

# ‘THE EMPEROR HAS NO CLOTHES ON’: REPOLITICISING DIVERSITY MANAGEMENT THROUGH AN UNDERSTANDING OF THE EFFECTS OF RACISM ON AUSTRALIAN MUSLIMS

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*The sons of Adam are limbs of each other,  
 Having been created of one essence.  
 When the calamity of time affects one limb  
 The other limbs cannot remain at rest.  
 If you have no sympathy for the troubles of others,  
 You are unworthy to be called by the name of a Human.*

Sa'adi

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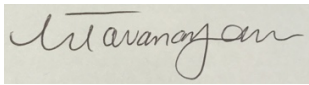
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## **Declaration**

I, Mojdeh Tavanayan, hereby declare that the work in this thesis has not been submitted for a higher degree to any other university or institution. Except where otherwise indicated, this thesis is my own work.

Candidate name: Mojdeh Tavanayan

Candidate Signature:

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'M. Tavanayan', written in dark ink on a light-colored background.

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And, my dear family, my husband and my sons, who in their own ways encouraged me to take this challenge and not to give up.

This thesis is dedicated to those who forcibly must leave their home looking for new beginnings.....

## Preface

Sitting at my desk reflecting on my experience as a migrant, I am trying to pen why I decided to study racism, its inception at the grassroots level, its workings, its examples and the way it makes its recipients feel. My family moved permanently to Australia in 1986 as humanitarian migrants from a Middle Eastern country where people belonging to my faith were and still are being segregated and prejudiced against. I grew up in a society where people from minority backgrounds are stigmatised and in my case discriminated against and persecuted. I belong to the largest religious minority group in Iran, The Baha'i Faith, and grew up experiencing religious discrimination and vilification and consequently accepting it as there were no other choices. This perhaps created a yearning within me to want to stand up to social injustices and raise a voice when I can. I came to Australia in my early twenties with my husband in his early thirties and my son who was three. We came to Australia to make a new life, to be free to express our thoughts, practice our faith and above all to be proud of our heritage and the fact that we built up a good life because somewhere in the world, there were people who opened their arms and accepted others from different backgrounds, gave them the opportunity to work hard, to be treated equally and be one of *THEM*.

I remember how I managed to get over the feelings of living inside an invisible bubble, a coping mechanism, I think, separating me from the others because I looked different and sounded different. I learned to ignore the odd glances from mainstream Australians at my son's child care and social settings, and feeling excluded when attending my son's school functions or other social gatherings. I managed not to pay attention when people would change the speed of their dialogue when they picked an accent and push aside the strange feeling of being treated as intellectually not fully with it.

In the work force, I overcame disappointments for missing out on promotions because I was either too qualified or under qualified, or implicitly was pushed aside because of my ethnicity. My family got over the fact that my husband who is an engineering professional with graduate qualifications from an overseas institution, could not secure a job in his profession even after sitting his industry's exam to qualify as an Australian civil engineer. I chose Australia to be physically and socially safe, a place where people were not skeptical of different cultures and were tolerant towards physical and ideological differences.

Back then, no one even knew where Iran was and I had to explain where it is situated, why I chose to leave my home country and why I chose Australia. I learned to get on with my life and

make the most out of opportunities I had, because truly, Australia was the land of opportunity, equality, integrity and a place I had chosen to raise my family. A lot of Iranians hid and still hide behind the name Persian and Persia as opposed to Iranian and Iran to escape Australians' negative feelings and stereotyping due to a fundamental Islamic government which has ruled Iran since 1979, and so as not to be associated with extremists and terrorists.

And now, I am embarking on a research project to study racism in Australia, the land of multiculturalism, a place people from different backgrounds mostly get on very well and live in happy communities. Australia's model of multiculturalism and migration policies are, after all, quoted as a success story by both the Australian government and scholars studying migration and ethnicity. Are Australians affected by political, social and economic challenges of our time? Are they influenced by what they watch and read through mainstream media and political debates? Does media using news framing and emotional cues distort our realities and turn us against minorities? Do we express our biases explicitly or perhaps in a subtler way distance ourselves from what is perceived to be the 'enemy of the state'? Is overt and explicit racism back cloaked in stereotyping and micro aggressions? Does the socio-political environment influence the ways in which we manage diversity and inclusion within our organisations?

These are the questions which pique my interest. I always wanted to write the story of my migration and experiences, how to say goodbye to your heritage, values, culture and the only way of life you knew, and open your mind and heart to embrace new and different things. It seems now I will be writing about minorities who visibly look different and whose way of life and culture is dissimilar from mainstream Australians. I will discuss Muslims who left their home countries because of physical, social and economic threats, worked hard, educated themselves, contributed to their new homes, were good citizens and still are being treated as different.

The changes in the global socio-political environment, fear of terrorism because of Islamic extremism and radicalism have impacted our lives in many ways. We live in a global community where technology disseminates information as events happen. We are influenced by what we watch, listen to and read and frame pictures of the world's reality as we know it in our minds. The horrific terror events of the last sixteen-seventeen years reported by the media have incepted a new level of consciousness where we are more aware of our cultural and ideological differences and strive to cope with it the best we can. On the one hand, we try to be politically



correct and give everyone the benefit of the doubt but on the other hand, negative portrayal of Muslims by the privileged (media, opinion leaders and politicians) makes us feel unsafe.

The feelings of unease and unsafety creates overt and covert biases which manifest as outbursts of racism. As an Australian-Iranian, I am more aware of the negative attitudes towards people with a Middle Eastern background and this reminds me of how I used to feel when I first arrived in Australia. My thesis is an effort to investigate the influence of socio-political issues intensified by the media on perpetuation of negativities and racism against the Muslim community. It is hoped that this analysis can contribute in a small way to a country which has been a haven of physical and social safety for multitudes of migrants from different backgrounds.

## **Abstract**

This thesis is a multidisciplinary theoretical study of the ways in which the socio-political nature of racism affects Muslims in Australia. Inspired by Nkomo's 'The emperor has no clothes: Rewriting race in organisations' (1992) study of the erosion of the notion of race in organisations, the socio-political context and its role in understanding racism in Australia is explored. The imperative of racism perpetuated by socio-political context and its impact on diversity management is paramount to demonstrate how race is diluted in studies of diversity which lacks nuanced political consideration rather than promoting the business case (Tomlinson & Schwabenland, 2010).

The role of the media in perpetuating inequalities, influencing perceptions and opinions and ultimately, creating racism is acknowledged. The new racism is multifaceted and complex (Essed, 1991) intertwined with everyday social interactions. The notion of racism without racists (Bonilla-Silva, 2003) demonstrates the intricacy of modern racism as imbedded structures in social behavior contributing to colour-blindness (Bonilla-Silva, 2006) and main stream's proclamations of benevolence. Minorities, therefore, are frowned upon and considered unappreciative when raising issues of discrimination. By politicising diversity management through an analysis of socio-politics, racism, media and organisation, it is evident that there is a void in management theory and practice of discourses of Islamophobia and its management in organisations. Organisations by producing masquerade of diversity practices tend to obscure racism and commodify differences as a marketing tool to protect their inherent whiteness (Ahmed, 2012). Discussion of the socio-politics and specifically Islamophobia are camouflaged by organisational management through a conspiracy of silence and diversity practices which are non-performative blue prints with no real outcome of change. Diversity initiatives are myopic practices concerned about portraying organisational happy façade (Ahmed, 2009) rather than making real change. Critical diversity studies compartmentalise individuals as having preconceived identities with no 'socially constructed nature' (Zanoni, Janssens, Benschop & Nkomo, 2010). They furthermore, use parochial views of the mainstream, ignore power disparities between groups and lack contextual implications.

This thesis concludes by presenting a future research agenda which addresses how academics, diversity practitioners and corporate Australia can foster transparent dialogue. This dialogue requires developing an engagement between corporate diversity management initiatives and social justice in light of evidenced racism in multicultural Australia. The role of emotion and compassion at individual level and its link to moral reasoning and equality (Brewis, 2017) is an

emergent area of research in diversity management discourse. Compassion for the other can play a vital role in alleviating the pressures of over-individualistic and competitive neo-liberal societies.

**Key words**

Muslims, media, racism, Australia and diversity management

## **Chapter 1: Introduction**

It is 2017 and we live in a time when the infection of racial intolerances and bigotry is rife in most developed countries. The political far-right took power in the land of freedom and democracy in 2016 and Donald Trump, by using hate and xenophobia and blaming minorities for America's social and political problems, promised to build a wall to literally and metaphorically internalise the US. Global warming is labeled as a myth and efforts to save the planet is considered as wasting resources and a financial burden. Migrants and refugees have become the problem of other nations and dehumanised as bodies associated with fear, violence and liabilities. Great Britain is called 'A United Kingdom of Hate' (Sloan, 2017) with the rise of Islamophobia and racial hate against Muslims who are perceived as the source of terror. Brexit has provided a forum for everyone to express their racist views towards migrants and blame 'the other' for all the shortcomings and problems. The rise of racial hate is prevalent across Europe in France and Germany with increasing negativity towards issues of immigration and anything to do with Islam. In Australia, there is increasing backlash against anti-racist sentiment by the media and the politicians with media generalising Muslims as the source of violence. When people of color talk about the existence of racism, they are called too sensitive and unappreciative. Do we bring racism into existence when we talk about it, or is it something that already exists?

The contribution of this thesis is to investigate the relationship between the Australian socio-political context and the inception of negativities and intolerances towards the Muslim community who increasingly face vilification and discrimination because of their perceived link with extremism and terrorism. It asks: how does racism influence the ways in which we theorise diversity and its management in organisations? It will aim specifically to address how the socio-political context shapes our understanding of racism in Australia and to recognise the role of the media in creating inequalities, shaping publics' opinions and perceptions and ultimately perpetuating racism. It will, ultimately, explore the relationship between racism and diversity management in organisations and develop a research agenda for understanding of grassroots social movements which address racism in Australia and the disconnect between corporate diversity management programs. By repoliticising diversity management discussion using a multidisciplinary analysis of racism, organisation, media and socio-politics, it is concluded that there is a gap in discussing Islamophobia and its implications within organisations. It reiterates the sentiment that 'the emperor has no clothes on' and management theory and practice need to come in terms with the lack of discussion about the issue of race and ethnicity in organisational discourse.

Inspired by Nkomo's study of 'Rewriting race in organisations' (1992), the allegory of the emperor and his appeasing court is used to illustrate that for too long organizational academics have turned a blind eye to discussions of race / ethnicity and specifically Islamophobia within organizations. The emperor is the quintessence of white decontextualized organizational knowledge as known in the west. The emperor's court are organizational academics who traditionally have ignored the dilemma of race in the context of organizations. The analysis of the prevalent neoliberal socio-political environment hyped up by racist media and a discussion of impact of racism on the ways in which diversity management is theorized provides a gloomy picture for Muslims in the west.

Muslim communities face the impact of the public's negative attitudes implicitly and explicitly, as the West faces a future of uncertainty with growing violence resulting from extremism and radicalisation. Muslims' culture, religion and way of life are looked upon negatively and as anti-Western, and often they are portrayed as a minority group who do not fit well within Western societies. There are small pockets of religious and political exclusivists within Australia who promote Australian Christian identity and claim that there is no place for Muslims (Iner, 2017). Societies and communities like to portray themselves as places exuding happiness and inclusion with comradeship amongst their members. It is unpleasant to acknowledge that Australia might have a social problem with Islamophobia, as the mainstream is considered to be self-righteous and tolerant. Australian political and social elites tend to emphasise that 'the emperor has clothes on' as is the case in Hans Christian Anderson's children story and Australia does not have a social problem with racism.

Media plays an important role in shaping what is known as the general norm and has the power to create misconceptions by using skewed data and misinformation to shape individuals' social intelligence and understanding. According to Van Dijk (2000), media is integral in reproducing 'racial' and 'ethnic inequalities'. Research by Bleich, Bloemraad, and De Graauw (2015) states that the 'visibility' of certain groups or socio-political issues and the media's 'agenda-setting' power and 'framing- selection' determine how individuals form attitudes and understanding about what they read, watch or hear. Media acts as the 'gate-keeper' to decide what to report and how to describe events and news.

As Western societies witness the increase of radicalisation and extremism, issues regarding Muslims have become dominant topics in the media. A recent report released by Charles Sturt University (CSU) in July 2017 titled 'Islamophobia in Australia' uses examples of rising

negativity against Muslims in Australia as registered through an Islamophobia register for the period 2014-2015 and provides an analysis of institutional and individual aspects of Islamophobia. The CSU report confirms media's important role in negative characterisation of Muslim communities in any discussions about asylum seekers, youth gang issues or the war against terrorism (Iner, 2017). According to the CSU study, 79% of randomly selected Muslims living in Sydney felt that the media depicted an unfair picture of their community with 83% of them feeling that the media's portrayal of Muslims influences the views of the wider community. The CSU report used the content analysis of 290 newspaper articles from 2002- 2010 (in alternate years) from The Sydney Morning Herald, The Age and The Courier Mail and stated that the Australian media coverage of Muslims was both favorable and unfavorable. The analysis shows the media's focus is mainly on radicalisation and terrorism, representing a minority of the Muslim community followed by themes of integration, citizenship and extremism. Interestingly, the Muslim community's labour market inclusion and workforce discriminatory issues were not represented by the media and the report lacks discussion about Muslims' racial and religious differences and diversity management practices within organisations.

Many Muslims in Australia believe that as a result of this media bias against them, they are vilified in society and marginalised within the workforce (Kabir, 2006). Figures from the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) support this claim, as according to census records in 2011, 31.5% of Australian Muslims were employed compared to 46.8% for all Australians. The household income disparity between Australian Muslims and all Australians (which is highest for individuals earning over \$1000 per week: 10.7% for Muslim Australians and 21.1% for the whole population) reconfirms their disadvantaged and marginalised position within the labour market (Hasan, 2015). The 'Islamophobia in Australia' report by Charles Stuart University confirms that Australia has a social problem with growing negativity and abuse in public places and online against Muslims and particularly Muslim women wearing hijab (Ozalp, 2017).

I am using my reflexive experiences as the 'best point of entry into a critique' (Banerjee, 1992, p. 67 cited in Holvino, 2010) and draw from my emotional journey as a migrant to conduct the following study. This analysis reflects my empathy for Australian Muslims who are a minority group and I can relate to their alienation experiences because of their differences from mainstream Australians. Racism is a system of social inequalities based on differences and diversity is about differences. Therefore, to study diversity and its management, there is a need for a broader analysis that illustrates how inequalities are created, for example through the media.

My thesis will provide better understanding on the intersectionality of ‘markers of inequality’ (Acker, 2006) and depict how organisations and public opinion are influenced by political debates and the media discourse. Tuffin (2008) states that racism has moved from explicit, obvious ‘white supremacy’ to a subtler, ambiguous and complex form. The new racism uses fear of the unknown to create vulnerability and uses stereotyping to create ‘us’ against ‘the others’. The new racism is implicit, covert, sneaky and disguised under presumptions of egalitarianism and humanitarianism (Teo, 2000). Essed (1991) refers to the nature of modern racism as being a part of ‘everyday’ activities and being re/produced through the social system of media and the socio-political context. Essed draws attention to covert racism as ‘intangible’ experiences which are difficult to prove. We are perhaps in an era of ‘racism without racists’ as stated by Bonilla-Silva (2003) as the mainstream majority claim there is no discrimination against Muslims and Islamophobia is a myth, threatening the strength of our communities’ response to Islamist terrorism, as stated in ‘The Australian’ article by Akerman & Kelly (2017).

Racism is a complex issue and cannot be divided into old and new. The old form of racism legally does not exist in developed countries because it is against the law to explicitly segregate and discriminate individuals based on their differences from the mainstream. The new and subtle negative feelings and stereotyping are manifested through racial micro aggressors and spread the infection of racial hate. This racial hate is fuelled by the political, social and economic challenges and manifests itself as public outbursts and implicit negativity towards minorities. This new phenomenon reflects an interchangeability of the old and the new racism which I will call ‘narcissist’. Narcissist racism manifests itself as a sense of entitlement and privilege. This sense of invisible, self-grandiose, self-righteous, charitable benevolence, white ‘solipsism’ (Liu & Baker, 2014) and ‘organised white privilege’ (Ashcraft & Allen, 2003) is embedded in organisational and societal culture and entitles the dominant white culture to superficially appear philanthropic and speak for the rest (Liu, 2016). New racism may look ‘discursive’, as it is enacted in subtle forms but it is not discursive to the individuals who receive it (Van Dijk, 2000, p. 35).

In the Australian corporate workforce, whiteness is being camouflaged and privilege is legitimised by portraying the mainstream as altruistic and the minorities as inferior (Liu, 2016). There is an increasing number of media representations of minorities and specifically Muslims to portray the mainstream (us) with a façade of tolerance and inclusion. Ahmed (2009, p. 44 cited in Liu 2016) details interestingly the ‘politics of feeling good’ and how it is related to having

perceived diversity. Diversity and inclusivity is becoming a brand to be exploited and marketed by businesses and governments. Society's social and political elite, by focusing on negativity and fear, are sources of uncertainty in the Australian community and the idea of very different people living together could be a source of community unhappiness. A migrant who is perceived to be 'melancholic' (Ahmed, 2010, p. 121) and labeled as not willing to integrate into the community, as Muslims are represented by a biased media, is seen as a liability for society and could become radicalised and a 'terrorist' (Ahmed, 2014).

Muslims are increasingly represented in the media as a homogenous group who have a different culture and are not integrated well into the western way of life (Bleich, Bloemraad, & De Graauw, 2015). This makes us, the mainstream, unhappy and suspicious and places us out of our 'comfort zone' (Ahmed, 2010). Happiness is the 'social glue' (Ahmed, 2010) for creating cohesive communities as members embody a sense and vision of togetherness. There is a need for striving to create communal happiness through meaningful close interactions and breaking away from the dichotomies of 'us' and 'them'. By using the allegory of 'the emperor has no clothes on' as used by Nkomo (1992) for this thesis' title, attention is drawn to Islamophobia as a social problem impacting diversity management practices in organisations and the elephant in the room.

The notion of multiculturalism is a multi-faceted mechanism to beautify a deeply rooted problem in Australia. It is rhetoric used by the government, politicians and the media to paint a happy picture of society. Having colorful bodies around does not equate to feelings of inclusivity and social justice. Negative feelings and perceptions within society are reciprocated in organisations and influence recruitment and selection processes and employee satisfaction. This thesis asks: can there still be a discussion about diversity management and its effective implementation? The following section illustrates the themes which will be discussed in the chapters of the thesis.

### **Neoliberalism and the Australian political and social landscape**

The change in the political and economic environment in Australia since the 1970s has created a shift from a highly government-regulated economy to a more liberalised system based on policies and programs of 'deregulation', 'privatisation' and free trade (Nelson & Dunn, 2016). According to Delanty (2003, p. 88 cited in Nelson & Dunn, p. 41, 2016), neoliberalism paved the way for disburdening the government of responsibility and 'diluting social citizenship'. This deregulation of industries and denationalisation of state interventions in trade (Delanty, 2003



cited in Nelson & Dunn, 2016), resulted in institutional changes in the Australian political economy in the areas of immigration and welfare policies. Neoliberal discourses within discussions of immigration and welfare created constructs of 'racial identity' and racial inequalities. The welfare system in Australia is conducive to exclusion. It fixes a label of 'non-white other' to the recipient and creates an invisible source of exclusion and marginalisation (Nelson & Dunn, 2016).

None-white othering is the idea of welfare cards which enacts white privilege through welfare and paternalistic public policy (Hunter, Swan, & Grimes, 2010 p. 409) which is infused to government policy-making and organisational practices. Whiteness creates the feeling that one is entitled to make decisions and comment towards others, and specially the others who are in minority and are perceived to be either less 'nationals' or 'non-nationals' (Hunter, Swan, & Grimes, 2010 p. 409).

It is important to look at Australia's history of colonisation starting in 1780 when early European settlers began to arrive and settle under the misconception of settling in an empty land (*terra nullius*) (Tuffin, 2008). *Terra nullius* paved the way for Australia's position constitutionally to dispose Aboriginal Australians from their land rights and marginalise and segregate them. They were subjected to acts of genocide by generations of white European migrants until 1992 when the Australian High Court in the case of *Mabo vs Queensland* ruled in favor of Aboriginal land ownership (Tuffin, 2008). The inception of Australia is based on racism and discrimination which is followed by policies of 'White Australia' and the heartbreak of 'lost generations' whereby Aboriginal children were removed from their families to be raised and brainwashed as whites (LeCouteur & Augoustinos, 2001 cited in Tuffin, 2008).

In 1901 the 'White Australia' policy was introduced to exclude non-European and non-Christian migrants from settling in the new land ([nma.gov.au](http://nma.gov.au)). After World War 2, Australia's migration policy changed to encompass different races from different countries and the government introduced an assimilation policy to ensure migrants were fully adapted to the Australian way of life (1950-1960). During the 1960-1970, an integration policy was introduced which meant migrants would adapt to Australian culture but at the same time keep their unique cultural inheritance (Stone, 2013). Since the 1980s, Australian government policy has been based on multiculturalism which was a response to social disparities amongst migrants from non-English speaking backgrounds in all areas of Australian society (Poynting & Mason, 2008). There are two elements in Australian multiculturalism: upholding social justice to eradicate inequalities among None-English speaking migrants and maintaining plurality of cultures within Australia

(Poynting & Mason, 2008). Multiculturalism is a 'feel-good celebration of ethno-cultural diversity' (Kymlicka, 2010, p.98), to encourage the community to appreciate and acknowledge the 'panoply' of traditions, music and cuisine that exist in a multicultural society (Kymlicka, 2010).

By 2001, Hanson's (One Nation party leader) 'I can invite who I want into my own home' ideology became Howard's election campaign mantra, 'We will decide who comes to this country and the circumstances in which they come'. Middle Eastern asylum seekers and Muslims in particular were targeted and 'criminalised' in the aftermath of 9/11 in America and in the west (Poynting & Mason, 2008, p.236).

Hanson's speech to the Australian parliament in 1996 was as follows:

We now have a situation where a type of reverse racism is applied to mainstream Australians by those who promote political correctness and those who control the various taxpayer funded 'industries' that flourish in our society servicing Aboriginals, multiculturalists and a host of other minority groups. In response to my call for equality for all Australians the noisiest criticism came from fat cats, bureaucrats and do-gooders.

... for too long ordinary Australians have been kept out of any debate [on immigration and multiculturalism] by the major parties. I and most Australians want our immigration policy radically reviewed and that of multiculturalism abolished. I believe we are in danger of being swamped by Asians. Between 1984 and 1995 40% of all migrants coming into this country were of Asian origin. They have their own culture and religion, form ghettos and do not assimilate. Of course I will be called racist but if I can invite who I want into my home, then I should have the right to have a say in who comes into my country. A truly multicultural country can never be strong or united (Hanson, 1996).

Amidst the nationalism rhetoric of the 1990s, in 2001, a 'new integrationist' policy was imposed by the Australian government which focused on Australians from Middle Eastern and Muslim heritage. The aim of this new policy was to ensure migrants from Islamic backgrounds integrated fully to Australian values.

....it is an undeniable fact that some who have come here are resisting integration. There are pockets of this resistance in different migrant groups but it is perhaps most visible at this time in a small section of the Islamic community. A small minority of this community, and other groups that reject integration, regard appeals for them to fully integrate into the Australian way of life as some kind of discrimination. It is not ... (Howard, 2006).

By 2001, both Howard and Hanson were voicing the same rhetoric to internalise Australians from diverse cultures and promote an integrated and homogenous society.

The events of 9/11 and its aftermath in the West have progressively created a heightened sense of unease, suspicion, fear and negative stereotyping towards the Muslim community living in the West and in particular in Australia. Muslim communities are seen as places raising terrorists or sympathisers of terrorism. Muslim communities have a sense of being suspects every time a violent attack against civilians happens (Murphy, Cherney, & Barkworth, 2015). The extreme vetting and profiling efforts of Western countries against Muslims produces the image of monitoring criminals. This increase in negativity towards Muslims (Kabir, 2007) and their perceived association with terror instigates a study of racism. The purpose of this thesis is to clarify how Australians and organisations are influenced by international and domestic political, social and economic events reported by the media. Hughey and Daniels (2013, p. 337) used a comment from the New York Times on 10 August 2006 stating that 'Not all Islamic people are terrorists, but all terrorists are Islamic' and implied connectivity between Muslims and terrorism.

Australian immigration policy since the 1990s has been designed based on economic selectivity to provide entry for high-end labour and capital to boost trade and investment. The criteria used for determining who can come to Australia under neoliberal migration policies differentiates between an 'ideal migrant' as said by (Australian ex-prime minister) John Howard, who fits within entrepreneurialism and needs of the market and not-ideal migrants who are non-white and deemed unskilled and consequently a threat and burden to both the economic and cultural identities of Australia.

In more recent times, Australia's stance towards humanitarian aid to asylum seekers can be seen as an example of the racial socio-political environment in Australia (Tuffin, 2008).

In Australia, there is a prevalence of 'causal racism and racial microaggression' (Tuffin, 2008) which refers to everyday non/verbal, un/intentional acts of hostile and derogatory messages inflicted by the perceived majority on to minorities. These micro aggressors can be more powerful than physical acts of racism and cause emotional and ultimately physical distress.

### **The disadvantaged Australian Muslim community**

Australian Muslims constitute 2.2% of the Australian population according to a report titled *Australian Muslims* which was commissioned by the University of South Australia in 2015. This makes Islam Australia's third largest religion and second-fastest growing faith after Hinduism (Hassan, 2015). The Australian Muslim community is heterogeneous with members from 183

different countries ranging from North Africa, The Middle East, South and Central Asia. It is estimated that by 2050 countries such as Australia, UK, France and The Netherlands will not have a Christian majority and there will be one million more Muslims living in Australia than in 2010.

According to Hassan (2015), Muslims are less likely to own their homes, earn less income compared to the mainstream Australian population and have a higher unemployment rate irrespective of their level of education. Hassan (2015) concluded that migrants, Muslims and Muslim migrants have lower economic return for the level of their qualifications and skills, and job applicants with Middle Eastern names are less likely to be given an interview compared to Anglo-Saxon and other names. The statistics from the *Australian Muslims* report draws attention to the state of Muslims and migrants from the Middle East and questions their inclusion and level of equal access to opportunities in the workforce amidst increasing Islamophobic attitudes as evidenced in the report of July 2017 by Charles Sturt University.

The report prepared by the University of South Australia in 2015 provides valuable data on Australian Muslims' demographics. Muslims constitute 3.2% of the NSW population and 9.3% of the state prisons. In Victoria, Muslims comprise 2.9% of the population with 8% of Victorian prisoners being Muslim. There is a parallel between the high number of Muslims in prison in Australia and in the UK. The large number of young male Muslims in prison (17-29 years) can become a source of radicalisation among individuals who rediscover or convert to Islam in extremely difficult emotional and psychological circumstances (Khoury, 2014).

