes and possible effects of this change over time, one has to employ other techniques to attain these answers from the participants (Denzin & Lincoln, 2013; Groves et al., 2011; Jansen, 2010). Thus, surveys serve a primary basis of attaining information, which can later be examined using other qualitative research techniques to delve into the *richness* of the substantive issues.

3.4 Methods of Data Collection

For this study, purposive sampling will be implemented; the participants for this part of the study will be recruited from Africans living across Australia. By conducting a national study, it will enable me to cast a wide net on participants from a range of geographic areas, within which various individuals will have different immigration backgrounds as well as belonging to a range of socio economic, national and cultural backgrounds. This approach will allow for a large and diverse sample size that will create a rich sample of African immigrants living in Australia and how they perceive their mediated representations as well as social perceptions.

Using the cross sectional methodology is not without its criticisms, surveys can be vague and subjective in their interpretation. The diversity of the participants might cause them to understand and decode *common words* in a range of interpretations. Being that these survey questions are being directed to participants from varied cultural and linguistic backgrounds, the cultural context in which a question is presented might impact the way participants interpret and respond to the questions (Foddy, 1993, p. 6). Another drawback of conducting surveys is that some of the respondents might be unwilling to admit to certain behaviours and or attitudes that they form as part of their everyday lives. This could create discrepancies in establishing the relationship between what the respondents divulge and what they actually do. Davis (1987) argues that basing research on cross sectional surveys does not offer the scope of exploring the relationship between attitudes and behaviour. In this, he explains that attitudes influence behaviour and thus data obtained from cross sectional surveys will only expose ‘the net’ effect of these two processes. In this, one can observe that, cross sectional research does not have the capabilities to explore variables such as attitudes and behaviours. These could have an impact should one want to examine the dependence of one outcome upon another. In this light it is clear to see that the nature of cross sectional surveys will not allow for a thorough understanding of the relationship between media consumption and the internal effects of media representations on the African immigrant.

Surveys present a way of questioning persons on preferences through carefully administered standardized inquiries (Rossi, Wright, & Anderson, 2013, p. 3). However to capture the *subjective* aspects of individual experience and how events impact attitudes and behaviour, methodologies that help interpret these phenomenological experiences must be employed. The final data collection chapter will be based in the oral history tradition, this will put to use semi structured in depth interviews with the participants. This research technique will allow for an intimate immersion in the social interaction of the role media consumption plays on the symbolic formation of identity (Foddy, 1993, p. 14).

3.5 Methods of Data Analysis

I conducted the cross-sectional survey online; in this section the participants were asked a series of questions to gauge what media sources they predominately consumed and for what purpose. This was the catalyst to start to explore some of the general ideas that they had about

the media. With no information about how African immigrants utilised the media, obtaining this information would fill the gap in knowledge by providing a clear picture of how my intended participants engaged with the media and what they derived from it. Following the participants completing the survey questionnaire, I needed to analyse the data to observe how the participants consumed and perceived their representations in the media. In order to successfully complete this I needed to:

- i. Edit and code the data
- ii. Find computer software that would aid me in analysing the data
- iii. Use the computer software to generate insights of the research participant's responses.

The data collected for this study was not intended to be used as a statistical sample. Instead, it was intended for the researcher to gain insight into how a select population of African immigrants living in Australia consumed and perceived their representations in the media. How I edited, analysed and reported the data was informed by the following steps:

i. Data Editing and Coding

Sarantakos (2013, p. 468) defines coding as “the process of transforming raw data for the purpose of analysis.” For this, the researcher has to “assign numeral or character codes to all responses for each and every question in the survey.” Following the receipt of the responses of the survey, I had to edit the questionnaires that were deemed as being invalid. In this case this included incomplete questionnaires, where responses are missing and responses with the same answer throughout such as “I don’t know”. For this study I used *Google Forms* for data collection and analysis, this program is designed to create rules of how to code varied responses. Google Forms allows for the inclusion of question summaries, individual responses as well as open-ended questions. These rules could further be manipulated to filter unwanted response surveys and focus on specific subsets of data.

ii. Data Analysis

Data analysis is an essential part of the research process as this is the stage that participant responses are interpreted and compiled as meaningful findings. In this study I used an ordinal scale for questions with a predetermined response, Sarantakos

(Sarantakos, 2013, p. 474) defines the ordinal scale as a scale in which “elements are arranged according to their relationship with each other.” The open-ended questions were compiled separately. In the *Google Forms* program it is possible to create rules to export individual open-ended questions into a Microsoft Excel file. These responses could then be analysed by the researcher to compile general insights. Preprogrammed rules sometimes cause errors in data compilation as a result I will be exporting the data collected to cross check that it has been compiled correctly.

iii. Data Reporting

My intentions were for the data acquired from this study to be presented in two ways, firstly as a visual illustration (graph, pie chart, etc.) This would aid in clearly displaying how the data is distributed across the group in question. Secondly snapshots of the data would be presented in its raw and unedited form through the chapter.

3.6 Digging into the Data

Demographics

In this section, I aim to provide an overview of the data collected in the cross sectional survey, so as to satisfy two goals. The first, to show the breakdown of the demographic surveyed as well as to highlight the media attitudes of this demographic. This level of transparency will allow me to demonstrate a contradiction to the *common knowledge* of Africans pushed by ideological institutions that all Africans are Sudanese, male and dangerous (Brabazon & Chivaura, 2016; Brabazon et al., 2015; Brabazon, Redhead, & Chivaura, 2016). The study of demographics is a useful and important in clearly identifying whose responses are provided as well as their contribution in those responses.

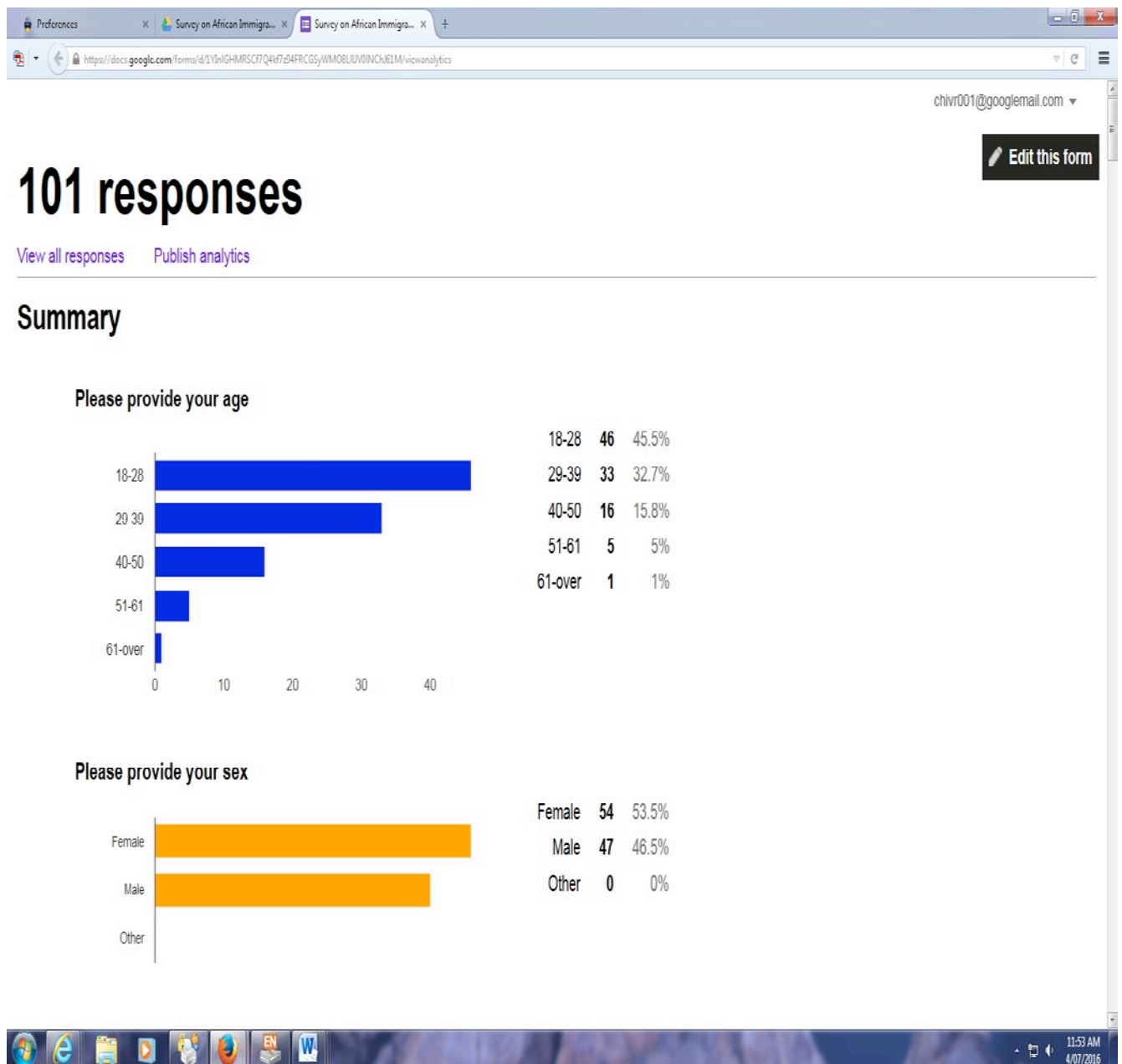


FIG. 22 Breakdown of Survey Responses

In this data set, the largest group of respondents identified as belonging to the under 40 category which made up 72% of the surveyed population. The significant number of participants under the age of 40 respondents could have been a result of the study being conducted online. The survey was heavily promoted on social media platforms such as LinkedIn, Twitter and Facebook as well as through African Association groups and snowballing. This breakdown of respondents by age group is almost similar to the data collected by Australian Bureau of Statistics (2014) in a nationwide survey of patterns of home internet use. What is interesting to note is that there were more female respondents as

compared to male. This is interesting because in the previous chapter, (Chapter Two: Discourses Surrounding Africans in Australian Media and Society.) I demonstrated that there was hardly any representation of African females in Australian media. In this case, African females seem to be engaged and willing to share their media uses and attitudes. This survey can be included in the relatively small space that African women are *permitted* to voice their opinions.

The following section was Country of Origin, the following distribution was observed:

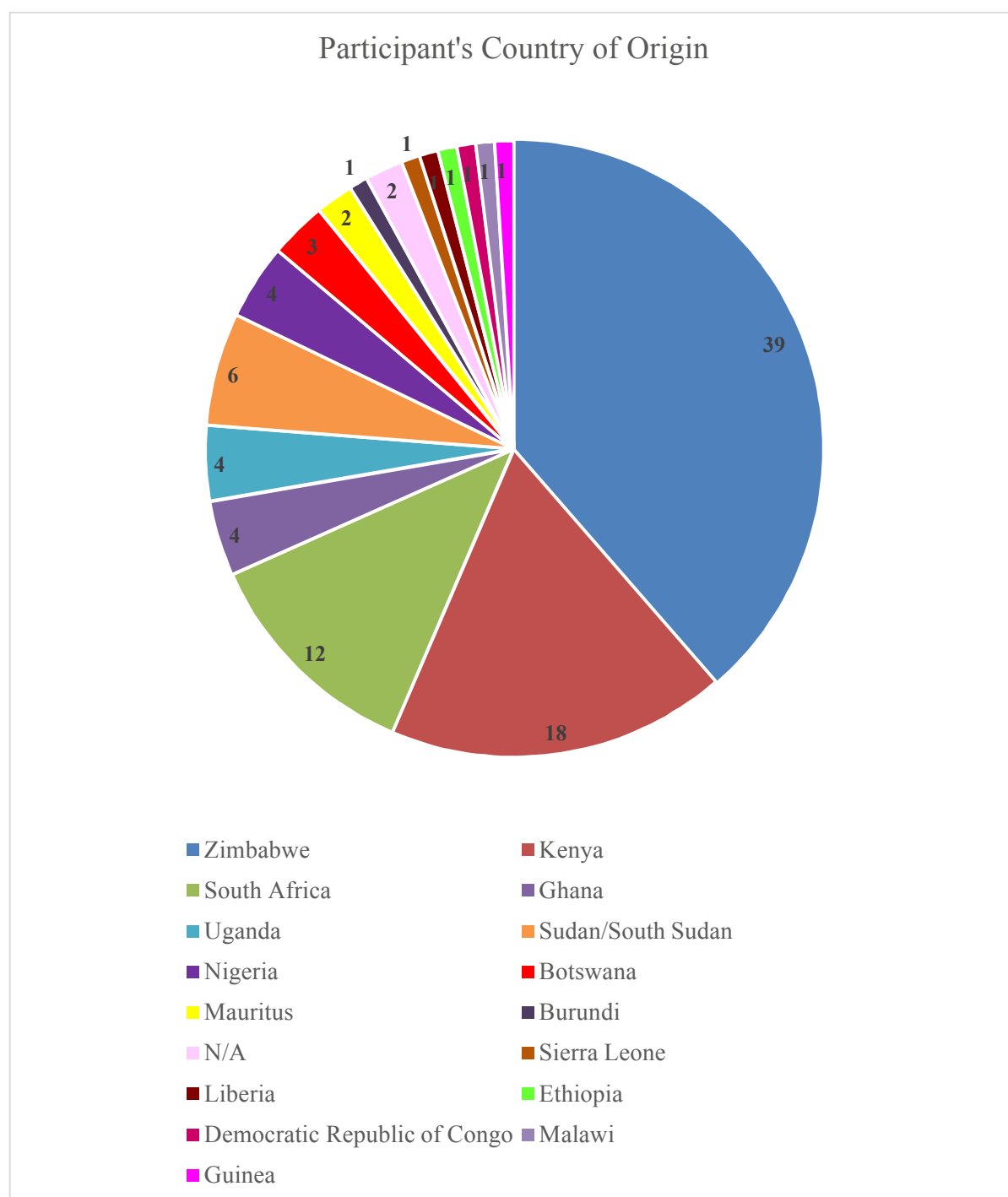


FIG. 23 Nationalities That Participated in the Research

In this pie chart, readers observe that most of the responses collected came from individuals that identified the following countries as their place of birth, Zimbabwe, Kenya, South Africa and South Sudan/Sudan. The significantly higher participant population of Zimbabwean can possibly be attributed to the fact that this is the researcher's country of birth. Through the process of snowballing facilitated by the researcher's personal contacts, this could have influenced this high representation. In total, there were 101 responses from 17 different African countries. This is a 31.5% representation of the total number of African countries, which makes a significant contribution to attaining diverse opinions. Again to date, this is the most diverse data set compiled of individuals that identify as being African residing in Australia. The length of stay in Australia varied between participants and ranged from four months to 51 years. This varied length of time would allow the researcher to compile a range of experiences from individuals with differed experiences of the Australian media and social landscape. All respondents apart from one identified as being either a students or having a profession that required a tertiary level qualification (from a Technical and Further Education Institution (TAFE) all the way to postgraduate research degrees.) This throws the argument that the mediated representations of Africans in Chapter Two tried to put forward by journalists such as (Australian Associated Press & Kwek, 2011; Bolt, 2016; Cook et al., 2016b) that Africans, particularly African males are violent thugs or that African females are largely involved in craft and other cultural activities. This again exposes the lack of thorough research by academics in Australia about Africans living in Australia. Instead on fixating on the single dialogue of Sudanese youth, refugee crises and traumas of pre-migration experiences when there is a plethora of other topics that could be researched.

Media Access and Attitudes

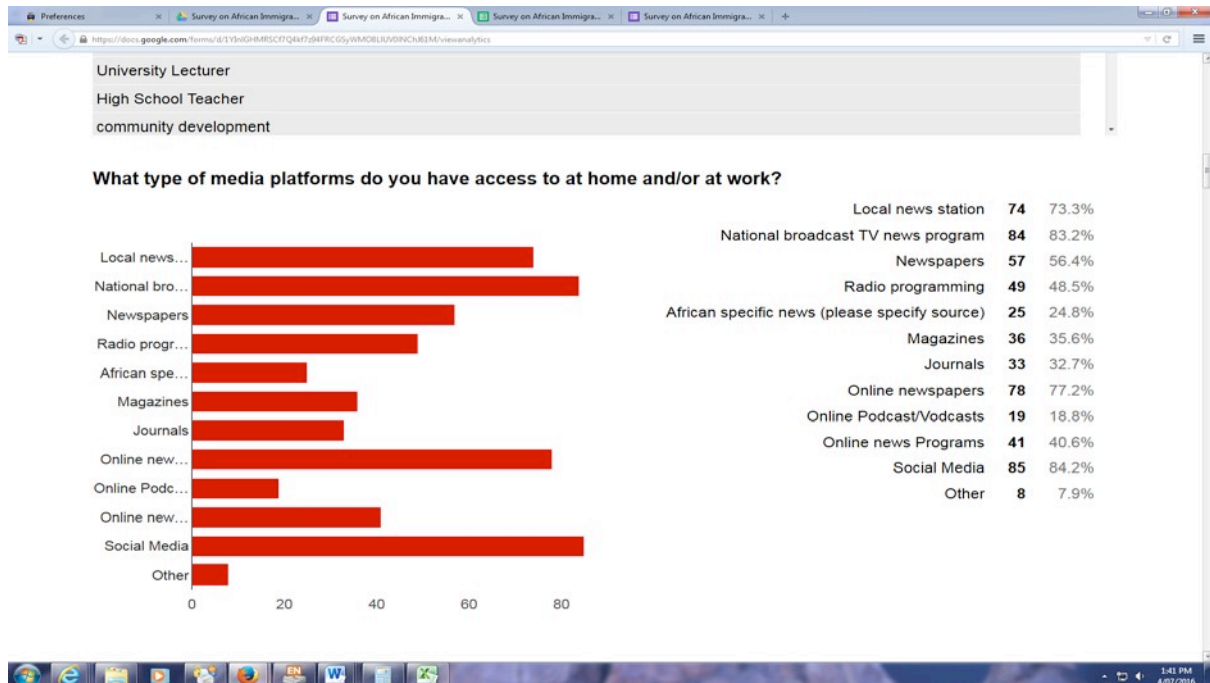


FIG. 24 Africans in Australian Media Access

In terms of media access, the most used platform amongst the participants was social media (84%), followed by national broadcast (83%) and online newspapers (77%). This is another indicator that the consumption patterns of African immigrants do not differ from Australia's dominant population. In fact, the varied media sources used by the respondents indicate that Africans living in Australia are avid and discerning media users. In chapter two, I argued that through the results of the content analysis mediated portrayals of African immigrants were mostly unfavourable ways. The responses provided by the participants supported this claim. When asked: "In your opinion, how do you think Africans are represented in the media?"

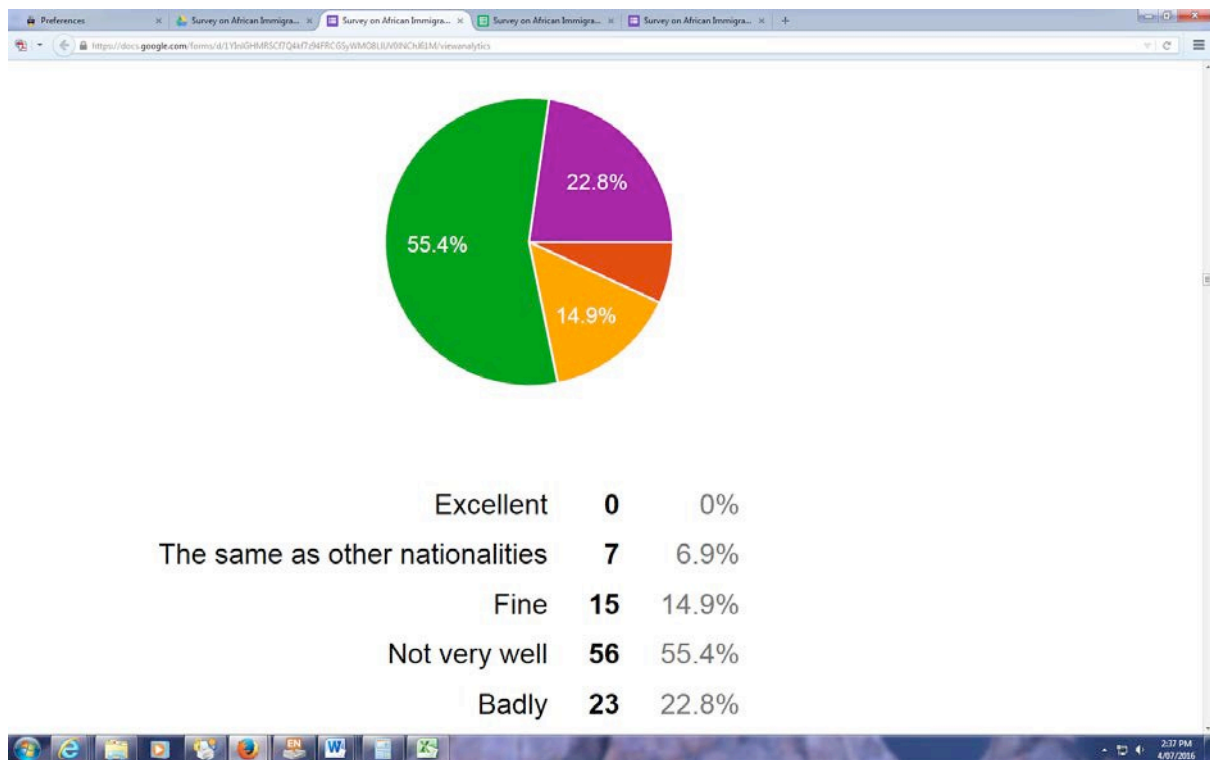


FIG. 25 Responses to the question: How do you think Africans are represented in the media?"

The responses above clearly indicate that 78% of the respondents believed that Africans were not represented well in the media. This point evidences the arguments that I was drawing upon about the negative discourse surrounding African people in Australia in chapter two. In the newspaper reports involving African immigrants collected in chapter two, the target audience was not intended to be African. Instead, as I argued in that chapter, Africans were rather objects with in the discourse so their positioning and the fairness of this representation went unquestioned by the reporters. If, 78% of a surveyed population believe that they are on the short end of the stick of media representations, I think it is fair to say that this is a valid point that should be addressed. In the media's negation in obtaining the opinion of African people in matters that concern them, this could be seen as a way of controlling the discourse, a way of naturalising particular *truths* about certain groups. It also shows that Africans are not required in completing the discourse that has already been written for them. Through the lack of contesting views, representations of gang affiliated youth, murderers and nurturing females go unchallenged and unquestioned (Staples, 2011; Wilson & Gutierrez, 1985). Thus, this becomes the *true* representation of what it means to belong to this group. Some of the reasons that the participants gave for why they thought Africans were badly represented in the media included:

Most of media reportage about Africans is based on stereotypes and certain perceptions of being prone to criminal activities. The media continues to portraits the message that Africa and its people are needy and need to be saved by the benevolent West.

The most frequent stories making headlines are those negative (poverty, HIV, Hunger, war, corruption, famine, disease etc.). Positive stories of success are either very few or covered very scantily - not making headlines in Western newspapers.

1. Identities are easily revealed where none would for other races 2. Africans are almost always referred to by their country of origin and almost never as simply Australian, regardless of whether they are first gen immigrants or not 3. Journalists' own presumptions are evident in the tone of the story (e.g. if theft is suspected) 4. Reporters show a complete lack of understanding about the diversity of the African continent when reporting on people from there - Africa is not one country and one big failed one at that 5. Africans doing 'mainstream' activities are either ignored or only highlighted in controversial circumstances

These comments from the survey responses highlight the fact that African participants are aware of how they are represented and have an understanding of the basis of these representations. The common link between the articles collected in the content analysis section of chapter two and the responses provided by the participants is the perception of the individual are secondary to racial markers. In this, I mean race defines what *qualities* an individual is perceived as having as well as what characteristics are *likely* to be attached to this person. Regardless of your profession, immigration status or qualifications, race almost always provides a defining moment for the African being to the Western world (Ahmed & Matthes, 2016; Herbert et al., 2008; Van Dijk, 2015).

When the survey participants were asked if the way Africans are represented in Australian media provided the population with an informed idea of what it means to be African, 81% either disagreed or strongly disagreed. This again is another strong argument that most Africans living in Australia are unsatisfied with how they are represented in the media. This over whelming response proves that the media are in denial about how they predominantly

represent minorities, in this case Africans.

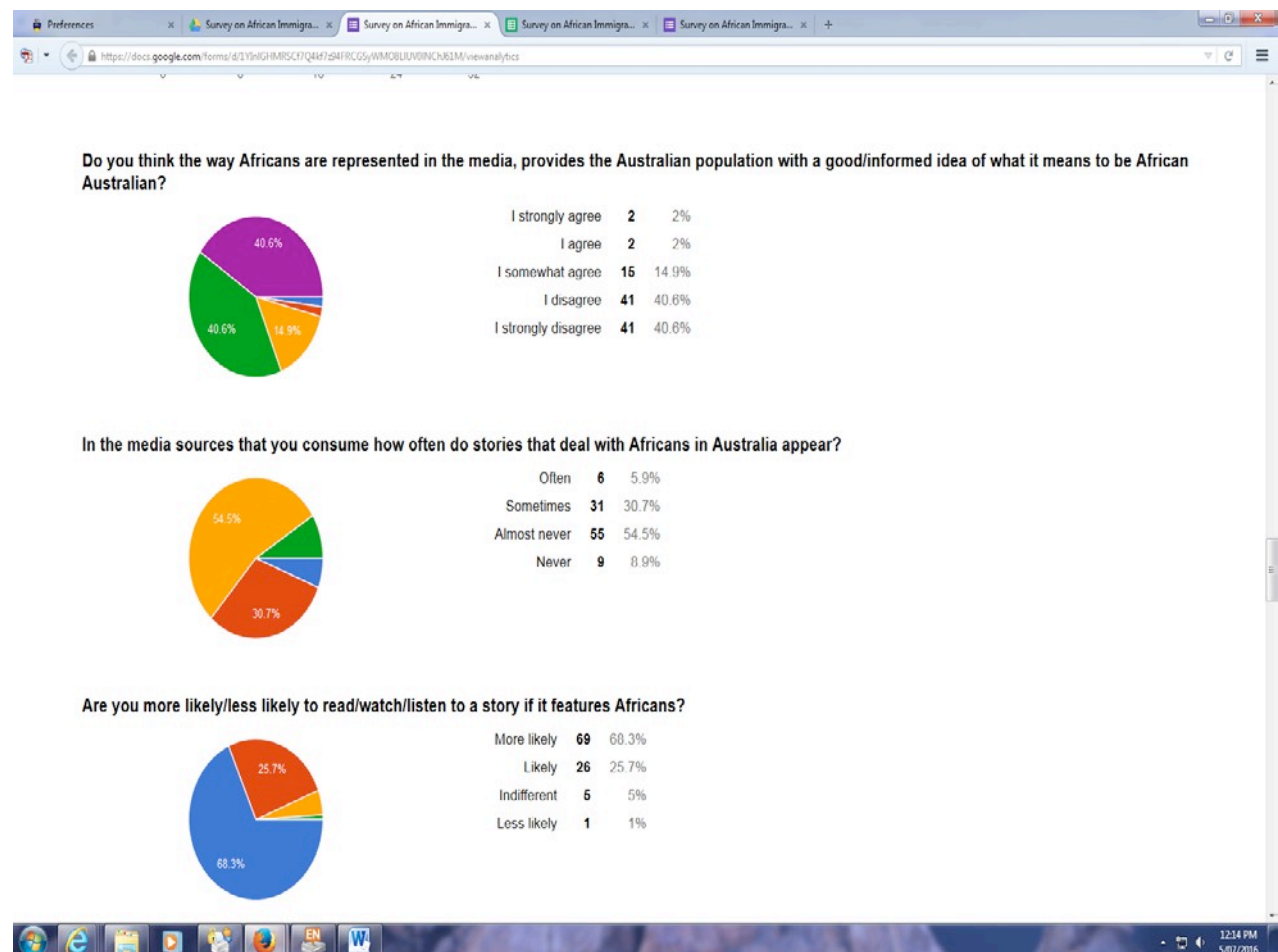


FIG. 26 Representations of Africans in the Media

Ideological institutions function to create spaces in which particular groups can operate and be controlled from (Gramsci, 1971; Hall, 2013; Lumley et al., 1977). It is through the use of this symbolic power that dominance and maintenance of that dominance is achieved and made to seem normal or naturalised in society. 63% of the surveyed population reported that Africans almost never or never featured in the media that they consumed. However, 94% of the same population said they would be more likely to consume media featuring this ethnic group. There is an observable pattern, Africans hardly feature in Australian media but when they do they occupy unfavourable positions in the reporting. The second pattern is Africans living in Australia are keen to consume media featuring Africans however they are predominantly dissatisfied with current representations of Africans. Media providers and content creators should take heed of Africans are active consumers with opinions and concerns about the way that they are represented.

When it came to the African respondent's interaction with the general Australian population there was a scattering of results. Just under 6% identified as having had negative experiences with the rest being neutral to positive comments (please see pie chart overleaf). In the section of frequent questions that Africans were asked by Australians, it seemed that there was a need for the African participants to fill the gaps in what the Australian population had learnt from the media. Questions of the wildlife, living conditions and disease were the top questions asked to the respondents. Certain *truths* that some Australians have based on what they have seen in mediated reports and did not have first-hand knowledge upon was evident. Take for instance these two comments:

"Do you have this in Africa?"

Drawing from my personal experience, I have been asked if Africans had access to technology, cars or leisure activities. As I argued before, to be African comes with loaded presumptions, commonalities between Africa and developed countries are rarely explored and thus questions based in ignorance arise. In my experience, most people that I had to explain to that in Africa it was possible to have similar or better luxuries as in Australia, these comments were treated with scepticism and suspicion. Instead, it is easier (more comfortable?) for people to accept what they perceive to be the *truth* of a geographical location to be. The issue of race does not just affect Black/Asian/Indian Africans; Caucasians to a degree are also implicated in the race discussion. Take for instance the following comment that a participant identified as commonly being asked,

"Whether I am ra(s)cist. Being a white South African it is often assumed that I am ra(s)cist."

South Africa similar to Australia has a long history steeped in racial segregation and discrimination. The Apartheid Rule was only officially abolished in 1994 just 23 years ago. In this chapter I have argued that skin colour is a marker of difference and that for Caucasians it is a marker of power. In the case of the South African respondent he/she can blend into Australia without having the distinct racial or ethnic marker until he/she opens her mouth. His/her voice/accent then becomes how she is categorised and what characteristics he/she ought to have or behaviours he/she ought to demonstrate. In this case, one observes that for white South Africans living in Australia is that there is an assumption that they ought to be racist.

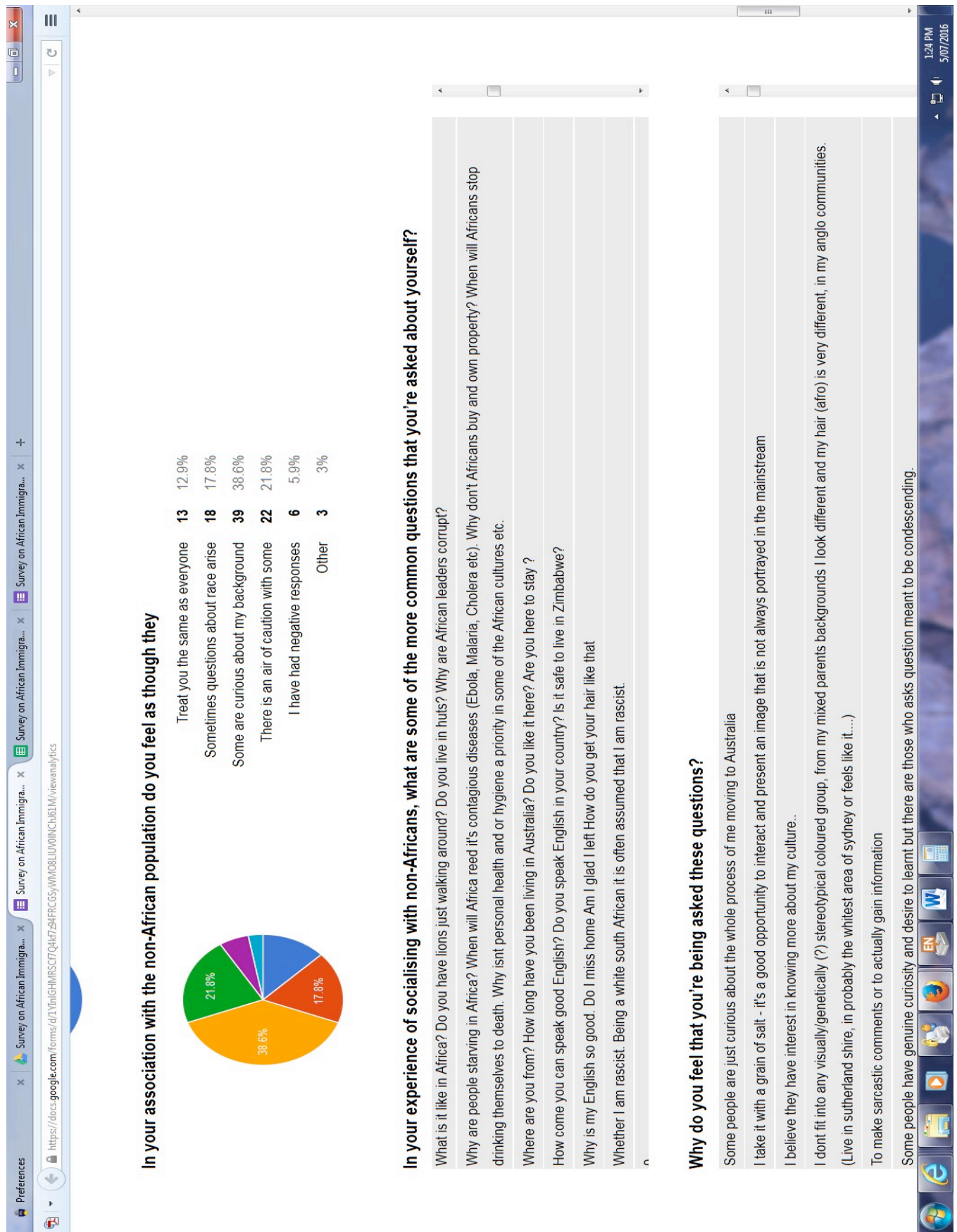


FIG. 27 Experiences Socialising with Non-Africans

When the question “Why do you feel that you’re being asked these questions?” was posed, opinions on questions of culture race and immigration resulted in differed responses. Some of the participants took it as general curiosity:

“Some people are just curious about the whole process of me moving to Australia”.

Others took the chance to present themselves in a way that the media fails to do

“I take it with a grain of salt - it's a good opportunity to interact and present an image that is not always portrayed in the mainstream.”

However for some this question presented a challenge to their identity, location and cultural identification. For instance the following response

“I dont (*sic*) fit into any visually/genetically (?) stereotypical coloured group, from my mixed parents backgrounds I look different and my hair (afro) is very different, in my anglo communities. (Live in sutherland shire, in probably the whitest area of sydney or feels like it....)”

There have been significant contributions to the field of mixed race studies and theories of belonging and identification (Orbe & Harris, 2008; Song, 2003; Williams, 2015). These works amongst many others have raised issues posed by individuals do occupy more than one ethnic/cultural background, how they negotiate their everyday lives and which side they pick as their dominant race. In the comment given by the survey participant several issues in regards to how they perceive themselves and how they view the world around them provides in intriguing insight into how they see the world. For example, take the comment “*(I) Live in (S)utherland (S)hire,*” without applying context to this it might seem as just a comment about the participant’s geographical location. Viewed in the Australian context, Sutherland Shire is a very affluent part of South Sydney in New South Wales. In recent times Sutherland Shire has controversially been associated with the Cronulla Riots which took place in December 2005. This riot was incited by tensions between Caucasian and Middle Eastern gangs over beach area (Special Broadcasting Service, 2015), these riots were later classified as a race incited incident stemming from long standing tensions and intolerance. More specifically the Caucasian proponents of the riots saw this as an invasion of white space by the growing Middle Eastern population. Thus, Sutherland Shire has a history of being marked as a white space.

The participant identifies that she looks different by stating that her parentage is of mixed decent and that her hair particularly stands out, as it is Afro. A sizable number of the survey participants identified that they were frequently asked questions about their hair and why it looked the way it did. Afro hair is a key marker during colonial times that was highlighted in mixed race individuals that even though their skin colour could *pass* the hair was a giveaway (Beneba Clarke, 2015; Mendoza, 2015). The next comment that the survey participant makes is that in her opinion Sutherland Shire is perhaps the whitest area of Sydney. This description completes how visibly different she feels in her skin, hair and surrounds, thus in a way voicing her isolation in this difference.

In this chapter, I have demonstrated that survey data is important in capturing and gathering previously unrecorded first-hand information from participants. The data on the views of African immigrants living in Australia was previously unavailable and no study at the writing of this thesis had surveyed the media uses and attitudes of African people living in Australia. The survey data yielded a substantial amount of information that can be used in the consideration of what positions this group occupies in Australian media as well as how they perceive how they are currently represented. As useful as the survey data is in providing this information to media producers or future researchers, it lacks the ability to provide a detailed account of the participants' lives. The responses offered in the survey only offer a snapshot of the views that the African respondents had on media representation and social perceptions of the group. It does not expose the day-to-day negotiations and challenges that the research participants face. I wanted to take this research a step further by digging deeper into the impact media representations and social perceptions on the participants' personal experiences. This is why I decided to include an oral history component to this study. In the next chapter: Chapter Four: Oral Testimonies of Africans Living in Australia, I seek to draw out these individual experiences in order to develop a holistic study that captures the African experience in the Australian media and social landscape.

**Chapter Four: Lived Experience of Living with Difference: Oral Testimonies of
Africans Living In Australia**



FIG. 28 P. Turner and Trimble (2016)

4.1 Introduction

This chapter captures how the moments identity and regulation in the *Circuit of Culture* (Du Gay et al., 1997) function in the life of the African individual. I examine how an immigrant individual articulates through speech, how they consume discourses in Australian media about themselves and what do they draw from it. Specifically, I explore how the discourse of mediated representations operates in the negotiation of identity in their everyday lives. These are fundamental issues to address, it is through the use of carefully considered methods of approach that this study is intended to yield results that provide new insights, voices and views of how African immigrants go through these moments of the circuit. Probyn (2007, p. 431) argues that the processes of production and consumption are best articulated in Hall (1999) through his research on encoding and decoding. As discussed in the literature review, the theory of encoding and decoding pays particular attention in noting the role of the *receiver of information* in analysing the message and ultimately deriving *meaningful content* from it. It is how the individual appropriates this meaningful content from their consumption into their everyday life that I intend on capturing in this section. I shall now expand on the key factors that I considered essential in the conduction of such a study.

I. Documenting the Experience

The main methodological problem is to find an analytical mechanism which can catch the subtlety of lived experience and how that is expressed through language or action or performance (Gray, 2003, p. 32)

Experience has long being argued as being subjective (Probyn, 2007). This challenge adds complexity to the research, particularly when understanding the alignments of culture, ethnicity and oppression. If meaning is constantly shifting and variable between individuals how can experience be documented? Gray (2003) states that this can be achieved through the analysis of language, action or performance, however what qualifies these three to be the most authentic experiences? How does the researcher know that they are not capturing the mundane passing of life on the part of the participant? In chapter two, I introduced discourse analysis as a strategy of inquiry. In this particular section, importance is given to the power that is created through the language of institutions (Wodak & Meyer, 2008b), how subjects

are positioned in the structuring of information (Mautner, 2008) as well as the context surrounding the way in which information is gathered (Van Dijk, 2000). These are essential subjects to cover but what is lost is the focus on the individual. “How do they behave? How might they feel” about their experiences? (Brabazon, 2011). Documenting the experience becomes equally as important as researching or writing about it. If the inappropriate methods of capturing the experience are employed, then the researcher may omit factors that might provide comprehensive understanding of the experience.

II. From Hot to Cold: Capturing the real¹³

Having discussed the importance of documenting the experience of the participants in this research project, the next essential step is how to capture the phenomenon. I have maintained throughout this thesis that discourse analysis is essential in analysing the macro context in which events or situations arise. However in attempting to capture the experiences of the participants on a micro level, more intimate research methods need to be employed. The interview has been heralded as a source of powerful data (Creswell, 2003, 2007; Denzin & Lincoln, 2013; J. Elliott, 2005). It permits the participant/interviewee to put into their own words, their comments and experiences. The oral tradition is valued for preserving and recording information. Interviewing is particularly important for other qualitative research methods such as ethnography especially in traditional societies whereby writing or photography is deemed disrespectful or inappropriate. Stone (1984) maintains that interviews can be broken down into two categories. The first being, interviews that are published as audio files “spoken memories, reminiscences and tales that circulate among groups of people” (1984, p. 3). The second type of interview also involves the recording of audio but “eventually some of these articulations are set down in writing, producing – documentary evidence” (Stone, 1984, p. 3). The second type of interview of transforming the recordings into text forms the bulk of research interview data that in qualitative studies. The categories

¹³ I have derived this concept from Marshall McLuhan’s (McLuhan, 1964) conceptualization of hot and cool media. He defined hot media as media that is data rich and requires minimal contribution from the audience because all the information is already there. For cool media he defines this as media lacking enough data, the audience has to fill in the gaps to complete the message. In my use of hot data, similar to McLuhan, I identify the interview participant as a hot or rich source of data in their ability to tell their stories of their experiences in their own words. I identify cold data as data that has been provided through the transformation of the hot data into a more stable form such as a transcript. The richness of the participants voice is lost, tone, pitch and emphasis are lost through this process.

of the interview are further broken down into subject/context specific criteria e.g. sociological interview, qualitative interview, in-depth interview and oral history interview. Having established that the interview is essential in capturing the micro experiences of the research group, the next step is deciding which interview is best suited for this research? Brabazon (2011) argues that interviews should only be done when other sources have been consulted and are found lacking of important information. This project seeks to capture the experiences of African immigrants living in Australia and how they perceive their representations in the media and how they utilise these representations in their everyday lives. I have established in previous chapters that much of the Australian literature dealing with African immigrants is conducted through the content analysis of secondary sources and this presents gaps in knowledge. These gaps include omissions in biographic information of the African group and specific discussion of specialised topics in reference to this group. In this analysis, the oral history interview would seem appropriate for the collection of this intimate data. In their work Brabazon et al. (2015) uphold that the source of information (the interviewee/participant) is *hot*. In this context *hot* is taken to mean a raw, active, personal and a loaded source of information (McLuhan, 1964). The richness or the *hottness* of the information that is obtained from the participant is best captured through oral history's ability to provide a means to rewrite "history, to include the views of average people... by means of attending to their accounts, new perspectives can be given concerning past events." (Stone, 1984, p. 8). Oral history interviews are designed to present authentic experiences of the people in an immediate form through the use of the voice. Portelli (1998a, 1998b) referenced in Clary-Lemon (2010) maintains that oral history is based in a narrative genre that intermediates the relationship of the individual to public life. Thus, as well as filling knowledge gaps, oral history interviews also contribute to areas of less known subjects such as cultural implications and internal struggles. These are perspectives that are often provided members of groups that have often been under represented in the dominant media (Clary-Lemon, 2010; Finnegan, 2007; Firouzkouhi & Zargham-Boroujeni, 2015).

In her work Brabazon (2011) argues "oral histories provide a vehicle to articulate the nature of oppression...from migrants not seen as (being) important based on dominant discourse."

III. Articulating the experience: Potentials and problems in deploying oral history interview as a method

Grele (1998, p. 41) maintains 30 years ago oral history was regarded with great suspicion and scepticism particularly by professional historians. He lays blame largely on the institutionalised doctrine of how professional historians believed historical events ought to be researched and documented. The written word dominated the spoken word. Cutler III (1970) warns of the pitfalls of oral history, particularly the accuracy of memory of which he deems to be wishful and fanciful when recalling events. This however this not the only barrier, the oral history interviewee's positioning in society and the 'cultural milieu' influence the validity of the oral testimony. Indeed these are factors that impact the legitimacy of information; however, oral history interviewing is often deployed in instances whereby the information is not available from any other source. As mentioned by Grele (1998) the value placed on oral history is not held in high esteem as that researched by a historian. However, in the seeking of information from relics, official documents or publications this also produces a version of history. One that has been *cleaned up* or *polished*, ready for consumption with a particular viewpoint and audience in mind (this is elaborated in chapter two). In this, one can observe that *official* history too can be corrupted by social and cultural milieu. Finnegan (2007) offers justification for oral history/testimony in stating that understanding oral history characteristics and meaning cannot be achieved through the application of literary standards of judgement. This means what historians look for in an artefact or interview differs from what a sociologist or media practitioner might ascertain. In this thesis, the oral history interview is not being conducted to confirm already existing information and interpretations. Instead, this study seeks to employ oral history to provide new and original knowledge into how the African interviewees perceive and articulate how they are represented in the media and socially. The researcher fully understands that this is subjective and contingent on a range of factors. Benison (1971, p. 291) offers a conceptualisation of what oral history is by confirming that:

An oral history is an autobiographical memoir, (it is) a first-hand interpretation, filtered through a particular individual experience at a particular moment in time (...it is) a beginning of an interpretation although not an end.

In this we see that oral history does not represent the full experience of an event, instead it seeks to capture how the interviewee recalls the experience in that particular moment. There will be problems in ascertaining the accuracy of individual memory as well as the levels of subjectivity of varied types of biases; however, emphasis should be placed in capturing

individual experience at a particular moment in time.

IV. Methods of Data Collection

An oral history project requires the organisation of interviews with the sources of information (participants). There are steps that need to be adhered to in order to successfully execute the project. The first stage that Stone (1984) lists as being important is surveying and explaining the project to the participant. In section Chapter Three, I explained how I recruited the participants for the survey and why these particular participants were targeted. This project carried on where chapter three left off. Out of the 101 respondents of the survey, 10 of the participants offered to share insights into their media consumption and attitudes in the oral history interviews. Information about the project was provided in written form for the participants to have opportunity to read the content at their leisure. The researcher also provided opportunity to meet with the participants face to face or telephone them to provide clarity and more information (information and consent forms can be found in the appendix). Establishing trust and rapport with research participants increases the chances of the participants opening up to the researcher (J. Elliott, 2005; Firouzkouhi & Zargham-Boroujeni, 2015; Hsieh & Shannon, 2005).

Preparing the oral history interview questions is essential, what is equally as important is the interviewer's background. How much experience does he or she have interviewing a diverse range of people? Is the researcher confident and the best option to interview the participants? I have eight years of experience working in community radio as a broadcaster and content producer. Through the years I have interviewed a range of people in different countries, backgrounds and occupations. This has given me experience that I can draw on in this study. The essential element in interviewing is making sure you allow the interviewee every opportunity to speak. It is their experience that you're trying to capture and this should not be unnecessarily interrupted or rigidly guided by structured questions. Semi structured questions are argued to be the best way of obtaining oral histories (Clary-Lemon, 2010; Finnegan, 2007). Semi-structured interviews permit the researcher to have some structure to the interview whilst catering for unexpected questions or discussions that might arise in the course of the interview. Another key aspect to consider is how the interview will be recorded. Digital hardware and software have made it easier to have access to a range of recording mechanisms. In this research I used a professional quality hand held recorder with a

microphone built in.

V. The Oral History interview: Asking questions of here and now and there and then

The objective of oral history is to collect the real experiences of groups that are usually not included in dominant texts. Reality is subjective, theoretical, political and variable. Oral history, seeks to capture *the real* experiences of the intended groups. In recording the undocumented experiences, the researcher has to take note of how the experience is constructed by taking particular note of what is said when and how. W. Fisher and Rosenthal (1991, p. 253) contend that researching people's histories "implies both, the question of the social function of biographies as well as the question of the social processes that constitute biographies." Put simply, this means collecting oral histories are two fold, firstly, the researcher has to have a firm idea of how the histories will be put to use after they have been collected. What is the purpose of collecting these? Secondly, what experiences help shape the participants accounts? Traditional historians argue that oral histories are subjective and thus can be considered to be a type of social construct. Like all social constructs, they are influenced by various factors such as the society in which one resides, the ability to recall experiences and what they feel is important to share with the interviewer. Oral histories are also regarded as social realities, this meaning the oral history given by the participant is defined by what they are currently experiencing, how they perceive themselves in that moment and how they choose to construct the information that they provide to the interviewer. How then can the interviewer decipher the 'real' life history and how the present social life situation of the interviewee impacts how they recall and present their past?

When conducting oral history interviews, there are many questioning methods one can take to achieve their desired result. In my case, I will be implementing the questioning method devised by Rosenthal (1993). This method of asking questions in oral history interviews is valid as it seeks to firstly and most importantly bring out the personal experiences of the interview participant in their own words that captures how they interpret their history in that moment without any prompts or encouragement from the interviewer. The objective for conducting oral history interviews is to capture the thoughts and opinions of the participant. I believe using this questioning method will yield the best possible results from my interviewees. In questioning, Rosenthal (1993) maintains that oral historians need to follow the three steps she outlines in order to achieve the best possible results from their research. I

shall list and detail the three steps of questioning below.

1. The first step is for the interviewer to ask the participant to relay their life story and experiences or a “full extempore narration.” At this point Rosenthal (1993, p. 3), stresses that the interviewer should not ask any further questions or try to influence recall from the participant. Instead, non-verbal encouragement and “paralinguistic expressions of interest and attention” are encouraged. This is done so as for the participant to rely what they feel is important and significant in their lives. This is their stream of conscious and a selection of narratives that they feel has shaped them.
2. The second stage of the interview involves the participation of both the interviewer and the interviewee. At this stage the interviewer can ask specific questions relating back to points that the interviewee mentioned before. This is done for several reasons. The first is to gain more clarity on points that in the participant’s history that the interviewer may need further insight on. Secondly, to make sure that the interviewer fully understands what the participant means in their narrative and lastly, to see if any further detail can be given about the experience.
3. The final stage seeks to delve deeper into the participants’ memory and recall details that may not have been mentioned in the interview or address any further question that the interviewer might have.

