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**CONSTRUCTIONS OF MULTICULTURALISM, VOICE AND
IDENTITY IN NEWS MEDIA REPRESENTATIONS DURING
AUSTRALIA DAY 2016**

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THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF SCIENCE IN MEDIA AND COMMUNICATION
DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNICATION AND MEDIA
FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
LUND UNIVERSITY, SWEDEN
AUGUST 2016

ABSTRACT

The national day of Australia is Australia Day; a contentious public holiday that sparks a national debate on identity and multiculturalism every year. There are many different narratives that make up the Australian story, which encapsulates Australia's diverse and multicultural history. Media plays a pivotal role in the representation of the national narrative; however, evidence of systemic power and bad media power has affected the diversity of representation in 2016. This thesis will critically investigate multiculturalism and identity in news media representation during the Australia Day period.

A contemporary crisis of voice highlights how news media favours the voice of Anglo-Australians over other ethnicities. The representation of minority voices provides a fruitful analysis for the current state of Australian multiculturalism. The public debates that will make up this analysis includes: Invasion Day, the republic debate, identity, voice and the possibility of changing the date of Australia Day. A culmination of these narratives represents Australia in 2016. Key questions asked throughout this study includes: the role of voice and ethnicity in new media representations of Australia Day, how representation differs between news formats, and the impact of media ownership on the national narrative. The following analysis will explore the discourses used by the Australian news media during the Australia Day period. This includes the lead up to this day, during and directly after the event. This study uses qualitative content analysis to analyse articles from a range of newspapers, and political economy to analyse the historical, economic and political context behind these issues. The aim is to provide the reader with an insight into the construction of Australian multiculturalism and identity.

The findings show that even though the aim of the National Australia Day Council is to promote equal recognition of social diversity (NADC 2015), news media representations of multiculturalism and identity highlight constructions of racism. Furthermore, that media ownership is shaping the discussion of political issues to favour elites over the views of the general public.

Key words: Australia Day, representation, media ownership, voice, identity, media power, news media and multiculturalism.

Word Count: 19,278

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS:

First of all, I would like to thank Professor Annette Hill for her mentorship and support. She has inspired and guided me forward towards the completion of this thesis. I also want to thank my family for all the years spent discussing Australian history and politics. In the end, it provided a firm foundation for this thesis. Finally, I want thank David Wästlund, for his constant support and kind voice.

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1 INTRODUCTION

Australia is a nation built by mass multi-ethnic migration, and over time demographic changes occurred resulting in new national narratives, often challenging the original Anglo narrative (Moran 2011, pg. 2154-8). Multiculturalism creates a diversity of narratives, and not all of them view Australian identity and define multiculturalism in the same way. That is why Australia has an antagonistic national narrative; different groups view historical, political and economic events differently, creating alternative narratives, which juxtaposed the mainstream narrative. This thesis will investigate the different narratives portrayed by the news media during the Australia Day period in 2016.

Historically the construction of Australia Day has come from the suppression of alternative narratives for the purpose of creating a unifying identity. The historical and political context behind the representation of Australia Day uncovers the role of political communication and PR groups in the manufacturing of Australia Day. Its purpose was to unite the country and create a common identity, even if that was the expense of marginalising different groups (MacNamara and Crawford 2010, pg.7). A critical analysis of news media illustrated that in 2016, the national narrative is still prominently written from the point of view of Anglo-Australians. Thus, creating an antagonist narrative between those who promote a different narrative, the most prominent example from this study is the narrative of the Indigenous Australian Peoples. In addition to the political construction of Australia Day, the Australian media climate is highly concentrated and issues with media ownership became reoccurring throughout this study when investigating representation of voice.

Qualitative content analysis was used to analyse the data collected from Australian news media. Articles used were from a variety of tabloid, compact, PBS, broadsheet, financial, and independent online news. The aim of collecting articles from different types of news media, from different states and territories was to provide a national scope for the public conversation surrounding Australia Day. All articles used in this study were sourced online and outside of Australia.

1.1 AIMS AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The aim of this thesis is to critically analyse the current news media debate on the construction of multiculturalism and identity in Australia, by using Australia Day as a case study. This study will address problems with media ownership, the attack on voice, and inequalities of representation. Through an in depth qualitative content analysis of mainstream, public, and independent news media, this thesis will investigate the influence of media power on the national narrative in 2016. In order to further examine the role of media power, media ownership and the historical context behind these issues are also analysed. By investigating the construction of these themes this study highlights Australia's antagonist national narrative in 2016.

The research questions are as follows:

Research Questions:

1. Which voices are represented in news media, and what role does ethnicity play in the news representation of Australia Day?
2. How does representation and voice differ between tabloid, broadsheet and public service media?
3. Does media power and ownership impact on the national narratives concerning multiculturalism and identity in news representations of Australia Day?

1.2 HISTORICAL CONTEXT: AUSTRALIA DAY

Changing the date of Australia Day was a prominent debate that features in this study. The date itself is contentious, as January 26th marks the day the First Fleet of the British Empire arrived on the Australian mainland. This date marks the beginning of colonisation in Australia, and is considered to be the beginning of modern Australia. This date though significant, is problematic, as it also marks the beginning of over 200 years of dispossession for the Indigenous Australian peoples. Those concerned with promoting Australia Day have been attributed to using different tactics to subvert controversial criticism of the national day, including omitting the usage of Invasion Day (MacNamara and Crawford 2010, pg.10). Invasion Day is the name used for the national day by Indigenous advocacy groups who promote an alternative narrative and

discourse for Australia Day. Due to the controversy with the date of the national day the Australian media proposed alternative dates for Australia Day. These included: January 1st when the colonies federated and the nation of Australia was formed, and May 9th when Australia's Federal Parliament first sat in the Royal Exhibition Building in Melbourne and when Federal Parliament first sat in Canberra (Egan 2016, pg. 13).

The antagonist narrative that exists between the Indigenous Australian peoples history and that of colonialism in Australia are reflected during the Australia Day period. The Indigenous Australian peoples are one of the oldest living cultures in the world, having lived on the Australian continent between 40,000-60,000 years before the continent was colonised by the British Empire. The Indigenous Australian peoples promote an alternative narrative to the arrival of the First Fleet, as Australia Day marks the beginning of discrimination, the loss of their sovereign rights to land, culture, language and belief (Calma 2015, pp. 10). Promoting the narrative of Invasion Day aims to highlight an alternative viewpoint for Australia Day. However, even though many have been fighting to create a more inclusive Australian society, according to McAllister nationalism in Australia has for a long time been a White affair and has actively excluded and portrayed the Indigenous as 'others'. This group is consistently omitted from the narrative and the stereotypical ideals of the bush, mateship, and the concept of a 'fair go'. (2009, pg. 164) Protests over the date of Australia Day have occurred for decades, and Aboriginal rights are still a battle being fought. This thesis will investigate the normalisation of White identity in news media representations of Australia Day in 2016.

Immigration is another aspect of Australia Day that will feature in this study, as the diversity of voice plays a role in the construction of the Australian identity and multiculturalism. Within a historical context racism has played a pivotal role in Australia's immigration policy. Up until 1973 Australia had implemented the White Australia Policy, an immigration policy and nationalist doctrine that had the explicit aim to keep Australia British and White (Tavan 2004, pg. 109). In response to racist immigration policies and the alternative narrative of the Indigenous Australian peoples, media was needed to promote a unified identity. In relation to Australia Day, according to MacNamara and Crawford, Australia Day uses media to promote a positive and inclusive identity for Australian society, and the country has required PR groups,

council and consultancy firms to promote this idea (2010, pp. 10). The importance of unity is one of the key goals for the NADC (National Australia Day Council), and is consistently portrayed in media discussions during 2016.

Even though Australia day is contested, it is still widely celebrated. The NADC published that in 2015 that 65% of the country actively participated in Australia Day public festivities, and this does not include those who celebrate privately (NADC 2015). During the last decade celebrating Australia Day has usually consisted of a sea of patriotic display with nationalist paraphernalia stretching from T-shirts to bikinis to cars covered in flags (Fozdar, Spittles and Hartley 2015, pp. 319). McNamara and Crawford describe that they are surprised when people are passionate about not changing anything about Australia Day, as it is not an organic holiday, it is politically and culturally motivated and created by politicians and businesses' to distract the public from the negative aspects of Australia's history. (2013, pg. 301) This case study illustrates a small part of Australia's history, and that Australia's antagonistic national narrative reflects the complexity of a postcolonial identity.

2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In order to critically investigate news media representations of multiculturalism and identity during Australia Day in 2016, it is important to include relevant theories and ideas. The following theoretical framework will investigate theories that encourage further understanding of why Australia has an antagonistic national narrative, and how this is represented by news media. Results from this study offer an insight into the construction of racism, problems with media ownership and the attack on voice. This theoretical framework will also build a context for this study.

Inspiration for this thesis comes from various cultural studies, media and communication theorists. However, most notably, inspiration to investigate the construction of multiculturalism (which in turn highlights issues with racism in Australia) comes from Hermes and Hilhorst's article about the celebration of the Dutch Zwarte Piet. Their study discusses how Zwarte Piet raises questions about the merging discourse of racism in the Netherlands (2015). Another influential concept for this study is the idea of making social science relevant again. According to Flyvberg, to do this social inquiry must investigate problems with power, and that these issues should matter on a local, national and global level (2001, pg.166). Media power and the racism are issues that this study aims to highlight as being important on a local and national level for Australia. This thesis will also add to current research on news media representation of issues pertaining to the discussion of multicultural societies and the national identities that stem from them.

2.1 THE POWER OF MEDIA

In this section there will be a discussion concerning media power, focusing on systemic power, and the power of media structures within the context of nationalism. The focus on symbolic power was chosen due to its relevance within studies on representation. Within media and communication theories there has been a number of discussion on power of media, it is this theme that will play an interdisciplinary role within this study. The theories developed by Corner (2011), Anderson (1983), and Lentin and Titley (2011) will be the focus of this analysis. What is important with this

study is the role of systemic power within the Australian news media, and the structures that reinforce the notion of White Australia as the norm, even though it is a multicultural society. The following literature will be examined for relevant ideas concerning media power in Australia, and the role it plays in creating and steering the national narrative.

Corner discusses media power in relation to the position of the dominant elite, which is the privileged position held by governments and their institutions. This study focuses on the impact of media ownership, and the role of media power in the representation of multiculturalism and identity. An important part of this debate is that in Australia the dominant ethnic group of White Australians make up the majority of powerful elites. Corner uses the example of media power when processes allow elites to exercise their power systemically, and the ability to use resources as a means to serve their own interests. (2001, p.19) These institutions have this elite position because they have access to mainstream media, and are able to use this medium to explain their point of view, and justify their own actions. (Corner 2001, p.28) Power can turn 'bad' according to Corner when this position of power and prowess is used over people with the aim to inspire negative action. One prominent example of this is political spin, when institutions use the media with the intention of deceiving or warping the meaning of a news story (2001, p.17).

