

**Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander
people(s) in Australian print news:
A corpus-based critical discourse analysis**

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Statement of Originality

I certify that the intellectual content of this thesis is the product of my own work and that all the assistance received in preparing this thesis and sources have been acknowledged.



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Language Note

Following the recommendations of the guides for appropriate language in referring to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people(s) introduced in Chapter 1, I use the terms ‘Aboriginal’, ‘Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander’ and ‘First Nations’ people(s) throughout this thesis. Additionally, these are always capitalised. Where other authors have used alternate, less preferred forms – either within primary or secondary sources – these have been retained, although their problematic nature is acknowledged.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

In 1991, the Final Report of the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody found that the representation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people(s) in the media required concerted attention (Johnston, 1991, p. 1). However, Indigenous activists have renewed calls for the amelioration of the discourse surrounding First Nations people(s). Prominent Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander social justice advocate and Kungarakana Iwaidja man, Tom Calma, criticised the paucity of coverage of Indigenous people(s) and affairs as “a general ban in national newspapers on indigenous success stories” (2006). Meanwhile, University of Sydney Deputy Vice-Chancellor (Indigenous Strategy and Services) and Wiradjuri woman, Lisa Jackson Pulver, implored those publicising Indigenous health to stop focussing on deficits and “accentuate the positive” (2013). Likewise, Wiradjuri, Kamilaroi and Dharawal man and veteran journalist, Stan Grant, draws our attention to the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander voices that remain unheard in the public sphere (2019). A number of guidelines for appropriate language use have also been published in recent years (Media Diversity Australia [MDA], 2018; Public Health Association of Australia [PHAA], 2017; Reconciliation Australia [RA], n.d.); a summary of their recommendations is provided in Table 1.1. It is in response to these calls that this thesis aims to investigate the representation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people(s) in Australian print media.

Table 1.1. Summary of guidelines for appropriate language

1. Use the preferred descriptor(s) of the person being referred to.
2. Be specific wherever possible: use nation/language group names and avoid ‘Indigenous’ in most cases.
3. Avoid ‘Aborigine’ and other historically racist terms.
4. Avoid using ‘Aboriginal’ in the nominal sense.
5. Register plurality wherever possible, eg. ‘Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples/First Nations/First Peoples’ but also ‘histories/perspectives/ways of being’ etc.
6. Avoid acronyms such as ATSI, as this implies homogeneity.
7. *Aboriginal* and *Indigenous* (where used) should always be capitalised.
8. Avoid deficit framing, instead acknowledging the strength and resilience of First Nations peoples and their contributions.

While a significant volume of research has been dedicated to this question (see Chapter 2), these studies have tended to originate in disciplines other than linguistics. As such, discussion of how this representation is encoded in language has often lacked detail. Such studies also tend to focus on reporting of a particular event (for example, the Redfern and Brewarrina ‘riots’: Budarick, 2011; Goodall, 1993) or theme (such as health: Brough, 1999; Islam & Fitzgerald, 2016) making generalisable claims regarding Indigenous representation impossible. Moreover, previous research also largely relies on manual qualitative methods associated with traditional critical discourse analysis (the relevant limitations are outlined in §3.2.1). To my knowledge, there has been no systematic, large-scale, quantitative analysis of a broad cross-section of reporting on these matters. To fill this gap in knowledge, this study uses corpus-based critical discourse analysis to analyse a purpose-built corpus of 168 articles containing mention of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people(s) or issues. As explained in Chapter 3, I draw on Fairclough’s three-dimensional discourse framework and corpus linguistic methods of keyword, collocation and concordance analysis. The focus is on answering the following research questions:

1. What patterns of representation can be identified in the corpus and how can they be explained?
2. What discourses occur in the corpus and how are they constructed linguistically?
3. What is the relationship between the texts and their institutional and socio-cultural context?

The concepts of representation and discourse are discussed in later chapters (2 and 3), but briefly here, they refer to the visibility and portrayal of First Nations peoples in the media and the particular narratives that this coverage constructs.

In terms of thesis structure, Chapter 2 reviews the literature that forms the foundation of this study. Chapter 3 outlines the data and methodological approach, including corpus design and corpus-based critical discourse analysis. Chapter 4 responds to research question 1 by investigating levels of coverage, prominent themes and terms of reference. Chapter 5 addresses research question 2 using collocation analysis to identify concepts that regularly co-occur with the term *Aboriginal*. Research question 3 is addressed in both chapters, with a focus on the organisational context of the newsroom in Chapter 4 and the broader socio-cultural context in Chapter 5. Finally, Chapter 6 summarises the important findings uncovered in this study, along with their implications and opportunities for future research.