Rosenthal (1993) argues that this type of interrogation enables the researcher to tap into the research participants’ present definition or reconstruction of experiences that happened in the past. The analysis of oral interviews relies exclusively on the language the participants use to describe their experiences in the present as well as what they choose to reveal to the interviewer. By the same token, what the participant chooses to reveal and what they do not to the interviewer could limit how much of their oral history is captured. In conducting oral history interviews the ideal situation is having a participant who is ready and willing to talk about their lives but this is not always the case. Some participants need a bit more encouragement to open up about their experiences, some might gloss over significant events and some might completely not want to discuss particular aspects of their lives particularly in a recorded conversation. This is where developing a rapport before the interview becomes

essential so as to gauge how to conduct the interview as well as how to get the participant talking.

IV. Data Analysis for many voices

Rosenthal (1993) uses thematic analysis of oral history to derive themes from the interviews. She states that there are three, the first being deriving themes from the interview. This is essential in data analysis of oral history as this makes it a bit easier to sift through a large amount of data. This also helps give a bit of *method* in a way helps develop an advanced form of analysis. In this study, I identify some themes in the oral history testimonies from my participants to categorize the shared themes that African immigrants raise in their consumption of the Australian media as well as in the production and regulation of their social identities. This will aid me in categorizing the themes that are important to the African immigrants. These themes will be given further attention in the discussion session of the chapter. The second stage of data analysis after the thematic categorization is to determine the main categories that I wish to analyse in greater detail for my research. The aim of this thesis is to investigate how what African immigrants consume of *themselves* in the media helps to construct their social identities as well as how they feel they are perceived in society. Issues of the production and regulation of social identities will form the basis of this analysis. This strategy of inquiry is adapted from Firouzkouhi and Zargham-Boroujeni (2015). In their paper they present an innovative method of studying oral history in nursing. The authors emphasize that this method could be used in the study of all disciplines that are concerned with oral history as the framework is not based in a specific research tradition. Firouzkouhi and Zargham-Boroujeni (2015) outline four main stages in the analysis of oral history.

1. Data gathering through interviews with the oral witness and first level coding
2. Second level coding and determining sub-categories
3. Third level coding and determining the main categories
4. Connecting the main categories to each other and writing the narrative.

In using these stages in the analysis of my oral history testimony, I maintain a clear sequential stages in my data analysis as well as create a flow in the writing up of the narrative. I decided to follow the method outlined by Firouzkouhi and Zargham-Boroujeni

(2015) instead of Rosenthal (1993) for several reasons that I will outline. Firstly, Rosenthal's aim in her data analysis is to analyse the sequences of the oral history in proving and disproving premeditated hypotheses. In my analysis of my participants' oral histories I will not be seeking to have right or wrong answers but instead to capture the *moment of realness*, to capture what the participant feels is the account of their history and feelings about life events in that particular moment. It is essential to note that in the participants telling of their histories it is not just how they remember the past but what understanding of the past that they have and what meanings they attach to that particular moment. Another crucial point to note is what they choose to reveal to the interviewer in that moment based on the rapport that they form before and during the interview.

V. Methods of Data Editing & Analysis: The Three forms of Oral History

The imperative of oral history is that the participants' lives have value and therefore are held in high regard, therefore how does the researcher present the data that is collected from the oral interview? Brabazon et al. (2015) argue that oral history exists in three forms. The first being the spoken testament. This is the analogue face-to-face interaction that the interviewer has with the interviewee. This form of oral history exists in the moment and ends when the interview is terminated. The second form of oral history is the digital spoken word. This version is becoming the norm of oral history this is the sonic recording of the interview. Oral history interviews are now more commonly captured on digital recorders rather than cassette tapes. This way of capturing the voice is favoured more because of the ease in recording, duplicating and storing. The third and final version of oral history is the transcribed copy of the oral interview. This can be seen as the last link in the compilation of oral history data, after the interview is conducted via a recorder it is downloaded and stored as a digital file. The next stage is for the researcher to transcribe the words of the interview for further detailed analysis. The next pressing stage and question is how the researcher deals with the three forms of oral history. Which one is prioritized? What is included what is left out? And which one provides the researcher with the best version of the *real*?

The analogue face-to-face interaction

In the structuring of the hierarchy of the importance of interview data analogue or face-to-face data holds the greatest importance. In the moments when the interviewer and interviewee

are together, this is where the understandings of experiences, feelings about them and the meaning they have to the participant are shared. Atkinson (1998, p. 122) contends that in the sharing of these stories the interview participant has a chance to “affirm, validate and support (their) experiences socially and clarify the relationships with those around (them).” This provides the interview participants with the opportunity to view themselves both as an object as well as a subject in their recalling of their lives. It is important at this moment for the interviewer not to interject and allow the interviewee to rely *the singularity of their lives* without the interviewer offering some interpretation of what they might mean. Being that this thesis is predominantly based in in poststructural strand of theory, this can present a conflict in the bid to listen to the participants stories without trying to suggest some plurality of meaning to what they are saying (Brabazon & Chivaura, 2016). The primary focus of oral history is to capture how the interview participant remembers aspects of their lives, an issue or feelings they have or had. It is essential to regard the information they provide with respect and treat them as “the expert and the authority” (Atkinson, 1998, p. 122) of their lives. He reinforces this point in saying

The way an individual recounts a personal narrative at any point of his or her life represents the most internally consistent interpretation of the way that person currently understands the past, experiences the present, and anticipates the future.

This content however only exists during the interview, this is why it is important to have a recording device to capture the moments. This leads us up to the next section, which is the digital spoken word.

The digital spoken word

Digital recorders have become the preferred way of recording interviews. Some of these reasons include audio quality, ease of editing as well as the ease of data storage. By capturing the voice digitally, making copies as well as deriving key themes or comments is quick and simple to do. However with this come some ethical considerations and responsibilities. In the editing of digital media the data could be manipulated to better serve the interests of the researcher or to completely change the context and content of the interview. This of course is highly unethical, thus the researcher has a great responsibility in *representing* the data as authentically as it was delivered. In this research the aim is to present the full oral history

interview in the appendix section of the thesis in the form of digital files as well as the transcripts. I am doing this to provide complete transparency for the examiners to be able to cross check the data provided. Another reason is for the ease of accessing these interviews should further clarification or content be required. Selections of key/common themes will be drawn out from the interviews for deeper analysis in the discussion section of the chapter. I am employing these methods to present data so as to allow individuals who are interested in the research to have both versions of the interview participant's stories.

The second advantage of having a digital version of the spoken word in the thesis is to enable those interested in the oral histories of the participants to have the ability to *relive* the interview *moment* with the participants. As well trained in transcribing, as one might be, the word form of the interview does not fully capture the silences, inflections and emotions of the interview. These aspects add a layer to the interview that in their own right could be examined and provide more information about the participant's feelings about a particular subject.

The third advantage of capturing the interview digitally is that the content can be published (with the participants consent) on a range of media platforms such as radio, television, online newspapers/magazines, online radio, social media, just to name a few. In including the full digital version of the oral interview in the thesis this allows for moments that cannot be described on paper to be heard by interested individuals. Bakhtin (2010, p. 269) argues that trying to force every last utterance onto paper will inevitably come across 'flat and abstract' and loses the fluidity of social interaction (Bucholtz, 2007). For the purposes of this thesis the main aim is to identify the main concerns and comments that African immigrants living in Australia have based on how they are represented in the media and socially. It becomes essential to discuss why the transcribed version of the interview is also important.

The transcribed copy of the oral interview

Transcriptions are important in interview based research as their aim is to present the written version of the spoken word. Thus the accuracy of transcription is essential in deriving the precision in meaning. In the transfer from the spoken word to the written word there has to be some editing in order to present the information. This is where the biggest flaw in transcription lies. There are varied modes of how one can transcribe interview data based on

what they want to derive from the data. For instance, in linguistic transcription, pauses, data interpretation (spelling) and data representation (representing the verbalisation) are highly important (Bailey, 2008). In presenting life story transcriptions, the interviewer's comments are left out and what the participant says is organised in a series of paragraphs to read as a story. Generally in oral history transcriptions both what the interviewer and the interviewee say are included in the transcription process. In this one can observe that dependent on the method of transcription the data transforms in how it is presented and what is included.

In this thesis I will transcribe the sections that I analyse thematically. The rest of the data will be included as a digital file in the appendix of the thesis. This is done so that I preserve as much as I can of the participants original words, silences, emotion and inflections. The parts of the interview that I do transcribe will be done from the poststructuralist perspective of discourse analysis. This is to continue the flow of poststructural theory within the thesis but perhaps most importantly to analyze the content of the interview in relation to the macro structures surrounding the participants. Some researchers consider transcription to be a representational form (Davidson, 2009). In my use of discourse analysis in my transcriptions I will be specifically looking at the content of the discourse. This take on transcription has been criticised by some as not being adequate and being insufficient in its representation of interaction (Bucholtz, 2000, 2007). My intention in this research is not to fixate on *how* words are said but rather *what* is said. I will include some linguistic transcription methods such as signifying pauses, hesitations, and idiosyncrasies, but this is not the focal point of the research.

Real Stories in Real Time

As discussed earlier, the objective of this chapter is to provide a space for Africans immigrants living in Australia to voice their opinions on how they believe they are perceived and understood by the Australian media and society. Second, to allow them to voice their opinion on how this impacts how they view themselves in relation to the dominant discourse that surrounds them in Australian media as well as how this has an effect on their personal and private identities. In this regard, in chapter two, the African immigrant is perceived as an object within discourse through the representation in media and society. I elaborated on how this type of presentation often excludes the African being part of the discourse instead focusing on the presentation of the body as a signifier of the outsider who is only known

through racial characterisation. In this chapter I seek to position the African immigrant as the subject of discourse as a contributory participant and a conscious participant who acknowledges and has a positioning in that discourse.

4.2 Who Came Out To Play? Profile of Interview Participants

In this study, I had 10 participants who were willing to share their oral testimonies. In my participant recruitment, one of my main concerns was to getting a gender balance. This was a key concern because in research particularly that of ethnic or minority studies most of the participants involved are usually male (Jakubowicz & Seneviratne, 1996; Mainsah, 2009; Special Broadcast Service, 2010). I wanted to capture a diversity of opinions in my study, however, this did not materialise and I ended up having six males and four females. I do not feel that this balance skews the results, as the study was not particularly based on gendered roles or gender specific issues. The interviews took place in two formats; the first was face-to-face interviews with the participants. These interviews took place in Melbourne, Victoria. Sydney, New South Wales and Adelaide, South Australia. The second format was via Skype; the participants of these were located in Regional New South Wales and Adelaide. The following is a brief summary of the participants that took part in the study.

Name	Sex	Age	Occupation	Length of Stay in Australia
Kunashe	Male	23	Physiotherapist	17 years
Reginald	Male	28	Intern Pharmacist	10 years
Beulla	Female	24	Hotel Client Manager	11 years
Leslie	Male	20	Undergraduate Student	15 years
Rambayi	Male	52	Workplace Counsellor	16 years
Stanley	Male	28	Postgraduate Student/Aged Care Worker	2 ½ years
Hilda	Female	39	Professional	14 years

			Photographer	
Sheila	Female	27	Registered Nurse/Aged Care Worker	2 years
Ignatius	Male	40	University Lecturer	10 years
Nancy*	Female	26	Postgraduate Student	6 years

FIG. 29 Oral History Interview Participants

As discussed in the data collection section of this chapter, all the participants of the oral history Interviews were provided with a letter of information about the study and a consent form (A copy can be found in the appendix section). All apart from one participant (Nancy*, not her real name) agreed to be identified in the study. The age groups of the participants ranged between 20 and 52 years of age. The length of stay in Australia ranged from 2 years to 17 years. I feel this breakdown of age and length of stay provides the study with a varied range of participants with differed lived experiences of life in Australia. All the participants involved in this study held a tertiary qualification or were in the process of attaining one. This last point is interesting to note because in chapter two: Discourses Surrounding Africans in Australian Media and Society, out of 198 articles only seven articles identified African immigrants as having any qualifications. The birth countries of the participants were varied and fell as follows:

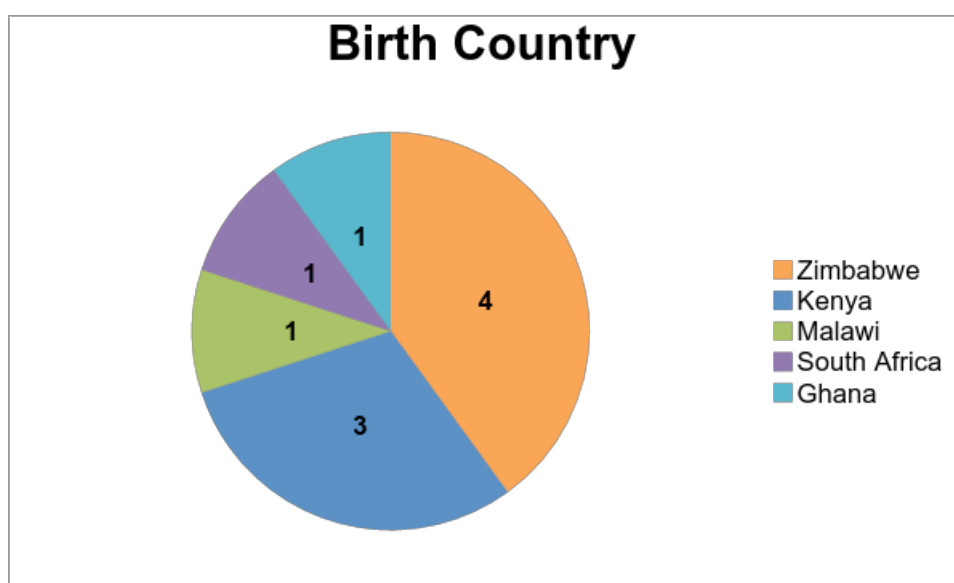


FIG. 30 Birth Country of Interview Participants

As demonstrated by the pie chart above the majority of the participants were Zimbabwean and Kenyan. This is also presented in the chapter three: Surveying the Demographic, the two main participant groups that provided responses identified as being Zimbabwean (39) and Kenyan (18). The participants provided varied reasons for relocating to Australia, these ranged from:

1. Parents wanting to pursue further study relocating with their children.
2. Students relocating for further study
3. Marriage
4. Reuniting with family
5. Employment opportunities

Referring back to chapter two - Discourses Surrounding Africans in Australian Media and Society - the top news articles were of the migration crisis in Europe and Refugee community events. In this study, based on the disclosure I got from the participants none identified as having migrated to Australia fleeing war or coming through an asylum seeker pathway. This again disproves the dominant discourse surrounding Africans in Australia. The fact that all the participants had a tertiary education or were in the process of attaining one, were employed in some capacity and had come to Australia through the usual migration patterns shows that there is some type of bias in mediated reports in which Africans feature. This is not to say that Africans who came to Australia through other pathways such as Asylum or Seekers or Refugees are any less relevant to the study. However, I wanted to show that that other pathways and career channels are also available and utilised by African immigrants, this is something that is not commonly reported on.

The objective of this chapter was to obtain detailed first-hand information of how African immigrants living in Australia perceive their representations in the media. Secondly how these representations influence how they believe they are socially recognised and what bearing this has on their everyday lives. This is not a simple task to investigate and requires a methodology and theoretical framework that guides the research and locates the key influences and variables in the everyday lives of the participants. Aforementioned in the previous chapters there tends to be an objectification of African immigrations in Australian

media. Hence, in this chapter I want to position African immigrants as the subjects of discourse in documenting their experience. The oral interviews that form the key component of this chapter gives this immigrant group the space to *answer back* to what is written *about* and *for* them. In my role as researcher in this thesis, I am not just writing about the African experience in Australia as an external phenomenon of which I have no connection to. Instead my research and writing to a degree also capture my lived reality. In my role as the interviewer, my intention was not to share my experiences with the participants but in some cases the participants would ask me questions about my own experiences

Hilda, Question 18, 16:33

- Yes, yeah I um...I h...where are you from Sunny?

17:12 *I was born in Zimbabwe ummm... so we moved to England when I pretty young, we moved when I was 8 so...having left Zimbabwe to England where its more multicultural definitely than Australia (yeah) then moving to Australia, particularly regional Australia (yeah) that's, that's what sparked me to sort of do this research*

In these instances I felt as though I had/could share a little bit about my life with the participants to create rapport as well as to be transparent. This is also an example of how through my belonging to the ethnic and or cultural group of most of the participants they felt they could ask me about my experiences and insights on certain matters (Baak, 2011; Mainsah, 2009; Moore, 2008). In my inclusion of the transcripts collected from the interviews as well as the digital audio files, this adds reflexivity to the data in the ways in which it is accessed in conjunction with reading the thesis. Most importantly, the use of the digital files as well as the transcripts puts the missing voice of African immigrants through the ten personal oral histories. The aim is to show that African immigrants living in Australia,

Are not simply passive reactors to cultural cues, rather they exert agency in their identity presentation in response to their categorisation and treatment by others (Wiley & Deaux, 2011, p. 51)

I have established that this chapter is methodologically complex. How does one go about examining voice recordings, transcripts and digitising the data in a way that is comprehensible? Even though I only conducted ten interviews, they ranged between 18 to 50

minutes. This presents a large data set of transcripts and audio. How then do I control the data and present it in a traditional academic fashion? I stated earlier that I would be using the model proposed by Firouzkouhi and Zargham-Boroujeni (2015) of categorising the data in a thematic way. In doing so, it captures significant moments within the oral histories; however one has to be selective of the themes or moments they want to capture. If too much data is included it could fragment or disperse the intended meaning. This is why I am choosing to present select responses from the participants in the topics that I choose. The word limit set for the requirements of this thesis do not allow me to explore each individual participant's response. This is why including the full digital files of the interviews is important so that for those who might want to hear a particular participant's responses in detail they have the option to. In this chapter I have decided to go with four key themes, these are:

1. Dominant Cultural Narratives: How Australians understand what it means to be African?
2. Racial Characterization: How Africans understand how the Australian media to perceive them.
3. Situating oneself within the discourse: Everyday questions about race and ethnicity.
4. Questions of Identity performance and Xenophobia.

These four themes are derived from the six core questions from the oral interviews:

1. In your own opinion, what do you think the Australian population know about Africa and being African?
2. What are some of the things that you have been asked about your ethnicity or background?
3. How did you take this? What was your response?
4. How do you think the media in Australia understands or depicts Africans? Can you give me some examples
5. How do you think this benefits/impacts how the general Australian population understand what it is to be African?
6. Based on how you have seen Africans represented in Australian media, has this impacted how you present yourself in public? What have been some of the consequences of this?

The essence of these questions was to establish how African immigrants as subjects, position

themselves within Australian mediated discourse. Second, and equally important was how the African immigrants identified and categorised themselves within Australian society based on what the *general public* perceived them to be. If we are going through the moments with in *The Circuit of Culture* (Du Gay et al., 1997), this is where we would examine the moments of identity and regulation. In the literature review section (chapter one), I touched upon how identity is conceptualised and theorised. In the following section, I want to delve a bit deeper into this conceptualisation and theorisation of identity and its regulation principally through the ideas of Stuart Hall. Following this I will explore the themes present in the oral history interviews.

4.3 Identity and Identification

Identity is formed in the ‘interaction’ between self and society. The subject still has an inner core or essence that is ‘the real me’, but this is formed and modified in a continuous dialogue with the cultural worlds ‘outside’ and the identities which they offer (Hall, 1992, p. 276)

The focus on identity in the quote above demonstrates the change in Stuart Hall’s theorisations from when he was at the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) as head of the Centre and when accepted the position of Professor of Sociology at the Open University. In this quote there is a distinct sociological turn in how Hall conceptualises identity. In his work at the CCCS there was a strong emphasis on interrogating how ideological systems impacted the *everyday person*. In the quote above from a book section he was featured in shortly after commencing as Professor of Sociology he offers the interrogation of the subject and not the system as a focal point. In a way, this is a minute glimpse into Hall’s theorisation of identity. He argued that identity was always in flux (Hall, 1987, 1990, 1992, 1996a, 1997c, 2000) its conceptualisation cannot be fixed, in a way this also applied to his theorisation of identity. Solomos (2014, p. 1673) maintains that:

Hall’s style was never to argue that his work was a repository of a ‘truth’ as such. He saw his work as in some sense always in development, always unfinished.

In Stuart Hall’s work on identity, race and belonging - much like myself - he was not only a researcher/theorist but in some ways he (we) was (are) researching and theorising about his

(our) own identity and social standing. Hall argued that the traditional way of viewing identity was through the conception that it was a stable and unified which he termed the *Enlightened Subject* (Hall, 1992; Shaw, 2013). This presentation of the enlightened subject can be seen in the way Australian media portrays the identities of Africans particularly African males (see chapter two). Black males are identified as having particular *fixed identities* as gang members, violent, dangerous and this type of representation seems to be on a loop. These types of representations are the dominant ideological view of African men in Australia as evidenced in the content analysis; African men are presented as objects within the ideological discourse. Hall offers two more types of identity the *Postmodern Subject* and the *Sociological Subject*. In these two categorisations of identity, Hall offers the subjects position as being active in terms of their *self* as well as their surroundings to varying degrees. In the postmodern theorisation of identity, Hall argues that the subject has no fixed identity, it is continuously morphing (Shaw, 2013). He maintains that this type of identity becomes a,

‘Movable feast’: formed and transformed continuously in relation to the ways we are represented or addressed in cultural systems which surround us. (Hall, 1992, p. 277)

In this regard, the subject is presented as not having ownership of his or her identity, he or she is at the mercy of the ever revolving door of life. In Hall’s terminology he describes the subject as *not being coherent*; this creates further emphasis on the fact that in the postmodern conceptualisation of identity Hall does not believe the subject plays a role in the forming, controlling or regulation of identity. Brabazon, Redhead, et al. (2016) maintain that in Hall’s undertaking in offering a definition of a postmodern identity his understanding was based on the critique of grand narratives. *Fixed* conceptions of race, gender or, class were starting to shift and were longer *solid*. Brabazon, Redhead, et al. (2016) uphold that during the 1980s and 1990s there seemed to panic in academia in trying to find a way of trying to contain the volatility in the structure of the traditional grand narratives. Suddenly *everything* that could not be clearly defined in structural terms was defined as being postmodern, which was an error. Theorists such as Foucault and Derrida, who have a strong poststructuralist inflection in their work, were being promoted as being postmodern. “Postmodern became this all-encompassing phrase for the current or contemporary” (Brabazon, Redhead, et al., 2016) at that time. In the case of Hall, this can be observed in the way that he theorised the postmodern identity, it was uncertain, untameable and had no way to be understood. Unlike his other work in postructuralism, economics, history, politics, Hall’s postmodern interest

never really took off nor did it have a large presence in his theorisation. It is for these reasons that I believe that using the postmodern conceptualisation of identity is inappropriate for this study. The last offering of Hall's three types of identity is that of the sociological subject. In defining the sociological subject, the argument is that the individual knows who they are and but they are also exposed to the social world which might influence how they choose to act in certain situations. Hall (1992) emphasises that it is the relationship between the individual and their social world in which identity is continually formed and modified. However, unlike the postmodern conception, in the sociological subject the individual has an understanding and control of their true self. In this theorisation of identity Hall shares the sentiments of sociological interpretations of the self by theorists such as Denzin (1992), Mead (1967, 2003) and Goffman (1959, 1967, 2012), who maintained that the individual has great agency in defining their identity. It is through this agency that individuals have the ability/power to know who they are but also select certain aspects from their social lives that they chose to adopt and incorporate into their everyday or select identities. I feel it is this active conscious decision making on behalf of the individual that makes the social subject the appropriate type of identity to utilise in this chapter. It is the individual African immigrant experience in relation to their social (and mediated) worlds that I am aiming to uncover. Having established what types of identity theorisations there are according to Stuart Hall, the next stage is to define what and how identification works.

Hall (1992) defines identification as a process in which the individual locates themselves with particular discourses or ideologies. For instance, there is a type of identification in nationhood. What does it mean to be Australian? Who is granted Australian citizenship, what is the traditional view of what it is to be Australian? Who is left out of this discourse? These are all points for consideration in an individual's identification process. In this chapter I am analyzing the identification by positioning of African immigrants within the Australian context, most notably in the media and society. Shaw (2013, p. 145) states, "Identification, like identity, is a process. Both connect through representation and none exists outside a relationship to the other two." I have produced the diagram below to illustrate how identity, identification and representation work together based on the quote from (Shaw, 2013).

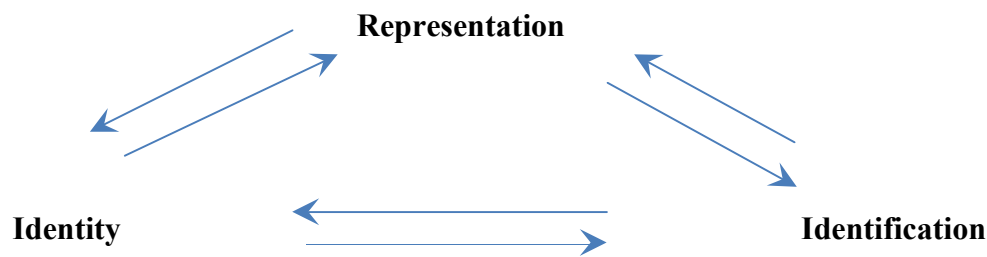


FIG. 31 Stuart Hall Representation, Identity & Identification Model

In this diagram, the representational process is positioned as the social world; in modern society people are learning more about each other through mediated forms. As discussed in chapter two: Discourses Surrounding Africans in Australian Media and Society, the media occupy a powerful position in which messages are disseminated on a wider scale to a larger audience and certain ideas become naturalised as they would have in traditional society. In this case representations (to a degree) inform the African immigrant's identity and identification processes, put simply:

Identity = representation + identification to representation

Identification = representation + identity formed

Shaw (2013, p. 145) maintains that “all three are part of an ongoing never finished process, but at that moment when all three connect we can talk about their existence, their limitations and their nuances.

4.4 Themes of Analysis

In section 4.2 (Who Came Out To Play? Profile of Interview Participants) I introduced the four themes that I would be exploring based on the information that I received from the ten interview participants. This section will be drawing on poststructural theory to explore how African immigrants living in Australia perceive their mediated representation as well as how they construct their social identities. I will be utilising excerpts from the interview transcripts to demonstrate what was said by the participants and the theorization that goes with it. It is important to show these two together as this is a way of demonstrating theory in action as

well as presenting the data from the research. As I mentioned before I will not be analysing each individual's responses but picking significant moments in their testimonies to highlight. My intention is to highlight the thoughts and views that African immigrants have based on their experiences in Australia both socially and mediated.

4.5 Dominant Cultural Narratives: How Australians understand what it means to be African?

In the data collected from the oral interviews, there was strong consensus amongst the respondents that the *general public* in Australia had limited knowledge of what it was be African and to come from Africa. The responses from the participants were drawn from personal encounters that they had and in some cases they offered possible reasons as to why they thought the Australian public had these views. Other examples were drawn from mediated representations and the dominant themes of Africa and Africans shown in these. In this study both personal accounts and experience of the participants as depicted in the media play critical roles. The media as a dominant ideological institution informs and to a significant degree controls what information about particular groups is disseminated (Cover, 2012; Kuhn, 2009; Nolan et al., 2016; Nolan et al., 2011; Sohoni & Mendez, 2014). Rappaport (2000) maintains that lived experiences as well as mediated representations are what form dominant cultural narratives:

Overlearned stories communicated through mass media or other large social and cultural institutions and social networks. The dominant cultural narratives are known by most people in a culture. They are often communicated in shorthand, as stereotypes (welfare mother, college student, housing project resident) that conjure up well-practiced images and stories (Rappaport, 2000, p. 5)

In this instance, the limited knowledge the Australian media provides about Africans forms the basis of what Africans are and what they *cannot* be. The common themes the participants identified as being dominant narratives in what it means to be African were:

1. Africans as hungry, savages and full of disease

Reginald, Question 4, 8:56

They have their own specific way like a place where people are starving, going about without any food where there is poverty where they will get sick the moment they land, where umm... you're going to get chased by a wild animal

Sheila, Question 10, 6:46

I think they think Africans, we don't, we're not educated (*um*) and I also feel like they, they don't know much about Africa like you know like in Africa when we were studying you know history and geography we, we knew about continents and we knew about how many countries were in continents but I'm usually surprised that they always think it's just about South Africa and the rest, the deserts were you know we just die of hunger. I have been asked very strange questions, I have been told I speak good English did I learn it here?

In these descriptions from the participants, the themes that they point out as being what the perceptions of Africa are could be based on the colonial view of Africa (Czajka, 2005; Gilroy, 1992; Tan, 2016). It is interesting to note in Sheila's response she notes that Africans are perhaps more knowledgeable of the history and geography of the world than Australian nationals. The fact that she highlights that there is a lot of knowledge about South Africa and not much about anywhere else is significant. The fact that South Africa has the largest Caucasian population in Africa in a way makes it the most relatable African country for *general* Australians. As discussed in chapter two (Discourses Surrounding Africans in Australian Media and Society), Australia and South Africa have a shared history of colonisation and segregation/apartheid of the Indigenous people. Thus there was comradeship through politics as well as through sports. However, in forming such associations is this simply drawing on the racist colonial ideologies? Hasford (2016, p. 159) draws on Fanon (1967) in his argument of how dominant cultural narratives arise. In his use of Fanon he noted that:

European history books, comic books and literature served to propagate myths about the inherent savagery of blacks and the superiority of whites

Referring back to Sheila's response, she demonstrates that South Africa is given a privileged position in its representations and cultural narratives. On the other hand there also tends to be ignorance in the fact that some people do not associate being Caucasian and being African. Hilda, a South African participant who also happened to be Caucasian explained that:

Hilda, Question 9, 6:13

based on my appearance and the fact that I have a lighter colour skin so they would say to me that 'they didn't realise that there were white people in South Africa and when my family moved there in the 1600s so I really consider myself to be African (*laughter*) just like anyone else umm... but yeah...it's just based on my appearance...and I suppose that's ignorance

In this scenario, Hilda is provided a privileged position. Surely, a white woman cannot be associated with a continent full of savages, hunger and disease, there is no way she can call that place home. Hilda's response captures the point that I trying to make, that Africanness comes with a particular loading especially if one is Black African. In this, arbitrary selections of particular features are used to fetishize and from group narratives of what one ought to be (Brabazon, Redhead, et al., 2016), with race being the chief signifier of this. In the Black African participants there seemed to be a constant battle of them trying to justify where they came from and what types of lives they lead, this is demonstrated by the response given by Kunashe:

Kunashe, Question 9, 6:31

People always ask um what, what my home was like in Africa, um I think people often have the view that you know... (stummer) certainly having that image of a third world country that ... that they don't always expect that you'd be able to describe the infrastructure that we have. I mean growing up I lived on an acreage with um... quite a substantial sized house, um you know many fam... some family that I had and friends that lived in the area had swimming pools and con... gaming consoles and what not, what

not so I suppose that link between umm... you know... what I know Africa or my experience of Africa to be like and what people perceive it to be like is always often wrong. Err other people often ask the education, particularly, as I grew up and started university and stuff like that people ask me often you know, 'what is the education like in Africa?' I mean coming from Zimbabwe, I think it's got, it's one of the highest rates of education in the continent so most of the people that you come across in the street are well educated are quite vocal, quite eloquent in the way in which they speak and are quite knowledgeable about a vast array of things so er that had sort of shocked me that people would think that you know, across the continent you wouldn't find you know people which high levels of tertiary education erm (tut) and then other things you know people often ask about the day to day life, I think people in Africa have more of a link to umm.. you know the rural side of things, most people come from some type of village or farm and you are able to relate umm... to those types of questions because you can say my family has a farm in this particular rural province but at the same time um people think that's where day to day life is spent where most people at least where I come from actually live in the city in suburban houses and go about work or life in a not too different way than they would in a country like Australia.

In his description of Zimbabwe, there are many similarities to suburban life in Australia. Growing up on an acreage, swimming pools, gaming consoles, tertiary education, these are all things that do not usually get associated with Africa. Had the fact that Kunashe was describing life in Zimbabwe been omitted, his description would suit most of middle class Australia. So why isn't this version of Africa shown? In cultures that are dominated based on racial or cultural difference omitting the positive aspects make it easier to suit a more sinister narrative that meets the ideological discursive needs. Sinclair, Sidanius, and Levin (1998) note when societies are marked by group-based hierarchies, members of devalued ethnic groups are more likely to see ethnic and national identification as incompatible. This makes it easier to *construct* spaces in which they are permitted, thus making the discourse surrounding them easier to control (Hall et al., 1978; 2013; Lawrence, 2007; Van Dijk, 2000, 2015).

In the responses provided, they seem to align with the initial responses collected from chapter two: Discourses Surrounding Africans in Australian Media and Society and chapter three: Surveying the Demographic. In the participants retelling of some perceptions people hold of them, it reveals the objectification of the discourse surrounding Africans in Australia. This is

demonstrated in the way that questions are asked to them. Instead of asking questions to understand the individual for instance, how did you develop an interest in physiotherapy? Or I don't know much about Ghana, could you tell a little bit about what it's like? Instead, according to the responses the participants provided, questions are posed to them to understand the individual in the context of their Africanness/Blackness. This means the individual constantly has to offer their identity in context of their geographical origins, meaning one cannot exist just a *regular Aussie* but rather must constantly reflect on their life pre-immigration (Selasi & TedGlobal, 2014).

Rambayi, Question 11, 12:17

You could live here for 20 years, 50 years those comments are still the same (*um*) there is another guy a Zimbabwean he has been here, he has been here for ... I think for about 30 years or so (*ok*)... he was still being asked those same questions after having stayed here for over 30 years. Its (*sic*) unfortunate he passed away some time last year but in the experiences we're the same. Even after having stayed here for that long. (*um... so do you think...*) there's that stereotyping that stays amongst most Australians here its ehh... just ... but yeah

It is this constant looking back at ones past life to provide context for their present life that Fanon (2011) argues constantly traps the *black soul* within a particular time and place.

I am not given a second chance. I am overdetermined from the outside. I am a slave not to the 'idea' others have of me, but to my experience. (Fanon, 2011, p. 424)

This experience that Fanon (2011) speaks of an experience that draws upon the colonial and marginalised experience. The African constantly has to carry past atrocities to determine their social positioning. In reference to the responses provided by the participants, the responses they provided were never expected to have a similarity to the Australian way of life (See Kunashe's response above) instead it has the fit the colonial/explorer paradigm. In this regard the *black soul* must occupy a subordinate position in their response.

In South Africa there are two million whites against almost thirteen million native people, and it has never occurred to a single black to consider himself superior to a

member of the white minority. (Fanon, 1967, p. 93)

It is through the colonial placing of ethnic minorities in subordinate positions through literature, representation and discourse that Lawrence (1982, 2004, 2007) claims develop into common sense racist ideologies. These are based in the traditional understandings of colonial empire definitions of nation and belonging “which explicitly exclude black people.” (Lawrence, 1982, p. 48). This is not to say that racist or essentialist ideologies have to be explicitly articulated in order for them to be present. It is within the implicit questioning and presumptions that these ideologies continue to exist.

Leslie, Question 13, 11:18

Again its ...it's hard to say because you know you don't really talk about it too much with other people it's kinda one of those things that you try to brush off but um...you do...you do... feel as though there are instances where u... a lot more attention is directed towards you and you ...you do have to be aware that you are ummm.. that you do stand out in certain situations and that does affect how you portray yourself, how you talk, how you dress, how you interact with other people.

Stanley, Question 8, 9:22

I was like oh no, we have racism here as well but it's not...anyone will come and racist you (*racially attack*) openly, but you can feel it, not everyone but reasonably a population will not ...might overlook you, or look you down or not feel safe with you when you're walking in a carpark to your car and then if people see you they just scatter and get into their cars and if someone was just sitting in their car and making a phone call and they see you come or... they quickly pull up the windows and ...I was like it's in the middle of the day and the carpark is full of people so you shouldn't feel threatened but its life.

Leslie and Stanley's testimonies demonstrate the power the black body holds in Australian society, particularly that of the black male. The black male is seen to signify danger, barbarism and untrustworthiness. Again the examples found in the content analysis conducted in chapter two: Discourses Surrounding Africans in Australian Media and Society, provides

validation for this. Black males in the media are positioned as dangerous and unstable (Bolt, 2016; Brook & Palin, 2016; Due, 2008; Nunn, 2010; Windle, 2008). In the scheme of things the manifestation of negative discourse surrounding black males in Australia is part of the ongoing struggle globally particularly in the case of the United States of America. In the past year alone (January 2016- August 2016) 71 black unarmed males, with no visible threats detected and not fleeing the scene were fatally shot by the police (The Washington Post, 2016).

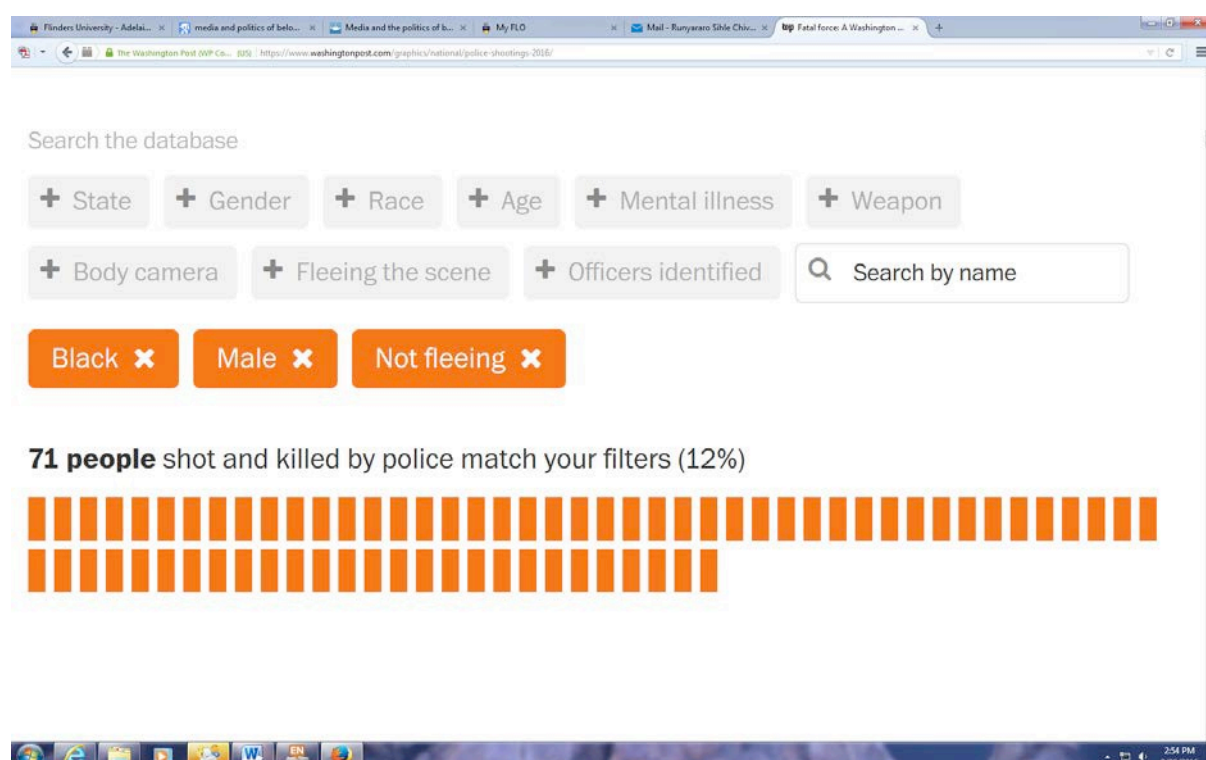


FIG. 32 Unarmed Black Males Fatally Shot By Police in the U.S.A 2016

Fortunately, in Australia events have not got this bad however with the continual vilification of black males who is to say that the response by officials will not escalate? In terms of the female respondents there was no reporting of perceived threats, instead questions were based more on what the participants deemed to be ignorant questions. Questions of language ability, education attainment and beauty regimes seemed to be more prominent.

Nancy, Question 10, 9:05

on my first graduation, when I was graduating with my Masters, a professor in the

school was studying my Masters in (*um*) came up to me and she saw me ... it was actually a he, he saw me with these very nice high shoes, high heels...and he said “Oh those look good on you” “Did you get them here?” and I went “no, I got them from home ” and he went “Oh geez, so you have shopping malls? That’s you can get something like this, this is just unbelievable.” And honestly his mind was looking like it was being blown ... because he was like in so much shock. We are talking about a professor, in the university, so er... this was not a uneducated person at all,...and I remember just feeling ‘ew where do you think we get our clothes and our shoes and all these things?’ so...it’s an ignorant comment that stuck with me because of who it came from, not because it was said to me because you hear that a lot

Beullah, Question 13, 5:10

For example, whether I...where I learnt how to speak English, if it was, do they speak English in Africa ummm... places that I have lived like if I have lived in a hut or.... Just questions like that which what I would say what they have seen on the media and they see people living in stone hut and not a lot of... they don’t really show the towns in Africa so ermm... and they ... they would assume that I don’t speak English because I am from Africa but ... it’s a language that I grew up speaking as well, or that my English is quite good for someone who is from Africa

As detailed in chapter two, black African women in Australian media don’t occupy dominant positions. Brabazon, Chivaura, et al. (2016) argue that promoting the discourse of the non-threatening female would *dilute* and throw off the persistent discourse of the savage black man.

2. Homogenous grouping of all countries into one

Stereotypes provide a comforting sense of group continuity; the ground one in a tradition, which is especially valuable in the fragmented modern world; and they spare one the effort of really dealing with another person, of confronting him in his individual richness and complexity. (Kovel, 1984, p. 212)

The second key theme in dominant cultural narratives was that of homogenous groupings of

Africa as one country. The participants believed that most Australians did not seem to know that there were varied cultures, economies and languages within the continent. Rather, skin colour was deemed to be the commonality and tying factor to homogeneity.

Media representations refugees from Africa are often presented as being members of a single community, with no ethnic or linguistic boundaries recognised and nation often standing for 'race'. (Windle, 2008, p. 554)

This picking of an arbitrary feature that ties a particular ethnic group is what Kovel (1984) deems to be *metaracism*. Kovel (1984) maintains that the traditional form of *dominative racism* has been succeeded by an *aversive racism*. In this, racism can be seen as no longer being an outward manifestation but instead it is maintained through a *symbolic* type of racism that is embedded in the *unquestioning unconscious*. In this instance the 'common/general' belief that all Africans are the same is a manifestation of metaracism.

Reginald, Question 5, 10:46

Since I rarely get people asking me about my particular background umm... unless I actually push it on them, um I think they usually just see you as African, they don't really see you Ghanaian or any of that so ...unless, unless you actually become more familiar with them...

They just assume you to be part of the bigger population of Africans in Australia they wouldn't really try to tell you apart from them you asking where you come from or anything like that. So if they see a bunch of umm...like say um...say umm... a bunch of Africans doing something over there they expect you to automatically identify with that or ... in their mind they will just assume you to be part of it so yeah um ...

Kunashe, Question 8, 5:07

Errm.... I think if you're asking me what they know about Africa, I think many people, if you were to give people a map to pin point where Africa was they'd be able to, I think people necessarily wouldn't know where certain countries are situated umm... (tut) I think people fairly have, for the most part, have a pretty reserved view

and what I mean by that is that they.... They feel like they have some idea but because they don't fully know the continent itself they won't really come out with such a harsh judgment. At times I think the harsh judgment or the way in which they view things is fairly narrow minded in the sense that, you know...the... the belief of it being a third world continent for the most part um people don't understand the diverse nature of the continent so yeah um...

In the media, there seems to be a prevalent representation of particular types of countries, as previously discussed, it is that of *World Vision* types of Africans (hungry, homeless, uncivilised), crafting, singing women or South African sport. There is not much that exists in-between. As argued in chapter two: *Discourses Surrounding Africans in Australian Media and Society*, by limiting the space in which Africans occupy it helps makes their existence more abstract. In their alienation and dehumanisation it is easier to control their discourse.

Hall (1992) maintains that in the representation of the:

'Black' identity, (it) is not that they are culturally, ethnically, linguistically or even physically the same, but they are seen and treated as the same (i.e. non-white other) by the dominant culture (Hall, 1992, p. 308)

My argument, with the support of participant responses collected in chapter two and four is that the media try to push the one sided homogenous side of Africans. In so doing, the media controls how Africans are perceived in society. By showing Africans as being violent or not being law abiding citizens this changes and affects how people with no first-hand knowledge of the group come to think and voice their opinions of the group. Take for instance the *Special Broadcasting Cooperation* produced a feature on an African festival held in Sydney (Feng, 2016).

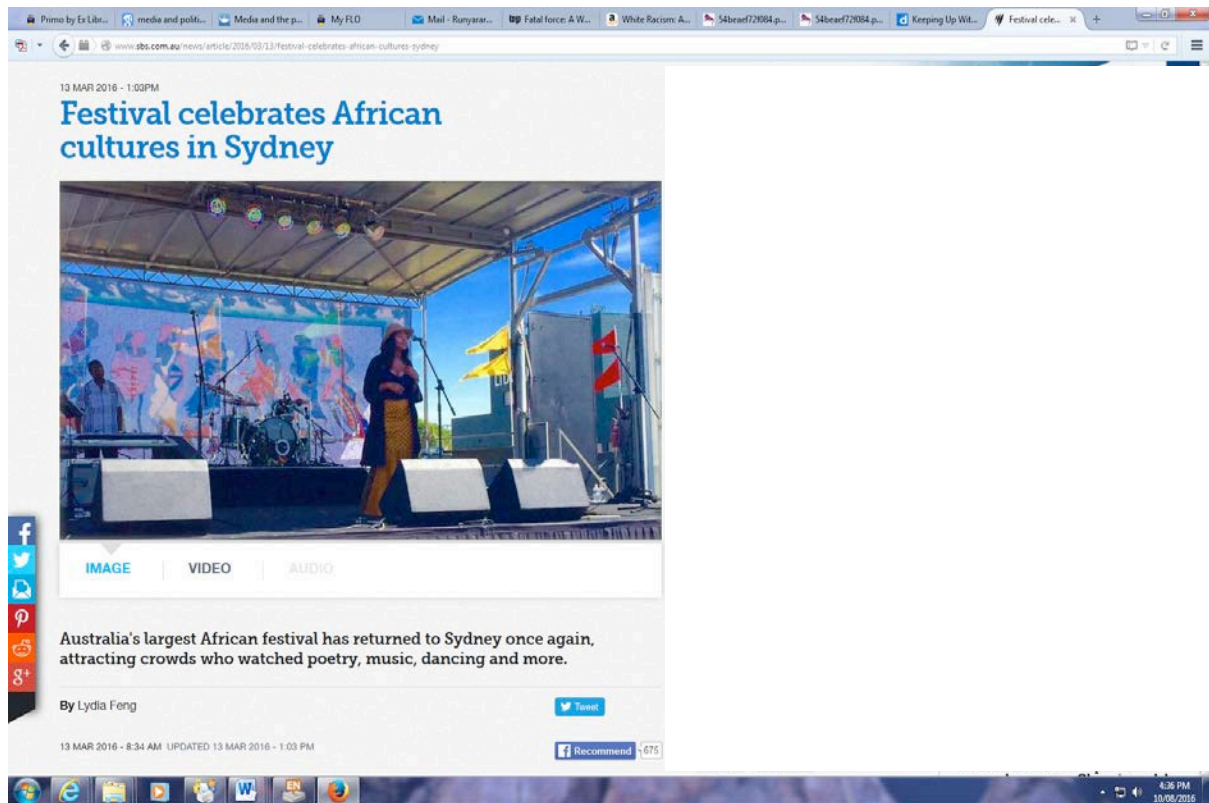


FIG. 33 African Festival Coverage by SBS

This was the eighth annual hosting of the African festival, which aims to bring African culture to Australia. The *Special Broadcasting Cooperation* posted a link to this story on social networking site Facebook and what is interesting to note are the comments left by visitors to the page.



The first comment on the page is from a user who likens the African Festival to the riots that occurred in in Melbourne and Sydney between Sudanese and Islander youths (Johnston, 2016). In this instance, in the mind of the author Sudanese youth form the whole representation of what African culture has to offer. Instead of seeing the cultural festival as a way of celebrating multiculturalism in Australia it is seen as almost a vigilante recruitment drive.