This group is not representative of standard mosque goers and often are parts of gangs and drug abusers who are under stress and have plenty of time in prison for 'extreme thinking' and venting their anger and frustration to come up with extreme ideas (www.unisa.edu.au, 2014). This has extreme implications for policy makers at federal and state levels to ensure that they implement secular educational and training programs targeted at the young Muslim demographic for creating community closeness through consultation and universal participation.

An example of vilification and bigotry against the Muslim community in the wake of increasing terror attacks to depict the influence of the media in reporting biased news is the terror incident in London on 22/3/2017, which was labeled as a 'terror attack' by the media (twitter, Facebook and a live British news program) in the hours after it happened, blaming a radical British cleric who was in prison at the time of the attack. Details of the incident were confirmed twenty-four hours later with the attacker identified as a British-born man who had converted to Islam, changed his name and had a history of violence and criminality (Scott, 2017). In Australia, as

soon as the news of the attack in London broke out, One Nation leader, Pauline Hansen, said Islam is a disease and Australia needs to be vaccinated against it 'Let me put it in this analogy - we have a disease, we vaccinate ourselves against it' (Remeikis, 2017). She moved on saying Australians should pray for a ban on Muslims and Islam (Bickers & Killoran, 2017) and put a message on social media saying: "Pray4muslimban#". It is important to note that every time there is a violent attack against civilians in the west, Pauline Hansen has used the opportunity to attack and vilify Muslims.

The domino effects of the alt-right movement in the US, Europe and Australia, have increased elements of bigotry and vilification in the media. The latest effort by the coalition government in Australia is seen as cloaking the "right to be a bigot" and making it easier to target minorities with racial hate, in the guise of freedom of speech. The Government's proposed amendments to section 18c of the Racial Discrimination Act 1975, by removing the words "insult" and "offend" and replacing them with 'harass' is seen as a move to dilute racial hate. The proposed changes were defeated by the senate (Malone, 2017).

There has been a shift in the political environment in the west towards far-rightism or alternative-right. The alt-right movement stands for being against mainstream politics. The term is used with a focus on 'white identity' and 'opposition to immigration'. Alt-right is not just negative attitudes. It is fully fledged racism aimed at specific groups (political research .org). In Australia, alt-right activists target Sudanese, Muslims, Chinese and anyone looking different and sounding different. It is against multiculturalism and mainstream right-wing and has been linked with the rise of Donald Trump in the US, (politicalresearch.org).

Alt-right was brought back to life by Richard Spencer, the leader of the National Policy Institute in America. He delivered a hate speech in November 2016 and said: "America was until this past generation a white country designed for ourselves and our posterity,". "...It is our creation, it is our inheritance, and it belongs to us."

The rise of alt-right is an explicit form of racism and advocates whiteness (political research.org). The case of the immigration ban from six countries with majority Muslim populations to the US using the excuse of a threat to security can be identified as pure harsh old racism cloaked in rhetoric of security to benefit the public.

In the most recent poll in Australia on 7/2/17, 52% of Liberal and National voters in Australia said they support a similar executive travel ban to the US, suspending visas for migrants and travelers from six Muslim majority countries: Iran, Yemen, Somalia, Sudan, Libya and Syria.

The overall survey results show 44% in support of a similar travel ban and 45% opposing it (9news.com.au). The Australian Liberty Alliance (ALA), a political party which advocates Donald Trump's idea of banning Muslim immigration claimed that its membership has quadrupled since its launch in Perth in 2016. The One Nation party is seen as Australia's portal to Trump and alt-Rightism in Australia (O'Malley, 2017). The party's website details policies targeted against Muslims, including banning of the construction of new mosques, surveillance of existing mosques and imposition of similar travel bans from Muslim countries (O'Malley, SMH, 2017). The societal growing intolerance towards Muslims will have influences on the ways in which organisations manage their diverse members.

### **Definition of racism: old, new and beyond ....**

'The habit of considering racism as a mental quirk, as a psychological flaw, must be abandoned.'

Frantz Fanon

'We can not defeat race prejudice by proving that is wrong. The reason for this is that race prejudice is only a symptom of a materialistic social fact.... The articulate white man's ideas about his racial superiority are rooted deeply in the social system, and it can be corrected only by changing the system itself'.

Oliver Cromwell Cox

Racism is defined as having unfavorable feelings and attitudes towards others based on their gender, race and religion. It is the negative stereotyping of groups based on their 'genetic or phenotypical' characteristics (Tuffin, 2008). There are two approaches to the study of racism: 'natural and structural' (Bonilla-Silva, 1994) which produce an opaque understanding of the issue. The natural view believes that racism is the result of cultural contacts between different groups and is manifested as in-grouping and out-grouping. The structural view of racism considers it as an ideology used by elite social groups (whites, media, politicians and the 'bourgeoisie') to take advantage of minority groups. Bonilla-Silva (1994) states that racism is a mechanism used by a racialised social system which affects the opportunities and life-experiences of minorities. Racism is a mirror reflection of the existence of racial organisations and society. Social structures within society and organisations are the breeding ground for inception of racism (negative ideas) which in turn is conducive to prejudice (negative attitudes) and finally discrimination (negative action).

Essed (1991) refers to the nature of modern racism as being a part of our 'everyday' activities and being re/produced through our media and socio-political system. Essed draws attention to covert racism as 'intangible' experiences which are difficult to prove. Dominant groups of the society 'stab minorities in the back with a smile on their faces' (Essed, 1991), using hypocritical and patronising expressions and hurting them softly. Dominant groups employ disapproving, questioning, problematising and suppressing practices to negate the plight of minorities fighting for equality. An example to illustrate these ploys is the case of Muslims in Australia whose religious beliefs are questioned and looked upon negatively. A woman wearing a full hijab attracts the attention of most people in public settings.

How can we get past our initial reaction and discomfort and consider the basic human rights of individuals to dress as their choice? Can we say Muslim women wearing the full hijab are treated equally in a job interview situation? Why does organisational management ignore religious and racial differences and their implications on how we interact with each other in their policies and practices? Why does generalised diversity rhetoric prevail in most of Australian government agencies' policies, ignoring growing negativity towards the Muslim community?

The 9<sup>th</sup> Scanlon Foundation survey conducted in 2016 to map Australian social cohesion indicates that negative attitudes towards Muslims is around 22-25% compared to 5% negativity towards Christians and Buddhists (Scanlonfoundation.org, 2016). Muslims are often blamed for radicalism, extremism and increasing terrorism and their culture is associated with exclusionism from the western way of life. The same report provides statistics about positive attitudes towards multiculturalism and Australia's humanitarian refugee settlement programs from the Syrian war with preference for refugee assessments conducted overseas (58% positive vs 34% negative) (scanlonfoundation.org, 2016).

Race is not an issue of biology or sociology as Hochman (2016) states and is a man-made constructed frame work and categorisation based on the context of history, economics and politics. The history of Islam in Australia, from the early Muslim settlers of the 18<sup>th</sup> century to the 1970s government initiative to accept Muslim refugees predominantly from Lebanon, and later the events of 9/11 and its aftermath has always been a struggle about whether to assimilate, integrate or develop values to embody different cultures and an overarching Australian identity.

In a neoliberal climate, anti-racism activities tend to individualise racist experiences and label them as psychological problems of dominant members of society, of which they need to be 'cured' through information and training (Essed, 1991). The dilution of the existing social

problem of covert racism and Islamophobia, and the negative representation of Muslims in the media and political talks, fuels the negativity and unease against them. These race related experiences range from explicit attacks on Muslim women in public, because of their dress code such as the case of a young Muslim woman who was attacked in Macquarie University campus in January 2017 (Cooke, SBS) to implicit marginalising and discriminating attitudes in the workplace and society at large.

It is important to note how media is addressing the issue of racism and diversity by portraying more images of Muslims (women in particular) to create a positive but false feeling of conformity to justice. The governments and businesses using this strategy aim to portray themselves as defenders of diversity and believe the portrayal of Muslims would eradicate racism and racial intolerance. Kendall Jenner's Pepsi advertisement is an example of this strategy in which a happy crowd of white people are demonstrating for peace and love with presence of the police. In the midst of the ad, a Muslim woman wearing a scarf appears who takes a photo of Kendall offering the police a can of drink as a token of peace. So, would this supposedly, make racism disappear and portray everyone as a big happy bunch (Fairey, 2017)? This is a photograph (Ahmed, 2014) of diversity aiming to commodify and homogenise differences. It is a picture of happiness because it demonstrates how multiculturalism makes us happy (Ahmed, 2014) and uses whiteness working as a 'strategy of containment' (Swan, 2010, p. 78). Therefore, anti-racism efforts aiming to dilute the problem of racism by blaming the individuals' psychology, or trivialising it by using pictures/ stories of ethnicities and migrants, to strike a chord with society's ethical and moral conscious, do not tackle the issue at the grassroots where inequalities are created. It would take a lot more than showing colorful pictures to acknowledge diversity and make it a responsibility to get involved in the process of change.

### **The role of media in creating unfavorable feelings towards minorities**

The media creates perceptions and pictures in our minds which in most cases is different from the outside world (Christoph, 2012). Often, the only experience we have with an issue or group of people is based on the mental picture created in our minds influenced by the mass media. The mental pictures in our minds lead to stereotypes which define the identity of groups. Reality is 'selectively constructed' by media as it decides what is news and how to present it. The mass media can be prejudiced by journalists, their professional rules and the dominant political parties' opinions and news production constraint.



SBS, as part of the Face Up to Racism week campaign, aired a session called 'Truth About Racism' in Feb. 2017 to scientifically explore racism within Australian society when an African, Asian, Aboriginal, Muslim and a white Australian were used as participants in the experiment. The show aimed to demonstrate that for most Australians when faced with racial and ethnic situations, there is an unconscious level of racism which can be seen through facial features, level of empathy and pain and split-second fear responses. The White-Anglo participant, Nick Folkes, stated the show was biased and had a predetermined agenda to depict him as racist. It should be stated that Nick Folkes has a history of activism against minorities and especially people of color and opposes the Australian government's policies on migration as he believes they are conducive to Australians losing their identities. The study aimed to picture Australia as having a social problem with racism vs. a happy multicultural country to demonstrate how media can, by manipulating facts and emotions, reach a predestined outcome.

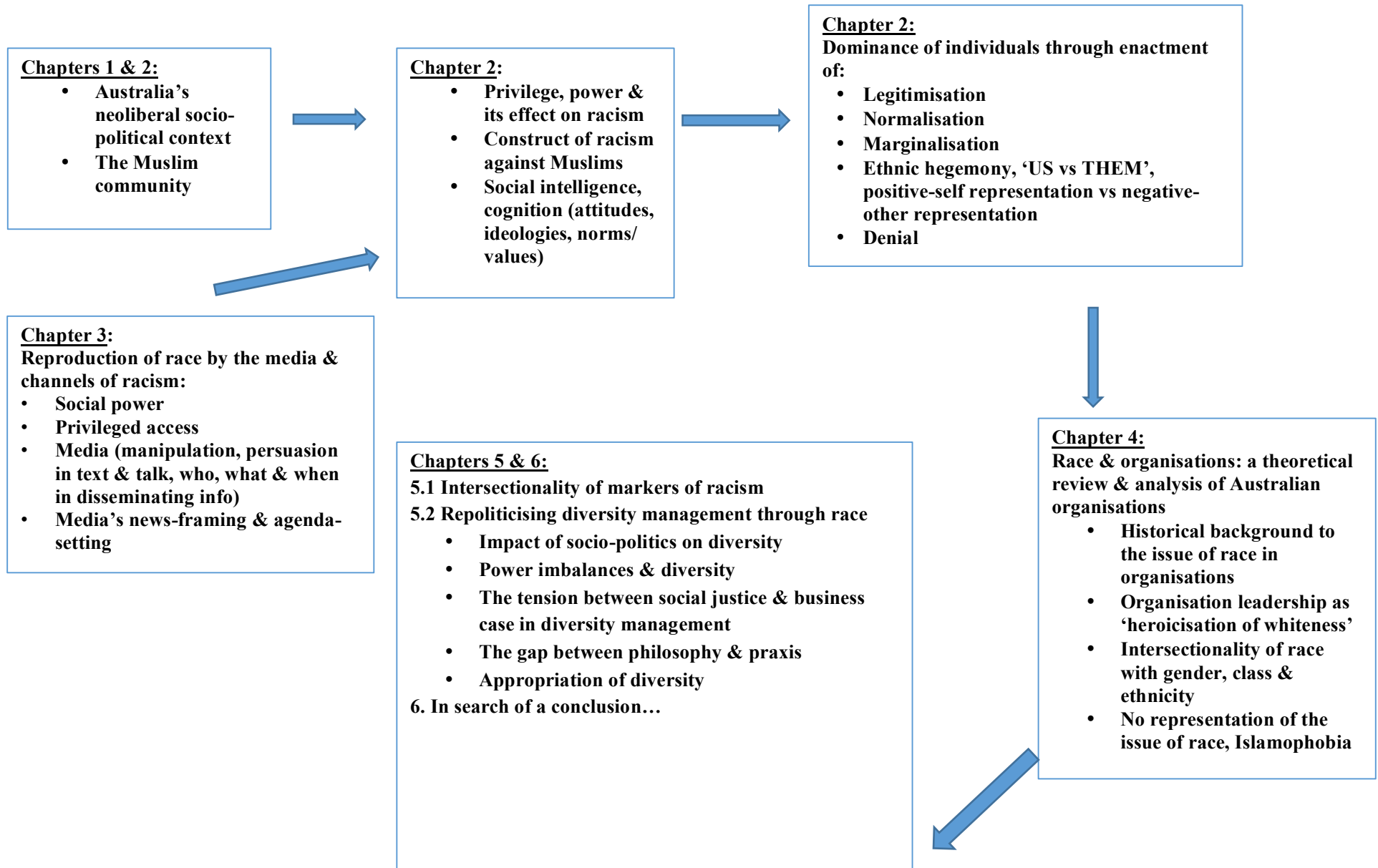
SBS also commissioned a survey posing the question 'Is Australia racist?' which aired on 26/2/16 in which extreme possible race encounters were used to gauge public opinion against people who look and dress differently. The program concluded with the remark that although Australia has a history of racism, things are improving and Australians are not racist. The outcome of the show is in contrast with the results of the survey which showed almost a third of surveyed participants said they had experienced racism within their work places, 35% experienced it in public places (public transport), a third had experienced it in their educational facilities and half of Indigenous respondents had felt racism in sporting events (SBS.com). The survey participants stated that a multicultural Australia is a positive thing and everyone is responsible to face up to discrimination when they experience it. The inconsistency between the survey and the outcome of the experiment confirms the fact that racism, marginalisation and exclusion is a complex matter and goes beyond the rhetoric of living in one big family. The issue of racism is rooted in individuals' social cognition (attitudes, values, norms) and is channeled through social power. Social power is exerted by privileged groups such as the politicians and media. Media uses news framing and emotional cues to sensationalise controversial issues and create fear and uncertainty towards perceived causes of danger.

The opening chapter provides the themes analysed within the thesis and is a snapshot of the discussion which will unfold. Chapter two will discuss Australia's socio-political environment and its influence on the issue of migration and inclusion using the example of the Muslim community. Chapter three is an analysis of the role of the mass media as a pillar of social elitism on influencing societal intelligence, cognition and individuals' perceptions and attitudes using

examples of the print media and online blogs/articles collected during the period of 2016-2017. Chapter four delves into the issue of race within organisations and draws attention to the historical studies of race in organisational context. Using content analysis of private organisations' and government agencies' websites, it acknowledges the lack of discussion about issues of race and religion in organisations, normalisation of discrimination against Muslims and the impact on how they are perceived and marginalised. The lack of discussion about race and religion in organisations can be contributed to the effort of societies and the corporate workforce to become secular and politically correct. This void, however, misses the link between the political context and perpetuation of racism by pretending its non-existence. Chapter five discusses the intersectionality between race, gender, culture, religion and ethnicity variables of difference and will discuss the effectiveness of diversity management within a socio-neoliberal Australia and provides some recommendations for future research. The following theoretical framework is driven from a critical review of theory in areas of racism, media and organisations and aims to depict the influence of Australia's socio-political context and the role of the mass media in perpetuating narcissist racism against the Muslim community. It demonstrates the lack of attention to the issue of race and ethnicity/culture within organisational discussions and practices, and theorises possible areas for further research to eventuate effective diversity management. It maps the flow of the discussion throughout the thesis.

Multiculturalism is a misleading and ambiguous rhetoric and as this thesis will demonstrate, can be used for the purpose of commercialisation and a marketing tool to beautify Australia's image. The thesis will conclude by repoliticising diversity management and going back to the question of whether, amidst the rise of alt-right movement and Islamophobia, fear of the unknown and the vulnerability of communities towards issues such as terrorism, extremism and culture-shock, there can be a discussion about diversity management and its effective implementation. How can multinationals exercise diversity management in their recruitment and selection when people from the so called 'axis of evil countries' (Miller & Sokolsky, 2017), who are predominantly Muslim, are being segregated and banned from exercising their human rights?

**Figure 1. Towards an integrated understanding of racism and diversity by understanding Islamophobia in Australia**



## **Chapter 2: The Australian socio-political context and the Muslim community**

This chapter provides a detailed review of the key literature on studies of the Australian socio-political environment and the status of the Australian Muslim community. There is a gap in research for an Australian study of racism as a social context created within society and reciprocated in organisations. Racism is created by power imbalances within organisations and society, channeled into the public's social understanding by the elite, and comes to life as domination of minorities. The case of the Muslim community in Australia is an example of how the contextual climate hyped up by socio-political talks and media representation categorises minorities as the other and a source of fear. Media, by using news-framing and agenda-setting through use of text, talk and visual/audio discourses, plays a major role in shaping of the socio-political context of each country. Therefore, an analysis of the media discourse can provide a snapshot of the country's socio-political change over a period of time and its effect on treatment of minorities.

### **2.1 Australia's socio-political environment**

As discussed in the introduction, the change in the political and economic environment in Australia since the 1970s from a government regulated economy to a liberalised system based on policies of 'deregulation', 'privatisation' and 'free trade' (Nelson & Dunn, 2016) has impacted discourses of immigration and social welfare in Australia. Neoliberal policies within the discourses of immigration and welfare have created constructs of 'racial identity' and racial inequalities (Nelson & Dunn, 2016). For example, the introduction of welfare cards to be spent on certain items such as food or electricity are for the purpose of household budget management. We must, however, consider this from the point of view of the recipients to understand how these paternalistic actions would make them feel and contribute to othering. Research by Stratton (2009) on neoliberalism in Australia identifies an increased presence of the military protecting borders, decentralisation of diversity and multicultural management initiatives and constructing racial identities as identifying characteristics of neoliberalism.

Neoliberalism was rooted gradually in the Australian economic and socio-political sphere by exploiting crises and disasters throughout history. The crisis around migration issues and the discourse of racial/cultural incompatibility of asylum seekers from Muslim backgrounds resulted in the coalition election of 1996. The racial crisis was intensified by 'Tampa affair' (Stratton, 2009, p. 679) in 2001 when the Australian government under the leadership of John Howard refused to permit entry of 439 asylum seekers and sent them to Nauru. Asylum seeker threat and

the terror attacks since 9/11 created a nation which protected its borders by increased military presence and within the state signalled a move towards 'authoritarianism' (Stratton, 2009, p. 680).

The power of neoliberalism in Australia is exerted by the state, corporations, professionals and the media. Power is exerted through domination (by the state and the private sector) to maintain consent for the way it is making and enacting cultural, economic, social and political decisions. An example of this is that minorities accept that top leadership positions within organisations are taken by Anglo-Australians. The rise of the alt-right movement in countries such as the US has intensified the coercive power of domination in the forms of banning certain minorities from travelling to the US or extra-vigilant vetting of minorities in airports and public places.

Racism cannot be discussed in a vacuum and must be analysed using the social and political environment in which it is present, by closely monitoring how it is addressed and managed. In a neoliberal environment, management of anti-racism programs is rhetorically localised in order to keep a close watch on it. In reality, disburdening of the federal government of its responsibility to monitor and manage racism by assigning local agencies is conducive to competition among the local institutions instead of 'coalition building' and having strategic action planning (Nelson & Dunn, 2016, p. 26). The localisation of the management of racism in neoliberal times tends to 'deracialise' and 'depoliticise' (Nelson & Dunn, 2016, p. 26) the issue by concentrating on aesthesis of multiculturalism and cultural harmony rather than addressing deep rooted issues. The new racism stems from cultural intolerances, denial of paternalistic White-Anglo privilege and misconceptions about what is a strong nation as discussed by Dunn, Forrest, Burnley, and McDonald (2004). Is multiculturalism seen as a social engineering tool going against the notion that strong nations need to have cultural uniformity? Or is it conducive to having stronger communities built on mutual goals and different strengths?

Essed (1991) states that 'racial oppression' is embedded within social, economic and political processes of society in a neoliberal climate. The dilemma is not only that racism exists, but also that it is a part of daily lives and is normalised by the dominant groups (Essed, 1991). Socially, we are reluctant to admit we feel uncomfortable in any discussions concerning Muslims and their religion and over-emphasise our tolerance for differences. Economically, Muslims are disadvantaged and not represented equally in the labour market as evidenced by studies on the Muslim community in 2015 and 2017. Politically, the rise of the alt-right doctrine in the west and Australia corners Muslims into exclusion and marginalisation.

In Australia, the role of the local government in responding to racism can be seen as two processes: celebratory and regulatory (Nelson & Dunn, 2017). Australian local government agencies are predominantly engaged in celebratory initiatives rather than having regulated frameworks to deal with racism. The celebratory initiatives have been criticised by scholars as being conducive to stereotyping and promoting 'otherness' and government's role as regulator of anti-racism initiatives, and a defender of economic and social inequalities is absent. The celebratory anti-racism functions do not affect people's cognition and mindset about racism. It would take a lot more than free food and multicultural assembly in special times such as 'Harmony Day' to create awareness about issues of exclusion and marginalisation of minorities. Rebranding anti-racism as harmony day is an indication of denial of racism.

On the one hand, discussions of diversity and multiculturalism portray a superficial colorful picture of Australian society where everyone embraces differences and feels shocked when asked about racism. We can see prevalently in the media the showcasing of Muslim women wearing a scarf as a symbol of our happy diverse culture. On the other hand, any discussion of race and religion as underlying issues for inequalities and exclusions are missing from our societal and organisational literature and life. This thesis has analysed the website content of government and private organisations claiming to advocate diversity and concludes that in most cases, the issues of Islamophobia and any references to Muslims are missing. The most recent move by the Australian government to abolish 457 skills visa and the introduction of a more rigorous and stringent vetting process for working visa applications is an example of the impact of far right movement and neoliberalism in the west. The Australian prime minister, Mr. Turnbull said: '...the new system would be manifestly, rigorously, resolutely conducted in the national interest'. 'The migration program should only operate in our national interest. This is all about Australia's interest' (ABC.com 2017).

The Australian government's approach to skilled migration will impose more stringent English language proficiency tests, mandatory police checks and labour market testing (Smh.com.au 2017). It is important to place Australia and Australians' interests first in an ever-increasing nationalistic environment but, in justifying the rhetoric, Malcolm Turnbull referred to Australia as a multicultural nation and to European migrants who built Australia at the turn of the century, with no mention of other non-Anglo migrants who have contributed to the building of this nation. Is this just a slip of a tongue or purposeful disregard for migrants from non-Anglo backgrounds? Pauline Hansen, the leader of the One Nation party, tried to take credit for the

government's move to limit and vet skilled-visa applicants with the prime minister arguing that it was his government's decision. Malcolm Turnbull reiterated the new policy on 19/4/17 on an ABC radio talk show saying the following (O'Malley, 2017). The repetitive use of words Australia and Australian is highlighted to draw attention to prevalence of ethnocentrism, protectionism and nationalism in political talks:

Above all, this is about putting Australians, and their jobs first ... What it will do is ensure that Australian employers have to put **Australians** first ... This will mean that there will be more jobs available for **Australians**, but above all this is about putting **Australians** and their jobs first ... We've got two objectives here. One is to ensure that whenever we've got **Australians** available to fill an **Australian** vacancy the **Australian** fills it.

Doesn't this nationalist rhetoric sound familiar, and is this a parallel to the far-right populism happening in the UK, France, the US and the Netherlands? When the host of the radio show asked Mr. Turnbull how many jobs would be created as the result of this policy change, he switched to using Australian slang rhetoric. Interestingly, a day after Australia announced changes to immigration policies, the New Zealand government followed suit and announced policies to limit low-skilled migrants and make it easier for higher-skilled migrants to get permanent residency. The NZ government also encouraged employers to employ New Zealanders over migrants and invest in their training and up-skilling. New Zealand's move to tighten its migration policy and place importance on New Zealanders first is another example of western governments' shift in ideology and move to the far-right, following the US, the EU and Australia. The NZ immigration minister, Michael Woodhouse said (tvnz.co.nz 2017): 'I also want to make it crystal clear that employers will be able to continue using migrant labour when they can demonstrate a real labour or skills shortage and that they cannot find New Zealanders for the job.' 'But we're also setting a challenge to employers to take on more New Zealanders and invest in the training needed to upskill them.'

The Australian government's bid for loosening of the Freedom of Speech Act in March 2017, influenced by far-right ideology, is another perfect example to show how democratic nations which are known for their humanitarian efforts are moving towards protecting and nationalising their own interests in a neoliberal environment. Australian lawyers for human rights have slammed the government's move: '...change to replace the words 'insult, offend or humiliate' with 'harass' demonstrates a profound misunderstanding of the way racist hate speech works its harm by establishing racist discourse as socially acceptable' (alhr.org 2017).

Drawing on the work of Van Dijk (1998), ideological discourse is formed socio-politically to confirm specific group dominance or subjugation and represent social groupings; i.e. 'us' vs 'others'. Ideology consists of thoughts which occupy a place in our beliefs and are mostly constructed socially and associated with groups' identity, struggles and interests. Ideology may be used to resist or normalise dominance and expressed with the use of language (Van Dijk, 1998). The proposed changes to loosen the Freedom of Speech Act would have made it easier to inflict racial hate using language and get away with it. Language does not operate in a 'vacuum' (Oktar, 2001) and represents social dimensions. In order to study ideologies such as racism, we need to study their manifestations in social structures which are constructed and legitimised through language (Oktar, 2001). This means that language is used by social groups to express, defend and legitimise their ideologies in their interactions between in-group members and other groups. Van Dijk (1998) theorised the connection between language and ideology with reference to media discourse and studied how self-positive and other-negative representations were made. Media plays an important role in re/production of ideologies and needs to be studied within the context of historical and socio-political power relations.

