Putting 'Australians' First

Australian News Media Construction of

Temporary Migration and Migrants

A thesis

by

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In partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Research

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18 October 2018

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Abstract

This study focuses on Australian news media representations of temporary migration and migrants. It is driven by the question: what dominant discourses do contemporary news media produce of temporary migration and migrants? The question is answered by critically examining media discourse relating to the abolition of temporary work visa for migrants, popularly referred to as the '457 visa'. Fifteen online news articles from three Australian newspapers collected between 2017 and 2018 form the data for analysis.

The study employs a multidisciplinary framework drawing from cultural studies, media studies and communication studies. It uses critical discourse analysis as its method and framing analysis as a tool to explore representations in dominant discourse to understand the construction of temporary migration and migrants by media.

The analysis of media discourse on temporary migration reveals ideological representations. Within the dichotomy of 'us' and 'them' that govern media representations, temporary migrants form the 'them'. This ideological position and binary nature is presented within the frame of 'Australian national interest'. This leads to the perception of temporary migration and migrants as a threat to the nation and, consequently, a social problem that needs to be addressed. The abolition of the 457 visa is legitimised as the solution to the problem in news media discourse. The study argues that such representations have significant consequences for Australian society.

Statement of Originality

To the best of my knowledge and belief, the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the thesis itself.

Name: Bhavna Datta   Date: 18/10/2018

Signed:

Acknowledgements

I would like to extend my sincere gratitude to my supervisor, Dr Maya Ranganathan, for her unfailing attention, thoughtful feedback and continued encouragement. Her patience, reassurance and trust have helped me complete this thesis.

I would also like to thank Professor John Potts, for guidance and support throughout the Masters of Research program. I am also thankful to all my peers as we have shared this academic journey together and I have learnt a great deal from each one of them.

I want to acknowledge my family and friends and thank them for being a constant support system. I am thankful to my grandparents for sharing their stories, especially my grandmother, Ritu Bhalla, for always being an inspiration. I am deeply grateful to my parents, Vevek and Anjali, for providing me with every educational opportunity and my sister, Meghna, for always being there for me. I express my gratitude to Ritwik, my husband, for being a positive influence and a pillar of strength. Finally, I am sincerely grateful to all friends, especially Tavisha, Ariana and Eshna, for being a solid support system and always helping me keep things in perspective.

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1   Research Question

What are the Australian news media representations of temporary migration and migrants in relation to the 457 visa'?

1.2   Objectives

1. Examine mainstream news media discourse in relation to skilled migration and migrants facilitated by the 457 visa.

2. Evaluate the frames employed in media discourse relating to temporary migration and migrants.

3. Examine the repercussions of the frames for Australia's economy and the nation, particularly in the light of Australia's history of migration and multicultural setting.

1.3   Introduction

Migration has been central to nation building in Australia. In recent years, temporary migration has gained popularity over traditional permanent migration. Various forms of temporary migration are acceptable in Western nations. However, with changes in global trends there is a higher focus on fluid migration patterns. Neoliberal ideologies have led to this shift from permanent to temporary migration (Czaika and Haas 2014). Over the past two decades, thousands of sponsored workers have come to Australia. However, not all have settled here on a permanent basis. Based on the 2014 International Immigration Outlook report, Australia has shifted from a settler to a temporary migrant nation (Collins 2014). This change has been the biggest in nearly seven decades of post-war immigration history.

Globalisation has led to a considerable increase in international labour migration. This is due to the neoliberal ideologies of seeking professional and increasingly skilled migrants to meet labour shortages, especially in areas such as informational technology and health. Common forms of temporary migration are student migration, tourist visas and temporary labour migration. Skilled migration is an unavoidable economic need is the basic premise of this thesis. The focus of this research is on the representations of long-term temporary skilled migration and migrants who make up approximately eight per cent of the labour force in Australia (Mares 2016). The terms 'migrant', 'immigrant' and 'temporary migrant' are used interchangeably in this thesis.

Migration policies are designed to increase the chances of a desirable migrant (Geiger 2013). Within the context of temporary migration, the desirable migrant is recognised through the skills they bring to the nation. The study of discourse related to temporary migration is significant as temporary migration is currently the main contributor to Australia's net overseas migration rate (Phillips and Simon-Davies 2016: 1). Research has established that temporary skilled migration can have a substantial impact on the Australian immigration program as it provides a 'rapidly emerging source of labour and settlers' (Velayutham 2013: 340). Temporary migration has been positive as it helps the country benefit financially in a globalised economy while securing their interests (Preibisch and Hennebry 2012: 72; Castles 2006; Castles 2014: 193–194; Castles et al. 2014: 169; Straehle and Lenard 2012a; Dauvergne and Marsden 2014; Howe and Owens 2016: 4, 9). This study analyses the frames in media discourse relating to the abolition of the 457 visa, which was a skills-based system of choosing desired temporary migrants for a mutually beneficial situation for Australia up until April 2017.

By evaluating the correlation between the economic need that necessitated the visa and emotive representations of the issues of migration in mainstream media, particularly at the time of the visa abolition, this study makes a new contribution to the literature on media representations of migrants. It argues that the frames employed in media discourse have significant consequences for not just the Australian economy, but also for the very concept of the Australian nation.

Chapter 2 provides the background for this study by establishing the key migration trends in Australia since federation and summarises the history of temporary migration. It outlines the beginning and end of the 'White Australia' policy, the rise of temporary migration, and the abolition of the 457 visa all within the context of Australian history and society. This chapter points out the economic imperative of temporary migration to Australia and the reasons that led to its introduction. It identifies the dominant actors involved in migration policy changes and brings forth the general lack of acceptance of non-European migration.

Chapter 3 categorises the existing literature on representations of migrants in news media. The importance of this chapter lies in that it delineates media frames that have been employed in the discourse related to 'migration'. The key frames identified through the review of the literature situate migrants as a 'threat' to national security, national identity and social cohesion. The media's tendency to place issues within the 'us' and 'them' dichotomy and the consequences of this are detailed.

Chapter 4 outlines the theoretical framework and describes the data collection and research method. Stuart Hall and Edward Said's theories of representations provide the framework for this research. Critical discourse analysis is the method used, and framing analysis the tool. A template is drawn to identify dominant ideologies in media discourse relating to

temporary migration. It is designed to identify and overcome the limitations of the selected methodology.

Chapter 5 explores the ways in which construction of temporary migration and migrants are guided by 'Australian national interest'. This chapter discusses the representation of migration as 'threat' in dominant media discourses. This has led to the 'othering' of the temporary migrant. Broadly, media discourse relating to migration has been guided by ideological representations of 'us' and 'them'. The chapter identifies the dominant ideologies that result from legitimising government decisions, naturalising the need for protection and homogenising migrants as an imminent threat to Australian society.

Chapter 6 focuses on discussing the representation of migrants as victims of exploitation. The presentation of temporary migration as having a negative impact on the Australian economy has resulted in the exclusion of migrants. The chapter highlights the emotive issues in the narrative related to temporary migrants by discussing the dangers that they face while on a temporary visa. The chapter then explores the representation and contribution of key actors in the 'victimisation' of migrants, arguing that temporary migration is presented as a social problem. The temporary visa – namely, the 457 visa – is presented as the reason for the problem, which would then be addressed through its abolition.

Chapter 7 deals with exploring underrepresented narratives of the economy and its association with temporary migration. It provides a point of difference between the justification for the policy change and the economic imperative of skilled migration in Australia. This chapter outlines the marginalised representation of the economic need for temporary migration through the statistics, quotations and exemplars in media discourse.

Chapter 8 is a discussion of the key findings within the discourse of temporary migration, migrants and Australia. This chapter concludes the study by, firstly, outlining the processes in which dominant ideologies were presented by media, in the othering of temporary migrants. Secondly, it categorises these ideologies as positive or negative representations of temporary migration and migrants. Finally, it discusses the implication of these frames for Australian society. It argues that the construction of temporary migrants within the binaries of 'threat' and 'victim' can have significant consequences for the Australian economy, the understanding of migrants and their association with a multicultural Australia.

Chapter 2: Australian Migration Timeline

This research project aims to explore the present construction of the Australian temporary migrant by news media, a process which begins with establishing the history of migration in Australia. Critical migration trends over the past 200 years are summarised in this chapter, providing a background to the study and contextualising temporary migration within broader migration trends.

2.1   History of Australian Migration – 1830 to 1975

Australia is a 230-year-old nation with a continuously evolving migration history. The first settlers, the British, were transported here to be isolated from the rest of Britain due to their criminal status. Starting from the 1830s, British and Irish settlers decided to make Australia their home voluntarily. Migration from European nations rapidly grew in Australia over the next 70 years. In 1901, the British colony federated Australia, thus changing the control and course of immigration to the nation (Migration Heritage 2018).

The government of Australia decided to populate the nation and priority was given to British and Irish individuals. Soon after, the first legislation passed by the new government was the 'Immigration Restriction Act', often known as the 'White Australia' policy, blocking any migration from Asia for the next 50 years (Burnley 2001). The White Australia policy gained momentum as there was no desire for mass immigration from Asian countries. It was feared that an Asian influx would endanger the living standards of Australians by creating an economic environment of low wages and unemployment (Dixon 1945). However, following World War II, the state felt it necessary to populate Australia and adopted a 'populate or perish' strategy. The nation needed to populate before it became vulnerable to attack from

other countries with stronger forces, for example, Japan. The then prime minister commented in relation to the potential threat to Australian borders:

> a powerful enemy looked hungrily toward Australia. In tomorrow's gun flash that threat could come again. We must populate Australia as rapidly as we can before someone else decides to populate it for us. (Chifley 1945, Migration Heritage, n.d.)

The Department of Immigration was first established in 1945 to increase Australia's population by two per cent every year, with the government hoping for 10 British migrants for every one migrant from a different nation (Burnley 2001). According to the statistics, 170,000 people arrived in Australia over the next seven years (Burnley 2001). Migrants from other European nations started arriving in Australia from the 1950s and by 1961, eight per cent of the Australian population consisted of Italians, Greeks and Poles (Burnley 2001). Australia's relationship with multiculturalism and migration from 1901 to 1970 predominantly reflected the White Australia policy. With changes in the world economy and decline in population, the White Australia policy faded into a more racially assimilated policy that was later modified to 'integration policy'.

When the Australian Labor Party came to power in 1972, it made significant changes to immigration policies. It is essential here to understand the difference between the two significant political parties in Australia – the Australian Labor Party (ALP) and the Liberal Party (often also known as the Liberal–National Coalition). The Liberal Party has been in Australia since 1944 (Liberal Party 2018). It is right-centred, increasingly conservative and gains support from the upper-middle-class population of Australia. The ALP is centre-left, with a focus on democratic socialism.

After the shift in political mindset from the 1970s, Australia focused on a racially inclusive multicultural policy and opened its gates to the non-white world. In 1973, multiculturalism

was officially introduced by the Gough Whitlam Labor government with a visible influx of the Asian diaspora (Jakubowicz 2011). It moved away from the 'homogenous' European immigration strategy and shifted its focus to choosing people based on social and personal attributes. This situation is what led to official 'multiculturalism' in Australia, with prime minister Gough Whitlam addressing the inequities of the past and declaring that all Australian migrants be treated equally as per the *Australian Citizenship Act 1973,* which amended the 'Eurocentric' *Citizenship Act 1948*.

2.2   Australian Multiculturalism and a Shift Towards Temporary Migration

The end of the White Australia policy led to an organised approach to immigration. In the next five decades, Australia focused on sustaining its population growth and economy through a planned immigration system (Markus et al. 2009: 152). Jupp and Clyne (2011: 198) stated that 'multiculturalism is a form of nation-building' and in the case of Australia, it needed to be re-imagined to incorporate immigrant identities that were increasingly fluid based on various migration patterns (Beck 2006; Delanty 2009).

Multiculturalism and Asian immigration are contested, as they challenge the traditional British heritage that is seen as naturally Australian. The Asian influence is seen as corrupting and degrading the national culture and threatening national identity (Soutphommasane 2014). Australian understanding of multiculturalism is limited and Velayutham and Wise (2014: 408) noted that 'Australian multiculturalism exists within a white majority integrationist paradigm', which points to the dominant white discourse in culture, society, media and politics. There are at least two prominent personalities who are critical of the migration and multiculturalism policies of the nation: Senator Pauline Hanson, and historian Geoffrey Blainey. Their opinions are said to create an anti-Asian hysteria that has also been

manifested in the media creating an anti-Asian rhetoric (Jakubowicz 2013). In 1984, the commentary surrounding the 'Asianisation of Australia' became apparent in socio-political media narratives.