Symbolic power consistently makes its mark within academic discussions concerning media power. Lentin and Titley discuss that there is a constant tension concerning national symbols and images. It is the symbolic nature of national symbols that keep the conversation going, and fuel the idea of crisis. (2011, pg. 125) The national symbols of the Australian flag and the Southern Cross are immediately recognisable in Australia, and are a powerful motive for media. The use of these symbols gives power and weight to the media, as Australian audiences instantly have a stake in the discussion, due to the diversity of culture in Australia. It is the 'everyday coverage' (Lentin and Titley, 2011, pg. 124) of these symbols that promotes nationalism.

Anderson discusses the power of media in the creation of nationalism. While Lentin and Titley focus on the power of media within the context of the construction of multiculturalism and crisis, Anderson goes back further to investigate the impact media

has on creating communities in the first place. For Anderson it is a common language and a common media structure that creates the foundation of nationalism. This common ideal acts as the basis for a common community. Anderson alludes to this idea when he discusses the rise of print media in North and South America that newspapers developed an imagined community for all those who were interested in the same content that the newspapers produced (Anderson, 1983 p.62).

Corner's most significant ideas on power draw from numerous sources, but most notably he uses Foucault's idea of power, that 'power needs to be engaged with in its close and crucial relationship with forms of knowledge and the distribution of knowledge.' (Corner 2001, p.17) Corner develops this idea further by discussing the concept of power being 'good' or 'bad'. For Corner this definition depends on the outcome or the motive behind symbolic or systemic acts of power. Prominent examples of this idea are often used to describe the power behind governments and political institutions, and how this type of power is used within the media.

Bourdieu's cultural theory is how Corner delves into this idea of 'good' power, and the importance of symbolic power within the media. This theory draws on the persuasive narrative of positive media power, and how it can be used as a platform to promote discussion of social matters. In turn individuals and social groups can use this medium to assist them in participating in the democratic process (Corner 2001, p.18). Promoting participation of civic cultures is one way in which good power can be seen within the media landscape. One problem with this idea is the idea of perverted participation, which not all participation in civic society results in a positive impact on society. This is the case for media when representation of multiculturalism aids in the construction of racist discourses. Good power 'is the type of power that leads to empowering the public or by empowering social actions' (Corner 2001, p.17). The positive outcomes from these events encourage trust of the media, and aids in facilitating participation from the public. It is the antagonism between good and bad media power that is creating the crisis of the 'culture wars' in Australia. Caust describes the cultural war as being a fight on cultural policy between the government and intellectuals, and is concerned with creating a new policy that is more accepting of multiculturalism, with the explicit aim to move away from a cultural policy that resembles Australia in the 1950's (2015, pg. 167).

Media power in relation to this culture war in Australia can be further understood by investigating how media structures are continuing to normalise White Australia. In a study done by Fozdar and Spittles (2010, p.141), media power normalises White Australia in regards to the voices of Australian day and citizenship. This is where perhaps Corner's bad media power theory is too simplistic, as the example for that can be applied to this study describes the omission of racism from discussion of citizenship and Australia Day. That media structures have used their influence to only include stories that put immigration and multiculturalism in a positive light, plus most of the stories that feature are from white migrants. This reinforces the normalisation of Anglo Australia.

2.2 REPRESENTATION

In this section there will be a discussion concerning representation and media. This intellectual positioning will provide a theoretical framework for the analysis of news media. Theorists such as Gutmann (1994), Hall (2013), Dyer (1997), and Coleman and Ross (2010) will be used to investigate how to define representation. These concepts will be used in order to analyse how Australian news media has represented multiculturalism, identity and voice.

Hall (2013) uses a constructivist approach to representation that focuses on the semiotic and the discursive. Representation is important for how the signified and the signifier are agreed upon during a conversation (Hall 1997, pg. 234). For this case study Australia's national narrative is antagonistic, because the conversation is not agreed upon. Hall also discusses the problem of stereotyping in representation, as it often uses the 'strategy of splitting', which is where some stereotypes are considered part of the norm, and then there are those who are deemed undesirable and become the 'other'. This form of exclusion denies their representation as something positive and meaningful by the dominant group. (2013, pg. 247) If we compare this idea of exclusion to Coleman and Ross, representation and stereotyping also work with crowd psychology; that if enough people agree with this representation then the crowd will tend to agree also (2010, pg.18).

Striving for equal representation comes with numerous problems for multicultural societies. Gutmann (1994) discusses this idea of equal recognition under the premise of politics of universalism. That in order for all citizens to be recognized or represented equally there should be non-recognition of all ethnic groups. However, as Gutmann later states this is not how democracy works (1994, pp. 3-24). This then raises the question if it is really possible to strive for equal representation? Gutmann (1994) elaborates further that when we consider representation as part of an individual's culture and identity, non-recognition is harmful in regards to how individuals see themselves, and how others see them. Therefore, we need to represent all ethnic groups in the same way in a fair and equal multicultural society. Gutmann would argue that since Australia has a dominant culture, minorities could either choose to conform or be ostracized (1994, pp. 3-24). Issues with representation can then never really be solved, as universalism is not how multiculturalism is constructed in the modern era. If we compare this idea of representation to Dyer claims, we see that power imbalances are preventing equal representation in Australia, because of racial representation of Whites. Being white in Australia is the norm, and according to Dyer it is the norm of the human race (1997, pp. 8-30).

Human nature and the need to classify groups is the basis for Hall (2013), Coleman and Ross (2010) theories of representation. This idea often works against the notion of equal representation in media. Fozdar and Spittles describe equal representation of multicultural Australia as a difficult task, as homogenization is at the core of the national identity (2010, pp.142). According to last census completed in 2006 almost half the population is either born outside of Australia or has one parent who is (2010, pp.127-8). Overall theorists such as Fozdar and Spittles (2010) may strive for equal representation of different ethnic groups; however, Gutmann (1994) and Dyer (1997) question the possibility of this idea.

The data from this study illustrate a hegemony discourse. The dominant narrative appears normal, and this type of representation demonstrates the power of the media (Hall 1997, pg.259).

2.3 CONSTRUCTION OF MULTICULTURALISM

Multiculturalism is a fluid term that has been used to describe many post-colonial migration societies, Australia being a prime example. According to Lentin and Titley much of the discussion of multiculturalism uses the narrative of the ‘crisis of multiculturalism’, and describes the recent backlash against pluralistic societies (2011, pg.2). Hewitt (2005) is another author who analyses the backlash against multiculturalism, and states that multiculturalism is a ‘state-sponsored’ practice, and highlights contradictions in discourse on the topic of migration. In addition, there also exists a multiculturalist discourse that exacerbates racism (2005, pp. 143-4). This negative construction of multiculturalism is represented by news media within this study.

Hilhorst and Hermes (2015) discuss this idea of the new face of racism in their study on the Zwarte Piet celebrations, and its controversy in the Netherlands. The focus of this article is concerned with people being ‘hyper-correct’ and that defending this holiday where people paint their faces black is not racist. The discourse used is more concerned with people defending their culture and traditions. That childhood innocence is what makes this holiday not racist according to many of the people who were part of this study. This discussion on the new face of racism is very similar to Lentin and Titley (2011), as the arguments that defend racist traditions are concerned with defending patriotism rather than discussing racist practices. The fight against political correctness is an idea that features within Hilhorst and Hermes (2015) study and will also be investigated in this thesis.

Racism is often discussed within the construction of multiculturalism. Lentin and Titley discuss the foundation for racism as a ‘theory of pseudo-biological culturalism’, that human nature consists of the need to defend your own way of life. The idea of the ‘other’ can be also used to define nations, as many fear what is different and the change ‘others’ can bring (2011, pg. 74). Hewitt (2005) describes the issue of racism within a political approach, that multicultural policy and racial equality is yet to occur, as the Indigenous Australian Peoples are yet to be completely included (2005, pg. 132). Anderson describes racism as the ‘eternal contamination’ for multiculturalism (1983,

p.149). The result being that racism will probably continue to be an issue for multicultural societies.

When discussing the construction of multiculturalism in Australia it is important to include the historical context, as migration policies have changed drastically over the past 50 years. Fozdar and Spittles (2010) describe Australia as being a remarkably stable and peaceful nation due to the 'White Australia Policy', which ensured that Australia was a relatively homogenous culture. It has been relatively recent that nationalism and the Australian identity involve the recognition of non-European ethnic minorities (2010 pp.128-9). Multiculturalism in Australia is still relatively new and how it is represented by news media representations should be considered a work in progress.

Another aspect to multiculturalism is how it fits in with national identity. Anderson (1983) and his theory of nationalism and imagined communities illustrate the meaning making behind perceptions of multiculturalism and identity. Anderson states that cultural products of nationalism, such as flag, anthems and nationalised imagery, work to bring people together (1983, p.141). This notion often simplifies the complexities of multiculturalism, especially when we factor in the historical context. The literature available on multiculturalism constructs this concept in a myriad of ways, which reflects why different narratives exist in news media representations of the topic.

An alternative view as to how new media constructs multiculturalism is in purely economic context. Hewitt (2005) uses a political approach to understanding the construction of multiculturalism. That multiculturalism was constructed in Australia through changes to laws and regulations in order to enable all citizens to have equal rights within the democratic state. However, as Hewitt further elaborates that the true nature of multiculturalism is tied to the economic interests of the state (2005, pg. 134).

2.4 IDENTITY POLITICS

Identity politics is relevant for this study as this concept delves into how marginalized identities are represented by news media. Within media communications studies,

identity politics often refers to the political upheaval of different groups in society. However, identity politics can also include the representation of cultural and ethnic identities. Hartley (2011), Carpentier (2011) Hermes and Hilhorst (2015) are relevant for this study as their analyses of identity politics can be applied to news media analysis.

Carpentier (2011) focuses on the sociocultural aspect of identity politics, and the discourses used to represent one's own identity. Carpentier discusses the idea of identity politics from a number of different perspectives, but focuses on the idea that the creation of identity needs to come from a struggle. The identity of the group includes those who make up the group, but often those who are excluded play an important role in the creation of a group's identity (2011, pp. 175-7). Carpentier also notes that identity is also created through the repetition of acts and discourse, but more importantly there is an antagonism of identity. That groups that are based on exclusion can never have closure, as they exist due to the existence of others, which is the paradox of their identity (2011, pp. 177-9).

To investigate identity politics further we can use ideas raised by Hermes and Hilhorst (2015) study on nationalism and racism. Their theory discussed identity being promoted at the expense of the 'other', and the representation of identity through passion discourses. Hermes and Hilhorst (2015) study on the new face of racism in the Netherlands, and the power of collective identity and passion. Within this study they refer to Ahmed, who discusses how identities are formed through suffering. The distribution of power affects the relationship between the individual and the collective (2015, pg. 6). Carpentier (2011), Hermes and Hilhorst (2015) describe the formation of identity through a collective battle of change.