### **Privilege, power and its influence on racism**

Van Dijk (2003) states that power and dominance are based on 'privileged access' to social structures. Political and religious groups and the media are examples of entities which have privileged access to social structures and have the power to influence and manipulate public perceptions and attitudes. Social power is based on having privileged access to wealth, income, education, group membership, status and involves controlling others and their minds. The new social power is mostly cognitive and is exerted by persuasion, manipulation and pretense to influence the minds of others in one's own benefit. This may not happen explicitly but rather implicitly, subtly and in a disguised manner (Van Dijk, 2003). Modern power, also, is affective and uses emotions and feelings that are hyped up by the elites in the society to create dominance and control. The events of the USA's 2016 election campaign and the victory of Donald Trump is a good example of how rhetoric used to resonate with emotions of nationalism and patriotism were conducive to coming to power of a political group which had not been considered a serious contender in the race for the top position.

Modern power is channeled through the elite in society to influence public social cognition and intelligence, and is manifest in the form of dominance. Dominance can be enacted by bodies in the position of power to change the minds of dominated in a way that they accept dominance



using their free will. Dominance is, often, jointly produced through social interaction, by enactment and legitimisation and received by the recipients through media using text and talk. The Australian media's representation of the Muslim community and the rhetoric discussed in the political space are explicit forms of domination. Denial of existence of racism against Muslims is an implicit form of domination and control (Van Dijk, 2003). There is a link between power imbalances within society which is also reciprocated in organisations and production of dominance. Social power imbalances and media's role in disseminating what/how/when to say info, impact society and individuals' social understanding.

The latest study on Islamophobia by Charles Sturt University (CSU) in 2017, 'The Islamophobia in Australia Report', identifies institutional and individual aspects of Islamophobia using a theoretical and empirical framework and discusses how they relate to each other. The CSU report taps into theological, political and social/cultural aspects of Islamophobia by referring to religious and political groups' ideology which is conducive to an increase in negativity towards Muslims. The role of the media in Australia to create and intensify Islamophobia during the period Sept. 2014-Dec. 2015 was studied closely by the use of media representations of the Muslim community and related incidents of Islamophobia which were obtained from the Islamophobia register. In Australia, although we have official policies and a culture of inclusion and tolerance, there are political and religious parties and minority groups which advocate for Australia as a Christian country with Christian values. International events such as the US election of 2016 and the UK Brexit combined with European member states not wanting to accept any more refugees from Muslim backgrounds have been conducive to an anti-Muslim sentiment and an increase in Islamophobia. This anti-Islam sentiment is promoted in Australia with far-right groups such as United Patriots Front, Reclaim Australia, The Australian Liberty Alliance (ALA) and One Nation party which are advocates of non-Muslim immigration (Iner, 2017).

The CSU report of 2017 identifies the establishment of political parties which fall within the right-wing exclusivist section of the race discussion as promoters of Christian values within Australian society. These political entities lobby for either having preference for Christian refugees from the Middle East (Christian democratic party) or advocating for 'keep Australia Australian' (Rise up Australia party) or releasing specific 'Islam policy' emphasising the narrative that 'Australia is a country built on Christian values' (Pauline Hanson's One Nation Party) (Iner, 2017, p. 13-14).

This thesis has identified an interdisciplinary relationship between power imbalance, social cognition and media control in creating explicit and implicit dominance. The focus of this new Narcissist racism is minorities and in particular Muslims living in the west who are marginalised and discriminated against due to their perceived association with terror. Media and social elitism have paved the way for a neoliberal Australia where government policies on immigration are focused on 'Australia and Australians first' rhetoric. Ironically, Australia's immigration policies have been known as exemplary for upholding human rights, equality and fairness. The trend seen in Australia has a close resemblance to the events in the EU and the US and is linked to the rise of far-right extreme nationalism and protectionism.

The rise of the far-right in America which was heightened by Trump's win in the election of 2016 heralded an era of othering and mainstream supremacy. Hate was redefined as 'intersectionality' (Browne, 2016) of racism and sexism and blaming certain group/s for one's misfortunes and unhappiness was a tool to create a focus as the recipient of hate and mobilise the public to vent their frustration against whomever was not mainstream and perceived as the source of America's down fall. This divided America creating 'us' vs 'others' sentiment and had a rippling effect in the west spreading the fire of hate towards anyone who wasn't mainstream (Browne, 2016):

...but Trump won the presidency by making hate intersectional. He encouraged sexists to also be racists and homophobes, while saying disgusting things about immigrants in public and Jews online. Hate, like love, is infectious, and it is contagious. And for so many, the adrenaline felt by blaming one group for one's personal ills bled into blaming all the others.

This thesis asks whether we witness the same phenomena in Australia. Is the rise of One Nation and Australian Liberty Alliance party (ALA), government's stance towards tougher migration policies, migrant stringent vetting and criteria selection and attempts to change the Freedom of Speech Act evidence of implicit and explicit dominance of the elite and racism against a perceived enemy? This chapter illustrates that how the socio-political environment of neoliberalism in Australia has influenced government migration policies towards Muslims. The imbalance of social power within societies and organisations combined with inherent privilege of Whiteness predominant among the mainstream is a breeding ground for domination of minorities. Different forms of domination un/consciously legitimise and normalise racist behavior. The following section will discuss the status of the Australian Muslim community and draws attention to their struggles as the recipient of increasing negativities and explicit racism. It

sets the scene for a discussion of efficacy of diversity management within a hyped up environment of nationalism and protectionism.

## 2.2 Racism and Muslims in Australia

The change in Australia's political view towards migration and treatment of minorities influenced by a neoliberal doctrine will be discussed further using the example of the Muslim community. Australia's connection with Muslims goes back to the mid nineteenth century when thousands of Afghan Muslim cameleers arrived to help Anglo-European early settlers to map the new land and find natural resources and habitable places to live. Cameleer migrants had come from a diverse background but they had one common characteristic as they were Muslim. History shows, although cameleers skills were invaluable, they were discriminated and prejudiced against by the early Anglo settlers (Australia.gov.au, Accessed 7/4/17).

Historically, in Australia, there has been a shift from the 'White Australia' policy (1901) to assimilation (1950-1960) and integration (1960-1970) as discussed in the previous chapter (Waugh, 2001). Since the 1980s, Australian government policy has been based on multiculturalism (Stone, 2013). During Howard's government (1996-2007), the focus was shifted to an emphasis on citizenship with John Howard favouring the term 'cultural diversity', and an Anglo-Celtic brand of Australian society was promoted by the media. Howard's policies were supported by large sections in the media which in turn affected public attitudes towards migrants and in particular Muslims. Howard's rhetoric emphasised the past over the present in regards to Australia's cultural identity. In other words, Australians were encouraged to imagine their cultural identity the same way as the days of 'White Australia' (Mansouri & Wood, 2008):

...whatever we say about our diverse background, the Anglo-Celtic cultural influence is still the most dominant because we speak English and our institutions are, and they were the institutions that attracted a lot of people to this country. We've reached a very comfortable compromise, in a way that I don't think people think our historical antecedents are threatened in any way by this, whereas I do think a generation ago some people felt that. Some people felt that multiculturalism meant that we had to in some way disown our past ... [I]t did sort of sound ... like that.

The events of 9/11 in the US and the consequent attacks of terrorism and extremism against western nations introduced the world to an unfathomable concept of horror, violence and anguishing heartbreak (Kabir, 2007). Historical context and current global political events of Brexit, the US election of 2016, and the rise of the alt-right movement in the west, have created a tense socio-political backlash from the mainstream population against Muslims, their religion and their way of life. The abuse against Muslim women wearing 'hijab' in public and in the workforce range from being yelled at and called names such as 'ninja' and 'towel head' to being

attacked, as evidenced by the 2017 Islamophobia report. The Australian media promoted such stereotyping and represented Muslim women as having associations with terrorism or violence (The west Australian, 23 March 2005: 35).

Kabir (2007) states that the Australian government and media have not distinguished between moderate Muslims practicing their faith and extremist militants. There is a sense of hesitation among Australians to speak their negative feelings towards Muslims as they will be stigmatised as racists but at the same time, incidents of outright racist behavior are manifest in the public. This indicates an emergence of a new backlash that I will call Narcissist racism which is a combination of implicit and explicit racist behavior.

According to data from Australian emigration, the Islamic population in 2011 was 476,291 which is up by 40% compared to the 2006 census and their unemployment rate is 12.1% compared to the national average of 5.2%, (heraldsun.com). There is a parallel between the unfavorable employment status and income disparity of Muslims compared to the mainstream in 2011 government stats and in a report conducted in 2015. According to the report prepared by the university of South Australia in 2015 titled 'Australian Muslims' on the status of this minority group, the following conclusions were made (unisa.edu.au 2015):

... widespread discrimination against Muslims both face-to-face and through employment practices and the criminal justice system. Muslims are more likely to be unemployed, living in poverty or in prison. Despite their high levels of education, Muslims are less likely to work in the professions and less likely to be granted a job interview than the average Australian.

The analysis of education and unemployment rates for Muslims in 2011 and 2015 (SA university report) and the recent report released by Charles Stuart University in 2017 on the rise of Islamophobia reconfirm the discussion that Muslims are disadvantaged and discriminated against on the basis of their ethnicity and religion in the Australian workforce. Discussions of diversity and inclusion are blind to the issue of race and religion. Democratic societies pride themselves in not seeing colour and race and just seeing people (Bonilla Silva, 2003). The mainstream often complains that minorities, and Muslims in this case, are using the issue of Islamophobia as an excuse for their mishaps. In a social and political climate where politicians (Tony Abbott, ex-prime minister) state that: "Islamophobia hasn't killed anyone ... but terrorism has" (Coorey, 2017) or media presents headlines such as 'it is time to confront evil Islam mindset' (Akerman & Kelly, 2017), can Muslims be treated justly in the workforce and feel included?

## **The construct of racism against Muslims**

Notions of multiculturalism and nation are contradictory and oxymoronic as the concept of nation creates the image of homogeneity, and multiculturalism is synonymous with differences. In a survey conducted by Dunn et al. in 2001 in NSW and QLD to gauge public attitudes towards Muslims, 28% identified Muslims as out-groups, 28% said people from the Middle East and 33% said people born in Asian countries and 2.5% identified Australian indigenous people as out-groups (Dunn et al., 2004). In the survey, indicators of racism such as importance of national identity, unease/hostility towards others' cultural traditions, uneven citizenship and belonging, and perceptions of Anglo-Celtic cultural superiority were questioned. Respondents showed contradictory results, as 85% felt positive about cultural diversity but when asked about level of concern if a family member marries an out-group member, 14.7% said they were extremely concerned about Muslim-Anglo marriage (the highest), followed by 3.9% for Aboriginals and 3.2% for Asians (Dunn et al., 2004). The results indicated that the rhetoric of multiculturalism did not resonate with participants' attitudes.

Dunn (2004) concludes that 'old racism' based on socio-biological logic has not disappeared. There is, however, a prevalence of a more implicit racism in Australia and there is a link between the two. Age and level of education is closely linked to the level of old racism, i.e., the older population without tertiary education show more racist attitudes. This, further, can be contributed to the time of "White Australia policy" period, as Australia's national identity was associated with Anglo-Celtic culture. Age and education's effect on racism has implications for the inclusion of early anti-racism and tolerance programs within the school curriculum (Dunn, 2004). The link between the old and the new racism (Essed, 1991) is very strong and from what is transpiring around the world (US, EU) and in Australia, issues such as threats to national identity and cultural intolerances have combined with fear of the unknown in the face of extreme violence and create a new dimension to racism which is complex in nature. On the surface, this narcissist racism advocates for multiculturalism and prides itself on having diverse societies but on the other hand, this diversity is only happy to encompass certain groups and tends to glorify the picture of happy Australia by using a superficial celebratory multiculturalism. This multiculturalism is used as a branding tool to portray happy and cohesive communities where the mosaic of diversity looks attractive but it is held firmly by a 'mainstream grout' (Swan, 2010, p. 82).

Our feelings and thought processes are influenced by our external environments, communicated to us by the mass media. Mass media, by creating unhappy feeling towards ambiguous minorities such as Muslims, acts as a 'double-edged sword' (Saeed, 2007). Minorities are excluded from having a voice and are represented in negative discourses (Saeed, 2007). The Cronulla riots of 2007 in Sydney's South East, which was a racist clash between Anglo-Celtic men and people with Middle Eastern backgrounds, and allegations against asylum seekers saying they threw their children overboard to manipulate the Australian navy to pick them and bring them to Australia, instigated John Howard's speech referring to asylum seekers as: '... people like that....' (Saxton, 2003), by generalising their plight as a group of illegal, ingenuine people who are a threat to Australian identity.

More recently, the rise of the Alt-right (abbreviation for 'Alternative Right') perspective, which stands for being against mainstream politics by preferring 'white identity' and having an opposition to immigration, has gathered momentum in the west. Alt-right negates multiculturalism, mainstream conservatism and immigration. The Alt-right targets Sudanese, Muslims, Chinese and anyone looking different and sounding different. It uses 'naked bigotry' (Lyon, 2017) and 'white supremacist' ideology advocating 'whiteness'. Alt-right goes beyond having negative attitudes and is fully fledged racism aimed at specific groups. The rise of alt-right ideology has been conducive to increased levels of nationalism, protectionism and ethnocentric rhetoric in the west. Australian immigration minister Peter Dutton's recent irresponsible comments about Manus Island refugees who are being resettled in the US as 'economic migrants' (Koziol, 2017), saying they possess luxury luggage and wear designer clothes, is an example of explicit racial vilification of a group who were identified as legitimate refugees, have spent years with an uncertain future in detention and finally are being settled in a country where anti-refugee sentiment is widely spread. The remarks of Peter Dutton can jeopardise the future of resettlement of refugees who have already suffered emotionally, mentally and physically. Peter Dutton, by using unfounded allegations and hearsay, alludes to the ingenuity of refugees taking advantage of humanitarian help.

Social and political unrest in the developing world has resulted in large displaced populations seeking refuge in Western democratic societies. Nations which accepted large numbers of refugees are increasingly facing challenges from their populations asking for tougher laws and more security measures. The media paints an unfavorable picture of minorities and Muslims in particular and perpetuates negativity and intolerance (Ahmed, 2014). Muslims are facing entrenched systemic racism because of a tumultuous socio-economic environment characterised

by a 'high level of low level racism' (Briskman & Latham, 2017, p. 16) in Australia as well as high level of anti-Islam sentiment in Europe resulting in the deterrence of asylum seekers flowing from war ravaged Syria. In Australia, right-wing political and religious groups, although not in the majority, have come to the mainstream and increased their representation in the political sphere, as in the case of four senators elected from the anti-Muslim One Nation party in 2016.

In the most recent news poll in Australia on 7/2/17, 52% of Liberal and National voters said they support a similar executive travel ban to the US, suspending visas for migrants and travelers from six Muslim majority countries. The overall survey results show 44% in support of a similar travel ban and 45% opposing it (9news.com.au). Australian Liberty Alliance (ALA), a political party which advocates Donald Trump's idea of banning Muslim immigration claimed that its membership has quadrupled since its launch in Perth in 2016. ALA was founded by far-right and anti-immigration Dutch MP Geert Wilders and the majority of its members are ex-National and Liberal party members. Furthermore, ALA has called for a ten-year ban on issuing residency visas to anyone from an Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) country, including Afghanistan, Albania, Bangladesh, Egypt, Lebanon, Iraq, Indonesia, Morocco and Iran. The only exception it would make would be for persecuted non-Muslim minorities living in those countries (Bourke, 2016).

The rise of movements and parties such as the Australian Liberty Alliance and the recent news poll with 44% of Australians supporting a complete Muslim ban, indicates the growth of the Alt-right movement in Australia and increased negativities towards Muslims. Pauline Hanson, One Nation leader, as the 'queen of Australian fear' and 'the White Queen' has been campaigning since the late 1990s using racial prejudice as her main motivation and immigration as a 'goad' to voice her anti-multiculturalism and white supremacy ideology, which at times have been focused on different groups of minorities ranging from Asians to Muslims (Bourke, 2016). The current negative and unfavorable attitudes of mainstream Australians towards Muslims is confirmed by the Islamophobia report prepared by Charles Sturt University in 2017. The report used evidence of racism against Muslims and demonstrated that women and children were the most threatened by Islamophobia in public places.



## **Discourse of racism and its denial**

Governments in the west routinely use justification and excuse strategies for their tough measures against minorities and put the blame on minorities for not having motivation to contribute positively, their unemployment, cheating the welfare system, crime and extremism/terrorism (Van Dijk, 1992). The more stringent the norm against racism and discrimination, the more people use denials and mitigations to down tone their racist acts (Van Dijk, 1992).

Racism is generally taboo and has strong negative connotations and if used in the media, it is normally cloaked in phrases which create doubt or distance the writer from the notion, e.g. using words such as 'alleged'. In modern Western societies, racism and discrimination are banned by the law, and norms do not tolerate blatant 'dominative' (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2004, p. 3) racist expressions and therefore, denial is used as a form of 'aversive' racism on ethnic affairs. This denial strategy is used at micro (individual), meso (organisational) and macro (government) levels in the form of shared opinion that racism does not exist and there might be incidents of racism which should be attributed to individuals' mistakes and corrected accordingly.

Evidence of racism in organisations is implicit as workplaces use face-keeping and positive self-representation strategies such as equal opportunity and affirmative actions to abide by the law and create a favorable image for their employees and customers. However, the same organisations may refuse to implement diversity management and affirmative action policies if those acts are seen as a conflict to their business interest, profits and quality. Complying with the law will be used at a superficial level for legal purposes and good public relations but, in reality, strategies such as minority quotas will be out the door if it is not conducive to economic benefits.

Denial of racism can be seen in the press as there are no minorities or a very small percentage who have representation in the media as journalists. Minorities are not quoted and if they are, their quotes are balanced by using comments of a white person as well (Van Dijk, 1992). The official norm in the far-right media is to deny existence of racism and claim that 'the act was provoked' as seen in the Fox news channel in the US. Anti-racist advocates are seen as racists, headaches and people who see racism in everything and are perceived to be too sensitive and too pedantic about political correctness. Subtle denials are used in the press to express doubts, distance or revoke the existence of racism. Words such as 'claims' and 'alleges' imply a presupposition of doubt in validity of what is being said. Whenever the rights of minorities and

ethnic affairs are at stake, ‘nationalist positive self-presentation’ (Van Dijk, 1992) is an important strategy to limit the rights of minorities, as seen in the US. The current rhetoric of ‘making America great again’ is being used and over - used to justify the proposed limitations and bans of human rights in the case of Muslims.

The analysis of the 2015 and 2017 reports on the status of the Muslim community in Australia confirms that they are discriminated both implicitly and explicitly in public places and employment situations. The 2017 Islamophobia report evidences racism based on complaints registered through the Islamophobia registry and provides insight on institutional and individual racism perpetuated by the media and politicians. It, however, does not tap into the life within organisations to study how and whether diversity management policies are practiced effectively. The report ends with recommendations for the Australian government to work towards countering Islamophobia and radicalism and identifies the role of the Muslim community to work towards raising awareness about anti-Muslim racism and actively engage in the life of their communities.

The discussion of the Australian Muslim community illustrates their disadvantaged situation politically, economically and socially. Muslims’ unfavorable circumstances are perpetuated by institutional and individual racism enacted by the media, political institutions/Christian groups and everyday social interactions. The negativity against Muslims within society is sustained and intensified by a biased media which misrepresents and vilifies. Australia’s neo-socio-political climate and the disadvantaged situation of Muslims instigates the need for an analysis of the role of the media in the creation of intolerances and amplification of racist rhetoric. The next chapter will discuss the role of the media in influencing public perception and attitudes by manipulating information and defaming Muslims.

### **Chapter 3: Reproduction of race by the media**

.... while media have been quick to criminalise Muslims for all manner of alleged deviance, they have been slow to notice, detect and punish anti-Muslim perpetrators. Furthermore, the potential danger of hard right-wing organisations is minimised while the government, police, media and community largely focus on violent extremist threat within the Muslim camp.

Islamophobia in Australia report, 2017, p. 4.

Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere. We are caught in an inescapable network of mutuality, tied in a single garment of destiny. Whatever affects one directly, affects all indirectly.

Martin Luther King Jr.

The discussion about Australia's neo-socio-political climate and its implications for policies on immigration illustrated the increased attitudes of intolerance towards Muslims. The analysis of the Australian Muslim community confirmed their marginalisation and disadvantaged position economically and socially. This chapter will examine the role of the media in reproduction and intensification of parochialism against Muslims through a content analysis of the print media.

The media plays a most significant role in perpetuation of attitudes, perceptions, values and educating the public by using text, talk and visuals. Media can be the mouthpiece of the state or the defender of the public and by disseminating information as events happen and framing it according to predetermined agendas influence the formation of biases, prejudices and what we know. It is important to conduct an evaluation of the role of this most powerful tool of communication and manipulation in modern societies when we are discussing racism perpetuated by the elite in society. The media portrays migrants/refugees and specifically Muslim migrants as a source of physical, economic and cultural threat to the mainstream and contributes to the creation of racialised othering. Media, by focusing mostly on negativities surrounding Muslims and ignoring discriminations and biases within society and organisations, fails to fulfil its role as being the voice for the voiceless.

#### **3.1 Racial media**

Racial media is the intersection of race studies and media and will elaborate on the impact of racist depictions of news on public perceptions. Muslims and Islam are often stereotyped and considered homogenously and therefore, every time there is a problem, the religion is attacked as an ideology creating hate, and Muslims are perceived as enemies within. The study done by Saeed (2007) paints a vivid picture of how Muslims and Islam are treated in the west in an ever-

increasing fear of the unknown, terrorism and fundamentalism. Muslims are facing a 'double edged' sword (Saeed, 2007) of marginalisation and negativity which is fuelled by the media's misrepresentation of them. Hate crime against Muslims in the US increased to 67% in 2015 which was the highest since the aftermath of 9/11 (Aljazeera.com, 2016). The mass media creates perceptions and pictures in our minds which in most cases is different from the outside world (Christoph, 2012). Often, the only experience one has with an issue or group of people is based on the mental picture created in his/her minds influenced by the mass media. This leads to stereotypes which in turn defines the identity of groups. It can be noted that reality is 'selectively constructed' by media as it decides what is news and how to present it (Christoph, 2012). The media acts as a socialising instrument assisting communities to learn about themselves as well as other social groups (Atwell-Seate and Mastro, 2016).

Immigration policies and treatment of immigrants and refugees are increasingly topics of heated disagreements and are synonymous with a feeling of unease and uncertainty. The mass media can take advantage of this unease and portray migrants/refugees as "enemies at the gate" who are about to invade western nations (Esse & Medianu, 2013, p. 519). Increasingly, issues about cost and benefits of migrants to host countries, how many to accept, migrants' claim legitimacy and the threat to western values/culture are represented in the media. These claims create public awareness and alert society to potential physical, economic and cultural dangers of accepting migrants.

News framing of media content impacts and channels audiences' understanding which leads to influencing their attitudes and behaviour. Media messages are understood based on audiences' critical evaluation of the content and also superficial cues (music, mantra, slogan) used. We can use the example of an Australian racism study conducted in 2017 to illustrate the impact of news framing on audiences' perception and attitudes. The study was aired on SBS channel in 2017 as part of 'Face Up to Racism' week campaign, in which researchers aimed to manipulate news cues characterising refugees to represent them as migrants and victim vs opportunists and extremists to study the effect on audiences' attitudes. The purpose of the study was to gauge the effect of news framing on attitudes and perceptions of the audience by showing two versions of the same story and manipulating facts and emotions to achieve a predetermined outcome. The result depicted that on the one hand, when negative cues are used (violence, terrorism), refugees were associated with threats against society and were stereotyped negatively. On the other hand, when refugees were shown as helpless genuinely disadvantaged groups trying to escape war-torn

nations and make a new life, the viewers showed a sense of empathy towards them (Giuffre, 2017).

... emotive language was used in consultation with images and editing to dramatically change how the viewer understood the message and, more importantly, how they felt about it. Almost as if reading a script, respondents reacted with fear towards the first series of negative clips which featured dramatic music and evocative language suggesting criminality, threat and suspicion.

... in contrast, the second set of images used voice over and images to focus on the human impact of these unknowns - families split and hopes for a better life abandoned. The respondents engaged with the intimacy of the individual stories and showed almost immediate sympathy (Giuffre, 2017).

Muslims in Australia believe that as a result of media bias against them, they are vilified in society and marginalised within the workforce (Kabir, 2006). Figures from the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) support this claim as according to census records in 2011, 31.5% of Australian Muslims were employed compared to 46.8% for all Australians. The household income incongruity between Australian Muslims and all Australians reconfirms their disadvantaged and marginalised position within the labour market (Hasan, 2015). This thesis will look at examples of media during 2016-2017 as Australia's stance towards migration of visibly different-looking individuals and refugees from Muslim nations has changed drastically. The aftermath of 9/11 and consequent terror attacks against the west and their civilians impacted Australia, an ally of the US and involved our nation in a war against the Muslim/Arab world (Kabir, 2007).

The socio-political landscape in the west (Brexit, the US election of 2016, the rise of Australia's One Nation party) combined with increasing threats from the ISIS movement against the west has created a new level of challenge for Muslims and migrant settlers from Muslim nations. The common denominator in the events of the last seventeen years is a rise in hate towards the west and the notion of its exploitations of the Arab world and an increase in negativity towards Muslims as they are generalised and considered as a homogenous group. Media as the source of anxiety through escalation of fear of the unknown and portrayal of a sense of 'us vs 'the others' fuels racial intolerance and hate.

Racism is a social system of inequality based on race, gender and class (Van Dijk, 2000). This social system has two components: social (everyday practices at micro level organisational and macro level political/legal) and cognitive (people's knowledge, attitudes, norms/values).

Normalisation of intolerances in everyday social interactions and inherent cognitive biases against minorities form the foundation of discrimination and racist behaviors. The social system of inequalities is part of daily life experiences and is experienced at work or in social settings. Systematic inequalities are influenced by socio-political context and media representation which shapes attitudes and perceptions. The formation of negative attitudes towards Muslims is impacted by a history of media antagonism since 9/11 as stated in the Islamophobia report (Matthews, 2017) and Muslims' perceived association with terrorism.

According to the statistics from Sensis Social Media report of May 2015, almost 50% of consumers use social media on a daily basis, with 79% of 18-29 years old age group accessing social media daily (Matthews, 2017). There are different types of media in Australia based on ownership, format and audience reach and vary from 'mainstream to alternative and social media' (Matthews, 2017, p. 29). Living in the age of technology provides constant access to information which is disseminated by different media platforms. Media, therefore, is a part of societies' social structure and using the tool of language, music and visual graphics influences its audiences' cognition and perception. 'The Islamophobia in Australia' report of 2017 analysis of 290 Australian newspaper articles over a ten-year period confirms the lack of discourse about Muslims' labour market integration and discrimination faced by them within the workforce.