Blainey, a well-regarded historian, stated that the pace of Asian migration was too high and threatened the 'social cohesion' of the nation (Jakubowicz 1985). He claimed that migrants in general took away 'Australian' jobs and the government needed to address this situation to avoid racial violence (Jakubowicz 1985). The sound of the anti-Asian rhetoric got stronger in 1996 with the voice of Pauline Hanson. Hanson started her political career by joining the Liberal Party in 1995, but was disendorsed before the 1996 election. She still managed to win independently. She later founded the populist right-wing One Nation party in 1997 (*The Age* 2003). Hanson's maiden speech in parliament in 1996 was controversial and deemed racist, as she stated that Australia had been 'swamped by Asians' and claimed that her sentiment was shared by 'mainstream Australia' (Jackman 1998). Research has established that the 'Hanson effect' had impacted the tourism industry due to the perception of Australia as racist by Asians (Litvin 1999). Australia has been dealing with the issues surrounding multiculturalism for the past four decades, with governments on each side of politics showing minimal interest in immigration policies (Bertone 2013).

The political efforts towards multiculturalism remains a controversial issue in media, resulting in ongoing racist attitudes and discrimination (Collins 2013). A white colonial paranoia is still in existence, which perpetuates through the fear of loss of 'Europeaness or Whiteness' and the elite lifestyle it represents (Hage 2014; Rizvi 1993). Hage (2014: 233) pointed out that discrimination in Australia takes two forms: the first being fear, based on 'numerological racism' which falls under the categorisation of 'too many'. For example, 'there's too many Asians'. The second form is 'existential racism', described by Jean-Paul

Sartre as being a sentiment of 'disgust'. In relation to immigration policies, Australia's obsession with Europe is seen as a manifestation of colonial mentality of 'being the best type of human being' – that is, White European (Sartre 1972).

The period of 1996–2007 in Australian is also known as the Howard era, when Liberal Party representative John Howard was a long-serving prime minister. During this time, migration became more politicised and Australia saw a considerable boom in migrants (Betts 2003). Following the political changes in 1996, the focus shifted from family immigration to skilled and business migration. This change occurred following the FitzGerald report on immigration policy, which suggested 'sacrificing multiculturalism at the altar for high migration' while focusing on economic benefits (Birrell and Betts 1988: 262). The report concluded that Australians were hostile to migration due to the element of 'multiculturalism', while approaching migration from an economic perspective might lead to positive public sentiment. Thus, the committee decided to use migration to fill the nation with skilled individuals who would assist in bettering the Australian economy. However, by this time migration over the years had already led to the creation of multiethnic identities, resulting in Australia becoming a predominantly multicultural nation (Castles and Davidson 2005).

In 1996, the 457 visa' for temporary migration was officially introduced to deal with specific skill shortages in the nation during the peak of the anti-Asian rhetoric (Khoo, McDonald and Hugo 2009; Bahn et al. 2015). The 457 visa was an attempt at simplifying temporary skilled migrations and allowed executives, managers and specialists to work in Australia for four years (Khoo et al. 2003). However, in 2000 the program was changed following concerns of unemployment among Australians. This led to tightening of the 457 visa by placing special

restrictions such as setting a minimum salary, adjusting the skilled occupation list and monitoring employers for a minimum of 12 months (Khoo et al. 2003).

Temporary migration has become more popular since 2000–2001 and is currently the main contributor to Australia's net overseas migration rate (Phillips and Simon-Davies 2016: 1). Originally, the temporary visa was entirely demand driven, and there was no quota applied to the number of visas issued. The end of the global financial crisis of 2008–2009 resulted in further adjustments to immigration policy, with priority given to permanent and temporary 'individuals' rather than families (Collins 2013). Statistics suggest that individuals from the Asia-Pacific region are significant holders of the 457 visa, with India being the top country of origin in 2015–2016 and nine out of 14 countries situated in the Asia-Pacific region (Home Affairs 2018). According to the Australian Bureau of Statistics, 150,000 people have entered the borders on the 457 visa as of 2017.

2.3   Abolition of the 457 visa: Rebranding Temporary Migration

On the 18th of April 2017, the government decided to abolish the 457 visa entirely and replace it with a new and revised visa category (Kainth 2017). This change was made following concerns of the viability of the 457 visa. Regardless of the clear economic purpose of this visa category, it has been subjected to criticism in media and in political discourse. It has been critiqued for 'stealing jobs' from 'Australians' and for being easy to exploit by employers (Khoo et al. 2004: 189). *The Australian* and *The Sydney Morning Herald* have consistently written about the struggles of temporary migrants on the 457 visa, particularly focusing on exploitation within the construction, agricultural and hospitality sectors (Velayutham 2013). There is abundant literature on the exploitation of temporary migrants who arrive in Australia as workers and students, and the key issues are related to

underpayment, debt bondage and racialised labour structures (McKenzie and Baker 2016; Petyanszki 2016)

Currently, the Liberal Party is in power under the leadership of Scott Morrison, with Labor representative Bill Shorten in opposition. The government has aimed to re-establish the temporary migration process and tighten citizenship requirements to 'ensure' that migrants understood 'Australian' values (Turnbull and Dutton 2017). Member of Parliament Peter Dutton (Liberal Party) describes citizenship as 'the common bond connecting all Australians' (Mares 2016: 2). This statement, however, excludes the millions of individuals who have strong ties with the nation such as permanent residents, overseas students and long-term visitors who have settled in Australia and contribute to the economy and society. The statement by Dutton is troublesome because even though the Howard government had 'unceremoniously' removed the term 'multicultural' from their political communication as of 2008, the nation still remains diverse in its composition, with various cultures, traditions and values (Levey 2008).

This rebranding of the temporary visa was a strategic move by the government in response to controversies surrounding the 457 visa. Two types of temporary short skill (TSS) visas were introduced as of March 2018. The short-term stream now grants two years working rights and the medium-term stream provides four years working rights to temporary migrants. A practical test is also added to ensure that Australians are not discriminated against with job opportunities (Home Affairs 2018). In addition, strict guidelines are provisioned for English language testing.

In conclusion, the immigration policies of Australia have been increasingly selective. They began with the White Australia policy, which ensured selective migration to populate the nation. After prevailing for over 70 years, the White Australia policy was retired and a

'multicultural' approach was adopted. Soon, growing ethnic and cultural diversity faced a backlash from an older Australian population who condemned the nature of multiculturalism and wanted Australia to adopt a 'shared' approach to values and cultural traditions. Following this, temporary migration was introduced, to once again make the immigration process selective, but this time the selection was based on skill sets instead of nationality. However, this has been critiqued, leading to further changes in the form of two new streams of temporary visas.

Australia's history of migration reveals that immigration policies have been framed solely by 'national interest'. This national interest can be conceived as narrow or broad, depending on the needs of the nation (Mares 2016). A broader conception of immigration takes into consideration not just the progress of the nation, but also the development of migrants and their interests (Mares 2016). In the case of Australia, 'national interest' reflects the interests of policymakers and so-called elites. In Australian society, the power hierarchy is dominated by the foundation imperial peoples (Jakubowicz 2016). Australian history is thus understood based on colonial undertones that have shaped its sense of culture and identity (Hage 2002).

Chapter 3: Migration, Migrants and the News Media

The discussion of migration and migrants that follows in later chapters is guided by the existing literature on representations of migrants by Australian news media and other Western news media. This literature also includes representations of asylum seekers and refugees, as a similar gauge of the attitudes of media in relation to foreigners.

3.1   Migration and Migrants: A 'Problem'

Issues surrounding immigration are important topics of discussion in most Western nations today. These topics are related to immigration policies and the treatment of migrants (Artiles and Molina 2011; Brader, Valentino and Suhay 2008; Esses, Brochu and Dickson 2011). Immigration policies are updated by governments in power and media is used as a tool in communicating these changes to the public. The media construct and promote positions on issues of migration (Fleras and Kunz 2001). For over a decade, portrayals of migrants in Western nations have become increasingly negative, with a greater focus on the 'threats' posed by migrants to host countries.

News media plays a significant role in 'framing' public discourse surrounding policies associated with immigrants (Esses et al. 2013). Research into migrant representation has revealed heterogeneous frames (Roggeband and Vliegenthart 2007; van Gorp 2005). Two frames that relate to the representation of migrants are 'threat' and 'victim' (Lettinga and Saharso 2014; Horsti 2013; Horsti 2008; Roggeband and Vliegenthart 2007; van Gorp 2005). Brouwers' (2017) research on migrant representation in Netherlands argued that media 'follows rather than fuels' political debates and policy changes.

Media references to migration in Western countries, particularly Europe, Australia and the US, are characterised by language associated with criminality, security or border protection (Threadgold 2009; Kim et al. 2011). Research identifies two reasons for this language. The first is associated with the commercialisation of news media and attempts to increase audience share by capitalising on the alleged 'crisis' in relation to migration and migrants (Branton et al. 2007). The second explanation is that narratives relating to migrants and migration are framed negatively to influence the decisions of policymakers and political leaders (Kahn and Kenney 2002).

Research has established that the communication of migration policy changes and migrants in general can create a 'crisis' mentality (Horsti 2008). This is very much the case with current representations of migrants in the Western media, whether in relation to 'threat' or 'victim'. These types of depictions and the representations of migration and migrants as a problem may be seen as a response to collective insecurity towards perceived national identity (Hier and Greenberg 2002: 139). The whole notion of 'crisis' leads to identifying migration and migrants as problematic, resulting in increased anxiety among the general public. These topics intensify public attention, alerting them to 'potential physical, economic and cultural threats' (Esses et al. 2013: 519). To evoke the feeling of fear, relatively simplistic events are transformed into 'newsworthy' occurrences that can be a major selling point for newspapers. The process can potentially serve as a tool for legitimising the decisions of political parties and migration policies. Media discourses can play an integral role in reshaping public attitudes towards migrants and result in alterations to migration policies (Kivisto 1992).

A study of Norwegian media representations found that migrants were presented as a 'problem' (Yilmaz 2012). Studies of Canadian media representations found similar effects,

where the media discourse was increasingly anti-immigrant, with strong comparisons to a crisis situation (Mahtani and Mountz 2003). The narratives within the discourse of migration were designed to promote anxiety and panic based on the use of metaphors and lexical choices. Migrants were described through the narratives of carriers of threatening diseases and as potential terrorists (Mahtani and Mountz 2003). Henry and Tator (2009) found that the majority of news articles in their study presented narratives that opposed immigration policies and were critical of migrants values in Canada.

Previous studies of European media representations reveal that migrants were underrepresented by media. Their discussion and association was limited to social complications that were seen as problematic (van Dijk 1987). News reports focused on 'waves of immigration' and a Swedish study identified that print media news coverage of migration had increased in the past decade but the topic of 'problem orientation' remained largely at the core of the discussion (Askanius and Linne 2015). Research has also established that migrants were framed as a threat in British, Italian and Spanish news media. British right-wing media were against migrants and were increasingly aggressive in their representations. In contrast, Swedish news media was seen as the most positive towards migrants amongst other European nations (Askanius and Linne 2015).

3.2   Representations of Muslims

Literature on migrant frames is largely dominated by showing migrants as a threat and emphasising the dangers of all immigrant groups (Horsti 2008; Klocker and Dunn 2003; Threadgold 2009). The notion of 'threat' has shifted towards the Muslim population in recent times by stereotyping them as 'terrorists' and 'violent extremists' within Australian media discourse, resulting in a climate of fear of the 'other' within the community (O'Donnell et al. 2017). This approach towards Islam has become more identifiable post the events of 9/11

as the nature of journalism has increasingly changed since (Zelizer and Allan 2011). In the past, both Said (1977) and Hall (1997) have written about racial stereotyping by media and the oriental undertones of Western literature. These form a strong base for understanding current media processes when it comes to communicating the representations of a non-European diaspora.

Muslim migrants have been constructed as the alien 'other' by mainstream British newspapers in response to the protest in London outside the Israeli embassy during the Gaza war (Barry and Yilmaz 2018). They were referred to as 'extremists', 'violent' and 'anarchists' in narratives and gained publicity though front-page coverage in various local and national newspapers. Though some newspapers covered the issue of police brutality in response to the protests, their excessive use of power was justified through media images of 'violent' Muslims.

Barry and Yilmaz's (2018) research also considered 'migrant hazing' from 1930 to 1955 in Australia through media frames of Muslim immigrants. It argued that media targeted Muslims by selectively reporting negative media narratives that questioned the social integration of this group within Australian society. In Australia, Muslim Lebanese were depicted as criminals, terrorists and jihadists (Noble, Poynting and Collins 2000). These common portrayals of Muslims as a threat are intensified by creating associations to criminality, regardless of lack of evidence (Barry and Yilmaz 2018).