FIG. 34 Facebook Comments about African Festival



What is interesting in this user's (User X) comment is the use of language. Language plays a large role in determining how discourse is received. The use of the phrase 'hundreds upon hundreds, more than likely a thousand' makes it seem as though the town is over run by some type of plague. Jeffries (2014) in his article notes how political figures use language as a form of social categorisation. Jeffries (2014) presents a direct quote from the U.K. when the then minister of Defence, Michael Fallon, stated: "British towns are being "swamped" by immigrants and their residents are "under siege (with) large numbers of migrant workers and people claiming benefits." The same anti-immigrant sentiments can be observed in Australian politician's discourse of immigrants (Due, 2008; Gale, 2004; Hosking & Hamblin, 2016; O'Doherty & Lecouteur, 2007). If political figures are making unsavoury comments about

FIG. 34A Facebook Comments about African Festival

immigrants, it is not unexpected that they would resonate within media sources. User X also mentions "we can't get around without seeing at least some of them." This is an exclusionist comment inherently based in racist ideologies. The fact that by User X is categorising visibly different people as being other, this shows that to him as long as you have dark skin you don't belong in Australia. To User X, race is the maker of difference that marks the confliction on what he terms "everything that Australia was founded for." In this comment not only is he singling out Africans for not belonging, he is also excluding the Indigenous population. In User X's narrative Australia is still *Terra nullius*, is solely the property of the

Anglo Celtic population. In his comment on often seeing “large groups” of them, it invokes a sense of danger or



FIG. 34B Facebook Comments about African Festival

Africans are excluded from this discourse and instead one type of African group who came via a particular migration route is put as the representor for all Africans. In this, there is a clear imbalance of what is really shown about the vast majority of Africans residing in Australia in mediated forms, social discourse as well as academic writing. In the

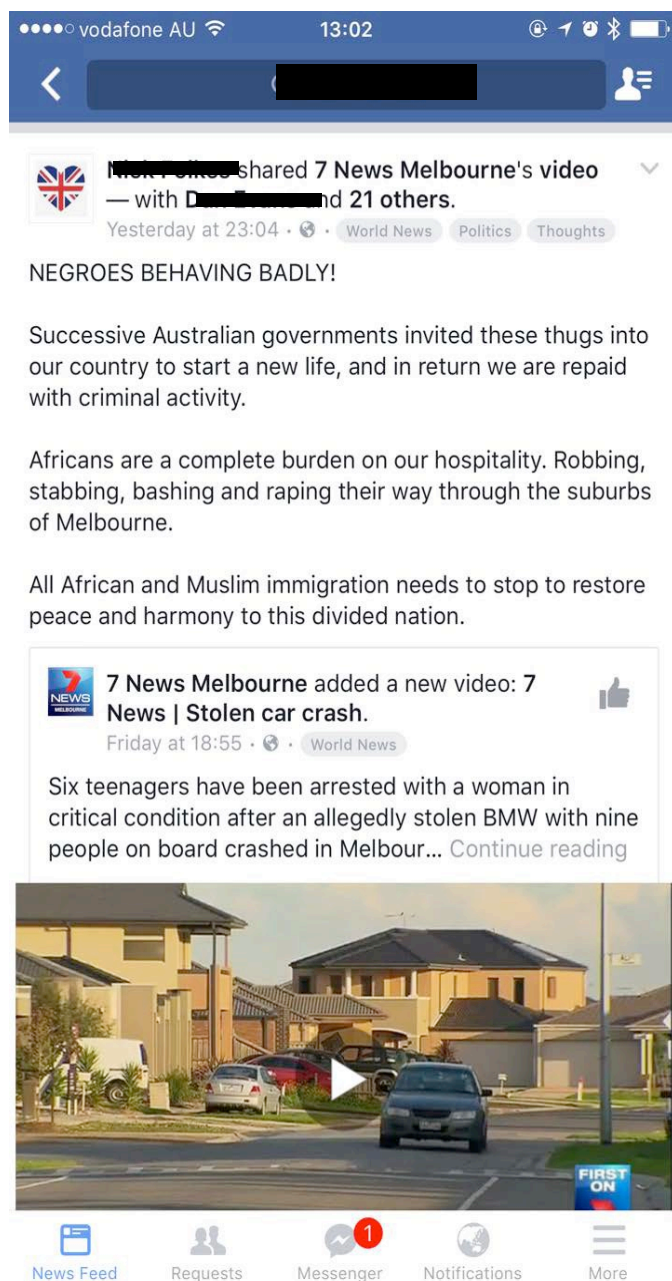
dominance of this visibly different group. In their research into the Sudanese population in Australia, Windle (2008) and Nolan, Farquharson, Politoff, and Marjoribanks (2011) maintain that in the description of Sudanese males in the media, their features are often highlighted as being a threat “African sources are constantly objectified and racialized through such references to build (‘skinny’ and ‘tall’) and demeanour (‘defiant’, ‘swaggering’)” (Windle, 2008, p. 557) Again this is another way of presenting Africans in an *alien* form in the way that they appear, both visibly and discursively. The comments made by User X, are quite damning but looking at the academic work conducted into African populations there is a definite exclusion of the majority of African groups that did not immigrate to Australia via refugee or asylum seeker visas. Other new and established

manifestation of a certain type of African in these three outlets, it does not provide the space for a large number of diverse Africans in Australia to voice their opinions instead it is limited to just a few. The argument is that with the advent of digital media it has allowed an overturning of dominant ideological institutions to have the upper hand in the dissemination of discourse (Diehl et al., 2015). Instead more power is placed on individuals, however in this case we see that digital social media platforms have also allowed the rise of bigoted thinking and discrimination (Miranda et al., 2016). In the online world terms such as *internet trolls* have been coined to define groups of people who go online to cause offense and harass people. In the case of African immigrants particularly those new to Australia, the comment section on media sites have been a new platform for racist commentary. Sheila explains:

Sheila, Question 14, 11:20

all of us are human beings you know I would expect that we would... we should be treated the same (*um*) but when there is these superiority complex that yeah these ones are savages and these ones are not and they are people that we work with, we live with it... it's really demoralizing I would say (*um*) so yeah and it got to a point now where I don't usually visit comments especially on those (*chuckle*) network news because especially if it touches on Africans because it always hurts my feelings (*um*) so yeah, I'd say it does impact.

The types of comments that Sheila is discussing are like the one below posted by *User Y*.



In this example, User Y does not seem to think that the carjacking that took place is an isolated event that was caused by the six teenagers. Instead to him, the event is a characterisation of all Africans residing in Australia. The racial characterisation does not just end with the homogenisation of Africans as ‘thugs’, ‘criminals’ ‘robbers’ but extends to racist language in his presenting Africans as ‘Negroes’. These savage Negroes have an active campaign of stabbing, bashing and raping the *white* inhabitants of Melbourne. This type of exclusionist and damning discourse can be seen as stemming from discourse that is also found in media reports for example, “How will people know we are importing danger when we take in people from war zones who have a martial culture, few employable skills, and very different cultural or religious values?” (Bolt, 2016), “I think it’s driven by this deep seated anger. They don’t care what impact they have, they’re saying

FIG. 35 Facebook User Comment to 7 News Melbourne Post

‘we don’t care what you think.’” (Brook & Palin, 2016). If this is the type of discourse that the general Australian public are exposed to through mediated discourse and when they read other people’s comments also pushing the damning discourse this can create a one-sided *vacuum* type of understanding of what it is to be African in Australia. In User Y’s case this evidenced from him firm stance on the measure that should not only be taken for Africans but indeed for Muslims as well. “All African and Muslim immigration needs to stop to restore peace and harmony to this divided nation” this view might be argued is an extremist view that

is not shared by every Caucasian Australian but the fact that the comment remained on a public page for 13 hours until I reported it, goes to show that there was little to no regard paid to the offence that it caused. This is just one example of what kinds of discrimination Africans face in Australia. As one participant put it, Africans really rank lower in the larger scale of race relations in Australia:

Nancy, Question 16, 21:33

the history of Australia being a, based on white Australia policy, who deserves to be an Australian, who can be an Australian even the Indigenous Australians themselves, they are people of colour but they were still not considered a Australian for very, very, very, very long time you know? Why because they were not white, because they did not met the criteria of what it does meant to be an Australian... so if they are not able to accept their very own...how am I as am immigrant how should I expect actually to be accepted in this country? So I think there is still a lot of race politics to be had and um... and all those conversations to be had ...er... in fact for a long time, to be considered Australian for Indigenous Australians to be considered Australian, they had to give up their Aboriginality they had to say “Great, now I’m not Aboriginal now I can be Australian” so you see that dichotomy and that binary that you know you’re either white or black and you’re either Australian white or you’re not and I think we still believe in that history a lot even though we have shifted in our attitudes are changing and Australia is become multicultural in very many ways I still think you know, err...we’ve got a long wat to go in terms of race politics and race inclusiveness and ...but first of all it doesn’t need to start with me as a black African immigrant because ...I am a visitor in this land, truthfully speaking, it needs to start with their own black people which is the Indigenous community and the day I see that happens is the day that I know I ...as another black person from another continent, I too can be accepted in this space but until then why should I fight for my own space when their own people are still down trodden like that. It doesn’t feel like the right war to fight

This is an extremely powerful and emotive response that really gets to the heart of the matter. As long as there are is unequal treatment of the Indigenous population race relations in Australia will remain strained. Australia unlike other former British Colonies such as Canada,

New Zealand and the United States, has still not recognised the Indigenous population within their constitution.

When the Australian Constitution was being drafted Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples were excluded from the discussions concerning the creation of a new nation to be situated on their ancestral lands and territories. The Australian Constitution also expressly discriminated against Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples. The Australian Constitution did not – and still does not – make adequate provision for Australia’s first peoples.

The Australian Constitution has failed to protect Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander rights as the first peoples of this country. (Australian Human Rights Commission, 2016)

In the detailed and informative comment made by Nancy, it highlights a plausible reason as to why discrimination against ethnic minorities in Australia occurs but no great action is taken to stamp it out. In this context it would not be extraordinary for minorities to be presented in subordinate positions or for the creators of the discourse to be made accountable of the messages that they push. With a history spanning 200 years of the unjust treatment of the Indigenous population it is not hard to see why this is the course charted for Africans living in Australia. Keeping them in identified stereotypical roles is all part and parcel of the Australian history.

3. Eternal gratefulness of immigrating to Australia

The final category in which the participants identified as being a dominant cultural narrative for Africans was presenting gratefulness for being in Australia. The participants defined this as them almost having to show gratitude for being *fortunate* enough to reside in Australia. In the study of colonial histories, the conqueror is often seen as the saviour (R. Cohen, 1994; Czajka, 2005; Gilroy, 2011). In this regard the ‘native’ or in modern times the immigrant should show his appreciation for the *colonisers* accepting them. In his work, Stuart Hall often maintained that the former colonies had a stake in what the colonial empires had benefited from the natives (Akomfrah, 2013), these views were also echoed through the work of his students (Gilroy, 1990, 1992, 2007; Hall et al., 1978; Hall et al., 2013; Hall & National Committee for Commonwealth Immigrants, 1967; Lawrence, 2004, 2007). In these

theorisations particularly in *The Young Englanders* (1967), Hall wanted to articulate the experiences of Caribbean youth growing up in England and the challenges that they felt in being accepted in to the social fabric. These types of challenges as exemplified in this chapter still exist for immigrants however there is one striking difference from when Hall was writing in the late 60s. For *The Young Englanders* that Hall was writing about they had immigrated to England with their families in search for better lives and better prospects. With modern day immigration it is becoming increasingly common for individuals to immigrate for educational, professional and martial reasons. In some cases, forfeiting more luxurious lives in their home countries.

Hilda, Question 7, 3:06

I've got a friend from Kenya who came over here and she grew up very umm...very privileged and her dad umm... he's like a ...a big coffee farmer and he owns quite a lot of businesses but people would come up to her and specifically and say 'you're so lucky to be in Australia' (*um*) because she'd left Africa and um she's actually
Much luckier in Kenya

As one participant put it, the constant portrayal of Africa being a third world continent ensures that Australia maintains its dominance and no other contestation can be had.

Leslie, Question 9, 3:09

the only exposure that they have is through the news or T.V. programs ...which are not really educating people on modern day Africa it's basically just the at the ancient culture and the ancient traditions specific to bush people and tribes, things like that and ...umm....and there's this perception that ummm...we're like a delicate culture that hasn't been explored especially from people who have umm.... African umm...err...African paintings and sculptures in their house ... So they tend to be interested in what Africa is but... there is still that ignorance behind their questions.

This understanding of Africa based on how colonial narratives perpetuates the discourse of Africans having to be eternally grateful for being in Australia. In some of the participants' responses they articulate that they are fully aware that this narrative exists and take great

offence to some of the lines of inquiry that they face.

Stanley, Question 10, 18:10

Some still perceive Africa with very high levels of poverty. And they mainly associate ... an African person in Australia as a refugee... and they when they get all... so that they just come here. Irrespective of how offensive the question can be some just comes and asks you “so are you here as a refugee?” And maybe this is in a chat and you’re like what difference would it make you if I was a refugee or if I was a skilled migrant or student? How does that change how you relate to me? ...because whereas I would not go and ask someone ‘oh ...are you on Centrelink?’ (*A welfare scheme by the Australian Government*) because it would be the same question where I’d meet someone and ask them ‘Oh are you on Centrelink?’ then they would feel ‘why are you concerned with how I make my income?’ ‘Whether I am on Centrelink, whether I’m independent, whether I’m running a business’

In the response that Stanley provided, one can see that the type of questioning that he received was done in order to categorise him. By asking his immigration status allows the inquirer not only to position him but also to create a way of understanding Stanley. In this regard, immigration status plays a role on the social categorisation process and regardless if you’ve spend your whole life in Australia the only way you can be understood in the Australian context is through your *tragic* history. There is very little space to manoeuvre from this fixed ideology (Selasi & TedGlobal, 2014)

Nancy, Question 12, 12:12:02

Poor and lazy and diseased and...backward you know? There’s ...I’m yet to find anything that is ever portrayed on western media, let alone Australia that is actually not patronising or condescending towards Africa...ermm...most of the pictures that will sell, the documentaries that will sell and captivate are the ones with bear chested women, with dead babies suckling a dry breast you know....or you know, poor women walking around without clothes with children, ten children ...all of them with

Marasmus or kwashiorkor with their swollen bellies or you know... I see these all the time or just children sitting there with flies everywhere! All over their face. And I always go ... I didn't grow up like this, I grew up poor...but I didn't grow like this, this is not ...this is not... it might be part of the story but it's not the whole story and I think there is so much danger in a single story there ...and I think what is depicted a lot about Africa in western media is the single story about Africa... so it's never told in any other dimension other than the dimension of backward, poor, lazy diseased and its hard as an African to watch that.

The essence of Nancy's comment then is if an African is rejecting this type of representation as being not truthful, to whom then is this representation catered for? It is definitely not targeted for the African population but instead it is represented to show power and superiority of the Australian media without fear or questioning or reproach from the subordinate population. In their *gratefulness* for being in Australia, the least they could do is go along with the act. In the case of being in Australia one of participants maintained that you're damned if you reside in Australia and damned should you say you would like to return to your home country.

Rambayi, Question 13, 15:05

"Would you want to go back home?", ... and if you say yes, errr...in fact you know they...they get that feeling that maybe there is something wrong with Australia or something, then you need to explain again, you know? (*yeah no that's, that's*) and er... no its quite frustrating ... in fact they are just a frustrating lot (*chuckle yes*) that's all I can say.

In this we see that Rambayi notes the impossible presence of being African in Australia. If one is not grateful for the *privilege* of residing here and would rather leave the country in which they are not fully accepted it causes contention. What space then should the *black soul* occupy without causing offence by their visible difference, their differed culture and unAustralianess? These are questions that the participants offer deeper insights into in the next following sections.

4.6 How Africans Understand the Media and Society to Perceive Them: Racial Characterization

Under the terms of racism, the white self was either swollen, as in dominative racism, or pure as in its aversive form, while the black person was less than a person, less than a self: either a concrete body-thing or, as time went on, a no-thing. (Kovel, 1984, p. 215)

In the discussion in chapters two, three and four I have maintained that in the representation of Africanness in Australian media it is often presented as being unanimously black. Indeed the dominant population of the African is black, however other races such as Caucasians, Asians, Arab and mixed race populations that call Africa home. What spaces are they afforded in the representation of Africa? In the Australian context it seems these other non-black populations seem to be absorbed into their respective *original* ethnic groups. Take for instance the response proved by Hilda a Caucasian South African participant.

Hilda, Question 7, 3:06

Because I'm white South African they sometimes don't believe me that I'm from Africa ...

In the discussion of Africanness in Australian media the term *African* is exclusive to black Africans. In the previous chapters, I have outlined how the black body, particularly the black male is positioned against the dominant white population. In chapter two: Discourses Surrounding Africans in Australian Media and Society, I demonstrated how moral panics were created around the image of the black male body. This was conducted through discourse analysis of Australian media. However, what are the lived experiences of black males in Australia? What racial characteristics are afforded to them and at what cost? In the analysis of the data collected in chapter two, I maintained that examples from extreme case scenarios were being used to justify particular behaviours as being inherently ingrained in what it means to be African. All violence that happened at the hands of Africans was attributed to their warring cultures (Gale, 2004; Gatt, 2011; Nolan et al., 2016; Nolan et al., 2011; Nunn, 2010). Potter (1996, p. 187) maintains that the use of 'worse case formulations' is a "common descriptive practice that involves using extreme points on relevant descriptive practice."

left war-torn South Sudan for Australia with his family when he was eight and joined Apex when he was 14, leaving school early and moving out of home a few years later. (Dobbin, 2016)

In the *decoding* of such representations by the public, how do they use them when they are in contact with the African population?

Kunashe, Question 14, 16:11

One particular example comes to mind where you know, as many young teenagers, sorry young adults you know, we'd gone out had a couple of drinks you know (tut) in erm Kings Cross (*Sydney, NSW*), we visited one nightclub and there were these particular group of Africans ...um...you know, pretty much causing trouble you know, what not, so the ... the, the venue which we were at then decides that every other African in the club err...needs to get kicked out. Now, my question is if that was any other race would that happen? You know what I mean? Certainly if a Caucasian person is causing trouble in a club then not every other Caucasian person gets kicked out.

In this experience shared by Kunashe, he was guilty not by personal association but rather guilty by racial association. Indeed, if the same incident were to take place involving Caucasians the outcome would have been different. Hasford (2016, p. 162) argues that this is a direct consequence of the representation of black people in the media. In the use of heavily 'stereotyped and prescribed' roles that influence:

Societal perceptions and expectations, racial characterisations serve as a primary, though often unintentional or unconscious, motive and subtext for interpersonal interactions.

In the case of Kunashe's experience it can be argued that the nightclub's response was neither unintentional nor unconscious, it was a clearly calculated measure. In expelling all black people from the nightclub in that instance it is a clear signification that black = dangerous, black = unwanted and black = threat. For black bodies residing in Australia this is common

place, I have faced similar situations of being refused entry, refused service and police suspicion as the result of how another black person acted. In Australia, unlike Great Britain or the United States this type of activity would not be reported as racial discrimination. Instead the benefit of the doubt lies within the offending institution. The burden of proof is placed on the victim instead. An example of this is provided by the Flemington and Kensington Community Legal Centre, in 2015 issued they a report into the alleged victimisation of African youth in Melbourne at the hands of the police (Haile-Michael & Issa, 2015)

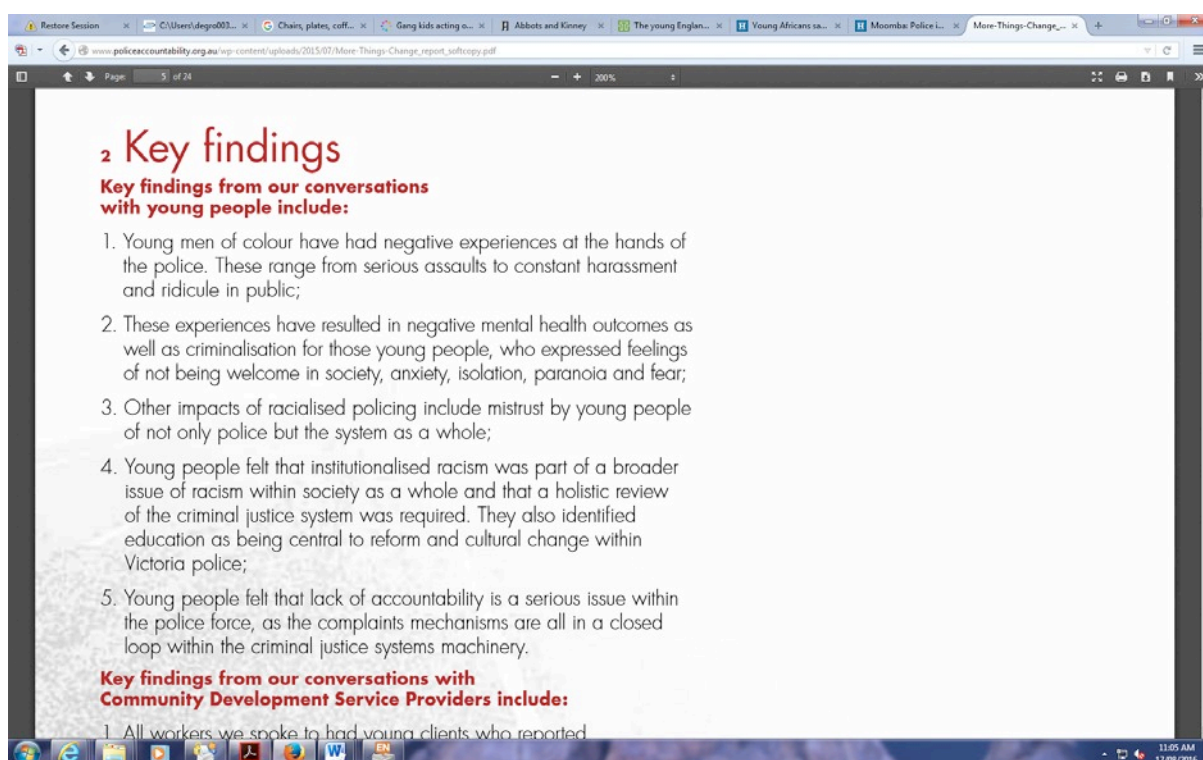


FIG. 36 Key Findings by Flemington and Kensington Community Legal Centre

In response to this report the Melbourne Acting Deputy Commissioner Jack Blayney said:

Victoria Police did not believe there was a problem with racialized policing, Victoria Police has completed significant work to ensure we do not racially profile in any form. We have made significant improvements to our culture, policies, training and education since 2013 (David, 2015)

This comment by Acting Deputy Commissioner Blayney is quite disturbing because in his comment he is not even willing to investigate the issue nor is he willing to believe that there

is an issue with racial profiling by police targeted at African youth. How then can conservation be had if the people in power refuse to believe that there is targeted prejudice towards particular groups within the community? In acknowledging that racial profiling was occurring it would displace the discursive theory of black communities as sites of social problems (Hall et al., 1978, p. 333; Solomos, 2014, p. 1668). If the police are not willing to accept that black does not equal danger or a threat, what more is a nightclub bouncer going to think. The relations that black males face at the hands of authority figures has been long documented, yet in the Australian context the issue of race and perceived criminality is still on going.

Leslie, Question 13, 11:18

Because I simply stick out and even with umm... things like running into the law ... they have that automatic perception ... that you are going to be doing something bad...ummm and the way that they interact with you erm... is mostly negative most of the time ermm... and also things like when you're walking through the err.... Ticket machines at train stations you'll be asked to present your ticket despite numerous amounts of people err... walking through the ticketing machines at the same time ... which ... shows you that um ... how you are a targeted demographic for being ... for ... for doing something negative

Comments from Acting Deputy Commissioner Jack Blayney come two years after a settlement was made between six African men and Victoria police. The police had been found guilty of an 'arbitrary' stop and search campaign of African males.

Racial profiling by police meant individuals were targeted on the basis of the supposed criminal propensity of an entire racial or ethnic group, rather than for any legitimate policing reason. (Seidel & Hopkins, 2013)

To date, the case of the six Melbournian men is the only case that has been won by African Australians reporting discrimination. As racism is often hard to prove it goes on undetected by the larger majority of the population who do not experience it. It is not just with officials that *black souls* face challenges of being perceived as a threat. The research participants identified racial characterization as a problem in professional settings. It has become

commonplace in countries such as Australia, Great Britain, The United States and Canada for qualifications obtained outside of those countries to be disregarded. In speaking to some of the older participants who had a professional career before relocating to Australia they were faced with accepting job below their qualification levels or having to redo their graduate qualification to satisfy the Australian employer. This type of discrimination might not present its self as a racist action however Gilroy (1990; 1992, p. 87) argues that black people:

Increasingly face a racism which avoids being recognised as such because it is able to line up ‘race’ with nationhood, patriotism and nationalism...it constructs and defends an image of national culture –homogenous in its whiteness yet precarious and perpetually vulnerable to attack from enemies form within and without.

In comments and ideologies about maintaining national standards, protecting Australian jobs and preserving Australian culture, certain assumption are made that exclude people who do not fit a certain description. This exclusion predominantly based on people who do not fit into the Anglo Celtic image of Australian culture, this action also excludes the Indigenous population of Australia. This type of racism marks a notable shift from what Hall et al. (1978; 2013) argued about racism in *Policing The Crisis*. In the responses that Hall et al. recorded from their interview participants, racism was overt, one participant shared how he had been treated at a new job “You don’t mind if we call you a black bastard or a wog or a nigger or anything because it’s entirely a joke.” (Hall et al., 1978). Racism has morphed into a more *palatable* form which one of the reasons that it is becoming hard to prove a racial provocation. With the raise of political discourse from people such as Donald Trump, Boris Johnson, Pauline Hanson, inflammatory discourse is being labelled as patriotism or national pride. Hence, the provokers can be shielded from attack by the guise. This is not to say *traditional* forms of racism completely go away, the participants noted that issues of race also manifest in the work place.

Rambayi, Question 17 & 18, 19:49 – 22:21

There is one job I applied for, they... they wanted a workshop manager, I was the most experienced guy in the, in that workshop (*um*) and they actually told me in my face to say “no we can’t give you this position now because you’re black (*gasp*) and most of our customers right now if they see you being a manager here they ... we

might lose business” (*um*). So we managed to get someone from ... who has been... who has the workshop experience ... I mean who has been a manager already to come and take over (*um*) so I still had to go back on the bench and start working (*um*) you see.

18. 20:59 *and this was said irregardless of the policy of non...*

Yes... yes non-discrimination and all that no. because remember you're the only one in the, in the workshop and remember you've got a family and you've got to put food on the table (*um*) so there are times when you're just have to put up with all that crap for you to survive then all you need to do is “say no I'm just here to do my job” and nothing else, I don't need to worry myself about all the politics of the day and it actually helped me quite a lot because that's, that's when I actually started to... to do my studies because I know.. I'm not gonna be ... for as long as I'm in this industry I'm not... there's no way in going to earn myself a position ... a supervisory position

In this powerful testimony by Rambayi, he provides an example of how his race stopped him for attaining a promotion in his workplace.

no we can't give you this position now because you're black (*gasp*) and most of our customers right now if they see you being a manager here they ... we might lose business

In this instance, race is seen as an offensive feature, one in which limits him from attaining a position for which he was qualified. Secondly, race is seen a deterrent. His skin colour alone is enough to dissuade patrons from coming to the business. For these words to be articulated by someone, what would their knowledge of the black race be? In this instance we can see that the person who said this to Rambayi cannot be a person who thinks all races are equal or places any value on the *black soul*. Rambayi notes that the reporting of racism in the workplace is difficult due to the fact that there low numbers of ethnic personnel. In this, he is saying it become your word against them. In an environment where there is a lot of comradery this can be difficult. In Rambayi's case he resigns to the fact that if he complains he is most likely to be out of a job:

Remember you're the only one in the, in the workshop and remember you've got a family and you've got to put food on the table (*um*) so there are times when you're

just have to put up with all that crap for you to survive then all you need to do is “say no I’m just here to do my job”

The issue of putting up with discrimination in order to retain employment is a subject that has gaining some traction in ethnic studies, particularly with the influx of migrant labour (Hasford, 2016; Herbert et al., 2008; Moore, 2008). Despite this effort, it seems some immigrants are willing to *accept* discrimination based on race in order to retain their positions. This places more power in the dominant group, in their knowing that often new immigrants will not report or challenge workplace harassment and discrimination (Abdelkerim & Grace, 2012).

Stanley, Question 9, 12:12

Where I work some residents are really quite racist and they...as soon as you walk in some look up and say ‘oh no! Get out of my room’ and then someone else goes in and they don’t say the same thing. They argue from work that if a resident is racist they can take action, but I have really not seen any action taken to anyone, ...despite some residents being quite racist, it’s probably pushed more on the dementia side. If the dementia is to a darker black person then you might think that’s a cognitive dementia because if (*giggle*) ...if its dementia in general then this person should be quite confused chasing everyone and affecting everyone but when he is ... they call him racist names and then some staff can use that as an advantage to make sure that its passed on ...so they like make sure that that this resident gets more agitated, agitated and keeps saying ‘oh look you have to help her’ ... rather than taken the initiative if this person doesn’t like this person because he is black then lets rotate the jobs, you go do that person and I do this ...but if they keep insisting then you can clearly tell like they are encouraging it rather than come and tell this person ‘it’s alright I’ll fix it’, it makes the work easier. But...and especially because I’ve being a new migrant I was still new to the job I didn’t know

In Stanley’s case, it can become an in-joke with other staff members to send unknowing ethnic staff to racist patients. In this instance, technically the staff members are not being racist but they are encouraging the racist abuse of staff members by patients. In this example, it is clear that the value placed on *black souls* is extremely low. No consideration is taken into

account as to how this type of behaviour impacts and affects the *black soul's* quality of life as well as levels of acceptance in Australia. The participants identified racial prejudice taking place in public areas. Reginald recounted an incident he had on a Sydney suburban train whereby a Sudanese family left a disposable spoon on the seat that was later picked up by a Caucasian child and the following is what Reginald recalls the father of the Caucasian child saying:

Reginald, Question 11 & 12, 20:57

He said “hey! Put that down!” umm... “Put that down! Don’t touch it! Don’t put it in your mouth! Do you...do you know like that some of these people even come from places where they don’t even have toilet paper?” so that’s what he says (chuckle) I was sitting at the back there and I kind of felt a bit nervous because umm... in a sense he was doing the right thing by telling his child not to put a spoon someone has used into ... into... not to play with it, but the way he actually you know like formulated it was quite was you know, was interesting. You know what I mean?

12. 22:45 Yes

It was very interesting because he didn’t know where that man comes from or he didn’t even know how he grew up because even if someone is living in Sudan, there is people who live much better in Sudan than in Australia right? And there different sections of that society and just to assume that you know um...you know that that man comes from a place where they don’t have toilet paper is... is you know, it could tell you... it just goes a long way to tell you how the person views Africans in general, or that... those people in general.

The fact that to this man on the train, black = places with no toilet paper, clearly shows a disregard that any type of civilised life can occur in Africa or in an African person’s nature. Quite rightly as Reginald mentions this gives you a view of how in the individual’s mind Africans live. The point I have been trying to make in the examples that I have provided in this section is that often the side of racial vilification and abuse is rarely reported or discussed. In some of these experiences it was the first time that the participants had shared them with anyone. The reason being they happen on a regular basis that you start to lose tally. The other reason is that if you have no contact if people of your own race it is often difficult for someone without that experience to relate or know what it is like to be discriminated

against. Other forms of discrimination such as sexism, disability, religious persecution, cut across different races and across different sections of society however with targeted racism it often tends to be an individual experience predominantly shared within ones racial group (G. Hopkins, 2010; Mainsah, 2009; McIntosh, 2015; Tormala & Deaux, 2006).

4.7 Values Placed on Culture, Race and Ethnicity: Situating Oneself within the Discourse

Africans in Australia were first recorded as a statistically significant population in Australian in 1996 (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2008; Hugo, 2009). 20 years on the participants did not feel as though there had been an effort to incorporate Africans and *Africanness* into *multicultural* Australia.

Hilda, Question 17, 15:11

I still get the feeling that when... people celebrate Africa they expect people to sing and to dance and to cook food (*um*) when that's not always that's all to Africa or whatever a specific country. I think there's more to Africa and that's also the way that we get represented in the media is 'come along there's going to be a drumming workshop' (*oh yeah*) or you're gonna dance and sing and they are gonna dress up for you (*yes...*) I do believe there's heaps more

In this extract, Hilda argues that the Africa culture seems to be a *packaged commodity* with cherry picked events that intrigue and fascinate non-Africans. In this instance this view is similar to those presented about Indigenous culture in Australia where singing, dancing and crafts are the dominant representations which do not leave room for anything else (Fredericks, 2010; Huggins, 1998; Moreton-Robinson, 2000). By only selecting these types of activities that show African culture as tribal and ancient as the dominant representation, this is the image that sticks in people's minds and then come to associate with this image (Tan, 2016).

Participants noted that Africans were amongst the top contributors in Australian economy:

Ignatius, Question 13, 13:18

... I really feel that the media can portray us in a better light ...um even celebrate what we... Our contributions towards the Australian economy for example because the other day... whilst there are also some positives because the other day I was reading the newspaper where they were actually saying Zimbabwe is the ... the income for migrants from Zimbabwe is the highest in Australia (*umm*) than migrants from U.K which to me was quite appealing and also obviously made me feel good knowing that we're at least recognized within the economy in a positive light um and also we I... I guess we are apart from contributing in the workforce but also contributing within the community as well

This is the report that Ignatius was referring to:

A new Australian Bureau of Statistics report says that humanitarian migrants are the most entrepreneurial of all arrivals, with UK and South African-born skilled arrivals having the highest median incomes at nearly \$56,000.

Others with high average employee incomes included the skilled Zimbabwe-born (\$53,295) and Philippines-born with nearly \$50,000. (Masanauskas, 2015)

For people from South Africa and Zimbabwe, this is an extremely positive article, this highlights that Africans are not just in Australia for handouts but they are significantly making a difference to the Australian economy. Some of the participants maintained that the reason positive representations of Africans were infrequent was because they did not generate revenue for the Australian media companies.

Leslie, Question 12, 8:49

there really isn't a need for the media to provide a ummm... positive portrayal of Africa in the media ummm... There aren't going to be generating much public interest and revenue from it ummm...and because of this when they do portray Africa in the media it is always headlined which most of the time isn't something good

Some participants identified that there was a hierarchy in the representation of tragic events. Certainly the images of dying, malnourished, diseased children were the dominant ones but when it came to acts of terrorism or kidnapping there wasn't great media coverage. Instead the events were treated as being minor:

Hilda, Question 11, 8:04

When there is a big story in the news for example when the girls go kidnapped (*by Bako Haram in Nigeria*) (*um*) the kidnapper was ... it was news for a while but not really full on but if that had happened in Australia (*yes*) it... it would have been MASSIVE and if it had happened in America it's also would have been massive here in Australia, but the fact that it happened in Africa I just think that they just don't care about it (*um*) that much it's a .. it's a bit far removed (*it is*) from their reality (*yeah*)

Stanley, Question 12, 25:59

Whether it's a terrorism activity, they might comment about terrorism ...but not the specific location (*ok*) like what happened at France...became such a big thing, the terrorism in France. And while... not very long we had another terrorism in Kenya where lots of university students were killed and the coverage of the two instances was way too different (*um*) I felt that those are still lives at were lost and the same evil minded people who caused terrorism are the same ...people who attacked Paris ...because Paris is of high profile (*yeah*) its gets a big coverage.

In these participants responses they felt that the media representation of certain tragic events in Africa were not put as being important. There was a feeling that Africans lives were a bit *less* or inadequate, as compared to French, Belgian or American lives. The value or importance placed on certain lives is evident; this is the same type of response that is happening in countries such as Iraq, Syria and the Gaza strip. The common tying factor in all of these cases is that the people involved are from an ethnic background. This type of

response is not new to ethnic groups, it has been ongoing since colonial times (Du Bois, 2014; Fanon, 1967; Hochschild, 1999) and violence and trauma were attributed to the savage nature of the natives.

4.8 Questions of Identity performance and Xenophobia

Hall (1996, 1997b; 1992) maintains that identity was not fixed but rather in flux. It was in the negotiation of cultural meaning and how that meaning was put to use that would an individual's identity emerge. In this theorisation of how identity emerges, Hall does not offer an explanation of what processes take place within the being. Instead the identity formation process seems to be an external process. In this presentation Hall's explanation seems to revert back to his Gramsci inspired CCCS work in which the individual was at the mercy of the external institutions. The media, government, and other ideological institutions control and define identities. On the other hand, as discussed earlier in the chapter, his shift to the Open University as professor of Sociology one would have expected his ideas on identity to have more of a sociological inference. In a way they did, Hall began to draw more on how the individual acquired materials to create an identity. Hall maintained that one needs "material and symbolic resources to sustain it" (Hall, 1996a, pp. 2-3). Apart from offering that these symbolic resources are derived from the culture one lives in through the process of identification he does not give further insight into how these symbolic materials are regulated and put to use by the individual. In this analysis of identity the individual remains in the object position and does not have any control. In the field of social psychology or sociology the study of the self in relation to greater society is of great importance. "The self can be thought of as a control mechanism through which the individual and the social world intersect." (A. Elliott, 2011, p. 24). It is through this intersection of interaction and interpersonal relationships that identity is formed. Sociologists such as Cooley (2002) and Mead (1967, 2003) who are celebrated as the founding fathers of identity theorisation, offered conceptualizations on what identity was and how it is formed and put to use by the individual. In Cooley's work this theorization of identity was conceptualized as the *Looking Glass Self* (2002) and Mead termed his theorization the *Generalized Other* (1967, 2003). In their arguments they maintained that an individual needed understand the symbolic meanings from the culture around them in order to form an identity.

The organized community or social group which gives to the individual his unity of self may be called the '*generalized other*'. The attitude of the generalized other is the attitude of the whole community. (Mead, 2003, p. 36)

The looking-glass self represents a bridge that overcomes the dualism between each person's sense of interaction. "'society' and 'individuals' do not denote separable phenomena, but are simply collective and distributive aspects of the same thing." (Rousseau & Cooley, 2002, p. 86)

In these definitions by Mead and Cooley of how one obtains an identity, much like Stuart Hall, the individual has no control over their own identity. Instead, external influences are the chief influencer of how one comes to know and act. This again reinforces the analysis of the individuals as passive objects in their own lives. Cooley and Mead are more commonly known as symbolic interactionists due to the fact like Stuart Hall they placed a great emphasis on the use of language as a symbol in the study of interaction. In the study of African immigrants the undertakings of identity offered by Hall, Cooley and Mead do not offer the level of reflexivity within the self that put the individual in *conscious* control of their actions and emotions. However in the work of another symbolic interactionist, Erving Goffman, he presents a theorization on the individual as an active participant in the regulation of their identity. Goffman (1959, 2012) contended that the individual has more agency over their identity. He sought to analyse how the individual formulated ways to present their *self* or in poststructural speak their identity. His main aim was to reveal how in varied instances and situations individuals devised ways of presenting or *representing* different aspects of their identity. Goffman (1959, 2012) used the theatre setting as an example of presenting ways in which people regulate their identity/ies. According to Goffman identity was akin to a theatre performance whereby like actors on a stage, individuals reveal certain aspects of their identities for intended audiences. Thus, in the *performance* of identity the individual occupies the active role and is conscious of which *self* they wish to present to their audience. This therefore presents itself as a type of identity control, in which certain elements are hidden and revealed in varied circumstances, to achieve specific goals. This type of identity regulation was observed in the interview participant's responses.

Ignatius, Question 18, 21:42

Sometimes I would really try hard err... to try and fit in and to try and obviously speak and try to engage but umm... I really found it very difficult and umm...and even the accent I tried too hard to change the accent to thinking ah maybe my accent is too raw

In this excerpt from the interview with Ignatius, he was acting in way that he thought his audience would have wanted him to act.

In seeking to present a self-image that is acceptable within any given interactive framework, individuals must necessarily come to make certain distinctions between what Goffman call 'front' and 'back' regions. (A. Elliott, 2011, p. 33)

In Ignatius' comments this could be seen as him presenting his front region to the people that he was interacting with. This is the version of himself that he imagined the Australian public would want to see and demand of him. In this aspect we see that Ignatius is still the actor on the stage but chooses to show a certain part of him that is influenced by society even when he knows that this is an act. This example shows how the identity theories by Cooley (2002), Mead (1967, 2003) and Hall (1996a; 1997) fall short. In their theorisation of identity the story ends where Ignatius performs the part that is informed by discourse and the culture he lives in. In Mead, Cooley and Hall's conceptualisation of identity there is no other space in which the identity of the individual can exist. This is clearly not the case with Ignatius, because even though he might not be aware of Goffman's theories he is consciously putting them into action. In his mind he knew he was carefully planning a performance for an audience, but in his back region he knew that was not really who he was.

Ignatius, Question 18, 21:42

I felt umm... a bit disappointed in I would say, is when I came here my inclination was trying to fit in

In review of his performance of trying to fit into Australian society Ignatius at some stage realised that the behaviour that he was trying to perform did not help him achieve his goals.

For identity performance to occur, one must be visible to a psychologically present audience. Like actors on a stage, people only perform their identities when they believe someone else will be watching. (Wiley & Deaux, 2011, p. 57)

Instead his suppression of certain behaviours only further alienated him. Thus in this case it is clear that identity is not singular it is continually morphing to suit specific needs. Hall (1996a, p. 14) upholds that people “are in a constant agonistic process of struggling with, resisting, negotiating and accommodating, the normative or regulative rules” in which they strategically regulate their identities.

Some of the participants noted that they consciously controlled their identities in certain instances; one of these places being the workplace. In his work on experiences of young black Canadians in the workplace, Hasford (2016, p. 164) noted that his participants had heightened awareness of race. In doing so there was increased sensitivity to racism but also great pressure to perform. Hasford (2016) termed this phenomenon ‘Playing Alone’ whereby the participant might be the only black person in the company. My participants also noted these experiences of sensitivities to race in the workplace

Leslie, Question 13, 11:18

it's ...it's hard to say because you know you don't really talk about it too much with other people it's kinda one of those things that you try to brush off but um...you do...you do... feel as though there are instances where u ... A lot more attention is directed towards you and you ...you do have to be aware that you are ummm.. that you do stand out in certain situations and that does affect how you portray yourself, how you talk, how you dress, how you interact with other people...ermmm... which can work in your favour and it can't in some instances ermm... like for example my most recent place of employment ... I.. I...I had this role the same as a number of people but err... attention was constantly drawn towards me and what I was doingfor what I believe was because...because I simply stick out

It is important to note that Leslie states that these feelings of heightened racial awareness are not something that you freely talk about. Instead for the large part they are harboured within

the individual's conscience. In his performance of his identity in the work place his 'front region' is carefully planned out.

How you talk, how you dress, how you interact with other people

Yet still despite all this effort he does not feel as though he fits in to the environment. After performing all the desired behaviours, race is still the final frontier. This is evidenced in Leslie's response to the question "Do you believe this has caused you to conduct yourself in a particular way to different people or different social settings?"

Leslie, Question 14-16, 13:50

it's much different forerrr...an African or someone of a different race to errmm... to walk into a room full of Caucasians as opposed to a Caucasian walking into a room of Caucasians ... and for me it's quite interesting because I have grown up in Australia so immediately when I open my mouth and I begin to talk, people are always surprised because I ...I hold a strong Australian accent umm....also like I was saying before you kinda get used to it then you...you do get used to it and you...you umm you learn to just be yourself but you do have to be mindful of the fact that sometimes you might be you know talking to people who immediately act in their body language and even in the way they speak, or the questions that they ask that... that you know that they might be more umm... a bit more hesitant to talk to you or to interact with you in a social setting ...despite being in the same group of friends

In this commentary, Leslie identifies race as being the definer of his identity. Everything else is secondary to that; the fact that he has grown up in Australia is somehow regarded to be out of context. Not only does the *black soul* have to learn the social behaviours to *fit in*, they also have to learn to be passive when other races glee over their 'perfect English' or 'good manners' as though they ought to be foreign to the *black soul*.

In some of the instances with the participants it felt as though some of their experiences had been buried within their conscious. Sharing them was something reserved for an insider of the ethnic and cultural group. However they felt being part of this research project could see changes being made in the way Africans are perceived in Australian society.

Sheila, Question 18, 16:12

I think (sneeze) I think your research topic it's going to expose ...um I think the general public (*um*) to African maybe I feel like we are generally misunderstood so by doing this research it's going to educate them persons that we're not really as bad as you think we are and ultimately we are just mortals just like the rest of them just a different colour of skin really yeah... because when you look at a normal crowd of anything there is always the good, the average, the bad whether it's in Australia or Africa or Asia you know? (*yes*) so I find that it's going to ... I think it's going to play a role in educating people about perception of Africans

Rambayi, Question 30, 32:00

I think it could lead to a lot of changes anyway, I mean if it gets to the right people and (*um*) if it gets to the right people in power

As a researcher who belongs to the cultural and some of the participant's ethnic group it provides the space in which I share part of the participant's experiences. Some of their concerns are also mine, some the prejudices that they have gone through I have also gone through and the changes they want made are of paramount importance to me. In this instance as a researcher I occupy a shared space with the participants:

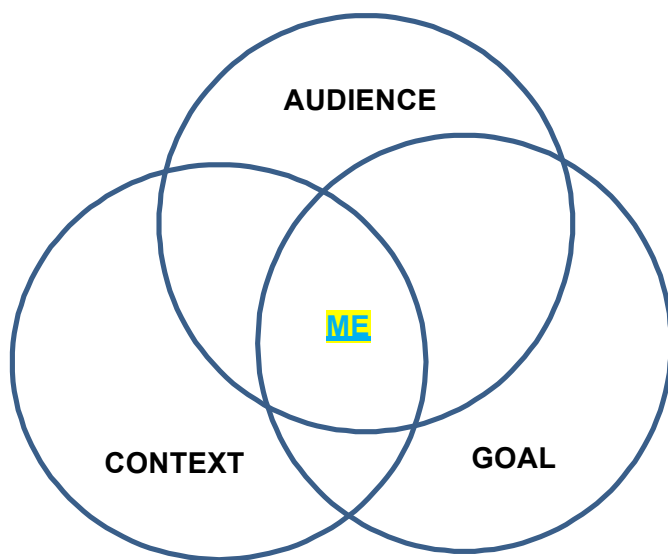


FIG. 37 Audience, Context & Goal Model (Brabazon, 2011)

Both the participants and I live in the highlighted section of the Venn diagram by Brabazon (2011). In its application in her work, she uses it to highlight the shared information between the audience, the context in which the information is delivered and the goals or aims of that information. In my use of the Venn diagram in this thesis the intended audience is the *general* Australian public, the context of the information is the lived everyday lives of African immigrants in Australia – including myself by virtue of ethnic background. The goal is to get the participants/our shared experiences out to the *general* Australian public¹⁴ about what it is like to be an African living in Australia. Thus, occupying the same space as the researched group but also being a researcher of this group presents a unique and valuable commonality within the study. Never before have the first hand, in-depth lived experiences of African immigrants living in Australia as compared to their mediated representations been captured in academic writing (with the exception of (Baak, 2011) who briefly mentioned media

¹⁴In my use of the term *general public* this is a term developed for the wording of the survey questionnaire (Chapter Three). In my use of general public, I am taking it to mean the dominant Australian population. In Australia, the dominant population is Caucasian, by stating that this would limit the analysis to the Anglo and Celtic groups of Caucasian and English speaking groups. Instead by using the term general public, I am aware that the dominant population is Caucasian however other variations of the Caucasian ethnicity as well as other minority groups are also included in this discourse. By using the term general public in the survey questionnaire it made the definition clear and understandable to the participants that were responding to the questions and limited subject specific jargon. Another term that was used in the past was *masses*, however this term tends to rarefy and create groupings within society that share uniform qualities.

representations in the lives of the Sudanese community). As mentioned before most of the research conducted about Africans living in Australia is through content analysis or second hand knowledge (Abdelkerim & Grace, 2012; Due, 2008; Gale, 2004; Nolan et al., 2016; Nolan et al., 2011; Windle, 2008). In the documenting of the experiences of African immigrants in Australia and ways in which they understand, use and regulate their identities in the Australian context provides a new dimension into how the ethnic group can be better understood and further researched.

In chapter two - Discourses Surrounding Africans in Australian Media and Society, - I argued that most representations of Africans in Australian tend to be that of the Sudanese population. Particularly that of Sudanese men involved in antisocial or criminal activity, this was a point that was also picked up by the interview participants. In their responses there was a tendency to want to disassociate themselves with the Sudanese community.

Reginald, Question 7, 12:18

... they see a bunch of Sudanese and they think you are...and you have never been there before ... they maybe you're friends but you don't have the same experience as they have ... you don't speak the same language as they have ... as...as they do

Kunashe, Question 14, 16:11

There was a story in the media where a group of Sudanese youth got into a fight with Australian Navy seamen who were not ...erm...leave from a ship that had docked into um Sydney harbor and you know the media had shown footage of these Sudanese people fighting these youth, then the following Saturday we had then um... gone out for my friend's birthday and it was quite difficult entering some of the venues

Ignatius, Question 12, 10:07

Sometimes I've been asked several times umm...how I mean ... 'you must ... you must be lucky to be here?' ... those kinds of questions or maybe asking about 'Are you from Sudan?' just by default I guess, trying to link me probably to the pathway of coming here as a refugee

From the examples above there seems to be a negative connotation associated with being Sudanese. In this it is evident that the media is not the only place where these sentiments are found. From the participants wanting to prove that they were not Sudanese or that they did not come through humanitarian visas this could be seen as a form of xenophobia. Xenophobia can be understood as hatred or prejudgment of people from other countries (Kuhn, 2009). This type of prejudice is different from racism because it is not bound by race just by geography. My aim for this research was to find participants from all walks of life in order to have a balanced opinion on their lived realities. In the responses compiled from chapter three: Surveying the Demographic, six of the respondents identified as being from Sudan/ South Sudan however all six did not wish to be contacted for the oral history interview. The input from the Sudanese community would have been extremely beneficial in understanding how they perceive themselves as compared to how they are represented. Secondly, what lasting implications the representations had on their nationality as well as in responses when they disclosed their background. This aspect of the research will remain unknown at this stage however in saying that most of the research that has been conducted in Australia about Africans has focused on the Sudanese population (Baak, 2011; Due, 2008; Gatt, 2011; Hatoss & Huijser, 2010; Hatoss & Sheely, 2008; Nolan et al., 2016; Nolan et al., 2011; Nunn, 2010; Warriner, 2007). From the responses collected in these studies, mediated representations have severely affected how the general Australian population has treated the Sudanese. The aim for this chapter has been to provide a space for African immigrants to have a voice and share their experiences of their lived realities in Australia. I feel I have been successful in collecting 10 detailed oral history interviews that offer a glimpse into that. This is new and never before done research that can be built upon to provide better awareness and knowledge of the cultural and ethnic group.