Australia is a multicultural and ethnically diverse country because of its long-standing history of migration. It, however, can be noted that diversity is not properly reflected in the media, as controversial and negative aspects of migration and increasing issues about refugees tend to represent multiculturalism. Gemi, Ulasiuk, and Triandafyllidou (2013, p. 266) discuss possible reasons for the lack of representation of migrants in the media, including the absence of specialised knowledge of migrants, resource limitations of journalists in collecting information and the preference for the face value of a piece of 'blunt' news over nuanced elaboration of complex issues. Migrants' opinions are often considered less newsworthy and credible (Van Dijk, 2000, p. 38) as media gives preference to already formulated norms and 'commonsense' discourses articulated by the privileged in society. News reporting on migrants' issues is often done by government agencies, the police and the authorities and leave minorities' voices out who cannot challenge the negativities iterated about them.

Coverage of migrants' news provides a bridge mechanism in constructing relationships between migrants and their new home countries. This mechanism can initiate a positive footing for new arrivals in a new country. It, however, often creates or endorses racist attitudes between the

mainstream and the minorities by transforming unfavorable stereotypes and prejudices and create a sense of 'moral panic' (Gemi, Ulasiuk, & Triandafyllidou, 2013, p. 272). For example, in western societies, what is known about Islam and Muslims is through the mass media rather than by close interpersonal associations and interactions.

Most average 'white readers' do not have any contact with minorities other than through the media and therefore, form their attitudes based on what they watch or read. Media, by showing minorities as the source of negativity and problems, create the sensation of othering and cognitive control which is necessary for reproduction of racism (Van Dijk, 2000).

Media coverage of migrants mostly concentrates on emotional issues such as positive stories about integration, migrants fleeing war-torn atrocities, families being reunited and migrants cheating the welfare system of the host countries. Rarely, media makes an effort in conducting informative and objective analysis of migrants' situations to inform mainstream society. Media does not cover issues about immigration and migrants continuously but rather floods the broadcasting space when there are sensational, dramatic and event-driven stories of migrants' problems and their conflicts with the mainstream. For example, in February of 2017, SBS channel in Australia produced an analysis of migrants' dilemmas and the media's role in the portrayal of positive and negative images using different news frame-making cues.

Media exercises its power through 'news making' and 'news structure'. Minorities do not have access to mechanisms of news making; i.e. interviews, press releases and conferences and are not often quoted. News structure is about positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation through lexical choice of negative words and phrases such as 'illegal', 'extremists', 'welfare mothers', 'riots' and 'terrorists' to stereotype minorities and create us vs them sentiment. Minorities are often represented in 'passive' roles (things are done to them) or actors of negative actions e.g. illegal entry, crime, violence (Van Dijk, 2000).

Media uses choice of letter type, layout, and photo placement to de/emphasise certain meanings. The use of disclaimers is an example of a semantic to convey both positive-self presentation and negative-other presentation in one sentence. Examples of disclaimers used in the media are: apparent denial, apparent concession, apparent empathy and transfer (Van Dijk, 2000). The media analysis section of the Islamophobia report produced by Charles Sturt University in Australia in 2017, focuses on events reported in the mainstream Australian media between 2014-2015 and concludes that reports about Islam and Muslims increased significantly with terror-related incidents happening in Australia and around the world which contributed to the image of Muslims as 'menacing other' (Matthews, 2017, p. 32).

Politics and media can have an ambivalent relationship. Political discourse and media integrate their efforts to report policies to the public, to create interest about state-sponsored initiatives and for preserving the status quo in society (Goodall et al., 1994; van Dijk, 1991a; Hall, 1986: 7 cited in Klocker and Dunn, 2003). There is also an opposing view to the media-state interaction relationship which states media can differentiate its views from the state's and independently report and form public opinions (Klocker & Dunn, 2003), as seen currently in the US in which mainstream media is raising awareness against Trump's administration. Media can act as the defender of the public, raising awareness and as the culprit, creating hegemony by skewing the information dissemination process.

This discussion has illustrated the socio-political environment in Australia and the impact of neoliberalism discourse on the issue of migration and its influence on the media's agenda setting and news-framing in debates involving the Muslim community. The dialogue on socio-political media and its role in the formation of attitudes and perceptions against Muslims can be elaborated further by examining a selection of media excerpts from web sites of Australian newspapers during 2016-2017. The thematic analysis of a sample of media articles as listed in Appendix 1 and 2 draw the link between the media's misrepresentation of Muslims and increase of intolerances. It demonstrates the role of the politicians and the media as the pinnacle of elitism in the society in perpetuating negative discourse against Muslims.

Inspired by Van Dijk's analytical approach to news discourse as one of the contributors to 'new racism' (Van Dijk, 2000, p. 33), this thesis has discussed examples of the media (Print and social) by looking at structure of the language used. Critical discourse analysis (Tuffin, 2008) draws attention to how lexical selection of vocabulary is used to elicit certain meanings by arranging words and sentences to evoke the ideology of positive-us vs negative-them. Discourse analysis perspective is a contextualized method which describes text and talk by drawing a parallel with social and political environment (Van Dijk, 2000). By using 'rhetorical devices' (Van Dijk, 2000, p. 35) such as metaphors and euphemism and 'speech acts' such as threats and promises, the focus is on either general theme or more specific local meanings.

Strategies like 'generalization' and 'over use of lexical' tend to create a dichotomy of 'us' vs 'the others' and emphasize negative feelings towards minorities (Teo, 2000). Thematization (Teo, 2000) provides an understanding of information in a text as how it is used to illustrate underlying ideological motives.



The general themes of these articles range from reflections on the mistakes of previous governments; i.e. Malcolm Fraser in 1976 in allowing migration of Muslim migrants from Lebanon, criticising Muslims' way of life and their lack of fitting well into the mainstream, Islamophobia as a myth used by the left side of politics, to misconceptions about Muslims as a homogenous group and the source of terrorism and the Australian government's leniency and complacency in dealing with Muslims. The use of phrases such as 'Islamophobia hasn't killed anyone but terrorism has...' (appendix 1, article 2) or '...in officialdom's ranks there is this notion that Islamophobia is almost as big a problem as Islamic terrorism' (appendix 1, article 2) and Islamophobia as 'so-called' (appendix 1, article 7) uses sarcasm and negates the belief that Islamophobia is real and causes harm to the fabric of a society which is proud of its cultural diversity achievements. Using metaphors such as 'extraordinary crime waves' (appendix 1, article 1) and linking it with 'Sudanese refugees' creates the image of Australia being swamped by violence because of the crimes of refugees. The writer goes on, bringing in examples of crimes in Western Sydney and Melbourne by Lebanese Australians. The article uses 2011 census statistics to generalise the economic and social status of Lebanese-born Australians as uneducated who still don't speak good English and earn below the Australian average level of income. The use of analogies such as 'shutting the gate through which terror comes' (appendix 1, article 4) alludes to banning migration of Muslims who are perceived as terrorists.

Using rhetorical questionings such as: 'Did we create the Islamic state? The Assad regime? Are we to blame for the beheadings and bombings of Muslims by Muslims? Do Muslims have no moral agency at all? Is everything always the fault of White Christians? Will we never learn?' (appendix 1, article 1) and linking Muslims with horror and terror creates negative feelings towards Muslims and implies positive self-representation and negative other representation of Muslims with no moral values and dividing society based on religious differences. It depicts Muslims as opportunists with no agency who have taken advantage of the generosity of Australians and at the same time blame the mainstream for their disadvantaged condition. Referring to multiculturalism as a 'mad long-shot sociological experiment' (appendix 1, article 8) implies that social engineering of the society has not worked and the experiment has gone horribly wrong. It insinuates that it is not a natural feature of the society to have diverse groups and man-made efforts have backfired.

As part of the content analysis of the media, a collection of online news, blogs and articles within the last 11 months has been used to illustrate the atmosphere of tension, the otherness and negativity towards the Muslim community in the west and specifically in Australia (Appendix 2).

This chapter illustrated the double-edged role of the media as the link between the state and the public and the connection between groups and communities within society. Media as one of the pillars of elitism in society exerts a significant influence in shaping attitudes, perceptions and values. Media's influence is through the use of language, music and graphics to elicit emotions, affect cognition and impact behavior. In a socio-political environment infused with negativity against refugees and Muslims, their legitimacy, and their threat to Western values, economy and security, media plays an integral role to either create positivity or negativity towards minorities. The analysis of Australian newspaper articles during 2016-2017 and online blogs within the period of the last ten months depicts the prevalent otherness and negativity within the political sphere against Muslims. This othering is intensified through the vehicle of media and relayed to the public. Therefore, media has the power to make or break the cohesiveness of societies by permeating positivity or negativity and manipulating intelligence, attitudes and behaviors.

The next chapter will discuss the issue of race within organisations historically and evaluates the lack of acknowledgement of organisational management regarding implications of race and religion at a time when Islamophobia is a social issue. Discussions of gender in organisations created attention to other areas of inequality and management theory has contributed invaluable nuanced meanings in understanding interrelatedness of markers of inequality and the intensification of felt-discrimination because of multiplicity of race, gender, ethnicity and LGBT. The following chapter will question the lack of adequate progress in the area of diversity management, discuss possible reasons and provide some recommendations for future research.

## **Chapter 4: Race and Organisation: A theoretical review and analysis of Australian organisations**

We have to change our own mind ... We've got to change our own minds about each other. We have to see each other with new eyes. We have to come together with warmth ...

Malcom X

Let the white make a supreme effort in their resolve to contribute their share to the solution of this problem, to abandon once for all their usually inherent and at times subconscious sense of superiority, to correct their tendency towards revealing a patronizing attitude towards the members of the other race, to persuade them through their intimate, spontaneous and informal association with them of the genuineness of their friendship and the sincerity of their intentions.

Shoghi Efendi, *The Advent of Divine Justice*, 1938, p. 40.

This chapter will discuss studies of race and the dominance of whiteness in management theory, drawing on the sentiment of invisibility of race and white privilege in organisations (Swan, 2017). The acknowledgement of 'heroicisation of whiteness' (Liu & Baker, 2016, p. 420) and imbedded privilege within organisations is the beginning for abandoning self-interest and getting involved in collaborations and collective team work. The previous chapters demonstrated Muslims' economically and socially disadvantaged situation. Although management theory has endeavored to understand the praxis gap between theory and real life experiences of inequalities among minorities, we are still far from addressing why race, racism and Islamophobic issues within organisations are being ignored and downplayed. What is the link between more visibility of certain differences and the socio-political context of the time in the reproduction of narcissist racism that hides beneath the facade of benevolence and white patriarchy and at the same time forays to explicit racial hate? Swan (2017), who draws extensively from Sara Ahmed's work and theorises praxis in white diversity research, questions the role of organisational management who are predominantly white in ensuring how minorities are included. Swan proposes that genuine listening, acknowledging the past, coming to terms with inherent white privilege and developing meaningful and generous closeness can pave the way for a future of the 'not yet' (Ahmed, 2002, p.558).

### **Discussions of race within organisations**

Traditionally, before the 1980s, organisational literature had been silenced about genderism and racial discourses within organisations and tended to take a 'white male' perspective towards gendered and racial inequalities (Liu & Baker, 2016). It is imperative to understand the historical

and theoretical bedrock of research on the issue of race and its influence on how race is studied in organisations (Nkomo, 1992). Organisations are still silent about the issue of race and religion and consider their workers in an abstract sense, with no emotionality, race or religion, therefore, contributing to difficulties in racial relations. Racial organisations impede individuals' equal access to resources and their participation in decision-making processes. Although the issue of race is acknowledged by the diverse management theories of Black feminist, postcolonial, Subaltern, critical anthropology and critical race theory, there is still an absence of discussions about racism and racial organisations within the field of organisational theory (Holvino, 2010).

Discussions of gendered organisations took shape and momentum with the struggles of 'blacks' in America during the 1960s, with feminist movements advocating the rights of women (Essed, 1991). Since then, theorising about gender has provided a ground for discussing racial organisations which still remains an area lacking nuanced engagement (Zanoni, Janssens, Benschop & Nkomo, 2010). There is a lack of intersectional studies of gender, race, culture-ethnicity and religion in organisations and how they are used as invisible tools of Western colonialism (Alamgir & Cairns, 2015) and patriarchy to vertically segregate (Zanoni et al., 2010) and discriminate individuals and create a glass ceiling barrier impeding minorities. Williams (2013) uses the metaphor of a 'glass escalator' to draw attention to privileges within organisations for white males in female-dominated jobs, to climb the ladder of corporate success. This metaphor can be extended to encompass the intersectionality of discrimination based on gender, race, class, religion and ethnicity and the privileges received by the dominant mainstream group which assist them to be the face of authority and decision making.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 in the US has had major implications within the workforce and led to the need for academic research in the areas of race and racial organisations (Cox & Nkomo, 1990). Studies of race trace back to the plight of 'blacks' and black women specifically to come to terms with their identity, representation and equal rights within the work force. Racism is influenced by the economic, political, social and organisational conditions of society (Essed, 1991). Race is socially constructed and is based on the context of local meaning of physical features and the choice of certain aspects of identity (Ashcraft & Allen, 2003). Race has 'social reality' (Bonilla-Silva, 2003, p. 9) as it effects the lives of racialised groups in societies and organisations with racial structures. Racial structures are inherent systemic privileges of the dominant groups impacting work processes within organisations and social interactions amongst individuals. Association of race with minority, ethnicity and culture tends to conceal the political implications of race and is a mechanism to soften the harsh implication of racial disparities

(Ashcraft & Allen, 2003). Montagu (1997) cited in Nkomo & Proudford (2006, p. 325) calls race 'one of the most dangerous myths of our time, and one of the most tragic'.

Nkomo (1990)'s study of 'invisible men and women' was a guiding star in providing nuanced meaning on the importance of 'racial heterogeneity' within organisations and highlighting the inadequacy of theoretical frameworks to address inequalities by using assimilation and acculturation paradigms. The myopic view of race considered black-white comparisons ignoring other multi racial groups. Nkomo (1990, p. 429) concluded that Murphy's (1973) theorisation of 'invisibility of race' within organisational research was valid. Cox & Nkomo (1990) discussed the inadequacy of research on the intersection of race and gender as differentiating elements impacting organisational experience and demonstrated that with the addition of more variables of difference, work satisfaction level and job involvement of Blacks and women were impacted negatively. A female Muslim is more sensitive and susceptible to issues of racism than a male Muslim due to the gender differences they experience (Iner, 2017). Stereotyping of different minority groups varies according to political, social and economic context and the way they are portrayed through the media at a given time (Ferris, Arthur, Berkson, & Kaplan, 1998). The treatment of migrants from Middle Eastern countries, and Muslims in particular, is influenced by politicians' and the media's representation of them.

Nkomo (1992), in another study of race in organisation used the story of 'the emperor has no clothes' as an allegory to demonstrate how organisational scholars have approached the issue of race in organisations. They have considered organisations as homogenous units and discussions of race and ethnicity as irrelevant topics as if organisations are race 'neutral' (Nkomo, 1992, p. 488). Nkomo (1992) concluded that the issue of race in organisations is being ignored and everyone is turning a blind eye in order to glorify and beautify how well western societies and in particular organisations operate. Nkomo states that 'the others' – the excluded individuals – are more likely to blow the whistle and call for attending to what is missing, i.e. the need for inclusivity, justice and fairness. The dominant academic group and organisational management will keep ignoring further studies of race in the context of organisations and use general rhetoric of diversity management and inclusivity. The group who speaks for organisations has been predominantly white males (Nkomo, 1992) and as Nkomo (1992) brilliantly explains, studies of race in organisations lack representation of minorities. More recently, Proudford & Nkomo (2006, p. 335) reflect on the lack of representation of race and racism within organisations twenty years after Cox & Nkomo (1990) first wrote about it:

We are left where we started. We still know that difference exists, but little about the mechanisms that perpetuate and sustain those differences and consequently, how to eradicate the negative consequences of racial differences in organisations ...

‘A theory of gendered organisation’ (Acker, 1990) drew attention to the lack of acknowledgment of the role of gender within organisations by feminist scholars and alluded that the gendered nature of organisations is obscured through the embodiment of ‘abstract jobs, hierarchies ... and universal workers’ (Acker, 1990, p. 139). Acker’s evaluation posited that the assumption of gender-neutrality in organisations and incorporeal organisational structures were part of a control mechanism in capitalist societies and organisations. In a more recent work, using a feminist perspective, Acker (2006, p. 441) theorised the ‘intersectionality’ and mutuality of ‘inequality regimes’ of class, gender and race and stated that it is imperative to study organisations as places for reproduction of inequalities. Acker (2006) identifies different characteristics of inequality regimes, shape and degree and visibility of each variable and their legitimacy within work organisations and posits that high visibility and low legitimacy of inequalities may increase the possibility for social change. Acker (2006) goes on, stating that globalisation, new technology and the fast pace of change has contributed to higher degrees of competitiveness which celebrates a glorified culture of individualism and individual material success. Therefore, inequalities are more legitimate and organisations, by devising controls such as downsizing, fewer high paying jobs and off-shoring, ensure compliance.

Postcolonial studies of organisations and their management provided a myopic perspective in theory and practice as their main gaze was fixed on universalism using the context of the west and American firms to theorise management theory and practices as a method of ‘cultural imperialism’ to create power and exert control (Jack & Westwood, 2009, p. 9). The creation of knowledge about others through ‘humanitarian and administrative functions’ with predominant white leadership allowed the management to stay in control and turn minorities into ‘governable subjects’ (Foucault, 1973, cited in Jack & Westwood, 2009, p. 10). Hence, this management theory was permeated with the ‘parochialism of the west’ in which studies about inequalities within organisations were produced by mainstream white theorists (Jack & Westwood, 2009). Prasad (2006) in an analysis of postcolonial theory and workplace diversity postulates that colonialism is the very foundation of Western Eurocentric superiority looking down on other cultures and maintaining the status quo. The dominant status quo needs to have access to other sub/cultures who are perceived as inferior and needing help. Successful organisational diversity initiatives would deprive the privileged from their position of power and superiority and, therefore, are inherently designed in a way so as not to disturb the existing equilibrium.

‘Border thinking’ is an important concept introduced by Faria (2013) addressing the imperative of considering critical management knowledge from different economies and especially the emergent neo-powers. It goes beyond the ‘Eurocentric’ parochial view of postcolonialism and aims to build agency through social relationships across the borders of differences. The imperative of creating a collaborative knowledge for the benefit of and by the diverse groups can be the missing link between knowledge and praxis in the discussion of diversity management. Postcolonial management theories are produced by the white mainstream for the benefit of minority groups who are not white and tend to maintain the privileges of the status quo. ‘On being included’ by Ahmed (2012, p. 16) interrogates the link between diversity and ‘institutional whiteness’ who are the custodians of diversity talk and teases out the importance of the word ‘diversity’ as an anomaly. On the one hand, diversity encompasses differences and on the other hand, creates the illusion of unity and conformity. Organisational statements of commitment to diversity are for the purpose of ‘paper trailing’ and do not have performative volition and therefore, are not conducive to social change.

The study of ‘leadership as the heroicisation of whiteness’ (Liu & Baker (2014) uses critical race theory to probe whiteness in dominant mainstream leadership and demonstrates how white practices are normalised and white elites speak for society. The context of Australia is used as an example where ‘Eurocentric notions of race’ (Liu & Baker, 2014, p. 421) continue to permeate to social construction of racial differences. There is prevalence in the notion that assumes leadership to be ‘race-neutral’ and excludes discussions of race from organisational studies. Liu & Baker (2014) acknowledge the increasing studies about the ways in which race influences leadership in organisations and suggest that not knowingly, they may consider that only coloured people have race and therefore, enforcing the invisibility of privilege and whiteness in leadership. Studies of race within organisational leadership draw attention to the dominance of whiteness and highlight that the sentiment of ‘doing leadership’ is linked to ‘doing whiteness’ (Liu & Baker, 2016, p. 420).

‘Undoing Whiteness’ by Liu (2016) uses the Chinese community in Australia and investigates Australia’s ethno-cultural diversity image by interviewing Australian- Chinese business groups and local councilors aiming to interrogate whiteness in mainstream diversity discourse. Her study focuses on investigating visible and invisible dominance of whiteness in organisational norms and attempts to construct a bridge between philosophy and praxis. Whiteness and privilege is embedded within the fabric of organisations (Liu, 2016) and societies by

superficially valuing ‘ethno-cultural diversity’ (Liu, 2016 p. 2) and ethnicity as a desirable trait and a ‘commodity’ for organisations to exploit. In the corporate workforce, whiteness is camouflaged and privilege is legitimised by portraying the mainstream as altruistic and the minorities as inferior (Liu, 2016). There is an increasing number of media representations of minorities and specifically Muslims to portray the mainstream with a façade of tolerance and inclusion. Ahmed (2009, p. 44 cited in Liu, 2016) details the ‘politics of feeling good’ and how it is related to having perceived diversity. Diversity and inclusivity is becoming a brand to be exploited and marketed by businesses and governments. The mainstream may not necessarily be racist but the social system exerts ‘systemic racism’ towards minorities as stated by Angela Glover, the CEO and founder of Policy link (Glover, 2017).

‘Beneath the white gaze’ (Liu, 2017) is another investigation of the mainstream’s inherent whiteness using the perspective of postcolonialism. Liu (2017, p. 784) in a study of the identity of Asian professionals in Australian organisations refers to minorities as ‘exotic commodities’ within organisations for the benefit of the white management who secure themselves under an assumed ‘white gaze’. Minorities live beneath this white domination looking at themselves through the eyes of the others; a ‘double consciousness’ (Liu, 2017, p. 783) which has the implication that they see themselves inferior and accept policies that are coercive to their group. Liu (2017) concludes that the imperialist ideology defines ethnic cultural differences and is conducive to stereotypes through organisational practices and western theorising of organisational knowledge. Postcolonial economic inequalities lead to social marginalisation and disparities in ‘equality of capability’ (Alamgir & Cairns, 2015, p. 1134) and in accessing entitlements which are of value and available to the society.

Holvino (2010) in a study of intersectionality of race, gender and class reconceptualised feminist organisational studies as they have failed to address the intersection of race with gender and class. She argues that most feminist studies of organisation are drawn from white female perspectives and ‘hidden stories’ (Holvino, 2010, p. 248) at the intersection of race, ethnicity, class, and nationality with sexuality and gender missing. There is also a need for an emphasis on the link between the inside of the organisation and the outside societal norms and practices. More recently, Castro & Holvino (2016) used an empirical qualitative analysis of data from Big Four firms in Mexico to evaluate the impact of gender, class, race, ethnicity and culture variables and their intersection with micro (individual), meso (organisation) and macro (society) levels. Their study provided insight on intersectional research in organisations by applying ‘markers of inequality’ and ‘cultural scripts’ (Castro & Holvino, 2016, p. 341) and depicting the role of the



socio-cultural environment on construction of differences. It is noted that the role of political context is not considered in Castro & Holvino's study.

The narratives of three transnational professional Muslim women of Turkish, Indian and Pakistani heritage working in the UK by Mirza (2013) develops a postcolonial black feminist perspective of 'embodied intersectionality' (Mirza, 2013, p. 13) between religion, race and gender. Muslim women embody difference, oppression, subjugation, danger and lack of leadership skills because of how Muslims are portrayed in the west. It is a picture of how the external environment of economics, society and politics creates inequalities which are configured by individuals and lived through Muslim women's 'corporeal representation' i.e. 'oppressed others' and 'racialised dangerous' (Mirza, 2013, p. 7). The disconnection between how Muslims see themselves and how they are racially constructed as the 'other' in the west depicts the mainstream dominance of power and privilege in stereotyping individuals and at the same time, reveals Muslims' embodied identity through their self-presentation.

The review of race literature in organisations shows that although attempts to study race and its implications for the lives of organisational members goes back to the early 1990s, there is still a long distance to go as the issues of race and ethnicity and especially Islamophobia are missing from organisational discussions. This thesis has demonstrated the highly socio-political context of the current time, and in the next part of this chapter racialisation and otherness of minorities is argued in organisational discussions. The literature tends to focus on perspectives of whites and non-representation of the issue of race. A review of the websites of public and government organisations in Australia was conducted to have a better understanding of what aspects of difference are acknowledged and how they are managed. Government agencies are perceived to be the defenders of the public and the voiceless and, therefore, a review of these agencies' work provides information on how effective their practices are. The public organisations used in the review are listed as champions of diversity management by the Diversity Council Australia. The review is tabled in Appendix 3.

## **Review of government agencies**

To investigate whether organisations address issues of inequality and inclusion and which specific aspects and which groups are being considered, I conducted a thematic analysis of government agencies and public firms' websites. These organisations are either commissioned by the government to work in areas of managing diversity and inclusion in Australian society and the workforce or are public exemplar organisations with high standing claims about their diversity management performance. Website analysis of government agencies which are commissioned to provide social services in the settlement of migrants and work to establish social cohesion within the communities i.e. the Australian Multicultural Advisory Council (AMAC), the Australian Multicultural Council (AMC), and the Federation of Ethnicities Council of Australia (FECCA) illustrates generalised information and the absence of any mention of Muslims or Islamophobia.

The Australian Multicultural Advisory Council (AMAC)'s policy recommendation to the government in 2010 on 'multiculturalism', 'community building' and 'government programs' is comprehensive in addressing the issues of intolerance and discrimination at government, community and education levels but it fails to pinpoint the pending issue of Muslim community and growing Islamophobia as identified in the latest report by CSU in July 2017. The link to 'multicultural equity and action plan 2016- 2017' on The Australian Multicultural Council's (AMC) website provides very general listings of policies and responsibilities on how to include people from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds with emphasis on the issue of women. There is, however, no mention of Islamophobia or the inclusivity of Muslims.

According to the Federation of Ethnicities Council of Australia's (FECCA) website, their main focus is to assist individuals from diverse cultures in areas of education, employment and social services. An overview of FECCA's strategy document demonstrates another government organisation using pictures of ethnic groups and Muslim women wearing hijab to portray themselves as an advocate for cultural diversity and equity. The strategy document outlines general aims of awareness building, leadership/capacity building, outreach and policy/advocacy as their main areas of focus. There are no details of their programs and no mention of Muslims or Islamophobia and its management. Upon an inquiry from FECCA regarding their role, I received an email (also included in appendix 3 under FECCA) which confirms their broad policy level involvement and general initiatives:

... FECCA works at a broad policy and advocacy level to combat racism of all kinds and Islamophobia is certainly a current concern.  
We have made many submissions to government on issues of racism and protections for Australians of all backgrounds, cultures, and religions.