The 'victim' frame also extends to the Muslim diaspora, with special references to Muslim 'women' as being victims of oppression and a backward culture (Hennebry et al. 2017). Research on Muslim representations in Australia concluded that the victimisation frame was applied to women in relation to their culture and religion, resulting in a 'reductionist and stereotypical' representation of the diaspora (Rane and Ewart 2012: 145). This form of

'gendered orientalism' echoes in the narratives that represent Muslim women in countries like the US and Australia (Terman 2017). These narratives are increasingly sensationalised and project an obsession with Muslim women's 'oppression', insinuating that the 'othered' cultures are misogynistic in relation to Western society (Ahmad 2009).

3.3   Representations of Asylum Seekers and Refugees

The new and current targets of the 'threat' frame are asylum seekers and refugees. Buchanan et al. (2003) studied the frames used to represent asylum seekers in the UK news media. Their results concluded that media used confrontational language and images, incorrect and inflated statistics and sensationalised accounts of asylum seekers and refugees to create increasingly negative portrayals. Klocker and Dunn (2003) analysed government media releases and newspaper articles on asylum seekers in Australia and found that the descriptive terms used were increasingly negative and focused on the notion of threat. Media frames of refugees are situated in binaries of 'legitimacy' or 'illegality' and are driven by the narratives of threat to jobs, lack of social unity and a threat to the national security and Australian way of life (McKay et al. 2011; Rowe and O'Brien 2014). These frames tend to dehumanise migrants, especially through the strategic use of language such as 'illegals' and 'boat people' (Bleiker et al. 2013; Laughland-Booy et al. 2014; Pedersen and Hartley 2015).

In Western news media, asylum seekers and refugees are also often discussed within the 'victim' frame (van Gorp 2005). Vickers and Rutter (2016) identified the orientalist constructions of 'backward' and 'primitive' representations of migrants in popular British news media. Refugees were represented as 'helpless' and were situated in narratives of homelessness, drug addiction and dependency on state welfare (Vickers and Rutter 2016). The narratives further legitimised the deportation of troubled refugee migrants on 'humanitarian' grounds. In Australian news media, the 'victimisation' of asylum seekers

once again works within an orientalist context that dictates that these migrants are 'traumatised' and need Australia's support (Silove et al. 2007).

3.4   Representation of the Orient

Past studies show that Asia has been represented as a 'threat' to Western nations based on economic and cultural ideologies (Harris 1995). Jakubowicz's (2016) research on Australian media found that 1996 was a period of negative stereotyping of Asians in the news. This was represented through frames of drugs, violence and crime.

Teo (2000) revealed that Australian news media strategically 'othered' ethnic minorities from the 'white' majority. The 'othering' emerged through the imbalances in power relations that represented Vietnamese migrants as 'law breakers' and Australians as 'law enforcers' in newspapers. Commenting on the Australian media landscape, Rizvi (1993) pointed out that Australia's understanding of Asia is seen through an oriental spectacle and that racism in Australia is masked behind concepts of 'nationalism, nationhood and patriotism'. There are certain values associated with communication surrounding nationalism, and van Dijk (2008: 201) states that 'patriotism and loyalty' are at the core of the discussion. The typical reaction is to defend the nation from 'foreign invaders'. In the context of 457 visas, temporary migration is seen as an issue of nationality and foreigners entering 'our' land, making it a sensitive topic of national interest and security.

The Asian continent is diverse in its composition of cultures, traditions and values. Thus, refraining from misguided stereotypes is essential in the process of representation by media as it has significant consequences. Asian ethnic groups in general have been looked at through an oriental spectacle (Said 1977) and studies have shown that when stereotypes are communicated, there is a tendency to exaggerate in order to create ethnic archetypes and

maintain biased perceptions (Lyons and Kashima 2006). Nguyen (2012) pointed out that these mainstream media messages are reflective of the inherent ideologies in the society and, based on their study conducted on American Asian media representation, noted that the construction of a 'real' American was based on 'whiteness'.

Harris (1995: 239) pointed out that since the 1980s, Australia's attitude towards Asia and particularly China has shifted from fear to friendliness. Australia's relationship with Asia has strengthened, and with the increase in globalisation, bilateral trade agreements and migration policies, the Asian diaspora has seen significant growth in Australia (Tung and Chung 2010). Siew Ean Khoo (2009) stated that the 457 visa is integral in developing the relationships between Asia-Pacific and Australia, especially concerning labour markets. The minorities that the 457 visa engages with are significantly Asian and mainly Indian. The discourse surrounding temporary skilled migrants in Australia is limited, and interactions with media lack insight.

In summary for this chapter, the literature makes clear that news media plays an important role in socially processing information related to migrants, especially as it concerns ethnic minorities that are 'othered' through media communication process (van Dijk 2008). In general, the representation of minorities in mass communication is subjected to 'racial stereotypes' based on media discourse. The key frames that arise are of 'threat' and 'victim' while addressing the situation as a 'crisis' in the news media. Research has focused on representations of migration and migrants, but also refugees, asylum seekers, Muslims and the British. This chapter establishes that literature on the representation of refugees and asylum seekers has framed them as a threat to national security by association to criminal activity. They are also seen as victims of war who have the potential to turn into criminals. Permanent settlers in general are 'othered' based on notions of nationalism and patriotism.

Finally, research has established that migrants are framed as being incapable of 'adopting' the values of the host nation, thus threating social cohesion, while literature in relation to representation of temporary migrants, especially those on the 457 visa, is negligible. The method of analysis of mainstream media representations of temporary migrants, an under-researched area of study, is detailed in the next chapter.

Chapter 4: Theory, Method and Template

This study on news media representations of temporary migrants uses critical discourse analysis as a methodology and employs framing analysis as a tool to explore the data. The theoretical and methodological framework for the study is drawn from cultural theorists from the Marxist school. Media representations that shape public perceptions and impact upon politics and policies are discussed by analysing representative data, gathered using the broad guidelines laid down by Ruth Wodak.

4.1   Theoretical Framework

This study focusing on media coverage of events related to the abolition of the 457 visa involved the examination of the interplay of discourses in contemporary news media, Australian culture and society, particularly in the context of migration and migrants. Theories relating to media's role in hegemonisation in general and particularly relating to 'orientalism' are drawn upon. 'Orientalism' is relevant as temporary migrants are mostly from non-Western nations. Said (1977) and Hall (1997) have dealt with racial stereotypes in media and the oriental undertones in Western literature by discussing the construction of the 'other' in media narratives. The construction of the 'other' is pertinent to this research as it helps to understand media practices in relation to representations of non-European groups in Australia who form the majority of temporary migrants.

Said and Hall, however, have taken different approaches to evaluate the construction of the 'other'. Said's (1977) *Orientalism* and the representation of the 'other' critiqued Western media's use of 'proclaimed knowledge' as a powerful tool to continually re-present the 'east' as an inferior culture that needed perpetual help to flourish (Said 1977). The argument helps

to evaluate Australian media representations of temporary migrants as people from non-European cultures, especially when they are placed in the context of proclaimed 'Australian' sociocultural values. For Said, 'othering' occurred through the inclusion and exclusion of certain forms of culture in media narratives. This also related to the Orientalist argument of Western culture being superior to other cultures which were considered less civilised. This provides the framework to evaluate dominant frames that emerge in the narratives relating to migrants.

Hall's (1997) approach to the production and reception of 'representations' is adopted in this thesis to understand the positioning of migrants and the 457 visa in news media discourse relating to migration. Hall's constructionist definition defines representation as an integral part of processing the production and exchange of meaning between people in society. This involves employment of signs, symbols, images and language that represent things and people (Hall 1997: 15). Hall's work is central to understanding the power and potential of media in propagating social values. He explained that societies develop a racist 'common sense' which is built into the dominant ideologies that are conveyed through discourse (Rodman 2014). This 'common sense' creates the depiction of the inferior 'other' vis-a-vis the superior Western culture. Such power imbalances embodied in the text have significant consequences for the representation of migrants.

Hall's explanation of 'othering' is situated within binary opposites of 'us' and 'them' and 'civilised' and 'uncivilised', which find their roots in post-colonial relations to power (Sanz Sabido 2013). The theory guides the exploration of media's construction of 'us' versus 'them' in the representation of temporary migrants. The exploration is furthered through the analysis of media frames employed in the representation of temporary migration as an issue that required resolution, and the 'perceived' solutions.

As discussed in Chapter 2, Australia is a settler-colonial nation. This implicit understanding is embedded in media texts; Eurocentric undertones can only be revealed by deeper analysis of the texts (Sanz Sabido 2013). The power in texts is situated in the implicit claims of authority and knowledge, and hegemonic representations by media reveal the hidden 'power' within the text. Gramsci argued that a 'moment' of hegemony is indicated in the undisputed reflection of a 'certain way of life' where one 'concept of reality' dictates the opinions of the public at large (Yiftachel 2009). As discussed in Chapter 2 within the Australian context, the decision by the government to abolish the 457 visa reflects the hegemonic order. An analysis of the discourse is thus necessary to understand how dominant social groups within a nation enforce ethnocentric perspectives. The analysis of media texts will bring forth the frames used to legitimise this decision to abolish 457 visas and hide ethnocratic and oppressive aspects.[1]

Hall argued that hegemony is not a 'permanent' state and needs to be constantly maintained and won (Lull 2000). Media frames are continually reproducing 'hegemony' using language and visual images. These frames reassert the power and authority of the dominant members of society that are in charge of the abolition of the 457 visa. Hall described hegemony as 'domination and subordination in the field of relations structured by power' (Hall 1985). This diffusion of 'power' can be systematically analysed by decoding media frames and messages (Hall 1997). Hall maintained that media representations highlighted notions of dominance and universality for the 'West', which reflect the idea of the Western world being a pathway for the 'rest' to become developed and civilised (Hall 1997). He criticised media

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[1] Ethnocracy basically means 'government or rule by an ethnic group' or ethnos, and more precisely rule by a particular ethnos in a multiethnic situation where there is at least one other significant ethnic group. Ethnicity and group self-awareness can be specified in terms of religion, imputed 'racial' features, language, and/or a shared history and culture more broadly defined, components which vary and sometimes in problematic ways (Anderson 2016: 1).

for stereotyping particular races and claimed that these representations establish binary power relations.

Hall's and Said's theories have been used in the studies of media representation by Teun van Dijk (2003), Pan and Kosicki (1993) and Jakubowicz (2013). This thesis will look at the potential dichotomy in the representation of 'us' and 'them' in the Australian context, which may indicate the presence of a social order that dictates the understanding of society at large. Theorising the research within these critical frameworks helps to identify the dominant ideologies that are perpetuated through media framing. This can provide a nuanced understanding of how certain groups are represented in media narratives, such as those surrounding the 457 visa.

4.2   Research Methods

4.2.1   Data Collection

Representative data was collected from online versions of three significant Australian news sources. A total of 15 news articles published in 2017 and 2018 were examined. These online versions of print newspapers were chosen as data sources based on wide readership and easy accessibility. *The Sydney Morning Herald* was chosen because Sydney is the key destination for 457 visa migrants (Home Affairs 2017). This newspaper is a semi-tabloid with its online version containing interactive content, including videos, photos and links to social media such as Twitter and Facebook. *The Australian* was chosen due to its national reach and more conservative style of presentation. It is particularly text heavy, with little to no visual aesthetics. *News.com.au* was selected based on its online access model and tabloid features. This source is exclusive to the internet and has a greater sense of immediacy as it is constantly updated and edited. The table below indicates the reach of the publications.

Table 4.1: Representative data (Roy Morgan 2018)

Newspaper	Access	Readership	Location	Owner
The Sydney Morning Herald	Print and Online – Free	4.0 million	Sydney	Fairfax Media
The Australian	Print and Online – Paid	2.4 million	National	News Corp
news.com.au	Online – Free	6.2 million	National	News Corp

The news articles used in this research were from two major publications, Fairfax Media and News Corp. As mentioned in Media Control and Ownership: Policy Background Paper No. 3, the print media sector has been historically dominated by News Corp and Fairfax Media (Australian Government Department of Communications 2014). According to the report, newspapers by News Corp and Fairfax Media are read by 60 per cent and 35 per cent of the newspaper reading population in Australia (Australian Media Department of Communication 2014: 21).