Thesis Conclusion

In this thesis, I have provided original research into how dominant mediated representations of Africans in Australia differ from the lived realities of this ethnic and cultural group. This study has demonstrated how the use of cultural studies theories and approaches, investigating race, social positioning and perception, are as important now as when the field was first founded. There is a heavy inflection of Stuart Hall's theories in this thesis starting from his earliest work (Hall, 1979, 1987, 1990, 1992, 1997a, 1997c, 1999; Hall & Jefferson, 1993), right up to some of his final interviews (Alexander, 2009; Connell, 2014; Grossberg, 2007; Hall, 2013; Jhally, 2015; Solomos, 2014). In this thesis, I have argued how Hall's research was ground breaking in the study of the media and its relations with society. In his pioneering of the field of cultural studies, Hall sought to bring ideological institutions into account in ways in which they maintained and circulated power in society (Hall, 1979, 1980, 1992, 2002; Hall et al., 1978; Hall et al., 2013; Hall et al., 1967). With particular emphasis on how certain power relations and privileges made to seem normal for particular groups (Hall, 1990, 1992, 1996a, 1997a, 1997b, 2000; Hall & National Committee for Commonwealth Immigrants, 1967). His particular focus on how these themes affected ethnic minority groups and their understanding of belonging and empowerment is what made Hall's theorisations *forever immortal*. The use of cultural study theories from twenty or more years ago may seem problematic. However, it is through a contemporary application that makes them relevant and appropriate. The utilisation of cultural studies to capture *new social and ethnic phenomena* makes it a powerful tool of investigation. The cultural studies tradition is rooted in investigating how a particular group's lived experience exists within particular discourses and social contexts. This allows a cultural study to be investigated through numerous research methods and methodologies that best capture this *experience*. As exemplified in this thesis, I have selected a range of methods that I believe better *capture* the experiences of Africans living in Australia in the moments that they allowed me to share with them. On this basis that I feel cultural studies allows for the exploration of methods that seek to identify, address and contextualise social issues.

Critical Discourse Analysis: Analysing How Meanings Are Fixed

This chapter of the thesis sought to provide how Africans in Australia were perceived discursively. My main motivation for using discourse analysis as a research method was not that a discursive study on Africans in Australia had not been conducted before. Instead in my use of this research method I wanted to have a blank canvas, this meaning, I captured how Africans had been represented over the course of a year. By conducting a study with no topic limits or specific criteria I wanted to highlight the types of discourse that Africans featured in in Australian media over the period of twelve months. Previous discursive research into Africans living in Australia I argued had been conducted for a specific subject, refugee intake fears (Due, 2008; Gale, 2004; Windle, 2008), Sudanese lack of *assimilation* (Gatt, 2011; Nolan et al., 2016; Nolan et al., 2011; Nunn, 2010). This type of analysis did not give the full scope of African representations and cut out 99% of the Africans (based on the over representation of the Sudanese/South Sudanese). Previous data did not provide a suitable corpus in which a fair judgement could be made on how Africans were perceived by Australian ideological institutions. In my study of media articles over a twelve month period (26 May 2015- 26 May 2016) my objectives were two fold. First, I established a data criterion which was not bound by specific themes of research; instead it sought the representation of *all* Africans in Australian media. Second and perhaps most importantly this data was collected during the period of the researcher recruiting research participants. This meant it would be likely that the participants would have been exposed to some of the media articles and could demonstrate how they captured Africanness within them.

In this chapter I demonstrated that language has a *fixing* power in its ability to afford particular groups inclusive and exclusive positions. In the corpus collected there was a profound negative representation of Africans in Australian media, particularly in regard to black males. Black males saturated the media reports and when they featured there was a tendency to emphasize the violent and undesirable nature of the ethnic and cultural group. I argued that it is through the oversaturation of media reports with this particular discourse that certain views become *to be expected behaviours*. This does not display that it is only a small population of Africans that are involved in antisocial or *unAustralian* behaviours. It is through the blanket representations that over time naturalise this type of reporting in the some readers minds. When it came to African females they were afforded very little space. Their representations seemed to be based in craft, beauty and domestic positions, to a large degree

occupying non-threatening positions. This discourse of the violent African male and his passive African female I maintained seems to fit into the colonial perspective. It is through the writing of these groups into particular roles that it becomes easier to control how these groups are perceived in society. It is through this *controlled discourse* that spaces that Africans occupy in Australian discourse are *limited*. In this limited space African immigrants cannot contest, comment or rebuke how they are represented because they are not afforded the space as *subjects* of discourse. In their positioning as *objects* of discourse they continue to be spoken about and not to, thus positioning them as a subordinate group in Australian society.

Surveying the Demographic: A Snapshot of Everyday Lives

In this chapter, I aimed to introduce African immigrants as *subjects* within their written discourse. To this date there is no study in Australia that has sought to record the media uses and attitudes of Africans. This is a highly imperative component to researching how the group responds and uses the media in which they are represented. In this chapter, I continued to argue the case that in the controlled discourse of Africans who were the intended audience? In the way that Africans were represented and discussed as objects it would seem the intended audience would be non-African. In the African immigrant's consumption of these images, to a degree they were being *re-presented* with the Australian view of what Africanness is. The data compiled in this section is the first snapshot into how this ethnic and cultural group respond and make use of these representations. It also highlights the degree to which the African immigrants actively seek, ignore or discuss how they are represented which is data which is novel. Another novel element of this research is that 101 African respondents also shared their opinions on how they think they are regarded in Australian society based on how they are represented in the media. This data is original and could be of significant use to media houses in their models of migrant reporting and outreach. This chapter provided a base level of how Africans respond and negotiate their mediated representations and the social consequences of them. However, this chapter did not capture the day to day negotiations and challenges that the research participants face. This is what I went on to develop in chapter four: Oral Testimonies of Africans Living in Australia, where I sought to capture in-depth everyday experiences and perspectives of the African immigrants.

Oral History: I shall not be silenced

This chapter displayed how Africans living in Australia consumed social and mediated discourses about themselves and how they appropriated them into their everyday lives. I sought to uncover the negotiation of *perceived* ideas of what it means to be African and the conflict and regulation of particular behaviours on the part of the individual as a result of this. This chapter was the final step in attempting to bridge the gap between the mediated representations of Africans and their actual lived realities. This was largely revealed in the way that the data was gathered for this chapter. In the bid not to have yet another anthropological or ethnographical study where the researcher approaches the field with predetermined hierarchy or assumed knowledge, I wanted to the participants to occupy the dominant position. This was a productive inversion the way that the data was collected is largely reflective of this; I sought to digitally capture the *voice* of African immigrants living in Australia as empowered subjects. Sharing their experiences as owners of their past, present and future, is what influenced the use of the oral history method. In this method I aimed to capture the *moments* as the participants recalled them, in their own words and in their own voice. The use of audio recordings to capture the voice made it so their words were *immortal*, their words could not be tempered with nor misinterpreted by the researcher. Again, this presents an original way of studying the group, for the first time African immigrants are presented as empowered creators of their presentations.

My initial intent was to show how Africans responded to their mediated representations and social perceptions, however much richer data yielded from the interviews. As personal details about their day to day lives emerged, in some cases this was the first time that the participants had shared it with anyone. The internal struggle and conflict was finally released and captured on a recording as they *recalled* and *experienced* it again in that moment. In keeping with the academic nature of a thesis I transcribed the audio recordings so that I could include excerpts of the document into the document. In this chapter, I argued that there two forms of the participants data were differed. In the audio recordings these are the unadulterated words of the participants, no amount to theory can ever capture the personal experience of the individual. Whereas, in the transcript by committing the words of the participants to a stable, hardcopy form the words become open to interpretation. Sections can be deconstructed to achieve specific goals by critically examining the words through a theoretical lens. In this regard the data is transformed and injected with new meaning.

A standout observation is that there seemed to be a consensus amongst the participants that they did not want to be associated or to be considered to be Sudanese or a humanitarian refugee. This was a common utterance in the interviews and I argued was a strong form of xenophobia against people from these nations. In their mentions of these groups it seems they were drawing from the representations that they had seen in the media of the negative representations of Sudanese immigrants. In a way the representations could be said to fuel the same type of controlled decoding on the parts of the participants of the oral history interviews. This I argued, was a preliminary result into how negative portrayals of particular groups can become *common* knowledge and can be seen as a way to contain certain groups.

After the Dust Settles: Recommendations and Future Research

This study laid a foundation in the study of the gap between mediated representations of Africans and their actual lived realities. It has been my aim to highlight that the African population in Australia are not merely a passive group whom do not notice the injustices done to them through ideological dominance. Just because they are not presented as empowered subjects in mediated representations does not mean that that they do not note nor feel that they are not a valued ethnic and cultural group in Australian society. In saying so the argument remains, is the media the best locus to obtain a rendering of society? Granted the media has its flaws, however, it has been regarded as the mirror of society (Cottle, 2000; Durham, 2004; Jakubowicz & Seneviratne, 1996; Jeffres, 2000; Mainsah, 2009; Rasinger, 2010; Trebbe & Schoenhagen, 2011). For this study the media was a key starting point because this is one of the dominant platforms in which Africans feature. Other avenues I could have pursued were the representation of Africans in the economy of Australia, professional capacities or even consumerism. These are all viable areas of research that have not been explored. However in my academic capabilities I feel I might not have done them justice.

The study of media and ethnic groups has a long research tradition. However have I argued in the Australian context the data on how African immigrants are portrayed or how they use the media is largely unknown. Since 1996, (20 years ago) when Africans became a statistically recognised population (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2008; Hugo, 2009) research into the

group has been sparse. This thesis has been an explorative investigation into the relationship between African immigrants and the media. The key extraction from this thesis is the value given to certain lives over others, through the way that they are discussed, perceived and esteemed socially. In terms of ethnic integration in western communities there seems to be a currency in terms of value put on immigrants (Ainslie, 2009; Dandy & Pe-Pua, 2015; Hall & National Committee for Commonwealth Immigrants, 1967; McGuire et al., 2016; O'Doherty & Lecouteur, 2007; Pehrson, Brown, & Zagefka, 2009; Tormala & Deaux, 2006). This is classified in ways they can benefit their new society, however the social benefit evaluations can be biased. In the case of African immigrants living in Australia they are ranked in the top three of highest immigrant income earners (Masanauskas, 2015). Economically this is a great feat; however this aspect is rarely discussed. Instead discussing issues of unAustralian refugees, trouble seekers and crafts seem to be the best way to document African people, pacifying any meaningful contributions that African immigrants make. Perhaps this immigrant group is viewed as a threat because of the skill sets that they possess and ability to be worthy adversaries. Africa as continent suffered largely from the injustices of colonisation through things like the slave trade, apartheid, stealing of precious minerals. To some degree it seems Africa and Africans were meant to stay in this posttraumatic state with nothing more to offer, however this has not been the case. In researching Africans it seems that they *ought* to be studied through their history of pain and suffering with very little regard is paid into the continent's prevalence since colonization or as people who are not held hostage by totalitarianism regimes. Africans are amongst some of the most innovative population on the planet pioneering in industries such as mobile banking (Hughes & Lonie, 2007; Jack & Suri, 2011), green energy (Kousksou et al., 2015). These world firsts are not acknowledged instead deaths, disaster and disease seem to be more interesting. I argue that future research into Africans at large should not try to *contain* a culture or ethnic group. They are not isolated people who live in vacuum, the same social influences, economic decisions and education achievements are also available to most Africans. They are not a native, primitive, untouched, tribe waiting for a pioneer to tell their story. They have the full capabilities to do so. I recommend that the primitive investigations of ethnic populations stop. Ethnic populations are as contemporary, dynamic and intelligent as any colonising, dominant population and have to start being regarded as equals.

Appendices

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**SECTION A: Australia & New Zealand News Stand News Data 26/05/2015 –
26/05/2016**

This section lists the results from the 12 month content analysis that I conducted as by dataset for chapter two (Discourses surrounding Africans in Australian media). The data is uncategorised (only highlights of the title that were later used to categorise the data in the thesis).

May 27 2015

1. ABC Sydney: The world today: radio

Title: Counterterrorism laws likely to backfire, says Somali-Australian author Abdi Aden

Main message: It is increasingly hard to be Muslim in Australia & constantly being treated like a refugee.

May 30

2. The Canberra Times: newspaper

Title: Scandal rocks football's governing body to the core

Main message: South Africa government bribing FIFA board

3. SMH: newspaper

Title: The biggest Scandal in the history of the world's most popular sport

Main message: South Africa government bribing FIFA board

03 June

4. The Cairns Post: newspaper

Title: Framers Buck Trend

Main Message: Migrant communities drive demand for goat meat

05 June

5. ABC PREMIUM News: sport periodical

Title: Football Fiesta: Refugee soccer tournament breaking down cultural barriers: The Football Fiesta refugee football tournament returns to Brisbane in 2015 as part Welcome Fest celebration to break down cultural barriers in the local community.

Main message: using football to bring refugees and the community together

08 June

6. ABC News: Television

Title: Almost 6,000 migrants rescued from the Mediterranean in one weekend: European leaders at the G7 in Germany will discuss how to stem the increasing flow of refugees making the dangerous journey by boat from Africa to Europe. It comes after about 6,000 migrants were rescued within 48 hours on the weekend.

Main message: How to stop illegal African immigrants entering Europe

10 June

7. The Age: newspaper

Title: Call for ICC to probe migrant deaths

Main message: Gambian president calls for international criminal court to investigate deaths of African immigrants in the Mediterranean

8. The Border Mail: Newspaper

Title: Warm welcome for refugees

Main message: ALBURY is set to become the first Border council to sign up as a

Refugee Welcome Zone

9. The Canberra Times: newspaper
Title: **Call for ICC to probe migrant deaths**
Main message: Gambian president calls for international criminal court to investigate deaths of African immigrants in the Mediterranean
SMH: newspaper
Title: Call for ICC to probe migrant deaths
Main message: Gambian president calls for international criminal court to investigate deaths of African immigrants in the Mediterranean

15 June

10. AAP General News wire: internet Source
Title: **MID:Algerian terrorist killed in US air strike**
Main message: Notorious Algerian terrorist Mokhtar Belmokhtar has been killed in a US airstrike in Libya, the strife-torn country's internationally-recognised government says.
11. AAP General News wire: internet Source
Title: **AFR: People smuggling attracts drivers in Niger**
Main Message: Migrants escaping war by being smuggled to other countries in Africa and possibly even Europe.
12. AAP General News wire: internet Source
Title: **AFR:18 migrants found dead in Niger desert**
Main message: The bodies of 18 mainly west African migrants trying to reach Europe have been found in Niger in the Sahara desert, the International Organization for Migration says.
13. ABC Premium News: Periodical
Title: **Alcohol issues the focus of a new toolkit for African migrants: A Hunter community group has launched a toolkit to tackle alcohol related problems within the Hunter's African communities.**
Main message: A Hunter community group has launched a toolkit to tackle alcohol related problems within the Hunter's African communities.
14. Newcastle Herald: newspaper
Title: **Tool kit to help new migrants**
Main message: CONGOLESE community leader Clement Saidi has implored decision makers in his adopted homeland to invest in alcohol-harm prevention for the sake of displaced African families resettling in the Hunter

June 16

15. Illawarra Mercury: Newspaper
Title: **US air strike kills infamous terrorist**
Main Message: Notorious Algerian terrorist Mokhtar Belmokhtar has been killed in a US air strike in Libya, the strife-torn country's internationally-recognised government says.

16. Maribyrnong leader: Newspaper

Title: fast lane

Main message: The Village Harvest is celebrating the valuable contribution made by asylum seekers, refugees and migrants.

17. Newcastle Herald: newspaper

Title: Tool kit to help new migrants

Main message: CONGOLESE community leader Clement Saidi has implored decision makers in his adopted homeland to invest in alcohol-harm prevention for the sake of displaced African families resettling in the Hunter.

18. AAP General News Wire

Title: EUR:EU migrant talks hit rocks amid Italy row

Main message: European interior ministers have failed to reach agreement on plans to tackle the Mediterranean migrant crisis as Italy threatened a backlash if other EU states refuse to share the burden of asylum seekers.

The deadlock came as Italian police forcefully evicted dozens of mainly African migrants from their shelter under a railway bridge on the Franco-Italian border, which has become a flashpoint in the crisis.

June 17

19. ABC Premium news: periodical

Title: Gisele Ishimwe: From Rwandan refugee to new life in Perth: Gisele Ishimwe was born in Rwanda and spent most of her childhood moving around in search of safety before coming to Australia with her family when she was 13 years old. She shared her story with 720 ABC Perth for Refugee Week 2015.

Main message: A refugee migration story

20. ABC Premium news: periodical

Title: The people pipeline: Behind the scenes with a Libyan people smuggling boss: Libya's people smuggling industry is booming as thousands of Africans set off for a new life in Europe. Journalist Hassan Morajea goes behind the scenes with one smuggling boss.

Main message: Behind the scenes of people smuggling

21. Advocate: Newspaper

Title: Migrants perish in Sahara desert

Main message: THE bodies of 18 mainly West African migrants trying to reach Europe have been found in Niger in the Sahara desert, the International Organisation for Migration says.

22. The Examiner: newspaper

Title: Migrants perish in Sahara desert

Main message: THE bodies of 18 mainly West African migrants trying to reach Europe have been found in Niger in the Sahara desert, the International Organisation for Migration says.

23. Illawarra mercury: newspaper

Title: Migrants found dead in Sahara Desert

Main message: THE bodies of 18 mainly West African migrants trying to reach Europe have been found in Niger in the Sahara desert, the International Organisation for Migration says

24. The World Today: ABC

Title: Migrant crisis: European ministers fail to agree on burden-sharing plan: The United Nations' special rapporteur on migrants says sealing international borders is impossible, and instead only makes the migrant crisis worse by empowering people smugglers. Francois Crepeau's comments came as EU ministers failed to agree on how to deal with thousands of people flocking to European shores across the Mediterranean.

Main message: Overnight, a railway bridge at Ventimiglia on the Franco-Italian border became the latest flashpoint in Europe's migrant crisis.

Italian police removed dozens of mainly African migrants from their make-shift shelters under the bridge.

Most left peacefully but some had to be physically placed in Red Cross vehicles.

25. Illawarra Mercury: newspaper

Title: Migrant crisis talks

Main message: The deadlock came as Italian police forcefully evicted dozens of mainly African migrants from their shelter under a railway bridge on the Franco-Italian border, which has become a flashpoint in the crisis.

26. The Courier: newspaper

Title: ICC helping build a new world of law

Main Message: SUDAN'S President Omar al-Bashir, facing an arrest warrant from the International Criminal Court (ICC) for genocide and war crimes, fled from an African Union summit meeting on Monday before the conference ended.

26 June

27. The Australian: newspaper

Title: Fight for Congo on centre stage

Main Message: The terrible history of the Democratic Republic of the Congo will be brought to the stage at the Brisbane Festival in September, as the annual arts event showcases stories and performance styles from the African nation.

27 June

28. SMH: Newspaper

Title: Subject versus object: Essay

Main Message: Ethics of photography in capturing images of illegal immigrants

01 July

29. Fairfield Advance: newspaper

Title: Choir strikes a chord for refugees

Main Message: THE Immigrant and Refugee Women's Network hosted celebrations

for Refugee Week on Friday, drawing in a crowd of over 300 people at Fairfield Forum.

30. Weekly Times Messenger: newspaper

Title: New life a welcome relief

Main message: Congolese refugee being resettled in South Australia

3 July

31. Illawarra mercury: newspaper

Title: Refugees hit by TAFE fee rises

Main message: An African refugee fears recent changes to TAFE NSW's Smart and Skilled fee structure have severely disadvantaged migrants who have come to Australia for a better life.

4 July

32. Illawarra mercury: newspaper

Title: Refugees hit by TAFE fee rises

Main message: An African refugee fears recent changes to TAFE NSW's Smart and Skilled fee structure have severely disadvantaged migrants who have come to Australia for a better life.

33. The Mercury: newspaper

Title: Turning the tide

Main Message: The Multicultural community in TAS, some focus on Sierra Leonean who founded the African Communities Council in Tasmania

6 July

34. The Murray Valley Standard: newspaper

Title: African women cementing good friendships in Murray Bridge

Main message: For the past few weeks, as part of the Wedhia - Communities of Culture program, a group of seven Sudanese women have been getting together and creating mosaics.

7 July

35. The Murray Valley Standard: newspaper

Title: African women cementing good friendships in Murray Bridge

Main message: For the past few weeks, as part of the Wedhia - Communities of Culture program, a group of seven Sudanese women have been getting together and creating mosaics

14 July

36. ABC Premium: periodical

Title: Young migrants avoiding Melbourne CBD because of police behaviour: Legal Centre report: Some young migrant men are avoiding Melbourne's CBD over concerns of police assaults and harassment, according to a new report.

Main Message: During the case, a University of Melbourne expert gave evidence that young African men were two-and-a-half times more likely to be stopped and searched by police, compared with other groups.

37. The World Today: ABC

Title: Vic police seek details on racial profiling assault allegations: Young African men in Melbourne have alleged confidentially they've been assaulted by police. The accusations are made in a new report by a community legal centre. Police say they will investigate the claims if more details are provided.

Main Message: The Victorian Police service is asking for clarification about allegations that some of its police officers have assaulted African-Australians.

A community legal centre has told the [ABC](#) that some of its young male clients have accused the police of beating and ridiculing them.

Police are also facing criticism for failing to stop racial profiling

21 July

38. Brimbank Leader: newspaper

Title: Sewing the seeds of confidence for African women

Main message: TALENTED designer and dressmaker Francess Sesay is helping to run a group to empower refugee and migrant women.

Ms Sesay, of Caroline Springs, facilitates the not-for-profit program Kontiki Cultural Women Empowerment.

23 July

39. AAP General News Wire: Internet

Title: EUR:Forty feared dead in sinking off Libya

Main Message: Up to 40 migrants who were seeking to reach Europe are feared dead after their inflatable dinghy sank off the coast of Libya

28 July

40. Melton Leader: Newspaper

Title: Sewing the seeds of confidence for African women

Main message: TALENTED designer and dressmaker Francess Sesay is helping to run a group to empower refugee and migrant women.

Ms Sesay, of Caroline Springs, facilitates the not-for-profit program Kontiki Cultural Women Empowerment.

01 August

41. The Mercury: Newspaper

Title: Migrants add muscle to bio business

Main Message: AN employer sold on the benefits of hiring migrants is urging other businesses to give them a fair go.

Bioflex Nutrition owner Ben Crowley used the podium at the recent Tasmanian

Telstra Business Awards in Hobart to encourage other business owners to experience the benefits of employing migrants.

Mr Crowley, who employs five Africans among his workforce of 38, says many migrants have been forced to leave Tasmania because they can't find a job

09 August

42. The Canberra Times: newspaper

Title: In Brief: Migrant in 50km 'Chunnel' trek

Main Message: African migrant walked the English Chunnel to get to England before he was arrested

43. Sunday Age: newspaper

Title: Migrant in 50km Chunnel trek: Britain

Main message: African migrant walked the English Chunnel to get to England before he was arrested

11 August

44. The Daily Mercury: Newspaper

Title: UK plays its lifestyle card

Main message: MILLIONS of African migrants heading to Europe are endangering the continent's living standards and social structure, the British Foreign Secretary, Philip Hammond, has claimed

45. Fraser Coast Chronicle: newspaper

Title: UK plays its lifestyle card

Main message: MILLIONS of African migrants heading to Europe are endangering the continent's living standards and social structure, the British Foreign Secretary, Philip Hammond, has claimed

46. The Morning Bulletin: Newspaper

Title: UK plays its lifestyle card

Main message: MILLIONS of African migrants heading to Europe are endangering the continent's living standards and social structure, the British Foreign Secretary, Philip Hammond, has claimed

47. News Mail Bundarberg: newspaper

Title: UK plays its lifestyle card

Main message: MILLIONS of African migrants heading to Europe are endangering the continent's living standards and social structure, the British Foreign Secretary, Philip Hammond, has claimed

15 August

48. Townsville Bulletin: newspaper

Title: MELTING POT

Main message: African subcultures - including Sudanese, Congolese, Somalian and Kenyan - are among the fastest growing in Townsville, with their rich culture spreading throughout the city.

When Zimbabwe native Tom, who did not want to use his last name, arrived in Townsville 10 years ago he wanted something that would keep the African culture rich in his children and also create a greater understanding of his culture to North Queenslanders.

This led him to launch Spirit of Africa in 2006.

"We didn't want our children to lose their African identity so we thought about what we could do to help them and that's where the idea was born," Tom said.

18 August

49. The Morning Bulletin: newspaper

Title: Our Elize throws her Hattin to the ring

Main message: ELIZE Hattin had a dream to live by the shores of Australia, and now she's selling that very same dream to countless others as they walk through the doors of Ology Rockhampton.

The South African immigrant, who had also spent some time in London, moved to Rockhampton more than eight years ago after giving birth to her first child.

19 August

50. Brisbane News: Lifestyle magazine

Title: Life translated - Botswana-born Sharon Orapeleng helps new Australians survive and thrive

Main message: Showcase on Botswana-born Sharon Orapeleng on her relocation to Australia to study and further community accomplishments

City North Messenger: newspaper

Title: Bringing X-factor to our game

Main message: WOODVILLE-WEST Torrens star Andrew Ainger says African players can become the future of football.

"They've got that X-factor - a lot of them are tall, they can run fast and jump," says Ainger, who co-ordinates the SANFL's diversity programs

22 August

51. The Advertiser: newspaper

Title: OUT OF AFRICA

Main Message: WOODVILLE-WEST Torrens star Andrew Ainger says African players can become the future of football.

"They've got that X-factor - a lot of them are tall, they can run fast and jump," says Ainger, who co-ordinates the SANFL's diversity programs

25 August

52. AAP General News Wire: internet

Title: Highlights of the AAP world wire at 08:00 Aug 26

Main message: Israel has released hundreds of African migrants from a desert detention centre off the back of a court order, but the asylum seekers have been left with few options after being barred from two cities.

28 August

53. The Age: Newspaper

Title: More than 3000 saved, but tragedy stalks Libyan exodus

Main message: African migrants looking to make the journey across the Mediterranean had to be rescued

54. The Canberra Times: Newspaper

Title: Thousands saved from drowning as multitudes flee

Main Message: African migrants looking to make the journey across the Mediterranean had to be rescued

55. SMH: Newspaper

Title: Thousands saved from drowning as multitudes flee: Refugees - Escaping disaster in Libya

Main Message: African migrants looking to make the journey across the Mediterranean had to be rescued

30 August

56. ABC Premium News: Periodical

Title: Foreign correspondent reflects on unequal reporting of Virginia shooting, mass migrant deaths: If we are led to feel more about the deaths of two American reporters than 50 Somali or Syrian or Afghan asylum seekers, surely we have lost something of our basic humanity, writes ABC foreign correspondent Philip Williams.

Main message: the discovery of the bodies of around 50 migrants, in the hold of a boat carrying hundreds from Libya, all hoping for a new life in Europe .
Of the two stories, which got the airplay? Well, of course it was the murders in the US.

57. Sunday Age: Newspaper

Title: 8 days: Music

Main message: The Boite Millennium Chorus presents One Africa, a journey through the ancient West African vocal arts of the griots

02 September

58. The Age: Newspaper

Title: Cheers and tears in heart of Europe: Migrant crisis - After the fence of Hungary, Austria waves human tide through to Germany – Austria

Main message: Weary migrants fleeing from the conflict in Syria and Libya, or the economic desperation in some African nations, were welcomed to Austria with a round of applause from hundreds of locals, and a banner reading: "Refugees Welcome - Open Borders."

59. Illawarra Mercury: newspaper

Title: Cheers and tears in the heart of Europe

Main message: Weary migrants fleeing from the conflict in Syria and Libya, or the economic desperation in some African nations, were welcomed to Austria with a round of applause from hundreds of locals, and a banner reading: "Refugees Welcome

- Open Borders."

06 September

60. AAP GENERAL NEWS Wire: internet

Title: MID:Israel 'will not be submerged by refugees'

Main message: Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu says he will not allow Israel to be "submerged" by refugees after calls for the Jewish state to take in those fleeing Syria's war.

"Israel is not indifferent to the human tragedy of Syrian and African refugees... but Israel is a small country - very small - without demographic or geographic depth. That is why we must control our borders."

08 September

61. Comment News: Newspaper

Title: Freddie saves time for team

Main Message: Freddie Rugumeza was on the Save the Children's team to mark the end of the Africa Down Under conference. Conference held to form trade links with Africa. Rugumezas family has attended Save the Children's It takes a village program that supports migrant and refugee women, children and young people who face the challenges of starting a new life in Australia with little or no family support and often have a history of loss and trauma.

62. Eastern Reporter: newspaper

Title: Freddie enjoys former Glory

Main Message: Freddie Rugumeza was on the Save the Children's team to mark the end of the Africa Down Under conference. Conference held to form trade links with Africa. Rugumezas family has attended Save the Children's It takes a village program that supports migrant and refugee women, children and young people who face the challenges of starting a new life in Australia with little or no family support and often have a history of loss and trauma.

63. Midland Kalamunda Reporter: Newspaper

Title: WA well-placed to help Africa

Main Message: Freddie Rugumeza was on the Save the Children's team to mark the end of the Africa Down Under conference. Conference held to form trade links with Africa. Rugumezas family has attended Save the Children's It takes a village program that supports migrant and refugee women, children and young people who face the challenges of starting a new life in Australia with little or no family support and often have a history of loss and trauma.

64. Western Suburbs Weekly: newspaper

Title: Initiative kicking goals for Africa

Main Message: Freddie Rugumeza was on the Save the Children's team to mark the end of the Africa Down Under conference. Conference held to form trade links with Africa. Rugumezas family has attended Save the Children's It takes a village program that supports migrant and refugee women, children and young people who face the challenges of starting a new life in Australia with little or no family support and often have a history of loss and trauma.

10 September

65. AAP General news wire: Internet

Title: Highlights of the AAP world wire at 20:00 Sept 10

Main message: A Ugandan-born Sydney-based cardiologist who is planning to run for the presidency of the African nation says he has been stopped from obtaining the requisite nomination forms

14 September

66. Herald Sun: Newspaper

Title: MIGRANTS NAIL THE BEAUTY BUSINESS

Main Message: A new Australian Bureau of Statistics report says that humanitarian migrants are the most entrepreneurial of all arrivals, with UK and South African-born skilled arrivals having the highest median incomes at nearly \$56,000.

Others with high average employee incomes included the skilled Zimbabwe-born (\$53,295)

15 September

67. The Courier Mail: Newspaper

Title: SPIRIT SOARS DESPITE HEART OF DARKNESS

Main Message: Congolese immigrant Future D. Fidel, who came to Australia as a refugee, fleeing the horrors of his home country, the Democratic Republic of Congo, has written a debut work that is an instant

18 September

68. AAP General News Wire: Internet

Title: AFR:Libya tanker saves more than 100 migrants

Main Message: At least seven bodies have been recovered, and four pregnant women are listed as missing, after an oil tanker rescued 102 migrants from the Mediterranean off Tripoli.

19 September

69. AAP General news Wire: internet

Title: Highlights of the AAP world wire at 08:00 Sept 20

Main message: Two African presidents mediating talks aimed at restoring Burkina Faso to its "march to democracy" after this week's coup have called for the return of interim president Michel Kafando.

70. Courier mail: Newspaper

Title: CANVAS RECOMMENDS

Main message: Queensland playwright Future D. Fidel, who came to Australia as a refugee, tells a story of an African immigrant's struggles - his own life serving as the inspiration

71. Guardian Express: Newspaper

Title: Kicking goals for Africa

Main message: Freddie Rugumeza was on the Save the Children's team to mark the end of the Africa Down Under conference. Conference held to form trade links with Africa. Rugumezas family has attended Save the Children's It takes a village program that supports migrant and refugee women, children and young people who face the challenges of starting a new life in Australia with little or no family support and often have a history of loss and trauma.

72. The Advertiser: newspaper

Title: Pride of South Australia

Main message: Mr Hatungimana started the Northern Refugee Social Club as a way to help refugee children settle in their new community. "(It's a place) they can play soccer, share stories and enjoy having fun," he said.

73. The Courier Mail: newspaper

Title: ALSO PLAYING

Main message: Queensland playwright Future D. Fidel came to Australia as a refugee and tells a story of an African immigrant's struggles through rising young boxer Isa, played by Brisbane actor Pachero Mzembe.

74. The Courier Mail: newspaper

Title: Life in the fast lane

Main Message: After fleeing war-torn Africa in childhood, these two friends now call Australia home and are helping new arrivals settle in

28 September

75. The Northern Star: newspaper

Title: n/a

Main message: An African women's group is in the process of being formed in the Northern Rivers of NSW.

03 October

76. The Canberra Times: Newspaper

Title: Tram 83

Main Message: This ambitious fugue from Congolese writer Fiston Mwanza Mujila delves into an African nation riven by civil war, disease, poverty and endemic corruption. The title refers to an underground nightclub populated by a demi-monde of exploited diamond miners, ageing prostitutes, ex-child soldiers and scammers.

05 October

77. AAP General News Wire: Internet

Title: Highlights of the AAP world wire at 20:00 Oct 5

Main Message: A South African parole board will meet on Monday to determine whether Paralympian star Oscar Pistorius should be released early from prison for killing his girlfriend.

78. AAP General News Wire: Internet

Title: AFR:85 dead migrants found washed up in Libya

Main Message: The bodies of 85 migrants have been found washed up on the coast of Libya, a major departure point for the sea crossing to Europe, the Red Crescent says. The Libyan coastguard said it had also rescued 212 migrants from two overloaded rubber dinghies off the Libyan coast.

7 October

79. Blacktown Advocate: Newspaper

Title: Emu is picked up by US

Main Message: AUSTRALIAN basketball talent Deng Gak is the latest product of the Blacktown PCYC's Savannah Pride club to gain the attention of US talent scouts. Gak, an under-19s national representative with the Emus, has moved a step closer to his NBA dream after being awarded a scholarship to US university Blair Academy last month.

8 October

80. AAP General news Wire: Internet

Title: EUR: EU to speed up migrant deportations

Main Message: European Union nations have agreed to speed up the deportation of failed asylum seekers as they took a harder line toward tackling the worst migration crisis since World War II.

Interior ministers from the 28-nation bloc on Thursday endorsed a dedicated program to send back those they described as economic migrants - who are largely from poor African nations - and not refugees from conflict-torn Middle East countries.

9 October

81. AAP General news Wire: Internet

Title: Highlights of the AAP world wire at 21:00 Oct 9

Main Message: The South African parole board will meet on Friday to reconsider whether to release Oscar Pistorius in the latest stage of a long battle over the length of his jail sentence.

10 October

82. The Morning Bulletin: Newspaper

Title: EU decides on a plan of action

Main Message: THE European Union says it will speed up the deportation of failed asylum seekers.

The 28-nation bloc has agreed to increase efforts to send back so-called economic migrants, most of whom are from poor African nations.

Sunshine Coast Daily: Newspaper

Title: EU decides on a plan of action

Main Message: THE European Union says it will speed up the deportation of failed asylum seekers. The 28-nation bloc has agreed to increase efforts to send back so-called economic migrants, most of whom are from poor African nations.

11 October

83. AAP General news Wire: Internet

Title: MID:11 drown as boat capsizes off Egypt

Main Message: Eleven would-be migrants from Syria and Africa have drowned when a boat bound for Europe capsized off the Egyptian port of Baltim, security and medical officials say. The coastguard took into custody 15 survivors identified as Syrians, Egyptian and people of other African nationalities after the sinking of the trawler on Saturday night.

12 October

84. ABC Premium News: Periodical

Title: Vienna's pro-refugee mayor fends off far-right challenge to hold on to power: Europe's refugee crisis is the dominant theme in Vienna's hotly contested mayoral election, which sees the Social Democrats retain power.

Main Message: A policeman who did not wish to be named said he had "had enough of all the immigrants in my country".

"They don't learn German, they commit crimes and sell drugs," he said.

"We don't want Muslims and Africans in our country. Only Strache is doing the right thing."

85. The Age: Newspaper

Title: Effort to break down race barriers faced by migrants

Main Message: The man brushed past, leaving her standing in the doorway. This wasn't the first time someone coming to meet her had assumed she wasn't in charge. Keletso Magano-Niebling, who has Anglicised her name to Kel, says people don't often expect to find a black woman in a leadership position. "My admin staff didn't tell him that the Kel he was coming to see was black," the childcare centre director says. "He was probably expecting to meet a person whose name was Kelly." "Workplace racism can be subtle, in the form of a look or a comment, or more overt; an insult, a slur.

86. AAP General News Wire: Internet

Title: Highlights of the AAP world wire at 14:00 Oct 13

Main Message: Guinea-Bissau has formed a new government, ending a two-month political stalemate in the coup-plagued west African nation.

13 October

87. The World Today: ABC

Title: African refugees detained in Libya as migrant crisis deepens:

Main Message: Hundreds of African migrants are being held in detention centres in Libya after they were caught trying to board boats heading to Europe. It comes as the

migrant crisis deepens, with more than 700 people rescued from the Mediterranean Sea.

14 October

88. AAP General Newswire: Internet

Title: UK: Asylum seekers score ride in Hummer

Main Message: A group of African asylum seekers in the UK have been treated to a ride in a stretch limo courtesy of British taxpayers, according to the Daily Mail. The limo was hired by a Home Office contractor to ferry the party of asylum seekers from London to Manchester, the paper reported.

89. The Australian: Newspaper

Title: Libya's Masked Men turn on the smugglers

Main Message: Zuwara's attempt to take on the human-trafficking mafias shows how difficult it has been to shut down the booming black market that feeds off migrants trying to escape civil war or make a better life in Europe

16 October

90. The Daily Advertiser: Newspaper

Title: Swimmers need river safety lesson | Videos

Main Message: Wagga African Association (Wafrika) secretary Frank Newah-Jarfoi said more needed to be done to educate Wagga's immigrant and refugee community of the river's perils.

19 October

91. The Age: Newspaper

Title: Time's up for homework club grade 3 to 6 program

Main Message: For four years, nine-year-old Rahma Sulien has been getting help with her homework at a club set up to help the children of refugees in Fitzroy.

Her mother, Eritrean refugee Aziza Mahmoud, sometimes struggles to comprehend her Australian-born daughter's homework, so the club has been invaluable.

26 October

92. SMH: Newspaper

Title: Letters: Avoid the N-word

Main Message: David Calvey (Letters, October 24-25), perhaps if you were more familiar with the shocking treatment of the black South Africans meted out by the white regime you would understand why "negro" is, indeed, a racial slur and is unacceptable in this country. When I heard Eric Abetz say that horrible word my mouth fell open

27 October

93. Whittlesea leader: Newspaper

Title: Matters for Interpretation

Main Message: "It's already a difficult situation but language is an extra complexity." Ms Avdibegovic recalled a devastating case where an African woman living in regional Victoria fled after her husband attacked her, but police could not find an interpreter with the correct dialect.

28 October

94. AAP General News wire: Internet

Title: Highlights of the AAP world wire at 20:00 Oct 28

Main Message: Alassane Ouattara has been re-elected as president of Ivory Coast, official results show, in a vote seen as key to cementing the west African country's bid to overcome a history of electoral violence.

01 November

95. ABC Premium News

Title: Europe migrant crisis: Mobile kitchen serves up 'garbage' meals to asylum seekers: A group of concerned citizens have come up with a unique way to feed Europe's growing number of asylum seekers, serving them meals made from food destined for the dump.

Main Message: But the Amsterdam-based group admits changing viewpoints remains a significant challenge, including among African migrants, who live in Amsterdam's squat community.

"We have to show them like, look this is what we eat and it is fine and we have lots of people who come to our dinners and they also eat this food," said 27 year-old van den Dool.

4 November

96. The Age: newspaper

Title: Rebels in refugee threat to EU

Main message: Libya's self-declared Islamist government has threatened to send "hundreds of thousands" more migrants to Europe if the European Union does not recognise it. Officials say they could hire boats to send large numbers of Africans across the Mediterranean, adding to the masses already reaching Europe.

97. The Canberra Times: Newspaper

Title: Rebels' EU refugee threat Tripoli: Libya's self-declared Islamist government has threatened...

Main Message: Libya's self-declared Islamist government has threatened to send "hundreds of thousands" more migrants to Europe if the European Union does not recognise it. Officials say they could hire boats to send large numbers of Africans across the Mediterranean, adding to the masses already reaching Europe.

98. SMH: Newspaper

Title: Rebels in refugee threat to EU

Main message: Libya's self-declared Islamist government has threatened to send "hundreds of thousands" more migrants to Europe if the European Union does not recognise it. Officials say they could hire boats to send large numbers of Africans across the Mediterranean, adding to the masses already reaching Europe.

5 November

99. The Age: Newspaper

Title: African-Australian voices broadcast across the globe

Main Message: Cousins Ror Akot and Michael Deng have teamed up with Washington-based broadcaster the Voice of America to share stories about Melbourne's growing South Sudanese community.

Working as volunteer journalists on the international network's South Sudan in Focus program, the pair file stories about the city's African-Australian community that are aired on radio stations throughout their war-torn homeland.

6 November

100. AAP General news Wire: Internet

Title: QLD: African refugee aims for Qld council spot

Main Message: An African refugee who fled war-torn Democratic Republic of Congo 19 years ago plans to run for a seat on a southeast Queensland local council.

Blaise Itabelo, who has lived in Australia for four years after fleeing his homeland in 1996, will nominate as a candidate for a seat on the Logan City Council after he gains citizenship in January.

"To become a citizen of Australia is a great privilege and I want to waste no time in participating," said Mr Itabelo, who spent almost 16 years in refugee camps.

10 November

101. Brimbank & North west Weekly: Newspaper

Title: Caroline Springs resident new Multicultural Commissioner

Main Message: "I'm an African woman, of course, but I just think at my level I cannot tie myself to an ethnic group," she said.

"For me, it's about helping people who need my help the most. My whole mission is about helping to create opportunities and also to help educate people on their basic rights."

11 November

102. AAP Finance news Wire: Internet

Title: EUR:EU, Africa leaders tackle migration crisis

Main Message: The money is meant to persuade African leaders to take back more economic migrants from the EU, with many African countries reluctant to lose the billions of dollars in remittances sent by people working abroad.

EU migration commissioner Dimitris Avramopoulos said European nations will "enhance collaboration" with African countries to protect refugees, send home

irregular migrants and stop those who smuggle them, while offering Africans legal channels of migration.

103. AAP General news Wire: Internet

Title: EUR:EU-Africa summit on migration crisis opens

Main Message: The EU plans to offer increased aid to African countries in return for their help in stemming the unprecedented flow of migrants and refugees to Europe, including accelerated repatriation of those deemed to be economic migrants.

12 November

104. AAP General news Wire: Internet

Title: EUR:Sweden, Slovenia tighten borders, 18 drown

Main Message: African leaders warned their EU counterparts against building a "fortress" Europe. European nations aim to boost co-operation with African countries to protect legitimate refugees, send home irregular migrants and stop those who smuggle them, while offering Africans expanded legal channels of migration. Progress on the main thrust of the EU's current migrant strategy - fostering co-operation with Turkey - will be discussed when EU leaders meet without the Africans on Thursday in Valletta.

105. AAP General news Wire: Internet

Title: EUR:EU leaders OK 1.8bn euro migrant trust

Main Message: EU leaders attending a summit with their African counterparts on have approved a 1.8-billion-euro trust fund for Africa aimed at tackling the root causes of mass migration to Europe.

106. The Northern Territory News: Newspaper

Title: Africa in cash lure to help migrants

Main Message: The money is meant to persuade African leaders to take back more economic migrants from the EU, with many African countries reluctant to lose the billions of dollars in remittances sent by people working abroad.

EU migration commissioner Dimitris Avramopoulos said European nations would "enhance collaboration" with African countries to protect refugees, send home irregular migrants and stop those who smuggle them, while offering Africans legal migration paths.

13 November

107. Advocate: Newspaper

Title: SWEDEN and Slovenia have become the latest European nations to tighten border controls to ease an unprecedented migration crisis

Main message: The moves came as more than 50 European and African leaders met at a summit in Malta aimed at agreeing on a joint strategy to deal with the biggest flow of refugees and migrants since World War II.

108. The Daily Telegraph: Newspaper

Title: The razor's edge of a migration nightmare

Main message: The moves came as more than 50 European and African

leaders met in Malta to agree on a strategy to deal with the biggest flow of refugees since World War II.

14 November

109. Weekend Australian: newspaper

Title: Freedom of movement falls to migrants

Main Message: This week's two-day, 50-country initiative to dissuade African migrants from arriving in Europe appears doomed to failure after European countries could stump up only a paltry EUR 78 million (\$117.7m) of the promised EUR 1.8 billion and the countries could not agree on a "visa" system to return failed asylum-seekers to African countries.

16 November

110. The Advertiser: Newspaper

Title: Bombers wanted to kill so many more

Main Message: Authorities believe the terrorists were working in three groups. They were said to include a North African and a white European.

111. The Advertiser: Newspaper

Title: THE TERROR TIME BOMB

Main Message: QC and Fairfax columnist Charles Waterstreet unwittingly gave on Saturday while trotting out one of the Left's familiar excuses for jihadism. "The Algerians and Africans accepted into Parisian society are all potential IEDs ready to explode when their pins are pulled, their patience exhausted and they become filled with rage and a growing distrust of Western so-called civilisation," he warned.

112. The Courier Mail: Newspaper

Title: FACE TRUTH ON EVIL DOGMA

Main Message: Sweden is reportedly in the midst of an epidemic of rape that the PC authorities refuse to admit - but locals say - is largely Middle East or African migrant men raping Nordic women.

113. The Daily Telegraph: Newspaper

Title: THE TERROR TIME BOMB

Main Message: QC and Fairfax columnist Charles Waterstreet unwittingly gave on Saturday while trotting out one of the Left's familiar excuses for jihadism. "The Algerians and Africans accepted into Parisian society are all potential IEDs ready to explode when their pins are pulled, their patience exhausted and they become filled with rage and a growing distrust of Western so-called civilisation," he warned.

17 November

114. The Cairns Post: Newspaper

Title: We don't need 'walking grenades'

Main message: QC and Fairfax columnist Charles Waterstreet unwittingly gave on Saturday while trotting out one of the Left's familiar excuses for jihadism. "The Algerians and Africans accepted into Parisian society are all potential IEDs ready to explode when their pins are pulled, their patience exhausted and they become

filled with rage and a growing distrust of Western so-called civilisation," he warned.

18 November

115. Maribyrnong & Hobsons bay Weekly: Newspaper

Title: Concerns over future of African centre in Footscray

Main Message: A community leader says any hope for the continuation of a centre "by and for" African-Australians at Footscray will crumble with the departure of one of the organisations funded to set it up. The African Australian Community Centre was set up with a \$600,000 state government grant in 2012 as a partnership between the Anglican Parish of Footscray and the Brotherhood of St Laurence (BSL).

116. ABC Premium news : periodical

Title: Zimbabwean-born researcher studies how Africans see themselves through Australian media: After facing incorrect perceptions of herself as a woman of African descent living in Australia, a university researcher is delving into how African immigrants are portrayed in Australian media

Main Message: Based at Bathurst's Charles Sturt University (CSU), Ms Chivaura is now undertaking a PhD, including a survey of how African immigrants living in Australia perceive their representations in the media.

22 November

117. The Advertiser: newspaper

Title: My race back from the dead

Main Message: He will train around Adelaide until Christmas Day, before heading back to Oregon to prepare for the Rio Olympics. But he will return to Adelaide after the Games for another chapter in his amazing life.

He also wants to spend time with Adelaide's Sudanese community and hopes to inspire the next generation of East African migrants to "invest in and multiply their talents". "I want young people to dream big and to listen to their teachers and coaches

29 November

118. AAP General News wire: Internet

Title: Highlights of the AAP world wire at 08:00 Nov 30

Main message: Pope Francis has urged the warring factions in Central African Republic to lay down their weapons as he brought a message of peace to a country ravaged by bloody sectarian violence.

04 December

119. The Courier Mail: Newspaper

Title: Spieth's mate has game that's bigger than Texas

Main Message: Spieth celebrated with teammate Frittelli in 2012 after the Johannesburg-born amateur holed the winning 7m putt to deliver the NCAA Championship for their University of Texas Longhorns.

09 December

120. Blacktown Advocate: Newspaper

Title: SydWest work awarded

Main Message: From basketball programs to helping migrants settle in Australia, SydWest Multicultural Services' work with the African community has been recognised.

The Blacktown organisation received an award at the fourth annual Celebration of African Australians at Lidcombe last Wednesday. SydWest was presented with the community engagement award

19 December

121. The Mercury: Newspaper

Title: At last, more home in on Tassie

Main message: The new figures came as African communities in Tasmania were recognised for their contributions to the progress and social fabric of Tasmania. In an award ceremony at Parliament House this week, African Tasmanians who have made a positive contribution to improving the conditions of life of Africans were recognised, congratulated and encouraged for their selfless work.

122. Weekend Australian: Newspaper

Title: For Primewest boss Schwartz, partnerships are like marriage: love conquers all

Main message: Once an immigrant from Pretoria, now one of the most successful businessmen in the country, he owns and manages a huge swathe of Western Australia under the radar, much of it with John Bond, son of the late Alan.

06 January 2016

The Guardian: Online Newspaper

Title: Is I'm A Celebrity's Africa-themed show a bad case of cultural appropriation?

Main message: From [fashion's long-running love affair with blackface](#) to [Band Aid's patronising Christmas song](#), Africa is too often western pop culture's biggest blind spot. One person's troppo-safari chic is another person's grotesque act of cultural appropriation, and a [Change.org petition](#) posted on Sunday has called for Channel Ten to retract this "offensive marketing campaign" that makes a "mockery" of Africa

13 January 2016

123. The Age: newspaper

Title: Crime gang 'acts with impunity': Germany

Main message: With a new police report blaming predominantly North African migrants for the horrific sexual assaults and robberies at Cologne's train station on New Year's Eve, one man is not surprised.

Former police officer Nick Hein says a migrant crime gang was operating with impunity at the station, in the knowledge that they could not lose their refugee status.

124. The Canberra Times: Newspaper

Title: Migrant crime gang 'acts with impunity' says former officer

Main Message: With a new police report blaming predominantly North African migrants for the horrific sexual assaults and robberies at Cologne's train station on

New Year's Eve, one man is not surprised.

125. SMH: Newspaper

Title: Crime gang 'acts with impunity': Germany

Main message: With a new police report blaming predominantly North African migrants for the horrific sexual assaults and robberies at Cologne's train station on New Year's Eve, one man is not surprised.