In 2015, the Diversity Council Australia (DCA) celebrated its 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary and made a YouTube video showcasing a group of organisations as DCA's founding members and exemplars. Some of these organisations are listed as ANZ, AMP, Boral, Coles, IBM Australia, Myer, Orica, Rio Tinto and Westpac. The video shows employees who have disabilities (Coles & IBM Aust.) and are from indigenous groups (Boral) and focuses on work-life balance/flexibility (AMP) and graduate programs (Orica). The issue of race and religion is missing and there is no mention of religious/ racial diversity.  
([www.youtube.com/watch?v=qHdpEuV93b4&t=172s](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qHdpEuV93b4&t=172s)) (Accessed 6/8/2017).

An inquiry put to the Department of Social Services (DSS) about its role and function addressing Islamophobia and Muslim community inclusion initiatives within the labour market provided the following information:

- **Engage, challenge, grow** which aims to build community harmony through the participation of Muslim communities in Australian society to improve relationships between Muslims and non-Muslims.
- **National Open Mosque Day** where Mosques across the country open their doors to the general public.
- **Muslim Youth Leadership Development Program**, a collaboration between Victoria University, the Australian National Imams Council and the Islamic Council of Victoria that aims to develop a leadership program that teaches a series of advanced professional skills for Australian-born Muslims who have demonstrated leadership potential.
- **Supporting Social Inclusion**, a training program to strengthen and support cultural awareness and improve knowledge and an appreciation of the contributions Muslims have made to Australian society.

The Department of Social Services (DSS) provides generic support in the form of its initiatives to promote inclusion and diversity within the Australian community. It has beneficial programs such as the 'Muslim youth leadership program' to educate and train young Muslims from an early age and provide opportunity for progress. The scope and effectiveness of this initiative is not evaluated. DSS does not have much to say in the area of Islamophobia and its implications within the workforce in Australia. DSS's services and initiatives are too general in addressing a specific issue and geared towards celebratory and beautification of multiculturalism and diversity management. The response from DSS regarding more specific targeted initiatives within the workforce to address the issue of Islamophobia and its management was:

...While the Department's programs are not directly linked to issues of race within Australian workforces, they do seek to address issues of cultural, racial and religious intolerance, while promoting respect, fairness, acceptance and a sense of belonging for everyone...

The Australian Human Rights commission (AHRC)'s website provides info on multiple areas of discrimination such as sex, age, disability, race, LGBT and asylum seekers. A look through the tab, 'our work-race', provides a glimpse of the commission's projects and seminars. It is interesting to note that the projects are predominantly celebratory and there is nothing on racism and the current tension with Muslims. A report prepared by the AHRC in 2015 was based on public consultations in capital cities of each Australian state and aimed to promote the Racial Discrimination act of 1975 in commemoration of the 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Act. It provided a better understanding of individual lived experiences of discrimination. Through these consultations, two areas of concern were identified as limited abilities of the Act. It was reported that the Racial Discrimination Act fails to protect Muslim Australians against discrimination as the current Act does not consider Muslims as an ethnic group. AHRC's work encompasses all minorities including Muslims. It, however, lacks clear action plans on how to and what to do to tackle the problem of discrimination. It is a legal entity promoting public policy and providing information. The existence of discrimination against Muslim Australians is identified as 'cultural' and the issue of workforce discrimination is absent and only mentioned in the case of Aboriginal Australians.

The review of government agencies' websites demonstrates that diversity management implementation and inclusion of minorities have become a part of 'performance management' and 'audit' processes of organisations and as such, is a matter of ticking the boxes and paper trailing. It is not about challenging inequalities and ensuring everyone has a voice, rather it works as the 'technology of concealment' (Ahmed & Swan, 2006 p. 97) where inequalities are kept hidden by the superficiality of performance measurement and prettiness of website layouts and pictures. Ahmed (2014) states being good at diversity management can create a façade of responsible organisation which is very good in showcasing its superficial policies and distribution of documents and creating good feelings (Ahmed, 2014). Discussions of race, religion and specifically Islamophobia are absent from organisational discussions and governments' initiatives. The web sites analysed provide social and settlement services to abstract migrants. The issue of Muslims and Islamophobia is a taboo and is not explicitly mentioned. Is this because of political correctness or perhaps a discomfort in acknowledgement of having an issue in this regard? Please See Appendix 3 for more information on government agencies.

## **An example of the Commonwealth Bank**

The case study of the Commonwealth Bank of Australia (CBA) as shown on the Diversity Council Australia's website illustrates the superficiality and celebratory aspects of diversity and inclusion. CBA employs one of the most diverse workforces in Australia with 52,000 employees in more than 1000 locations across the globe with 40% of employees having an ethnic background other than Australian as at March 2016 (dca.org.au). The group formed an employee network called 'Mosaic' which consists of volunteer employees using their time to assist with implementation of diversity and inclusion amongst other initiatives such as developing a cultural competence training program, designing corporate hijab for female Muslim employees, partnering with DCA, signing on to anti-racism campaigns and finally celebrating cultural events. Swan (2010, p. 77) postulates that organisations' use of smiling colorful faces of minorities is a strategy of concealment and 'the mosaic inscribes difference within a sameness grid and commodifies it'. The majority of these so-called diversity and inclusion activities are superficial and focus on the celebratory aspects and commercialisation (i.e. corporate hijab, celebrating cultural events and signing up to campaigns) rather than tackling the issue of inequality at grassroots level and making social and corporate change. 'Mosaic' is a clever initiative which includes valuable cultural training programs and liaises with DCA for implementation of diversity and inclusion. The choice of the name of 'Mosaic' and CBA's aesthetic initiatives are, however, for the purpose of commercialisation and appropriation of diversity management.

In 2015, CBA conducted a survey amongst its employees and using their disclosed ethnicity information, identified that their senior leadership, i.e. senior level managers, general managers, and general executives, were less diverse than the Australian population. This finding is not surprising and is in line with organisational management research in the areas of diversity and inclusivity. The use of the term 'Mosaic' is a rhetoric to commodify the idea of unity in diversity. The top tier executives and managers are the white heroes who decide and speak for everyone (Liu & Baker, 2016).

An analysis of diversity and inclusion documents of large public companies, including ANZ, AMP, Boral, Coles, IBM Australia and Myer are used to demonstrate the superficiality of organisational documentation and dilution of discussions of race and ethnicity. The study of their websites portrays the use of pictures of management and staff who are predominantly white which confirms the face of bias and discrimination as it is depicted by the lack of presentation of

ethnicities, an abundance of well-written pages of generalised policies and documentations and ignoring any discussion of Islamophobia and its management. The justification for using these organisations is that they are listed as initial members and founders of the Diversity Council Australia and were identified as having proactive diversity policies and action programs. The issues of gender, LGBT, work-life balance, disability and age are predominantly the topic of diversity and inclusion programs with an absence of any discussion about Islamophobia and organisations' initiatives to manage it. Please see Appendix 3 for analysis of each organisation.

The Arab Council Australia and The Australian Muslim Women Association's websites show they represent Muslims and contribute to providing community, settlement and education services for youth and senior citizens. A brief look at the Arab Council Australia shows that they provide a list of services regarding settlement and integration of new migrants and educating them on issues of gambling and domestic violence ([arabcouncil.org.au](http://arabcouncil.org.au)). The Australian Muslim Women Association provides advice about Muslim faith to new and existing Muslim women. It seems that the role of these organisations is more towards promoting their faith and there is no evidence of raising awareness about Islamophobia and its implications ([australianwomen.org.au](http://australianwomen.org.au)).

The analysis of the above organisations' websites confirms the absence of discussion of race and racial structures within organisations. Organisations tend to drift away from race and its implications for inclusivity in their workforce. There has been acknowledgment of the issue of race in organisations and its mismanagement as seen in the literature during the last twenty years. There is, however, a lack of 'nuanced engagement' (Zanoni, Janssens, Benschop, & Nkomo, 2010) with racial discourses and specifically a lack of discussion about Islamophobia, its implications and its management. The next chapter will firstly set the scene by discussing intersectionality as a framework of study which encompasses 'markers of inequality' of race, gender, culture/ethnicity and religion. The acknowledgement of the intersection of inherent whiteness at individual and organisational levels with race, gender and culture is the beginning of change. It, furthermore, discusses the implications of racial discourses within organisations for diversity management practices.

## **Chapter 5: Repoliticising diversity management through race**

Racism is now tainted by its association with the horrors of the twentieth century to the degree that it has taken on something of the character of a spiritual disease. While surviving as a social attitude in many parts of the world—and as a blight on the lives of a significant segment of humankind—racial prejudice has become so universally condemned in principle that no body of people can any longer safely allow themselves to be identified with it.

It is not that a dark past has been erased and a new world of light has suddenly been born. Vast numbers of people continue to endure the effects of ingrained prejudices of ethnicity, gender, nation, caste and class. All the evidence indicates that such injustices will long persist as the institutions and standards that humanity is devising only slowly become empowered to construct a new order of relationships and to bring relief to the oppressed.

The Universal House of Justice, April 2002, To the World's Religious Leaders, pp. 1-2.

Diversity management discussions have become popular with the transnationalisation of the global workforce, increasing competitiveness in the market and growing socio-political issues arising from displacement of groups of migrants/refugees who are predominantly Muslim. How do minorities within the workforce feel included and have equal access to resources? How does the tension between diversity management's business case and social justice operate?

This chapter will discuss the interrelatedness of markers of discrimination; i.e. race, culture, religion, gender and ethnicity to allude to a discussion of diversity management in organisations. Discrimination and prejudice is a moral and social taboo and no one would want to be associated with racism. This denial, however, does not negate the inherent privilege and its association with whiteness seen in Western cultures, societies and organisations. The patriarchy of privilege heroicises whiteness (Liu & Baker, 2014) as benevolence and by implementing change policies as the legacy of twenty first century aiming to embrace everyone, to be tolerant towards differences and ultimately to become the champion of diversity management both in societies as well as organisations. Organisations cannot achieve diversity and inclusivity for everyone if they ignore the underlying grassroots inequalities which influence perceptions and social intelligence negatively against minorities and, as shown in this thesis, against the Muslim community in Australia.

## 5.1 Intersectionality of racism

Racism is a multifaceted phenomenon which is rooted within the fabric of societies and reciprocated in organisations and manifested implicitly, explicitly (Essed, 1991) or as a mixture of both in the form of outright racist behaviors and covert negativities and intolerances. The underlying grassroots inequality issues stem from the intersection of gender, class, race-ethnicity and culture variables. The intersectionality of gender, class, race-ethnicity and culture with individual, organisational and societal factors adds a complex dimension of differences to the study of race (Holvino & Castro, 2016). Intersectionality provides an understanding of how minorities are linked to specific inequalities. Discrimination and extra vetting of Muslims in the west is contextual to what is transpiring politically, economically and culturally. The ‘multiple axis of differentiation’ as stated by Brah and Phoenix (2004) (cited in Mirza, 2012, p. 76) theorises the importance of variables of difference and questions the affective lived-experiences of minorities.

Intersectionality is a method of analysis (Choo & Ferree, 2010) looking at race, gender, class and culture as interrelated fields creating power imbalances, privileges and disadvantages. There are different ways to understand intersectionality, and this thesis will use ‘process-center’ intersectionality (Choo & Ferree, 2010, p. 129) which considers intersectionality as ‘...a process, highlights power as relational, seeing interaction among the variables as multiplying oppressions at various points of intersection, and drawing attention to unmarked groups.’ (Choo & Ferree, 2010, p. 129). Racist behavior against a Muslim woman is different and more intense than against a male Muslim, as it takes shape because of interactions between the markers of gender as well as culture-ethnicity and religion. The more variables of difference, the more intense the negative attitude and perception.

Acker identifies ‘inequality regimes’ as ‘analytic approach to understanding the creation of inequalities in work organisations’ (Acker, 2006, p. 441) and suggests pinpointing bases of inequality, policies and practices creating inequality, the normalising and legitimacy of inequality and mechanisms of control and compliance within organisations (Acker, 2011, p. 70 cited in Holvino & Castro 2016) and identifying their role in how diversity is managed. Holvino and Castro (2016) proposed the use of ‘markers of inequality’ as a base for physical, symbolic, structural and discursive approach to be used in the study of differences. Therefore, they suggest



that racism needs to be studied using class-markers (proficiency in English, place of residence, education level, education institution), race-ethnicity markers (whiteness, visibly-different looking) and cultural markers (power distances, individualism vs collectivism).

Relatedness of internal organisational practices with external societal processes in a globalised and neoliberalised west will provide better understanding on how, on the one hand, nations cannot ignore their ever-increasing multinational populations (due to migration, demographic mobility and technology) and on the other, internalise and marginalise minorities. Without the analysis of racism as a social context and the link between the ‘inside’(organisation) and the ‘outside’ (society) in constructing negative implicit and explicit attitudes and behavior, societal change interventions are likely to be limited with small effect. This chapter concludes that corporate Australia is divorced from the idea of racism and inequalities created based on cultural and racial differences. The employee is an abstract (Acker, 1990) worker with his/her cultural/racial and emotional identity ignored. The analysis of government and public organisations’ work and contribution in the area of diversity management in the previous chapter provided a general set of policies to appropriate cultural differences and create a happy picture of colorful diversity. The study of ‘Unpacking Diversity, Grasping Inequality’ by Zanoni, Janssens, Benschop, and Nkomo (2010) emphasises that in order to have nuanced dialogue about complexities surrounding diversity knowledge and praxis, attention must be drawn to more contextualised empirical studies of diversity in the settings of organisations. The management’s sense making and understanding of what ‘doing diversity’ means and employees’ felt-experiences of diversity should correlate in order to have performative results. Diversity initiatives must go beyond written texts and pages of documentation and social change can be initiated through discerned perspectives of how practices come to life in specific work settings. Diversity practices that are geared to act as organisational ‘internal border control’ (Zanoni, et al. 2010, p. 17) to integrate ethnic employees into the organisation lack volition for social change. Zanoni, et al. (2010) suggest action research conducted by diversity scholars to support real-life organisations in their endeavors towards diversity implementation can be conducive to change.

Diversity Council Australia in partnership with the University of Sydney Business School, Google, Aurecon, Commonwealth Bank and Deloitte released a new report, titled, ‘*Cracking the Glass-Cultural Ceiling: Future Proofing Your Business in the 21st Century*’ and surveyed 230 women from ethnic diverse backgrounds to research why ethnic women experience a ‘double jeopardy’ when they try to access leadership positions within Australian organisations. The respondents identified their culture and gender as markers of difference impeding them from

breaking the 'glass-cultural ceiling' barrier with a large discrepancy between the number of executive roles and the number of ethnic women leaders acquiring them (dca.org.au). The study evaluated the ambition of ethnic women to succeed into leadership positions (88%) with 91% identifying mobility to leadership roles as an extremely important factor. The survey participants identified that Australian organisations did not place much importance on diversity of their executive workforce as only 15% agreed they worked in firms where their ethnicity was valued. The report, furthermore, identified that 88% of ethnic female leaders aspired to move into senior roles with 10% believing that their leadership characteristics were valued by their employers. They also identified that cultural barriers in their workplaces impacted their ambitions and made them modify their goals (26%).

Diversity Council Australia's survey results draws attention to the struggles of businesswomen from minority backgrounds and their exclusion from executive leadership positions. The report identified 'explicit bias, racist and sexist comments and offensive jokes are rife in corporate Australia' ([www.smh.com.au/business/workplace-relations/asian-and-muslim-women-get-discriminated-against-in-australian-workplaces-report-2017](http://www.smh.com.au/business/workplace-relations/asian-and-muslim-women-get-discriminated-against-in-australian-workplaces-report-2017)). Muslim women reported discrimination and said they were being written off as leaders due to their perceived lack of leadership skills and their 'subjugation and submissiveness' because of wearing the hijab. The gendered case of inequality attracts attention but Islamophobia and the challenges of the Muslim community as a whole within society and organisations are ignored and depoliticised. The DCA report of 2017 suggests disrupting bias, creating partnerships amongst the workforce, improving relationships by active mentoring, changing the leadership models and succession planning through using a 'gendered-cultural' perspective as the keys to unlock the problem of diversity and inclusion (dca.org.au). The next section will discuss areas in diversity management dialogue which need attention and could have a groundbreaking result in closing the gap between diversity knowledge and real-life practices.

My thesis aims to repoliticise diversity management and draw a link between inequalities created in societies because of socio-political, cultural and racial sensitivities and the impact on organisational work experiences. The example of the Muslim community is used as they are a minority group who are impacted negatively at this point in time. The socio-political environment of neoliberalism and the rise of alt-right and hyped up misrepresentation of Muslims through media bias, as mentioned throughout this thesis, create competitive power-over others which is divisive and ethnocentric. There is a need to work towards creating collective power-for to empower minorities (especially Muslims) and communities in order to build

capacities so no one would feel excluded and discriminated and attracted to the evil of radicalism.

The move from ‘unhappiness to happiness multiculturalism’, as Ahmed (2010, p. 122) states, requires united and genuine interactions between Australians from different backgrounds. It is imperative to develop a different perspective to decision making process and dialogue and create a process acknowledging the past, creating formal and informal spaces at national and local levels where conscious consultations among empowered groups and individuals are encouraged – a process where universal participation of all actors is a prerequisite for taking responsibility for social change and intellectual development.

## 5.2 Diversity Management

...what does diversity mean for those of us who look different, and who come, in the very terms of our appearance, to embody diversity ... through diversity, the organization is represented 'happily' as 'getting along', as 'committed to equality', as 'anti-racist' ... but you must smile- you must express gratitude for having been received. (Ahmed, 2009, p. 46).

... What does diversity do? What are we doing when we use the language of diversity? ... the arrival of the term 'diversity' involves the departure of other terms, including 'equality', 'equal opportunities' and 'social justice' ... We might want to be cautious about the appealing nature of diversity and ask whether the ease of its incorporation by institutions is a sign of the loss of its critical edge ... (Ahmed, 2012, p. 1)

The paradox of diversity is being questioned by Ahmed (2012, p. 113) as organisational commitments are 'non-performatives' which do not bring about what they claim. Discussions of multiculturalism and diversity management tend to attract societal and organisational attention more than ever in an age of increasing uncertainty towards Muslims in the wake of radicalism, terrorism, refugee crisis and political correctness. Western nations influenced by the socio-political context of the day surrounding the dilemmas around refugees from Muslim backgrounds seem to be at a crossroads, deciding between protecting their own social and political interests or protecting the rights of humanity no matter where they come from. Demographics of nations have changed and are still impacted by large scale migration of refugees and transnational workers across the globe. This has created diverse societies and workforces and has great implications for policy makers and organisational management on how to implement policies and practices to safeguard equity, justice and inclusivity of all members. The historical diversity management discussion is a binary shift from 'normative reasoning to business case' (Pringle & Strachan, 2015, p. 4) and is a dichotomy between social/moral and economic. It was initiated in the US in the 1980s as organisational initiatives focusing on gender issues, and moved on to contextual country specific discourse including other variables of difference (Pringle & Strachan, 2015).

The preceding discussions on the importance of neo-socio-political context and intensification of negativities against minorities using the example of Muslims through the role of the media provides the backdrop for an interrogation of diversity management within organisations. The review of the discussion of race within organisations in the previous section provides a foundation for probing the concept of diversity and questioning whether diversity management has been an effective tool in creating competitive advantage for organisations and at the same time addressing issues of social justice and equity by including everyone. Why does management theory still seem inadequate in providing insights into the dilemma of diversity

management? Has there been attention on the lack of consideration for context, intersectional theoretical frameworks encompassing the elements of race/ethnicity, gender, class with micro (individual), meso (organisational) and macro (national) contextual environment? Has theory provided solutions to the gap between philosophy and its application in real life? What about the impact of power imbalances within organisations and societies impacting which aspects of diversity and which groups of minorities are considered? Should attention be given to the business case of diversity management or its impact on social justice, ethical values and social change? Ultimately, this thesis aims to repoliticise diversity management and acknowledge the impact of socio-politics, context and power interplays to recommend the need for further research to build a bridge between the theory of diversity management and its application.

Discussions of diversity are not new and have historical roots in the Civil Rights Act of 1964 in America. Workplace diversity refers to a field of study concerned with inclusivity of differences within organisations and ensuring everyone's voices are heard (Pringle, Konrad, & Prasad, 2006). It is concerned with reducing inequalities within organisations and ultimately the societies within which firms operate. Is the narrative of diversity an expectation of happily playing the role of 'otherness' within white organisations, as stated by Ahmed (2009) so organisations can claim success stories of inclusivity and integration?

The term diversity traces back to the mid-1980s in America when the Workforce 2000 report was published and estimated that by year 2000 the US work force would become more diverse with participation of more women, ethnicities and migrants. This, for the first time introduced the concept of the 'resource-based' view of the firm (Richard, 2000, cited in Zanoni, Janssens, Benschop & Nkomo, p. 11) and conceptualised diversity as a mechanism for the firm to access rare and valuable resources of diverse groups and achieve competitive advantage. Although research on diversity studies emerged in the mid-1990s as a response to business's 're-appropriation' (Zanoni, Janssens, Benschop & Nkomo, 2010, p. 9) of equal opportunities, studies of specific groups' socio-demographics; i.e. blacks and black women date back to the 1970s when a sociological paradigm was used to provide an understanding of the workings of gender-race/ethnicity in organisations.

Diversity literature using a social psychological paradigm (Zanoni et al, 2010) provided insights to understand challenges faced by women and ethnic minorities within organisations. Scholars studied the impact of race and gender on the level of access to mentoring (Dreher & Cox, 1997; Thomas; 1990 cited in Zanoni, Janssens, Benschop & Nkomo, 2010), satisfaction levels

(Greenhaus, 1990), performance management (Greenhaus, 1990) promotion opportunities (James, 2000) and income levels (Dreher & Cox, 1997). These early studies found evidence of unequal treatment of women and ethnic/black minorities and using social psychology, attributed it to prejudice and discrimination of individuals. This has provided a parochial view as it disregarded the elements of contextuality and structure (Zanoni, Janssens, Benschop, & Nkomo, 2010) and the power imbalances within groups in accessing resources. Other scholars reintroduced sociology in theorising the effects of socio-demographics on the creation of identities and structural inequalities. Essed (1991), using a discussion of everyday racism, used micro (individual) and macro (societal) contexts to draw a link between socio-politics and racism against minorities. Calas & Smircich (2006) discussed gender and gendered organisations with Acker (2006, p. 441), introducing the notion of 'inequality regimes' to theorise the interrelatedness of bases of inequality through the workings of the organisation.

### **Socio-political context, power and diversity**

Can we question the influence of Australia's past colonial history in the treatment of indigenous Aboriginals on how policies of assimilation, integration and multiculturalism evolved?

Australia's history has been 'inseparable from the politicised issue of race' (Tuffin, 2008, p. 594). Early characterisation and treatment of Aboriginals provided the base for modern racist practices such as failure to reconcile for a racist past and say sorry, to blame minorities for their disadvantaged position and refuse to provide humanitarian help to asylum seekers (Tuffin, 2008). How can the more recent history of racism towards the Asian community and Muslims with the growth of right-wing political parties such as One Nation and their rhetoric of racial hate not have any impact on diversity management practices in organisations?

Holvino & Kemp (2009) discussed the impact of socio-political context in which organisations operate on diversity management and elaborated on the issues of differences, their construction and context. Discussions of diversity management literature demonstrates a gap linking diversity issues within workplaces and the contextual, historical and socio-political environment of each country. This could be because of globalisation, unconscious 'ethnocentrism' tendencies or just not putting emphasis on local contexts (Pringle, Konrad & Prasad, 2006). Diversity research tends to individuate racial issues and ignores historical struggles of minorities as stated by Ahmed & Swan (2006) and by categorising groups is conducive to creation of more inequalities. Syed and Ozbilgin (2009, p. 2435) theorised a contextual 'relational multilevel-factor' theoretical framework to study diversity at macro-national, meso-organisational and micro-

individual levels. Macro level national structures such as the legal system, meso level organisational processes and rituals and micro level individual roles and motivation intersected with Acker's (2006) inequality regime can provide a valuable understanding on the workings of inequality at a given time.

To draw attention to the imperative of context in the discussion of diversity, Syed & Pio (2010, p. 131) conducted a qualitative analysis of workplace experiences of Muslim women in Australia and stated that their participants faced 'relational multilevel challenges' at macro-societal, meso-organisational and micro-individual levels. The interaction between macro level variables of social stereotypes intensified by the role of the media and political debates, social support provided by the government and legal frameworks to protect the rights of minorities, determines how well minorities feel included. Within organisations, existing diversity policies (managements' sense making and motivation level) and organisational structures and processes (social conduct, religious requirement in dress code and festivities, inclusion of minorities in leadership positions) will influence how effectively diversity policies are implemented. At individual (micro) level, unusual Arabic names, hijab, accents and level of proficiency in English and individuals' abilities to negotiate for promotions, will impact how Muslims and Muslim women are perceived and treated.

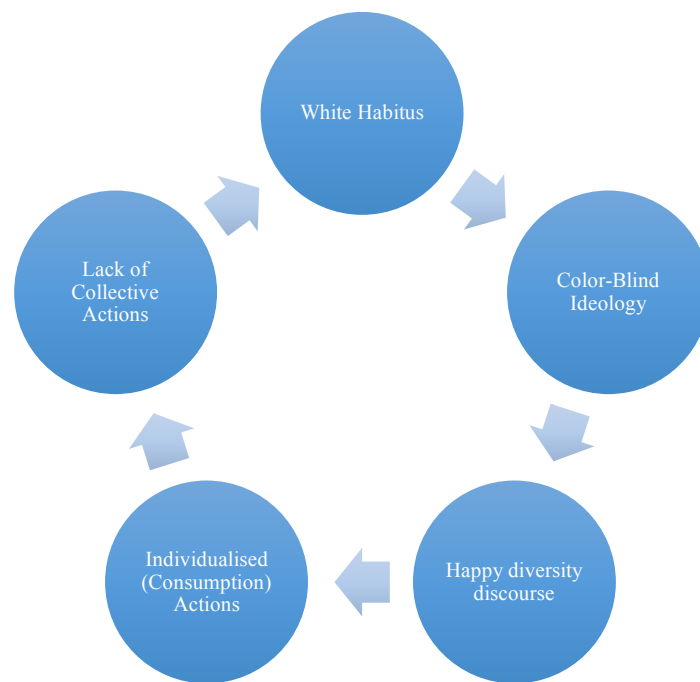
The study of Chinese - Australian professionals involved in diversity advocacy in the context of Australia's 'so-called Asian Century' by Liu (2016, p. 1) investigates inherent whiteness in diversity discourse and aims to bridge the gap between mainstream diversity and praxis using 'Daoist' (Liu, 2016, p. 2) ideology which advocates living in harmony and using the 'strength of softness and the power of non-action' to release the potential for anti-racism organisational change. The study of 'Hidden contexts and invisible power relations' by Ahonen, Tienari, Merilainen & Pullen (2014, p. 263) draws from Michel Foucault and states that diversity knowledge produced by the mainstream is 'bio political and governmental' because of the interplay between power and context which prevails in the field. This has impacted research on diversity and depoliticised the dialogue as volition for social justice is missing. The study of diversity tends to miss the underlying context as to who is the subject of analysis, what are the dominating norms and structures and the objectivity of the researcher. The power imbalances between individuals and power structures dominating organisations and societies play a major role in contributing to the 'fractured future of diverse diversities' (Pringle & Strachan, 2015, p. 4). Could lack of attention to socio-political context and power imbalances within organisations and society be the missing link in diversity management philosophy and praxis discussion?