Representations in news media have been a topic of debate among media studies scholars. Media producers assert that they maintain balance and objectivity. For example, the tagline for *The Sydney Morning Herald* is 'Independent always'. However, research has shown an imbalance in the coverage of news actors (Stevens-Gupta 2011), a misrepresentation of minority groups (Koshravinik 2009) and general stereotyping of particular groups in society (Darke 2005).

News Corp is seen as having a less sympathetic view to humanitarian issues than Fairfax Media (Allen and Hoenig 2018). Allen and Hoenig's research on newspaper representations of asylum seekers has established that *The Australian* holds a negative view of asylum seekers whereas *The Sydney Morning Herald* is more sympathetic to their plight (2018). In

relation to the representation of Sudanese migrants, Nolan et al. (2011) concluded that Fairfax Media viewed migrants in a more positive light.

There is a close relationship between media and government, with each influencing the other (Schultz 1997). Historically, News Corp publications have a more conservative ideology, tipping on the 'right' side of the political scale. *The Australian* is owned by Rupert Murdoch and the paper adopts a distinctive editorial stance, reflecting its ownership. According to Manne (2011: 3) the editorial reflects 'an unusually ideological paper, committed to advancing the causes of neoliberalism in economics and neo-conservatism in the sphere of foreign policy'. Fairfax Media is owned by John Fairfax and recently merged with Nine Entertainment. Fairfax's history has many episodes of political involvement but was largely conservative until 1975. Since changes in management in 1979, Fairfax Media is more left-centre on the political scale (Tiffen 1987).

The representative data was selected based on the broad criteria set by Wodak and Meyers (2009: 98). The focus was on choosing specific political units, specific timeframes in relation to an event, specific discourse, specific fields of political action and specific social and political actors involved in the discourse.

- **Specific political units:** Since the study aimed at exploring Australian news media representations of migration and migrants, the 'specific political units' were narrowed down to the point that the data needed to be from news media sources that were produced in Australia. As a result, three Australian online news sources were selected.

- **Specific periods** of time relating to important discursive events, which are connected with the issue in question: This point related to the specific issue in question, the abolition of the 457 visa in April 2017. The news articles that followed this event were explored to understand the representations of temporary migration and migrants.

- **Specific discourse:** The representative data reflects the communication expected from the situational context of temporary migration and migrants.

- **Specific fields of political action:** This relates to the abolition of the 457 visa by the Liberal government.

- **Specific social and special political actors:** Within media discourse of temporary migration, the specific social and political actors were the decision-makers and people most affected by the abolition of the 457 visa. These were the key political leaders and current and future temporary migrants of Australia.

The aim of adopting these guidelines was to ensure credibility. The above criteria warranted a systematic and objective approach towards selecting the representative data for this study. Situating the data within a specified context, open interpretation and explanation can be achieved through the dismantling of power structures within the text (Fairclough and Wodak 1997).

4.2.2 Methodology

Critical discourse analysis is employed to understand the interplay of social situation, action, actors and societal structures that relate to temporary migration, the abolition of the visa that facilitated it, the involvement of the governments and migrants in the process and, finally, to evaluate the impact of it all on the social structure of Australia (Wodak and Meyer 2009). Framing analysis is used as a tool in order to establish the ways in which media reported on 457 visas and the representation of specific issues, actors and interpretations (Entman 1993). Framing analysis helps to delineate ways in which representations might influence cultural practices in society.

Van Dijk and Wodak's critical discourse analysis are best suited for this research as the main aim is to explore the dominant discourses in media representations of temporary migration

and migrants. These scholars have discussed how critical discourse analysis enables exploration of dominant media discourses that shape public opinion through ideological representations. They have also discussed the importance and immense potential of language to influence cultural practices in society. In the case of the representation of temporary migration and migrants, language helps identify the ideological positions embedded in media discourse.

Ideology can be understood through a variety of conflicting definitions. This study approached the concept of ideology through critical socio-cognitive schemata as conceived by van Dijk (1995; 1996; 1998). Ideology performs the function of challenging, reproducing and resisting distorted power relations. Ideology in this context is both 'property of the mind', which is understood as the beliefs, values, ideas and judgement 'shared by members' of a social group that link them to the social, economic and political interests of the group (van Dijk 1996; 1998).

Ideologies are built into the discourse and operate through legitimisation (Thompson 1990). Thompson (1990) recognises five processes through which ideology operates: legitimisation, dissimulation, unification, fragmentation and reification. This study focuses on understanding how dominant ideologies are reproduced in media through the employment of particular frames. The asymmetrical power relations that are used to justify a decision by appealing to tradition and emotions were identified by critically exploring the discourse surrounding temporary migration.

- **Legitimisation:** How media representations justify social, political and economic decisions.
- **Dissimulation:** How media frames work to hide hegemony by drawing attention away from unbalances in power relations.

- **Unification:** How media frames homogenise groups in society as having similar ideologies.

- **Fragmentation:** How media frames 'the other' as the enemy based on threat.

- **Reification:** How media representations use frames to portray a situation or an action as natural by treating it as common sense.

Pan and Kosicki's 1996 research on the representations of 'White racial policy' had concluded that news as an 'information-oriented' form of media content enhances the 'ideological orientation' of viewers in relation to the representation of racial minorities. This highlights the need to understand the way media frames temporary migration and migrants as these frames have significant consequences for shaping public opinion.

> Framing essentially involves selection and salience. To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described. (Entman 1993)

Media frames are apparent in the choice of keywords, catchphrases, images and emotions. Exploring 'news frames' is central to understanding the processes of how dominant ideologies shape media discourse. In this study, language, image, theme and the overall presentation of the news articles is analysed, guided by Pan and Kosicki's (1993) four framing devices. These devices are the syntactical structures, script structures, thematic structures and rhetorical structures that appear in the text. This framework is useful, as its application helps understand the power structures within the text (Entman 2007).

Van Dijk stated that 'media power is generally symbolic and persuasive, in the sense that media primarily have the potential to control to some extent the minds of readers or viewers, but not directly their actions' (1993: 10). The implication here is that media has the power

to influence the audience and impact upon their subconscious. Audience interpretations of media texts are shaped by the frames employed in media discourse. Understanding the potential of media in this regard is important for a study of representations of temporary migration and migrants.

4.2.3 Addressing Limits of Critical Discourse Analysis and Framing Analysis

This thesis has a small dataset of 15 news articles that limits the research. The method of analysis also has certain limitations and has been criticised for being vague (Widdowson 1995). Scholars have pointed that the analytical models are not well defined and that the texts are arbitrary. Also, framing analysis by Pan and Kosicki has been applied to traditional print newspapers and not online versions. Online versions of print newspapers incorporate technical features such as hyperlinks and embedded videos that significantly contribute to meaning.

To address these limitations, a template comprising a series of questions based on the aims of the study and the characteristics of the online medium was drawn up. The questions were guided by the theoretical framework and method, with the objective of breaking down the discourse to delineate the construction of temporary migration and migrants.

4.3   Template

4.3.1 Template Structure

A. Introduction to the Newspapers

1. Name of the Newspaper

2. Name of the Article

3. The URL

4. How is the newspaper accessed?

a. Date

b. Time

c. Medium

5. How many words in the article?

    a. Less than 500

    b. 500–800

    c. 800–1000

    d. More than 1000

B. Themes and Frames

6. How many articles in the dataset have the following thematic structures?

a. Economic Consequences

i. Is there any mention of Australia's economic situation?

ii. Is there any mention of the economic need for temporary migration?

iii. Is there any mention of employment opportunity?

b. Social Consequences

i. Is there any mention of the emotional state of temporary migrants?

ii. Is there any mention of the emotional state of 'Australians'?

iii. Is there any mention of the sociocultural background of temporary migrants?

c. Political Conflict

i. Is there any mention of political parties and leaders?

ii. Is blame apportioned to political leaders?

iii. Is there any mention of political values and philosophies?

7. How is temporary migration framed in the articles? (Goffman 1974)

   a. Positive – Support for their integration and economic benefits

   b. Negative – Concern about their failure to integrate and excessive working rights

   c. Neutral – Mentioning migrants without any added opinions

   d. Mixed – Mentioning both positive and negative aspects of temporary migration

8. What are the diagnostic and prognostic frames? (Snow and Benford 1988)

   a. Diagnostic frames – Is temporary migration framed as a problem and who is being 'blamed'?

   b. Prognostic frames – How does media frame the 'solution' to this 'problem'?

9. What are the 'positive discourses' surrounding temporary migration and migrants?

10. What are the 'negative discourses' surrounding temporary migration and migrants?

C. Technical, Rhetorical and Syntactical Structures to Understand the Dominant Frames

11. Are there videos embedded in the articles?

   a. Yes

   b. No

   If 'yes' where are they from?

   a. Other news sources

   b. Submitted by viewers (videos taken by the public on phone cameras)

12. For visual images and videos in the articles, explore the following:

   a. How are images/videos of government officials presented?

b. How are images/videos of 'Australians' presented?

c. How are images/videos of 'migrants' presented?

d. Is there any comic art used in the articles? If yes, how?

13. Does the article have any embedded hyperlinks?

a. Where do they lead?

b. How does this effect the overall narrative?

D. Rhetorical and Syntactical Analysis to Understand the Dominant Discourses

14. What is the syntactical structure of the news articles?

• Headline

• Lead

• Episodes

• Background

• Closure

15. How many quotations have been used in the article and who are they from?

a. Less than three

b. Three to five

c. More than five

16. Use of language to differentiate 'us/we' versus 'them' – key aspects of language to be examined in the newspapers:

a. What are the key adjectives used to define 'Asians' and 'temporary migrants'?

b. What are the key adjectives used to define 'Australia' and 'Australian'?

4.3.2 Template Discussion

Table 4.2: Key framing devices and sub-devices

Device	Sub-device
Script structures	Messenger, messages and media views
Thematic structures	Headline and quotes – **Reasoning devices**
Rhetorical structures	Metaphors, tone, catchphrases, visual images
Technical devices	Videos, hyperlinks, social media links

Themes and Frames

The frames analysed are indicative of the journalistic choice that guided the central organising idea called the theme (Gamson and Modigliani 1988). The frame is seen as the organisation of information within the narrative and highlighted aspects of the theme. While themes emerged through reading the news text, frames are devices within which the news stories are packaged (Bendukurthi and Raman 2016). Frames are patterns of interpretation rooted in culture and articulated by the individual (Gamson, Croteau, Hoynes and Sasson 1992; Entman 1993; van Gorp 2007).

The template helps to identify key themes in the representative data and relate them to media frames. Themes are a way of constructing news discourse as a psychological stimulus for the audience (Pan and Kosicki 1993). This intended meaning of the news story has the potential to guide the audience in a direction and add to their cognitive process (van Dijk 1988). The three main concerns with the discourse of temporary migration relate to the economic consequences of migration, societal concern in the event of the abolition of temporary visas, and conflicting political ideologies that are responsible for altered policies.

The themes in the articles that are intrinsically related to meanings are identified in Question 6. Keeping in mind the construction of discourse through social structures and situation, this question aims to explore the themes in the context of economy, sociocultural structure and political communication of the articles. This question is subdivided into broader areas of concern, such as the relation between economy and migration, multiculturalism and the definition of 'Australian'. Political themes related to the political standpoints in the news articles are also explored.

Social actors involved in discourse do not actively make use of their individual experiences and strategies; they rely on collective frames of perceptions called social representations (Wodak 2017). These shared social perceptions form the link between the social system and the individual cognitive system and perform the task of translation, homogenisation and coordination between external requirements and subjective experiences. This explains questions 7 and 8, which look at the frames employed by media to communicate the abolition of the 457 visa.

Question 7 focuses on the framing of temporary migration in Australia. This question draws from Goffman's (1974) understanding of frames as a 'schemata of interpretation,' which leads audiences to a particular understanding of the text within a context. The context for the interpretation of frames is either positive, negative, neutral or mixed. These frames provide context and interpretation of events, in this case is the abolition of the 457 visa. Question 8 takes the interpretation of these frames further by placing it in the context of diagnostic or prognostic frames (Snow and Benford 1988). This strategy is aimed at analysing the 'problem' surrounding the 457 visa and its abolition, and the 'solution' provided by media. By studying the linguistic structures and the text, media's construction of the 'problem/solution' is bought forth.

Questions 9 and 10 are related to positive and negative discourses surrounding temporary migration. These questions are designed to explore media representation of this 'situation' within a positive or negative context. This can potentially affect the audience's understanding of the discourse, in general relating to the 'construction, consolidation and reproduction' of reality (van Dijk 1993; 1996). This form of analysis is guided by the reasoning devices provided by van Gorp (2005) to access the potential consequences of the dominant frames that are representative of temporary migrants. This could help to identify the problem, detect the cause, provide a judgment, indicate consequences and provide a solution. The reasoning devices are explored within the thematic structures of the text (Chitty et al. 2017).