Hartley (2011) draws from a similar argument when defining identity politics that it is produced from political struggle, but focuses more on the battle of recognition. On a global level we see Australia as a nation trying to form a national identity beyond post-colonialism. On a national level Hartley describes the battle of recognition for marginalised groups, and that Indigenous identity politics is through living and being accepted by others (2011, pg. 130). These arguments describe identity politics not as something radical or progressive, but something that everyone goes through, even

though it is often associated with marginal groups (Hartley 2011, pg.130). However, these theorists focus on the battle for equal recognition, without discussing in detail the economic inequalities that affect identity politics. Rajhowa (2015) describes identity politics in Australia as an issues eventuating from a lack of cohesion in the implementation of government policy. This however, is not how the Australian media portrays this issue, and claims concerning inclusive political identity as being misleading (2015, pg. 103). The identity politics behind news media representation of Australia Day fall into this trap, as investigated in the analysis section of this study.

2.5 VOICE

The theories concerning voice will be used in to investigate how multiculturalism and identity are represented in news media. Media structures are often built around who has the power to promote their own views, and voice is often described in terms of promoting neoliberal values. Couldry (2010) and his theory the ‘attack on voice as a value’ and Dreher’s (2009) ideas on political voice, will serve as a foundation for investigating how inequalities of representation are addressed in news media.

The national narrative of Australian identity is often described through representation of voice in news media. For a multicultural society it is important that there is an equal representation of voice; however, this is rarely the case. Cultural theorists often relate voice to power, Couldry (2010) being a prominent example. Media often represents those who hold power in society, and this can lead to the voice of different groups remaining unheard. Couldry’s ideas on voice differ to theorists that believe social media will aid in equal representation of voice. There may be more platforms to use voice; however, even though there are more voices, it is still the same people that are being heard (2010, pp. 129-131). Throughout history there has been a struggle of voice, that many narratives were either omitted from national discussion or completely ignored. ‘Spaces for voice are therefore, inherently spaces of power’ (2010, pg. 130).

Dreher (2009) on the other hand is more optimistic about voice and how it can change society. Dreher (2009) discusses the work being done in Australia to get different groups to speak up, and the different organisations that are working to give a louder

voice to different minority groups. However, just like Couldry (2010) the same problem eventuates, that the real problem is getting people to listen. Within the context of a multicultural society there are a number of different actors that want to be represented, but are struggling to be heard of the dominant voice. Dreher (2009) demonstrates the beginning of a more positive representation of multiculturalism in Australia; however, this is not what is being reflected in news media.

Dreher discusses the need to work more with the promotion of minority voices, as media institutions are slow to change their ways. Historically this was the case in Australia for the public broadcasting of women's, migrant and working class voices. (2009, pg. 445) Within this same study there was a discussion about how policies are trying to tackle media and racism, as many minority voices were not being listened to. The PBS in Australia was creating legitimate spaces for newly arrived migrants and Aboriginal voices to be heard in mainstream media. However, those with power had the privilege of not listening (Dreher 2009, pp. 446-9). Dreher's (2009) study acknowledges the improvements that have been made in Australia regarding voice and recognition; however, it also highlights that there is a reoccurring problem of racism in news media.

2.6 MEDIA OWNERSHIP

Issues pertaining to media ownership were common throughout this study, which is often attributed to a highly concentrated media climate in Australia. Noam states reasons for this highly concentrated market due to its moderate market size, and most notably the 'tyranny of distance', phrase often used in Australia to describe how its relatively small population and economy do not match the size of the country. More importantly the tyranny of distance reflects the geographical remoteness, and how it shapes the country's identity. These factors combined have resulted in high levels of media ownership, in order to make print media a profitable venture (2016, pg. 1-4). The transparency organisation Reporters without Borders, states that Australian media is 'free', but is heavily concentrated market, as two media groups (News Corporation and Fairfax Media) control 85 percent of newspaper sales (Reporters without borders 2016). Globally Australia respects freedoms of speech and press, but representation by news media on issues such as refugees is a known problem. Limited coverage of refugee

centres and prison sentences for whistleblowers that disclose information about refugee centres are considered a cause for concern (Reporters without borders 2016). A relevant problem as this study investigates the representation of migrants in Australia.

Cultural theorist, Cunningham (1993) describes the political and cultural power that exists in Australia due to media control. Cunningham is vocal about the need for media reform, as media ownership is narrowing the focus of media, and new media platforms have limited power to combat media elites in Australia (1993, pg. 132). If we compare this idea of cultural control we can see that this directly affects media representations of Australia Day. MacNamara and Crawford (2013) studied the role of public relations practitioners and the Australian government, as to how they have historically created and promoted Australia Day. Their analysis revealed that Australia's national day was not an organic social and cultural development, but completely orchestrated (2013, pg. 305). This narrative is not represented by news media within this thesis, and highlights the impact of media ownership in Australia.

Problems concerning media ownership do not just relate to news media and their audience, but their relationship between news media and governments. Rab and Sprague (2005) are more positive about the role of news media and governmental institutions. They describe news media being at the heart of democracy, and the importance of pluralism in the media market and diversity of content (2005, pg. 63-80). Cook is less optimistic about the relationship between media and the state, and describes news media as a political institution, and cannot be separated from governmental influence (1998, pg. 3). News media plays a pivotal role in relaying government interests, which makes media power a public issue. Especially when news media reflect the interest of elites, as opposed to the views of the public.

When critically investigating media events, it is important to have an understanding of the frames and themes used by journalists in that society. Audiences use news frames to understand media events, such is the case with Australia Day in this study. They provide a structure for narratives and the broader context of events (Norris, Kern and Just 2003, pg. 10-11). It is these familiar frames that aid in the social construction of society for audiences (Norris, Kern and Just 2003, pg. 4-5). Altheide (1997) discusses the problem with news frames that over time audiences expect the representation of

events to the 'proper media look'. A problem with this reaction is that it can be difficult to change the frames used to cover certain events (1997, pg. 651). If we relate this concept to media ownership and that with media power this allows certain frames not to change.

When analysing news media it is important to understand how news is categorised by the journalist, as the need to hold the attention of the audience and need for news media to remain profitable affect journalism as a practice and the subsequent meaning making practices of audiences (Cotter 2010, pg. 218). Issues resulting from misquoting or that interviewees were not understood in the first place highlights problems that pertain from language use in society (Cotter 2010, pg. 220-21). Media ownership and the fact that news media is a business in Australia contribute to problems with news media. Even though the impact is meaningful, as constructions of multiculturalism and identity often comes from news media. It is important to view problems with media ownership as one large issue, but that many factors contribute the issues with news media representations.

3 METHODOLOGY

This research employed qualitative content analysis on news media content and political economy methods for analysing the background data, in order to understand how news media represented Australia Day in 2016. A 132 news articles that were sourced using the search term 'Australia Day' provided the bulk of the data for the analysis. While a number of reports were used to provide the historical, political and economic context, which was needed to contextualise the study. This chapter details the steps taken to collect the data used in this study, the process of analysing the data, and a discussion of this study's methodology.

Originally this study was going to investigate how the Australian media distinguished between nationalism and extremism. Focussing on the how national symbols were represented by news media and social media, and complete a comparison analysis. The inspiration for this idea was from the research done by Hilhorst and Hermes in 2015 on the passion discourse surround the celebration of the Dutch Zwarte Piet. However, problems arose, as news media did not distinguish between the two concepts (nationalism and extremism), thus making it difficult to move forward with the study. Since the original research questions could not be answered from the data that was collected, as there was very little mentioned on problems by the media on this issue. After further research and analysis, new research questions where developed, which were a better fit from the data collected. Through an in depth qualitative content analysis of tabloid, broadsheet, public broadcast service, and independent news media, plus a secondary analysis of governmental reports, this study focussed critically investigating multiculturalism and identity in news media representations.

Constructivism was used as the foundation methodology, as it allowed for flexibility in investigating different ideas of 'truth' in new media representations. According to Burr constructivism explains how knowledge is constructed, and that it occurs through your interactions with other people, as opposed to discovering 'truth' through the nature of the world (Burr 2003, pp. 4-5). Information and ideas from news media would then play a pivotal role in a person's construction of society. Schuetz states that constructivists claim that facts are consistently re-interpreted, which can lead to alternative narratives

(1953, pg.2). Constructivism was useful for analysing the narrative structure and the framing used by news media in the study.

3.1 THE CASE

The research design was based on a qualitative research approach, as the framework structure suited the aims of this case study. After piloting the data, which involved analysing the themes used in 5 different articles, from different newspaper formats. A number of key themes repeated through the data, and the research questions were re-written after piloting. The new research questions took the form of 'how' and 'why' questions that focussed on contemporary events. According to Yin (2014) these two criteria's established that a case study design would be well suited for this research project. Yin also states that case studies are best used when working with questions that need to be traced over time, (2014, pg.9-10) which this study does, as it includes data from a specific time period, plus historical context. This case study followed the national narrative during the Australia Day period, which ranges from November 20th to February 2nd. This time period was chosen because this was when articles first started appearing on the subject, and ended when the media attention trickled off. The extended period allowed the study to track the media representation of Australia's national day, not just what was published on the national day on January 26th. The varied themes illustrated by the data made this case study a rich source of analysis.

One of the problems with case studies is that by focusing on just one case they can often generalize results. If multiple cases were used the results would probably be more accurate. (Flick 2009, pg. 134) However, due to time constraints this study can only use one case to draw conclusions from. This is why results from this study should be taken as a small illustration of a larger problem, and not as the 'whole' truth, which is why a constructivist approach was used during this study.

In relation to methods that enhance case studies Flick states that case studies are not restricted, and are able to draw on the potential of certain methods (2009, pg. 134). The method used during this study was based on Altheide's qualitative document analysis, which requires how and why questions that arise from case studies. Altheide's focus on primary sources, and newspapers ultimately fitted the structure of this case. As the case

was focused on the analysis of contemporary events, qualitative analysis of documents proved useful. As Altheide describes it ‘documents are studied to understand culture- or the process and the array of objects, symbols, and meanings that make up social reality shared by members of a society.’ (1996, pg. 2) The cultural and political insights of this case study called for a qualitative analysis that could focus on the meaning making process.

3.2 PRIMARY METHOD: QUALITATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS

Qualitative content analysis was used as the primary method, since it was employed as the method of analysis for all articles collected. A secondary method was used as a means to provide contextualised historical knowledge required for an international audience. The advantage for this study was that qualitative research confronts problems with representation, which was a major issue that was addressed within this study. Flick describes the ‘crisis of representation and of legitimation’ that differing experiences results in different interpretation of texts (2009, pg. 76). This accounts for the large variety of themes and editorial stances that appeared within the data, and an approach, which was needed in order to reflect a myriad of possible interpretations. Data was plentiful on this subject, and resulted in an analysis concerning different themes and issues that were discussed during the Australia Day period. The analysis chapter deals with the most popular themes from the data. The articles included were found using the search phrase of ‘Australia Day’, and this yielded 132 articles that discussed issues pertaining to this day. More articles could have been found if the search was wider or included a different search tool; however, due to the large number of themes and articles found there was no need to include social media, which was the original goal of the study. The scope of this research was already large enough when considering the time constraints of this project.