In closing this chapter, I would like to acknowledge my position as a non-Aboriginal person investigating phenomena with import for relations of marginalisation and disadvantage that I will never experience. This thesis was researched and written within an institution that is embedded in colonial history and which stands on the unceded land of the Gadigal people of the Eora nation. I honour their strength and resilience and pay my respects to leaders past, present and emerging.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

This chapter surveys the literature that forms the foundation for this study, focusing on work that investigates how Aboriginal people(s) are represented in Australian news media. The research discussed here has been undertaken in such disparate disciplines as sociology, anthropology, Indigenous policy, public health, medicine, geography and, most predominantly, studies of media, communications and journalism. Since the data consists of news stories, most research draws on methodologies developed in media studies, the most common being content and framing analyses, along with critical discourse analysis.

What exactly is meant by the term media ‘representation’ shows considerable variation across the literature. However, three broad trends can be identified. The first is the degree to which Aboriginal issues are reported on, that is, the level of coverage they are afforded by media providers. The second usage relates to whether Aboriginal voices and perspectives are included in news stories, often amounting to analysis of how often Aboriginal sources are cited. The third usage, which is the focus of this study, refers to how Aboriginal people(s) and issues are portrayed or constructed within media reporting. Findings in the areas of coverage and sourcing practices will be briefly outlined in §2.1 and §2.2 respectively. However, because the focus of this study is the third usage, §2.3 will more thoroughly discuss studies which discuss dominant media discourses surrounding Aboriginality. §2.5 will summarise.

2.1 Representation as coverage of Aboriginal people(s) and issues

Though research into the volume of coverage of Aboriginal people(s) and issues is limited, some themes nonetheless emerge – namely that some topics (eg. crime) are covered more regularly than others (eg. health). Coverage of deaths in custody is very limited; many deaths are not reported on, and those that are covered are often summarised in fewer than 100 words (Bacon, 2005, p. 32). Banerjee and Osuri (2000) discuss the absence of reference to colonial violence in media coverage of the Port Arthur massacre, which was widely described as Australia’s worst mass murder (2000, p. 268). It appears then, that violence against Aboriginal people(s) is underdiscussed in news media.

More recently, the challenges facing Aboriginal communities in relation to health and climate change have been found to be similarly underrepresented. Reporting on nutrition among Aboriginal people(s) amounted to fewer than 4 articles per year (Browne, Gleeson, Adams, Atkinson, & Hayes, 2018), while fewer than 6 articles per year reported on obesity in Aboriginal communities (Islam & Fitzgerald, 2016). Similarly, just 5% of 694 articles on diabetes published in Australia between 2013 and 2017 mentioned Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander people(s) (Bednarek, 2020). This is despite the overrepresentation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders living with diabetes (Colagiuri, 2017). Regarding Indigenous representation in climate change coverage, out of a sample of 92 articles published in four countries, just six appeared in Australian newspapers (Belfer, Ford, & Maillet, 2017).

Where Aboriginal people(s) are the victims of violence, and where they face disadvantage descendant from Australia's colonial heritage, these stories are not widely reported. On the other hand, Sercombe argues that the link in the media between Aboriginality and criminality is significantly overemphasised. He found, for example, that roughly 85% of stories referencing Aboriginal young people focused on crime (1995), while none discussed high achievers or issues of homelessness. So, while stories in which Aboriginal individuals commit crimes receive a great deal of media attention, other kinds of stories, particularly those which discuss the challenges faced by Aboriginal people(s), are far less common.

2.2 Representation as sourcing practices

A second approach to analysing the representation of Aboriginal people(s) in the media has been through sourcing practices and the majority of studies report a lack of Aboriginal voices. Meadows, Hippocrates and Van Vuuren (1997) analysed coverage of a series of protest rallies in Brisbane, which aimed to draw attention to important issues such as deaths in custody and the failure of Native Title legislation. Despite the fact that these are specifically Aboriginal issues and that Aboriginal protestors were the subject of the story, they found that less than a third of stories included a direct quote from an Aboriginal person. Analysing coverage of Native Title negotiations, Meadows found that "the number of non-Indigenous sources outnumbers Indigenous voices by a factor of around four to one" (2000, p. 90). Bullimore refers to this outnumbering as 'counterbalancing'. She points out that while Aboriginal voices are

often absented entirely, where they do occur, they are rarely permitted to stand alone, instead being accompanied by three to five “non-indigenous elite voices” (1999, p. 75).