Rhetorical and Syntactical Structures

The framing devices mentioned in Table 4.1 guide the research process. A focus on language drives the analysis by using frames as a generator of meaning (van Dijk 2003). Thus, a strong focus on the lexical choices in narratives is increasingly important to identify the power dynamics that guide media frames. As the discussion concerns representations of migration and migrants, the exploration of stock phrases/quotes provides insight into the language used by political figures in the construction of media ideologies. These tools help explore the news material that became part of public discourse, in the construction and negotiation of the public's interpretation of the 457 visa narrative.

Online versions of news play a significant and symbolic role in supporting imagination and reconstructing ideologies (Mutter 2013). The second section of the template is devoted to understanding how the specific characteristics of online news sources can enable the amplification of messages. Questions 11–13 explore an additional characteristic that provides visual aid in understanding a narrative. In the case of digital newspapers, more and

more videos, audio, colour and hyperlinks are being incorporated to enhance the user experience. Online news media achieve this interactivity through hypermediated content such as videos and social media. Thus, questions 11–13 look at how these features enhance the dominant frames in the narrative. Due to the increased technological characteristics of online newspapers, technical devices are used to uncover the hidden layers that enhance the frame.

The next section of the template focuses on what van Dijk (1988) called the 'macro syntax' that emphasises news communication elements such as the inverted pyramid structure and the sourcing of materials. Question 14 focuses on the inverted pyramid style of news stories that dictate power dissemination in the narrative. The most important component is the headline, due to its bold representation and ability to 'activate certain semantically related concepts in the readers' mind' (Pan and Kosicki 1993: 59). Furthermore, the headlines in online sources of news are subject to constant change to attract the audience. Kuiken et al. (2017) mention that in a digital environment, the textual and stylistic features of headlines are often updated to increase clicks. This points towards the commercialisation of news, where attracting wider audiences is sometimes more important than presenting the facts of the story.

Question 15 aims to uncover the sources used by the news medium to create the narrative and how the selection of these sources adds to the discourse. This is essential in understanding the quoted sources and the empirical data that was cited, as it provided credibility to the text based on the status of the selected source (Pan and Kosicki 1993). In this research, the focus is on political personalities, people in business and migrant populations, as they are the main actors adding to the discourse concerning the socio-political and economic framework.

Migration and multiculturalism interlink with politics and government ideologies. Van Dijk in his work 'Political Discourse and Ideology' noted (2002: 1):

> If we focus on politicians, we shall usually have at least two ideologies as expressed in their text and talk: First professional ideologies that underlay their functioning as politicians. Second, the socio-political ideologies they adhere to, e.g., as members of political parties or social groups.

This is important to this research, as news media often quotes credible 'public figures' such as politicians and government officials. The way institutions comment on the topic of the 457 visa impacts upon audience understandings of the subject and at the same time may reveal ideological representations of temporary migration patterns.

Question 16 deals with the lexical choices of 'us' and 'them' when it comes to describing 'Australians' and 'migrants'. Lexicalisation refers to the choice of words to describe something or someone; this choice can influence the reader (Paltridge et al. 2014). This question is answered in two parts by focusing on 'we' and 'they': firstly, the adjectives used to define 'Australia' and 'Australian' are explored; and secondly, any language concerning the 'other' or 'migrants' is outlined. Lexicalisation is a well-established ideological expression and persuasion tool (van Dijk 2006). In this instance, it helps identify the dominant actors involved in the discussion of temporary migration.

Chapters 5, 6 and 7 of this study discuss the key frames that emerge from themes of 'political conflict', 'social consequences' and 'economic sustainability' within the discourse of temporary migration. These frames are explored through the following aspects.

• What are the dominant frames within the themes?

• How are these frames created/identified in the narrative?

• How is the concept of 'us' and 'them' presented through the process of media framing?

Chapter 5: Australia's National Interest

This chapter discusses the frame of 'Australian national interest' within the themes of 'political conflict', 'social consequences' and 'economic sustainability'. The frame emerges through legitimisation, unification and reification of the dominant ideology that situates temporary migration and migrants as an imminent 'threat' to the nation. This chapter discusses how dominant ideologies are legitimised and how temporary migrants are 'othered' in the narratives surrounding 457 visas.

5.1   Main Findings

The Australian nation has grown vastly over the years through migration and this has been a heated topic of political debate. Temporary migration has played a significant role in making the migration system 'flexible' and 'efficient' in response to the economic needs of the nation (Wright et al. 2016). Migration is becoming a point of disagreement in the Australian political landscape, with ongoing discussion and debates and frequent changes to migration policies. Growth in temporary migration has resulted in attempts by successive governments to affirm 'control' over the migration system and policies (Castles et al. 2014: 238). Temporary migration has become an agenda each time there is a shift in government, as political leaders make continued attempts to deal with migration in alignment with their party's political philosophy.

In the dominant frame of 'Australian national interest,' two key narratives have been identified. The first relates to 'Australian jobs' and the second is about protecting 'Australian values'. These narratives help frame the issues of 'temporary migration' negatively. Three keywords formed this frame: 'Australian', 'temporary workers' and '457 visa'. Table 5.1

outlines the lexical choices made to describe the 'actors' involved in the 'event'. These choices were used to legitimise the 'national interest' frame by associating each key term with particular descriptors. These language choices are best understood through their 'ideological squaring' in the text, which encapsulates positive 'in-group' and negative 'out-group' descriptions (van Dijk 1998).

The ideological squaring of media frames can be understood through the 'us' versus 'them' dichotomy, which van Dijk argued reflected ideologies through representations of 'self' and 'others'. This research finds the inclusive 'in-group' as Australians, and the excluded 'out-group' as temporary migrants. This was made clear through the choice of descriptors for temporary migration, migrants and Australians as shown in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1: Lexical choices for key terms

Australian	Temporary workers	457 visa
First	Foreign	Replacement
Priority	Demand	Reform
Protect	Skilled	Abolish
National interest	Exploitation	Passports
Standards		Limited
Values		Controversial
Citizenship		Brand
Voting		Tarnished
Language		Axed
Privilege		Crackdown
		Scrapping
		Ban

This strategic use of language was explored in two ways. The first concerned the ways in which the migrants were othered and the second, the negative representations of 'the other' temporary migrant. The 'migrant other' was understood in the text through the 'selfing' process. 'Selfing' in this context is understood as extracting the image of temporary migrants

by projecting the 'self' based on national identity (Bauman 2004). The national identity is based on what Appadurai calls the nation-state's 'fiction of its ethnos' (2006: 23). Additionally, Appadurai (2006: 3) had theorised that because of the idea that 'national sovereignty is built on some ethnic genus', minorities are seen as an 'obstacle' to achieving 'total purity' (2006: 53). Within the discourse of Australia's national security and defence, sovereignty is understood as a shield against any interference in the most vital and essential features of the Australian way of life (Black 2018). Australian values reflect a homogenised relationship between the people and the state in relation to traditions, institutions and belief systems. Australia has never had to fight for its independence and is a relatively peaceful and secure nation (Black 2018). The influx of a temporary migrant population is thus seen as a threat to the survival of the 'ethnic genus', which is Eurocentric.

Orientalism as a 'corporate institution for dealing with the Orient' to identify the 'other' within binary representations of 'positive and negative' has been acknowledged by Baumann (2004: 20). This consists of conceiving self and other by 'negative mirror imaging' and establishing a narrative of 'What is good in us is lacking in them' (Baumann and Gingrich 2004: x).

> Any conduct that is inconsistent with Australian values will be considered as part of this process. Criminal activity including family violence or involvement in organised crime is thoroughly inconsistent with Australian values.
> (Malcolm Turnbull, *The Australian,* 2017)

The issue of Australian values was identified in media texts by reflecting political leaders' – in this case that of Australian prime minister Malcolm Turnbull's – definition of 'Australian values' and its association with language, family violence and organised crime. As discussed in Chapter 3, refugees and Muslim migrants were seen in media as perpetrators of violence and criminal activity. Media representations of Muslim women portray them as victims of

their own familial and cultural circumstances. Here, Turnbull's comment on Australian values acted as a blanket statement to homogenise migrants, suggesting that refugees, permanent settlers and temporary migrants are interchangeable in media and political discourse. It also warned the migrant population of the consequences of their actions and reinforced a negative perception of migrants by association to crime. However, none of these comments by Turnbull were supported by facts, statistics or references; they were just statements that can be open to interpretation based on the current discourse on temporary migration and citizenship. The power within the text lies in the careful choice of statements extracted and placed by media to represent the dominant views of political leaders.

The quote by Turnbull was a reoccurring framing device in the dataset. The lexical choices for 'Australians' shown in Table 5.1 concretises this discourse of 'othering'. This was used as a strategy to legitimise the abolition of the 457 visa, thus signifying 'asymmetrical power relations as just and worthy of support, for instance, by appeal to traditions' (Trckova 2012: 19). In this case, the lexical choices for 'Australian' encapsulated traditional understandings of Australian values. The implication was that 'Australian values' were threatened by growing migrant populations, creating a hysteria or 'crisis' mentality among readers. As per Australian immigration laws, all people visiting Australia on a temporary or permanent basis are required to sign a 'Australian values statement' (Home Affairs 2018). The suggestion by Turnbull is that migrants are prone to countering these 'values' and pose a threat to social cohesion and national sovereignty.

5.2 Legitimising the 'Othering' of Temporary Migrants

Temporary migration was introduced in Australia to address the issue of skill shortages. Due to changing labour needs, about 200 skills have been removed from the list of skilled migration in 2017. Yet, media's dominant narrative has been that 'Australian jobs' must go

to 'Australians'. This argument reflects the political rhetoric relating to the abolition of the 457 visa, and this representation was shaped by rhetorical structures. The frame that emerged in eight of the 15 narratives is thus 'Australians first', easily identified from the employment of the catchphrase. The table below outlines the language choices in the presentation of the abolition of temporary 457 visa. The distinct patterns act as a psychological stimulus that reinforce the frame (Pan and Kosicki 1993).

Table 5.2: Keywords used in the representative data

Rhetorical Structures (Keywords)	Total
Australians first	16
Jobs for Australians	15

The rhetorical structures in the form of keywords and catchphrases enhance the ideological representations of 'us' and 'them' in the media discourse. The first part of understanding this framing of temporary migration was through the 'othering' of temporary migrants and assertion of putting 'Australians first'. The key phrase 'Australians first' was understood as an oppositional phrase that created a non-binary contrast in the representation of 'Australians' and 'migrants' (Lyons 1977). This suggests that in a ranking scenario, 'Australians' were situated ahead of the 'other,' resulting in a dominant group in society.

The common argument that enhanced the frame was that the abolition of the 457 visa would provide more job opportunities to 'Australians'. This was heightened through the use of catchphrases, quotes, images and videos. The repetition of the keywords 'Australians first' and 'jobs for Australians' is repeated 16 times in the dataset. Through the repetition of statements, the narrative strengthened efforts to shape the opinions of audiences (Jager and Maier 2009).

The choice of keywords used by media reflected the political and popular discourse that economic benefits in the nation accrue to 'Australians first' and then to 'the others' only after 'Australian' needs were met. This message was conveyed through the political mouthpieces in the narrative. Those affected by the abolition of the 457 visa remained silent spectators. The notion of 'jobs' was framed as a 'right' that should be awarded to 'Australians' owing to their dominant status in society. The catchphrases in Table 5.3 were identified as media frames that were designed to seek public support. The repetitive suggestion that migrants take Australian jobs can lead to a negative portrayal of migrants. This was because media attributed significant social issues such as unemployment to immigration. Van Dijk (1995) argued that this has the potential to influence the beliefs of dominant groups in society, leading to prejudice and legitimisation of discriminatory immigration policies.

Table 5.3: Catchphrases from the representative data

Rhetorical Structures (Catchphrases)
The Turnbull government has cracked down on foreign worker visas and adopted an "Australians first" approach to skilled migration, scrapping the controversial 457 visa program and announcing a much stricter replacement.
Australian workers must have priority for Australian jobs, so we are abolishing the 457 visa, the visa that brings temporary foreign workers into our country.
The 457 foreign worker visa program would be axed and replaced by an "Australians first" approach to skilled migration.
"We are putting jobs first, we are putting Australians first."