In order to understand how Australia Day was constructed in 2016, 132 articles were collected and analysed from 9 different newspapers. The newspapers were chosen so that collectively they represented the states and territories across the country, and from different perspectives. The types of newspapers used in this study included: tabloid, PBS, broadsheet, financial and independent papers. The aim of this was to include a large variety of voices that appeared in mainstream Australian print media. Australia

Day was decided to be the focal point for this study due to large and often controversial discussions that occur concerning identity, multiculturalism and Indigenous rights. It is the public holiday in Australia that invokes differing opinions on what being an Australian really means. The themes were ascertain from the discussions and were used to construct a clearer picture of Australia in 2016. During the analysis process a clear link was made between problems with media ownership and the national narrative, which became the focus of this research.

Newspapers were chosen for this study because they are primary documents that are publically available. They provide a platform for public debate, and also illustrate the power of the editor in moderating the public voice. Articles used included those written by journalists and letters to the editors to try and provide a balanced view of the national narrative. However, media power equates to editors choosing which letters are published to serve their own purposes, an issue that is discussed within the media power section of the analysis. According to Altheide, newspapers are an organizational product, it is important to study the process of how they are put together (1996, pg.9). This is the idea as to why a mixed method approach was used, that it wasn't just the interpretation from the data that made this thesis, but the historical process of how this current situation came to be. The meaning and patterns that emerged from the data became clear through constant comparison (Altheide 1996, pg.10).

3.3 SECONDARY METHOD

A secondary method was used in order to gain further understanding of media ownership and media policy that has included the newspapers in this study. The data collected from newspaper articles could not alone provide all the data necessary to analyse the impact of media ownership on the national narrative. This is why a secondary method was used, which was based on studies that concern political economy. The studies used to further understand media ownership and news media use political economy to investigate social relations, in particular power relation. Political economy also investigates control and how society is organised (Mosco 2009, pg.2-3). Research for the additional data was collected by finding reports written by different cultural councils, the Australia government, NGO's, and other research studies. The

reports included for this part of the analysis include: reports written by the NADC, policy background papers written by the Federal Department of Communications, international bodies investigating media freedom, as well as books and journal articles that discuss the reality of media ownership in Australia. Once these articles and reports were collected they were compared and analysed. The comparison between these reports added tremendously to the study, and provided a historical and political context to the media analysis.

3.4 SAMPLING

During the sampling phase the data collected only came from state and national newspapers, as local papers would both increase the scope of project, and focus less of national issues. Another reason why this study did not include local newspapers is because most local print media has been absorbed into the larger conglomerates, which has increased media concentration in Australia (Noam 2016, pg. 6). Sourcing the articles was done using the program ‘Proquest’ which was able to access most Australian newspapers, without having to purchase a subscription. Making it possible to complete this study whilst abroad.

Figure 1.1 Newspapers included in the study, data sourced from (Australian Readership Review 2016)

Newspaper	Circulation (Weekly)	Editorial Position	Format	Owner
ABC (National)	-	Centre-left	PBS	Australian Govt
The Advertiser (SA)	695,000	Centre-right	Tabloid	News Corp
The Age (VIC)	1,081,000	Centre-left	Tabloid	Fairfax Media
The Australian (National)	968,000	Centre-right	Broadsheet	News Corp
The Australian Financial Review	337,000	Centre-right	Broadsheet	Fairfax Media
The Courier Mail (QLD)	922,000	Centre-right	Tabloid	News Corp Aust
New Matilda	-	Left	Independent	Cordell Media
Northern Territory News (NT)	123,000	Centre-right	Tabloid	News Corp
Sydney Morning Herald (NSW)	1,224,000	Centre-left	Tabloid	Fairfax Media

The most popular themes dictated the study, and included: identity, multiculturalism, voice, the republic debate and Invasion Day. This was decided as a parameter to ensure the research questions remained relevant and narrow the focus of the study. Choosing

these themes was difficult, but necessary, as a means to tighten the research parameters, resulting in a number of categories not being included in this study. Problems that arose during the coding phase, was trying to divide the content into different themes. During the sampling process some of these categories were merged together. For instance tradition, identity and cultural cringe were merged together to make up the theme of identity. Qualitative content analysis became the primary method as it works from a coding frame that identifies which themes should be counted' (Becker and Bryman 2004, pg. 391). However, during the analysis stage of this study it became apparent that a second method was required in order to analyse the historical context and media policy. A combination of both methods provides for a rich analysis of the cultural and historical construction of Australia's national day, and how media power that has impacted the national narrative.

Figure 1.2: Themes and occurrence by newspaper format

(Please note that each article covered a number of different themes and that is why they outstrip the number of articles for each format.)

Themes	Tabloid (72 Articles)	Broadsheet (21 Articles)	PBS (28 Articles)	Independent (11 Articles)
Tradition	21	4	4	3
Passion	13	5	2	7
Denial	4	-	-	1
Identity	28	7	8	2
Voice	26	6	12	2
Changing the Date	7	1	3	3
Cultural Cringe	6	2	1	-
Republic Debate	15	8	2	-
Multiculturalism and Australia Day	14	4	14	8
Vegan Video	4	3	2	1
Hottest 100 Day	3	-	1	-
Citizenship Ceremony	9	3	7	-
Sport	6	2	-	-
Invasion Day	12	3	5	6
Gratefulness	12	2	7	1

The sampling phase was conducted by following Altheide's stages of document analysis (1996, pp. 23-44). After all the articles were collected it was important to organise the information into several different categories, it was during this process where the research questions were re-formulated according the themes that provided a more substantial analysis. Focusing more on questions relating to problems with media

ownership and how the unique media landscape in Australia has made an impact on the national narrative.

3.5 DATA ANALYSIS AND CODING

Analysis is not just about coding and counting, but according to Altheide it is about understanding the meaning of documents, and to be able to as the basis of conceptual and theoretical issues (1996, pg. 43). The analysis stage consisted of reading articles and analysing which theme was present and which stance the article took on divisive issues. The themes were chosen on the basis on historical context, and the frequency. Summaries and quotes from the articles were organised into themes, with the aim of finding repetition in my results.

Figure 1.3 Example Coding Sheet

Publication Title	The Age	The Northern Territory News
Headline	We need a new Australia Day for all of us	NT News EDITORIAL Life in Oz fair dinkum great
Publication Date	26/01/16	26/01/16
Page	17	12
Publisher	Fairfax Digital	News Limited
Source Type	Opinion	Editorial
Document Type	Newspaper	Newspaper
Word Count	912	255
Grateful Migrant	Despite the racism, still grateful to be in Australia	-
Tradition	-	-
Passion	Racism felt by ethnic minorities 'A drunk outside a nightclub once yelled out to call me an attractive "monkey", or some similarly perverse compliment/insult. '	-
Denial	-	-
Identity	Anglo Australia is still the norm. 'My un-Australianness arose at a birthday party. A white family friend observed the Indian caterers adding to my throng of brown-skinned family members: "I feel like a stranger in my own country!" she joked. I wondered then, as I have since, why is Australia your country more than it is mine?'	'Apparently we're responsible for some of the most iconic bits of ocker Aussie lingo, inventing phrases like "fair dinkum" and "flat out like a lizard drinking". And, of course, words like "budju" and "gammon". Today, we will celebrate our quirky form of Australianness with pie eating competitions, thong throwing challenges and beauty contests to find our finest Mr and Mrs Bogan.'
Voice	The voice of Indian 2nd generation migrant. 'My mum and brother	-

	barrack for the Aussie cricket team, not India - much to dad's annoyance. Australia is my homeland.' This article addresses that other minorities are fighting for Indigenous issues. But once again they are spoken for in this case.	
Changing the Date	'But the date we celebrate is the day Arthur Phillip declared British sovereignty: January 26, 1788 is an Anglo celebration of British colonisation and Indigenous dispossession; hence the understandable view of some that it is better termed Invasion Day or Survival Day. It is not a historically accurate date to celebrate Australia: Australia as a nation did not come officially into being until January 1, 1901'	-
Republic Debate	-	-
Australian of the Year	-	-
Multiculturalism and Australia Day	'Let's celebrate our Indigenous heritage, British inheritance and multicultural gains.'...I discovered that Indian people actually won Commonwealth voting rights decades before Indigenous people. Australia Day seems a fitting day to declare that no Australian should feel like a stranger in their own country. It is a good day for immigrants, the descendants of immigrants and Indigenous Australians alike to declare that this is not just a white country: this is our country too. This should feel like home for all of us.'	'(Hopefully just a few cold beers, because there's nothing worse than drunken idiots stealing the spotlight from our worthy national heroes.) Today, we recognise multicultural and indigenous Australia as part of the tapestry of the nation, which has become a great melting pot of people and different cultures and backgrounds.'
Vegan Video	-	-
Hottest 100 Day	-	-
Citizenship Ceremony	-	-
Invasion Day	Discusses Invasion Day, but gives very little description of Indigenous narrative	

By using 132 different articles the analysis was rich with potential topics and links between issues. It was important to let my initial hypotheses go and see where the data will take me. The coding was done along side reading, sorting and searching (Altheide 1996, pg.43). Categorising the data into themes worked well for analysing print media, as journalists often format their articles into frames that are accessible by the reader (Altheide 1996, pg. 30).

3.6 LIMITATIONS

During the course of this case study a number of limitations occurred, most were to do with conducting research from outside of Australia. One of the most notable limitations is that the analysis was unable to draw upon the pictures featured in the articles collected. As the only way to source this many articles without paying for subscriptions was to use the search program 'Proquest', which for good and bad did help tremendously with the analysis phase of the research. Therefore, due to time and financial restraints the analysis only uses the text portion of the articles. Language was also a limitation, as a number of multicultural papers are written in local languages; however, English is the most common language of Australia so it felt appropriate in the end to only use articles written in English. This was the basis as to why articles from the ABC were used as the representative for the PBS, instead of SBS, even though SBS is the Australia multicultural PBS. Much of the content published that would have been useful for this study was not available in English.

Initially the aim was to include social media as a means to include different voices into the study. However, due to time constraints and availability, it would have made the scope of the project too large. Broadcast media was also excluded from the study for the same reasons.

4 ANALYSIS

4.1 MEDIA OWNERSHIP: CONTROL OF THE NARRATIVE

Australia's national day is one of the most significant expressions of national identity; it creates a site of study for public communications and participation relating to current political issues. (MacNamara and Crawford 2013, pg. 5) It is an important case study for delving into questions concerning the current representation of multiculturalism, identity and different ethnic groups by the Australian print media. According to Noam Australia's highly concentrated media market is due to a moderate size market covering a sparsely populated country. This has resulted in difficulty for new market entrants (2016, pg.2). This analysis will be deal with how media ownership is affecting the national narrative of identity, multiculturalism and ethnic representation.