Former police officer Nick Hein says a migrant crime gang was operating with impunity at the station, in the knowledge that they could not lose their refugee status.

16 January

126. The Canberra Times: Newspaper

Title: Popular protest helps bridge the age-old colour divide

Main Message: Last week, a Thai cosmetics company called Seoul Secret launched a new beauty product, Snowz, and got locally famous Thai actress Cris Horwang to appear in the promotional video. She starts out white, and explains: "In my world there is tough competition. If I don't take care of myself, everything I have built, the whiteness I have invested in, could be gone." They would have been crazy to take it off the market, because Asian women spend \$13 billion a year on skin-whitening products. Africa is even more extreme, with 35 per cent of South African women using skin-whitening creams, and an astonishing 75 per cent of Nigerian women

23 January

127. ABC Premium News: Periodical

Title: Migrant plans to teach African culture and traditions to central Queensland community

Main Message: A man who travelled 12,000 kilometres to live in central Queensland wants to teach his African culture and traditions to encourage diversity and multiculturalism in the region.

25 January

128. The Canberra Times: Newspaper

Title: 'This is not all right': racist rant at student

Main Message: Atem Atem stood his ground as a man yelled "darkie immigrant" and told him to go back where he came from during a five-minute racist tirade beside Lake Burley Griffin.

Sudan-born Mr Atem, a PhD student at the Australian National University and former refugee, was shocked bystanders didn't intervene when the man unleashed the abuse, prompting him to question whether the ACT community had grown complacent about racism.

26 January

129. Sunshine Coast Daily: Newspaper

Title: Pauline on Coast for Australia Day

Main Message: "We must STOP taking refugees and immigration from Middle

Eastern and African countries of Islamic beliefs," and "Islam and its followers are incompatible with Australia, and other western countries way of life, beliefs and laws."

02 February

130. ABC Premium News: Periodical

Title: Alternative for Germany party's bold claims on asylum seekers bolster support ahead of state elections: A new anti-foreigner party - the Alternative for Germany (AfD) - emerges as the big winner from the nation's refugee crisis with a surge of support on the back of radical statements.

Main Message: It was not the first time AfD leaders set out extreme political positions. A year ago, one AfD candidate referred to US President Barak Obama as "a token n*****". More recently, Mr Hoecke warned of the "surplus population in Africa", resulting from the region's reproductive behaviour, which would not change, he said, as long as Europe continued to take in African refugees.

10 February

131. The Tenterfield Star: Newspaper

Title: Migrants plan fresh start in Tenterfield Shire

Main Message:

AFTER months of discussion and organising, the Mingoola Progress Association recently opened their arms and houses to a group of African migrants. 'They don't want to depend on hand outs - they want to work and be self-sufficient,' she said. The nationalities of the group vary, with members from Rwanda, Burundi, Uganda and the Congo

06 March

132. The Courier Mail: newspaper

Title: HEART & HOME

Main Message: Sharon Orapeleng, 37, is a transcultural mental health specialist, who runs online social enterprise Kalahari Designs, specialising in African homewares, jewellery and art to support community projects here and in Botswana.

11 March

133. AAP General News Wire: Internet

Title: Highlights of the AAP world wire at 08: 00 March 11

Main Message: A South African court has found a 51-year-old woman guilty of kidnapping a newborn baby from a Cape Town maternity hospital 19 years ago, in a case which has gripped the country.

14 March

134. The Daily Telegraph: Newspaper

Title: SILENT BLIGHT OF ETHNIC VIOLENCE

Main Message: Saturday's race riot at Moomba proves our refugee program has made our streets unsafe, and the police and media cover-up must end. This time about 200

members of two armed gangs -- one mainly Sudanese and the other Pacific Islander -- stormed Melbourne's Federation Square to threaten police and bash each other. Other Australians, many with children, fled for their lives.

135. Greater Dandenong Leader: Newspaper

Title: Southern women lauded WHISE WINNERS

Main Message: Ms Salim acts as a consultant for the bridging of African communities and Anglo-Australian culture to enable effective integration and cultural awareness
Community contributor. African Australian Women's Health Advisory Group. The group promotes positive cultural change within African population groups, advocating for research and health opportunities and challenge the barriers women experience

136. Herald Sun: Newspaper

Title: Safety betrayed by ugly cover-up

Main Message: Saturday's race riot at Moomba proves our refugee program has made our streets unsafe, and the police and media cover-up must end. This time about 200 members of two armed gangs -- one mainly Sudanese and the other Pacific Islander -- stormed Melbourne's Federation Square to threaten police and bash each other. Other Australians, many with children, fled for their lives.

15 March

137. The Age: Newspaper

Title: Community advocates tried to alert officials: CITY RAMPAGE- 'Racist' label for raising concerns about teens

Main message: One of the nation's most respected African leaders warned the state government and police last year about hotspots of isolated young refugees who did not obey the law.

Others have said they were labelled racist when they raised concerns about isolated African and Islander teenagers.

138. The Bendigo Advertiser: newspaper

Title: Letters to the editor

Main Message: the anarchy that was displayed by warring gangs of Islanders and Africans.

It was our laughable excuse for a premier that at every occasion urges all and sundry to flood our state with a never ending flow of immigrants, with very dubious backgrounds. At every step the immigrant crime rate has been covered up or understated.

16 March

139. ABC Premium News: Periodical

Title: How Islamic State's impact has gone global: Two years ago, few people had heard of the Islamic State terrorist group. Today, its impact is felt around the world.

Main Message: At least 50 South Africans are believed to have joined IS in Syria according to local analysts and Iraq's ambassador to South Africa, Hashim al-Alawi. Some have since returned.

140. The Age: Newspaper

Title: LETTERS: GANG VIOLENCE

Main Message: When large numbers of Sudanese started arriving in Melbourne, my teacher friends and I predicted big trouble because of their terrible experiences and the lawless environment they had lived in.

141. The Age: Newspaper

Title: Police must stop being so politically correct

Main Message: We must, and we do, show the same welcome to Africans and Polynesians. But there must be a line drawn on law-breaking and violence. We abandon our responsibilities to the wider community if we create a political, social and administrative environment that tempts us to turn a blind eye.

18 March

142. The Herald: Newspaper

Title: Way forward is to connect with diverse cultures

Main Message: The tendency with these events is to outsource the blame and its true origin. This approach ascribes the actions of a few to entire communities, countries, or faiths.

It misrepresents, oversimplifies and wrongly depicts communities and their cultures. It stereotypes and causes deep division and pain within those communities. It has to stop. Much of the reporting of Saturday's events depicted African and Pasifika communities as homogenous groups. But it's more complex than that.

Let's take the example of the African community and break it down. There are 54 countries on the African continent. Each has its own set of norms, behaviours and traditions. At every African forum I have attended with the VMC, the community is at pains to point out the culture of each African nation varies markedly and that cultural awareness is the key to understanding a community.

143. St. Mary's Star: Newspaper

Title: The African Food Project

Main Message: after arriving in Australia as a humanitarian refugee, it was impossible for Mbuyi Tshielantende to practise his mine engineering profession because of the language barrier and his age. In 2008, with the support of Holroyd Parramatta Migrant Services and Parramatta City Council, plus income from part-time work as a cleaner, he set up the African Food Project.

He farmed and supplied traditional African vegetables to Sydney's growing community of migrants from the western Sydney region.

22 March

144. AAP General News Wire

Title: UK: World News Update, what you need to know

Main Message: Congolese politician Jean-Pierre Bemba has become the highest-ranking political leader to face a verdict from the International Criminal Court, found guilty of a 2002-03 campaign of rape and murder in Central African Republic.

23 March

145. The Northern Star: Newspaper

Title: You are free, up to a point

Main Message: former One Nation leader Pauline Hanson saying South African immigrants were bringing diseases to Australia such as AIDS.

Rather than defending their right to say those things, I'd rather highlight them as something that doesn't belong in the public realm.

Many of these comments don't contribute anything to a debate nor is it a valid comment on an issue.

The more we excuse such behaviour, the more it will be tolerated

28 March

146. Frankston Standard/Hastings Leader: Newspaper

Title: what's on

Main Message: Ugandan Concert by graduates of African Children's Choir at Balcombe Grammar School Hall at 398 Nepean Highway, Mt Martha, on Friday, April 8, at 7pm.

29 March

147. Eastern Reporter: Newspaper

Title: Popular international on again

Main Message: Based in Mirrabooka, the Edmund Rice Centre focuses on engaging multicultural communities in sport, particularly residents from African nations.

148. Mornington Peninsula Leader: newspaper

Title: what's on

Main Message: Ugandan Concert by graduates of African Children's Choir at Balcombe Grammar School Hall at 398 Nepean Highway, Mt Martha, on Friday, April 8, at 7pm.

30 March

149. AAP General News Wire: Internet

Title: EUR: Italy rescues 1400 migrants

Main Message: Most of the migrants were from African countries and were believed to have left from Libya, which is widely lawless

31 March

150. The Cairns Post: Newspaper

Title: GLOBAL SNAPSHOT

Main Message: Most of the migrants were from African countries and were believed to have left from Libya, which is widely lawless. More than 1.2 million Arab, African and Asian migrants have streamed into the EU since the start of last year.

151. Herald Sun: Newspaper

Title: Bush could suit migrants

Main Message: As an African migrant, I find Australian migration policy ill thought

out. There seems to be a common belief that most, if not all, migrants are suited for urban settlements, either in cities or bigger towns.

This blanket migration policy of trying to move and absorb every migrant into one of our urban centres is likely to be counter-productive in the long run; instead of promoting cohesion and integration it is likely to result in growing segregation, discontent and mistrust

01 April

152. The Cairns Post: Newspaper

Title: GLOBAL SNAPSHOT

Main Message: UN abuse claims A US-based advocacy group says 98 girls in Central African Republic reported they were sexually abused by international peacekeepers. Three girls also told UN staff they were tied up, undressed, and forced to have sex with a dog by a French military commander in 2014.

06 April

153. AAP General News Wire: Internet

Title: EUR: World News Update, what you need to know

Main Message: South African President Jacob Zuma has survived an impeachment vote in parliament launched after the constitutional court ruled he had ignored an order to repay state funds spent on his private home.

154. Daily Mail Australia: Online Newspaper

Title: Circus acrobat jailed for nine years for deliberately infecting his girlfriend with HIV wins appeal after High Court finds he didn't mean to do it - despite having frequent unprotected sex with her

Main Message: Godfrey Zaburoni, 37, had been ordered to serve a nine-and-a-half year jail term in April 2013 after he became the second person in Queensland to be convicted of intentionally transmitting a serious infectious disease.

April 11

155. News.com: Internet news <http://www.news.com.au/national/victoria/crime/weve-got-a-kidnapping-murdering-madman-on-the-run/news-story/a6029846e88ff30408e0f06cafeae899>

Title: We've got a kidnapping, murdering madman on the run

Main Message: A "MADMAN" accused of snatching a baby from a pram and killing her in Melbourne could have been captured on two CCTV cameras installed in the area if they were operational.

Sofina Nikat, 22, told police a shoeless man smelling of alcohol pushed her to the ground, grabbed her 15-month-old daughter Sanaya and ran off with her at Olympic Park in Heidelberg West, about 10am on Saturday.

Ms Nikat said she never saw the face of the man, who she described as being of African appearance, between 20 and 30 years old and about 1.8m tall.

Ms Nikat told her uncle that she had been attacked by a man before he abducted her baby.

"He pushed her and she fell off the bench ... she fell to the ground," Mr Ali said.

"The man unbuckled the pram, grabbed the baby and ran off towards the creek and the shopping centre.

156. ABC News: Internet <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2016-04-10/child's-body-found-in-creek-in-heidelberg-west/7313868>

Title: **Toddler found dead in Melbourne creek after abduction from Heidelberg West park**

Main Message: A toddler who was found dead in a creek in Melbourne's north-east was snatched from a pram while walking with her mother in a park on Saturday, homicide detectives say. The man has been described as between 20 and 30 years of age, about six feet tall with short dark hair and not wearing shoes.

Police said he was wearing black pants and a black zipper top.

They said he had dark skin and smelt heavily of alcohol.

Hereald Sun: newspaper <http://www.heraldsun.com.au/news/law-order/search-for-15month-toddler-missing-from-olympic-park-heidelberg-west/news-story/eed24b1ef2ff9787603d085f89601b63>

Title: **Body found in search for toddler missing from Olympic Park, Heidelberg West**

Main Message: Earlier police say the only suspect in the toddler's death is described to be a man of African appearance, between the ages of 20 and 30, six-feet-tall, wearing black pants, a black hooded zipper top, no shoes and smelling heavily of liquor.

12 April

157. Wyndham leader/ Point Cook Leader

Title: **Young volunteer lauded**

Main Message: THE needs of refugees and newly arrived migrants inspired one young Wyndham resident to volunteer for his community.

Now, 21-year-old Khurram Khan is a finalist for the CFA Young Volunteer Excellence award as part of the Victorian Young Achiever Awards

April 13

158. SBS News: Internet news

<http://www.sbs.com.au/news/article/2016/04/13/melbourne-mum-remanded-custody-over-alleged-murder-baby-daughter>

Title: **Melbourne mum remanded in custody over alleged murder of baby daughter**

Main Message: A Melbourne woman who police say confessed to killing her 14-month-old daughter hasn't appeared in court because of her mental state. At the time Nikat told police a barefoot man of African appearance and smelling of alcohol had pushed her to the ground and snatched the toddler.

She said she gave chase but couldn't catch him.

159. The Age: Newspaper <http://www.theage.com.au/victoria/woman-charged-with-murder-of-heidelberg-west-toddler-sanaya-sahib-20160412-go4mvx.html>

Title: **Sanaya Sahib murder: Mother Sofina Nikat 'confesses' to killing 14-month-old daughter**

Main message: The mother of 14-month-old Sanaya Sahib has been charged with her murder after making a "full confession" to police. Ms Nikat had earlier told police her daughter was snatched from her pram by a stranger while they were walking in Olympic Park about 10am on Saturday.

She had described the stranger as a man of African appearance who was wearing no shoes and smelt of alcohol.

160. Herald Sun: Newspaper

Title: Mum Sofina Nikat charged over murder of toddler Sanaya Sahib

Main Message: THE mum of toddler Sanaya Sahib has not appeared in court because of concerns about her mental health after being charged with her daughter's murder.

Her mother told police that on Saturday morning, as she walked in Olympic Park, an African man had snatched her baby and run off.

But police told an out of sessions court hearing last night that Ms Nikat had now made a full confession to murder.

161. News.au.com: Internet <http://www.news.com.au/national/victoria/crime/post-mortem-reveals-sanaya-sahib-was-smothered/news-story/4d7b78ae97ee5fffd2f7e0d71e7fac98>

Title: Mother of Sanaya Sahib confesses to toddler's murder

main Message: Police said investigators were "no longer looking for anyone else in relation to this investigation", but refused to go into further detail about the allegations surrounding the woman.

The charges come after Sanaya's body was found in a creek about 2.45am Sunday, hours after her mother Sofina Nikat claimed a shoeless African man smelling of alcohol abducted her 14-month-old daughter while she was walking with her in Olympic Park, Heidelberg West, on Saturday afternoon.

The mother's account sparked a major manhunt involving mounted police, members of the public and the State Emergency Services. No independent witnesses came forward to confirm the 22-year-old's account.

April 14

162. Daily mail Australia: newspaper

<http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3538710/Investigation-ordered-death-Melbourne-toddler-Sanaya-Sahib.html>

Title: Did authorities do enough to protect Sanaya Sahib? Investigation launched into death of 14-month-old who was 'killed by her mother' - as it is revealed her family had contacted social services over the toddler's welfare

main message: An investigation will be launched into the death of Sanaya Sahib to see if authorities acted appropriately to protect the toddler found dead in a Melbourne creek.

Victoria's Minister for Families and Children Jenny Mikakos ordered the probe that will look into the weeks and months leading up to 14-month-old girl's death and which departments were in contact with Sanaya's family.

The investigation will see if child welfare officers sought to find out about and document the home life of the little girl, 7News reported

163.9 news: Online <http://www.9news.com.au/national/2016/04/12/16/52/victoria-police-charge-woman-with-murder-over-death-of-14-month-old>

Title: Father of Sanaya Sahib 'devastated' after former partner charged

The father of a Melbourne toddler allegedly murdered by her mother has spoken out about finding out his daughter had died, describing it as the worst moment of his life.

Main Message: Ms Nikat initially told police she was walking through Olympic Park in Heidelberg West on Saturday morning when a man pushed her to the ground and "snatched"

Sanaya from her pram.

She said the man, who she described as being of African appearance, had then run through the park with Sanaya

164. News.com.au: Online <http://www.news.com.au/national/crime/blame-a-black-man-tactic-commonly-used-by-crims-trying-to-shift-the-blame/news-story/f657a339631883bb929ce75805b0bf52>

Title: 'Blame a black man': Tactic commonly used by crims trying to shift the blame

Main Message: A tall, poorly dressed, black man is one of the most popular descriptions used by criminals trying to shift the blame for their crimes onto someone else, according to Africana Cultures and Policy Studies author Zachery Williams.

Mr Williams said the "blame a black man" tactic was centred around exploiting negative stereotypes and prejudices in a bid to deflect suspicion.

19 April

165. The Advertiser: Newspaper

Title: 400 refugees feared dead

Main Message: MORE than 400 people were lost and feared drowned in the Mediterranean Sea last night after a boat full of African migrants overturned.

166. The Cairns Post: Newspaper

Title: GLOBAL SNAPSHOT

Main Message: Paralympian Oscar Pistorius will be sentenced between June 13 and 17 for the murder of his girlfriend Reeva Steenkamp, a South African court has ruled

22 April

167. ABC Premium News: Periodical

Title: Europe migrant crisis: Mediterranean capsized death toll causes confusion among aid agencies: A lack of information and a delay in interviewing survivors appear to have caused initial scepticism about the latest mass drowning of refugees in the Mediterranean.

Main Message: BBC Arabic quoted the Somali ambassador to Egypt, who in an interview claimed 400 people had died crossing the Mediterranean to Italy.

The report said the refugees were fleeing Somalia, Ethiopia and Eritrea in four boats which were ill-equipped for the journey. But information beyond that was scant. At one point during the transfer, the larger boat capsized and sank.

"The 41 survivors include people who had not yet boarded the larger vessel, as well as some who managed to swim back to the smaller boat. They drifted at sea possibly for three days before being spotted and rescued," the UNHCR said.

The BBC later reported the 41 Africans had been released, but they had no idea where they would go. Many said they were still determined to make it to Italy.

23 April

168. Weekend Australian: Newspaper

Title: DOING IT TOUGH

Main Message: The characters are really well-drawn and they're played so well by the actors. And they're all very different, so there's something there for everyone really: some Africans, a Vietnamese woman ... so for me it shows how multicultural this country is, how big a melting pot it is for all different nationalities.

"And I don't see that a lot in film." The authenticity came from casting several locals.

One of the more striking is an African drummer, whom Ireland approached on the street after realising he couldn't afford the fee of a professional.

"So I saw this African dude walking up and down the street for a few weeks and I thought I'd ask him," he says. "He looked the part, was cool, looked really good, so I said: 'Excuse me, I'm making this film. You don't happen to play the drums do you?' " Not only did he have drums, he brought his band to the set. "The gods were just shining on us," says Ireland.

169. Weekend Australian: Newspaper

Title: In the birthplace of Gaddafi, a promise of fresh plunder

Main Message: Sirte was the birthplace of former dictator Muammar Gaddafi. It has extensive infrastructure, including an international airport, a seaport and oil installations.

Islamic State is thought to have about 4000 to 5000 fighters in Sirte, and is recruiting African migrants making their way to the coast. The movement also derives the depth of its support in the Sirte area from the loyalty of tribesmen. Clearly, the goal is to seek to replicate the model for success in Iraq and Syria: once a territorial base is established, a military force can be built up that can be used aggressively to expand the holding

April 27

170. The Australian: Newspaper

Title: Dad's field of dreams come alive with Sydney Swans

Main Message: Aliir's parents fled the civil war in the Sudan. The boy was born in the Kakuma camp in Kenya and spent his first eight years in its crowded confines before surviving members of the family made their way to Australia. "I didn't know anything when I came here as a kid. I wasn't used to seeing big cities, big buildings, stuff like that; it was different," Aliir says.

171. The Daily Telegraph: Newspaper

Title: Australia's new short-term bowling coach Allan Donald wants full-time position

Main Message: FORMER South Africa paceman Allan Donald has agreed to a short-term deal to replace Craig McDermott as Australia's bowling coach.

Cricket Australia confirmed Thursday that Donald, a 72-test veteran who was South Africa's bowling coach from 2011-15, will work with Australia's pace attack during the upcoming

April 29

172. News.com.au: Internet news

Title: Steve Smith denies AB de Villiers' claims over day-night Test

Main Message: Tensions between Australian and South African cricketers might be high this summer with Steve Smith denying claims he gave negative feedback to South African counterpart AB de Villiers about the proposed day-night Test in Adelaide.

2 May

173. The Age: Newspaper

Title: Education Inner city race divide 'White flight' lands in the classroom

Main Message: Natalie Sims was told not to send her son Daniel to Fitzroy Primary School.

Other local mothers called her "brave" for sending him to a school where the students were mostly Somali and Muslim from nearby commission housing.

"There was a suggestion that I wasn't being careful enough with my child's education," says Ms Sims. Schools such as Fitzroy Primary, Carlton Primary School and Mount Alexander College in Flemington have become catchments for poor students of African heritage, many living in the flats. Between 71 to 94 per cent of students attending these schools speak a language other than English at home.

3 May

174. Illawarra Mercury: Newspaper

Title: 'I don't even tell my footy team'

Main Message: I have a lot of bottled-up anger. Every time I see my religion being vilified in the media, I have to look away or shut it down. I want to do something, say something, defend my religion, but I also don't want to have to do something. I shouldn't have to say something. I haven't done anything wrong. There is immense fear and hatred Naseema Mustapha, 46, Brisbane, South African Indian

175. The Tenterfield Star: Newspaper

Title: UPCLOSE: Modelling a better way

Main Message: The two families come from Burundi, a small African country next to Rwanda which has been torn apart by civil war. They've spent a long time in refugee camps, ending up in Wollongong. Ms Harpham said efforts by the MPA to connect with such potential settlers were frustrating until a chance conversation between a Barnaby Joyce staffer and his counterpart working for Senator Concetta Fierravanti-Wells resulted in a connection to Emmanuel Musoni, chair of the Great Lakes Agency for Peace and Development.

May 6

176. The Advertiser: Newspaper

Title: Man arrested over random attacks on shoppers at Regency Plaza Shopping Centre

Main Message: A YOUNG man who allegedly went on a rampage of unprovoked violence in a northern suburbs shopping centre on Thursday afternoon has been remanded in custody. Outside court, his mother, Garimi Olumide, 36, a carer who arrived in South Australia from Liberia 11 years ago, defended her son as a "good boy" who liked playing video games. She said her son, who was currently completing his studies at Thebarton Senior College, had mental health issues and that she had sought help.

07 May

177. ABC: Television Broadcast

Title: Why is hip-hop growing in popularity among young Muslim Australians?: Hip-hop is increasingly becoming a popular means of expression for many young Australian Muslims. The Alfred Deakin Institute for Citizenship and Globalisation is exploring why this music has been an avenue for many Muslims to express their identity in the current political climate. The French rapper Medine is currently in Melbourne working with some young Muslim Australian rappers.

Main Message: I'm African and everything. And I was born here. The first perception I get, especially when I walk into a store or whatever, especially with my dress code and everything, is that: "Oh, OK, she's an African immigrant or refugee," without getting to know me.

Back home, all the things that happen: they kind of, in a sense, reflect on us. But people need to know that we're completely different human beings. We have completely different values and beliefs and everything.

May 9

178. PerthNow: Newspaper

Title: Matthew Chimu is an aspiring lifesaver after migrating from the war-torn Democratic Republic of Congo

Main Message: ADELAIDE'S first African-born surf life saver was just 14 when he was forced to flee with his brother and sister as rebel soldiers swept into their hometown in the war-torn Democratic Republic of Congo.

"We had to run — we had to leave our parents, leave our family and just go," says Matthew Chimu.

After a harrowing journey, the trio finally arrived in Adelaide in 2009.

"We could not speak a word of English," says Matthew, now 22.

"We had to learn everything from nothing; how to fit into Australian society, how to communicate properly."

And — importantly for Matthew — how to swim.

May 10

179. Whitehorse Leader: Newspaper

Title: Nunawading City striker Emile Damey selected to play for Liberia in Africa Cup of Nations

Main message: Damey, 22, got the call from Liberian national coach James Debbah in late April telling him he'd been selected as part of the team which will face Togo in the penultimate Africa Cup of Nations qualifying match on June 4.

May 16

180. Perth Now: newspaper

Title: Brawl erupts in South African parliament

Main Message: South African opposition lawmakers, who tried to disrupt President Jacob Zuma in parliament, brawled with guards before being ejected from the building.

The Mercury: newspaper

Title: Brawl erupts in South African parliament

Main Message: South African opposition lawmakers, who tried to disrupt President Jacob Zuma in parliament, brawled with guards before being ejected from the building.

181. Daily Mail Australia: Online Newspaper

Title: Sports club apologises for 'racist' party where teammates dressed in blackface as rappers and singers - after 'receiving abuse and threats' on Facebook

Main Message: Teammembers took the opportunity to paint their entire face and bodies in blackface, and were widely criticised when images of them were posted to the club's Instagram page.

17 May

182. Central Western Daily: Newspaper

Title: 'A very welcoming culture': regional group forms to address multicultural issues

Main Message: NSW Minister for Multiculturalism John Ajaka was unable to attend the launch, but said Sudanese, Indian, South African and Zimbabwean people were among the largest emerging groups in Orange at the 2011 Census and the top languages spoken at home other than English were Italian, Dinka and Arabic.

19 May

183. The World Today: ABC Broadcast

Title: Islamic State: Libyan forces push IS militants back to Sirte stronghold: More than 30 fighters loyal to Libya's unity government have been killed in clashes with Islamic State militants near the group's coastal stronghold of Sirte. Earlier this week, key western powers agreed to lift the arms embargo on Libya to help the recently-recognised government confront the growing threat from IS, which is being bolstered by militants leaving the deteriorating situation on the battlefields of Syria and Iraq.

Main Message: The ministerial conference also focused on Italy's proposals for addressing the migrant crisis which Rome wants to launch at next month's summit of European Union leaders in Brussels.

Under the plan, the EU would offer African countries increased aid and support in return for them improving their border controls, and co-operating on the repatriation of people deemed economic migrants.

184. Herald Sun: Newspaper

Title: Netball Australia confirms new-look Australian league from 2017

Main Message: "We want athletes from all over the world to be playing so I think our eyes will first turn to England, South Africa; where there are over two million players, the other African nations such as Malawi and Jamaica as well." Said Netball Australia chief executive Kate Palmer

20 May

185. The Age: Newspaper

Title: LETTERS: FEDERAL COALITION

Main Message: Rather than scapegoating refugees, Peter Dutton should look to the Howard government's cynical policies of settling the intake of mainly African arrivals in high unemployment areas of Melbourne and Sydney, including places like Dandenong. This suburb, which had double the national rate of unemployment, now has up to 39 per cent youth unemployment. The newly arrived refugees were keen to work and many had excellent English and tertiary qualifications. They would have quickly found employment if they'd been settled where the jobs were, as was government policy with 1950s' post-war migration.

186. The Age: Newspaper

Title: 'White flight' parents are missing the big picture

Main Message: It is a perennial talking point: white middle-class families in socially liberal Greens-voting enclaves, shunning their geographically closest state school because it's populated by African kids from the housing commission towers. The implication being these inner-city lefties love refugees as long as their own precious darlings aren't mingling with them in the schoolyard - a contemporary version of Guess Who's Coming to Dinner, minus Sidney Poitier, and with Katharine Hepburn and Spencer Tracy remade as Melbourne hipsters.

21 May

187. ABC Premium News: Periodical

Title: Austrian election: 'Donald Trump of Europe' Norbert Hofer favourite to become next president: Ultra nationalist leader Norbert Hofer, often compared with Republican US presidential hopeful Donald Trump, looks likely to be the new president of Austria.

Main Message: early this month, a 54-year-old woman was murdered in a Vienna street market by a Kenyan refugee with a long criminal record.

"We don't want criminal young men here who rape women," Herman Mitterer, a teacher from Tirol, who plans to vote for Mr Hofer, said.

Police report that the level of criminality is very high and it's really dangerous, especially for women.

"It's not okay that someone like the African guy who killed the woman can stay in the country. He already had 18 previous convictions. He should leave," he said.

"Many refugees can't find work because they are illiterate, so we have to pay for them and our social system will break down.

188. The Age: newspaper

Title: Letters

Main Message: Would these wretched politicians please stop displaying their ignorance so loudly? In a number of African cultures, there is only an oral tradition. There is no written language for these people to be illiterate in.

189. Perth Now: newspaper

Title: Brazil-type Zika confirmed in Africa

Main Message: Tests have shown that an outbreak of Zika virus on the African island chain of Cape Verde is of the same strain as the one blamed for birth abnormalities in Brazil, the World Health Organization says.

23 May

190. The Age: Newspaper

Title: Easy for the Greens to promise compassion: COMMENT

Main Message: The problem was that we had recently increased the intake of African refugees and his electorate was feeling some unrest because of the number who had resettled there.

Every new source of migrants initially meets some inertia bred from uncertainty.

191. The Canberra Times: Newspaper

Title: Easy for the Greens to promise compassion

Main Message: The problem was that we had recently increased the intake of African refugees and his electorate was feeling some unrest because of the number who had resettled there.

Every new source of migrants initially meets some inertia bred from uncertainty.

192. SMH: Newspaper

Title: Easy for the Greens to promise compassion

Main Message: The problem was that we had recently increased the intake of African refugees and his electorate was feeling some unrest because of the number who had resettled there.

Every new source of migrants initially meets some inertia bred from uncertainty.

24 May

193. AAP General News Wire: Internet

Title: Highlights of the AAP world wire at 08: 00 May 24

Main Message:

An appeal is planned against a court ruling that cleared the way for South African President Jacob Zuma to be tried for almost 800 corruption charges, the country's state prosecutor said.

194. News.com.au: Internet news

<http://www.news.com.au/national/victoria/news/deep-anger-at-core-of-apex-gang-causing-havoc-on-melbournes-streets/news-story/f4e886da66594d4ea38cb323ea069612>

Title: Deep anger at core of Apex gang causing havoc on Melbourne's streets

Main Message: SOUTH central Melbourne became more like South Central Los Angeles on Saturday as rioters swept through the CBD terrifying locals and tourists alike.

Havoc descended on Federation Square with metal chairs from the city's famous Brunetti's cafe used as weapons on nearby Swanston St, as gang members fought with both the police and among themselves.

26 May 2016

195. Courier Mail: Newspaper

Title: Australia may not host next World Twenty20 due to ICC's change of heart

Main Message: Of course we would be delighted to host any major ICC event," Cricket South Africa chief executive Haroon Lorgat told ESPNcricinfo. "We have proven in the past what a perfect destination South Africa is." Lorgat is referring to the fact South Africa has hosted just about every global tournament available to it in the past, staging the 2003 one-day World Cup, the first ever World Twenty20 in 2007 and several editions of the now-defunct T20 Champions League

196. The Advertiser: Newspaper

Title: From refugee camp to Rio: Mangar Makur and Suzie Chuot's remarkable sporting story

Main Message: After spending their formative years in a Kenyan refugee camp, the pair are now carving out impressive sporting careers in their adopted home of Perth. Mangar Makur, the elder of the pair, will travel to Rio to compete in the Olympics for South Sudan in the 200m sprint

Key

Migration Crisis = 58

Refugee Issues and Community events = 39

Positive immigration stories (no refugee) = 25

African Crime = 19

Refugee trouble = 16

Racism and discriminatory discourse = 11

Sport = 8

African terrorism = 10

African politics = 5

Media criticism of representation of Africans = 4

African disease = 1

SECTION B: CROSS SECTIONAL SURVEY QUESTIONS

This section presents the questions that were put forward to the survey participants and the response layout formatting that was presented.

Survey Questions on African Immigrants' media use and attitudes.

Information compiled in this survey will aid the researcher in measuring and evaluating African immigrant attitudes and knowledge of the media landscape around them.

The protocol number issued with respect to this project is 100/2015/78 & the study title is "The role of media representations and individual consumption on the symbolic formation and negotiation of identity amongst African immigrants in Australia."

*Required

Top of Form

Please provide your age *

- ☐ 18-28
- ☐ 29-39
- ☐ 40-50
- ☐ 51-61
- ☐ 61-over

Please provide your sex *

- ☐ Female
- ☐ Male
- ☐ Other:

What is your country of origin in Africa? *

How long have you lived in Australia? *

What is your usual occupation? *

What type of media platforms do you have access to at home and/or at work? *

You may select multiple responses

- ☐ Local news station
- ☐ National broadcast TV news program
- ☐ Newspapers
- ☐ Radio programming
- ☐ African specific news (please specify source)
- ☐ Magazines
- ☐ Journals
- ☐ Online newspapers
- ☐ Online Podcast/Vodcasts
- ☐ Online news Programs
- ☐ Social Media
- ☐ Other:

Please list the top 5 sources from the above question (1 being the highest –5 the lowest) media sources that you use regularly (at least several times a week) *

Please type your responses in the box below

Please may you select the main reasons why you use these media sources regularly *
You may select mulpile responses

- ☐ Keep up with what is going on around me
- ☐ Information seeking
- ☐ Pass time
- ☐ Entertainment
- ☐ Relaxation
- ☐ Communicating with friends/family/peers
- ☐ Expression of opinion
- ☐ Surveillance/knowledge about others
- ☐ Other:

I tend to consume these media ... *
You may select multiple responses

- ☐ Alone at home
- ☐ With family/friends at home
- ☐ With work peers
- ☐ In public with friends and family
- ☐ In public and alone
- ☐ Other:

In your opinion, how do you think Africans are represented in the media? *
Please select one answer

- ☐ Excellent
- ☐ The same as other nationalities
- ☐ Fine
- ☐ Not very well
- ☐ Badly

Please provide a response as to why you may think this representation to be the case? *
Please type you answer in the box below.

Do you think that the media representation of Africans is ... *

Please select one answer

- ☐ Balanced and fair
- ☐ Some what balanced
- ☐ Some what biased
- ☐ very biased

Which types of media do you believe cover Africans living in Australia and issues surrounding them most often? *

You may select multiple responses

- ☐ Local news station
- ☐ National broadcast TV news program
- ☐ Newspapers
- ☐ Radio programming
- ☐ African specific news (please specify source)
- ☐ Magazines
- ☐ Journals
- ☐ Online Newspapers
- ☐ Online Podcast/Vodcasts
- ☐ Online news programs
- ☐ Sports programs/reports
- ☐ Other:

How accurately do you think the news you watch, read or hear portrays Africans living in Australia and issues surrounding them? *

Please select one answer

- ☐ Very Accurately
- ☐ Accurately
- ☐ Slightly Accurate
- ☐ Slightly Biased
- ☐ Biased

Out of the sources you use for getting the news, which in your opinion most accurately presents information about Africans living in Australia and issues surrounding them? *

You may select multiple responses

- ☐ Local news station
- ☐ National broadcast TV news program
- ☐ Newspapers
- ☐ Radio programming
- ☐ African specific news (please specify source)
- ☐ Magazines
- ☐ Journals

- ☐ Online Newspapers
- ☐ Online Podcast/Vodcasts
- ☐ Online news programs
- ☐ Other:

Do you think the way Africans are represented in the media, provides the Australian population with a good/informed idea of what it means to be African Australian? *

Please select one answer

- ☐ I strongly agree
- ☐ I agree
- ☐ I somewhat agree
- ☐ I disagree
- ☐ I strongly disagree

In the media sources that you consume how often do stories that deal with Africans in Australia appear? *

Please select one answer

- ☐ Often
- ☐ Sometimes
- ☐ Almost never
- ☐ Never

Are you more likely/less likely to read/watch/listen to a story if it features Africans? *

Please select one answer

- ☐ More likely
- ☐ Likely
- ☐ Indifferent
- ☐ Less likely

If you find an article or story dealing with Africans in Australia, which group likely are you to share it with? *

You may select multiple responses

- ☐ Other African friends/family
- ☐ Peers at work
- ☐ Social Media
- ☐ Not likely to share with anyone
- ☐ Other:

Do you, personally, try to keep up with news about Africans living in Australia and issues surrounding them? *

Please select one answer

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

Would you be more inclined to consume the media if it featured more content about Africans living in Australia? *

Please select one answer

- ☐ Very Inclined
- ☐ Inclined to
- ☐ Not really inclined
- ☐ Not inclined at all

In your geographical location, are you exposed to the African population? *

Please select one answer

- ☐ Yes, I frequently see members of my racial group
- ☐ Somewhat, here and there
- ☐ No, I hardly see anyone from my racial group

Outside of your family/friendship circles do you associate with other Africans? *

Please select one answer

- ☐ Frequently
- ☐ Some what frequently
- ☐ Infrequently
- ☐ Never

Outside of work, how much exposure to you have to the rest of the Australian population (e.g. neighbours, sporting or leisure groups, church, parenting groups) *

Please select one answer

- ☐ Frequently
- ☐ Some what frequently
- ☐ Infrequently
- ☐ Never

In your association with the non-African population do you feel as though they *

Please select one answer

- ☐ Treat you the same as everyone
- ☐ Sometimes questions about race arise
- ☐ Some are curious about my background
- ☐ There is an air of caution with some
- ☐ I have had negative responses
- ☐ Other:

In your experience of socialising with non-Africans, what are some of the more common questions that you're asked about yourself? *

Please type you answer in the box below

Why do you feel that you're being asked these questions? *

Please type your answer in the box below

Please answer this question "I identify myself as being... *

Please select one answer

- ☐ African
- ☐ Australian
- ☐ Both Australian and African
- ☐ Something else...please elaborate
- ☐ Other:

Please indicate by ticking YES/NO if you would like to be contacted by the researcher for a future study dealing with the representation of Africans in Australian media. If you choose to be contacted by the researcher your identity and anonymity will be respected throughout. *

Please select one answer

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

If you choose to be included in this study please provide an email address/phone number where you will receive information about this study. *

Bottom of Form

SECTION C: Human Ethics Clearance, Participant Information and Consent Forms

The Arts Faculty Human Ethics Committee clearance for this doctoral thesis was granted on 1st May 2015 when I was enrolled at Charles Sturt University, Bathurst, NSW. This was prior to my transfer to Flinders University, Adelaide, SA. All the participants included in the researched were contacted for the cross-sectional survey and those continuing with the oral history interviews were provided with the letter of information and confirmation prior to this transfer. They were fully informed throughout the interviewing process of the impending transfer and they consented to their inclusion in the studies. As a result, this did not breach the ethics clearance agreement.

In this section, I have included the letter of ethics clearance that I received from Charles Sturt, the letter of information and a sample consent form. For reasons of data protection, I have not included the original copies of the signed consent forms to protect the addresses and contact details of the participants. However, should the examiners require these documents as part of the thesis assessment, the completed consent forms can be provided upon request.

1st May 2015

Dear Miss Runyararo Chivaura

Thank you for your application to the Faculty of Arts Human Ethics Committee.

The Arts Faculty Human Ethics Committee has approved your proposal ***“The role of media representations and individual consumption on the symbolic formation and negotiation of identity amongst African immigrants in Australia”*** for a twelve month period from **1 July 2015**.

The protocol number issued with respect to this project is **100/2015/78**. Please be sure to quote this number when responding to any request made by the Committee.

Please note the following conditions of approval:

- all Consent Forms and Information Sheets are to be printed on CSU letterhead. Students should liaise with their Supervisor to arrange to have these documents printed;
- you must notify the Committee immediately in writing should your research differ in any way from that proposed. Forms are available at www.csu.edu.au/research/forms/ehrc_annrep.doc;
- you must notify the Committee immediately if any serious and or unexpected adverse events or outcomes occur associated with your research, that might affect the participants and therefore ethical acceptability of the project;
- amendments to the research design must be reviewed and approved by the Faculty Human Ethics Committee or if no longer minimal risk research referred to the University Human Research

Ethics Committee before commencement. Forms are available at the website above;

- if an extension of the approval period is required, a request must
- be submitted to the Faculty Human Ethics Committee or if no longer minimal risk research referred to the University Human Research Ethics Committee. Forms are available at the website above;

You are reminded that an approval letter from the FHEC constitutes **ethical approval only**.

If your research involves the use of radiation, biological materials or chemicals separate approval is required from the appropriate University Committee.

Please don't hesitate to contact Dr Andrew McGrath, telephone 63384591 or email artsfhec@csu.edu.au if you have any enquiries about this matter.

Yours sincerely,

Dr Andrew McGrath Chairperson Arts Faculty HEC Telephone 63384591

Email artsfhec@csu.edu.au

Arts Faculty Human Ethics Committee

CC: A/Prof. Chika Anyanwu

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION STATEMENT

1. What is this study about?

You are invited to take part in a research study about media representations of African immigrants in Australia and how they use these representations in their everyday lives.

You have been invited to participate in this study because as a member of the African society in Australia you can provide information from your knowledge, experience and share your position of how Africans are represented. This Participant Information Statement tells you about the research study. Knowing what is involved will help you decide if you want to take part in the study or not. Please read this sheet carefully and ask questions about anything that you don't understand or want to know more about.

Participation in this research study is voluntary.

By giving consent to take part in this study you are telling us that you:

- ✓ Understand what you have read.
- ✓ Agree to take part in the research study as outlined below.
- ✓ Agree to the use of your personal information as described.

You will be given a copy of this Participant Information Statement to keep.

2. Who is running the study?

The study is being carried out by the following researchers:

- Rue Chivaura, PhD Researcher in The School of Communication and Creative Industries at Charles Sturt University in Bathurst.

This study will take place under the supervision of Professor Tara Brabazon and Professor Steve Redhead.

3. What will the study involve?

The study will be an in-depth interview, which will take up to an hour (60 minutes) to complete. This interview will be an opportunity to discuss your experiences and perspectives in detail about the representation of Africans in the media in Australia and how you feel you are perceived in society based on these representations. The interview can be arranged to take place face to face or via Skype.

All results will be kept confidential. The information disclosed during interviews will only be used by the investigator listed at the bottom of the page and only for the purposes of the present study. If the results of this study are published, your name or identity will not be used or linked to your responses. Should any direct comments made by you during the course of the interview be used in the reporting of results, you will be provided with a typewritten transcript of these details.

4. Do I have to be in the study? Can I withdraw from the study once I've started?

Being in this study is completely voluntary and you do not have to take part. Your decision whether to participate will not affect your current or future relationship with the researchers or anyone else at Charles Sturt University.

If you decide to take part in the study and then change your mind later, you are free to withdraw at any time. You can do this by sending an email or telephoning the researcher on the details listed at the bottom of the page.

If you consent to taking part in the interview, you are free to stop the interview at any time. Unless you say that you want us to keep them, any recordings will be erased and the information you have provided will not be included in the study results. You may also refuse to answer any questions that you do not wish to answer during the interview.

5. Are there any risks associated with being in the study?

Aside from giving up your time, we do not expect that there will be any risks associated with taking part in this study.

6. What if I would like further information about the study?

When you have read this information, Rue Chivaura, the chief investigator will be available to discuss and answer any questions you might have via telephone or email.

7. What if I have a complaint about the study?

Research involving humans in Australia is reviewed by an independent group of people called a Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC). The ethical aspects of this study have been approved by the HREC of Charles Sturt University [100/2015/78]. As part of this process, we have agreed to carry out the study according to the *National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (2007)*. This statement has been developed to protect people who agree to take part in research studies.

If you are concerned about the way this study is being conducted or you wish to make a complaint to someone independent from the study, please contact the university using the details outlined below. Please quote the study title and protocol number.

The Executive Officer
Arts Faculty Human Ethics Committee
Charles Sturt University
Wagga Wagga, NSW 2678 Tel: 02 6933 4799

Rue Chivaura, PhD student
Charles Sturt University, +61 2 63386115 or via e-mail at rchivaura@csu.edu.au

Study: *The role of media representations and individual consumption on the symbolic formation and negotiation of identity amongst African immigrants in Australia.*

I,[PRINT NAME], agree to take part in this research study.

In giving my consent I state that:

- ✓ I understand the purpose of the study, what I will be asked to do, and any risks/benefits involved.
- ✓ I have read the Participant Information Statement and have been able to discuss my involvement in the study with the researchers if I wished to do so.
- ✓ The researchers have answered any questions that I had about the study and I am happy with the answers.
- ✓ I understand that being in this study is completely voluntary and I do not have to take part. My decision whether to be in the study will not affect my relationship with the researchers or anyone else at Charles Sturt University now or in the future.
- ✓ I understand that I can withdraw from the study at anytime.
- ✓ I understand that I may stop the interview at any time if I do not wish to continue, and that unless I indicate otherwise any recordings will then be erased and the information provided will not be included in the study. I also understand that I may refuse to answer any questions I don't wish to answer.

- ✓ I understand that personal information about me that is collected over the course of this project will be stored securely and will only be used for purposes that I have agreed to. I understand that information about me will only be told to others with my permission, except as required by law.

- ✓ I understand that the results of this study may be published, but these publications will not contain my name or any identifiable information about me unless I consent to being identified using the “Yes” checkbox below.

☐ Yes, I am happy to be identified.

☐ No, I don’t want to be identified. Please keep my identity anonymous.

I consent to:

- | | | | | |
|---|-----|--------------------------|----|--------------------------|
| • Audio-recording | YES | ☐ | NO | ☐ |
| • Being contacted about future studies | YES | ☐ | NO | ☐ |
| • Permanent archiving of study materials | YES | ☐ | NO | ☐ |
| • Reviewing transcripts | YES | ☐ | NO | ☐ |

Would you like to receive a transcript of the sections of the interview that will be used in the study?

YES ☐ NO ☐

If you answered **YES**, please indicate your preferred form of feedback and address:

☐ Postal: _____

☐ Email: _____

.....
SIGNATURE

.....

PRINT NAME

.....
DATE

Section D: Oral History Interview Transcripts

The following transcripts were recorded from the oral history interviews conducted for chapter four: Oral Testimonies of Africans Living in Australia. As previously mentioned in the chapter, the transcripts were included in order to make it possible to refer to what was said in the interviews by the participants without misrepresenting what was said. In the formatting of the transcripts I did not adhere to a specific type of coding for transcription. Instead, chiefly I wanted to record what was being said by the participants and not how or why. The types of formatting that I used are as follows:

1. *Italics* – these were used when the participant emphasised a particular word or said something in their native tongue that needed translation.
2. Bullet points – these mark when the participant responds to the question.
3. Time – the start of the question is marked by the time that I started to ask the question. This makes it easier should one be searching for a particular question and response and not wanting to go through every question and response.
4. Ellipses – signal pauses within the participants' response.
5. Brackets within the participant's response – these were my utterances during the participants' response or me clarifying what the participant intended to say.

At the start of each transcript there is a brief biography of the interview participant. This done so that the reader of the transcript can get an idea of who is responding to the questions and the context of participant's stay in Australia. Other information that is included is the format the interview was conducted – either face to face or via skype. The location of the participant, the date of the interview as well as the duration of the interview. It can be noted that most of the interviews do not start at 0:00 minutes this is because I have omitted the familiarity discussions of getting the participant comfortable before conducting the interview. With the exception of Participant 1- Leslie, I provided what some of these familiarity questions that I asked to get the interview participants comfortable with being questioned and recorded. I felt including the familiarity questions for all the participants was not necessary to include in the recordings as it did not add to the intended responses of the interview. The transcripts will be presented in the order that they were carried out; this has no bearing on what was discussed or any type of hierarchy.

Name: Leslie

Sex: Male

Age: 20

Birth Country: Zimbabwe

Occupation: University Student works part time in hospitality

Length of stay in Australia: 15 years

Interview Location: North Sydney, NSW

Interview Date: 09/03/16

Interview Duration: 18:03

1. **0.01** Could you please tell me your name, your age and where you were born?
2. **0.18** What do you currently do?
3. **0.27** How old were you when you moved to Australia?
4. **0.35** Did you come alone or with family?
 - Dad, Mom & Brother
5. **0.41** Can you tell me how you came to move to Australia?
 - Mom and Dad had come to study
 - Moved to Perth initially and started primary schooling
6. **1:13** I know you were young when you moved to Perth, is there anything that sticks out that you want to share?

Prolonged silence

- The size of the city and how quiet it was as compared to Sydney
 - A family friend that we had in Perth as well, whom we spent most of our (family) time with. She was a white girl from an..., she was from an Australian family, but she enjoyed eating *sadza*. She'd always come to our house to...er indulge in our African cuisine.
7. **2:28** So you mentioned *sadza*. What is *sadza*?
 - Sadza is ummm, a traditional Zimbabwean food, which is made from maize, it's a coarse grain umm...it's like coarse corn and it's sticky and thick like play dough
 8. **2:42** So you started off in Perth and now you are in Sydney, why did you relocate?
 - Errr. ... we relocated err...due to my parents need to study as well....So umm...my dad had come to Sydney to... pursue his PhD which helped mum obtain work as a nurse as well.

9. 3:09 And now you're a 20 year old male who has spent most of his life in Australia ...so in your own words what do think the general Australian population have about Africa and what it mean to be African?

-ermm.....I don't think they have much insight intoerr...what Africa is ummm...I can recall a story of when I had got into an argument with an umm....with a friend from school who was ...who was quite smart he was a scholar umm... and basically his judgment on Zimbabwe and Africa was based on what he had read in the news and he was quite stern in his position that he believed umm...Zimbabwe and Africa to be errr...what it was like errr...through the portrayal in the news emm.. and err...it's..it's...quite difficult to be able to provide them with a picture of what Africa and Zimbabwe really is if they hadn't been there themselves. So there's the issue of ermm..not being exposed to the country err...through travelling there and also ummm....the only exposure that they have is through the news or t.v. programs ...which are not really educating people on modern day Africa it's basically just the at the ancient culture and the ancient traditions specific to bush people and tribes, things like that and ...umm....and there's this perception that ummm.....we're like a delicate culture that hasn't been explored especially from people who have umm.... African umm...errr...African paintings and sculptures in their house So they tend to be interested in what Africa is but... there is still that ignorance behind their questions

10. 5:48 so...having lived at least 15 years plus in Australia what are some of the things you've been asked about your ethnicity or your background that sort of stick out prominently?