The differences between 'migrants' and 'Australians' were brought to the foreground in the argument for the strengthening of the 'language test' as part of the migration and citizenship process. The English language was directly linked to Australian values and the demand for strengthening the language test indicated the importance of language within an essentially

multicultural, multiethnic and multiracial society. The focus on the cultural capital of the English language reflected a Eurocentric perspective, where English was made to prevail over all others in a multicultural setting (Collins 2009).

The Eurocentric vision manifested by normalising the importance of the language emerged as a key idea to Western consciousness (Collins 2009). Focusing on the indoctrination of language as a means of attracting 'superior migrants' was used as a form of discriminatory agenda that often went unnoticed (Collins 2009). The legitimisation of 'othering' occurred through dominant ideologies and voices that presented this narrative of 'language proficiency' as being natural and logical.

The 'othering' of migrants within the political context was further understood through the dominant voices that were voiced in media narratives. Firstly, media choices of right-wing political thinkers commanded the frame, creating a dominant discourse (Chomsky 1994). Secondly, 'the other' was created through dehumanising migrants by removing their voices and faces from the narrative. Said (1987) argued that in such cases the image of the migrant was 'othered' rather than deconstructed by the audience. Furthermore, the euphemisation of migrants as 'foreign workers' was used to conceal their identity and reinforced their position as 'the other' (Thompson 1990).

The construction of 'Australian' in the narrative was understood in the context of the political rhetoric that 'Australian values' were threatened by migrants. This was identified as the second justification for abolition of the 457 visa and also offered as the reason for making changes to the citizenship test. The lexical choices for the 457 visa are outlined in Table 5.1. Terms such as 'abolish', 'controversial' and 'tarnished' were used in the representation of the 457 visa, potentially creating negative perceptions. At the same time, abolishing the 457

visa can be compared to a battle or war that was won for the nation. The politicians who supposedly protected 'Australian values' by waging this battle emerged as heroes.

Using Fairclough's (1995) understanding of 'presupposition', the suggestion that something needs to be protected implies that it is currently in danger. Additionally, van Dijk (2003: 362) pointed to several features of the discourse of othering:

> Semantically and lexically, the Others are thus associated not simply with difference, but rather with deviance ("illegitimacy") and threat (violence, attacks).

Based on the association between '457 visa' and 'migrants', the implication was that the 'supposed' danger was from temporary migrants. Castles and Miller established that a common sentiment towards migrants was that they were 'taking away jobs, pushing up housing prices and overloading social services' (1993: 13). These were the dominant images that appeared in highly developed countries and were indicative of the 'threat' from migrants. The notion of 'threat' has been well established by Said in his discussion of the Orient. However, in the case of temporary migration the concept of 'threat' was not expressed through questioning the 'uncivilised' nature of migrants; rather, the focus was on 'manufacturing consent' through the propaganda of saving 'Australian jobs' (Chomsky 1994).

5.3   Politics and Media

The negative representation of migrants was further legitimised through the chosen actors in media narrative. Representation has to do with power and it's the powerful who have a chance to represent themselves as well as 'others' through their chosen narratives (Tenorio 2011). Using political figures as key actors in the stories added credibility to the text. This, combined with the narrative of 'Australian values', was framed to elicit an emotional

response from the audience. Media plays an important role in this political persuasion (Bhatia 2006). In the case of 457 visa policy change, the online news sources acted as the medium and mediators of political knowledge and assisted in making these policy alterations more acceptable (Smith 1990).

Pan and Kosicki (1996) have found a positive association between political communication and journalism. They established that the public, regardless of their party affiliation, listened to what media had to say about national policies and politics. When media communicated information surrounding campaigns and government policies, the audience selectively interacted with this information based on the dominant frames in the text (Pan and Kosicki 2005). This indicates that audience perceptions of temporary migration and migrants have the potential to be dictated by the dominant frames in media discourse.

The political leaders in the narratives acted as representatives of the government and were treated like celebrities by media as they were quoted frequently. This aspect was reasserted in the narrative through added technological characteristics that enhanced the frame. For example, press conferences with key political personalities provided an understanding of how power relations were negotiated in the text. The visuals of press conferences helped in the creation of 'political-social-identity' and were useful in forming public opinion about the leaders and how they arrived at decisions regarding the country (Bhatia 2006). The photograph of Turnbull making an announcement to abolish the 457 visa in 2017 was one visual that dominated most stories in the dataset. The inclusion of the video and the repetition of the announcement in the form of text, images, videos and social media posts was overwhelmingly present, with the keywords 'Australians first' representing the prime minister's argument. Political affairs become public knowledge through media, making politics and media interdependent in order to thrive (Bhatia 2006).

The relationship between media and politics was further established in the coverage of news related to policies. Media portrayed key political figures through the polarisation of political philosophies between Labor and Liberal in public debates. This strategy was concerned with 'emphasizing our good properties/actions; emphasizing their bad properties/actions, mitigating our bad properties/actions; and mitigating their good properties/actions' (Kuo and Nakamura 2005: 410). The Liberal government under John Howard had introduced temporary migration in 1997. The current Liberal government is now addressing the 'mistakes' of the past by abolishing the visa and creating two new visas. The Labor party's charge is that it's a 'cosmetic' change (*The Australian* 2017). Both parties, however, insisted on putting 'Australians first', with similar perspectives on temporary migration. The differences were confined to the approach, as can be seen from the emphasis on the political decisions of each party, confining the issue to temporary migration to that of a mere political debate.

Figures 5.1 and 5.2 are taken from *news.com.au,* which in turn had sourced them from Sky News Australia. The images in the figures are excerpts from short video clips that Sky News shared on their Twitter account. Online news provides the added benefit of linking different sources as part of one narrative, resulting in greater credibility through association. The celebrity status of politicians was made prominent through the inclusion of social media snapshots from Twitter in the syntactical structures of the narrative. Out of the three news sources, only *news.com.au* incorporated multiple sources in the narrative.

Figure 5.1 and 5.2: Interviews of key political leader in *news.com.au* (2017)

Van Leeuwen (1996) had pointed out that one way of establishing power within the text is through 'association'. This can be understood as when 'two or more social actors associate to each other to perform a social activity' (Sadeghi 2014). As discussed in Chapter 2, some

personalities have been vocal in their disapproval of migration policies, particularly migration from Asia. Pauline Hanson drew attention yet again by declaring her anti-immigration stance. The media linked Hanson and Cory Bernardi with the Liberal Party and emphasised this association using social media as a tool in the narrative. This was problematic in that it brought to the foreground the discriminatory undertones contained in the pronouncements of Hanson and Bernardi's disapproval of the 'Asianisation' of Australia and 'multiculturalism' (Louw and Loo 1997). Bernardi is an Australian politician and belongs to the Australian Conservative party. His conservative stance once again pointed to the Eurocentric undertones of Australian politics. Even though figures 5.3 and 5.4 are representative of conservative political leaders, it's important to point out that migration policies have not always been a product of right-wing or left-wing ideologies. The Labor party, despite being left-wing, has a long history of being against migrant workers.

Figures 5.3 and 5.4 are further snapshots from Twitter that were present in the narrative that link policy change to One Nation. Twitter was used as an enabling tool that enhanced the frame and amplified the message (Mosacato 2016). The use of Twitter by *news.com.au* served as a gauge of public engagement and response. It was useful in mobilising supporters and establishing ties (Guo and Saxton 2014). The hashtag used in both the images was '#Auspol', which stands for 'Australian politics'. In the political context, the hashtag worked as an information tool (Small 2011). Messages combined with hashtags have the potential to invoke context, histories, emotions or calls to action (Moscato 2016). In the context of the following images, credit for the reform is taken by 'Australian Conservatives'. As discussed in Chapter 2, Hanson has been associated with racist commentary and has voiced her dislike of 'Asians'. Her political beliefs dictate the need for shared culture and language and thus by association, media discourse reinforced an anti-migration and anti-migrant rhetoric.

Pauline Hanson 🇦🇺 ✓
@PaulineHansonOz

The Government will deny their tough talk on immigration & plan to ban 457 visas is because of One Nation but we all know the truth! #auspol

♡ 435   2:11 PM - Apr 18, 2017   ⓘ

💬 342 people are talking about this   ›

Pleased to see changes to work visa system but wouldn't be happening without @AuConservatives reminding gov what it should be doing. #Auspol
— Cory Bernardi (@corybernardi) April 18, 2017

Figure 5.3 and 5.4: Twitter accounts used in the articles in *news.com.au* (2017)

In conclusion, a clear distinction between 'us' and 'them' was part of the political rhetoric on the abolition of the 457 visa. The reproduction of this distinction by media has resulted in reinforcing 'othering' by right-winged political parties. The positives of the 'us' and the negative traits attributed to 'them' have been successfully transported from political to media discourse. By placing the issue of migration within that of 'national interest', media underscored distinctions between 'Australians' and 'migrant' populations. This was followed by strategies that employed choice of actors, quotations and words used by media in their communication about migrant populations. The voices that dominated the text where largely from the conservative Liberal Party prime minister, Malcolm Turnbull and minister, Peter Dutton. These actors conveyed their condemnation of the 457 visa as it affected Australian 'national interest' and 'Australian jobs'. Media thus unquestioningly transmitted the problematic representations sought to be made by politicians, in the process obscuring the finer details relating to temporary migration.

The 'national interest' frame emphasised the opinions of political leaders that migrants are a threat to 'Australian values'. This was further elaborated through the repetitive use of 'Australians first' when legitimising the changes in temporary migration and citizenship. Nationalism and national identity are not at the core of this research; however, they formed a basis of understanding the 'othering' of migrants through a defensive 'national interest' agenda.

Chapter 6: The 'Victim'

This chapter analyses the 'victim' frame in media discourse. The representation of temporary migrants as 'victims' is evaluated in the context of legitimisation, dissimulation and unification. Framed as 'them', migrants are presented as helpless victims of exploitation and Australians are represented as their saviours. This chapter uncovers the representations of temporary migration and migrants and the frames used to legitimise the abolition of the 457 visa.

6.1   Main Findings

Bahn et al. (2015) have researched the issues relating to skilled visa conditions in Australia. They provided a holistic account of policies and concerns that affect the migrant population at large, as well as the impact of migration on the economy and social structures. Their research established that temporary migrants are often well-educated individuals from English-speaking backgrounds. It is also noted that the most significant influx of migrants is from India (Velayutham and Wise 2013). Regardless of the multicultural policies of Australia and the strict standards of migration policies, Velayutham and Wise have noted that 'many of these workers were subject to campaigns of abuse, threats, and intimidation by employers and were generally fearful' (2013: 345). Migrants were scared to report issues because they feared deportation.

It is important to understand that although 'overseas workers' maybe be employed in Australia, 'it is human beings who arrive' (Dauvergne and Marsden 2014: 225). These individuals are in the nation for long periods and form strong ties with the society and community (Mares 2016). These ties tend to blur the lines between temporary and

permanent. Thus, identifying the representation of migrants in association with society was an important aspect of exploring the construction of the migrant by news media. As discussed in Chapter 3, literature has established that one of the key frames that arose in the communication of migrants was of the 'victim', either as a 'victim of exploitation' or a 'victim of their own circumstances'. It is hence useful to identify the roles assigned to the actors in the narrative. Furthermore, the exploration of the ways in which narratives were structured and developed help to understand recurring patterns that became part of the dominant narrative (Trckova 2012).

The exploration of the dominant discourse in the dataset revealed that migrants are often represented as 'victims'. News stories within this frame had a strong emotional angle and were increasingly dramatised to attract and engage with the readership. Six articles framed migrants as victims. Within the victimisation frame two types of victims emerged. The first sub-frame that manifested was 'exploitation and fear of deportation' and the second 'exclusion'.

Table 6.1: Migrants as 'victims'

Newspaper	Article	Victim
news.com.au	Massage therapists **used** as prostitutes in 457 visa rort	Exploitation
news.com.au	Labor **under fire** for white 'Australians First' advertisement as human rights' groups call it 'racist'	Exclusion
news.com.au	Mum continues to **fight** deportation to stay with young son	Deportation
The Sydney Morning Herald	**Blackmail, extortion and slavery** at a restaurant near you	Exploitation
The Australian	Labor Party 'white ad' **under fire**	Exclusion
The Australian	457 visa changes **hit** international students	Exclusion

6.2   Exploitation and Fear of Deportation

The dominant representation resonated with the 'tarnished' image of the 457 visa due to 'exploitation' of migrants. These lexical choices appeared in the narrative in the discussion of the 457 visa. This representation was easy to identify from the use of 'personalisation' and 'emotional' language.