A historical analysis of Australia uncovers the role of political communication and PR groups in manufacturing Australia Day. The current form of Australia Day is concerned with nationalistic sentiments, and a saturation of national symbols; however, what is less known to the general public is how orchestrated this day really is. According to a historical analysis by MacNamara and Crawford, Australia Day has always had a contentious past. PR groups, even back before the Second World War, were working to create a national day that would bring the former colonies together. (2010, pg.7) The fact that PR groups and elites constructed this day is something that is omitted from the national narrative in 2016, as no articles mentioned this story behind Australia's national day. MacNamara and Crawford also described how Aboriginal groups have always protested this day, and that PR groups were vital in controlling the national narrative, so that this day would represent an inclusive society, rather than 'Invasion Day' and Indigenous dispossession (2010, pg.8). The name Australia Day was first used nationally in 1935, but was not agreed upon by all states and territories until 1994 (MacNamara and Crawford 2010, pg. 7). Many studies delve into representation of identity during Australia Day, and focus on the why nationalist paraphernalia has become so popular in recent years. This thesis will investigate the role of media ownership and identity, as this is area is under researched in Australia. Australia's media climate is dominated by the Anglo-Australian ideal, and this group are in control

of the national narrative, and Australia's media structures. Their influence over Australia's national narrative can be seen throughout this study, as Anglo-Australian is consistently characterised as the default and normalised identity. Multiculturalism is acknowledged throughout this study as well, but the identity of immigrants and Indigenous groups is consistently on the periphery of the national conversation. This is why the analysis of media ownership is detrimental to this thesis.

Australia's media landscape has a number of unique factors that differentiate media structures from that of other Western countries. According to Noam, the tyranny of distance has played a large role in shaping Australia's media landscape, combined with the moderate size of the market; this has led to legislation favouring high media concentration. (2016, pp. 2-3) If we combined this with the fact that Australia is extremely sparsely populated and being a conservative society, Australia's media laws reflect a unique media landscape. In regards to print media specifically, Noam also states that Australia is a highly concentrated when compared to the world average. This is changing rapidly as well, as local daily press are not making an impact on the national level due to low distribution rates, and many of these provincial papers are being absorbed into the larger media conglomerates. (2016, pg.6) Australia's history and basic geography have made an impact on the country's media landscape; the culmination of this has influenced how identity and multiculturalism are represented in national print media.

The high concentration of media ownership in Australia has also created media dynasties: including Packer, Fairfax and Murdoch, all of which have had a profound impact on Australia's media climate. These media dynasties have influenced the level of media concentration in Australia. Noam discusses this idea by stating that these families are 'powerful personalities' that have made 'media policy a contentious issue in Australia' (2016, pg. 45). Media power is centred on these media conglomerates and their position in the media landscape allows this small section of society to influence public opinion and skew competition in their favour (Noam, 2016 pg. 45). Australia's constitution allows for freedom of expression and does not have control over the press (Freedom House 2016).

The role of power and understanding media ownership is inseparable within this study. The position of Anglo elites within the Australian media has been previously stated, and Noam discusses the implications of their systemic power. According to Noam, the power of White elites, and the threat of the industry becoming less profitable, has meant that those who want legislative change are yet to see it. (2016, pg. 4) If we relate this situation to Corner's theory on bad power, we can see systemic media power at work. Corner discusses the idea that bad power in regards to media ownership depends on the motivation behind the distribution of knowledge, and how they use their position of power (2001, pg. 17). Corner also talks about systemic power is bad when those who have the ability to use their resources to serve their own interests, as they can promote their own point of view and interests (2001, pg. 19). Media elites in Australia have been able to skew public opinion, and control the national narrative. This is one explanation as to why white identity is consistently normalised, and the identity of different ethnic and Indigenous groups are pushed to the periphery. Their identity within Australia's identity narrative is usually as side note during another debate. This idea will be discussed further later in the analysis section.

The domination of media ownership in Australia affects tabloid, broadsheet and financial print media, as the major conglomerates own the papers used in this study. It is only the Independent paper 'New Matilda' and the public broadcast service (PBS) 'ABC' that can break free from these media elites. If we use Corner's theory for good media power more of these avenues of print media is what Australia needs, as this could encourage a more balanced narrative for Australia. However, as previously stated the financial viability of this is fleeting within the Australia media market. Profitability aside, it is alternative media that can offer different viewpoint to the national narrative. Corner states that the promotion of civic cultures and alternative media is a way in which good power can be seen within the media landscape (2001, pg. 18). ABC does have a large readership of their online news and broadcast; however, their funding comes from government revenue, so even though they are independent from the government, their funding situation does raise some questions in relation to systemic power.

New Matilda is one of Australia's biggest independent online news website, and offers a very different narrative to the discussion on identity during the Australia Day period.

The narrative from this site was overwhelmingly from the point of view of Indigenous Australians, and their fight against the normalisation of celebrating white identity on Australia Day. This online news site gave a voice to Indigenous affairs in a way that other print media featured in this study did not, excluding the ABC. The narrative offered is an example of good media power, ‘the type of power that leads to empowering the public or by empowering social actions’ (Corner 2001, p.17). New Matilda use this is an example of this empowerment. They may suffer from financial viability as this paper is non-political and is funded by users, but they can resist the control of media elites. New Matilda is an example of Corner’s good power, as this form of civic culture attempts to voice a different narrative. However, their point of view is not reflected in the mainstream identity of Australia Day.

4.2 THE REPUBLIC DEBATE

An analysis of news representations of multiculturalism and identity highlight a national narrative of Australia becoming a republic. This debate is included in this study as it highlights how identity is thought of, and how multiculturalism will be shaped by this change. The national narrative concerning the republic debate in Australia is a debate that highlights problems with media ownership. Print media has made the overwhelming conclusion that the country should become a republic, even though according to opinion polls this issue are very divisive. The republic debate was a common theme during Australia Day, 2016. A time for change being the most used concept when discussing whether or not Australia should have a referendum on this issue. Often motivated by the fact that the vast majority of political leaders want this change for Australia.

A sense of urgency was illustrated by the data. The language used by journalists, and the public alike paints a graphic picture of the issue. With phrases such as: ‘Bill Shorten has urged the Prime Minister to break the shackles of monarchists’, (Allard 2016, pg. 5) or ‘until we are a republic we would not be “free or fully independent”’ (Chris 2016, pg. 62). Across the country the media constructed the narrative to portray that there is a public consensus to become a republic. The sense of urgency is described in such a way that it is a travesty that Australia is not already a republic. Only a small minority of

articles actually mentioned that this issue is divided among politicians, a surprising feature, when opinion polls suggest otherwise, plus Australia's last Prime Minister was a devout monarchist. The debate now uses the position that both the prime minister and opposition leader are in favour of Australia becoming a republic. Even all state and territory leaders, (except Western Australia) are in favour of Australia becoming a republic. However, news media representation of this issue doesn't highlight the divided nature of this issue among the Australian public, as there is no clear majority in the polls.

No articles were published during the Australia Day period that explicitly stated a pro-monarchy stance. Australian media only briefly mentioned in a minor minority of articles that the debate has 'divided politicians' (Anonymous 2016, pg. 8). This suggests this narrative is not that of the public, but more likely that of media and political elite's. Further outlining the problem with media ownership in Australia, and that this problem is across news media formats and across the country. The republic debate during the Australia Day period embraced the theme of this national day with consistent reflection on identity and the future. However, the national narrative portrayed by the Australian media during this period does not reflect the divided nature of the population as a whole. If we apply Corner's theory of bad power we can see that the representation of this issue demonstrates that those who have access to Australian media structures have exercised their power systemically, as they have used available resources to serve their own interests (2001, p.19).

During the course of this study it was difficult to find credible statements on the editorial position of Australia's media elites. However, the content produced by their newspapers suggest that they are all in favour of becoming a republic. A study done by the Australian government in 2013 had the same conclusion. That during the republic referendum in 1999 that the Australian media was biased and in favour of a republic, but did not confirm their editorial position, even though their news coverage supported the pro republic campaign (Holmes 2013).

The main criticism of the republic debate that favours the monarchists' stance is that it would offend Queen Elizabeth II if Australia would become a republic during her reign. The general consensus among the articles used in this study are concerned with the

ridiculousness of the debate, that Australia is ‘waiting for ‘Lizzie’ to die with honour’ (Anonymous 2016, pg. 14). Once again, for a country divided on this issue, the media is not represented the complete views of the public. The tabloid, compact, broadsheet and financial news media were overwhelmingly positive about Australia becoming a republic. Independent news media didn’t mention the issue, and the PBS was neutral in the language used in their articles.

The only newspaper to stand out from this debate was the NT News, as they highlighted the positive possibilities for an Australian republic for the Indigenous communities. The Northern Territory has the largest population of Indigenous and Torres Strait Islanders, and in the media their rights are a more prominent political issue, than the rest of the country. A time for new beginning was a prevalent theme, and dominated the republic debate in the Northern Territory. The republic narrative included: that the Northern Territory will become a state with more rights to change laws, and that Indigenous rights will be changed within the constitution (Anonymous 2016, pg. 8). The voice of Indigenous groups is prominent here, and highlights many problems in the region. However, the question that should have been raised by the media is why does a referendum have to occur for this change to be implemented? Indigenous rights, a place in the constitution, and changing the date Australia Day could all be changed now; however, this viewpoint is virtually omitted from the national narrative. If we apply Lentin and Tittle’s theory we can see that Australian media structures are attempting to delegitimise minority viewpoints that don’t fit the mainstream ideal (2011, p. 188). Even though this newspaper is clearly for Australia becoming a republic, Indigenous issues are still being pushed to the periphery. NT News was the only newspaper to deal with this issue, and it was covered extensively, the fact that this issue did not become a part of the national narrative is further evidence of the debate being phrased to such a way that change can only happen when white elites are in charge.

Media commissioned polls are very common in Australia, especially during an election year, which 2016 is. However, as Jackson states, there are a number of problems with opinion polls, as they are funded by the same media organisations that publish them. (2005, pg. 500) Even though they are not the most accurate source of public opinion, they still can be used to illustrate a broad point. As stated above, the news articles published above featured an overwhelming majority of articles that stated that Australia

and political elites are in favour of Australia becoming a republic. However, polls published during this period, and prior to it, portray a country that is still divided on this issue.