- Ummmm.....well some of the questions you get asked when you meet someone err... especially someone who had lived in Zimbabwe ummm... or Rhodesia as they refer it to as is um... things must have been hard over there? Did your parents get out to have a better life? Umm....why did you leave? Ummmm Aus....Is Australia a better country for you erm...and then you'll get questions like...does your hair grow into an Afro...if you grow it out? Errr...you mustn't get skin cancer, you don't need to put on sunscreen ermm.....I can only see your teeth at night which is more of a statement ummmmm.....

11. 7:18 So how do you sort of take some of these comments and how have you responded if you have to (about) any of these?

- Ummm...umm.. you learn to (stutter) accept the ignorance at times because it is quite frequent umm... sometimes it's around your group of friends so you can respond with a bit of banter back to them and umm...and umm...yeah dish out the same type of questions to them as well and have fun with it but umm.. usually, most of the time the errr... questions aren't mentioned at the start ..errm regarding Rhodesia and how hard it was for us to leave the country, coming from strangers err... especially those who do believe that err mm.. that the events that occurred when Zimbabwe had sought to be independence were not in the favour of the ummm... white Caucasian population umm...so you do have to try and be politically correct when you are responding (to) the questions but umm... you don't really have a need to provide them with a complete answer as it is something that you know you don't even talk to amongst your family.

12. 8:49 So you also mentioned that a lot of what general Australia knows about Africa is depicted through the media um. How do you think the media understands Africans based on what you've seen of Africans being represented on T.V on in the newspaper

- errrrmmmm.....well first of all umm.....there.....there really isn't a need for the media to provide a ummm... positive portrayal of Africa in the media ummm.... There aren't going to be generating much public interest and revenue from it ummm.....and because of this when they do portray Africa in the media it is always headlined which most of the time isn't something good, but not to say that nothing comes...nothing good comes from Africans it's just the fact that a story can be made from it. Um.. if there is an African who has opened up a local business, which I can give you examples of compared to a group of Africans who have errr....done something bad like bashing another group of people then the media always chooses to report the bad side of things ...errmm..that also extends to things like the hip hop culture ...and what not where people struggle to um.. make that separation from um.... From the ideolo...ideologies and um err values that are portrayed in the hip hop culture and rap music compared to Africans themselves umm.. and the.. they're easily mistaken for umm for wanting to take on that.. that.. that personality despite um ..hip hop fashion and um we're being popular amongst all races of people.

13. 11:18 And so as a young black man...umm have you been affected by what you could say general Australians think of young African men? I mean is there something that sticks out that's occurred good or bad?

- Ummm.....again it's ..it's hard to say because youuu know you don't really talk about it too much with other people it's kinda one of those things that you try to brush off but um..you do...you do... feel as though there are instances where u..... a lot more attention is directed towards you and you ..you do have to be aware that you are ummm.. that you do stand out in certain situations and that does affect how you portray yourself, how you talk, how you dress, how you interact with other people..ermmm... which can work in your favour and it can't in some instances ermm.. like for example my most recent place of employment ... I.. I...I had this role the same as a number of people but err.. attention was constantly drawn towards me and what I was doingfor what I believe was because...because I simply stick out and even with umm.. things like running into the law ... they have that automatic perceptionthat you are going to be doing something badummm and the way that they interact with you ermm... is mostly negative most of the time ermm... and also things like when you're walking through the err.... Ticket machines at train stations you'll be asked to present your ticket despite numerous amounts of people err. .. walking through the ticketing machines at the same time ...which..shows you that um.....how you are a targeted demographic for being ...for.. for doing something negative

14. 13:50 And do you believe this has caused you to conduct yourself in a particular way to different people or different social settings?

- Ummm Off Course!! You..you have to be able to adapt ermm.....ermm.....

15. 14:07 Can you explain what you mean by adapt?

- Well

16. 14:13 or give an example

-ermmm it's...it's much different forerrr...an African or someone of a different race to ermm... to walk into a room full of Caucasians as opposed to a Caucasian walking into a room of Caucasians ... and for me it's quite interesting because I have grown up in Australia so immediately when I open my mouth and I begin to talk, people are always surprised because I ...I hold a strong Australian accent umm....also like I was saying before you kinda get used to it then you.. you do get used to it and you...you umm you learn to just be yourself but you do have to be mindful of the fact that sometimes you might be you know talking to people who immediately act in their body language and even in the way they speak, or the questions that they ask that.. that you know that they might be more umm... a bit

more hesitant to talk to you or to interact with you in a social setting ...despite being in the same group of friends

17. 15:34 so in this regard do you consider yourself to be Australian or African? Or both? Which one do you closely associate with?

- I'm African Australian ...umm....

18. 15:53 Why's this?

- Well I've grown up in Australia. I've numerous Australian friends. The African community is... in Australia isn't large ermm even compared to other cultures umm.... So I'd definitely say I'm Australian erm...one thing that I do say at errrr times is I'm Australian till I look in the mirror for the simple fact that I'm surrounded by umm...ummm Australia and the many different cultures but um.... I..I.. definitely identify myself as an African and Africa being home for me um.. you do have to keep your roots close to you at all times ...you can't forget wherever you've come from

19. 16:49 And do you believe the general Australian population do consider you to be Australian?

- Ummm... when.. when they want to accept you they willummm so I do believe I would be an Australian if I walked down the street and talked to someone at the shopsbut then when things like the Cronulla Riots anniversary comes around I'm definitely not an Australianor err.. yeah so there...there are times that you are accepted as Australian and there are times when you are not accepted as an Australian ...err...even for example like sporting the Aus...Australian rugby team is full of people from different cultures, colours and backgrounds ummmm....errr. but then againermm.....if.. if...if an individual in the team had done sometime wrong they wouldn't be referred to as an Australian they would be referred to as someone from their background who has done something wrong

Name: Reginald

Sex: Male

Age: 28

Birth Country: Ghana

Occupation: Intern Pharmacist

Length of stay in Australia: 10 years

Reason for relocating to Australia: Reconnecting with birth father who is Australian

Interview Location: Skype chat from Wollongong, NSW

Interview Date: 13/03/16

Interview Duration: 36:20

1. 4:00 So you said that you moved to Australia at age 18, (Yes) what are some of the things that you imagined Australia to be like as an 18 year old man?

- (deep breath) umm.. as an 18 year old umm... before I came to to Australia I ..I was really excited, I knew I was coming to a more developed country, I knew I was com..., I knew it was going to be different and umm...I.... I didn't know how it was going to be then perhaps I was actually had an idealistic view of it based on movies that I had watched and most of these were like... they were American movies they were not Australian moviesso I just kinda had an idealistic picture of ... yeah I knew it was going to be different, I knew um...and I ...but I had so much excitement but I was just willing to come into it and just see what they had to offer or like what I could make of it ...and I think most of umm.. er... er... I travelled with my brother who was the same age as me and we got on the plane together and whilst we were coming he said that he was pretty disappointed because he was expecting to see err skyscrapers everywhere ...and anyway...when we got here I was so excited I saw the tall buildings in Sydney and I was like those are nice like....and he told me he was actually disappointed because he thought it..it... the tall buildings were not tall enough like he expected.....but... but I didn't see it that way, soo....It tell you about two different people coming from the same ...you know country to Australia and yet one having a completely different view as compared to the other.

2. 5:52 That's interesting, so you travelled with your brother to Australia so you came straight to Sydney? This was..

- Yes

3. Ok, and can you tell me about your...a memory that sticks out to you shortly after you arrived to Australia... just anything you'd like to share

- Errwhat was interesting and our very first encounter with you know a majority Australian group was actually, our flight left from Accra and it just did a transit in Dubai ...but in...we did not get out of the airport we just sat in the airport for about 4 hours and we had to make our way to I think another flight, it was an Australian flight from Dubai to Sydney. So umm... like the waiting area had lots of white Australian people as compared to the flight that we boarded from Ghana to Dubai. Right so um.. whilst we were in that waiting area umm.. there were lots of umm.. young white people and most of them were like.. the guys We actually noticed that the guys had piercings they had tattoos on them and all that and me and my brother Adeyemi were just looking at them like we were quite surprised (laughter) like coming back where I come from you kind of see that as something that is very very criminal or something that I terrible in a man. I remember when we were in school....in high school, boarding school back in Ghana, a few ..., a few of the boys went out of the country (travelled abroad) there was like rumours that they had gotten some inks (tattoos) on their bodies, like they had done tattoos and the following Monday morning er... I remember the teachers or the head masters made a big deal about it and they rounded up all those boys and they.. they um... they kind of kicked them out of the school yeah...but before they did that they really beat them up, they beat them up (canning is still permitted in most African schools). So... it was something that....that we w... we w... all talking about how stupid they would have been to have gone and done that ..right just because they have been watching American videos. So, I mean back in Ghana we um.. fully look down on, it's not something common umm... if its If it's common now then I wouldn't be sure. So, yeah that was the first thing we saw in the waiting area in the um... about the board the Australian flight from Dubai to Australia and we saw these piercings like you know like these kind of long piercings, black and it's really big that goes into the ear of certain guys and the tattoos and the lip piercings and we saw that and we were just thinking about...

4. 8:56 Yes, well thank you for sharing that, you've lived in Australia now for 10 years, umm in your experiences what do you think the Australian population know about Africa or what it means to be African?

- Umm... I think...I think most of them they...umm...they umm...they have...they have an idealistic view of um... about us as well, like in a sense ummm they... they.. have the same view that we had....like I described to you earlier before we got on the plane and came here (representations in movies) In a sense they have the same view but in the opposite direction. Right, we thought we were coming to a new more developed you know place where things are done differently you get anything you want erm... there are skyscraper everywhere people are just going about happy with smiles on their face and I think they have the opposite because but I right now that I have stayed in Australia for that long I've kind of become adjusted to it now I see things more clearer, right, and I can identify between, you know ummm..., between what is and what is not but um I think if they have never been to any parts of Africa or any country in Africa they kind of have that idealistic view of Africa as well and they have their own specific way like a place where people are starving, going about without any food where there is poverty where they will get sick the moment they land, where umm... you going to get chased by a wild animal or where ummm also they can have a lot of fun without caring about anything ...ummm yeah where it's ...umm yeah a bit dirty but free and lawless, yeah that's the view that they have.

5. 10:46 And in your o..., in your experience in Australia what are some of the things you've been asked about your culture or your background or ethnicity?

- Umm... Since I rarely get people asking me about my particular background umm... unless I actually push it on them, um I think they usually just see you as African, they don't really see you Ghanaian or any of that so ...unless, unless you actually become more familiar with them, then they start questioning so where exactly are you from? Or like ...thh..th..or..or..th the person themselves says they are more informed to ask that kind of particular question. But most of the time the question they will just ask you is that um.. is the.... They just assume you to be part of the bigger population of Africans in Australia they wouldn't really try to tell you apart from them you asking where you come from or anything like that. So if they see a bunch of

umm...like say um...say umm... a bunch of Africans doing something over there they expect you to automatically identify with that or ... in their mind they will just assume you to be part of it so yeah um ...

6. 12.09 Ok, and how do you sort of respond to this grouping with other Africans without distinction?

- How do I...?

7. 12:18 How do you, take this if they just think you're a black African you're the same as every other black African in Australia? How do you take this umm...is it something that...

- Initially, to be honest, initially when I first arrived initially I kind of felt that I did not like that, I felt umm... dissatisfied and um they ..used to umm... do that that like... they see a bunch of Sudanese and they think you are...and you have never been there before ... they maybe your friends but you don't have the same experience as they have ... you don't speak the same language as they have .. as..as they do and initially I felt ...or they see a black person on the news having done something in a certain part of Australia and they just see you and they kind of impose that onto you ... and sometimes they even go as far as ...as far as actually opening up and talking to you about it or question you about it. So yeah, initially I kind of found that err that grouping err... I became angry about it, I think that as I ..er... er. Over time I began to accept it and I started understanding the rationale behind it ...and I think I understand it better now and it doesn't bother me too much like when ...when I see that someone actually doing that I actually kind of understand where the person is coming from because I feel like ..you know, I know more than he possibly like knows ... so I don't really um take offense to that and if .. if.. I jus... just play along with it and then try to explain it as much as I can or sometimes I just ignore it

8. 14:16 And in terms of how Af... the media understands or represents Africans in the media um.. what have been some of the experiences that um you can remember do you think that the representation is beneficial for Africans? Do you think it shows a particular side of Africa? What are your opinions on how the Australian media depicts Africans?

- (long pause) like um.. I think the media tries to play out certain types of Africa, they try to um.. they kind of see ... think that they can umm they can

only ever get people to become interested in what they are doing if it's a such a sympathetic story about Africa like tells, sorry tells stories about the jungle or tells stories about um.. um.. you tell stories about war, if you tell stories about um .. about hunger and charity .. but there's a kind of feeling to that because the whole enterprise ...and in a sense other Africans do the same because, the image it's just an enterprise you know, like for example you can get Africans making movies about wars in countries that you know has never even had a war. Right, and it's directed and acted by Africans like recently a movie called *Beast of No Nation* was made in Ghana, with Idris Elba, who is my favourite actor anyways (laughter) starring in it. Telling a story about war and I actually enjoyed it but you.. you.. know what I mean it can be really popular and he won an award for it and there is a young star in Ghana..from Ghana called Abraham Attah who got discovered acting in that movie and he is getting recognition from it. And it is a story about war and Africans killing each other and stuff and they have made it out of that. So I think it's just a whole enterprise, everybody pays (buys) into it and make something out of it so ..ummm at the.. the end of the day umm.. um.. I don't like it but I think the... the um... I think the umm.. the people who are actually um.. interested should also tell other stories that is if they can ...if you tell the other stories as well it will be catches on as well as the other terrible stories that we've got on. If. ...If we start telling nice stories about other African those stories are going to catch on as well. ... but... but... it's going to take more hard work to tell a nice story about an Africans that's going to catch on.

9. 17:14 So how do you think this benefits or impacts what the general Australian might think of what it means to be African if they keep seeing these war movies or, or hunger portrayals? Do you think this affects how they understand people to be African?

- Yes off course it does, it does, it does because it....people obviously get affected by what they see right? Um... what they see and what they hear affects them even subconsciously, consciously and subconsciously for example most Australians would think that they are even more smarter than an African who is even more educated than they are, right, just because in their head they have facilitate this kind of you know umm... ummm... what is it .. they have this ... this general conception of how Africa is based on these

movies and stories they hear and the charities that goes on, you know starving African kids and you send them a dollar or whatever to feed them and all this. So, I think as Africans we um... I think there um... overall the um... the duty lies with us to actually change that image you know like us individual Africans the duty lies with us because nobody is going to do it for us. Nobody is going to do it for us, because nobody will come and clean your house for you, nobody will come and showcase your house in a very positive light to other people, you have to make sure that you do that yourself and if... if... if... we are buying into the the enterprise of you know of umm.. you know... showing Africa in a terrible light then who else is going to show Africa in a good light? So um.. they can victimize us and also I don't think that we should make that um... that kind of um.... The way they... the way that someone actually sees you, I don... I think that if we, individual Africans actually um um if we um... able to find confidence in ourselves it would actually rebut that and fight that off and still make something good out of ourselves, irrespective of how someone sees you.

10. 20:01 you mentioned something else earlier that negative representations affect you even subconsciously .. I mean have you had an instance where .. you know someone has said something? Something is in the media that has sort off impacted how you might carry yourself in public or around other people?

- Umm... yes ... plenty. I'll tell you a story of how I was once on the (long pause) I was on the train... in Sydney and I think umm... there was this umm ... there was this Aussie man and he had his three little children sitting with him....umm and I think they were ummm... like you know like how they have the trains with seats that face each other?

11. 20:57 Yes

- So there were sitting and they were facing one um one African um what was it? One African man, a bit of an older man I think he's from Sudan with his children as well and I think his children might have left a spoon... like you know one of those disposable spoons on the er....disposable spoons they left it on the seat of the train station (seat) then when it was their stop the African man left with his son they went out of ... out of the train carriage and I was just sitting in the corner of the train, I was just looking in that direction and as soon as they got out these little white kids with their parents...(tut) I mean

with their father ... with this man who appeared to be their father, they just went to that seat and took that spoon, the spoon that like the African man's son left behind and this is what the man said. He said "hey! Put that down!" umm.. "Put that down! Don't touch it! Don't put it in your mouth! Do you...do you know like that some of these people even come from places where they don't even have toilet paper?" so that's what he says (chuckle) I was sitting at the back there and I kind of felt a bit nervous because umm... in a sense he was doing the right thing by telling his child not to put a spoon someone has used into ... into.. not to play with it, but the way he actually you know like formulated it was quite was you know, was interesting. You know what I mean?

12. 22:45 Yes

- It was very interesting because he didn't know where that man comes from or he didn't even know how he grew up because even if someone is living in Sudan, there is people who live much better in Sudan than in Australia right? And there different sections of that society and just to assume that you know um.. you know that that man comes from a place where they don't have toilet paper is... is you know, it could tell you... it just goes a long way to tell you how the person views Africans in general, or that... those people in general.

13. 23.32 that's, that's a very interesting and powerful story, so.. so in your train ride did they (The Australian family) happen to notice you, that you were obviously in close range with them?

- Yes, yes, off course! He knew I was around but I was quite separated from them...from them.... And I wasn't part of .. I wasn't walking ... I wasn't sitting close to the... the African man and his son and I was just sitting apart (stammer) right in the corner of the train. And I was actually coming back home from work because I was working in a... in a pharmacy and I usually finish work late around 6pm. Most of the time when I get on the train I just get into corner where I can just sit alone, by myself. So I was just sitting there (stammer) yes just sitting there ... yeah so he actually noticed I was in there.

14. 24:18 That's quite powerful, and in your 10 year experience here, would you consider yourself to be Australian? Or African? Or both?

- Um.. I consider myself to be Australian and .. ummm I also consider myself to be Ghanaian as well, but I think ...(inaudible) it's a...a really big issue

because I think I am Australian and that's what I tell people when I go out that I'm Australian, but at the same time I... I have like a background, my background you know is from Ghana umm... so ...um in a sense that kind of identity ... I think (stammer) Aus...Australia has heaps of migrants being white, black Asian or whatever but we all have that kind of background so whenever we come to Australia you kind of have a version of ... you have to merge two faces together so ummm you kind of have an identity. So at the moment I consider myself to be Ghanaian Australian, yeah... because errr... errr.... If I should go back home to Ghana at this particular time I don't think I think there are certain parts of me or behaviours that I do, or certain things that I do that they would find very strange. Right, and I am in Australia and I do certain things which... which looks... looks Australian but actually people can actually pick you up... out and say 'oh this thing you did here like is Ghanaian. So in a sense you kinda stand in the middle of two you know where you're not completely ... you're not like completely this you're not completely that. So the more... if you come out of your home country and you stay there for so long, you kind of bring a bit of what you brought ... you kind of have what you brought ... you also have.. have umm... a bit of more of where you are now ... you kind of mesh the two faces together and you build an identity for yourself. So yes I do consider myself as Australian, I am a registered Australian er....er but I am a citizen by conferral, yeah and umm... but I do acknowledge that I came from Ghana and ... and I also have a Ghanaian identity.

15. 27:07 So reversing the question now, do you think the general Australian population would consider you to be Australian?

- (long pause) yes! Because I think... yes of course! What is it ... most people ... I...I don't think they ... I don't think they ... I don't see any reason why anyone won't Unless if I myself say I'm not .. I don't see why anyone wont. Except that generally... generally yes ... you've got a few people who would ... who would come up with some kind of argument but that's...that's not going to make any sense it's a business place considering that they would have come from somewhere else as well. So at the end of the d...day being Australian is about the individual.. the individual persons ummm.. how the person sees himself rather than how other people see him

16. 28:11 Ok that's an interesting perspective

- I think that...I think that for most people when I tell them that I'm Australian they just nod their head and they kind of accept it and umm... yes people most of them would have come somewhere else anyway like from Italy or from Greek (Greece) so at the end of the day it depends on who you are and if you want to be Australian or you don't want to be Australian

17. 28:36 Ok we've we've come to the end of the sort of structured questions are there any other thoughts or input that you'd like to share with the researcher?

Or if not that's fine as well

- Umm... (Inaudible)... one of the inputs that I'll actually ... one...one thing I would like to mention is that umm... you know I see ummm ... that I mentioned that I used to be ummm... I used to err get err get a bit angry when people kind of classify me into groups, with other Africans that I know I'm noti'm not from there or I don't have much in common with them but just because I'm from Africa they kind of group me as part of them. But as time went on I began to understand where they are coming from where their point of view. The thing is where they are coming from is from the same point that ... I think that we Africans also have to take note of that because in a sense no matter where we are from right once you come into Australia you kind of get a whole new image that the society puts on you ... right. And you can't be.... Group yourself and say (prolonged stammer) well you can say it like because i'm from Ghana I might see a Ghanaian and say Ghanaian Australian or maybe someone is from Zimbabwe he, she is Zimbabwean Australian but in the eyes of the larger Australian population or society if you're from Africa then they just see you as African and that affects you and affects everything you do in Australia, I mean at least in the beginning stages. So I think that er... what is itwe..we.. that kind of ... we do not need to do too much separation amongst ourselves as Africans you know in Australia. I think we kind of need to have a united front and we need to respect each other and try to build each other up, because I think um...that ...that... it's much better because if we unite together and come together as a... as a... united front, then that means we don't have any kind of ...we are not against each other then we can actually present a much better picture to you know...to ... to the society. Rather than us umm... being... being split into groups among ourselves over

here in Australia then we expect people just to learn that 'oh! He is from Zimbabwe, he's from um... Guinea, he's from Ghana, he's from ...umKenya, he's from Uganda, nah, it's not going to work that way right. I mean we have to um...be umm... we have to just accept that as long as we have come from our different countries and we have come to Australia we are now um.. involved in a new image that we have to carve for ourselves. Right, like we all have to work on that image, and we will work on that image if we are all united and respect each other. Right, and we... we ... we come to realize that we all have umm... what do you call it... um .. an equal um... we all have an equal image we have to carve Yes we all have a single image we have to carve for ourselves in Australia ... we have to unite together

18. 32.24 That is very insightful thank you for that comment, you've provides very great insight and good perspectives from the African point of view so yeah.. it really provides a lot of data for me to work with for this project (laughter)

- So yes, I think that I am quite umm ... I actually quite amazed that you're actually pursuing a PhD and I am quite glad that I am able to help

19. 33:02 it's quite different for me because I was born in Zimbabwe but we moved to England when I was 8 , ummm and England is more multicultural. As you know the Ghanaian community has been there since the 50s, it's now second, third, fourth generation Ghanaians in London. So being black is not ...not.. anything that is ... you anyone looks twice at but moving to Australia and especially in the countryside of Australia, people ask me these questions like 'where are you from? ' 'how do you speak English?', you know so it ...it started making me think like How come people are asking me these things or how come I never see anyone who is not Sudanese on T.V. (In terms of African representations) or a positive African story so... so this what inspired this research. ... and I hope that I can provide a better perspective of what I means to be an African living in Australia.

- Oh...that's good, umm. Umm... one thing ... I think there's a.... we are a long way away from becoming... from becoming fully accepted (inaudible) or fully a part of this society like ... like you described the Africans in the U.K. to be we are a very long way away because um... because even when you travel to a place like ...just say Sydney or Newcastle and go to a certain pub you just see... like once I was driving to Newcastle and I was lost so I

ummm... it was the evening so I just parked and walked into a certain pub because ... um that was the only open place I could see. Um... I went in there to ask for directions, and I could just see all eyes just ...just curiously looking at me the moment I entered kind of definite silence and I knew that I was (inaudible) and I just went straight to the bartender and asked for directions and he was kind of pleasant, a nice person just like they should be and you knowand I kind of said thanks and I walked out you know. I think there is lack of...lack of familiarity with er... the (sometimes there is.... Yeah it's a really difficult barrier to break... yeah

20. 35:36 Yes I have found that out now and yeah... I'mi'm hoping that maybe this project will ... you know... provide people with a better understanding and hopefully it... it you know(laughter) works and its successful

- whha..... it will be something... be, it will be er... but what is it there is a proverb in Ghana where I'm from where er.... A person claims to do some not all (laughter) yeah so... you can get it....

21. 36:18 Thank you so much Reginald for your time.

Name: Ignatius

Sex: Male

Age: 40

Birth Country: Zimbabwe

Occupation: University Lecturer

Length of stay in Australia: 10 years

Reason for relocating to Australia: Wife got a registered nursing position in regional NSW

Interview Location: Skype chat from Dubbo, NSW

Interview Date: 19/03/16

Interview Duration: 27 minutes

1. 1:29 Where were you born?

- I was born in Zimbabwe, umm obviously in 1975 and umm I grew up in Zimbabwe and did my education there...yeah

2. 1:42 can you describe sort of the city, the city of village that you came from?

- Ok ummm.... The city is... I'm from Chivhu, the village is um.. Chida village, that's where I actually was born and grew up um... I only went into town later in the high school years.

3. 2:09 Ok, and wha...what made you relocate to Australia?

- Ahhh... it was for economic opportunities, my wife is a registered nurse and we.. we were looking for better opportunities for our family ...economic wise (in Zimbabwe). So that's how I ended in Australia as a (inaudible)

4. 2:32 so er ... you said that you're currently a university lecturer and your wife is a registered nurse were these these ermm qualifications that you ermm... that you attained in Zimbabwe?

- Ahh... no ..umm.. my wife has (had) been a registered nurse in Zimbabwe but I was... I was a policeman, I was doing something very different from what I am doing now ... so upon relocation that's when I ... I um... that's when I embarked in university study from the Bachelor of umm....obviously from Tafe to the Bachelor of Social Work to getting a Masters Social Work and Advanced Marketing in 2014.

5. 3:10 Ok, and prior to your move to Australia um... what are some of the things you imagined or knew about Australia? What were sort of your expectations prior to arrival?

- Err my expectations, er I would say it was mixed err... obviously I...I hadn't travelled out of any ...any Western country. I mean I had been in the region obviously African countries but obviously coming to a Western country where the cultures would have been obviously different I was ... I was a bit excited but umm also a bit anxious ... I wasn't... o... obviously my first coming, I f... first thought apparently that erm... that everyone would be welcoming but still was a bit hesitant how I would have been received in the society

6. 4:07 ok, and you know did you... did you initially travel by yourself or did you come as a family to Australia?

- Yeah... we came as a family with my wife at the same time but our daughter stayed behind for a while then she joined us after too yeah..

7. 4:25 ok, so you... you mentioned that you expected it (Australia) to be welcoming and sort of you know a positive place um... what was the reality when you arrived? Is there sort of anything that sticks out that you would you would like to share?

- Sorry?

8. 4:45 So when you arrived in Australia, you mentioned that you expected it to be a very welcoming society (of course) and a different society (yes) ummm.... W..what are some of the initial experiences that you had following your arrival?

- Umm... yeah... I would say initially because I umm.... Obviously coming from Africa I... I was expecting everyone to be friendly which I would say in general yes people were friendly because we actually relocated to a small town called Wellington, which is in-between Dubbo and Bathurst. Yeah umm... it was a bit mixed err a lot of people were obviously not, some people were welcoming, some people didn't have anything to do with us. You could see even if you tried to reach out somewhere....as I have spoken (said) so...we... we... we were probably thinking it was our language that other people didn't know how to relate to us And also I think obviously the accent was ...I was still very raw at the time.... Which it is still but still it's probably more manageable now Umm... but but it was it ...was a bit mixed I would say there.... There was athere was a lot of asking from... from... because Wellington is a very small town, a lot of asking around where are you from?

Umm... and umm sometimes when you talk, when I would say I'm from Zimbabwe um... some people didn't even know where Zimbabwe was. Some people feel sorry for... for me and ummm which was sometimes not so er.... because I really expected ...obviously there has been some challenges in my work actually but umm...but yeah it was just the reaction that people, some would feel sorry but some were umm.... Anxious to know ...wh... is there for example in Zimbabwe is there... is there those basic other things that you probably oh... everyone would assume that they know but obviously it was a bit different.

9. 6:57 Ok and in terms of you know, starting up a new career or getting your qualification that led you to lecturing ummm... where there some challenges with some of the qualifications that you had received from Zimbabwe?

- Ahhh... I would say my qualifications because I had to start from Cert 3 although I had done ahhh.... Advanced level or A Level which is ... which was Cambridge .. Cambridge... Cambridge University qualifications for high school. Equivalent to Australia you'd say I had to start from Cert 3 ummm... from ... from Tafe, I mean I... I just wanted to study and apparently I don't th.... I wouldn't say my qualifications are actually recognized as... yeah starting from Cert 3 ... you can imagine someone who has completedA... a qualification and I had passed all my subjects, I actually had 10 subjects with errr... with very good results, B, B the least was a B(Yes) But unfortunately that certificate, I don't think it was actually considered because I expected to start from a diploma level at least, but there I was ... I just wanted qualifications so I had to start from Cert 3 all the way Cert 4, then diploma then I was enrolled at CSU (ok)

10. 8:28 That's interesting and ummm ... you mentioned in the survey that you've um... lived in Australia for about 10 years now (yes... yes) ummm

- we came 6....16 ...I mean 2006

11. 8:39 ok so um... having a 10 year experience, in your opinion what do you think the Australian population knows about Africa or what it means to be African?

- (prolonged silence) ummm I think I'd....I'd think ummm it's...it's probably ummmmII'd think the bias is ...is on.... Just assuming that Africa things, nothing much comes from Africa, um as much as it depends um... I... I have recognized from ... from My co-colleagues from work

obvious they ...they will have travelled or maybe they have worked with other I mean migrants from Africa ... they've got a better understanding of ... I mean there are challenges like any other country just like any other country like here in Australia but um... they recognize umm We are from Africa. There are some... some people that you meet even in the street and sometimes they teach you can see not necessarily personal to me but um... when you talk about issues surround(ing) Africa you can see its... its.... The deficit... the deficit that the sort of go in ahhh ... just thinking about poverty, thinking about umm.... Lack of democracy, or um... talking about things which are a bit not so much positive but obviously related to some negativity around, around the African continent.

12. 10:07 Ok, and in regards to this has someone ever asked you anything in regards to your ethnicity or background umm... a question ummm you know that you might never considered or that you found a bit surprising to be asked?

- errr ... I...I...I sometimes I've be asked several times umm...how I mean ... 'you must ... you must be lucky to be here?' ... those kinds of questions or maybe asking about 'Are you from Sudan?' just by default I guess, trying to link me probably to the pathway of coming here as a refugee (ummm) but I mean those are very I guess I mean now a lot of people in the town that we're in ...in Dubbo ... sort know because it is a small town (yes) but in saying that you find people wanting to talk some.... And now I know how to respond as well so I guess it's probably a combination of how I respond as well that people look, they don't bother to like.. but I have had a lot of people even err talking about er things like obviously from my own country ok we hear there are problems is there something umm... that can be ... that can be done ... which ... which err.... Obviously there are challenges but I don't know whether it is because those are the only stories that they know because they are probably the newsworthy stories ...to probably you know... but I'm not sure if they know the other side of how literate the Zimbabwe population probably is even though err... against the backdrop of all the other challenges that er... that we face

12:04 So you... you mentioned some interesting points there that people have categorized you as a Sudanese by default umm.. could you expand a little bit on this?

- Yeah .. I guess ... I guess I don't know whether it's because their assumption is if you're here you're probably ... because I think.... No because I'm...I'm ... Sudaneseall Sudanese are refu.... Came as a refuge(e) but um.... But I guess it probably the fact that umm I don't know the media sort of covers on the part of Sudanese ... on the part of Africa, Sudanese for wrong reasons or maybe or mostly as coming as refugees, and I have had a few people even talking err... so .. so 'how did you.. how did you come here?' or 'how did you find coming here?' ummm... again I explain that obviously my background is obviously my... my wife is a registered nurse and a qualified someone but I just wonder if ... if those questions would be centered around wanting to find out whether my coming was .. was through the boat or maybe coming as a refugee

13. 13:18 Yeah, that's very ... very interesting and in your understanding umm of the Australian Media how do you think that they sort of represent or understand Africans?

- Umm.... Yeah I would really I don't want to be negative but I really have to be because you know ... I really feel that the media can portray us in a better light ...um even celebrate what we.... Our contributions towards the Australian economy for example because the other day... whilst there are also some positives because the other day I was reading the newspaper where they were actually saying Zimbabwe is the ... the income for migrants from Zimbabwe is the highest in Australia (umm) than migrants from U.K which to me was quite appealing and also obviously made me feel good knowing that we're at least recognized within the economy in a positive light um and also we I... I guess we are apart from contributing in the workforce but also contributing within the community as well I guess those are some of the things... obviously we are a minority but if... my wish would be for us to be included and maybe to be celebrated ... if... if there could be more coverage on .. on the few things that we do so that er... people can get a recognition for... for who we are as a people and also appreciate err... the efforts and maybe the community er.... That we are... we are actually part of ... and in saying that o the negative side a lot of stories that er.. actually portray Africa are around the donations when... when the government sort of puts out donations to Africa probably to help out sick children. Which is a good thing

but I also would like equal coverage around maybe we have got so many doctors or maybe so many lecturers coming from Africa and helping out er... with our... our ... our... fellow Australians which to me would also portray a positive light to the community that we are not just coming here to make numbers but actually to contribute meaningfully to the community and also to the economy.

14. 15:57 And with this biased view that you touched upon, do you think that it impacts how the general Australian (population) come to know of the African population? I know you lived in Wellington, you live in Dubbo which are regional cities in Australia where the African population is not massive so in your surrounds do you think this coverage you know .. . how does it impact the Australian understanding?

- Yeah... most certainly um... it is.. it is hard especially once the media portrays something especially um... it might be electronic or even television definitely the light is .. the light that is more covered is the negative light I mean from my own perception because you find when... when they talk about Africa they talk about umm...um things like umm... donations and they show sickly children which is ok because its.. its reality but I also expect the media to be covering Africa in positive light so that its sort of balanced not so much on the negative especially in these small country towns whereby umm... a lot of people the only source of information is either electronic or print or television or whatever so it will be difficult when we walk out there because obviously you wouldn't walk with your profession or whatever or your status so the only light that you're actually seen is the deficit light whereby people are going ok, 'he is from Africa so he should be happy to be here.' Which is of course, I am happy to be here, but not for the reasons that I am happy because umm... yeah... I'm... I'm ... I'm qualified to be here and I'm contributing meaningfully towards the economy and I'm not here as someone who is actually just er... just er... relying on taxpayers funds I'm actually contributing to myself and the community and also to the economy.

15. 18:14 And you mentioned something that you ... you cannot walk out with your you know your qualification on your chest ... if it something that you have found yourself having to do in social situations where people don't know who you are?

- Yeah! Sometimes I've umm... I've noticed for me because I started off as a ... as a obviously as a labourer, I actually worked in an abattoir when I moved

over and obviously worked hard to find.. obviously working in the industry full time and also studying and ever... other times that I would probably go to a social gathering my wife obviously she was a registered nurse and I would be asked 'what's your background?' It was a question that umm obviously after saying that I'm a labourer you could just see that image that yeah ... it wasn't so much positive given the negativity from what they already knew and also nothing against people who work as labourers but I guess because for me because I was different and doing manu.... Manual work ermm.. just portrayed me in a bit of a ... in a bit of a probably deficit mode if you want to call it. And obviously it just made me feel uncomfortable sometimes having discussions meaningfully with people, just being asked the question 'what's your background?' and I don't know people would sort of rank you along that professional... professional line, but now the difference is because I have walked the two paths if somebody were to ask me about my profession I'm quite happy to discuss you can see that the conversation is a bit different.

16. 20:08 so was ... was this sort of deficit present in predominately African groups or was it just general Australian groups?

- Ummm....Do you mean in the sense of who was asking me what I did

17. 20:23 In the sense that when you were working in the arbatore as a labourer umm... did you feel less to other Africans or was it in front of other Australians?

- Errr... I didn't feel so much less because I think umm...as Africans I think most of us here the few that I knew .. I know we are probably from the same background in that we were here ... some were teachers... some were ... you had police officers different works, so it was ... it was something wasn't you know... our wives also most of us I think our wives were in the same profession of nursing so I mean it was... it wasn't a big deal, I would just tell them what I'm doing and sometimes we would even share notes around err... 'If you look for a job there it's much better you can get umm... probably \$2 or \$3 more per hour' so it was just something that we were actually sharing as countrymen, I mean it was, it was ummm... when somebody actually asked it wasn't going to change the way that they perceive you but I think I was actually to share some of our experiences and see how best we can help each other.

18. 21:42 Ok, Ok, no that interesting, 10 years since you came here umm... would you consider yourself to be Australian, or African or a bit of both?

- Ahh... I guess I... I am somebody who um I would say I am African, because one thing that I ... that I felt umm... a bit disappointed in I would say, is when I came here my inclination was trying to fit in and umm... I was a bit put off because sometimes I would really try hard err... to try and fit in and to try and obviously speak and try to engage but umm... I really found it very difficult and umm...and even the accent I tried too hard to change the accent to thinking ah maybe my accent is too raw but now I am a very proud African. For those that accept me that's ok, for those who probably have some reservations I say that's ok as well, I mean I can't expect everyone to really like me but I also don't lose err... sleep over someone who doesn't feel like they don't want to engage with an African, but I mean whoever wants to engage with me, I am quite open and really my background in Social Work I really want to talk and mix with people and obviously I don't want to mix in terms whereby I feel inferior I just avoid them if... if that's the case

19. 23:18 Ok, um... so again you said something very interesting, you tried really hard to fit in, what, what are some of the things that you know you thought would make you fit in into Australian society?

- I guess... I guess when I came over my... my... my view was er everything was positive and... and I really had a lot of high regard even still I have high regard for the Australians, you know white, white Australians... or any Australians in general. But umm... my ... my disappointment, obviously sometimes you'd go... because my wife was a registered nurse you get invited to a function at her work um and obviously being the... the partner I'd... I was invited and sometimes you go there and you have a bit of chat and you think you're ... you're going for the long haul kind of talking to people, you just probably end up finding you're ... you're just by yourself or people don't necessarily show interest in engaging with you. Whether or not it was because my language was limited... limited I don't think but maybe my accent was probably compromising I'm not sure ... but now I... I guess through my study, through my lived experience being here around Australians I sort of know now how to engage as well and... and again engage in a way that...that because to me my first ... my first er... I mean my first coming here I sort of

was ...was sort of discounting everything African thinking that if I sort of admire... which was ok, if I sort of admire and talk highly about Australia people would probably accept me more... but now I really feel proud, if somebody asks me about the African culture... and I'm actually going to Africa on Thursday ... I talk about it and I yeah... I talk about it in positive light and in a...in a fair assessment, ok this is who we are and yeah my people are still there and I'm proud to be here because I like it here

20. 25:34 Wow, that's really good, so at this point we have really come to the end of the sort of semi structured questions umm... is there any.. anything else that you would like to share with the researcher? Ummm... anything at all?

- Ok umm... I guess maybe yeah.... Its... its... its... yeah again I think we have already covered most of the stuff anyways but err... but again I think err... like I said my personal wish would be probably to have more balanced media coverage around African issues in the positive light I mean there... I mean being in the academic ... academic field there are a lot of people from... not only from Zimbabwe but from Africa in general who... who are in those key positions, that needs to be recognized and to be celebrated umm... Australia wide so that at least that gives the perception of who we are as a... as a people and also the contribution that we are making towards the ... the... the ... the community er... so I really feel er if ... if... if ...er ... that media coverage so of yeah tries to balance those issues I think that would be a great... great fairness to have on the Australians and to us as Africans as well.

Name: Beulla

Sex: Female

Age: 24

Birth Country: Kenya

Occupation: Hotel Client Manager

Length of stay in Australia: 11 years

Reason for relocating to Australia: Father obtained skilled employment in Australia

Interview Location: Face to Face interview, Melbourne

Interview Date: 04/04/16

Interview Duration: 18:02

1. 0:01 Hi, could you please tell me your name and your age?
 - My name is Beulla, I'm 24 years old.
2. 0:13 oh... and what your occupation?
 - I work in a hotel, Doing front desk reception.
3. 0:25 Um, when and where were you born?
 - I was born in Kenya in 1992
4. 0:36 Ok and at whh... what age did you relocate to Australia?
 - I relocated to Australia at the age of 13
5. 0:47 Ok, can you tell me how you came to relocate?
 - My parents...um.... My dad was working in Australia and then we moved over for work, well he moved over for work purposes and then we followed.
6. 1:04 ok, and you mentioned we, who is we?
 - My mother and my younger brother
7. 1:12 And, and can you tell me what you imagined Australia to be like before you came?
 - Err I didn't really have an expectation because I wasn't, I wasn't expecting to move to Australia so quickly ... so I really didn't have an expectation of what it would be like, or.... Yeah what it would be like or ... what it was like as a country
8. 1:42 So how old... sorry... how old were you when you moved? 13?
 - I was 13 yes
9. 1:42 ok, did you have any sort of anxieties or just fears of the unknown?

- Yes, I was a bit frightened especially moving to a country where I didn't have much family or friends, I didn't know anyone in Australia at that time so I was quite scared before moving

10. 2:15 And what was the reality when you arrived, like, can you describe when you went to school and... or first day of school?

- Ummm...it was very different. Ummm... my first day at school I was (a) little bit anxious I guess, just being in a foreign place, but... but I wasn't bad, everyone was quite welcoming and the people were nice so it wasn't as frightening as I had imagined it would be

11. 2:54 and is there a memory that sort of sticks out of when you first arrived in Australia umm, good or bad, just something that you know might be one of your first memorable experiences ...

- Errr.... Umm... I would probably say my most memorable or something that I found quite fascinating was shopping centers. 'Coz were we li... where we were staying when we first moved was right across from a shopping center. Um... that sort of became the place that I would go to before I even knew anyone or anywhere to go ...which was quite exciting for me I think that would be my forst memories or exciting thing that I did

12. 3:50 And you have now lived in Australia for ten plus years, in your opinion what do you think the Australian people know about what I means to be African or to come from Africa?

- I believe ... well I think that Australians don..... they don't know too much, in terms of what they've seen and haven't seen... I would imagine that if they haven't been to Africa they would just Erm see what is represented on T.V. and usually the depiction is not exactly what it is so they only have a one side... sided view of Africans in general ahh... even from of the questions we....I personally have received from people, you can they that they are not very certain of what Africa is or what kind of a place it is and what the people are like, especially because Africa is such a big place umm.... Anyone from a different part of Africa would be, would view it, would be different... yeah

13. 5:10 So you mentioned that you've been asked things about obviously your background or ethnicity, what are some of these things that you know have ...

- For example, whether I...where I learnt how to speak English, if it was, do they speak English in Africa ummm... places that I have lived like if I have lived in a

hut or.... Just questions like that which what I would say what they have seen on the media and they see people living in stone hut and not a lot of... they don't really show the towns in Africa so ermm... and they ... they would assume that I don't speak English because I am from Africa but ... it's a language that I grew up speaking as well, or that my English is quite good for someone who is from Africa

14. 6:09 So how did you take it, like, what was your response or you're your current responses if someone asks you these types of questions?

- Umm... generally I just le.... I just tell them that... no um... English is a language that I grew up speaking, it not something that I learnt when I got here. Ummm... and I just try not to take... I would say offence to it but just to explain to them so that they are ... aware... instea of feeling offended

15. 6:52 And, what sort of responses do then get from these people after you tell them that you know, Africa is not you know this place where English doesn't exist er... what... what are some of their responses?

- Emm a lot of them are actually quite surprised ummm.... That it leads on to other questions like 'so... what kind of school did you go to?' and um... it also leads on to questions like umm... and then people will say like I must come from a wealthy part of Afica you know... wealthy background because I can speak English or I went to school ermm... so a lot of them a quite shocked that that fact that in Africa there is these types of things erm... in which then it becomes a larger conversation and you have to sort of explain more to them

16. 7:55 Do you think this gives them a better understanding or do you think there is still ignorance ... in those discussions?

- I believe there is still a bit of ignorance its umm... it gives them a bit more knowledge but I doesn't really give them the big picture which would be hard to have in a short conversation about what... how we actually are as compared to how we are represented ...so

17. 8:27 And, how do think the Australian media understands Africans or... in how they depict them?

- How do I think they understand them?

18. Yes

- Umm... just the ahh... based on what they have seen?

19. 8:58 No I mean in the media representations um do you think the Australian media understands Africans or do they depict Africans in a.. in a ... certain way that you feel is good or bad?

- Umm... I think it depends ... it depends on what exactly is being shown in the media, for example if it is violence related stuff on the media then obviously then they would represent Africans as violent people, sometimes you do get ummm... the occasional praise on Africans who have done quite well in terms of their careers and education umm.. but a lot of the time it is more based on refugees..... or yeah refugees or something in the media that has happened in terms of violence ... umm... so I don't think in that Australians would get a good representation of the wider African society.

The interview had to be halted because the interview participant was suffering from a heavy cold and had to take some medication. I resumed five minutes later.

20. 0:01 So you currently live in Melbourne, in the media in the past couple of weeks they've been some stories in regards to gangs, African gangs and Islan.... Islander gangs in Melbourne as an African yourself did you ... what did you notice about the reporting or how people viewed you in the streets following these events?

- Ummmmm.... The... I think they had a very ... balanced op..... I mean balanced opinion on the gangs and stuff and regards to the African gangs they I think the one thing that's changed they have.... They didn't really pinpoint that fact that they were African. But then they were saying at the same time they were also talking about where the gangs were from could be the reason why they were acting that way. Instead of saying that oh... these are Africans and this is just how they act they were saying they may be because they're from Africa or that they have grown up with violence in the past or they don't go to school so this what they do in the times that they are free... ummm... I believe that's still putting a representation on Africa to say that, because they say this where their from, this is how they're acting... but ummm there more... there's more to the story than that

21. 1:53 Ok, um... and do you think this sort of em reporting benefits or impacts what the general Australian population understands what it is to be African?

- I think it definitely does because it only takes one bad action to put a sort bad representation on people just in general so there's a lot of, there's a lot of Africans out there who are doing very well for themselves and umm... have quite successful careers err... but I think once you see something like that it sort of shuts down umm... it sort of shuts down that ima... the good image, or bypasses it to a certain extent.

22. 2:42 And based on how you have seen African represented in Australian media has this in anyway impacted how you present yourself in public?

- Ummm...I...I would think subconsciously yes. Erm... obviously I personally want people to view me in a certain way so that's that how I would put myself out in the public erm.. and I always try to represent yourself in a way that people would be warm towards you and you know not just look at you once and assume certain things ... erm... so yeah I'd, I'd say yes to that question

23. 3:30 so you said subconsciously media representations might have affected you ermm... can you sort of give any further information on this?

- Ummm.. yeah... I think... ummm by subconsciously I would say part of me would say im not going to change because of it but then at the same time umm... because the media is... is viewing things in one way I want to prove that its not always really like that, so then in the back of my mind I'm always trying to think of a way that I could change someone's opinion to what they've already seen umm.. yeah so I think that's ...

24. 4:22 so what are some of the ways that you've achieved this in the past?

- Ummmm... well I've ... tried to work hard in terms of school, schooling, doing a lot of work experience in different places through school and just trying to be an successful person and proving to... to the wider community that I as an African person can go successfully as well and I've even had comments even sometimes when I meet people just in public or Australians ummm.. and they're quite shocked. Not shocked but then they have a moment like 'oh you have done very well for yourself as someone who came from Africa' But I think its an opportunity that everyone has as well

25. 5:23 Ok so you've lived more or less the majority of your life in Australia now do you consider yourself to be Australian, African or a bit of both?

- I would say a bit of both, there's...now I have got... my parents always said to me 'don't forget where you come from' umm which I wont ever forget but then at the

same time I have lived the majority of my life in Australia and I will... and I've only been back to Africa a few times, so I think that umm... part of me is (sneeze, excuse me) part of me feels Australian in things that I do and then there is still a part of me that is still very much African because that's where I'm from

26. 6:21 And do you believe the general Australian population consider you to be Australian?

- Ummmmmm.... I would say yes and no, I mean ... there's Australians who know.... Actually I would say more yes because I think generally Australians ... there is a big culture in Australia where a.... Most people in Australia aren't actually Australian, so um... there's a lot of English backgrounds and people from everywhere in the world so I think the general Aus... the generally from everywhere would consider me to be Australian umm... but I'm pretty sure there's ... its not like someone would look at me and say oh I'm Australian, they would still look at me and the first though would be I'm African and then Australian second

27. 7:30 that's very interesting, so we have come to the end of our formal/semi structured questions, is there anything else that you'd like to share with the researcher um... anything at all?

- Ummmmmm no

28. 7:48 ok well thank you so much Beullah for your time and sharing your insights with me.

29. 7:52

Name: Kunashe

Sex: Male

Age: 23

Birth Country: Zimbabwe

Occupation: Physiotherapist

Length of stay in Australia: 17 years

Reason for relocating to Australia: Parents seeking postgraduate study

Interview Location: Sydney, NSW

Interview Date: 04/04/16

Interview Duration: 27:24

1. 0:20 Can you describe the city you were born in?

- umm....Harare was... pretty er...dynamic city from what I remember ... umm pretty much being ...young you know, pretty much roam around school, but memory's pretty dynamic always hassle and bustle, lots of noise everywhere, lots of people going about their daily business ... err at the time which I left I remember the political climate was heating up so there was a lot of political movements happening left, right and center. It was a pretty exciting time to be there.

2. 1:00 And at what age did you relocate to Australia?

- Err... so we did two sort of movements, first time when I was about 4, err.. and then ...the ne....came back (to Zimbabwe) for about two years between the ages of six and eight so... finally moved when I was eight.

3. 1:20 Ok, and what were the reasons for your relocation to Australia?