## **The gap between philosophy and praxis**

There is a gap in theoretical discussions of diversity and inequality between the knowledge (philosophy) and the application of it (praxis). The link between policy and practice misses the context in which diversity rhetoric is theorised. A qualitative study by Burke (2011) to provide a better understanding of the link between racial discourse and social action draws attention to the duality in discussions of racism and diversity. On the one hand, there is the denial of existence of racism or ‘color-blindness ideology’ at national and individual levels, and on the other hand, politicians and organisational management pride themselves on their commitment to racial diversity and equal opportunity. The topic of color-blindness in discussions of race and diversity, is a dichotomy. Diversity discussions are objectified as non- race related aspects of food, music and clothing and are ‘consumption-driven’ (Burke, 2011, p. 652) adding flavour to a ‘white normative life’.

Burke (2011, p. 661) draws from Bonilla-Silva (2006) and argues that diversity notions are understood as narrow practices to reproduce white dominance and create ‘white habitus’ which, in turn, is ‘the engine of color-blind ideologies’ (Burke, 2011, p. 661). Colourblind ideologies are evident in happy diversity rhetoric which can be seen in the media and the political talks which individuates the issue of racism blaming individuals’ psychology or lack of understanding. The link between racial discourse and social action or the ‘racial project’ (Burke, 2011, p. 661) is impeded by colourblind ideology, happy diversity talk, the role of individuals and ultimately lack of collective action. Please see figure 1 below.





**1. Reproduced from ‘White Habitus’ (Burke, 2011, p. 661)**

To break the chain of the ‘white habitus’ cycle and create a collective consciousness and action plan to eradicate racism, there is a need to have interventions at national, local and individual levels. Ellen (2000) suggests the importance of national level information campaigns to reiterate economic and moral benefits of having cohesive diverse communities. Having ‘tax-based incentives’ (Ellen, 2000) for minorities to move into mainstream communities and for business investments and employment opportunities to include minorities in conjunction with national marketing campaigns are strategies to nurture and create more integrated communities. At local levels, improving public schools and education institutions to instil anti racial sentiments through their curriculum and creating an inclusive nurturing environment for all, combined with local business support for setting up minority-owned businesses and job opportunities would create thriving local communities and develop the capacity and accessibility for the minorities. Media plays an integral role in disseminating positivity in diverse communities by responsibly responding to negative stories and perceptions and informing community members without bias.

Ahmed & Swan (2006, p. 96) discuss separation of theory and practice in diversity studies as ‘diversity has been viewed problematic because it individuates difference, conceals inequalities and neutralises histories of antagonism and struggle’ and acknowledge the disjuncture between philosophy and practice in diversity discourse as the most important impediment in activism and social change. Swan’s (2017) study on ‘What are white people to do?’ theorises praxis in connection with white diversity research and elucidates possible responses of acceptance, solidarity with minorities and reconciliation to correct the past.

An investigation of the drivers of diversity management rhetoric and research draws attention to social justice/equity vs the business case perspectives to diversity. The former measures and evaluates issues to do with human rights violations whereas the business case to diversity evaluates its influence on creativity, innovation and organisations' adaptability to change (Ahonen, Tienari, Merilainen & Pullen, 2013). Jones and Stablein (2006) refer to the business case of workplace diversity as 'the Trojan horse' in which on the outside is the Human Resource Management business case, profit and economic advantage and on the inside is the quest for social justice and equity. There is always a tension between upholding social justice and equity vs profitmaking and the efforts of dominant groups finding methods to keep their dominance irrespective of equal employment opportunity and affirmative action policies (Jones & Stablein, 2006). Rhodes (2017) in a study of ethical praxis vs the business case for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgendered diversity in organisations postulates the connection between the two approaches and their role in achieving material success (business case) and social justice in organisations. Responses to diversity management are politically driven as well as ethically and when the two are acknowledged, only then can organisations witness the full scale effect of its benefits economically and morally.

In a study of the role of emotion and compassion and their influence on diversity practices, Brewis (2017) draws attention to how practicing compassion can counteract neoliberal individualism which is prevalent in western societies. Martha Nussbaum's (2003 as cited in Brewis, 2017) theory of emotion is used to theorise that emotion experienced as compassion for the other can be conducive to informing 'moral reasoning' and promoting equality. It is imperative to understand the role of feelings in any discussion of equality and interventions and its impact on the materialisation of these. Brewis (2017) discusses how having bad and suspicious feelings on the one hand, among the mainstream privileged towards minorities and programs to 'exorcise the white guilt' (Lasch-Quinn, 2001 as cited in Brewis, 2017, p. 2) and neglect of 'the right to free speech' as political correctness and on the other hand, bad feelings of detached and weary minorities who receive equality initiatives (Ahmed, 2007, p. 237 as cited in Brewis, 2017, p. 2) impede any progress in achieving cohesion.

## **Appropriation of diversity, commodifying, beautifying**

Swan (2010), in a study of visual representation of diversity in the media and organisations, critically draws attention to commercialisation of the concept of diversity as a means of branding for organisations. Diversity posters and company logos and pictures depict differences within a homogenous framework 'commodifying' (Swan, 2010) and diluting the concept. The notion of a business case for diversity, i.e. production of value through access to creativity and innovation because of having diverse workforce, is a method of 'commercial appropriation of difference' (Hall 1997, cited in Swan, 2010, p. 83) and 'diversity capitalism' (Davidson, 1999, cited in Swan, 2010, p. 84). We tend to romanticise the idea of having different exotic bodies around, eating multicultural food, dressing colourfully, holidaying in new places and the bottom line is that diversity sells. Organisations and societies uphold the images of differences set into a rigid framework which is designed and manipulated by the inherent whiteness and privilege (Swan, 2010).

The analysis of existing literature demonstrates areas in diversity study in which politically driven and contextually relevant discourses are needed in order to minimise or close the gap between philosophy and practice. A lack of representation of the experiences of minorities (Prasad & Qureshi, 2016) with most diversity studies embedded in the context of Anglo-American culture, and a lack of representation of the practices of indigenous groups (Jack & Westwood, 2009) provide further need for research. This chapter drew from diversity literature to provide an understanding of the historical background to the discussion and used recent studies in the field to investigate the importance of a theoretical framework to study markers of difference of race/ethnicity, gender and class intersected with macro, meso and micro elements to have a contextual analysis. The influence of socio-political and economic context of countries and organisations within which firms operate has significance on minority groups who are impacted and aspects of difference which are considered.

The tension between discussions of drivers of diversity and duality aspects of business case vs social and ethical moral dilemma can impede progress and meaningful social change. The literature suggests both drivers need to integrate political context and amalgamate in order to have a stronger volition and contribute to successful diversity management. The most important discussion is the missing connection between philosophy and praxis of diversity with literature bringing to attention the role of emotion and compassion in moral reasoning and equality. Finally, there are skeptical views to the discussion of diversity management and its practices as a

tool of business's appropriation of colourful workforces exuding happiness and a superficial façade of multiculturalism success.

The study of inequalities at the grassroots of societies and organisations provides a better understanding of how differences are misrepresented and manipulated by the elite and particularly by the media and are the breeding ground for negative feelings and perceptions towards minorities. The recipients of racism in societies and organisations change their faces based on the socio-economic and political challenges of the time. Australia and parts of the Western world are facing an increasing challenge of managing the security of their nations in an ever-increasing era of Muslim radicalism. This challenge is conducive to a new form of racism which manifests itself implicitly and explicitly. Racism and intolerances affect the lives of societies and organisations. How do we ensure our organisations are equipped to deal with negativities and racial tensions against minorities? How do we prevent erosion of the dialogue of race and acknowledge the impact of racial discourse within organisations on the lived experiences of minority groups? How do we develop genuine interest in the plight of oppressed and not use patriarchal benevolence as a form of public relations? How do we find the courage to mention race, racism and its existence and not be afraid of being labeled as the angry, aggressive and negative bodies to use excuses for not performing well to the standards of the dominant mainstream management? Have the notions of multiculturalism and diversity become Western societies' Achilles heel?

## Chapter 6: Towards a conclusion

...so now we'll talk about diversity, and that means everybody's different but equal and it is all nice and cuddly and we can feel good about it and feel like we've solved it, when actually we're nowhere near solving it, and we need to...

Sara Ahmed (2006, p. 121)

... A common expression that comes up in the diversity world is 'hearts and minds'... although diversity might be appealing at a surface level (the shiny veneer of diversity), it doesn't necessarily mean it has been incorporated as a value by individuals. Hearts and minds often stands for a sense of commitment that is missing. Hearts and minds is not simply a reference to the individual: the aim of diversity work is also to get into the institution...

Sara Ahmed (2012, p. 113)

This thesis began by understanding the connection between the Australian socio-political context and the perpetuation of intolerances towards the Muslim community who are facing increasing discrimination. Reflecting on my experiences of being different, as an Australian- Iranian who migrated to Australia over thirty years ago, prompted my studies on understanding the impact of the socio-political environment on the ways in which minorities such as Muslims are hyped up by the media.

The Australian Muslim community faces increasing negativities through the analysis of the media. Furthermore, the media perpetuates negative sentiment and Islamophobia in Australia. This thesis has shown that racism is a multifaceted, complex phenomenon (cf. Essed, 1991) in the forms of overt, covert and narcissistic behaviors against Muslims. The increase of racial micro aggressors in everyday life experiences in informal settings depicts the normalisation of racism and does not negate the brutality of its impact. This thesis also supports the notion of racism without racists (Bonilla –Silva, 2003) and demonstrates how modern racism has become a part of social behavior with un/conscious intricacies and overtures. This faceless racism might not even be conscious about the impact of actions as it is normalised and imbedded in everyday social and work interactions. Bonilla-Silva's (2006) colourblind ideology becomes important in understanding forms of denial of the existence of racism and proclamations of benevolent hegemony of the mainstream. Thus, minorities when raising issues of discrimination are frowned upon and often are considered angry. Are minority groups, therefore, seen as unappreciative bodies not wanting to be commodified and appropriated within the mainstream? After Brewis (2017), this thesis questions whether dominant social groups feel that they have lost the right of freedom of speech in the form of political correctness.

This thesis firstly recognised the role of the media in creating inequalities, shaping public opinion and perceptions and ultimately perpetuating racism. Secondly, this thesis analysed the socio-political context and its role in shaping our understanding of racism in Australia. Third, the relationship between racism and diversity management in organisations is explored to show how race is diluted in studies of diversity which desperately need to engage more politically, rather than promoting the business case for diversity (Tomlinson and Schwabenland, 2010). Finally, this thesis presents a future research agenda which addresses how academics, practitioners and corporate Australia representatives can foster transparent dialogue. This dialogue rests on developing an engagement between corporate diversity management initiatives and social justice in light of the stark racism evident in multicultural Australia.

By repoliticising diversity management discussion using a multidisciplinary analysis of racism, organisation, media and socio-politics, it is concluded that there is a gap in discussing Islamophobia and its implications within organisations. The thesis reiterates the sentiment that ‘the emperor has no clothes on’ and management theory and practice need to come to terms with the lack of discussion about the issue of race and ethnicity in organisational discourse. There is prevalence of erosion and dilution of racial agendas in organisations as evidenced by the review of government and public organisations’ websites which are known for their diversity and inclusion work. Diversity programs are understood as parochial practices contributing to more creation of ‘white habitus’ (Burke, 2011) which is conducive to intensification of color-blindness.

### **Pulling everything together**

The discussion on Australia’s socio-politics (Nelson & Dunn, 2016) depicted how neoliberal doctrine has impacted the ways in which immigration policies are enacted with restricting migration from Middle Eastern countries with a predominant Muslim population. Government’s disburdening itself from meaningful anti-racism initiatives by focusing mainly on the rhetoric of diversity and beautification of the concept of happy multicultural societies is the result of inherent white privilege and benevolence of the past’s colonialism. Australia’s colonial past is intertwined with racial injustices towards indigenous Aboriginals and a history of institutionalised policies to segregate and discriminate against non-whites (Tuffin, 2008) with more recent sensitivities towards the Asian and Muslim communities. The rise of the Alt-right in Australia as a result of political turmoil in the US and Europe was discussed with its implications for the increase in the membership of far-right political parties (One Nation and Australian

Liberty Alliance) and Christian groups perpetuating the sentiment of whiteness and Christianity as exclusive characteristics of Australia.

The status of the Australian Muslim community (Tuffin, 2008) as a heterogeneous group with their religion as a common denominator demonstrates their disadvantaged position in labour market participation and social cohesion. During this study, two Government funded reports from the University of South Australia (Hassan, 2015) and Charles Sturt University (Iner, 2017) were reviewed after my media analysis which reconfirmed findings on the negative portrayal of Muslims in the media and its implications in the form of institutional and individual racism in society and organisations. The evaluation of both reports confirms the Muslim community's underprivileged status and draws attention to the dichotomy of multiculturalism. On the one hand, multiculturalism is based on differences and how differences can be utilised using an overarching goal to create positive effects. On the other hand, the 'happy multi-cultural' societies tend to homogenise differences and ignore variables underlying inequalities. Gender and sexual orientation differences are the predominant acknowledged markers of inequality with race, religion and ethnicity being ignored.

As I was wrapping up this thesis, a new survey conducted by the Australian Population Research Institute in October 2017 was released surveying more than two thousand people and stating almost half of Australians (54%) believe Australia is already over-populated and supported a partial ban on Muslim immigration. The researchers stated the motive behind these findings were Australia's rapid population growth and its impact on the quality of life and rapid change in Australia's ethnic and religious demographics ([www.sbs.com.au](http://www.sbs.com.au)). The findings of this recent survey reconfirms this thesis' discussion on the prevalent Islamophobic atmosphere within Australian society.

The mass media plays a major role in the perpetuation of racism and the creation of intolerance against Muslims (Saeed, 2007). The media's role to selectively construct realities by deciding how and when to disseminate information is vital in the creation of negativities. The use of instruments of language and emotion can create two different versions of the same story as discussed in the case of SBS's program on racism in February 2017. The lack of minorities' representation in the media as newsmakers, presenters and opinion givers confirms the media's bias and racial stance. Using Australian media excerpts during 2016-2017, the role of the media in fuelling Islamophobia by misrepresentation of Muslims has been depicted. The 2017 Islamophobia report prepared by Charles Sturt University, furthermore, confirmed that the

Australian media reports issues of radicalism, terrorism and Muslim integration in terms of Australian values and lacks discussions of labour market integration and workforce diversity and inclusion.

An analysis of the issue of race in organisations drew attention to inherent white privilege in management theory and practice. Management theory has attempted to construct meanings to fill the void between diversity theory and active life experiences of minority groups within organisations. It has, however, been unable to acknowledge race, ethnicity and Islamophobia as dividing markers of inequality prevalent in a neo-liberal-socio-political Australian environment. Glorification of whiteness in leadership and ‘Eurocentric’ notions of race (Liu & Baker, 2014, p. 421) contribute to the construction of racial differences by considering that only coloured people have colour and therefore, confirming their inherent privilege. Post-colonial studies of race (Jack & Westwood, 2009) in organisations probe the inherency of whiteness using the white gaze and contribute to minorities’ and their issues’ further exclusion and compartmentalisation. Using the western perspective with American firms as their field of study provides a parochial view to the study of race in organisations.

‘Border thinking’ (Faria, 2013) is an imperative of critical management knowledge from non-Anglo scholars and uses non-Western organisations to build social relationships across the borders of differences with a focused attention on new emergent superpowers. It is imperative to challenge the notion of post-colonial categorisation of groups when studying differences across the borders as we must not return to the parochial notion of a black-white dichotomy.

The website analysis of a sample of Australian government and public organisations confirms the disconnect between what is preached and what is practiced. Issues of race and ethnicity are portrayed generally and there are no discussions about Islamophobia and its management. Diversity talk became fashionable in the 1980s with an increasing emphasis on the imperative of the business case and its link to creating value and hence competitive advantage. The arrival of diversity talk coincided with departure of the discussions of equality and social justice as stated by Ahmed (2013). Tomlinson & Schwabenland (2010) draw attention to the tension between the business case and social/ethical justice in discussions of diversity and question organisations’ most important responsibility to uphold social justice through their business of making profit. After all, the point of having organisations, in modern societies, is to contribute to the advancement of societies through economic benefits and improvement of well-being of their members.



Pullen & Rhodes (2013, p. 782) discuss ‘corporeal ethics grounded in the body before the mind’ to shift the focus from rational organisation and management to ‘pre-reflective’ ethical and social entities impacted by socio-politics in their practices. Could this be the missing link in philosophy-praxis discussion of diversity management? Can humanity evolve to a maturity where people at the individual level feel and practice genuine closeness and generosity and at the management level uphold social justice and ethical considerations? Management conduct and sense-making of policies needs to be ethically informed rather than considering the business case solely. Ethical considerations of organisations are often manipulated to organisations’ economic situations rather than lining up organisational life to social and ethical discourses. There is a disjuncture between corporate Australia and diversity management as management by using logical and instrumental approaches ignores the importance of resonance with affective experiences of organisational members through close interrelationship and interactions. Corporeal generosity (Pullen & Rhodes, 2013, p. 783) is the foundation for accepting others with differences and implementing change through policies and practices of ‘ethico-politics’ (Pullen & Rhodes, 2013, p. 783).

The roll of emotion and compassion on diversity practices is brought to attention (Brewis, 2017) as an imperative to counteract the influence of prevailing individualism and over-competitiveness of the neo-liberal West. Emotion and compassion for the other can be a beacon of hope to instigate moral reasoning and ultimately, promote equality. The divide between the oppressed and the dominant will not close unless both agencies develop genuine affinity and empathy towards each other.

In 2017, management theory has a long way to go to understand why philosophy and praxis is a complex issue and what is the missing link in actualisation of diversity management knowledge. The erosion of the issue of racial differences and especially Islamophobia demonstrates the lack of ‘nuanced engagement’ (Zanoni, et al., 2010) in racial discourses which can be a pivotal element in achieving ‘happiness’ (Ahmed, 2010). The move from intolerances and unhappiness to cohesion and happiness requires coming to terms with the past and creating in/formal spaces at policy-making and organisational levels for universal participation of all involved. A process where all empowered participants see value in social development and change.

Do I have a conclusion drawing this thesis to an end? This thesis has started to repoliticise the discussion of diversity management and emphasise that while societies and organisations have

not come to terms with the influence of socio-political context and power disparities within societies and organisations and have not developed genuine compassion for the other, diversity talks will remain as talk. The divide between the mainstream as the privileged and their perception that they are being exorcised and the weary feelings of minorities as the recipients of the so-called benevolent initiatives will not close.

### **Future research**

Historical events and dissension in society among rival groups and political parties impact policies and their effectiveness. The thesis discussed Australia's history of colonisation and its impact on policy changes since the turn of the century. At every given period of time certain groups' dominance determined which aspects of inequality and which groups should be considered. Global political events and their representation in the media, furthermore, impact society's perception about minorities and inequality issues as discussed in the thesis. Therefore, the study of socio-political context and power interplays within society, organisations and between group members can provide context specific knowledge to be utilised for specific diversity issues. The study of 'Unpacking Diversity, Grasping Inequality' by Zanoni, Janssens, Benschop & Nkomo (2010, p. 13) identifies the neglect in critical diversity management studies as they consider individuals' 'ready-made identities' with no 'socially constructed nature'. Furthermore, the use of parochial terms of reference acknowledges dominant notions of difference from the 'vantage point of the dominant identity' (Zanoni, Janssens, Benschop & Nkomo, 2010, p. 14) ignoring the contextual implications and hence missing paying attention to power imbalances within societies and organisations.

The arrival of diversity management discussion over twenty years ago heralded an era of shifting organisations' attention to the economic advantages of having diverse workforces with less attention to social and equity issues. Ironically, diversity management activism was the result of social concerns about discrimination and inequalities amongst minorities (Rhodes, 2017). Since the 1980s, there has been a pull and push tension in whether to choose the business case or social justice in achieving organisational goals. The most recent research is hinting at the amalgamation of both perspectives with consideration of contextual elements at any given time.

Using Martha Nussbaum's (2003) theory of emotion as presented by Brewis (2017), this thesis recognizes the importance of future research on the imperative of emotion and compassion in moral reasoning and promoting equality. There must be more attention to the role of emotion as

a tool for diversity practice to soften the implications of over-individualist societies. This thesis theorizes that discussions and practices of diversity are becoming ‘rituals of racial reprimand’ (Brewis, 2017, p. 2) making the mainstream feel guilty and at the same time making the receivers of diversity weary and disengaged. There must be future research on the ways in which genuine compassion and closeness is developed between organisational members who, through a ‘corporeal-generosity’, would counteract impacts of a neo-liberal prevalent individualism.

Further research by non-Anglo-Celtic scholars and using non-white groups and firms can provide illuminating dialogue on why some aspects of inequality are missing from the discussion. Minorities’ double-consciousness (Liu, 2017) view of themselves segregates and excludes them further and is conducive to the mainstream’s dominance. Social construction of race effects the lived-experiences within racial organisations and as literature shows the study of race in the context of organisations is not comprehensive as it ignores Islamophobia and ethnicity.

The gap between philosophy and praxis is a major impediment in actualisation of diversity practice. The lack of understanding about real-life and lived-experiences of minorities has been conducive to bureaucratic and elitist policies. Diversity policies designed by the mainstream with non-representation of minorities would only be a blueprint with no effect on initiating social change. Neo-Liberal socio-political environment develops institutional spaces in which some bodies are considered more at home and in control over the others. Ahmed (2012) in her book, *On Being Included*, explains how minorities’ experience of not being white makes them into a stranger and bodies out of place whose presence is considered as a threat. Diversity practices can become a facade to obscure racism, a public relation tool to beautify differences and a method of ‘protecting whiteness’ (Ahmed, 2012, p. 147). Do minority groups in Australia, including the indigenous owners of this land, have access to dialogue spaces to raise their voices? I am asking again, have the notions of multiculturalism and diversity become the Achilles heel of our societies and organisations?

## **Appendix 1: Newspaper sources**

### **1. *Left-wing thugs so predictable***

By Andrew Bold, 1,207 words, 24 November 2016, Townsville Bulletin, TOWNBU, Townsville, 15, English, ©2016 News Limited. All rights reserved.

THE unhinged and even threatening reaction to Peter Dutton proves that he's right to raise issues with Muslim Lebanese immigration. And it proves the Immigration Minister was also right to call it out before we import even more refugees who could put Australians in danger. Oops. Too late. See the extraordinary crime wave we have since we imported Sudanese refugees as well? The carjacking, home invasions and brazen thefts? Will we never learn?

On my Sky News show last week Dutton finally admitted that Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser in 1976 made a dangerous mistake by lowering our entry requirements and letting in many illiterate and unqualified Muslims fleeing Lebanon's civil war. Yes, Dutton conceded, "Fraser did make mistakes in bringing some -people in the 1970s and we're seeing that today". Fraser's own Immigration Department had warned him these largely unskilled Muslims from rural towns would struggle to fit in here. It even predicted "the possibility that the conflicts, tensions and divisions within Lebanon will be transferred to Australia" How right they were, and we're now living with the consequences of Fraser' decision to overrule them – to import not just people but a hard-to-assimilate culture in which many children have since been raised, too. Result: gun crime in Western Sydney and northern Melbourne often involves Lebanese Australians, as we saw with the murder last month of Hamad Assaad, himself a suspected hit man. Biekie gangs such as the Nomads recruit heavily from among Lebanese Muslims, as have jihadist recruiters.

As Dutton has noted, 22 of the 33 people arrested for terrorism offences are from Lebanese background, even though Lebanese make up only 20 per cent of Muslims here. Moreover, of the first 21 Australians jailed here for terrorism offences, at least four were born in Lebanon and seven more to Lebanese families.

Many of the Australians who have joined Islamic State are also from Lebanese families, including the notorious Khaled Sharrouf and Mohamed Elomar, who posed for photographs with severed heads.

True, many Lebanese Muslims here have done well and even more mean well. But the

community has plainly struggled. The 2011 Census, three decades after Fraser's decision, showed nearly one in five Lebanese-born Australians still struggled to speak good English (even though the figures include the far better integrated Christians). They earned a median income of just \$333 a week on average, far below the Australian average of \$577, and were four times more likely than the rest of us to be on a disability pension. So the consequences of Fraser's decision are plain, and only a dangerously reckless Immigration Minister could afford to ignore them.

But let's check the response to the truth spoken by Dutton. From many of the media, the Greens and Labor there has come the utterly predictable vilification – abuse that he's a "racist". This is important. I assume from Labor leader Bill Shorten's attack on Dutton yesterday – "loud, lazy, disrespect" – that Shorten has learned nothing at all from Fraser's mistake and would, in government, happily repeat it. Does he deny it? Actually, I suspect Shorten knows damn well that Dutton is right, but is crawling for the votes of the big Muslim minorities in critical marginal seats such as Barton, Reid, Werriwa, Banks and Parramatta.

All that is bad enough, and shows the intellectual poverty of the Left today as well as the sanctimonious thuggery voters are now revolting against. But worse has been the response from prominent Lebanese Muslims. Take the article, foolishly published by the Sydney Morning Herald, from Mostafa Rachwani, a Lebanese Muslim Association employee. Psychologists and historians have noted that Muslim Arab culture often stresses male honor so obsessively that there's a strong tendency among its members to admit no error and blame others for their own failings. Rachwani has that tendency big time. His article mindlessly blames non-Muslim Australians for turning poor Lebanese Muslims to crime and terrorism. No one ever wants to talk about the deeply rooted racism Fraser's migrants had to face, "he claims. "these communities have faced cultural, political, economic and physical violence from a society that was hostile to any kind of encroachment on their grip on what it means to be Australian ... whether it is expressed in gang violence or in foreign fighters, these people are inherently just seeking what society was unwilling to provide them: their humanity, their worth being recognized." this is not just false. Not just -pathetic. It is also dangerous. This reads like a rationalisation of jihadist – don't blame them if they kill you – and is almost as shocking as the implicit threat made two years ago by Hizb ut-Tahrir Australia spokesman Wassim Doureih. Doureih, also of Muslim Lebanese background, told a crowd of Sydney Muslims: "even if a thousand bombs went off in this country, all that it will prove is that the Muslims are angry and they have every reason to be angry." their bombs, your fault.