Figure 1. (Lewis 2016, ABC News)

Q. Are you in favour or against Australia becoming a republic?

	Total	Vote Labor	Vote Lib/Nat	Vote Greens	Vote other	Shift since Sep 2015
In favour	36%	44%	30%	53%	41%	-3
Against	31%	24%	43%	11%	36%	+2
No opinion	33%	33%	27%	36%	23%	+1

Figure 2. (Essential Report 2016)

Will Australia ever become a Republic

Feb 2, 2016 [Comments](#)

Q. Do you think that Australia is likely or unlikely to ever become a republic?

	Total	Vote Labor	Vote Lib/Nat	Vote Greens	Vote other	Support republic	Oppose republic	Jun 2012	Apr 2014
Total likely	56%	59%	60%	60%	60%	82%	43%	52%	46%
Total unlikely	24%	22%	28%	21%	26%	14%	41%	34%	37%
Very likely	19%	21%	21%	21%	17%	41%	8%	12%	12%
Somewhat likely	37%	38%	39%	39%	43%	41%	35%	40%	34%
Somewhat unlikely	17%	15%	21%	15%	15%	11%	27%	25%	25%
Very unlikely	7%	7%	7%	6%	11%	3%	14%	9%	12%
Don't know	19%	18%	12%	17%	15%	4%	16%	15%	16%

Figure 3. (Newspoll 2014, The Australian)

	STRONGLY IN FAVOUR	PARTLY IN FAVOUR	TOTAL IN FAVOUR	PARTLY AGAINST	STRONGLY AGAINST	TOTAL AGAINST	UNCOMMITTED
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1-3 Apr 2011	25	16	41	17	22	39	20
13-15 Jun 2014	22	18	40	18	21	39	21

The republic debate in 2016 is an example of systemic power, as politicians have shown that they favour Australia becoming a republic. Fairfax media published an article that quoted the declaration written by all state and territory leaders, (except Premier Colin Barnett). ‘The declaration reads: "We, the undersigned Premiers and Chief Ministers of Australia, believe that Australia should have an Australian as our Head of State (Gordon, 2016, pg. 1). Corner describes systemic power as the relationship of power and serving the interest of elites over localised tensions. This debate as represented in news media demonstrates systemic power, as interests of elites have been prioritised over the views of the general public.

For Corner’s bad media power is based on the distortion of knowledge and values (2011, pg. 23). Where institutions have the elite position, because they are able to use media to explain their point of view, and justify their own actions (Corner 2001, p.28). This republic debate is an example of bad power being to control the national narrative in order to serve elites own political interest. Without knowing the particular political interest of Australia’s media elites, this study illustrates that news media does not reflect the opinion of the public it represents.

4.3 CHANGING THE DATE OF AUSTRALIA DAY

As previously stated in the introduction, Australia’s national day represents a complicated history, and the themes from this study highlight an antagonistic national narrative. The discussion that made national headlines in 2016 was to change the date of Australia Day, which sparked a heated debate. Australia Day is a contentious event in the Australian calendar, as January 26th marks the day the first fleet representing the British Empire arrived on the Australian mainland. This date marks the beginning of colonisation in Australia, and is considered to be the beginning of modern Australia. However, this event is also the beginning of over 200 years of dispossession and human rights abuses for the First Nation Peoples. Every year this day is celebrated in a way that only promotes the White Australian narrative, and omits discussion of the atrocities that were committed to other ethnic groups. Calls to change the date have been voiced by Indigenous advocacy groups who promote an alternative narrative and discourse for

Australia Day. Proposed dates include January 1st when federation occurred, or May 9th when Australia's Federal Parliament first sat in the Royal Exhibition Building in Melbourne and when Federal Parliament first sat in Canberra, dates that still promote Australia's European narrative.

The movement for changing the date promotes an Indigenous narrative of the events that preceded the arrival of the first fleet, a day which is known by the First Nations Peoples as Invasion Day or Survival Day. Mainstream media has some difficulty with this narrative, as many articles explain why this day is problematic, but do not provide any real solutions for reconciliation, except to change the date of Australia Day. The following analysis will delve into the representation of this contentious issue; should Australia change its national day?

The Australian media represented changing the date of Australia Day as overwhelmingly positive. The reason behind this stance is concerned with giving respect to Indigenous groups that see Australia Day as a day of mourning. More often than not, the articles advocating for changing the date did not acknowledge the Stolen Generation or other atrocities committed against the Indigenous Australian peoples, which are the reasons as to why Indigenous groups want to change the date. Many groups would see changing the date of Australia Day as a step in the right direction for reconciliation, which has lacked movement since the Australian government apologised for the Stolen Generation in 2008. Mainstream media more often than not, omitted this line of reasoning, instead highlighting different reasons for changing the date. Usually reasons that do not place blame on White Australia, but give a more positive impression.

The discourse used to describe the debate of changing the date, usually focuses on technicalities. Here is one example from that data that illustrates the discourse used across the country.

‘January 26 is not an appropriate date for Australia Day for two reasons: a) indigenous Australians do not celebrate this day. B) Australia did not even exist as a nation on January 26, 1788. This date should be renamed Sydney Day or NSW Day.’ (Egan 2016, pg.13)

This exert illustrates the theme that people do not want to discuss the real reason for those who want change, instead giving the reason ‘it is not appropriate’. Most articles collected during this study were written along the same lines, mentioning that the day is contentious without stating in laments terms why. Articles published by mainstream media and the PBS did not want to place blame on White Australia.

Another common theme was blaming political correctness for wanting to change the national narrative. One article summed up the debate against changing the date, and the protests that occurred across the country as, ‘[h]ow should mainstream Australia respond to this? Ignore it? Condemn it? Demand that we all support Team Australia?’ (Perkins 2016, pg. 22) Or this letter to the editor that describes changing the date as ‘a mistake. For good or ill, depending on one's background and viewpoint, modern Australia did begin on this date. To move the celebration would deal with a difficult issue by sweeping it under the carpet.’ (Anonymous 2016, pg. 14) These examples are themes combined illustrate how news media represents the construction of the national narrative. The positive aspects of colonisation are at the forefront of the narrative, and when posed with an alternative narrative that mentions Australia’s turbulent past, they are consistently omitted. The discussion of changing the date of Australia Day had very little to do with acknowledging the atrocities of colonisation, and is more concerned with discussing the easiest way to move on.

One explanation for this situation can come from Corner’s theory on bad media power. Perhaps promoting an alternative narrative would not be in line with political interest of elites; due to the political ramifications this would have in regards to Indigenous rights. Corner would describe this situation as elites using available processes that allows them to exercise their power systemically, and the ability to use resources as a means to serve their own interests. (2001, p.19) When it comes to the almost polar opposite narrative presented by independent media, perhaps their narrative is different because they are not under the control of the same media elites. This is one possible explanation as to why only independent media mentioned the human rights abuses that has happened to the Indigenous community since 1788. Articles published by independent sources featured in this study printed an alternative narrative for changing the date; a narrative that stated the reason why Indigenous communities mourn this day. An example to illustrate this idea featured by New Matilda stating that, ‘the invasion, dispossession and genocide on

which this nation was built... Bill Shorten can't even bring himself to say the word invasion, opting for the more anodyne 'settlement' (McLoughlin 2016). The language used to describe the alternative narrative is more confrontational, while mainstream media has opted to use more positive language. An example from the data is from *The Age*; '[a]t the moment it's very anglo-oriented. Can we rethink Australia Day? Might there be a better date, the date we bring those three parts of the nation formally together and achieve reconciliation in a formal sense?'" (Cormack 2016, pg. 6) These two narratives are both in favour of changing the date, but mainstream media is more focused with moving on, than acknowledging the past.

Identity politics is another important aspect of the debate surround changing the date. Carpentier discusses the idea of identity politics from a number of different perspectives. His theory is that the creation of identity politics needs to come from struggle, and that it is not only formed by those who are considered part of the group, but often those who are excluded play an important role in the creation of a groups identity. (2011, pp. 175-7) This is a clear example of how minority representation works in the Australian media, there is a normalisation of White identity, and this struggle for recognition plays into the political nature of this issue. Indigenous groups have often had their voice and their concerns pushed to the periphery. Whether this is due to motives of elites, or the general population does not want to acknowledge Australia's difficult past. Identity politics play a key role is defining the debate of changing the date, and this will continue to be part of Australia's national narrative for years to come.

4.4 AUSTRALIA'S ANTAGONISTIC IDENTITY

All the newspapers used in this study published articles that gave a definition of the Australian identity, even if they did not agree about it. Tabloids, compacts and broadsheets presented identity in a similar way, by defining what is Australian, and what is not. The PBS and independent news were more much more likely to discuss the antagonism between the Australian identity, and the difficulty of those who identify with a dual identity. This includes: Aboriginality, and those who are first or second generation immigrant. The themes used to code this section required that articles had mentioned identity or tradition. Identity was discussed by outlining certain

characteristics, they included: how to behave on Australia Day, traditional activities, sport and the importance of nation symbols. Consistently across all newspapers they referred to the Anglo-Australian identity as the normal identity, perhaps resulting from media ownership from Anglo-Australian elites. News media representations of Indigenous and other ethnic groups as subservient were a common theme during media discussions of Australia Day. Resulting in an antagonistic national conversation concerning identity and Australia Day.

The emphasis of this analysis on identity will focus on how the Australian media represents ethnicity in regards to identity. The reoccurring theme throughout the data was concerned with stereotypical Australian activities, which have historically been associated with the Anglo-Australia narrative. Examples from the data include: 'For many Australians, January 26 will be marked by beers, barbecues and Australian flag bikinis' (Cormack 2016, p.6). 'Australia Day marks the end of the summer holidays with many Australians making taking the opportunity for a traditional barbecue and beach visit before heading back to work' (Anonymous 2016, pg.38). The articles published during the Australia Day period normalized white identity, as articles that were positive about the national day normalized Anglo culture. Only one articles among the 132 collected, specifically mentioned a problem with the Eurocentric narrative that is promoted during the Australia Day period. Stating that 'the European narrative of Australian history was aggressively promoted and Australia Day exploded in popularity, most significantly among the young.' (Flanagan 2016, pg. 35) If we apply Hall's theory on representation and the signified we can understand why the normalised stereotype is that of White Australia. Hall discusses the problem of stereotyping in representation, as it often uses the 'strategy of splitting', which is where some stereotypes are considered part of the norm, and then there are those who are deemed undesirable and become the 'other'. This form of exclusion denies their representation as something positive and meaningful by the dominant group. (2013, pg. 247) This is one theory as to why representation of all other ethnic groups by the Australian media refers to them by name, and in relation to negative issues. Examples of these will be analysed further within this chapter.

Symbols and slang were an important part of describing identity and tradition, as a majority of articles referred to specific stereotypes when describing what the Australian identity is in 2016. Tabloid newspapers produced the majority of articles that referenced Australian identity in terms of the cultural cringe. Examples of this include ‘someone wrapped in an Aussie flag... Oi, you drove past the bottle-o. Chuck a U-ey." YEAH, NAH, MATE No.’ (Tomkys 2016, pg. 8) Another example refers to how Australian English phrases that are used to represent identity.

‘[I]conic bits of ocker Aussie lingo, inventing phrases like "fair dinkum" and "flat out like a lizard drinking". And, of course, words like "budju" and "gammon". Today, we will celebrate our quirky form of Australianness with pie eating competitions, thong throwing challenges and beauty contests to find our finest Mr and Mrs Bogan.’ (Anonymous 2016, pg. 12)

This usage of slang is another example of the normalisation of White Australian identity. The Australian slang that has become a cultural cringe stereotype of Australian identity does not need to explicitly state who it represents, as the reader assumes it is about the norm. Following this idea will be how different ethnic groups are represented and ethnicity and migrant background is consistently referred to, noting that those groups are different to the norm. The identity politics behind this usage of national symbols is to reinforce the notion that the Australian identity should remain British and white (Fozdar, Splittles and Hartley 2014, pg. 319).