- Parents were...um seeking further study, yeah.

4. 1:30 Ok, alright and umm.. I know you moved to Australia at an early age, can you tell me a little bit about what you imagined or knew Australia to be like?

- Err at the time it was a bit of a distant sort of a thought... err.. I think mainly the... at the given age of which we were I think you had a brief understanding of sort of what a country like Britain or the U.K was like but Australia seemed (Tut) a bit of a ... how do I describe it, it was hard to conceive what it really was like. I think obviously ..in...introducing kids into a culture which is quite unknown provides a little bit of excitement but also a little bit of far of the unknown.

5. 2:31 And umm... who did you move to Australia with?

- errr which my family, so my younger brother and my two parents.

6. 2:39 Ok, err and whereabouts... er sorry... where did you first initially settle in Australia?

- Err... so we initially moved to Perth, err and then ...spent a couple of years there and then moved to Sydney after that and yeah

7. 2:55 Ok, umm..... can you tell me about any memorable or social experiences that you initially had in Perth or Sydney?

- Umm... the ...first The.. so early memories in Perth mainly revolved around school, so mainly getting involved into the sporting aspect of the school um... early memories include you know athletic events, learning how to play AFL, soccer and basketball and what not., and I think a lot of My early memories of Perth were mainly sporting umm... also just navigating around the city um.. I think Perth was a very welcoming place um... (tut) in you know the late nineties from what I remember so you know... also given you know... youth, kids don't shy away from making friends so yeah... A lot of it was school (scratch) sport, lot and lots of sport, Subiaco Oval was always busy with West Coast Seagulls (chuckle) from what I remember and yeah.. and then when I moved to Sydney, Sydney seemed a bit more on the multicultural side umm of things so... certainly running into a few more umm friends of different cultures, different continents umm... (tut) and I think Sydney just had a bit more aura around it because, one, it was on the other side of the country, two, it was a much bigger city than er...Perth and er three, it just seemed like it had er... b... it just had more people of course, yeah

8. 5:07 so you've lived most of your life in Australia, what do you think the Australian population knows about Africa or what it means to be African?

- Errm.... I think if you're asking me what they know about Africa, I think many people, if you were to give people a map to pinpoint where Africa was they'd be able to, I think people necessarily wouldn't know where certain countries are situated umm... (tut) I think people fairly have, for the most part, have a pretty reserved view and what I mean by that is that they.... They feel like they have some idea but because they don't fully know the continent itself they won't really come out with such a harsh judgment. At times I think the harsh judgment or the way in which they view things is fairly narrow minded in the sense that, you know...the... the belief of it

being a third world continent for the most part um people don't understand the diverse nature of the continent so yeah um...(whispering) that's what I can say

9. 6:31 And... can... you give any examples about the things you've been asked about your ethnicity or background?

- Umm yeah, I mean I think people always ask um what, what my home was like in Africa, um I think people often have the view that you know... (stammer) certainly having that image of a third world country that .. that they don't always expect that you'd be able to describe the infrastructure that we have. I mean growing up I lived on an acreage with um... quite a substantial sized house, um you know many fam... some family that I had and friends that lived in the area had swimming pools and con... gaming consoles and what not, what not so I suppose that link between umm... you know... what I know Africa or my experience of Africa to be like and what people perceive it to be like is always often wrong. Err other people often ask the education, particularly, as I grew up and started university and stuff like that people ask me often you know, 'what is the education like in Africa?' I mean coming from Zimbabwe, I think it's got, it's one of the highest rates of education in the continent so most of the people that you come across in the street are well educated are quite vocal, quite eloquent in the way in which they speak and are quite knowledgeable about a vast array of things so er that had sort of shocked me that people would think that you know, across the continent you wouldn't find you know people which high levels of tertiary education erm (tut) and then other things you know people often ask about the day to day life, I think people in Africa have more of a link to umm.. you know the rural side of things, most people come some type of village or farm and you are able to relate umm... to those types of questions because you can say my family has a farm in this particular rural province but at the same time um people think that's where day to day life is spent where most people at least where I come from actually live in the city in suburban houses and go about work or life in a not too different way than they would in a country like Australia.

10. 9:20 soo... that was a very detailed and interesting answer, um have you been asked anything surrounding your ethnicity, I know you moved to Australia at an early age but has race played a factor in any of the questions?

- Ummmmm... yeah....yeah.... definitely umm... I think um as ...as you I think I noticed as I grew up people often used to view me with a bit of .. a bit more... I don't want to say suspicion but it.. it would often be .. hesitant, is the right word that I

would say I think people certainly, from my own experience people didn't (sniffle) always errr welcome me with open arms because of that hesitation, I think once people realized that one I spoke the language quite well, two, um.. that I was quite educated and um and three, that I was quite a decently accomplished sportsman um... people often opened up their arms um in such a way. I think one example that I can um... illustrate is you know often when you'd meet up with different friendship circles I think just people aren't always, people don't always come up and introduce themselves in a way in which I think they would others because they're just not sure or a little bit hesitant, err... other examples are you know certainly if we're sitting down at a bar or a restaurant or anything like that umm... in my experience people aren't always as welcoming, erm mainly because I think, I don't know what (stutter)I don't... I don't want to say they have preconceived ideas of Africans but certainly they are not familiar with.... You know dealing with African people in general so you know people often shy away from instigating conversation or instigating you know social conflict.

11. 11:33 So how do you... how do you take this? You know what's your response to ...

- Ummm (clears throat) I think part of megets a little bit frustrated because for the most part as I go about day to day life um... I don't really feel as though I'm.... different to anybody else and when I feel that there is a situation like that it often sets me back because it's almost like you remind yourself 'oh that's right like I'm African, you know what I mean? Erm... other times I ..part of me does understand it, I mean .. me, myself I can say that I'm not always the most forthcoming person when it comes to socializing and greeting many people only because of you know that... not really understanding where people are coming from ...what they're like and um... for the most part I think it does get a little bit frustrating but at the same time you know, there's a little bit of understanding.

12. 12:40 um... and how do you think the media in Australia understands or depicts Africans?

- Errr I think earlier on umm.... Media in general I think don't really portray the full side of the African community, ummm...you know often times I... think that, it's often portrayed when it when things are portrayed in a negative way instead of just reporting the facts I think at times it can be compounded by the fact that you are African, but at the same time there's lots of Africans doing many great things in the

community you know what I mean, you know there's er, charity workers you know, people who give up their time, lawyers, doctors you know, people who are doing quite good things in the community and I don't think they always get portrayed when we're talking about diversity in media or er yeah

13. 13:52 and how do you think this benefits or impacts the general Australian people's understanding of being African?

- Umm... I ... I don't think people fully understand. One, ... , the culture in which we bring. I think Australia being a multicultural sos...society um, you know, has always benefited from having many different cultures coming together and adding to the social fabric and I think you know certainly if we look at some of the Asian cultures or erm... certainly the European cultures erm, I don't think Australia's really taken... to the African way of doing things. Not the way of doing things but you know, but certainly you don't see the same amount of restaurants or anything like that as you see through the Asian communities or even through the European communities some of the ... the.... Excitement that the African culture brings to Australia, I don't think is able to be disseminated across um you know the mainstream society mainly because there isn't that outlet for it to be portrayed across you know, mainstream society so I think Australia in that part in general umm... is not necessarily losing but certainly there is a bit of a vacuum, where Africans feel as if our way of life and they way in which we like to socialize and what not when we're not able to do that because there isn't really a platform to really do that ... not only, you know in society but you know, even express our ideas or beliefs or anything that's really happening in the community, we aren't able to do that, even in media as you ask so...

14. 16:11 So based on how you have seen African represented in Australian media, has this in anyway impacted how you present yourself in public?

- Er... yeah definitely, I mean often times different parts of Sydney even in Melbourne and what not, I think with ... negative media umm (tut) negative media portrayal of an event really highlighting the fact that a particular event has happened and it has occurred by you know... or it's been done by a black race whether it be from West Africa or East Africa or even Southern Africa for that part erm often lends itself to people painting every other people person from Africa by the same brush . Erm... so I think that me being fairly conscious about you know, trying to socialize with people, making friends what not, you know what not, it's always a hard thing to try you know, distancing yourself from those negative reporting um... and people trying to just

trying to understand you for who you are, as opposed to the events that are occurring throughout the media, at times you can't help but feel... (prolonged silence), not ashamed but almost you know (prolonged silence) *nervous* (shaky voice) you know a particular event has happened, it's being portrayed in the media, you know if you were to venture into that community or where it's happened, you know, people don't often feel as if, you feel you know...., like you don't feel welcome in that area. One particular example comes to mind where you know, as many young teenagers, sorry young adults you know, we'd gone out had a couple of drinks you know (tut) in erm Kings Cross, we visited one nightclub and there were these particular group of Africans ...um...you know, pretty much causing trouble you know, what not, so the ... the, the venue which we were at then decides that every other African in the club err...needs to get kicked out. Now, my question is if that was any other race would that happen? You know what I mean? Certainly if a Caucasian person is causing trouble in a club then not every other Caucasian person gets kicked out er, same, sticking to that Kings Cross example er I think it was a Wednesday or a Thursday night, certainly a few days before I was attending my friends birthday err there was a story in the media where a group of Sudanese youth got into a fight with Australian Navy seamen who were not ...erm.. leave from a ship that had docked into um Sydney Harbor and you know the media had shown footage of these Sudanese people fighting these youth then the following Saturday we had then um... gone out for my friend's birthday and it was quite difficult entering some of the venues, erm because I think certainly the ... security at those establishments, whether it's the security guard themselves or the managerial staff that they report to certainly didn't want any of ...of you know, any Africans entering the club. Well at least that's what it seemed like to me at least from the most part because any other venue you go to you know, you don't really have any troubles so yeah...

15. 20:25 So ... in this instance do you feel when you're out socially you have to over-qualify yourself errrm...

- Umm yes definitely, I think going about your day to day business because people often approach you with that hesitation or don't really... focus on who you are, and want to really want to take all Africans as being the same umm...you know often times I feel as though oftentimes I have to drop certain facts about myself just to break down certain barriers. You know for instance if we're sitting around with well educated people and you're talking about the different media type things or whatnot,

what not, what not, you know, it's often hard for people to really get away from the fact that I'm not... the only educated person in my family, you know what I mean? So people will often ask me you know, 'what do you do for a living?' And you know, I'll say I'm a physiotherapist and they'd be like 'oh that's quite good, do you have family here?' I say yes, and they are like 'ah! You know that's good.' You know 'what (tut) uni did you go to?' and stuff like that and then it's often like...it's often like, you know 'Good on you' for doing that and it's like No! In our family where I come from that is what is expected, you know. Like, my father has a PhD, my mother has a Masters level qualification, you know, so it's not, I'm not doing it because it's furthering me in any other way it's what's expected, it's, it's, it's a norm for our family you know what I mean there's no Everybody you know has achieved at a high level so, it's often frustrating when people are almost like good on you, I mean that's good for you, that's almost out of pity or something like that you know. Sometimes you just kind of just get....

16. So having spent most of your life in Australia, do you consider yourself to be Australian? African? Or a bot of both?

- Ermmm.... I think a bit of both, I think you can never escape your roots and where you come from and I think you should be proud of where you come from but having spent most of my life in Australia um... and I believe my particular family to be a good example of how... assimilation into a different society or culture can be quite effective. Err... I think we certainly, if ever there was a term that you don't really hear about often, I would certainly say that we are Afro-Australian in many ways um... often when in the media when you hear debates about what does it mean to be Australian I think that people will always bring the fact that we're a multicultural society, welcoming of many other different races and cultures. Certainly the sport is broader and you know and living the Australian dream you know what I mean I think when you take all three aspects together I think my family has done that quite well and not just as a matter of ticking the boxes but I think we have furthered it more so than you certainly see in other cultures, you know what I mean, umm... whether it be sporting or education or you know just living life in general so I would certainly consider myself to be Afro-Australian as opposed to one or the other.

17. 24:36 And do you believe the general Australian population consider you to be Australian?

- Ermm... n.... Yes and no.. yes and not err... you know, I think there is often a, a, distinct group of people who have their preconceived ideas of what I means to be Australian and I think that for as long as I have black skin or you know, Afri... come from Africa um.. you'll never be 100% welcome to the Australian culture, often hear people say that that's a small, minute part of our society and I... I argue that its far greater than people like to admit and then on the other end of the spectrum I think that people who view me for me, my achievements what I do on a day to day basis, the type of person I am and I think when we take that all into account, it's certainly those groups of people who are, I am more than happy for them to say you know I am as Australian as they are if not more

18. 25:55 Interesting, so we have come to the end of our semi-structured questions if there anything else that you'd like to share with the researcher at this point?

- Umm... no I mean, I just wish that um... you know as....as we see many different stories of you know different races or cultures or you know what not people who come from many different lands across the word as they are represented even in the media or different outlets I think it's a very successful tool in breaking down preconceived, misconceptions or ideas or what not and I think, you know I fully welcome the same... you know for the African cultures to portray the good work that people are doing in society. On the other hand of the spectrum, I think that if we're reporting negativity let's just call the facts the facts and not try to heighten it by adding you know other bits of information, you know which are irrelevant to the story... yeah.

19. 27:15 Alright, well thank you so much for your time and your insights on these matters.

- Thank you

Name: Rambayi

Sex: Male

Age: 52

Birth Country: Zimbabwe

Occupation: Workplace Counseling

Length of stay in Australia: 16 years

Reason for relocating to Australia: Employment Opportunity

Interview Location: Skype chat from Dubbo, NSW

Interview Date: 07/05/16

Interview Duration: 33:39

1. 0:33 Could you describe the city or the village that you grew up in?

- AhhI grew up *ku...Kumusha* (in the countryside in Shona) for the better part of my life, (ummm) most part of my life ... but then *ndakazo* (and then I) after school I actually went to ... for my trade... for my actual training to do my apprenticeship in fitting and machinery.

2. 0:56 Ok, so how did (but I was yeah) Ok, so um... um... how did you come to relocate to Australia?

- I... I actually ... there was an advert in the paper in Harare, (uhmmm) in *The Herald* actually, ah for mechanics in Australia, so I just eh, I applied, I was through an employment agency here in Australia. So I put my application that was in 1999 ... so around August (ok) and then yeah by November my application went through, by December I was told ah, ..., my visas are out and had to ...I had to prepare myself just to make sure I, leave my property my everything, (ummm) so... by January 2000 that's when I flew to Australia but I ... It was me first then the family came later

3. 2:05 Ok, ummm so obviously you have children and, and a wife umm, when they came to Australia or when you came alone did you have any concerns before you arrived? About what Australia would be like?

- Ummm..... I think err, This Ag...This agent, This Agency I mean, it was quite assured so I was not afraid of anything. So I just thought I would be in good care, in good hands. Of which yeah it turned out to be but there were some ups and downs here and there in the whole process.

4. 2:45 Ok, (when I got here) Ok, so could you elaborate a little bit about those ups and downs when you got here?

- Yeah it's like, I mean they don't tell you the truth, (umm) and then when you're in Zimbabwe there is this hype to say you know 'I'm going overseas to go and work' and then they don't tell you the full story of your working conditions (umm) so what actually happen is, yes I came over and he said (Agency manager) he was supposed to provide us with accommodation and even our wages would be good and all that. But then it turned out to.... I mean (prolonged silence) it was a bit nasty. Because ok fine, they sought accommodation for us, because I think we were coming at different times and there were about 20 of us (ok) that were coming in at different times. Some of the g... the first two guys ... I mean they came and they were sort of living in a caravan (Oh Ok) and errr... I mean (prolonged silence and a grunt of disbelief) I mean ... it was tough (yes). Ok I will talk about myself, ok when I came in he (stutter) he actually moved me in with a guy with his family, then I think two days later some guys came so there were actually ... I mean three of us living with this guy and his family so we used to share a bedroom, the three of us and I mean...and in that bedroom he'd just actually picked up mattresses from the street, and just say 'now here's your thing ... there's your mattress you can sleep over there' No problem. And then the next thing you're told you have to go look for a job, I mean 'I have lined you up an interview in Liverpool' or 'Campbell Town' wherever, or given Guilford and then you don't even know where Guilford is. You don't even know where to jump into a train (laugh) So we had to learn all those things all by ourselves.

5. That... that sounds pretty tough. So how does this compare to the life that you left in...in Zimbabwe?

- It... it was actually nasty because where (inaudible)... that's not what I expected (um) and even when I came to the working er... working conditions ... er firstly when we came we didn't even tools and you know Australian they don't want with their stuff... so it was hard so we actually had to end up having to buy tools, trying to adjust to the working conditions, to the working environments ... (long pause) (that pret..) It was pretty tough (That's interesting) and when it comes to pay again, you know, he actually pa.... gave us minimum wages I think, so to speak. Where it was something like \$13 an hour (long pause) and why? Because we didn't even know what the labour laws said and he knew ... so he was actually getting the better part of the cheque because he could just say ... tell us go and work for this company, he gets paid and he will give you what he thinks you what... deserved.

6. 6:20 So from you starting um that position how long did it take the rest of your family to come over?

- Ummm.... (Stummer) I came in January and my family came in April um.

7. 6:37 Ok, and how did they find sort of adjusting to Australian life? Or I mean...

- It was tough... but I mean they won't say but I mean you could actually tell... it was just tough for them ... as much as it was tough for me. Because, we never had ...I mean it was all work, work, work and I mean my wife had to look for a job again and it was very difficult to look for a j... to get a job, um... (that sou...) and even the kids um.. sometimes I actually feel sorry to say I mean... I mean all those times they didn't have the support that they really needed because we were actually battling with our own issues at work and ... they were trying to adjust in schools as well ...and you must remember there were just a few very few of us , and you have no one, no ..., no support y... you didn't get any support from anybody. It was you yourself and your family and that was that.

8. 7:37 Yah, its.. it's a bit different coming from Zimbabwe were it's much more inclusive and erm... whereas in Australia you sort of have to look after yourself (laughter)

- It was ... it was, we were just on our own (um) and with a few sympathizers who always think when you come here you are sort of a refugee or something. So ...the way they treat you, you know they just treat you like a second class person or something, or they always think you are a refugee or a nigger this... and then this p...person and they just s...pass stupid comments you know... and again it turned out to be ...I mean 2000 ... the economic situation in Zimbabwe was getting bad as well because I con...I got to a point where I thought oh well this is not for me I better go back home (ok) and then ahhh... looking back home ... that's where then ...(chuckle) the economy was starting to ... go south and it... it was form then it never turn.... It never got better (umm) you know. So... we are now stuck between a hard place and a rock and what... (chuckle) a hard surface and rock (yes) both ways you couldn't go anywhere. Ok so... I...I just decided and said you know I might have to just put up with what I'm having right now (um)

9. 9:12 That's pretty tough, and erm... you know umm... Arriving in Australia and obviously there aren't many African families erm, you said you started off as a... as a... in the mechanical field how did you then transition to the counseling field?

- Erm, I mean I even, even erm... as an... in that field I worked for about 12 different companies for the period... I'm talking from 2000 up till 2014 ... I worked for about 12 different companies (Ok) Funny enough in Zimbabwe I only worked for one company in Zimbabwe and that was the National Railways (ok) and that was that, but when I came here I worked for 12 companies ... 12 organizations... and the working culture in most of those cultures and organizations ... It was just ... bad. Because a lot of... I work with bullying, harassment but it's so subtle, that I mean er... even then you're saying the management, supervisors and all that I mean... they've got that culture of bullying and harassing but they don't talk about it, and... if you and r... on three occasions that I raised that/those issues I was actually told to pack my tools and go....

10. 10:38 Um..that...that.. sounds pretty severe can you elaborate in...in... some way how that sort of subtle bullying um would occur?

- Yeah they know its happening but I mean they make fun out of it ...(Um) and they've policies in their organization saying workplace bullying is what what what blah blah blah but yes their policies are there but they do nothing about it (yeah) you know.. and worse still if you're a casual worker and you start raising those issues oh they will tell you man.... (sigh) you just pack your tools and go...(um) ... or they will just tell your... your what...your .. your employer to say no man ... we are having a problem with your guy so can you just look for something for him we can't have him anymore (um) so on three occasions I witnessed that. And my last one as well I...I.I experienced the same as well but this one I actually had to fight because I knew exactly what I was talking about and I knew the processes and procedures of how to deal with those things, in fact after having went to school, studied about workplace ...because I .. I...I because I specialize in career and workplace counseling, (ok, oh wow ok) so issues of workplace, that's why, that's why I derive my interest because I was actually trying to use the experience that I have in Zimbabwe and Australia so I just wanted to pursue, pursue that area and issues of workplace, I mean issues of workplace counseling and work place er... workplace what ...and career counselling.

11. 12:17 Ok, well that's, that's a very good decision that you made and obviously you've got the experience to... to back your work with. Um... so in...in your stay in Australia which is now close to 16 years, in your opinion what do you think the Australian population know about Africa or what it means to be African?

- ... er 90% don't even know what Africa is (um) I mean that's my ...my...they know what is Africa but they don't know what it's all about. They think Africa is one country (um) and for some reason they think Nelson Mandela is the president of Africa...(laughter) was (laughter) was the president of Africa and yeah, they just think Africa is one country, and they see you... and again they've got this belief to say if they see a black person walking in the street (um) they think it's a privilege to be here or I mean it's actually.. . you should actually I mean be happy that you're here. And they always think everyone is a refugee (um) you know you came here as a refugee, I think you must have experienced the same again (yes) "Is it ok where you come from?" is it good ...ah "you must be very lucky to be here" those are the sorts of (questions) day in and day out. You could live here for 20 years, 50 years those comments are still the same (um) there is another guy a Zimbabwean he has been here, he has been here for ... I think for about 30 years or so (ok)... he was still being asked those same questions after having stayed here for over 30 years. Its unfortunate he passed away some time last year but in the experiences we're the same. Even after having stayed here for that long. (um... so do you think...) there's that stereotyping that stays amongst most Australians here its ehh... just ... but yeah

12. 14:17 So wh... what do you think fuels that sort of shorthand stereotyping of you know visibly...

- Its ignorance... its ignorance and they...and I think it's the education system in Australia, it has to do with all that because if at all they were taught eh... the history and geography of ..of the world then they should know better but then when they are taught history or geography they only, its centered in Australia ... Australia alone and maybe parts of New Zealand, I don't know their curriculum. But em... they should actually try and expand their curriculum into the world over, because right now the world has just become a global village so they should be able to know exactly what's happening in every part of the world.

13. 15:05 Umm... no that's true, so in..in your own personal experience what are some of the questions you've been asked about your ethnicity or background?

- (long pause) um "where do you come from?", (um)... " how did you come here?" ... "do you feel you're privileged you're here in Australia?" ... :would you want to go back home?", ... and if you say yes, errr...in fact you know they...they get that feeling that maybe there is something wrong with Australia or something, then you

need to explain again, you know? (yeah no that's, that's) and er... no it's quite frustrating ... in fact they are just a frustrating lot (chuckle yes) that's all I can say.

14. 15:59 yeah and do you think the media has anything to do with this view of what it means to be African?

- Err... even the media, especially this 2GB and 2AU whatever, I mean it's a talk back radio so I mean some of the comments they talk about Africans ... (sigh) are not so positive and they don't give a good impression about us (um) and even if you look at right now we are contributing quite a lot in terms of the economy and and working as well, because there are some areas where Australians they will choose not to want to work and they will rather go on the dole rather than do those jobs. Maybe by virtue of being white they are not entitled to be... you know they've got that er... sense of of what...um they still have that superiority complex (um), and they still think by virtue of being white, in most work places they were born managers (ok) so anyone who is not white is supposed to be a worker and even regardless no matter how ... how ... I mean how stupid dull and whatever. Because most of them the majority of them especially in the industry that I was working in, they are high school, they are actually dropouts from school (um) and they think by virtue of being white they should be supervisors, managers and you know... without having the proper qualifications to do that job. It ac... it actually compromises even the what... the quality of the work, production and everything.

15. 17:44 Um... that is very interesting and a provocative thought. Umm... based on... how you've heard Africans being portrayed in the or seen them portrayed in the media, has this impacted you in any way, in how you present yourself in public?

- Err... yes because right now, I sort of have an attitude. Not a bad one as such but when I just get in... because... I ... most of the time that I have been in work places here in Australia, I...I'm the only one ... among the whites, such that er... when I get into that environment I just sort of switch off and mind my own business and do what I am supposed to be doing ... and I know each time I'm doing something they are watching you and they are very good at that and you sort of become a talking point ... I think even when.... You make a ... a very small mistake its talk of the d... its talk of the day (um) but if any one of them makes a mistake it's nothing... ah it's nothing .. it's not an issue. So it has actually made me in anything that I'm doing I have to make sure umm.... I don't make a mistake (um) I have become sort of a perfectionist... you know, in whatever I'm doing and you have to watching your back all the time because

they pretend to be very friendly when in actual fact they are... they are ... very good pet vipers.

16. 19:30 That is very interesting and do you think this is just solely based on your ethnicity?

- Yeah my ethnicity plus their culture, their culture ... the Australian culture in workplaces ... (ok and) ... especially in the industry that.. that I was working in

17. 19:49 um, do you feel there is sort of a protection that “this is an Australian industry that should not be sort of penetrated by anyone who is not?”

- Um.. yes when it comes from management positions yes. You as a... someone from a (inaudible) you're supposed to ... you're supposed to be a worker and an Australian should be a manager regardless of his qualifications or anything. I actually experienced it. There is one job I applied for, they... they wanted a workshop manager, I was the most experienced guy in the, in that workshop (um) and they actually told me in my face to say “no we can't give you this position now because you're black (gasp) and most of our customers right now if they see you being a manager here they ... we might lose business” (um). So we managed to get someone from ... who has been... who has the workshop experience ... I mean who has been a manager already to come and take over (um) so I still had to go back on the bench and start working (um) you see.

18. 20:59 and this was said regardless of the policy of non...

- Yes... yes non-discrimination and all that no... because remember you're the only one in the, in the workshop and remember you've got a family and you've got to put food on the table (um) so there are times when you're just have to put up with all that crap for you to survive then all you need to do is “say no I'm just here to do my job” and nothing else, I don't need to worry myself about all the politics of the day and it actually helped me quite a lot because that's, that's when I actually started to... to do my studies because I know.. I'm not gonna be ... for as long as I'm in this industry I'm not... there's no way in going to earn myself a position .. a supervisory position (um) so that's when I started to study... (And) because that was... that was my only way out otherwise there was no other way out of this whole mess (um). To me it's a mess. It's not an opportunity to have come here or anything it was just a total mess, you know (um) but I had nowhere to go because in Zimbabwe the economy was just getting bad and I think you know about that (yes)

19. 22:21 and so in...in essence you're saying you've accepted that you'll never be treated as an equal in the Australian workforce?

- No it's now different because the industry that I'm working in right nowumm... and I think ... most of it I think is because I'm actually working with people who are .. who went to school who have a degree or a diploma or something or Masters. Such that I mean they just look at you as a person, and you're promoted according to merit not just who you know or what you know um. So it's a totally different industry altogether and the way they look at at...err... working conditions, it's totally different industry, this one I think is because it's full of... or the majority of those people even the managers who are running those workshops and whatever, they didn't go to school. If you check where they write and stuff like that (um) some of them I mean it's like a gr...Zimbabwean standards it's like a grade one kid who is actually writing. They can't write a report, a comprehensive report of anything, so I mean its starts from the top (um)...The managers didn't go to school they got that job, that promotion I don't know how, maybe by sucking up to some bosses or something, or their maybe brothers or sisters or what...whatever related to any one of the ... because it becomes a sort of what can I say... ummm... most of t... the majority of them know each other because they are related. His cousin, his friend, his ... so it becomes a network of people who when you get into there, you actually have to join them or you're out (um) you have to be part of them and if you're not part of them then you're out...and this happens even to their fellow workmen if you're not part of them or you don't get along with them ... you'll stay in that company will be very, very limited and you're treated as dirt ...and even their reasoning capacity again, the majority of them is very low. Such that, I mean they become victims of abuse as well, workplace bullying and harassment (yeah). Such that it's quite rampant but it's actually worse if you're someone of... someone of colour (um).

20. 24:56 and outside of your working life, do you tend to socialize with many Australians?

- No, not at all (umm)

21. 25:07 What is your reasoning behind this?

- No... it's very difficult to connect with them (um) and they only want to know you if they can benefit something ...when they benefit from you one way or the other um.

22. 25:26 And now that you've been in Australia close to 16 years, do you consider yourself to be Australian?

- (long pause) (laughter) No.
- 23. 25:36 Why's that?**
- (long pause) ahhh...(long pause), no I don't think so (um) I'm not.
- 24. 25:51 Would you consider yourself to be Zimbabwean or...African ..?**
- Yes, yes, you know, you don't know what you miss ... I mean... there's a lot that we....(sigh) Africa is very good, (um) and and there is a lot that we don't know about Africa and we are not taking advantage of... (um) in Africa can actually be far better than Australia or any of those European countries (um) and I think if we put our energies in developing that place ... I think that the best thing, that's the only thing we can do (yes) and put our energies into developing that place, and we've got potential...
- 25. 26:44 Definitely, definitely ...**
- Um... so to see myself to be.. yes I can contribute working wise, but I just see myself I mean .. I think I'm better off back home than here (um...is..is)If the political and the economic situation improves, I can pack my bags today and get out of here.
- 26. 27:08 Would the rest of your family sort of agree with you or .. is this more a personal ...**
- No, they are not old enough, I don't have to agree with anybody it's, it's eh their choice (yes) but me being the pioneer, I brought them here and they've adjusted to this way of life, um I should also be the pioneer when it comes to go back, because all they're after is just to ...an environment that is conducive to good living, that's all it is. ..(that is ..) in fact that's all that everybody wants. It's not where you are but it's... how you live your life (um) but from the looks of it you actually better off home than here (yeah). Even in your case you'd find that if the political and economic situation in Zimbabwe was good, I think you'd rather be at home than here (laughter) even in Zimbabwe then, I started working in 19...8...3 (um) in the railways up till 1996 yeah.. it's never occurred to me that I'd leave that country (yes) anyways there... there was no reason why I should have left (um) All I wanted was... you could just save your money and go on holiday and even come to places like this, but I'd still go back home. (do you think...) but then as ... sorry (oh sorry I didn't mean to cut you off ...)
- 27. 28:47 do you think this is the side of Africa that a lot of Australians don't really realize that things in Africa due to political situations have somehow gone a bit downhill but prior to this ...you know...**

- Yeah in fact a lot of them, just like I mean they look, they took us, they look at us as ...political and economic refugees (um) ... yeah so they think we're coming here just to seek that comfort ...yeah. And I mean partly that's what eh...gives them the impression that we are people who are always suffering, and this suffering that we're actually experiencing its actually caused by our leaders there back home (uhmm) and most of it, I think you know it's all about corruption (yes) its corruption at its eh what, at its worst you know (um that's very...) so that's why we are here, even most of Zimbabweans here, it's not that they want what they are doing, therefore it's just not good. I was there last week (Zimbabwe) and it's not good at all.

28. 30:04 So you, you, just missed the currency change from the US Dollar back to the Zimbabwean Dollar so umm (sorry?) ... I said you just missed out on the currency changing from the US Dollar back to the Zimbabwean dollar do you think it will benefit the country reverting back to the Zimbabwean dollar?

- No. it won't benefit ...um I think it will actually worsen because right now they are actually printing those bond notes again (yes) they want to put them back into, into the system and what are those bond notes? It's just like those other notes that they were printing (the barrier notes) and right now the econo... I mean we are having food in the shelves right now because they were working on the US... they are using the US dollar and the moment they, they start using those bond eh no one is gonna err order stuff from South Africa or the world over to come and put it in the shops and that's when we will go back to 2008 again where there is no food in the shops and there is no money ...(um) ...So... they are actually taking us back to 2008 situation. Because right now there's life in Zimbabwe right now. Life is ticking because they are using the US dollar but the moment they remove that US dollar that's the end of it (umm)...

29. 31:29 That's... it's a very tough situation for anyone to be in but anyways we have come to the formal questions of this interview umm... at this point is there anything else that you'd like to share with the researcher? Or...any comments

- Ummm.. I mean eh... This research wh... what's eh what, what are you really trying to achieve from this research.

30. 32:00 My intentions are, basically like you mentioned umm... Africans are very underrepresented in the media (uhmmm) and often their perspective is not shared in those comments made about Africans, so I wanted to provide a voice for real Africans, to share their real feelings and thoughts about their lives here in Australia... in a way

that possibly it could see some changes being made to sort of make it inclusive and for those sort of stereotypes to be addressed as not being uniform to everyone who comes from Africa or with black skin, darker skin, that sort of thing. I just wanted to provide a space for African to share their views and not feel you know We are being ignored all the time. ... um so that's is the primary reason but who knows um where after this PhD where, where that could lead.

- Ah no, I mean yeah (Cough) I think it could lead to a lot of changes anyway, I mean if it gets to the right people and (um) if it gets to the right people in power (definitely, definitely)

31. 33:25 but I would like to thank you so much for participating in this study and sharing your thoughts and your time with me.. I...I am really grateful for that.

- No, you're most welcome, Anytime.

Name: Hilda

Sex: Female

Age: 39

Birth Country: South Africa

Occupation: Professional Photographer

Length of stay in Australia: 14 years

Reason for relocating to Australia: Married her Australian partner

Interview Location: Skype chat from the Central Coast, NSW

Interview Date: 20/05/2016

Interview Duration: 17:45

1. 0:28 can you describe a little about the city or the village you grew up in?

- Yeah so...it's Pretoria, it's the capital of South Africa (um..and is it) and...I would, I would, I'm born a white South African (um) and where I grew up it was White segregated area (ok) so I lived in a neighbourhood pretty much like any other neighbourhood in Australia (um) yeah.

2. 0:59 Ok,... and how did you come to relocate to Australia?

- I... went to travel overseas and then I met my partner over there and he's actually Australian.

3. 1:16 Ok, and um how old were you when you relocated?

- Ermm,... I was...25...(ok)

4. 1:28 Ok, what are some of the things that you imagined or that you knew Australia to be like?

- Erm, I knew that it was pretty much like... South Africa, with beaches, erm .. a good lifestyle, good weather and I'd heard that the Aussies were very laid back but I didn't really find that that was the case (chuckle) Lots of rules and regulations (ok as compared to the South African way of life?) compared to South Africa yes...

5. 2:04 Ok, and um ... did you have any concerns about the relocation um anything at all (any concerns?) yeah...

- Oh, just the fact that I was going to miss South Africa massively and I was going to miss my family (um) err ...yeah so that was my main concern just missing my family back home and then I suppose there's forming new relationships in Australia as well (yes, yes)

6. 2:38 And you know...can you ... can you sort of give an example of the most memorable experiences shortly after you relocated to Australia ummm... that sort of sticks out anything at all?

- Ummm... oh I suppose just going, going to Sydney and um... and visiting the touristy spots that you've always heard about (um) like the Opera House, yeah... the Harbour Bridge... yeah

7. 3:06 Oh that's interesting and you know... mov...moving on you're from South Africa, you're White Australian in your opinion, what do you think the Australian population knows what it is to be African or to come from Africa?

- Umm....Ummm.... basically its very limited knowledge in my experience, umm.. I've... because I'm white South African they sometimes don't believe me that I'm from Africa ...and they, they believe that Africa is one country that there's not lots of different countries (um) so er...and then also they tend to .. when I t...if I could talk for my friends when ...when... like I've got a friend from Kenya who came over here and she grew up very umm...very privileged and her dad umm... he's like a ...a big coffee farmer and he owns quite a lot of businesses but people would come up to her and specifically and say 'you're so lucky to be in Australia' (um) because she'd left Africa and um she's actually Much luckier in Kenya (chuckle) oh you know (yes) yes she's got more opportunities there than she's got here. Erm... and then with other... other friends like umm... I've got a friend who is married to a Sudanese guy and they have three kids and a lot of people will come up to her and ask her where she adopted her kids from so (laughter). It won't even cross their minds that you know... (chuckle) she's got... she's married to an African (yes) so...that , that was basically what I found. I...and coming from a very ... very um racist society when I grew up, I suppose I really was sensitive towards that and when I came to Australia I just thought that they can be a....because this is more towards Aboriginal people they can be very, very openly racist (um) about that as well...yeah so I was kind of shocked to find that out

8. 5:15 ok, and in comparison to you know the South African situation, whereby there is still a bit of segregation and the Australian context, do you find that there are similarities? Or is one more overt than the other?

- Ermm.... I don't know if I can really...because you know w...there's... definitely some similarities umm...in the segregation definitely... erm and specifically years ago with the stolen generation (um) and I don't know how long Aboriginal people

haven't had ... been able to vote for a long time up until the 1960s or 70s (yes, yes) I think it was, so it's very recent still...so I think there is some similarities definitely.

9. 6:13 and um, you mentioned (you can't...) oh sorry (yeah) sorry go (no, no you go laughter) ... no you mentioned that um.. sometimes people don't believe you that you're from South Africa or that you're African (yeah) umm.. (yeah) what are some of the questions that you've been asked or things that you know (um) sort of (um) go in people's minds to say 'hold on you don't exactly look like what I imagine an African to be like' (um)

- Yes jus...jus...jus really the it's just basically the er... er... based on my appearance and the fact that I have a lighter colour skin so they would say to me that 'they didn't realise that there were white people in south Africa' and when my family moved there in the 1600s so I really consider myself to be African (laughter) just like anyone else umm... but yeah...it's just based on my appearance...and I suppose that's ignorance (yes)...(yes)

10. 7:21 That's interesting so, do you think the media in Australia underst...understands er... what it means to be African in the way that they depict Africans in the media?

- Um...I personally, I don't think so and I find that in the media and as a photographer as well that people really flock to horror stories about Africa and I suppose that's where that's like any other news, but they really like the really bad terrible news but and I don't think there is an oppotu...enough positive things about Africa in the media (um) um

11. 8:04 So its...its...its...its ... sort of...sort of... seems to be one sided, (yeah) what do you think are some of the impacts that this has on the general Australian population of their understanding of what it is to be African?

- Yeah... I don't think that it really helps to build any understanding what so ever (um) er.. and ...and as such basically I don't really think Australians care ... (laughter) you know about Africa because they are so far removed from it.. from Africa you know. When there is a big story in the news for example when the girls go kidnapped (by Bako Haram in Nigeria) (um) the kidnapper was ... it was news for a while but not really full on but if that had happened in Australia (yes) it.. it would have been *massive* and if it had happened in America it's also would have been massive here in Australia, but the fact that it happened in Africa I just think that they just don't care about it (um) that much (it's a .. it's a bit far removed (it is) from their reality (yeah)

12. 9:10 and you know you've here for a while now, based on how you've seen you know general Africans represented in Australian media ...(yeah) do you think this has an impact on how you might present yourself in public? Or things that you might reveal about your background?

-ummmm... I personality ... do I...I suppose I come with a little bit of baggage. I know white South African and people believe me to be a...a part of the oppression of ethnic minorities in South Africa as I grew up there, so people would... (sigh) and I don't know if that's got anything to do with the media but because I'm Afrikaans speaking they would just assume that I'm racist (um) and, and I'm not so I can be quite defensive (laughter) (yes) when it comes to that. When I, when I present or when I tell someone I'm from South Africa, I k... I kind of want to make it clear that I didn't come here because I wanted to leave South Africa (um) its because I had met my partner (um) whom I love very much. So I suppose yeah, but I don't know if that's anything to do with the media. (ok) I do... I do a lot a lot of photo shoots for our local council erm for their stock images, events and things and what I find with them is they always want a black token person in the images (um) there is always that one but when it really comes to delivering services and programs they're not really considered as...at all.

13. 10:47 ok, so you feel (yeah) it's a bit to pacify that quota to say (yes, yes, yes) 'yes we are inclusive but (yes, yes, yes) it's more on a superficial level (absolutely, absolutely, yeah). That's...that's quite, quite interesting, um for a council to be doing that and you know, having (um) having lived in Australia for over 10 years now do you consider yourself to be Australian, or African or a bit of both?

- Umm...I'm both I'm dual citizen, I'm ...I'm starting to feel to feel more Australian now but I feel like there will always be that ...little part that I'm not part of Australia. I don't think in South Africa I will feel fully South African but when I go, when I'm here I always feel like, because of my accent (um) you know or whatever I will al... I don't, I don't think I will ever feel like I belong here (um) a 100%.

14. 11:47 That's, that's, quite interesting because visibly you could be seen just to (um) blend until you open your mouth (um, um, um easy, easy yeah) (chuckle) (yeah, yeah, that's right) (chuckle) that's interesting, and do you believe that the general Australian population regard you to be Australian? ...till you open your mouth anyways

- Umm....well when they see me yes, but when I open my mouth no. ummm (chuckle) yeah

15. 12:14 and have, have you felt like you're not completely accepted or is it just a matter of curiosity more than anything?

- It....ummmmm.... I think... I felt heaps more accepted than some of my friends (um) because like you said there's that visible (um) there's that visible appearance umm...and yeah in my case it's probably just curiosity (um) yeah (that's, that's really interesting, yeah) ... yeah and then I don't think li...sen...sen...sentiments are circulating at the moment that people will come and take their jobs and ... there's always a fear (laughter) there's always a fear when someone is not similar to us comes in. there's always that fear that you're gonna kind of lose out somehow (yes) but in the meantime there is so much that people can bring to a country (um)

16. 13:16 that...that..that is definitely true, that is such a good insight (um)...

- and I think politicians have a lot to do with it as well because they throw these one sentence like 'stop the boats' and they do that and they really psych people up and then the media runs with it as well umm.. so yeah....and I don't know how objective the major newspapers in Australia really is (um... it's pretty one sided um) it is yeah.
- 13:48 Going, going back to the political si... comments I mean if the immigration Minister (Peter Dutton) last week said that you know refugees are pretty much innumerate and illiterate um (um, um, um) now if the immigration minister is saying this umm.. what (yeah) what more for the ordinary people who maybe does (yeah) not have contact with anyone outside of their own community**
- exactly that's the thing and.. and he said they were illiterate not in English but in their own language (um) and I want to know where on earth did he get that (chuckle) research, where did he get it? (chuckle) How, how is someone illiterate in their own language, if they can't read or write (um) but I promise you most people coming over here can read and write and they probably have a doctor's degree and that's how they can afford to come over here on a boat (um that's) because they have to pay the people smugglers don't they? (chuckle) an illiterate person won't be able to pay a people... yeah but anyway... these are really, really ill informed statements and it can do a lot of damage (um, particularly if it's coming from someone of you know a high, (yeah) standing (yeah) in society (yeah) it really can be detrimental to particular groups (yeah).

17. 15:11 well um Hilda, we've come to (the end) sort of the sort of semi structured questions of, of (uhuh) of this part of the interview (chuckle ok) Is there anything that you'd like to share with the researcher or add to your umm... to you know your responses so far?

- Ummm...no I don't think so, I think I've had my (inaudible) (laughter) (no that's wonderful). I went to erm...ah yeah...I went to an Africa Day Festival in in Newcastle (ah!) it was really great, the South African High Commissioner was there and blah, blah, but I still get the feeling that when... people celebrate Africa they expect people to sing and to dance and to cook food (um) when that's not always that's all to Africa or whatever a specific country. I think there's more to Africa and that's also the way that we get represented in the media is 'come along there's going to be a drumming workshop' (oh yeah) or you're gonna dance and sing and they are gonna dress up for you (yes...) I do believe there's heaps more and that's probably my job as a photographer and I hopefully um some film producers out there to depict another side (um, um) another side of Africa as well.

18. 16:33 definitely, definitely, especially (yeah) with I don't know what your opinion is on ...er the Australian version of "I'm a celebrity get me out of here"... (er I haven't really watched it) it's basically set in South Africa (oh yes it's is filmed in South Africa yes, yes, yes I saw a few) (chuckle) yes and (yes) and it's the south African jungle but it's the same thing (it's a jungle, yeah) (chuckle) we are shown that savage image rather (yes) rather than you know

- Yes, yeah I um...I h...where are you from Sunny?

19. 17:12 I was born in Zimbabwe ummm... so we moved to England when I pretty young, we moved when I was 8 so...having left Zimbabwe to England where it's more multicultural definitely than Australia (yeah) then moving to Australia, particularly regional Australia (yeah) that's, that's what sparked me to sort of do this research.

- Ok, it sounds like amazing research I would really like to keep in touch with you ey (of course, of course) to see the results. (that would be great).

Name: Sheila

Sex: Female

Age: 27

Birth Country: Kenya

Occupation: Registered Nurse/Aged Care Worker

Length of stay in Australia: 2 years

Reason for relocating to Australia: Enrolled in a nursing degree

Interview Location: Skype chat from Adelaide, SA

Interview Date: 28/05/2016

Interview Duration: 20:16

1. 0:30 can you give a description of the city or the village you grew up in?

- Oh, I grew up in Nairobi, (uhm) metropolitan city I would say (yes) with all members of all the communities in Kenya and also other races Indian you know and Caucasians (um) yeah

2. 0:52 And, how did you come to relocate to Australia?

- I came as a student (um) to Australia

3. 1:05 And what were you studying?

- I was studying nursing (uhm) yeah but I completed in ... last year December 2015 yeah (ok so it was a 3 year course in nursing and now you're doing caring?) yeah (for) 2 years.

4. 1:23 And before you came to Australia, um can you tell me a little about what you imagined Australia to be like?

- ...I really didn't have an idea of what Australia was like ...because I have not seen it, at the time it was not marketed so much as the US and Canada and UK, so apart from what I had studied in school about the Aborigines you know, I really didn't know what to expect yeah (um) yeah

5. 1:57 And um...when you came to Australia you know, what were your first thoughts upon landing ..um anything that sort of sticks out? (Pardon?) When you...arrived in Australia um what were some of the things that you remember thinking at the time or...

- Oh...coming from Nairobi it's a bit chaotic and noisy when I can here I was really amazed how organized everything was, how quiet it was, yeah and how tall people were. For some reason ...people were really tall here, (taller than the Masai? chuckle)

for some reason I thought especially women (ok) I was r...yeah, I was really amazed by Caucasian women I found they were really tall but maybe now I just find them normal but at that point I couldn't get it past me (chuckle)

6. 2:57 And did you come here alone or with family?

- I came here alone

7. 3:04 and coming alone over a vast distance did you have any concerns prior to your arrival?

- Yes. Er... it was a change (um) something you've never done, I,I...you know my parents had never been here so it was a big step, it think it's just natural that I would be a bit scared, I didn't know what food people ate here, I didn't know if I would meet fellow Kenyans, I didn't know if people here are friendly to people from other countries (um) so yeah I was a bit apprehensive when I came

8. 3:40 And um can you tell me you know, sort of with those apprehensions some... a social experience shortly after you arrived in Australia... that is memorable to you ... erm based on these initial concerns (I did not get the question clearly) ... ok sorry... So you had these concerns before you arrived, but following your arrival is there a particular thing that you'd like to share. Um a memory or an incident that took place that you know that you remember as your initial memory of Australia?

- Yes, it actually happened while I was coming from Dubai to Australia, (um) and I was... that was the first time I was travelling by plane so... (ok) so when I got on the plane, I had come in a bit late (um) so I had booked a window seat (um) but (clears throat) I found a couple, a Caucasian couple was sitting there so.. I had just set all my... I ...I...I came in and I said hello to them and settled and then a short while later the lady because it was a couple the lady asked me if I could mind moving and sitting behind ... you know behind the plane because we had come in two girls ... we had come in late so she asked me if I wanted to go and sit with that lady at the back and I didn't understand why she said that so .. I told her I am comfortable sitting where I was (um) so she and her partner they left .. and I... I had the seat for the whole flight from Dubai to Australia (oh) so I was not sure if she was Australian at that point I could not even pick accents (um) and I really felt bad you know, I had not even arrived where I'd gone and already experienced this, I don't know whether it was ... I wouldn't tell if she did that retrospectively... but at that point I was really hurt so ... at that I don't really think of what to expect because this was just on the plane getting there I was not sure what I would spare now

9. 6:12 ok, that that's (um) quite interesting and did any fellow passengers sort of look at this or .. no one really noticed?

- Nobody really noticed (um) and I didn't ... I didn't think it was something to be fussed about but yeah when I thought of it I.. I thought that maybe that was not right (um) yeah ... nobody said anything and I did not raise I did not say anything as well (yeah) yeah

10. 6:46 that's interesting, so um...you've ... you've been in Australia now for over 3 years plus...um (2...2 years) 2 years? Ok um in your opinion what do you think the Australian population knows about Africa or what it means to be African?

- ... Well I think ... I think...I think they think Africans, we don't, we're not educated (um) and I also feel like they, they don't know much about Africa like you know like in Africa when we were studying you know history and geography we, we knew about continents and we knew about how many countries were in continents but I'm usually surprised that they always think it's just about South Africa and the rest, the deserts were you know we just die of hunger. I have been asked very strange questions, I have been told I speak good English did I learn it here?(um chuckle) I have been... I have been asked if (sigh and chuckle) if my name, you know the way sorry to mention because Chinese people usually have difficult names to pronounce they usually pick English names (um) so I have been asked if I picked my name in Australia as well (chuckle) or if it's something I was born and given that name immediately you know, I find that they really don't have a good perception about us (um) generally yeah.

11. 8:23 And you mentioned that you know some of the things you've been asked about you know, your English, your name, have you been asked things to do with your ethnicity or your background?

- About... yeah maybe because they are just curious, out of curiosity, I ... yeah because, yeah because I... they are not used to ...with some of them that I have encountered have not encountered an African one on one (um) so for them it's really a novelty so.. yeah I've been asked maybe...where do I come from you know... my family... how big my family is you know... what we eat back home ...yeah

12. 9:10 And how do you take this? How do you usually respond to these questions?

- I...I tell them... them the truth .. I usually j... I usually just tell them they need to travel and see around the world because I find that the ones that did not... have not travelled much do not have information about these places and they usually have most

prejudice. Yeah so I usually tell them that yeah like Nairobi just a bit like Adelaide, that what I actually tell them and things that are in most households in Adelaide you will still find in Nairobi and in any other part of a city in Africa. So yeah I usually tell them that ... yeah I just usually answer their questions. Yes they are a bit weird but yeah (chuckle)

13. 10:00 And in ... in your opinion, how do you think the media in Australia understands or depicts Africans.