The three news articles that discussed the issue of exploitation used migrants as 'exemplars' as a justification for the abolition of the 457 visa. Exemplars are a significant rhetorical device that help in enhancing and engaging with the frame (Pan and Kosicki 1993). They helped to humanise the issue of migration and provided an 'anecdotal hook' to increase readership (Dashmann and Broius 1999; Hinnant et al. 2013). The use of exemplars proved to be stronger in the information dissemination process over statistical information and general statements (Brosius and Bathelt 1994).

Figure 6.1 is a thumbnail from a video attached to a news story in *The Sydney Morning Herald*. The personalisation aspect in this article started with the headline 'Blackmail, extortion and slavery at a restaurant near you', where the news directly addressed the audience (Kilgo et al. 2017). Firstly, the terminology used in the headline sensationalised the event, with potential to evoke curiosity amongst readers (Kilgo et al. 2017). Secondly, the video was presented at the start of the narrative and encompassed both visuals and text. In Coleman's opinion, 'visual and verbal messages occur simultaneously in media, and audiences process them simultaneously' (2010: 235). Thus, the use of 'visa fraud victim' created an immediate association of 'migration' with 'victimisation', legitimising the negative perceptions of temporary migration.

Figure 6.1: Migrants account of exploitation in *The Sydney Morning Herald* (2017)

The lead, 'Pawanjeet Heir and her family have been **failed** by the **immigration system**. Now she is facing her worst nightmare: **deportation**' *(The Sydney Morning Herald* 2017; emphasis added)*, provided a summary of the story by describing the issue, the cause and the

outcome of the situation. Media provided a human face in the form of 'Pawanjeet Heir' to the narrative and assigned blame to the immigration system, particularly the 457 visa. A similar approach was used by *news.com.au* in addressing the situation of 'mum' fighting to stay with her 'young son' in figures 6.2 and 6.3. These images are choices made by journalists to frame the 'victimisation' of mother and son. Once again, the lead, 'Ms Romulo's heartbreaking plea to Mr Dutton', presented an emotional angle with the use of the term 'heartbreaking' in association with the image.

Ms Romulo's heartbreaking plea to Mr Dutton.
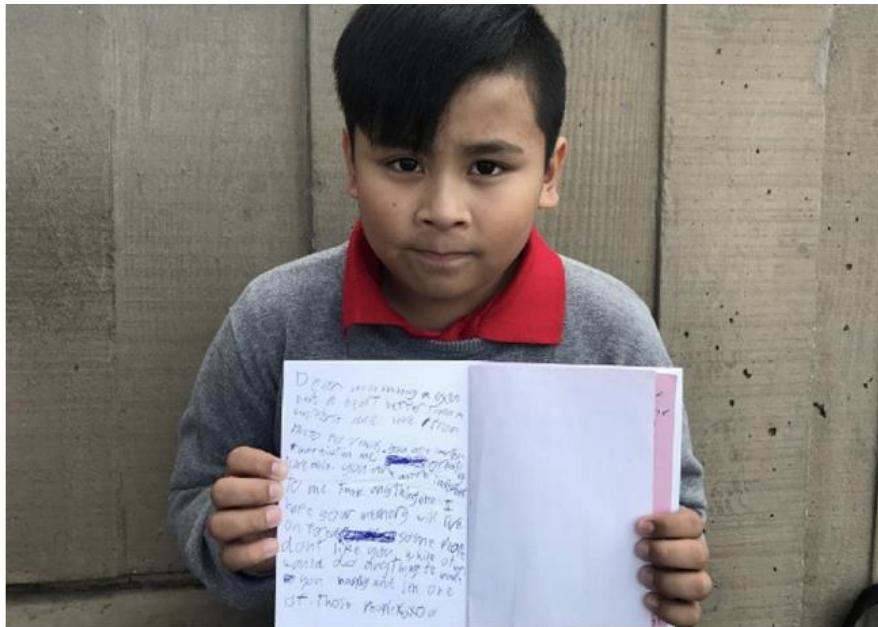
Giro, Ms Romulo's son who will be left in Australia if his mum and sisters are deported. Picture: Change.org *Source: AAP*

Figure 6.2 and 6.3: Migrants plea to stay in Australia in *news.com.au* **(2017)**

Ms Romulo's story provided details of her journey to Australia. It discussed her arrival in Australia on a 457 visa but failure to get permanent residency, and her plea to stay in the country with her young son. The quote chosen by media to reflect their situation was full of emotive language that furthered the 'victimisation' of migrants: "He wakes up **angry** and

distressed for no reason. He's losing his appetite and **laughs** are **lesser**. It's really a **torture** for us." (*news.com.au* 2017; emphasis added). The emphasised terms in the quote are examples of emotive language that lead to an emotional understanding of the situation. The migrants were 'othered' by being portrayed as helpless individuals who were 'pleading' to the 'superior' Australian society for assistance.

The third article dealt with exploitation differently as it focused on victimising people associated with a 'job' rather than presenting human faces in the narrative. The lead of this article, 'The **controversial 457** "skilled worker" visa has been used to bring in "massage therapists" who were then **used** for **prostitution**, **secret documents reveal**', had a lot to offer (*news.com.au* 2017; emphasis added). Firstly, media framed the skilled workers as 'victims' through the choice of the word 'used' in the headline, which implied exploitation. Secondly, the 'controversial' nature of the 457 visa was brought to the foreground by association with 'skilled' migrants. The presence of 'prostitution', 'massage therapists' and '457' in one sentence strengthened the representation of temporary migration as a social problem.

Media sensationalised the narrative by indicating that the information was a secret, unravelled by journalists. The narrative included quotes from an 'insider' source who shared this information on 'condition of anonymity' and implied that the association between skilled workers and exploitation was an ongoing area of concern. The 'anonymous' source was used as a rhetoric construct in an attempt by the journalists to move away from taking responsibility for the printed information (Stenvall 2008). Research indicates that this suggestion of a source not 'authorised' to give information implies that the person is 'official', which indicates 'authority', making the information 'credible' (Stenvall 2008).

Loomba (1998: 113) believed that 'the relationship between racial ideologies and exploitation is better understood as dialectical, with racial assumptions both arising out of and structuring economic exploitation'. The narratives employed words such as 'exploitation' and 'slavery' in referring to the treatment of temporary migrants. These terms are indicative of the presence of a superior–subordinate relationship between Australia and migrants. This drove the distinction of 'us' and 'them' further. The actors with migrant backgrounds were sympathetically represented in the discourse and no positive attributes were discussed. Darvishpour and Westin (2008: 16) established that such negative portrayals reinforce the notion of inferiority and a sense of 'being nobody'. Such distinctions have wider implications for an Australian society built on 'equality' and 'fair go', and characterised by a lack of hierarchy and deference for authority and power. The examples that media choose to illustrate in relation to migration and migrants were thus perceived as ethnocentric (Sjöberg and Rydin 2014).

The notion of 'the other' re-emerged in the form of the 'saviour' and the 'victim'. The main actors within this narrative were the 'Liberal government' and 'victims of exploitation'. The news stories echoed terms such as 'crackdown', 'abolish', 'axed' and 'ban' for the 457 visa. This language presented the political party as 'battling' an enemy and becoming victorious through the decision to remove the visa category. As discussed in Chapter 3, the 'victim' frame is used by media mainly in discourses surrounding asylum seekers and refugees. In the case of temporary migration, the 'victim' frame legitimised the abolition of the 457 visa and reinforced a negative yet sympathetic outlook towards temporary migrants.

The specific use of the term 'abolition' in the context of temporary migration in itself leads to a negative understanding. The term 'abolish' is synonymous with 'end of slavery'. Placing this word in front of the 457 visa created associations between 'temporary migration' and

'slave trade'. The role of the government in replacing the visa was thus interpreted and legitimised as an ethical decision. The 'ban' on the visa was framed as the natural order of events and processed as common sense.

6.3   Exclusion

The removal of the 457 visa has had direct and indirect impacts on students and migrants, respectively, who arrived on the visa. There were three articles in the dataset that focused on this issue in the exploration of the potential impact of the visa ban on a multicultural population. The first article dealt with the potential impact on 'international students', especially Indian students who account for a quarter of the intake (Koleth 2017). The 457 visa has been used by international students as a pathway to permanent migration (Koleth 2017). The framing of the narrative raised concerns in relation to India–Australia relations as the move to change the visa was seen as 'alienating' international students (*The Australian* 2017).

In this article, media used quotations from official sources that were representative of the international student population to provide a sense of security to temporary migrants. The chief executive from Universities Australia and a spokesperson from the Council of International Students Australia were used because of their 'official' status to reinforce 'facts' presented by the journalists (Stenvall 2008). The frame of 'victimisation' due to 'alienation' was identified as the sub-frame in this narrative, which was countered strategically by media through the following image.

Figure 6.4 fulfilled the narrative function in the text and presented a 'happy' picture of international students. The visual metaphor was used as a rhetoric device to suggest that claims to 'alienation' were false (Wang 2014). This brought the analysis back to the

projection of dominant ideologies in the narrative through framing. As discussed in Chapter 4, ideologies can be understood in the process of hidden hegemony by drawing attention away from power imbalances. The chosen frames dissimulated the voices of people affected by the decision of abolition, within media discourse enhancing the ideological representations of the 'other'. The image homogenised the sentiments of 'Indian students' as well as showcasing 'Indian students' as being representative of the international student population.

Indian university students and Griffith Uni Nathan Campus. Rajinderpal Singh and Kaushik Mahadevan with Niveda Chandu Farheen Shareef.

Figure 6.4: Media portrayal of international students in *The Australian* (2017)

The other two articles that engaged with the 'victim' frame through exclusion covered a specific incident which was intrinsically negative. These narratives were especially newsworthy as they engaged with significant political leaders and assert a 'racist claim'. This combination has the potential to gain significant public attention. The articles discuss a controversial Labor campaign that has been questioned for lack of diversity. The narratives

were presented as a matter of fact without much input from the authors. The stories were pieced together through the additions of Twitter commentary and a series of quotations condemning the advertisement. The narratives defended Australia's image against the idea of 'discrimination' and 'exclusion'.

Figure 6.5 is a Twitter post from a senior writer at *The Australian* who used strong words in relation to the 'Australians First' campaign. The two stories mentioned earlier critiqued the campaign through the voices of important figures in Australian society. As seen in Figure 6.6, the articles also gave Bill Shorten, leader of the opposition, an opportunity to put forth his side of the story and defend the decision to release the advertisement. The two articles consisted of a total of four Twitter stories and comments from Bill Shorten were repeated in both narratives. The repetitive inclusion of the following image provided a justification for Bill Shorten's 'racist' advertisement as a 'bad oversight' within the news media discourse.

Figure 6.5: Tweet condemning 'Australians First' campaign in *The Australian* (2017)

Figure 6.6: Tweet defending the ALP video as an 'oversight' in *news.com.au* and *The Sydney Morning Herald* (2017)

Table 6.2 lists the people quoted in relation to the campaign. All these people are important personalities in Australian society and politics and they condemned the campaign, calling it 'xenophobic', a 'whitewash', 'harking back to the ALP's White Australia policy' and a 'shocker'. All terminology was associated with discrimination and ethnocentrism, especially the comparison to the White Australia policy. However, the voices that were heard in the narrative were also indicative of a lack of diversity. Table 6.2 lists all of the actors involved in the story. Apart from Warren Mundine, who represents the Aboriginal community, there were no quotations from people of colour.

Table 6.2: Name and positions of actors quoted in response to the 'Australians First' campaign

Name	Position
Sally McManus	ACTU Secretary
Anthony Albanese	Labor Party Politician
Warren Mundine	ALP National President
Lisa Annese	Diversity Council Australia
Zed Seselja	Multicultural Affairs Minister
Elaine Pearson	Human Rights Watch
Tony Brampston	Writer and Columnist
Sarah Hanson-Young	Greens Senator

The findings in this chapter are consistent with the literature discussed in chapters 2 and 3. Temporary migrants on the 457 visa are looked at through the prism of victimhood. As discussed, media have created a negative mentality towards migration and migrants by sharing selective stories of exploitation and helplessness. This frame not only 'othered' the migrant, it also reinforced a power imbalance in society, particularly creating an inferior image of Asia and Asians. Pan and Kosicki pointed out that 'framing not only frames an

issue but also frames social groups' (2003: 44). In other words, the framing of the 457 visa was directly representative of the dominant racial population it reflects. The methodical discussion of the issue of frames, especially in relation to social groups, was key to understanding the reproduction of thoughts and ideologies.