What is interesting to delve into is how ethnicities that are not Anglo-Australian are represented during the national discussion on identity. Articles that discussed Australian behaviour consistently used the theme ‘unAustralian’ and would make a point to include ethnicity, something that was not done when discussing what is perceived to be the normal identity. One example from the data describes the antagonism of having a dual identity in Australia, as a woman reflects on her identity in Australia, a country she has lived in her whole life.

‘My un-Australianness arose at a birthday party. A white family friend observed the Indian caterers adding to my throng of brown-skinned family members: "I feel like a stranger in my own country!" she joked. I wondered then, as I have since, why is Australia your country more than it is mine?’ (Morris 2016, p. 17).

This article instead of focusing on the blatant racism in Australia, and blaming them, was trying to make the point that it is difficult to have a dual identity in Australia, and

that it is just part of living in Australia. Further promoting the idea that being white is normal, easy and desirable in Australia, a theme that was widespread across the data.

In regards to representation of Indigenous identity there was no clear difference between the newspapers, except for the independent news, which was much more likely to represent the issue from the Indigenous point of view. The White Australian narrative is represented by its constant conflict with Indigenous Australia, in the past years it has resulted from a lack of action since the Australian government apologized for the Stolen Generation in 2008. Across the newspapers the terms Survival Day and Invasion Day were used intermittently, even though they both refer to the same cause of Indigenous advocacy, their usage differed depending on the point the author was trying to make. Invasion Day was by far the most popular term between the two across the national narrative. Describing the day with this word was when the author wanted to talk about protest, the lack of action since the apology, and highlighting the dispossession suffered by the First Nations peoples. Examples of language used:

‘Invasion Day rallies have been held across the nation to remember the First Fleet landing in Australia and the ensuing killings of Indigenous people (Anonymous 2016, Invasion Day rallies held across nation).

‘About 1,000 people also gathered on the steps of State Parliament at an "Invasion Day" event to protest against the honouring of Australia Day, which marks the day Europeans first arrived in the country.’ (Anonymous 2016, Thousands turn out in Melbourne to celebrate new citizens)

This was a common usage of language across the national conversation. During the Australia Day period, Invasion Day became synonymous with discussions concerning the negative aspects of the Australia Day narrative. These examples illustrate that Invasion Day was used when discussing Indigenous massacres and protest. This language easily points to blaming Anglo-Australia for the negative treatment of the First Nations Peoples. That groups that are based on exclusion can never have closure, as they exist due to the existence of others, which is the paradox of their identity. (2011, pp. 177-9)

If we compare the usage of the word ‘Invasion Day’ to ‘Survival Day’ the data revealed that Survival Day was used to promote a positive image of Indigenous reconciliation. For example:

‘it was a different kind of celebration at Treasury Gardens which was hosting its 14th Share the Spirit festival to mark "Survival Day" of Australia's Indigenous community. Families with babies in prams, elderly couples, youngsters wearing Aboriginal flag T-shirts, as well as tourists spread picnic blankets and listened to 50 artists perform. (Choahan 2016, pg.6)

This positive imagery does not place blame on Anglo-Australia, but instead illustrates an Indigenous community who are moving on from the past. Calling Australia Day, Survival Day could be what elites would prefer, as it changes the narrative to not blame them for problems that the Indigenous community faces. Here we can apply Carpentier's theory of identity politics. The creation of identity politics comes from struggle, and is not only formed by those who are considered part of the group, but often those who are excluded play an important role in the creation of a groups identity (2011, pp. 175-7). Indigenous exclusion from the national narrative has played a decisive role in how their identity is represented by the Australian media. Depending on the point trying to be made by the author of these articles, the narrative of the First Nation Peoples is still defined by exclusion.

4.5 VOICE AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF MULTICULTURALISM

Voice is an important part of the national narrative, as who gets to speak and who does not, alters the national conversation. Australia is a multicultural country that should be represented by multiple voices. This part of the analysis will focus on whose voice is prominent during the Australia Day period, and what can they say. White Australia, Aboriginal and migrant voices will be included in order to get an idea of how Australia is constructing multiculturalism via voice. The reason why these groups were formed was because of how they were represented in the data.

Throughout this study it was clearly represented by the data that the normal voice was from White Australia. Discussions concerning the Australian identity were prominent during this period, as Australia Day is the time for the nation to reflect on what the Australian identity means. The ethnicity behind the voice of many articles was clearly from White Australia, especially when it came to complaining about problems with the national narrative. Fozdar and Spittles who have studied representation of ethnicity in

Australia and came to a similar conclusion. That when authors generalise about ‘most Australians’ they are referring to Australian born, Anglo Australians. (2010, pg. 130) Australia also has a habit of representing diversity as invisible, preferring to construct Australia as a white nation. (Fozdar and Spittles 2010, pg. 141)

The Indigenous voice was prominent across the national conversation concerning Australia Day in 2016. Across the newspapers used in the study only half the articles that discussed Indigenous issues included a voice from the Indigenous community. Otherwise someone else, usually an Anglo representative from parliament, spoke on their behalf. The only exception was the independent media, which had a firm viewpoint that the Indigenous are being discriminated against on Australia Day, because of the lack of action for Indigenous rights and acknowledgement of issues that still affect this community.

Only New Matilda made a point to include: the policies that flowed from the arrival of the British are still being enforced on Aboriginal people today – contrary to our claims, Aboriginal people do not have the same rights as non-Aboriginal people (Google ‘NT intervention’) in Australia – for example, child removal rates are higher today than at any point during the Stolen Generations era.’ (Graham 2016)

Throughout Australia’s history the Indigenous voice has either been omitted from national discussion or completely ignored. In 2016, the voice of this community is growing, but is still consistently held back the voice of White Australia. Here we can apply Couldry’s theory on voice that ‘spaces for voice are therefore inherently spaces of power’. (2010, pg. 130) The Indigenous voice is gaining momentum, but is still subject to political elites, who often speak for this group. The conclusion for this section is that those with power still have the privilege of not listening. (Dreher 2009, pp. 446-9)

The voice of migrants is a large part of the construction of multiculturalism, as Australia is a nation that is built upon migration. Signs of successful integration can be seen from representation of their voice by the Australian media. Almost a quarter of Australia’s population were born overseas, migrants represent over 200 countries and a 175 different languages; Australia has an unusually high level of diversity compared to most nation-states (Fozdar and Spittles 2010, pg. 127). However, Australian media did not represent this level of diversity during the Australia Day period. Migrants who have

their voice published during this period could only express a few different themes. After analysing the voice of the articles collected it was clear that if you are white then you could complain; if you belong to any other ethnicity group then you are portrayed as ungrateful if you criticise the Australian identity. An example from the data that illustrates this: a British migrant was published saying 'But if you want to be Aussie, leave spelling to the Asian students and get busy singing 'Khe Sanh', doing vomit bomb beer bong, and bashing (non-white) fellow immigrants' (Wood 2016, pg. 17). While migrants who were characterized as being from a non-white background were published saying things like "It is very different here - in the DRC you catch the food or farm the food yourself but here everything is in the freezer and mixed with chemicals," and but later mentioned that 'obtaining citizenship was a huge opportunity (Shrosbery 2016, ABC News) Illustrated by this example is that the national narrative can only be criticised by those who are accepted, the rest must appear grateful. Australia needs to work more with the promotion of minority voices, as media institutions have always been slow to change their ways (Dreher 2009, pg. 455-7).

Representation of voice is a vital part of the construction on multiculturalism, and how the Australian media and its audience understand it. In the case of representing the national narrative during Australia Day in 2016, we see a crisis in multiculturalism. Australia is one of the most culturally diverse nations in the world, and yet, the voice behind the Australian identity is still that of White Australia. Lentin and Tittle describe the crisis of multiculturalism as voices that represent alternative narrative are constantly overlooked or forgotten in Australia (2011, pg. 22). This analysis has covered different aspects concerning problems with media ownership, the bad power of elites and the voices that are omitted. Overall, Australia may be a diverse nation, but just like it's media, the national narrative is highly concentrated. According to Anderson media creates a common language and identity (1983, p. 62). However, in Australia this is common ideal is written and constructed by white elites, and actively excludes those who do not make up the norm.

5 CONCLUSION

The aim of this study was to critically investigate the construction of multiculturalism, voice and identity in news media representation during Australia Day in 2016. The findings show that even though the aim of the Australian government and the NADC is to ‘actively include all Australians in recognition of the cultural, geographic and social diversity of the nation’ (NADC 2015). Australian news media did not reflect this idea; instead representations of multiculturalism and identity highlight constructions of racism through their usage of framing ethnicity and voice. Furthermore, media ownership is shaping the discussion of some political issues. Especially during discussions of Australia becoming a republic, news media did not represent the views of the general public.

The national narrative can be summarised as the collective stories of a nation. Australia Day in 2016 was a culmination of the different themes and voices that were used by news media during the Australia Day period. Just like any other narrative it the characters within the public sphere that make up the national narrative. By analysing the different representations of Australia’s history, the republic debate, changing the date of Australia Day and the construction of multiculturalism a narrative formed. It is these stories that contribute to a sense of commonality and ideals behind the Australian national identity.

The data from this study illustrate a hegemony discourse. The White national narrative is dominant over the views from other ethnics groups that make up multicultural Australia. The dominant narrative appears normal, and this type of representation demonstrates the power of the media (Hall 1997, pg.259). The frames used by news media provided a structure the events that made up Australia Day in 2016 (Norris, Kern and Just 2003, pg. 10-11). However, these frames represented the Anglo-Australian identity positively at the expense of diversity of voice, illustrated by the theme of ‘the grateful migrant’.

Overall this case study highlights problems with representations in news media in how it constructs multiculturalism and identity, as it has encouraged new constructions of racism. Problems with media ownership onlyacerbate issues that pertain from constructions of multiculturalism by prioritising the voice of White Australia. Between

different representations of White Australia's Australia Day, compared to the Indigenous Australian People's Invasion Day, we see an antagonist narrative surface. New media represents the clash in viewpoint over Australia's shared history and how it should be presented and understood by the public. In the end this constructivist analysis investigates the different 'truths' represented by news media, and this case study illustrates that there are a number of different ways to tell the same story.

5.1 RACISM AND THE NATIONAL NARRATIVE

Racism is a global issue, and even though Australia has made progress to move beyond its racist policies of the past, racism can still be seen within representation by news media. The themes that emerged from this study highlight that through representation of identity and multiculturalism that there is a construction of racism that features in the national narrative. Throughout Australia's history the Indigenous voice has either been omitted from national discussion or completely ignored (MacNamara and Crawford 2010). In 2016, the voice of this community is growing, but is still consistently held back by the voice of White Australia. Couldry's theory on voice states that 'spaces for voice are therefore inherently spaces of power'. (2010, pg. 130) The Indigenous voice is gaining momentum, but is still subject to political elites, who often speak for this group. The results from this study show that those with power still have the privilege of not listening (Dreher 2009, pp. 446-9).