Lebanese Muslim Association president Samier Dandan was almost as bad. He this week smeared Dutton as a racist and claimed that the “root causes of the foreign fighters’ issue” included “socio-economic status, political disempowerment and racial discrimination, none of which has anything to do with any one culture entering Australia”

So don’t blame Muslim Lebanese Australians themselves. Ignore how Chinese, Indians and Buddhists – even Christian Lebanese – managed to settle here so successfully without turning to guns and bombs. No, just blame evil Australia and the “shocking cruelty of its border policies. This manic determination to play the victim and blame Australia is a menace, and at times even funny, in a sick way. Take Fairfax columnist Ruby Hamad, of Lebanese descent, who yesterday demanded Australia “demonstrate it has some humanity left” by sacking Dutton. Muslim Lebanese weren’t the problem, according to Hamad. Nor were jihadists. Blame instead the “western powers –including Australia –that has led to the kinds of catastrophic wars and sectarian violence that continue to create refugees”. Wow. We created Islamic State? The Assad regime? Hezbollah? We’ve to blame for the beheadings and bombings of Muslims by Muslims? Muslims have no moral agency at all? Everything’s always the fault of white Christians?

Apparently so, because Hamad even blamed racist Australia for “its attacks on my language” “stopped reading, writing and speaking Arabic; this poetic gift of my ancestors is now largely lost to me and I grieve it every day. “Bizarre. So it’s entirely our fault that Hamad didn’t do enough of the Arabic courses in our universities, or watch the Arabic-language programs on SBS. It’s our fault that even now she can’t take a course in Arabic in the TAFE colleges we also provide.

Again, many Muslims do fit in. But Dutton is absolutely right to point out that too many did not, and that it comes at a cost. Lessons must be learned. We must not forget that some cultures are less compatible than others with our own, and we help no one by dropping our standards. We certainly don’t help ourselves.

### *Thematic analysis*

Australian politician (Peter Dutton) keeps referring to the mistakes of the past governments (Fraser in 1976) to allow 'unskilled Muslims from rural towns of Lebanon' who would struggle to fit well, to come to Australia. They refer to government's prediction that 'conflicts, tensions and divisions within Lebanon will be transferred to Australia'. This article shows how Muslims are generalised, how the Arab culture is vilified and how Muslims are blamed to play the victim role. The author references anonymous 'psychologists and historians' to generalise the Arab culture. At one point, the article acknowledges '...many Lebanese Muslims here have done well.... But the community has plainly struggled'. The author by using negativities against Lebanese Muslims and using a disclaimer sentence tries to justify the discussion but eventually reaches a predetermined conclusion.

The article's conclusion is that the current government must tighten and restrict receiving migrants from Muslim backgrounds by implying 'importing more refugees could put Australians in danger'. The use of the word 'extraordinary crime wave' and linking it with 'Sudanese refugees' creates the image of Australia being swamped by violence because of crimes of refugees. The writer goes on bringing in examples of crimes in Western Sydney and Melbourne by Lebanese Australians. The article uses 2011 census statistics to generalise the economic and social status of Lebanese-born Australians as uneducated who still don't speak good English and earn below the Australian average level of income.

Sarcasm is used to imply that Muslim-Lebanese migrants do not fit as well as other migrants i.e. Chinese, Indian, Buddhists and Christian Lebanese and are more likely to turn to violence and crime. This discussion clearly instigates negativity towards Muslim-Lebanese migrants. The author by asking rhetorical questions such as; 'We created the Islamic state? The Assad regime? We're to blame for the beheadings and bombings of Muslims by Muslims?' and 'Muslims have no moral agency at all? Everything is always the fault of White Christians?' or 'Will we never learn?' and linking Muslims with horror and terror creates negative feelings towards Muslims and implies positive self-representation.

## ***2. Agencies hit out at Abbott's Islamophobia comments***

By Phillip Coorey, Chief political correspondent, 451 words, 7 June 2017, The Australian Financial Review, Copyright 2017. Fairfax Media Management Pty Limited.

Tony Abbott's tacit endorsement of "Islamophobia" this week has annoyed security officials, who believe such comments only make it harder to thwart domestic terrorist attacks. Security sources have told The Australian Financial Review that as a former prime minister, Mr. Abbott "should know better" and not add to the inflammatory rhetoric against Muslim communities. "The situation is the same now as it was three years ago [when Mr. Abbott was prime minister]," said one security official who declined to be named.

In the wake of the weekend's terror atrocity in London, Mr. Abbott said: "We've got to avoid any spirit of surrender, any spirit of defeatism, and all too often in officialdom's ranks there is this notion that Islamophobia is almost as big a problem as Islamic terrorism. "Well, Islamophobia hasn't killed anyone. Islamist terrorism has now killed tens of thousands of people, that's why it's absolutely critical that there be the strongest possible response at every level." Islamophobia is defined as "a dislike of or prejudice against Islam or Muslims, especially as a political force".

For several years, security authorities have been keen for elected officials to desist from generalising about Muslims because it is the Muslim communities that often provide the intelligence to thwart attacks, and they are also the frontline in deradicalisation programs.

Since September 2014, authorities have thwarted 12 attacks in Australia, including a mass casualty attack planned for Melbourne's Federation Square last Christmas. Of these 12 plots, 11 were planned by Islamic extremists and community intelligence helped avert some of them, the source said.

He said it was one thing for the likes of One Nation's Pauline Hanson or a backbencher to generalise about Muslims, but another for somebody like a former prime minister, who would have been extensively briefed by security and intelligence agencies, to do so.

On Monday, Prime Minister Malcolm Turnbull took an indirect swipe at his predecessor. "The most important tool that we have in this battle within Australia is intelligence," he said. "That is why it is very important for our intelligence services, ASIO, working with the Federal Police and



the state and territory police to be able to be alerted to these plots as they develop so they can be uncovered, such as the major plot in Melbourne just before Christmas that would have seen explosive devices ignited around Federation Square. "It is important that we get that intelligence early so that we can intercept these plots and disrupt them and arrest the perpetrators and bring them to justice, and the lengthy terms of imprisonment they deserve."

### ***Thematic Analysis***

This article illustrates how Islamophobia is being whitewashed as stated by the ex-Prime minister, Tony Abbott: "Islamophobia has not killed anyone ... Islamist terrorism has ...", whitewashing the issue (Coorey, 2017). Security agencies hit back on Abbott's comments and state that most often intelligence provided by the Muslim community assists authorities in thwarting attacks and rhetoric such as Abbott's whitewashing of Islamophobia does not help anyone. Tony Abbott sarcastically refers to the notion that how the issue of Islamophobia is blown out of proportion and enough attention is not paid to the problem of Islamist terrorism; 'in officialdom's ranks there is this notion that Islamophobia is almost as big a problem as Islamist terrorism'. He is using sarcasm to insinuate that our current government is too lenient and appeasing towards the issue of Muslims in fear of further Islamist attacks.

### ***3. Time to confront evil Islam mindset***

By PIA AKERMAN, JOE KELLY, The Nation, 318 words, 6 June 2017, The Australian, ©2017 News Limited. All rights reserved.

Fear of inflaming Islamophobia is threatening the strength of our response to Islamist terrorism, Tony Abbott has declared, warning that Muslim extremists' non tolerance of Western ideals must be defeated and "Islamophobia hasn't killed anyone". The former prime minister called for "the strongest possible response" to Islamist terrorism yesterday in the wake of the London Bridge attack, saying Australians and their law enforcement agencies need to recognise and confront the "death to the infidel" mindset among violent extremists. "We've got to avoid any spirit of surrender, any spirit of defeatism, and all too often in officialdom's ranks there is this notion that Islamophobia is almost as big a problem as Islamist terrorism," he said in Ballarat, after unveiling a bronze bust of himself at the botanical Gardens' prime Ministers Avenue.

"Well, Islamophobia hasn't killed anyone (but) Islamist terrorism has killed tens of thousands of people. That's why it's absolutely critical that there be the strongest possible response at every level." Mr. Abbott has joined a push from federal Liberal MPs to give the military a greater role in responding to terrorist incidents, calling for the issue to be discussed at Friday's Council of Australian Governments meeting.

Recognising that police would remain the first responders, he said the military was better equipped to take charge as lead agency if a -terrorist event was complex, large or involved multiple attacks. "I think it is important that (within) the senior echelons of command there be an appropriate understanding of the Islamist mindset and the fact that these people have this 'death to the 'infidel approach' he said. Mr. Abbott spoke as crossbench senator Cory Bernardi's Australian Conservatives party e-mailed supporters saying it was time to have a "conversation about Islam in our country" warning the debate could no longer be delayed.

### ***Thematic Analysis***

The use of the word 'evil *Islam*' generalises Islam as a source of hate and conflict. It refers to Tony Abbott's comment about how Islamophobia hasn't killed anyone and tends to downgrade the problem of social negativity against the Muslims. The article uses words of Abbott to address the urgency of a discussion/conversation about Islam in Australia and implies the danger lurking behind this group which cannot be ignored anymore. The fear of perceived Islamophobia is threatening the Australian community's strength in fighting back terror and Islamophobia is nothing but a myth. He is urging for a conversation about Islam as it cannot be delayed anymore. His view to have this conversation can be conducive to a positive outcome about a misunderstood generalised community.

#### ***4. Admit it and shut the gates***

By ANDREW BOLT, 405 words, 5 June 2017, Herald-Sun, ©2017 News Limited. All rights reserved.

Police, during the London terrorist attack tweeted advice to the public: “run. Hide., tell police where the killers were. I add a fourth word: “shut.” Shut the gates through which such danger has been imported. And a fifth: “admit.” and I’ll tweet that to the apologists and sneerers who have tried to deny the danger of Islamic terrorism and vilified those trying to defend us.

Here is a short anthology. A longer list is on my blog. ABC host Virginia Trioli on the “realistic” way to respond to the September 11 attacks by al-Qaeda, led by Osama bin Laden: What if that involved bringing him somewhere, absolutely safely, sitting down with him, treating him like a human being and talking about it, and then Osama bin Laden going home again, not bombing the hell out of bin Laden. Labour frontbencher Kim Carr on the Abbott government’s anti-terrorism proposals, August 2014: This government is seeking to get away from discussion about real budgetary problems. Australian Muslim Women’ Association and 59 other Muslim groups and leaders on new anti-terrorism laws, August 2014: There is no solid evidence to substantiate this threat. Rather, racist caricatures of Muslims as backwards, prone to violence and inherently problematic are being exploited. Imam Mohamad Abdalla, associate professor at Griffith University, on terrorism, November 2014: This is not a Muslim problem. TV host Waleed Aly after Islamic State slaughtered 130 people in Paris in 2015: ISIL is weak. Grand Mufti Ibrahim Abu Mohammed, claiming the “causative factors” of the Paris massacre were all failings of the West: It is ...imperative that all causative factors such as racism, Islamophobia, curtailing freedoms through securitisation, duplicitous foreign policies and military intervention must be comprehensively addressed. Journalist Mona Chalabi on the ABC’s Q&A, May 2017: The threat of Islamic fundamentalism, if you want to view it in terms of the number of dead bodies ...is not’ that present. Lawrence Krauss on the ABC’s Q&A, May 2017: You’re more likely to be killed by a refrigerator, in the United States, falling on you. Dr Aloysia Brooks, estranged wife of former al-Qaeda recruit David Hicks, in her PhD thesis, May 2017: More people die in ...bee stings ... therefore, it can be concluded that the counter-terrorism laws have been largely politically driven.

### ***Thematic Analysis***

The author explicitly relates Muslim migrants with terrorism and advises; ‘shut *the gates through which such danger has been imported...*’. It blames Australian people as being too soft and being vilified by supporters of anti-racists. The writer uses examples of history to show Australia’s relaxed reaction towards the issues of Muslims and their links with terrorism and believes the only way to face the threat of terrorism is by banning Muslims altogether from Australia. Andrew Bolt (the writer) uses metaphoric image of an open gate which has allowed terror to come in Australia and insinuates that Muslims are the source of terror. This generalises and vilifies the Muslim community and portrays them homogenously as the source of problem.

## ***5. ASIO in refugee-terror denial***

The West Australian, 808 words, 29 May 2017, (c) 2017, West Australian Newspapers Limited

ASIO boss Duncan Lewis should get the facts right about refugees and terrorism or shut up. The danger is too great for our top spy to pretend there's no link. Last Friday, Lewis was asked by One Nation leader Pauline Hanson at a Senate committee hearing whether he believed the threat is being brought in by Middle Eastern refugees coming to Australia. Lewis seemed too eager to smack down Hanson because his response was bizarre: "have absolutely no evidence to suggest there is a connection between refugees and terrorism."

Twitter instantly lit up in mockery of Hanson, and Sydney Morning Herald political writer Mark Kenny gloated that "the spymaster's testimony was a hammer blow to Hanson's prejudice". Her "racism" had been smacked down by "an evidence-based exemplar of frank and fearless advice".

Except the opposite was true. Hanson was right and the ASIO boss astonishingly wrong. No connection between refugees and Islamic terrorism? How could Lewis have said that just two days after the NSW Coroner reported on the death of two hostages in the Lindt cafe siege, staged by Iranian Refugee Man Monis? How could he say something so obviously wrong only five days after the son of Libyan refugees blew up 22 people at a pop concert in Manchester?

And what of all the other terrorism by refugees Lewis missed? Farhad Jabar, who murdered Sydney police accountant Curtis Cheng, was an Afghan refugee. Numan Haider, who stabbed two police officers in Melbourne, was an Iraqi-Kurdish refugee. Mohammad Ali Baryalei, a top recruiter in Australia for the Islamic State group, was an Afghan refugee. Saney Edow Aweys, jailed for his role in a plot to attack the Holsworthy Army base, is a Somali refugee.

ASIO itself warned the Federal Government that at least 30 refugees trying to get here from Iraq and Syria since early last year were on its terrorism watch list. More refugees were red-flagged by other intelligence agencies. ASIO acts as if there's a connection between Muslim refugees and terrorism, so why did Lewis claim there wasn't?

That connection is not even a new phenomenon. Two-thirds of terrorists jailed here are from Muslim-Lebanese families, many initially allowed in under a concession by the Fraser government which treated them as refugees fleeing a civil war. Scores of children of Lebanese

families are now among the more than 200 Australians who have fought and died for jihadist groups in Syria and Iraq. It is the same in Europe. Refugees and asylum seekers have taken part in terrorist attacks in Paris, Ansbach and on a German train.

Lewis has so far declined media requests to explain why he said something that appears so wrong, but if the ASIO chief truly doesn't know of any connection between refugees and terrorism then he must be sacked, instantly, for being asleep at the wheel. But I suspect he was just uttering the elites conventional errors about the real danger, to allegedly stop Australians from being "racist" and to stop Muslims and refugees from feeling so picked on that some will indeed prove dangerous. Two years ago, Lewis privately told coalition politicians to stop criticising Islam for fear of a "backlash" Incredibly, he publicly added: "think it's blasphemous to the extent I can comment on someone else's religion".

"Blasphemous" comments on Islam? Islamists say the very same thing as our ASIO boss. Lewis, far from criticising Islam, defended it with another claim contradicted by evidence: "don't buy the notion the issue of Islamic extremism is in some way fostered or sponsored or supported by the Muslim religion." We've heard the same from politicians, church leaders and the media, all claiming there's no connection between Islam and terrorism.

Yet last week even Muslim Labor MP and anti-terrorism academic Anne Aly, to her credit, confirmed that was not correct: "here are certainly parts of the religion that do justify or that can be used, that are easily manipulated to justify violence." That's why the Islamic State and other terrorist groups quote passages from the Koran to justify their attacks. It's why they shout "Allahu Akbar" –Allah is the greatest – as they kill. Lewis' statement can't be excused. It makes voters (rightly) feel they can't trust authorities to tell the facts about Islam, refugees and terrorism. It also encourages a wilful denialism among the elites that stops us from protecting ourselves properly, by, say, banning immigration from some Muslim countries. Lewis owes it to Hanson – and us all – to admit he was wrong. There is a connection between refugees and terrorism, and we must address it before more Australians get hurt. And what of all the other terrorism by refugees Lewis missed?

### ***Thematic Analysis***

This article is a response to ASIO boss, Duncan Lewis' comments at a senate committee hearing to address Pauline Hanson's question on the link between terrorism and Middle Eastern refugees in Australia. The author criticises Mr. Lewis of not getting his facts right by using examples of terror attacks instigated by terrorists with Middle Eastern heritage. The writer goes on stating unreferenced stats on 'jailed terrorists' who are predominantly from Muslim backgrounds (two-thirds) and 200 children from Lebanese families who have participated in fighting for extremist groups in Syria and Iraq. He goes on using sarcasm to depict Australian politicians' agenda to divert public attention from Muslims by not creating further racist attitudes. The article shows Muslims as a group who complain as being targeted and discriminated unduly and draws attention to the prospect of creating more danger. It uses the metaphor of Australian politicians being 'asleep at the wheel' to portray the leniency of Australian politicians in not seeing the danger caused by Muslim refugees and furthermore, creates a sense of complacency towards treating Muslims as a source of danger. This article is an example of pure explicit racism against the Muslim community by generalising them as the source of danger.



## ***6. Hanson decries reverse racism in Australia***

Australian Associated Press General News, 451 words, 24 November 2016, AAP, (c) 2016 Australian Associated Press Pty Ltd. All Rights Reserved.

Pauline Hanson insists Australia has a reverse racism problem, telling defenders of race-hate laws to look at the way women who choose to wear mini skirts are being treated by Muslims. The One Nation leader says Australians are fed up with reverse racism and being told to be tolerant of people with no intention of assimilating into the Australian way of life. Senator Hanson, along with Liberal Democrat David Leyonhjelm, has proposed a private bill that seeks to decimate race-hate laws. During debate in the Senate on Thursday she said people look instead at the way different religions make comments to women who don't wish to cover themselves up. She claimed women couldn't swim at beaches because others were offensive towards them. "There is a lot of this going on in this country," Senator Hanson said. "We can't have an opinion; we can't say anything anymore."

Unlike the bill proposed by Liberal backbencher Cory Bernardi to remove the words "offend" and "insult" from section 18C of the Racial Discrimination Act, this bill seeks to remove the entire part of the law dealing with prohibition of offensive behavior based on racial hatred. Senator Hanson says she's sick of being called a racist, insisting her accusers can't point to one racist word she has ever uttered. She insists she's been subjected to racist slurs, like "white trash", and that Greek and Italian immigrants had a "good sense of humor" about being called "wogs".

Indigenous Labor senator Pat Dodson was scathing of the proposed changes, declaring bigotry was back in favor. He slammed comments by Immigration Minister Peter Dutton about Lebanese Muslim immigration being a mistake, saying the "stupidity" of his language had "excited some lunatic" to threaten violence and death to Muslim Labor MP Anne Aly. "This is what words do - when you don't understand and comprehend the difference between debate and prejudice." He spoke about his own fight for freedom, having been born before the 1967 referendum, when indigenous Australians were not counted in the census. There was a hell of a lot wrong with freedom if you had to fight to experience it, Senator Dodson said. "If this nation cannot stand up for the weakest and the poorest and those who are most vulnerable because of their race, their ethnicity, or their beliefs, then we have become a very sad replication of what democracy is

about. "Racism is something that isn't growing wild out there in the fields - it's actually tendered in a flowerbox sitting on the windowsills of flats and houses."

### ***Thematic Analysis***

This article is a demonstration of how supporters of anti-immigration feel to become marginalised and not being able to say anything because of fear of being labeled as racists. The purpose of this study is to use examples from both sides of the debate: far-rightism vs. leftism. Political groups such as One Nation claim that because of 'reverse racism' against mainstream Australians, there is a silence about issues regarding Muslims and Islamophobia. This inherently implies that there is racism against minorities in Australia and as the article ends, we are dealing with faceless racism which is not obvious but nurtured and tendered under our very own noses. We cannot and must not ignore talking about issues of refugees, Muslims and the existence of discrimination. We need to educate communities on cultural differences which go beyond the superficiality of diversity, acknowledge terror-related issues and through policy making and community building endeavors, create an inclusive society in which all members work together to minimise extremism and collaborate to eradicate it.

## 7. Manchester massacre results in media madness as lefties ignore the role of Islam again

The Australian, 551 words, 25 May 2017, ©2017 News Limited. All rights reserved.

*CUT & PASTE Love is definitely, absolutely not all you need to stop Islamic extremism*

Here we go again. Women's website Mamamia, yesterday: We know who the Manchester suicide bomber is. Mamamia will not be naming him. *More heads in the sand ... barrister and refugee activist Julian Burnside on Twitter, yesterday: The attack is appalling no matter what the motives. We need to worry about extremists of all kinds: Christian, Buddhist, Muslim, whatever.*

American physicist Lawrence Krauss on ABC's Q&A, Monday: You're more likely to be killed by your refrigerator than terrorism. How many people have to die? London's The Times online, yesterday: The suicide bomber who murdered 22 people at a pop concert in Manchester had recently returned from Libya, it emerged last night as Britain was put on alert for another imminent attack. But they don't want to know. Mamamia, yesterday: This story is not his. We don't want to know the name of the man who stood in the middle of a crowd full of kids and exploded a bomb. We do not care about his motivation. We don't care about his cause. There is nothing worth knowing about why a person would do that.

We need to know about these killers so we can stop them. The Times, continued: Police and intelligence agencies are trying to establish whether Salman Abedi received terrorist training at a jihadist camp in the North African country where (Islamic State) and al-Qaida have allied to fight government forces. Oh yeah, the only weapon we need against Islamist terror is love. Mamamia, continued: Hate will not trump love. Terror will not blacken our lives. Love is the answer? Are we going to replace ASIO and MI5 with the Care Bears? Care Bears theme song, 1985: I want to be a Care Bear / And fill the world with love.

We could admit there's a particular problem in the Islamic community. The Australian's Greg Sher-dan on The Drum, ABC News, Tuesday: British society is just as difficult to penetrate for a Hindu migrant or Chinese migrant or somebody else and they don't resort to this. The demographic breakdown of people who have conducted terrorist attacks in Britain includes many, many people who had tertiary education and who were relatively affluent and successful. But you mustn't mention the M-word. The Drum's host John Barron, Tuesday: All right. Again,

of course we don't know who was responsible for this or their motivations on that.

The ABC does have a penchant for shutting down debate on Islamic extremism. Chris Kenny's column for The Australian online, yesterday: Across all its platforms the national broadcaster is wont to echo the jihad denialism of the green left ...his attitude pollutes our public debate, stifling political action and perpetuating the grievances of extremists that tend to paint murderous acts as responses to Western foreign policy, social isolation or *so-called Islamophobia*.

OK, let's go back to some common sense from Sheridan. The Drum, Tuesday: The idea that it is all society's fault is madness. And it dehumanises terrorists because it takes away their actual agency and moral choice.

### ***Thematic analysis***

This article uses clear sarcasm on how cutting and pasting love is not going to solve the problem of extremism and violence. It refers to the politicians as '*putting their heads in the sand*', alluding to the Australian government's lack of responsible vigilance when dealing with terrorism issues. It refers to Islamophobia as '*so-called*' implying it is not real and a fabrication of Muslims' imagination and over-rated. It sarcastically criticizes the politicians and the media who are afraid to use the '*M... word*' when reporting terror attack news. The writer uses sarcasm to illustrate the inadequacy of western societies in dealing with terrorism using the analogy of '*care bears*' and the sentiment of '*filling the world with love*' as ridiculous plans of action to manage terror.

## **8. *Time to admit it – the truck is not to blame***

By MARK STEYN, The Advertiser, 1,290 words, 22 December 2016, ©2016 News Limited. All rights reserved.

If free countries have to have unsightly security controls, why don't they have them around the national borders? On my website last Saturday morning, I recalled a conversation I had in Germany over the summer with a lady who had "found herself on the receiving end of some vibrant multicultural outreach from one of Mutti Merkel's boy charmers". I wrote: as a result, she no longer goes out after dark. She had also decided – with reluctance, because she enjoyed it – to cancel her participation in a local Christmas market, where she sung carols every year in broad daylight. 'Why would you do that?', I asked. 'Because it's Christmas,' she said, 'and I worried Christmas will be a target.' I concluded: 'Christmas markets are a grand German tradition, but probably not for much longer.' Forty-eight hours later, 12 people were dead and 48 injured (at the time of writing) because they attended a Christmas market at Breitscheidplatz in Berlin. This BBC headline effortlessly conveys the madness of our times: "lorry kills 12 at Christmas market". So the truck did it. So it's nothing that can't be fixed by some basic truck-control measures – like, say, licensing and registration of trucks. What a great idea.

Within moments, the familiar rituals of this latest vehicular misfortune emerged: "it was definitely deliberate," said one intended victim. And as CNN reported: "witnesses told police the attacker had shouted out..." go on, take a wild guess! '...Allahu Akbar' and 'infidels must die' as he carried out the attacks. The less obviously evasive responses were almost as dispiriting. An English tourist visiting from Birmingham complained that in his native city ugly bollards now line the sidewalks to obstruct any similarly homicidal lorries in the vicinity.

The Christkindlmarkt is a German tradition dating back to the Middle Ages: Munich's is over 700 years old. A society that can only hold three-quarters-of-a-millennium-old traditions behind an impenetrable security perimeter is a society that will soon lose those traditions. My own preference is that, if free countries have to have unsightly security controls, why don't they have them around the national borders rather than around every single thing inside those borders?

As I said on the radio in America a handful of mass slaughters ago: "think this is insane when I listen to people say 'We're now going to have to have metal detectors in night clubs, security in

nightclubs” K, so what happens next? They blow up a bakery, they blow up a little pastry shop, so then you’re going to have to have metal detectors to get into the pastry shop?

Instead of having all these individual perimeters around every Dunkin’ donuts franchise or every gas station, or every JC Penney, why not have just one big perimeter around the country? We could call it a border! And we could have, like, border security! But that’s just crazy talk. On Fox News’ top-rated Kelly File, guest host Martha MacCallum asked two experts about the Berlin carnage and both of them instantly pivoted to military strikes against ISIS, the need to form an Arab version of NATO, and other grand schemes. I’m all in favor of destroying ISIS, but ISIS is a mere symptom, not a cause.

After ISIS is destroyed, it’ll be something else. In many parts of the world, it’s already something else: al-Qaeda, the Taliban, Boko Haram, Abu Sayyaf, al-Shabaab, al-Nusra, al-Gama’ al-Islamiyya, al-this, al-that, al-the other ...