- ...(sigh) I think sometimes we're depicted as savages (um) honestly even when...sometimes I watch telly and you know, when I'm ...I'm... I love going on Facebook to you know (um) on such sites like 9news and always when it's a story about Africa when I go to the comments I usually get irritated because they just portray us as savages, yeah we usually... there was a time I think earlier this year when there was I think umm... what are these people called... Albinos were being (oh Yeah) caught and sold in Burundi (um) and when I read those comments I was really, really upset because it just portrayed us like animals you know... it just showed the way people are ignorant about Africans and you know ... I, it was...I really did not like it, I felt like that was unfair (um) but yeah, you really can't blame somebody if somebody does not have information about that place in the first place (yeah) um.

14. 11:20 And do you think this has an impact on then how general Australian come to understand what it is to be African? ...(pardon) if they keep seeing these images that you just gave an example of, do you think this impacts the understanding of what Africa is or what It means to be African?

- Yeah, I think.. I think...it does because I... all of us are human beings you know I would expect that we would... we should be treated the same (um) but when there is these superiority complex that yeah these ones are savages and these ones are not and they are people that we work with, we live with it.. it's really demoralizing I would say (um) so yeah and it got to a point now where I don't usually visit comments especially on those (chuckle) network news because especially if it touches on Africans because it always hurts my feelings (um) so yeah, I'd say it does impact. Did I answer your question correctly or not

15. 12:34 yes, yes of course, it's very interesting and you have given very good insight and you know based on these sort of comments or things that are said about Africans in the media have to found yourself changing how you present yourself in public or...some of the things you might say about yourself or not say?

- No...(ok) in as much as...in as much as it is err... they make hurt...hurtful comments sometimes that you read but I'm really proud to be an African (um) er...yes I will always ... I always market Africa and Nairobi I always tell them how nice it is and it's not as bad as they think yeah, I always encourage them to be open minded ...

16. 12:28 Ok, and in the long term would you see yourself settling in Australia is this something you would consider or do you still consider Nairobi to home and where you'd like to settle?

- ... well um Australia has good opportunities for growth.. (um) yes I would like to stay here just for the growth you know but, .. you know Nairobi will always be home and home is where your heart is (yes) I.. I would love to go back but it's only that the opportunities are not as great as here yeah, I would want to be developed you know development and more schooling because of course yeah here it's more superior but sometimes I think like home will always be somewhere where you're accepted I think that's a place I'd want to be

17. 14:28 That's, that's very interesting and do you think Africans in Australia are really considered to be Australian those who have gained citizenship or do you think maybe because of maybe black Africans the colour of our skin sort of limits us to that privilege?

- To be honest I think they are not accepted (um) you know, you know sometimes when you hear people's sentiments when people are talking with you they are "oh she's Australian" in talking now about Australians talking about African Australians (um) and sometimes I think that they just say that to be politically correct (um) but you know sometimes actions speak louder than words you feel like this is a person who is not accepted. It's just that they won't be politically (in)correct but I always feel like there is no acceptance because they usually feel like immigrants and not just Africans even Indians and you know Asians I feel like they ... there's bad vibes coming from people who were here originally (um) and immigrants I feel like we are coming here to compete for resources and then just historically we are still not very accepted they just do it because it because it is politically correct but when you scratch the surface I think there is so much deep seated you know... hatred and you now those bad vibes (um) that's what I usually feel (um) yeah

18. 16:12 That's interesting so Sheila we've come to the ...semi structured.. to the end of the semi structured questions of this.. this interview, is there anything at this point that you'd like to share with the researcher? Any thoughts or comments?...

- I think (sneeze) I think your research topic it's going to expose ...um I think the general public (um) to African maybe I feel like we are generally misunderstood so by doing this research it's going to educate them persons that we're not really as bad as you think we are and ultimately we are just mortals just like the rest of them just a different colour of skin really yeah... because when you look at a normal crowd of anything there is always the good, the average, the bad (um) and those can be found in every society whether it's in Australia or Africa or Asia you know? (yes) so I find that it's going to .. I think it's going to play a role in educating people about perception of Africans

19. 17:34 Thank you, well thank you so much for the support of people like you, (um) I'm hoping (um) to get that message out that it's...it's...not all (yes) doom and gloom that you see in the media that Africa has to offer or what Africans are, they are very dynamic people, diverse people (um) and yeah we shouldn't really be packaged you know in sort of representation (chuckle)

- Yes and I've just remembered something when you say that we are a diverse group (um) you know, whenever these things to be reported about things in Africa it's never the good things (um) it's always poverty, it's always war, but they don't look at ... we have.. we can invent our own things (um) like I guess, I guess that I would like to mention is that the mobile server (Oh yes) that was started in Kenya (yes) it.. I don't hear it being mentioned anywhere you know, I don't hear it ...I don't hear the way Africans are educated and I don't hear that, all what is hear is through television is how people are re...you those UNHCR advertisements (um) where people are really stick thin, in hospitals, just crying, miserable you know, for somebody who has not travelled to such an area they always think that that is how Africa is and sometimes you find them making comments like 'you must be really lucky to be here in Australia', when I'm wondering what is so good about here anyway? Maybe apart from the education and the infrastructure but you know with no social value, but I feel like even the good things about Africa should be shown in the media and not just the fights and not just the bombings and poverty (um...it.. it should be an equal balance of representations) yes, yes, it should be an equal balance.

20. 19:45 well that's very interesting and thank you so much for adding that comment, it... it really does show that it's...it's...not just a few people who think this but you know (um) a lot of people think that it's unfair. Erm... I would like to thank you again so much for your time and your participation in this study um.. and sharing

your comments and you know taking time out of your day to speak with me, I really am grateful for that.

Name: Stanley

Sex: Male

Age: 28

Birth Country: Kenya

Occupation: Aged Care Worker

Length of stay in Australia: 2 years 6 months

Reason for relocating to Australia: Enrolled in Postgraduate Study

Interview Location: Face to Face interview, Adelaide , SA

Interview Date: 01/06/2016

Interview Duration: 47:13

1. 0:36 Could you tell me little bit about the city or village you grew up in?

- Well, er...I grew up in a...small town, 200 (km) north of Nairobi which is the capital city and the town is Nanyuki but I was more in the village which is er ...the village bordering the Mount Kenya Forest so we experience all the things you can experience in the village especially when you're close the forest animals. Rains, heavy rains...not floods but (clears throat) it was quite peaceful it was really no... whereas there are lots of tribal clashes in the country and community based fights, my village was quite peaceful. You'd experience occasional stealing of cows and goats once in a while but it was not that severe that we felt threatened about it ...and the main means of survival was (clears throat) subsistence agriculture (um) but we would have people who are doing some professional jobs like teaching, nursing, banking and stuff.

2. 1:49 ok, so for your education did you do all of this in the village? Or did you move around?

- Well for the primary education I did it in the village, ...then for high school education I went to a...a provincial school, I travelled quite a distance from home, I would actually...it was a boarding school so I would only go home during the holidays. And then for.. university education I ...moved quite further into a different province, different city much bigger than mine, and I would still visit home occasionally during the holidays or alternatively I would go to the capital city where I would do several things to keep me going before school resumed. Whether internships, ..., yeah

3. 2:41 Ok, um.. and.. you know, how did you come to relocate to Australia?

- Yeah, once I finished my studies, the undergraduate, I worked for six months in a research company and then after my graduation I had my... visa approved, because as

soon as I completed the school I used my completion letter to apply for a Masters course in Australia and everything looked good so I got a place of offer and then once the visa was granted ... I came over for further studies.

4. 3:32 Ok, what were your... sorry what was your degree in? Your Undergrad and your Masters?

- Oh, my undergrad was in Economics and Resource Management and my Masters was in Environment Management and Sustainability.

5. 3:48 Ok, that's interesting, so before you moved to Australia can you tell me what you imagined Australia would be like? Or what did you know about Australia?

- Well I knew it was not as populated as Kenya,... and...so I translated that (to) there would be more opportunities, considering the issue of population.. so I expected like well I'm ... when I get here I would ... job getting would not be quite a... tough thing. Regardless, whether I had trained here or not, I still had my hopes high that at least I have some education and I am here for studies so I should be able to survive in the mainstream society and economy quite well, that was like what I heard (um).. the education was probably ...I was used to an exam based training so I was quite prepared to come and sit for exams and but,...but when I got here thing were... not quite as I expected in various aspects and in various ways and for reasons...

6. 5:18 So where did you initially arrive when you came to Australia?

- Umm...my first point of contact in Australia was Darwin, (um) because I had my sister there up in Darwin and my brother so I stayed with them for one month and then early in 2014 I came to South Australia where I was to be doing my studies and before the studies started I enrolled in a certificate three in aged care (um) because I had been told that 'well if you're planning to be working as you study ... probably this is the best course that would get you a job.' 'for now ignore your Bachelor's degree or whatever else you're doing have your focus on the short term casual jobs, then (if) further opportunities come well and good but for now you really need to do this certificate three and most of our people are doing the same course (um) so I really wasn't to be a different one, and I had seen them do quite well which the job so I was quite happy to enrol and look for aged care work.

7. 6:35 How did this make you feel knowing that you were someone who was obviously degree qualified having to do a certificate course to get employment um... how does this compare to Kenya?

- Err... first I didn't make a big deal out of it, because even back home we have graduates who are still tar marking and doing casual jobs or probably even jobless, so I took it on grounds of competitiveness (um) But then, that I decided well I haven't even tried to put up applications and then failed to get, so I really can't say I'm doing the caring work because I'm not competent enough or I'm not qualified because I haven't even given it a try but... so I decided to check what else can one do, what are the requirements but then ... I would visit a certain job and see what they need (um) and I realised with a student visa ...it's just impossible to do.. to work in the...normal working hours 8-5 because you have classes coming in between and... you also have limited 20 hours to work. With the caring work you can do night shift, you can... if you have your class in the morning you can work in the afternoon, and then I thought this is just a perfect job I will work on it, raise an income, get going, but then I still kept looking to see if there are other people of us would work in other jobs who might have finished their studies so that I know what happens after this... but it was quite sad to see that the bigger part of the community, or even people who come on skilled migration and lost... they came as accountants they're probably not practicing accounting but working in disability firms and at that point I decided to think the issue of job is because I am an international student because even people who came here as qualified skilled migrants...if they were practicing banking, I really can't see them in banks, all I find them is doing disability or ...there could be few who are working in those jobs in every ten, probably one and the rest nine are just doing the same job I'm doing.

8. 9:22 that's interesting, (yeah) umm...did you have any concerns prior to moving to Australia? Um about what your life would be or just the society?

- No as such, I didn't have any concern because ...as I indicated I had some of my siblings here and ...members of the extended family and...they had not mentioned anything negative about Australia so I was very positive about it and I was quite sure that it's a place that you can come and make a difference... especially on the economic level, considering our weak currency and such... so I was really positive, I had not really heard of fights, or where people had been physically attacked so I knew it's a peaceful society it's a place where you can ...come and get along but issues to do with like social life I had basically,...I don't know why ...people don't give a full account when they come here of what life is really expected, because I would say as much as I... it's all very exaggerated what advice is given back home of (as compared

to) what you actually get on the ground and it put your hopes very high up and you get here and you realise it's not ... a paradise as it was ... and then there are things like 'oh no one will ever treat you bad', if it's something like (inaudible), it's so polished that it's zero, compared to other places like the U.S. where you can...it's quite apparent and once in awhile you can ... you'll find it on T.V. ...but when I got here and I was like oh no, we have racism here as well but it's not...anyone will come and racist you (racially attack) openly, but you can feel if, not everyone but reasonably a population will not ...might overlook you, or look you down or not feel safe with you when you're walking in a carpark to your car and then if people see you they just scatter and get into their cars and if someone was just sitting in their car and making a phone call and they see you come or... they quickly pull up the windows and ...I was like it's in the middle of the day and the carpark is full of people so you shouldn't feel threatened but its life.

9. 12:12 so how does that make you feel like when you notice people acting like that towards you?

- You certainly feel like you're not in your land that's for real, because whatever ... I would experience, because back home I would get pulled into a conversation randomly in the streets I could start a conversation or even in a public transport vehicle here you don't really get that where you can go and start talking to the people...most of the time it's for them to come and talk to you ...but sometimes you may go and talk to them when you have a (inaudible) but you don't really get a welcoming. They try to show that oh well...yeah we are sort of interested but...just leave it at that. You get the (body) language that they probably don't want you so much and your discussion ...it can be quite (a) big thing if you ...make it big ...but if you keep your focus. Like if it's at work, where I work some residents are really quite racist and they...as soon as you walk in some look up and say 'oh no! get out of my room' and then someone else goes in and they don't say the same thing. They argue from work that is a resident is racist they can take action but I have really not seen any action taken to anyone, ...despite some residents being quite racist, it's probably pushed more on the dementia side. If the dementia is to a darker black person then you might think that's a cognitive dementia because if (giggle) ...if its dementia in general then this person should be quite confused chasing everyone and affecting everyone but when he is ... they call him racist names and then some staff can use that as an advantage to make sure that it's passed on ...so they like make sure that that

this resident gets more agitated, agitated and keeps saying 'oh look you have to help her' ... rather than taken the initiative if this person doesn't like this person because he is black then let's rotate the jobs, you go do that person and I do this ...but if they keep insisting then you can clearly tell like they are encouraging it rather than come and tell this person 'it's alright I'll fix it', it makes the work easier. But...and especially because I've being a new migrant I was still new to the job I didn't know...like I wasn't very experienced in it and if some has been doing the job for five years they should be probably more experiences and know this is how you deal with this situation but like sending people to the residents who you know that oh these are quite aggressive or certain residents don't like male carers to go and help them, maybe with a shower or anything ...then someone will tell you like ...send you to go and get them up and given a shower because you don't know you just go innocently and (of course) ok,' it's morning, time for a shower' and if she's never been showered by a man and she is a victim of rape, so she really has bad, negative ... and then you get all sorts of words. Like why would you expose me to this? And then later you ask them 'oh she doesn't want me rubbing her leg' 'oh alright' rather than feel apologetic that you misguided this person to go and attend to someone who you know that it wouldn't have worked ...so at least that is one area where I feel...you probably don't get much .. or even caring is quite ...I think we are the lowest level in the nursing industry because we have the managers, the clinical nurses, the RN's (Registered Nurse), the EN's (Enrolled Nurse) and then the carers, we really don't have quite a big voice and those of you who really need a job, they are running ...they're training to become nurses so they are also working as carers ... and you can sometimes feel the love is towards the natives whereas you're working so, so hard you're trying to get things so that ...it's like everyone else is so relaxed but you're having this (yeah) pressure and you feel like things like workcover you're always signing them but...I haven't come across any of us on workcover or claims from workcover um...no one is anticipating for accidents but I believe the same but people would be working and claiming their work cover from where they've worked, but for some reason I haven't had any injury at work, but I don't know what... how successful one would be if you go to make an enquiry on how negatively I would affect you and your future. Because if you're international then you don't have the same type and you don't...so I'm thinking there could be a sufficient number of people with injuries and they're sitting

on them because to them they don't want to be relegated off from work and you can't make a living.

10. 18:10 that's interesting, (yep...I'll take my jacket off) no that's ok, um in your own opinion what do you think the Australian population know what it means to be African or to come from Africa?

- ...Well ...I work for an organisation who have projects in ...Africa specifically Kenya and Uganda and they also have projects in India and Uganda and the experience I get from that organisation is because most of them have travelled to Africa might be quite different from what I'd get from an Australian who have never been to Africa. Some of them will think Africa, it's like a one, small...big nation, where we can mingle and see like you're from Zimbabwe, I'm from Kenya but we don't really have a native language we can speak together and ...but now there is some still perceive Africa with very high levels of poverty. And they mainly associate ...an African person in Australia as a refugee, ..., and they when they get all.. so that they just come here. Irrespective of how offensive the question can be some just comes and asks you "so are you here as a refugee?" and maybe this is in a chat and you're like what difference would it make you if I was a refugee or if I was a skilled migrant or student? How does that change how you relate to me? ...because whereas I would not go and ask someone 'oh ...are you on centrelink?' (A welfare scheme by the Australian Government) because it would be the same question where I'd meet someone and ask them 'Oh are you on Centrelink?' then they would feel 'why are you concerned with how I make my income?' 'whether I am on Centrelink, whether I'm independent whether I'm running a business' ...So for those who've travelled quite a bit and have been to Africa the experience would be way different with ...some, some have never been to Africa but they are still very positive and they'll be quite polite and it's only some few who will come and just ask bad questions like oh "were you safe in Africa?" "Where you ...Are you parents ok?" "If your family ok back home?" I feel, like at least Kenya has had, ...reasonable it's quite a peaceful country with no political violence ...and so it shouldn't feel like I'm here on asylum seeker, I've just come here for safe keep because I am not even on a protection visa ...I'm here for studies...so (giggle) but it just depends on the people ...some have it in mind that even if they know Africa is not really that different, they still want to deliberately show you that oh Africa is not a good place and you can feel it. They c...and there it cuts across, it could be from Universities, down to people of public. You come across

some lecturers who for some reasons don't like migrants, and they say oh 'we think we have a problem with your language' and the other lecturer gives you comments that's this, this is good. You clearly can tell that one comment is not genuine. The other person who is saying you're good ...is lying or trying to ...lie to you or trying to motivate you even if you're not good. Or the person saying that you're extremely poor is also not genuine, because it can be coming from two qualified people and they are making extreme opposite comments.

11. 22:25 Um... that's interesting, that's very powerful, and you know? Have...what are some of the things you've been asked about your background, your ethnicity in your time here in the Northern Territory or South Australia?

- Umm...most of them will be like oh 'where are you from?' as in the nationality. ..and then from there they will go ... 'are you planning to go back?' 'why are you here?' and all along I thought those were peaceful questions and I would quite answer someone politely. Until then, if you ask someone the same questions and 'where are you from?' and then you try to say that majority don't accept that question and they feel like ...you should not be asking me that...I am asking you that because you're the visitor you've come, but you should not be asking me where I am from. But you can tell from them they want to have that sense of command 'oh where are you from?' 'are you here with your family?' 'are you married?' I should be giving answers to...and he's probably just asking those questions because he feel like oh you've come so I really want to know how you've come. It's like you've gone to their house and yet you're in a public space, but when you ask them the same questions then...then you tell them now to think, they end the conversation ...even if they looked interested in you and your story, so I ...most people are happy to know you,...but they don't want you to know even a single bit out of them. Because some will ask you oh 'what's your name?' and then you go oh 'I'm Stanley' some will cut j...they still want to know your full names and then they ask 'how do you pronounce your surname?' (um) but then if you ask them 'what's your name?' they are likely to tell you oh 'I'm Tim' whereas he actually means Timothy, Tim is not Timothy (giggle) and when you try and follow him up and say 'what's your surname?' and they just say 'just call me Tim' (yeah, so you feel there is a double standard?) yeah, and oh well...basically I've got nothing to hide but ...I also don't want to feel very harassed with questions from locals, I at least need to know why you're asking me the questions (that is true) because if you want to know my name that's fair enough

because I also need to know your name but ...now 'have you got a family?', 'are you having a job?' 'What job do you do?' 'where are you schooling?' ...no you're just a random person and you'd not be happy if I met you in Nairobi and started asking you 'oh where are you from?' and you say 'I'm from Canada' and I say 'why are you here?' 'when are you going?' you'd be happy if I said oh 'where are you from?' "I'm from Canada." 'I hope you feel welcome and ...' they would feel appreciated and ask them 'are you experiencing any difficulties?' 'Are you getting your way around?' (yeah) those are the questions that would ...one would probably get and feel it's a welcome but ... 'when are you going?' (giggle)

12. 25:59 yeah that's quite challenging, and how do you think, then the media in Australia depicts or understands what it is to be African?

- ...well ...I'd say we don't, we're not on very good books of the media people. The few instances, I follow the news a lot especially on ABC (Australian Broadcasting Corporation) because that's like the channel that tries to at least give quite a comprehensive coverage of international news ...throughout the day...and most of the time that ...Africa appears in the news, it's certainly sad news, tragic news. Whereas we have like clearly good news. We could have a peaceful election in an African country and the people are happy you know creating the president, it might go uncovered...but when you have demonstrations, or you have terrorism like it happens sometimes like in Kenya and then you'll find them covering the story and ...because news are news. I know sad news sell most but none the less it doesn't mean that's only what should be covered. Anytime also here in the news where you get Africa coming up ...I feel you don't come much in because as much as we're not very much participants in the Australian and nation markets ...in the international market ...I feel like when they show the stock exchange ...at least they would say this is what was trading in and this is what we got but ...literally you would not understand, what is happening with our shares, what what's going on and ...I feel they show here, they show New Zealand but ...China, Japan,... Indonesia and they pick on the US, UK occasionally they might pick on South Africa... come to sports, ...and even if we get some good performance from Africa, it's probably not a big thing ...whereas any other country that might win... a trophy it's shown in the news but sometimes you would get an African nation win a cup and even if it was a big competition it just goes quite unmarked. I'm not talking of Olympics where they have to show the winners (yes) number one, two and three and then it's quite inevitable to skip who else won but I

mean like a competition like rugby, especially if it didn't happen here or ...basketball or any ...useless you go to YouTube you don't really know the African cup of nations ...it's rarely mentioned ...but you can see the Asia cup other cups you can see and then you feel like oh this probably not fair to single out Africa ...if that competition is... if there is a competition going at least acknowledge it, report the winner or give us the standings not even show that this country did there, we have ABC but it's not shown...in some instances ... you've got a few places that I have seen people feature in the media African... it's probably not very highly spoken...newspapers you can get enough, a magazine somewhere it has featured an African being or in the adverts in the...classifieds you might go and someone is advertising ...funny business and then you get oh there's an African advert going on here (but otherwise we are largely invisible?) we are very invisible. Actually we get our news amongst ourselves. If it is on a Facebook page that is African then you can get as much news from Africa from that and you might ...if you log in...even if it's...I think even if it's something like Twitter if you set your location in an African city, you'll probably not get a trending topic if I had my Twitter on...if my city is Adelaide. That makes sense because then you're localising the news (yes) but even randomly as it would happen that something big has happened and commenting ...because even sometimes even if you have your location as Nairobi you get...if something major has happened in Australia you get a trend in it going round in Nairobi where people are discussing it, even if it's not in Kenya, I really haven't seen some ...anytime I have not really seen like... an African thing trend here (yeah) or even on Facebook where, because there are people commenting on it because a topic will get to trending if it gets certain hits of people commenting on it but that's the problem now no one is commenting, whether it's a terrorism activity, they might comment about terrorism ...but not the specific location (ok) like what happened at France...became such a big thing, the terrorism in France. And while... not very long we had another terrorism in Kenya where lots of university students were killed and the coverage of the two instances was way too different (um) I felt that those are still lives at were lost and the same evil minded people who caused terrorism are the same ...people who attacked Paris ...because Paris is of high profile (yeah) it gets a big coverage, so we shouldn't be having an issue, I don't think... the media has put me up there. I don't think the people would know my problem. It would be easier for me to come and approach you, approach my other fellow friends and tell them this is the problem at hand ...than what passes

through the media because it will probably not be a way of communicating ...In my opinion (yeah).

13. 33:01 No that's, that's... interesting, so do you think that this affects the Australian population's understanding of what it is to be African? Or what Africa is like?

- Yeah, because if the media doesn't really make us visible (um) then it's a general interpretation that we're not visible and we're not visible because we don't really matter otherwise if we do matter then...we'd probably be more seen in the media ...because the media has a big role because if something ...just like an advert in the commercials if ...if you don't really advertise your product, then it's not likely to be known and you're likely to expect low sales from it whereas someone else who might be having an inferior product than yours but invests so much on promotion and advertising might make a big difference in sales because he's product is known and people will think oh this is good...yeah so I think that...affects our... because if we really don't come in the news...that means we are not making big contributions... and we are just there, and if we just there that's alright (giggle)

14. 34:23 That's ...that's

- Like the politics, the American politics are of big significance (yes) but the attention that they get is soo... big that I feel the other politics would also be large. The issue of refugees moving from Syria toTurkey and ...let's say entirely Europe, Germany or wherever...(yes) ...it's so big and yet we've...we've been having refugees move... come into Kenya from either Sudan, Somalia and ...it's not really captured. I think in Kenya we have the biggest refugee camp in Africa and it has been dedicated as a headquarter for the refugees and no one mentions about refugees moving between ...in between Africa it's like It's considered...where if you're moving from Sudan to Kenya that's ...that's fair enough that's not like you're a real refugee we'll start classifying you as a real refugee when you cross the Mediterranean Sea. And the people who lose their lives in the Mediterranean Sea trying to sail over to Asia from Africa ...might get bulletted once in the news and yet 700 people have perished in the sea...I feel if it's well discussed in the media then people might try to think we have a serious problem in Africa and we need to go and fix it ...the Syrian migration and the Europe migration has got so much attention that's so much aid has been taken on that direction....and lots of regulations are going to be, they put the protection of these regulations are going to have an impact of that...from the international community

...but I feel like we in Africa don't get any help on how to regulate our ...even if we have a thousand refugees come ...the UNHCR will probably try to put some inference and send ... food and the Red Cross will be sending clothing and blankets (yes) ...but no one really cares about what impact these refugees are going to have in the Kenyan economy ... now that they have come to the nation, they are not working, they are homeless...and in one way or another ...the Kenyan people have to contribute for their survival it just goes ...(yeah) but if the same refugees start now coming to Australia it now becomes 'we're having refugees, we need to know why they come, we need to know where they are getting the money...(yeah) so there's lots of biasness and ...I think as much as the media portrays it that way it's also political instigated that they feel like this is not important this is might sell, this will not sell (um)

15. 37:44 That's, that's quite powerful ...that's quite powerful...and you know, based on how you've seen Africans represented in the media, has this changed how you present yourself socially in public?

- Umm.....probably I would ...I have just presented myself ...as myself...but having ...considering myself as one who might be. .. you might know some things who are ...especially for new arrivals ...I am very cautious with things ...with how people respond...and depending on the questions people ask if then people turn to realise that you...you know more than they thought...they just tend to walk away by themselves. If they realise that the answers you're giving them ...are not the answers they expected ...or in case you throw a challenging question to them ...then they feel like oh ...because you could be somewhere watching a game ...or playing a game and let's say it's somewhere like a social place like a...pub. Or a hotel or anywhere quite casual then someone is asking these ...comes with oh ... 'where are from?' then you say 'I'm from Kenya' oh 'So you know Obama?' and ...so he is trying now to brand the whole of Kenya all we care about is Obama ...(um)...because ideally it would be expected 'oh yeah! Yes I'm from Kenya, oh yes! Obama is from Kenya!' and then keep going with that conversation but. Then when he realises that you're trying to show him no, that's the obvious Obama could have been from another place as well ...in Kenya there are also other people who have risen and who have been everywhere. So that's just ...it's normal, don't make it a big deal. He could have been... if he was from Europe and what would you be saying about Kenya because, you might come and if Obama was from Europe then ...you say 'where are you

from?’ and I say oh ‘I’m from Kenya’ would you have asked me about Obama? You would have probably just... but now you just the whole Kenya appear as if it’s this Obama, that’s normal he ...I could be the Obama of tomorrow and you could be the Obama of tomorrow and you will not make it a big deal that oh ‘He’s Obama and he’s from Australia’ it’s will probably not be a big deal as oh yeah this guy was ...he’s an Australian-American. But when it becomes a Kenyan-American then it’s...so I don’t really portray myself much but...for the few who might for some reason try to come and bring some people down I don’t entertain them. I try to...stand for our people and tell them look ...keep doing the right thing and don’t necessary look down on me. Especially when someone is you know, look I went to work today and this person called me so and so ...someone did this... try to encourage them that ...that’s not quite acceptable ...but then be also careful as much as you’re raising your voice sometimes it’s easier to walk away out of it because then the process of ...setting up a case and going through the judicial might be another thing and what’s the guarantee of justice in the end anyway? ...so (that’s true)

16. 41:47 Um...and in the long term ...so you see yourself staying in Australia? Or would you always consider Kenya home?

- I would always consider Kenya home...but that said from my experience in Australia, because even if I would say ...Australia is home, it will never, it will not fit in in the same place as where I grew, when I say Kenya is home, because it have my family there, I have grown up there, I have so much attachment to the place the culture the traditions...but with the issue of our dual citizenship ...I am quite happy to have the two citizenship and then I can have a chance to ...go in between and ...encourage the relationship between the two nations ...because as much as I have come here and benefited from the opportunities...I am quite happy to extend them to make sure that other Kenyans benefit ...and also that Australians benefit as well because it think from the big perspective it’s a good thing when there is movement between nations (yes) so I have not given the idea of oh ‘I’m going back home’ and may come and get a bad experience in Australia but I would...but that’s me ...another person might come and get a good experience in Australia so I really wouldn’t want to lock anyone out ...I’ll try to look what was it that felt like it was not very good to me and how can we fix it? And what is that Australia feels is not right for the Kenyan and Kenyans are doing to them and we can fix it and try to have some form of justice and equity. Either in trade or in collaboration work, were Kenyans come here and feel

...accepted, but I would still put rise a big challenge to the African community ...who are here ...that they are very reluctant in welcoming fellow Africans ...and that happens to perpetuate the situation or marginalisation, because if I'm singling you out as one of your own then even the others might not welcome you. So you come here and you find like people don't really want to associate with you because they feel you're so new, you're more of a liability, you don't know the directions, ...whereas if they would treat us in a place that captures oneness, and care what's your brother doing, what's your sister doing ...it will be good and maybe ...even the Australians would come and get (inaudible) and say I think these people are such a cohesive society in whatever they are doing but apparently even from the African community ...it has not been quite ...we're still very much divided for reason either on competitiveness basis or whatever... you could meet an African they just say oh hi and they walk away and the last thing you want is to be is for your fellow African to turn you down ...because it's easier if an Australian walks away from you ...because they don't know you and also you don't know them and as much you have similarities ...there are obvious differences that you can see that ...and you can justify their walking away as they're walking away whether it's good or bad, at least... but now when a fellow African...probably experience with the Australians he ignores their fellow Africans especially in the face of Australians and then it makes them say oh 'look even amongst themselves, these people can't help each other. How do I even help them. I do I even do I help a society that is so divided' (yeah) we have an African community that is well established that is probably want to, because if you really want to get recognition even in the media it has to start from ourselves where I acknowledge you as a person and then you pass it on and then you give it back to me and then that way we can move up ...even if the media came up today and wanted to put Africa all up at the top ...and we ourselves don't really care, maybe I even see you in the news and I say oh 'that woman is here again....' (giggle) it's probably not a very good thing so as much as we are not very much recognised, we also have not recognised our very own which make it easier to pass it on to the media (umm)

17. 45:51 That's quite powerful, that's...that's very powerful and I thank you again for sharing your insights with me ...and um... is there anything else you would like to add at this point? Anything at all?

- Probably not, (ok) ...

Name: Nancy*

Sex: Female

Age: 26

Birth Country: Kenya

Occupation: Sessional Tutor & Postgraduate Researcher

Length of stay in Australia: 6 years

Reason for relocating to Australia: Enrolled in Postgraduate Study

Interview Location: Face to Face interview, Adelaide, SA

Interview Date: 02/06/2016

Interview Duration: 27:17

1. 0:19 Could you tell a little about the city or the village you grew up in?

- Yeah um...for the first 10 years of my life I grew up in a small village er... in Meru, that's is ermmm...east of Kenya (um) and umm.. is it east? ...let me think.. yeah east of Kenya and in a small villa..village called Kenora. I think it's got about...maybe 30 000 people maybe less I don't know the stats ...erm ... but that's where I grew up with my grandparents who are coffee... farmers and tea farmers and then I was 10, I moved into the city where my mum was living ... that's where I've been living till I came to Australia.

2. 1:13 Ok um (yeah), so how did you come to relocate to Australia?

- Oh I got a scholarship ...er when I finished my undergrad I got a scholarship to come to Melbourne and do a Masters in Psych Therapy (um) and so when I finished that I started my PhD so...yeah...it's...it's been mostly for academic purposes yeah

3. 1:40 and what was your undergrad in?

- Social Work (ok) yep (that's good)

4. 1:45 Umm... so before you moved to Australia, how did you imagine Australia to be like? Or any thoughts you had about Australia?

- Not really because ...we did know anything about Aus...honestly the only thing I knew about Australia was the kangaroo (giggle) which is pretty gross because we always calling out other people for not knowing stuff about Africa but I tell you we were never taught anything about Australia, our history and geography was very European and very American in a way and so ...um Australia was never really in the conversation a lot, we never saw Australian movies or Australian songs or ... there was nothing to connect us there. I think the only ...media or the only form of media

that was Australian was a show called *Home and Away* (um) and *Neighbours* and even then I still thought they were American because ...as a kid I just thought oh everything that's there (on T.V.) is American or British so it never really... its only until I grew up that I realised that oh so Australia is a place and ...it's not America.

5. 2:58 ok and did you relocate on your own? Um.. from Kenya to Australia?

- Um yeah, I'm on my own here (um) yeah

6. 3:07 um and being on your own did you have any concerns prior to arrival about ...coming or just going somewhere far away from home?

- Yeah I was 20, so... getting to 21 so I was fairly young and quite naïve but I remember feeling more excited than being scared, so when I got the scholarship I was very scared that I was going to come to this place. So it's only after I got the scholarship that I started reading about Australia on the internet...ermm... a lot of things that they say on the internet about Australia were a bit scary about the animals, about the dangerous terrain and the geography er.. everything sounded scary plus there were also a lot of issues to do with it being a racist country so... there was not very much ...positive stuff that I was reading about Australia on the internet, on the blogs when I was preparing to come, so that was a bit scary but ...it didn't really take away the excitement that I had to come and do further studies (yeah) But I think the first form of fear that I felt was actually when I landed. I think I was still in denial, I was oh is this really happening? (ok) until I landed and I was on my own, in this big city in Melbourne, didn't know anyone, and I was like if I drop dead now...really I was thinking, really I was thinking if I drop dead now ...who's gonna know I'm dead or who is going to look after me or who is going to take me home to my family? I think it was that sense of aloneness that I felt at that point that was actually scary (um) rather than coming to Australia (yeah) in itself.

7. 4:54 Um...so you know, can you tell me one of the most memorable ...experiences you had shortly after arriving in Australia, anything that sort of sticks out?

- Good, bad? (Any, anything you'd like to share) um... ok so...when I first arrived in Australia and like I said I didn't know anybody. I didn't have any friends who ...lived here. I'd come from a low socio-economic family back home and so I didn't have any friends who had travelled here before ...or any families that I knew so I was pretty much on my own ...ummm...but when I arrived ... the second day when I went to uni ... I was trying to find my way around, it was a very small campus and ..I was trying

to find a way around and I finally got to my class and it was a class of about 11 women (ok) and I remember just walking in and all of them just looking at me and they were so friendly and this woman called Anna just stood up and said come and sit next to me and you know... and I sat next to her and she said would you like water, coffee ... it was in a small meeting room like this, where our classes used to take place ...and so she just went to the kitchen just down the common room and she got me some coffee and some water (yes) and so I felt very included from the get go, and I really didn't think much about it then as being significant until I realised actually how hard it was to make other solid friends like Anna (yes) you know? Long after my years here in Australia. So... from that simple gesture of kindness, Anna and I have remained, very, very, very solid (um) friends since then so... she would drop me home and then come and take me in the morning and she'd take me shopping when I was broke she would buy me groceries, you know (yes) it was a life of adjusting (yeah) I think those memories of kindness from her really stick out for me and yeah...so I think she really painted Australia ...no matter how many bad experiences that I get, I think she is the one person who reminds me it's a good space and there are still some good people around who are kind and generous so ...yeah so if there is ..., she is going to be absolutely horrified if she hears that I said this (laughter) (No. that's just great stuff ..that's, that's great stuff) yeah

8. 7:35 Um and having spent a few years in Australia now, um... in your opinion what do you think the Australian population know what it means to African or to come from Africa?

- Can you ask me that question again? Maybe rephrase it?

9. 7:49 Ok, um.. in your opinion, what do you think the general population in Australia know about Africa or Africans?

- Yeah, well I don't think the knowledge is quite there yet, you know coz, ...the many people that I have made friends with mainly white Australians, I am usually their only black friend you know so...and they will ask me all these ignorant questions about Africa and about Kenya so you can see the lo... the knowledge is quite limited in that kind of way. And even for people like Anna who are quite well travelled and you know and very upper class and have had access to technology for a long time ...still, they will still ...erm a lot of learning for them to do in terms of what Africa is, you know, where Kenya is ...what being an African is you know all those things so...but partly I would say because their media is very Western centric (um) and there is not a

lot of external African media going around part from of course ...the media that portrays Africa in a negative light so ...yeah

10. 9:05 so you said you've been asked some things that are quite ignorant ...um can you elaborate on this and just...

- Yeah...like I've been ...asked...you know ...um on my first graduation, when I was graduating with my masters, a professor in the school was studying my masters in (um) came up to me and she saw me ... it was actually a he, he saw me with these very nice high shoes, high heels...and he said "Oh those look good on you" "Did you get them here?" and I went "no, I got them from home" and he went "Oh geez, so you have shopping malls? That's you can get something like this, this is just unbelievable." And honestly his mind was looking like it was being blown ... because he was like in so much shock. We are talking about a professor, in the university, so er... this was not a uneducated person at all,...and I remember just feeling 'ew where do you think we get our clothes and our shoes and all these things?' so...it's an ignorant comment that stuck with me because of who it came from, not because it was said to me because you hear that a lot.. but yeah

11. 10:21 That's, that's quite interesting and sort of how, how did that make you feel at that time? like...did you say anything back (no) to him or..?

- I didn't, umm...but also because I was ...still very new in Australia it was still my very first year in Australia when I was just finishing my Masters... I did my Masters in a year...I will never encourage that! To anybody else who wants to (giggle) keep their sanity... but I did it in a year ...so it was still my very first year in Australia and I was very naïve and I was very intimidated, I think by whiteness and ...er...Australians and I didn't want to talk back because I felt like they owed ...not they owed me, I felt like I owed them you know umm... some form of gratefulness for allowing me to come here and study and all that and all those and I think that's shrunk me in a way...so I didn't want to challenge ...I just...but I remember feeling really...small ...is small the right word? I remember feeling ...boxed you know? Boxed into wow ...so you wear shoes and that you didn't get from Australia and that is amazing so ...it wasn't a nice feeling at all ...yeah...it think it was my very first experience of realising that ignorance cuts across you know, it doesn't mean that ...it doesn't matter...ignorance doesn't...education doesn't mean not being ignorant ..yeah

12. 12:02 that's, that's quite powerful um...and how do you think Australian media understands or depicts Africans?

- Oh as poor and lazy and diseased and...backward you know? There's ..I'm yet to find anything that is ever portrayed on western media, let alone Australia that is actually not patronising or condescending towards Africa...ermm...most of the pictures that will sell, the documentaries that will sell and captivate are the ones with bear chested women, with dead babies suckling a dry breast you know.. or you know, poor women walking around without clothes with children, ten children ...all of them with Marasmus or kwashiorkor with their swollen bellies or you know... I see these all the time or just children sitting there with flies everywhere! All over their face. And I always go .. I didn't grow up like this, I grew up poor...but I didn't grow like this, this is not ...this is not... it might be part of the story but it's not the whole story and I think there is so much danger in a single story there ...and I think what is depicted a lot about Africa in western media is the single story about Africa.. so it's never told in any other dimension other than the dimension of backward, poor, lazy diseased and it's hard as an African to watch that.

13. 13:50 What do you think influences this sort of, one directional image? Where does it stem from in your own opinion?

- Umm.....maybe...colonisation, I would think, because there is ...I think with the scramble for time.. there are so many white Europeans who wrote what they think they could.. what they thought they ...what they wrote about Africa ...depending on what they thought they understood about it and in literature about Africans and Africa by white men ...there was all this depiction of African women as sexual beasts and you know people who...do not understand the world you know in way that a civilised person should and would er...and a lot of this literature was read by people and remember this literature was used actually to justify oppression towards Africans...so if they are savage, this they are backward then surely we can save them, we can fix that, and that really justifies the oppression and the scramble for Africa for a very, very long time and it think up to now we really live with the effects of what that emm... colonisation did and has continued to do ...to Africans and to Africa in itself. Yeah... but also you know...looking also at the global politics about Africa as well, and this is my personal opinion I don't know how truthful this is... I think Africa is the richest continent in terms of resources, natural resources and if you look at the power dynamics between the global north and the global south ...you know the reason ...most of the bank reserves here of the global north are created by depleting and oppressing and killing and sponsoring war...in the global south and so there's a

benefit.. there's actually a socio-economic benefit, a financial benefit from depicting Africa in the way that they do so that they can keep gaining the way that they do...so I think this has been a lot about um... I think if you read a book by... ermm...a scholar... I think she is from Zambia or Zimbabwe, but she teaches in the US maybe Harvard her name is Dambisa Moyo and she's, she's actually written a lot of books warning, talking against foreign aid towards Africa ...because the thing.. we don't need it .. you know what we need is our sovereignty and...so like you said there's... I mean like I said earlier ...part of depicting Africa the way...the west does is a form of power, is a form of positioning themselves as better ...and same as colonisation continued, continuing to justify the things that they are doing now through neo-colonialism and saying 'we're fixing it' 'we're fixing it through aid, through foreign aid and all these things' when in actual factits justification of oppression which is really not necessary. Anyway, my thoughts.. I'm not really sure, I'm not an economist (giggle)

14. 17:29 No, no, that's quite insightful and you know, it, it gives a different perspective to ...obviously how representations are created and for what purpose. And in your stay here, based on how you have seen Africans represented in Australian media ...has this in any way impacted how you present yourself in public?

- Oh for sure!...I think because I am a racialized person here in Australia, I carry the burden of my whole race, you know with me on my shoulders. You know, erm...so I am very conscious of my blackness and I am very conscious of how that blackness is seen ...so that other people do not ...are not oppressed, because I behaved in a bad way (yeah) right? So I'm in a constant state of trying to erase the stereotype so, so if people think black people are not hard working I here working my arse off until 10 o'clock, 11 o'clock ... you know. Maybe that's a really over the top way to say we're not lazy we're actually work hard or other things like we're not clean and we're not this and we're that you know so...all those things I find myself going over the top for but really if I get to the root ...You know, to the root of it I know I'm no...I'm doing it not just for myself but for my...because I know ...um someone is going to look at me and their attitude is going to change around other Africans so...but when I think about doing ...silly things you know...I think twice because I go if I do that and if I'm caught what the media is going to be reporting is 'An African has been caught!' not a woman, not ...whatever... not a Flinders University student, not that ... it's going to be a representation of my continent and also of my race so...these that yeah

15. 19:35 and you know, in terms of ...staying here long term, do you believe you would consider Australia home? Or is Kenya home?

- I think I already do, ...so... in a way I don't know if you've ever heard of the term the third culture kid, I think we were talking about it another time, umm...and this is the situation where ...you... shift...countries during your formative years to a place where you can neither call...any... any place home, you know...so and I feel that strongly towards my connection to Australia. I moved here when I was 20 you know still very young umm.....so I have that connection here because Australia has offered me very many opportunities and very many friendships and so many things and also at the same time, back home I have my family, I have my heritage, I have my childhood there so... I don't want to be put in a position where I have to choose, I am a global citizen ... I can live anywhere that I want, you know and choose to ummm....and I think home is where ...you're comfortable, home is where you're safe or ...whatever your definition of home is so...and I think Australia in many ways ..despite many other challenges has still offered me a sense of safety and a sense of opportunities and growth and all those things so, in terms of staying here long term I'm not really sure about that... I know even if I ever leave and go and live in another country, it is still a place that I will say shaped me a lot umm...in my formative years ...so yeah

16. 21:33 No that's. that's interesting and you mentioned something interesting that ...because of the colour black... you carry sort of a burd...a burden that is embedded in colonial history and all negativity ...do you think black people, black Africans can ever really considered to be Australian?

- No. No. (can you sort of elaborate why not?) because of the history Australia, not just the history of colonialism in Africa in itself, that's a different story but also because of the history of Australia being a white man's space you know? Um..... if it's ever going to happen I will be long dead for sure (chuckle) I don't think I will ever live to witness it. Erm... I don't think my children will live to witness it even ...It's going to take (a) couple of ...centuries for that to happen, but the history of Australia being a, based on white Australia policy, who deserves to be an Australian, who can be an Australian even the Indigenous Australians themselves, they are people of colour but they were still not considered a Australian for very, very, very, very long time you know? Why because they were not white, because they did not met the criteria of what it does meant to be an Australian.. so if they are not able to accept their very own...how am I as an immigrant how should I expect actually to be accepted in this

country? So I think there is still a lot of race politics to be had and um... and all those conversations to be had ...er... in fact for a long time, to be considered Australian for Indigenous Australians to be considered Australian, they had to give up their Aboriginality they had to say “Great, now I’m not Aboriginal now I can be Australian” so you see that dichotomy and that binary that you know you’re either white or black and you’re either Australian white or you’re not and I think we still believe in that history a lot even though we have shifted in our attitudes are changing and Australia is become multicultural in very many ways I still think you know, err...we’ve got a long wait to go in terms of race politics and race inclusiveness and ...but first of all it doesn’t need to start with me as a black African immigrant because ...I am a visitor in this land, truthfully speaking, it needs to start with their own black people which is the indigenous community and the day I see that happen is the day that I know I ...as another black person from another continent, I too can be accepted in this space but until then why should I fight for my own space when their own people are still down trodden like that. It doesn’t feel like the right war to fight ...yeah

17. 24:54 wow, that’s, that’s very powerful umm... so we have sort of come to the ...end of the semi structured questions of this interview, um...at this point is there anything else that you’d like to share with the researcher? Or any thoughts?

- Umm... I don’t know ...no unless you have any clarification you want, you any other clarification (no, no, no you’ve been great and you’ve provided great insight) that’s good (so thank you again).

SECTION E: SONIC NOTE TAKING – THESIS PODCASTS

This section provides the titles and links to the thesis podcasts that were used as a way of sonic note taking and scaffolded learning through the course of this doctoral thesis.

1. Sunny Rue Chivaura 1 - Disinterring Stuart Hall

<http://tarabrazon.libsyn.com/sunny-rue-chivaura-1-disinterring-stuart-hall>

Released 17 October 2015

2. Sunny Rue Chivaura 2 - Finding a voice

<http://tarabrazon.libsyn.com/webpage/sunny-rue-chivaura-2-finding-a-voice>

Released 30 October 2015

3. Sunny Rue Chivaura 3 - Sunny and Steve talk Scousers (and oral history)

<http://tarabrazon.libsyn.com/sunny-rue-chivaura-3-sunny-and-steve-talk-scousers-and-oral-history>

Released 06 November 2015

4. Sunny Rue Chivaura 4 - Guess who is famous?

<http://tarabrazon.libsyn.com/sunny-rue-chivaura-4-guess-who-is-famous>

Released 13 November 2015

5. Sunny Rue Chivaura 5 - Blackness in Australian identity (and Australian doctoral education)

<http://tarabrazon.libsyn.com/sunny-rue-chivaura-5-blackness-in-australian-identity-and-australian-doctoral-education>

Released 05 December 2015

6. Sunny Rue Chivaura 7 - Why the authentic voice matters

<http://tarabrazon.libsyn.com/sunny-rue-chivaura-7-why-the-authentic-voice-matters>

Released 18 January 2016

7. Sunny Rue Chivaura 9 - Using podcasts to create a meta-doctorate

<http://tarabrazon.libsyn.com/sunny-rue-chivaura-9-using-podcasts-to-create-a-meta-doctorate>

Released 19 February 2016

8. Sunny Rue Chivaura 10 - Summoning self knowledge in the final year of a PhD

<http://tarababazon.libsyn.com/sunny-rue-chivaura-10-summoning-self-knowledge-in-the-final-year-of-a-phd>

Released 23 March 2016

9. Sunny Rue Chivaura 11 - Policing race, history and theory

<http://tarababazon.libsyn.com/sunny-rue-chivaura-11-policy-race-history-and-theory>

Released 13 May 2016

10. Policing the crisis in new times

<http://tarababazon.libsyn.com/policing-the-crisis-in-new-times>

Released 27 May 2016

In this podcast Steve and Tara talk with Sunny Rue Chivaura and Glory Gatwiri, exploring the book Policing the Crisis. What is the use and value of this book now, in a time of asylum seekers, hyper racism, sexism and xenophobia?

11. Sunny Rue Chivaura 12 - Brexit (really)

<http://tarababazon.libsyn.com/sunny-rue-chivaura-12-brexit-really>

Released 06 July 2016

12. Sunny Rue Chivaura 13 - Making powerful source material function in a PhD thesis

<http://tarababazon.libsyn.com/sunny-rue-chivaura-13-making-powerful-source-material-function-in-a-phd-thesis>

Released 17 July 2016

13. Sunny Rue Chivaura 15 - Althusser, the tea towel and identity

<http://tarababazon.libsyn.com/sunny-rue-chivaura-15-althusser-the-tea-towel-and-identity>

Released 29 July 2016

14. Sunny Rue Chivaura 17 - Entering the endgame

<http://tarababazon.libsyn.com/sunny-rue-chivaura-17-entering-the-endgame>

Released 20 November 2016

15. Sunny Rue Chivaura 18 - Stropky theory for silly times

<http://tarabrazon.lisyn.com/sunny-rue-chivaura-18-stropky-theory-for-silly-times>

Released 06 February 2017

16. Sunny Rue Chivaura 19 - The Theory Draft

<http://tarabrazon.lisyn.com/sunny-rue-chivaura-19-the-theory-draft>

Released 08 March 2017

17. Sunny Rue Chivaura 20 - Postcolonial Cultural Studies

<http://tarabrazon.lisyn.com/sunny-rue-chivaura-20-postcolonial-cultural-studies>

Released 19 March 2017

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