The theme concerning changing the date of Australia Day illustrated the antagonist narrative between White Australia's history and that of the Indigenous Australian Peoples. The data illustrated that reconciliation is a political issue that represents constructions of racism. On a smaller scale racism and immigration also impacted on the national narrative of Australia Day in 2016. The discourse that was overwhelmingly used by first and second-generation migrants in Australia is that they are grateful. Even when discussing incidents of racism they had experienced in the vast majority of articles it was quickly followed up with an appreciation for Australia. Hall's theory of stereotyping and 'strategy of splitting', which is where some stereotypes are considered part of the norm, and then there are those who are deemed undesirable and become the 'other'. This form of exclusion denies their representation as something positive and

meaningful by the dominant group (2013, pg. 247). Further promoting the narrative promoted was that being White in Australia was normal and desirable, as representation of other ethnic groups by news media refers to them by name, and in relation to negative issues.

Racism is a problem in Australia, and it is not a problem that Australian alone faces. Multiculturalism can be difficult to navigate, but Australia history is continuing to impact the national narrative. Mainstream media has been focusing on not blaming White Australia during Australia Day 2016; instead they actively promoted a more positive narrative for the national day. There is a sense of shame and being unsure about how to move past Australia's turbulent history. There are no easy answers to the issues that were discussed during the Australia Day period. Changing the date may be a move in the right direction for reconciliation, but it is only one small part of Australia's antagonistic national narrative. Corner describes media power when processes allow elites to exercise their power systemically, and the ability to use resources as a means to serve their own interests. (2001, p.19) For power to remain with the Anglo majority it requires the national narrative to stay in their favour, and with white elites controlling the vast majority of media it seems unlikely that the status quo will change.

5.2 VOICE, ETHNICITY AND REPRESENTATION OF AUSTRALIA DAY

The voice of the Indigenous Australian peoples was prominent and consistent across media outlets during Australia Day in 2016. However, there was around a 50-50 chance that the voice in the articles discussing Aboriginal issues would be their own voice. Otherwise it would be a member of government or the public service speaking on their behalf, usually representing the voice of White Australia. Australia Day in 2016 was used as a platform for the Indigenous Australian peoples to address inequalities that still exist, and to speak openly about how offensive celebrating the national day on the January 26th is for this community. The response to this varied as many articles were written in favour of the stance. Those who voiced against it usually appeared in the form of letters to the editors, and called for unity, but more importantly not to re-write the White Australian narrative.

The normal voice behind the articles published discussing Australia Day had the default voice from White Australia. It was difficult during this study to separate the voice of different ethnicities as the Australian media used the same discourse when interviewing migrants from different backgrounds. Anglo-Australia and the Indigenous Australian peoples used a distinctive discourse to discuss their thoughts on identity and the national day. When ethnicity was mentioned that diverged from these two public groups the discourse used was the same. Ethnicity was usually only mentioned when someone identified as a migrant, and articles published used the tone that migrants should be grateful and not to complain about Australia. The reason for this focus on gratefulness from migrants is that on Australia Day is when citizenship ceremonies are held. This is why there was a lot of focus on being grateful for being an Australian. This was different if the migrant identified as being White, especially those of British heritage were allowed to criticise Australia in the media without receiving backlash that they were being ungrateful. Dyer states that power imbalances are preventing equal representation in Australia, because of racial representation of Whites. Being white in Australia is the norm, and according to Dyer it is the norm of the human race (1997, pp. 8-30).

Ethnicity played a pivotal role in the public representation of Australia Day. The NADC key theme for Australia Day is that promotions should 'actively include all Australians in recognition of the cultural, geographic and social diversity of the nation' (NADC 2015). The focus on ethnicity by the Australian media was part of the strategy behind the Australia Day council, to embrace multiculturalism. Some articles that featured in this study did a good job in giving voice and representation to those who have a different narrative for their Australian identity. However, there were many that missed the mark and highlighted that racism is still a problem for multicultural Australia. There is space for Australia to improve when it comes to equal and fair representing of ethnicity. Old stereotypes still frame many articles that were published during the Australia Day period, which highlights the antagonistic nature of Australia's national narrative.

5.3 DIFFERENTIATION OF REPRESENTATION AND VOICE BETWEEN MEDIA OUTLETS

The representation of voice during the Australia Day period differed between the tabloid, broadsheet, PBS and independent media sources used in this study. For tabloid newspapers the focus was on identity and across the country they used the same discourse for this discussion. Tabloids focused on defining what is an Australian characteristic, mostly using stereotypes that commonly make up the cultural cringe. The way in which these newspapers used these stereotypes and slang portrayed White Australia as the normal identity. Representation of ethnicity usually involved voices that described the stereotypes that they identify with. It was clear that there was one way in which Australia Day should be celebrated according the media, including family, friends, the beach and alcohol. The representation of Australia Day by tabloids did not comply with the goals of the NADC, as there was little encouragement of different ways of celebrating.

Broadsheet newspapers were much more likely to publish articles that dealt less with how to celebrate Australia Day and focused more on the political issues. This included the republic debate, changing the date of Australia Day and the citizenship ceremonies. Discussion of these political issues did not represent voice fairly; as White Australia had the vast majority of say on these issues. The voice of Indigenous Australian peoples were represented in media discussion of these issues, but for issues that would affect their rights and the movement of reconciliation they were not represented enough by broadsheet newspapers.

The PBS was much more likely than the other formats used in this study to discuss the antagonism of the Australian national narrative. They acknowledged the difficulty of dual culture and that it is difficult to navigate identity and tradition for those who do not fit the ideal norm. The PBS actively used different voices to discuss the narrative of Australia Day and worked actively to publish articles that highlighted the positive aspects of multiculturalism. The PBS public service remit focuses on promoting ethno-multiculturalism, cosmopolitan multiculturalism and popular multiculturalism (Flew 2011), that is why that were more likely to favour migrant voices; however, this channel

exists to promote multiculturalism and ensure that there is a space for non-Anglo voices.

The independent media site used in this study promoted a different narrative for the Australia Day period. They focused on the narrative of Invasion Day instead of Australia Day. One attribution to this stance is that their funding is from the readers themselves, and the government and media elites don't hold the same level of influence over content. This space provided a balance to the dominant mainstream media representation of identity and the construction of multiculturalism. The independent media represented provided a space for voices of an alternative narrative. A much needed alternative to the highly concentrated media landscape in Australia.

5.4 INFLUENCE OF MEDIA POWER AND OWNERSHIP

This study dealt with a number of issues that held media attention during the Australia Day period. The republic debate is one example that shows that the opinions of media elites and their position of power are influencing the national narrative. Media groups have long controlled how the day is represented, and the voices that they wanted to include. During this study the clearest example of media power influencing the national narrative was during the republic debate. As mainstream media did not reflect the public opinion, as numerous polls show that Australia is divided on this issue, yet the media was almost exclusively for Australia becoming a republic. This is an example of Corner's bad media power and influence it can have a national narrative. However, this should be taken into consideration, as many media watchdogs state that Australia's media is free and performs well by international comparison (Freedom House 2016).

There is a link between media ownership by Anglo-Australians and the normalisation of the White national narrative. The data overwhelmingly reflected that the White narrative was normalised in regards to the national narrative, and the construction of identity. After analysing the voice of the articles collected it was clear that if you are white then you could complain; if you belong to any other ethnicity group then you are portrayed as ungrateful if you criticise the Australian identity. This very notion does not bode well

for a country claiming to be proud of its multiculturalism. More needs to be done for a fairer representation of minority voices in the Australian media, as there is more to being multicultural than diversity of eating options.

Australia Day can be used as an example as to why Australia should rewrite parts of its narrative, as it demonstrates that media power and ownership are affecting the national narrative. However, it is clear that fear of acknowledging the atrocities of the past will lead to political uncertainty, especially when it comes to the Indigenous Australian peoples and their rights movements. The common excuse repeated by the media, is that a new narrative will come with the republic referendum, only time will tell if elites make true on this claim.

Constructions of multiculturalism and identity are concerned with difference and power. Differences between the ideal constructions of multiculturalism and identity have fallen short when compared to representations by news media. The Australian government have written and constructed Australia Day and its narrative and this has not been translated positively by news media. Positive ideas of equal representation have fallen short and instead we see news media represented themes that together constructed an antagonistic narrative. Issues of racism, power and media ownership could cause problems for Australia if tensions were to increase, resulting in a true crisis of multiculturalism.

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8 APPENDIX: DATA CODING SHEET

Below is the data coding sheet for the Australian Financial Review. A total of nine newspapers were coded according to the themes that were raised during the Australia Day period.

Publication Title	TheAustralian Financial Review	TheAustralian Financial Review	TheAustralian Financial Review	TheAustralian Financial Review	TheAustralian Financial Review	TheAustralian Financial Review	TheAustralian Financial Review
Headline	Praise Allah for Australia	January 26 best choice	Honours be damned	After the BBQ, it's time for reforms	Rock'n'roll the winner in Triple-J Hottest 100 count	The right republic, not any republic	Republicans must argue the why, not how, this Australia Day
Page	35	35	56	38	35	38	39
Publication Date	18/01/16	25/01/16	23/01/16	25/01/16	21/01/16	27/01/16	25/01/16
Section	Letters to the editor	Letters to the editor	News	News	Letters to the editor	News	News
Publisher	Fairfax Media Publications	Fairfax Media Publications	Fairfax Media Publications	Fairfax Media Publications	Fairfax Media Publications	Fairfax Media Publications	Fairfax Media Publications
Source Type	Newspapers	Newspapers	Newspapers	Newspapers	Newspapers	Newspapers	Newspapers
Document Type	News	News	News	News	News	News	News
Word count							
Ungratefulness/ gratfulness	"This Australia Day marks my first year since I arrived in my new and lovely home, Australia, as a refugee from Pakistan. I would like to pay my gratitude to..."						
Tradition				'Notwithstanding this challenge, Australia's prosperity, political stability and freedom make this nation one of the most most desired destinations for immigrants from the world's war-torn or simply badly- mismanaged regions. Australia's tradition as a nation of immigrants has been challenged by the hardline border asylum-seeker policies now supported by both sides of politics. While at times harsh, these policies have stopped the drownings at sea and avoided the sort of backlash against immigration now seen in Europe. And more than 200,000 people still migrated to Australia in 2014-15, the largest group being from India, including nearly 14,000 humanitarian refugees. We will also take 12,000 Syrian immigrants who former prime minister Tony Abbott declared would be resettled here.'			
Passion			"In a country where their ilk already give insufficiently of their own time and immense wealth to social justice causes. If the vegans want to be angry about Australia Day, here's something actually worth fuming over'				