Neither of Martha’s guests so much as raised the question of why people who want to murder you for attending a Christmas market are in your country in the first place – even as the familiar rituals of this latest vehicular misfortune emerged.

But relax. Malcolm Turnbull assured us an atrocity or 10 back that it is “very, very small percentage” of the Muslim community who are “violent extremists” Like other similarly soothing western leaders, he never actually tells us what percentage it is – one per cent, point-one, point-oh-oh-oh-one —but I’m sure he knows, or he wouldn’t say it so breezily, would he?

And at least our leaders are agreed that it is a percentage. A percentage is a very simple concept: If it’s 0.001 per cent of the Muslim community that are “violent extremists” and you have 100,000 Muslims, then, yes, it’s “very, very small percentage”—and a small number. If you then admit another 100,000 Muslims, then you’re just doubled the number of “violent extremists”

And, whether you keep on doing that year in year out or just cut to the chase and import (as Angela Merkel did) a million and a half in one fell swoop, then, regardless of whether the percentage is stable, you are importing more and more people who want to kill your own citizens.

Why? What’s the benefit? And why do people like that Birmingham tourist think the answer to

more and more Muslims is more and more bollards?

I spent most of the last year in France and other parts of Western Europe and there are soldiers everywhere – outside churches, post offices, railway stations, shopping malls, Jewish schools initially and now non-Jewish schools, topless beaches and Christmas markets ... and it's not enough, and it can never be enough. And, even if it was, who wants to live like that?

Just a few hours before 12 German families had a big bloody hole blown through them a week before Christmas, my former editor at Canada's National Post, Jonathan Kay, with his usual impeccable timing, decided to Tweet another condescending sneer at those simpletons who fret about where all this is heading: "great @CBC180 discussion. Due to Mark Steyn-esque hysteria, Canadians think Canada is 17% Muslim. It's actually 3%."! What rubes, eh? You hick Aussies are no better: According to the same poll, you reckon Australia's 12 per cent Muslim; it's actually 2.4 per cent. So what's the big deal?

As flattering as it is to be blamed for an entire nation's Islamophobia, I say the reason Canadians and Australians – like the French and Germans and Belgians and almost everybody else – think there are more Muslims than there are is fairly obvious: Islam punches above its weight.

Even on days when they're not mowing down Christmas shoppers and assassinating Russian ambassadors – or stabbing French priests, or blowing up Belgian airports, or sexually assaulting German New Year revelers, or storming Sydney coffee shops – the less incendiary news of Islam in the west nevertheless conveys an assertiveness and confidence that would still be impressive even if it were 17 per cent. By the time it actually is 17 per cent, you'll think it's 48.

Since we seem to have wound up obsessing on percentages, I suppose 12 dead Germans is likewise an insignificant percentage, and far too trivial to warrant "ark Steyn-esque hysteria".

But it is December 22nd, and for the victims' families in three days' time that will be 100 per cent of their children or parents or boyfriends or girlfriends missing at the Christmas table.

Say a prayer for them: They died because of the recklessness of a western political class that has doubled down on a mad long-shot sociopolitical experiment that can only end catastrophically.



### ***Thematic Analysis***

This article insinuates that instead of having security controls in the west to stop terrorism, the west needs to close its borders and stop the source of terrorism and generalising Muslim refugees as terrorists. It criticises Malcolm Turnbull on how he evades the notion of 'Muslims as the source of terror' by not answering a question on the statistics of association of Muslims with terror attacks. The writer alludes that with an increasing number of Muslims coming through the borders, the percentage of terrorists will go up. The article links Muslim refugees with how the way of life is impacted in Europe and refers to multiculturalism as a 'mad long-shot sociological experiment' which has horribly gone wrong.

## Appendix 2: Online sources

**Title:** 'Armani refugees': Peter Dutton accused of undermining US deal with 'extraordinarily irresponsible' critique.

**Theme:** Accusing refugees of being imposters and not genuine.

**Date:** 29.9.17

**URL Link:** <http://www.smh.com.au/federal-politics/political-news/armani-refugees-peter-dutton-accused-of-undermining-us-deal-with-extraordinarily-irresponsible-critique-20170928-gyqidd.html>

**Title:** I tried to fight racism by being a 'model minority' and then it backfired.

**Theme:** Brown poppy syndrome' (double standard in treating people of color by downplaying), 'conditional Australian'.

**Date:** 28.9.17

**URL Link:** <https://www.teenvogue.com/story/fight-racism-model-minority-yassmin-abdelmagied>

**Title:** The unfortunate thing I have in common with Colin Kaepernick and Heritier Lumumba.

**Theme:** When people of colour speak about racism, we are told that we are the problem.

**Date:** 28.9.17

**URL Link:** <http://www.smh.com.au/lifestyle/news-and-views/opinion/the-unfortunate-thing-i-have-in-common-with-colin-kaepernick-and-heritier-lumumba-20170927-gypqe1.html>

**Title:** Is racism real? Yes, it's in your face.

**Theme:** Many people believe that "in your face" racism is a thing of the past. That racism is not a big problem. While it's acknowledged that racism does exist, the popular belief is that it's harder to deal with because it's subtler.

**Date:** 8.9.17

**URL Link:** <https://www.tuc.org.uk/blogs/racism-real-yes-its-your-face>

**Title:** Why Asian women's feet are so small? Discrimination rife in Aussie workplaces.

**Theme:** Explicit bias, racist and sexist comments and offensive "jokes" are rife in corporate Australia, a new report shows.

**Date:** 6.9.17

**URL Link:** <https://www.facebook.com/nassimkhademjournalist/posts/1748353492134922>

**Title:** Nationals push to ban burka in public places.

**Theme:** Restriction on Islamic dress code.

**Date:** 6.9.17

**URL Link:** <http://www.theaustralian.com.au/national-affairs/nationals-push-to-ban-burka-in-public-places/news-story/e5ca90289b49cc4074767213f716814c>

**Title:** Racism is real; race is not: a philosopher's perspective.

**Theme:** There is no race but racialised groups.

**Date:** 1.9.17

**URL Link:** <https://theconversation.com/racism-is-real-race-is-not-a-philosophers-perspective-82504>

**Title:** Brexit Britain: A United Kingdom of hate and denial.

**Theme:** The rise of Xenophobia and Islamophobia in Brexit Britain.

**Date:** 28.8.17

**URL Link:** <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2017/08/brexit-britain-united-kingdom-hate-denial-170815124057365.html>

**Title:** Islamophobia in Australia: Whose problem is it? How can we overcome it?

**Theme:** The rise of Islamophobia in Australia.

**Date:** 10.7.17

**URL Link:** <http://www.abc.net.au/religion/articles/2017/07/10/4699609.htm>

**Title:** Bipartisan colorblindness.

**Theme:** Color-blind Racism and racism without racists.

**Date:** 11.7.17

**URL Link:** <https://thesocietypages.org/discoveries/2017/07/11/bipartisan-colorblindness/>

**Title:** Muslims judged through the prism of terror.

**Theme:** Terrorism and Muslims.

**Date:** 17.7.17

**URL Link:** <https://www.facebook.com/abcqanda/videos/10154515054181831/>

**Title:** Where are you from?: The question Australians need to stop asking.

**Theme:** Where are you really from? Who is a typical Australian?

**Date:** 3.6.17

**URL Link:** <http://www.smh.com.au/lifestyle/news-and-views/where-are-you-from-the-question-australians-need-to-stop-asking-20170602-gwj42g.html>

**Title:** Racism is structural: Its purpose is to consolidate power.

**Theme:** Denial of existence of racism by White people.

**Date:** 4.6.17

**URL Link:** <https://www.theguardian.com/books/2017/jun/04/reni-eddo-lodge-no-longer-talking-white-people-about-race-interview>

**Title:** Muslim schoolgirls in hijabs ‘asked to leave career shows because people felt threatened’.

**Theme:** Intolerances against visible Muslims.

**Date:** 3.6.17

**URL Link:** <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/australasia/muslim-students-hijab-perth-australia-careers-expo-event-manchester-attacks-islamophobia-a7771106.html>

**Title:** This cycle of police targeting Black folks shows exactly how systemic racism works.

**Theme:** Systemic racism.

**Date:** 26.5.17

**URL Link:** <https://everydayfeminism.com/2017/05/angela-glover-systemic-racism/>

**Title:** Climate of hate.

**Theme:** Pauline Hansen and the rise in sentiment of hate.

**Date:** 18.5.17

**URL Link:** <http://neoskosmos.com/news/en/Climate-of-hate>

**Title:** Concerned about unconscious bias? You just don’t believe in Australia.

**Theme:** Tony Abbott’s sentiment on anyone who believes that greater diversity in leadership, marriage equality and action against climate change could actually contribute to a better future for Australia, are not proud of the way of life we have.

**Date:** 4.5.17

**URL Link:** <https://womensagenda.com.au/politics/concerned-unconscious-bias-just-dont-believe-australia/>

**Title:** Malcolm Turnbull's 'tough' stance on migration is doomed to fail.

**Theme:** Abolishing 457 visa, more stringent citizenship tests.

**Date:** 27.4.17

**URL Link:** <http://www.smh.com.au/comment/malcolm-turnbulls-tough-stance-on-migration-is-doomed-to-fail-20170427-gvth38.html>

**Title:** Q&A: Germaine Greer says fear of 'caricature of Islam' behind citizenship changes.

**Theme:** 457 visa and citizenship changes do not reflect government's stance for particular religion.

**Date:** 25.4.2017

**URL Link:** <https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2017/apr/25/qa-germaine-greer-says-fear-of-caricature-of-islam-behind-citizenship-changes>

**Title:** The White Queen review: David Marr on how Pauline Hanson plays the race card.

**Theme:** Marr emphasises that race prejudice is the prime motivation, immigration is the goad, with One Nation's supporters but they tend to be people a suburb or two away from the concentrations of Muslims.

**Date:** 21.4.17

**URL Link:** <http://www.smh.com.au/entertainment/books/the-white-queen-review-david-marr-on-how-pauline-hanson-plays-the-race-card-20170414-gvkv4e.html>

**Title:** Pepsi's portrayal of a Muslim woman was as tone-deaf as the rest of the advertisement.

**Theme:** Trivialising diversity and Black Lives matter.

**Date:** 6.4.17

**URL Link:** [http://www.huffingtonpost.com.au/entry/pepsi-ad-kendall-jenner-muslim-woman\\_us\\_58e50875e4b0d0b7e166e184](http://www.huffingtonpost.com.au/entry/pepsi-ad-kendall-jenner-muslim-woman_us_58e50875e4b0d0b7e166e184)

**Title:** Amending the Racial Discrimination Act: Making bigotry great again!

**Theme:** Proposed changes to clause 18c of the Racial Discrimination Act and its implications, making it easier for racial hate.

**Date:** 26.3.17

**URL Link:** <https://independentaustralia.net/politics/politics-display/amending-the-racial-discrimination-act--making-bigotry-great-again,10147>

**Title:** Pauline Hanson's Muslim ban 'what terrorists want', says Turnbull.

**Theme:** Alienating Muslims will push them in the arms of terrorism.

**Date:** 24.3.17

**URL Link:** <https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2017/mar/24/pauline-hanson-muslim-ban-what-terrorists-want-says-turnbull>

**Title:** 'Why you got a mask? Terrorist?' woman screams at Macquarie University student

**Theme:** The racial attack on Macquarie University campus against a female Muslim.

**Date:** 22.1.17

**URL Link:** <http://www.smh.com.au/nsw/why-you-got-a-mask-terrorist-woman-screams-at-macquarie-university-student-20170122-gtwav1.html>

**Title:** Australians support partial ban on Muslim immigration: survey

**Theme:** Evident Islamophobic environment in Australia

**Date:** 26.10.17

**URL Link:** <http://www.sbs.com.au/news/article/2017/10/26/australians-support-partial-ban-muslim-immigration-survey>

## **Appendix 3: Organisational analysis**

### **Government agencies**

#### ***Workplace Gender Equality Agency (WGEA)***

[https://www.wgea.gov.au/sites/default/files/WGEA\\_service\\_charter.pdf](https://www.wgea.gov.au/sites/default/files/WGEA_service_charter.pdf)

WGEA is an Australian Government agency created by the Workplace Gender Equality Act 2012. Its role is to promote and improve gender equality issues in the Australian workforce. WGEA predominantly works with employers giving them advice on how to improve their gender performance.

A browse through WGEA's website provides information on the role of the agency to assist employers regarding gender related issues. WGEA provides informational workshops and seminars, media releases and advice on reporting of gender inequality incidents within the Australian workforce. It, however, misses anything to do with the issue of race or religion which confirms my thesis on how Australian government agencies ignore racial/religious inequalities and sweep it under the carpet.

#### ***Australian Human Rights Commission (AHRC)***

[https://www.humanrights.gov.au/sites/default/files/document/publication/RDA40\\_report\\_2015\\_AHRC.pdf](https://www.humanrights.gov.au/sites/default/files/document/publication/RDA40_report_2015_AHRC.pdf)

The commission was established in 1986 by the federal government as an independent organisation to protect and promote human rights in Australia and report through the Attorney General. The commission's web site provides info on multiple areas of discrimination such as sex, age, disability, race, LGBT, and asylum seekers.

A look through the tab, 'our work-race', provides a glimpse of the commission's projects and seminars. It is interesting to note that the projects are predominantly celebratory and there is nothing on racism and the current tension with Muslims.

In a speech, race discrimination commissioner, Dr. Soutphommasane, refers to the media's exaggeration of the latest census results in 2016 about the Australian demographic population becoming overwhelmed by Asian and Muslim groups and says:

.... clear implication of recent headlines such as Muslim population in Australia soars *and* Welcome to Chinatown: How Sydney has become more Asian than European is that Australia is now at risk of losing its British, European, Western or Christian heritage, and of becoming too Asian or Islamic.

The reality is soberer. While it is true that the majority of migrants who now settle in Australia are from countries in Asia, it is untrue to suggest that the population in general has become more Asian than European in background.

And while Muslims living in Australia may have grown in number, they represent 2.6 per cent of the population. This is up from 2.2 per cent in 2011. It is a stretch to suggest their numbers have soared.

The cumulative effect of media coverage, though, has been to encourage panicked anxiety about Australia being overwhelmed, if not by Asians then by Muslims.

Dr. Soutphommasane said debate about the proposed citizenship and language test also signaled that some groups of people are undesirable based on a standard that many Australian-born citizens would be unlikely to meet themselves.

A report prepared by AHRC in 2015 was based on public consultations in capital cities of each Australian state and aimed to promote the Racial Discrimination act of 1975 in commemoration of the 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Act. Furthermore, it provided a better understanding of individual lived experiences of discrimination. Through these consultations, two areas of concern were identified as limited abilities of the Act. It was reported that the Act fails to protect Muslim Australians against discrimination as the current Act does not consider Muslims as an ethnic group.

.... the limited ability of the Act to protect Muslim Australians against prejudice and discrimination involving expressions of 'cultural racism'. While the current interpretation of the Act stops short of considering the Muslim faith as encompassing an 'ethnic group', many Muslim Australians regard religious vilification as abuse implicating race and culture...

The report also identifies the role of media in misrepresentation of minorities.



...Participants also highlighted the particular role that media reporting and commentary plays in sensationalizing matters concerning race and religion – a role regarded as feeding negative stereotypes about some communities and as counter-productive to racial tolerance.

Therefore, a brief analysis of this agency provides the impression that its work encompasses all minorities including Muslims. It, however, lacks clear action plans on how to and what to do to tackle the problem of discrimination. It is a legal entity promoting public policy and providing information. The existence of discrimination against Muslim Australians is identified as ‘cultural’ and the issue of workforce discrimination is absent and only mentioned in the case of Aboriginals.

### ***Australian Multicultural Advisory Council (AMAC)***

[www.dss.gov.au/sites/default/files/documents/05\\_2014/people-of-australia1.pdf](http://www.dss.gov.au/sites/default/files/documents/05_2014/people-of-australia1.pdf)

The council initially was appointed by the immigration minister in 2008 and is currently appointed by the government in 2014 for a period of three years. It consists of 16 members from different backgrounds to reflect the balance of age and gender. The recommendations range from government to consult with different government agencies and local groups before designing policies and special attention to the education sector and curriculum design to instill tolerance and respect for different groups from an early age.

There are recommendations for the government to have accessible and equitable programs and assistance for disadvantaged groups. It is noted that although the policy is comprehensive in addressing the issues of intolerance and discrimination at government, community and education levels, it fails to pinpoint the pending issue of Muslim community and growing Islamophobia as identified in the latest report by CSU in July 2017.

A click through the ‘helping refugees’ tab takes the browser to a comprehensive list of government support programs for settlement of humanitarian refugees; cultural orientation, settlement services/grants, interpreter services, translation services and building a new life in Australia.

The tab on ‘refugee settlement media hub’ provides frequently asked questions about Syrian and Iraqi refugees settling in Australia between 2015-2017 with a listing of comprehensive programs for social and settlement services. It is noted that Australia provides comprehensive support and

services in the areas of physical refugee settlement. There is, however, no mention about the cultural/religious identity of these new migrants who are predominantly Muslim, and the implication for their successful social/economic inclusion amidst growing Islamophobia as reported in CSU report of 2017.

### ***Australian Multicultural Council (AMC)***

[www.dss.gov.au/our-responsibilities/settlement-and-multicultural-affairs/programs-policy/diversity-programs](http://www.dss.gov.au/our-responsibilities/settlement-and-multicultural-affairs/programs-policy/diversity-programs)

AMC is a ministerial-appointed government agency, designed to provide advice on multiculturalism and programs of social acceptance and cohesion to address racism and discrimination. Diversity programs listed on this website includes ‘multicultural grants’ and programs of ‘multicultural access and equity’.

The link to ‘multicultural equity and action plan 2016-2017’ provides very general listings of policies and responsibilities on how to include people from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds with emphasis on the issue of women. There is no mention of Islamophobia or the inclusivity of Muslims.

### ***Federation of Ethnicities Council of Australia (FECCA)***

<http://fecca.org.au/about/who-we-are>

FECCA is a national organisation established in 1979 representing Australians from different cultures and aims to advocate for ethnic groups to government, businesses and the community. According to FECCA’s web site, it focuses to assist individuals from diverse cultures in areas of education, employment and social services.

An overview of FECCA’s strategy document demonstrates another government organisation using pictures of ethnic groups and Muslim women wearing hijab to portray themselves as an advocate for cultural diversity and equity. The strategy document outlines general aims of awareness building, leadership/capacity building, outreach and policy/advocacy as their main areas of focus.

There are no details of their programs and no mention of Muslims or Islamophobia and its management.

Upon further inquiry from FECCA, I received a short email entailing their generalised initiatives in supporting cultural differences.

... FECCA works at a broad policy and advocacy level to combat racism of all kinds and Islamophobia is certainly a current concern. We have made many submissions to government on issues of racism and protections for Australians of all backgrounds, cultures, and religions.

You may be interested in some of the submissions and press releases on our website [www.fecca.org.au](http://www.fecca.org.au) You may also be interested in the FECCA biennial national conference being held in Darwin 8-10 October this year [www.fecca2017.com.au](http://www.fecca2017.com.au)...

### ***Diversity Council Australia (DCA)***

[www.dca.org.au/about-dca](http://www.dca.org.au/about-dca)

DCA is a non-profit organisation which provides research, resources and advice on diversity and inclusion programs for its member organisations ([www.dca.org.au/about-dca](http://www.dca.org.au/about-dca)). It was formed in 1985 as a joint entity of the Australian Chamber of Commerce and the Business Council of Australia with a focus on equal opportunity for women within the workforce. Over the years, DCA's focus has expanded to cover all matters of diversity in the work force and it currently has more than 400 members. DCA defines cultural diversity as: 'The variation between people in terms of how they identify on a range of dimensions including ancestry, ethnicity, ethno-religiosity, language, national origin, race, and/or religion'.

It is noted that DCA's web site includes 'race/religion' as markers of inequality in our work force but interestingly, when I was looking at DCA's 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary section of the web site in 2015, I came across a YouTube video showcasing a group of organisations as DCA's founding members and exemplars. Some of these organisations are listed as ANZ, AMP, Boral, Coles, IBM Australia, Myer, Orica, Rio Tinto and Westpac. The video shows employees who have disabilities (Coles & IBM Aust.) and are from indigenous groups (Boral) and focuses on work-life balance/flexibility (AMP) and graduate programs (Orica). The issue of race and religion is missing and there is no mention of religious/ racial diversity.

### ***Department of Social Services (DSS)***

[www.dca.org.au/about-dca](http://www.dca.org.au/about-dca)

The Department of Social Services (DSS) is a government agency providing guidelines and advice to the Australian Government, particularly in the areas related to Islamophobia and its management, and more broadly on how to promote social cohesion and community inclusion and participation. An inquiry put through DSS about its role and function addressing Islamophobia and Muslim community inclusion initiatives within the labour market provided the following information:

- ‘Engage, challenge, grow’, which aims to build community harmony through the participation of Muslim communities in Australian society to improve relationships between Muslims and non-Muslims.
- National Open Mosque Day, where Mosques across the country open their doors to the general public.
- Muslim Youth Leadership Development Program, a collaboration between Victoria University, the Australian National Imams Council and the Islamic Council of Victoria that aims to develop a leadership program that teaches a series of advanced professional skills for Australian-born Muslims who have demonstrated leadership potential.
- Supporting Social Inclusion, a training program to strengthen and support cultural awareness and improve knowledge and an appreciation of the contributions Muslims have made to Australian society.

It can be noted that DSS provides generic support in the form of its initiatives to promote inclusion and diversity within the Australian community. It has beneficial programs such as the ‘Muslim youth leadership program’ to educate and train young Muslims from an early age and provide opportunity for progress.

Due to limitations of this thesis, the scope and effectiveness of this initiative is not evaluated.

The response from DSS regarding more specific targeted initiatives within the work force to address the issue of Islamophobia and its management is as the following:

‘...While the Department’s programs are not directly linked to issues of race within Australian workforces, they do seek to address issues of cultural, racial and religious intolerance, while promoting respect, fairness, acceptance and a sense of belonging for everyone...’

Again, DSS does not have much to say in the area of Islamophobia and its implication within the workforce in Australia. DSS’s services and initiatives are too general in addressing a specific issue and geared towards celebration and beautification of multiculturalism and diversity management.

## **Public Organisations**

### ***Australia and New Zealand Bank (ANZ)***

[sustainability.anz.com/sustainability/Jun17refugeeweek](https://sustainability.anz.com/sustainability/Jun17refugeeweek)

ANZ's website depicts the areas of gender, culture, LGBT, flexibility and accessibility listed under the tab of diversity and inclusion. The heading of 'culture' takes the viewer to ANZ's focus in the area of reconciliation action planning (RAP) for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island employees with no mention of other cultures and specially Islamophobia. During June 2017, ANZ introduced a 'refugee employment program' during the refugee week celebrations. It is worthy to note that there is no mention of the issue of increasing Islamophobia and how ANZ is going to address its negative influences within its workforce.

ANZ, in September 2016, used the example of an Afghan female employee who completed a degree in management in SA and after 12-month traineeship program with the bank became a permanent employee, to illustrate ANZ's support for refugee employment. The picture of one hijab clad employee who educated herself and found employment is used as evidence of the benevolent action of the bank to include minorities!

### ***AMP***

[www.amp.com.au/amp/corporate-sustainability/investinginpeople](http://www.amp.com.au/amp/corporate-sustainability/investinginpeople) Analysis of AMP's website demonstrates the main focus of the organisation on gender equality and LGBTIQ inclusion as areas of attention for having an inclusive work force and there is no mention about racial, religious/cultural or Islamophobia.

## ***Boral***

[www.boral.com.au/Images/common/pdfs/Diversity\\_Policy\\_2010.pdf](http://www.boral.com.au/Images/common/pdfs/Diversity_Policy_2010.pdf)

A look through Boral's web page on values and policies demonstrates the company's areas of focus such as health & safety, diversity, harassment and environment. The 'diversity' tab directs the reader to a one-page policy document dated in 2010 in which Boral methodically defines the company's perspective about diversity and that is all!! Boral fails to mention what strategy and action plan is being used by the company, who these diverse employee groups are or anything about current issues of diversity and inclusion, i.e. Islamophobia.

## **Wesfarmers/Coles**

<https://www.colescareers.com.au/about-us> & <https://www.coles.com.au/corporate-responsibility>

Wesfarmers /Coles' web page, About Us, depicts a picture of a workforce in which there are representations from diverse backgrounds. The 'corporate responsibility' tab introduces Coles' focus on community, environment, ethical sourcing and their supplier chain. Wesfarmers website on diversity provides the company's vision of employing and including people with disabilities and focusing on age, gender and indigenous representation

(<http://2015.sustainability.wesfarmers.com.au/our-principles/people/diversity/>). There is no mention of racial/cultural/religious diversity and the case of growing Islamophobia, and how the company will manage it, is absent.

## **IBM Australia**

[www-07.ibm.com/employment/au/diversity/Diversity\\_at\\_IBM\\_Doing\\_it\\_Differently.pdf](http://www-07.ibm.com/employment/au/diversity/Diversity_at_IBM_Doing_it_Differently.pdf)

The analysis of IBM Australia's web page to gauge the company's focus on diversity and strategies/plans for implementing it takes the browser to a 2015 document titled 'Diversity & Inclusion @ IBM: Doing it Differently'. The document includes the picture of a managing director, Kerry Purcell, who is mainstream and advocates IBM's business case for diversity in their work force. IBM operates in more than 170 countries with a transnational workforce who must be trained and acculturated to different markets. The diversity programs are focused on

gender (women in IT), cultural (acculturation of employees for different markets), disability, LGBT, work-life balance and generational (age).

Interestingly, IBM is claiming to be the leader in implementation of diversity programs within the company and in the community and acknowledging markers of inequality: 'Business activities such as hiring, promotion and compensation of employees are conducted without regard to gender, race, religion, gender identity or expression, sexual orientation, national origin, genetics, disability, or age.' But there is no reference to the current issues of Islamophobia and how IBM is addressing them.

## **Myer**

<http://investor.myer.com.au/Corporate-Governance/?page=Corporate-Governance-Statement---Policies>

A look through Myers' corporate governance statement from 2016, page 3, illustrates the company's diversity objectives:

'has an inclusive workplace where every individual can shine regardless of gender, cultural identity, age, disability, work style or approach; > leverages the value of diversity for all our stakeholders to deliver the best customer experience, improved financial performance and a stronger corporate reputation; and, > continues to take a leadership position on diversity practices.' (Corporate-Governance-Statement%20(1).pdf).

The majority of diversity programs, however, are focused on issues of women's representation and family-life balance with no mention of programs for inclusion of employees from different racial/ cultural backgrounds.



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