Identifying the victims of exploitation through emotional images, descriptive videos and racial and ethnic background leads to the construction of 'the other'. These actors were presented in the narrative as victims of exploitation at the hands of unidentified employers. The mention of the national origins of the migrants reinforced an orientalist outlook that painted them as a victim of their own circumstances. Additionally, stressing the victims' backgrounds separated them from 'Australians'. There was a direct connection shown between the 457 visa and exploitation, illegality and fear, which further legitimised the abolition of the 457 visa.

This notion of 'the other' was brought to the foreground in the narratives about the 'Australians First' campaign by the Labor party. Though media critiqued the campaign and questioned the discriminatory aspects, migrants remained excluded. Even within the frame of victimisation due to discrimination, the representatives of migrants were prominent social and political Australian personalities, not drawn from the migrant community. This resonates with Said's (1987) notion of dominant Western personalities trying to control and speak for the 'other' group in society. The narrative of protecting migrants was systematically and subtly produced by feeding the orientalist rhetoric in media that defended Australia's image against discrimination.

There was a lack of diversity shown in the representations of 457 visa holders, as well as the people whose opinions are quoted in response to the 'Australians First' advertisement. This distinction further reinforced the 'us' versus 'them' mentality while respectively adhering to

hegemonic constructions of 'Australians' and 'migrants'. Power is associated with the act of 'controlling or constraining' the voices of the powerless in the society while putting forward the opinions and views of the powerful (Ramanathan and Hoon 2015). The issue of 'Australians First' was synonymous with the removal of the 457 visa based on the concern of 'jobs for Australians'. However, media discourse engaged with the narratives of 'Australian jobs' by representing only the white community. The migrant community was excluded entirely and deprived of a chance to ask questions or raise concerns.

Chapter 7: The Missing Frame and the Consequences for Australia

This chapter focuses on the missing frame. The rationale for the 457 visa was for economic benefits for Australia. The decision to introduce temporary migration in Australia was based on an economic imperative due to shortage of certain skillsets. Worker migration and student migration have helped contribute to the Australian economy by providing skills through employment and education. Government reports suggest that migration to Australia is demand driven and increasingly responsive to economic conditions (Home Affairs 2018). It can then be assumed that the economic necessity for temporary migration would feature in the discourse relating to 457 visa abolition. This chapter explores the presence or absence of this frame in the dataset. The theme of economic sustainability is explored in this study due to the nature and need of temporary migration for the economic growth of the nation.

7.1   Temporary Migration – Economic Need

The idea of economy is associated with the preoccupation with profit and loss to an individual, institution, groups or the nation. This theme has been established by researchers and used as a deductive frame in the analysis of larger sets of data (Neuman, Just and Crigler 1992; Semetko and Valkenburg 2000). The impact of an event such as the abolition of the 457 visa is of important news value, and its economic consequences are significant (Graber 1989).

The representation of the 457 visa as an 'economic need' could lead to a positive perception of temporary migrants. The economic need was focused on in four out of the 15 articles. However, it was featured in the headline of only one article, in which temporary migration was presented through an economic lens. 'Fertile, educated Asians are saving our economy',

in *The Australian,* placed migration in the context of the nation's aging population. The narrative of this article was concerned with providing facts to support the need for steady migration. The need for temporary migration is reinforced by arguing the value of the 457 visa. The argument in all narratives that underline the economic need for the visa detailed the ways in which it helped during the global financial crisis, mining crises and now, when the country is faced with an ageing population. This information is categorised as an 'exemplar', as real events of the past and present were used to enhance representation and thematically reinforce an idea (Entman 1993).

As shown in Table 7.1, the actors that engaged with this representation criticised the decision to abolish the visa by using lexical choices such as 'important' and 'essential' in their conversations about the 457 visa. The main actors that guided this frame were notably economists and employers. However, they were grossly underrepresented in the dataset. Only two news stories – one each in *The Australian* and *news.com.au* – contained the frame. *The Australian* story provided facts about the situation, while on *news.com.au* the representation was subtly expressed and pushed toward the end of the narrative, indicating lack of attention to the economic necessity of the visa. The sequential placing reinforced the power reflected through the inverted pyramid style of the news story, which is associated with the syntactical structures of framing analysis (Pan and Kosicki 1993).

Table 7.1: Key quotes reflecting the economic frame

Newspaper	Source	Quote
The Australian	Callam Pickering (economist)	The 457 visa program has played an important role in addressing skill shortages, particularly during the mining investment boom.
The Australian	Stephen Walters (economist)	Australia's 457 visa reforms were small relative to overall migration and the size of the economy, but the negative perception they created could prove more harmful to our economy than the direct effects of the policies themselves.
news.com.au	Mike Cannon-Brooks (businessman)	457 visas are essential
The Australian	Michael Wall (employer)	This move does not align with Australia's stated commitment to increasing innovation and causes uncertainty for foreign companies considering investing or doing business here.

The 457 visa has been abolished but temporary skilled migration still exists. This indicates that skill shortages persist in Australia. Two other visas that fulfil the same purpose as the 457 have replaced this category. Media narratives that highlighted the 'economic need' for temporary migration were also concerned with the potential backlash that businesses might encounter. This was established through the choice of words associated with the decision. There was a sentiment of concern in the narrative for economic sustainability, as the move to abolish was deemed as 'harmful to the economy' by creating 'negative perceptions'. There was concern that this move was 'attacking the source of economic dynamism' which boldly projected the importance of temporary migration. An analysis of the articles suggests that this concern was directed towards businesses, innovation and education sectors.

This representation presented temporary migration in a positive manner and acknowledged the contributions it made, especially in the context of addressing the problem of an ageing population. However, this representation was not the dominant frame. This relates to

Fairclough's (1995) understanding of 'topicality'. The theme of 'economic sustainability' lingered in the background in the representation of temporary migration. The analysis revealed that references to the contribution of temporary migration to the economy were too few to constitute a dominant frame. This underrepresentation of positive consequences of temporary migration created a distorted representation of the need for the visa.

Chapter 8: Discussion and Conclusion

This final chapter takes the analysis further into a discussion of the consequences of the 'othering' of temporary migrants. The analysis revealed that media discourse either framed the migrant as a 'threat' or as a 'victim'. Temporary migration has been constructed negatively in texts by associating it with unpleasant and dominant narratives of 'victims of exploitation' and 'threats to national interest' in Australian news media discourse. This can potentially lead to perceptions of temporary migration as a social problem (Kim et al. 2011). This in turn can lead to the employment of political communication to address the 'problem', which in turn reinforces the dominant frames.

Language has an impact on reality; however, the role of media is envisaged as providing unbiased information to the audience especially in relation to social issues (Elejade et al. 2018). Media neutrality enables audiences to process information and develop their own opinions. However, the use of language in particular ways leads audiences to specific understandings. Media processes in the reportage of temporary migration have pushed the economic necessity and the initial purpose of labour migration to Australia to the background. The very use of the word 'abolished' in the context of the 457 visa relating to temporary labour migration masks the fact that temporary migration is sought to be continued by a rebranding of policies. The frames, however, lead to an emotional understanding of migration, rather than the practical need for it. Media discourse leaves out important details in relation to economy and the 457 visa, and focuses instead on representing political attitudes and social issues related to temporary migration. Australians' perceptions of migrants, the role of migrants in society and international response to changing migration policies are thus projected through a narrow lens of nationalism.

The Australian population has grown considerably through planned migration. It is now approximately 24 million and rising (Mares 2016). Mares also points out that there are approximately two million people in Australia who are not 'citizens' and there are a significant number of people who are confused about their status. Individuals can come to Australia and settle here permanently but choose not to take up Australian citizenship. People can also come to Australia for an undefined purpose or move temporarily for education, business or employment.

These temporary migrants pay taxes, contribute to the economic and cultural life of Australia and adhere to the laws of the nation. However, the political rhetoric that only the common bond of citizenship unites 'us' as 'Australians' excludes this population. The choice made by news media to reflect this idea in their commentary on temporary migration contributes to creating a distinction between the Australian 'us' and the migrant 'them'. Media has the ability to present powerful images that logically and subconsciously influence their audiences. The 'us versus them' relations that stem from dominant frames thus have the potential to re-articulate national identities (van Dijk 2000). The suggestion that only Australian citizens are deserving of 'Australian jobs' can have troublesome implications for the two million people who for all intents and purposes are settled in Australia but are not official citizens. This also calls for a rethink of the concept of 'Australian national' and has implications for 'national identity'.

Media plays a role in contributing to and reflecting on the ways in which information about temporary migration and migrants is processed. Though there is no dislike or condemnation of migrants in media reportage, the language employed in relation to temporary migration and migrants indicates a bias. Repeating the language of political rhetoric potentially leads to anxiety about and fear of migrants. Media narratives repeat the phrase 'Australian values'

without providing a clear definition. There are mentions of the English language, a stand against domestic violence and securing borders from terrorism in relation to the values associated with being 'Australian'. By highlighting these aspects as 'Australian', the implication is that migrants represent violence and terrorism. The orientalist undertones of the uncivilised 'other' are then reimagined in relation to current migrants in Australia. Such negative portrayals can lead to tensions between ethnic minorities and the majority population.

The 'othering' of migrants in media narratives by creating distinctions between citizens and migrants also establishes a hierarchy. The placement of the discourse on temporary migrants in the context of 'national interest' has serious consequences for a multicultural nation like Australia. This study has focused on identifying media frames in the reportage related to temporary migrants but has not gauged audience perceptions. But given the power of media (van Dijk 1993), the framing of temporary migrants has serious consequences for the very fabric of the nation. The dominant framing of certain ideologies leaves little room for interpretation by audiences. The framing of temporary skilled migrants as a threat to 'national interest' can be seen as 'symbolic violence' where communication is used as a tool to assert power dynamics within society (Bourdieu 2001: 1–2). This can reinforce the legitimisation of discrimination of migrants, as key political leaders continue to highlight the distinctions between 'us' and 'them'.

It is interesting that the representations discussed in Chapter 3 have little association with terror or criminality; however, the principle of 'threat' underlying the abolition of the 457 visa and the reasoning that the abolition was to 'protect' the interests of the 'in-group' has significant implications for the Australian nation. Such frames lead to a dehumanisation of migrants by providing ready justifications for changes to migration policies. An attempt is

thus made to represent temporary migrants as an 'out-group' within the country, but more importantly as a deviant group that is best kept outside Australia for the sake of security.

As an immigration nation, Australia needs to consider how media representations are supporting or opposing changes to migration polices. These representations shape attitudes towards current and future migration trends that can potentially impact the social, political and economic development of the nation. Sensationalising the 'victim' narratives and creating an association between exploitation and temporary migration can lead to negative economic consequences for Australia. Future temporary migrants may find Australia unwelcoming, which could impact on tourism, universities and the labour force. As mentioned in Chapter 2, the 457 visa was increasingly popular with Indian migrants, many of whom arrived as international students. Thus, framing temporary migration as the reason for exploitation could lead to a decrease in international students, who help keep 'Australian universities solvent and hold down tertiary education costs for domestic students' (Mares 2016: 7).

In discussing the victimisation of temporary migrants, the analysis brought forth the key actors that were quoted in media and pointed out the lack of diversity in these sources. This has potential consequences for migrant identity formation due to underrepresentation by news media. The migrant is thus understood through orientalist undertones, where the 'other' is oppressed and needs to be saved by the dominant groups in society. For a multicultural nation like Australia, this othering can lead to group-based inequality and prejudice.

This study makes a new contribution to the field of existing scholarship on media representations by situating it in the context of Australian media and temporary skilled migrants. It does so by using critical discourse analysis and framing analysis to identify the key frames that emerge through the communication of an economic issue through political

communication. The template for analysis helps analyse the representative data within a structured theoretical framework that centres on understanding the construction of temporary migrants within critical political, economic and social paradigms.

This study lays the foundation for greater exploration into the issue. Firstly, the study has established that the economic contribution of temporary migration is overlooked, while political voices and emotional, social outcries are amplified by media. Media discourse on temporary migrants is placed within the binary of 'threat' and 'victim', which are both fundamentally negative. Media reflect the political discourse on temporary migration, and in so doing make it a social problem, while actors in narratives continually 'other' the migrant through comparison of the Australian 'us' against the migrant 'them'. In conclusion, temporary migration is negatively constructed and, by association, so is the temporary migrant.

This study is a first effort at understanding the framing of temporary skilled migrants in Australia and the likely impact for the future of Australian society. The study was confined to popular news sources available online. However, media representations need to be looked at in terms of more popular communication mediums such as television, entertainment and social media to evaluate the potential of media discourse on migration in influencing audiences and the trajectory of migration policies.

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Appendix A

Representative Data

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