A second general consensus is that official sources are privileged over others. Due at least in part to institutionalised sourcing practices, established links between news organisations and politics/organisations, and the news value of Eliteness (Bednarek & Caple, 2017), people such as politicians, police and the courts, spokespeople for government-funded organisations, academics and published reports, as well celebrities are preferred sources for stories and comment (Browne et al., 2018; Bullimore, 1999; Carden, 2017; Sercombe, 1995). Budarick points out that the extensive use of sources which are representative of social power, especially in the absence of Aboriginal voices discussed above, serves to reinforce the social and symbolic power of those institutions. In the case of coverage of the so-called Redfern Riot, for example, Budarick argues that rather than allowing Aboriginal perspectives to challenge established narratives and advocate for genuine change in policy in the area, the media reiterated the dominant discourse of law and order (2011, p. 49). Moreover, elite sources are often used to mediate Aboriginal perspectives, such that a non-Aboriginal source speaks on behalf of Aboriginal people (Bullimore, 1999). In one example, a white professor was afforded 11 paragraphs to describe his, albeit sympathetic, experience of assimilation policy, having grown up with an Aboriginal nanny who had been taken from her family (1999, p. 76).

In sum, Aboriginal voices are underrepresented in the Australian media, even in coverage of issues which concern Aboriginal people(s) specifically. Where Aboriginal perspectives are present, they are heavily outnumbered and often mediated by non-Aboriginal stakeholders.

2.3 Representation as portrayal

Finally, representations of Aboriginal people(s) and issues have been investigated in terms of how they are portrayed. Such portrayals have been found to be overwhelmingly negative and predominantly stereotypical in nature. The negative discourses identified in the literature fall into three main categories which will be discussed in turn: failure, dysfunction, and violence.

2.3.1 Failure

Perhaps owing to the significant gap in health outcomes and life expectancy between Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people(s) and other groups, as well as the news value of Negativity (Bednarek & Caple, 2017), a discourse of failure prevails in coverage of these issues. Most recently, Bednarek (2020) shows that diabetes stories align with a discourse of deficit identified in other health news, since references to Aboriginal people largely occur in contexts to do with negativity, constructed for example through phraseologies to do with risk. For Brough, failure is “the most common (and depressing) feature of Indigenous health print media imagery” (1999, p. 90). Central to a discussion of failure is the question of who or what can be seen to have failed and three main causes obtain: structural inequality, government bureaucracy and the lifestyle of the individual (Brough, 1999; Browne et al., 2018; Islam & Fitzgerald, 2016). However, in all three studies, discussions of solutions tended to position health as an individual responsibility. Although structural and bureaucratic factors are acknowledged, the ‘failures’ associated with Aboriginal people(s) are ultimately attributed to those people(s) themselves, potentially leading to a narrative of “racialised failure” (Shaw, 2000, p. 294).

2.3.2 Dysfunction

A second prominent discourse is that of dysfunctionality which often arises when failure is ascribed to groups or whole communities. In reporting on events in the remote community of Aurukun in which a school was closed due to student violence and teachers were evacuated from the community, “The discourse of community breakdown permeates the dataset” (Carden, 2017, p. 596). Due and Riggs make a similar observation in relation to coverage of the 2004 Palm Island protests. They found that in the wake of the demonstrations, Palm Island was represented as “dysfunctional and ‘devoid of social obligation’” (2011, p. 82). In both cases, community dysfunction is linked to social obligations around law and order.

A second dysfunction discourse concerns references to the rejection by some Aboriginal people(s) and communities of the social model which centres on economic productivity. Morris found that a demonstration in the town of Brewarrina became a symbol of the abject failure of the welfare state, and the “welfare Aborigines...the antithesis anew of the neo-liberal entrepreneurial subject” (2005, p. 80). The so-called dependence of Aboriginal communities on government welfare was constructed as a burden on economic growth and

counter cultural to the dominance of capitalism. This accords with another recurrent theme of cost to the taxpayer in the areas of climate change and health (Belfer et al., 2017; Browne et al., 2018). Similarly, Due and Riggs found that coverage of Native Title negotiations positioned Aboriginal claims to land (which would prevent mining of sacred sites) as counter to the ‘universal’ principle of capitalist progress (2011, pp. 44-45). In coverage of coal-seam gas, Aboriginal people(s) were constructed as anti-CSG development and, therefore, uninterested in economic advancement. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people(s), then, are positioned as unable, or unwilling, to conform both to the legal system that upholds social conventions of law and order, and to the prevailing economic system of capitalism.

2.3.3 Violence

The third prominent discourse is that of violence. Discourses which construct Aboriginal people(s) as violent are reported by a number of researchers and are often racialised (Simmons & Lecouteur, 2008). One theme occurring within this discourse is that violence committed by Aboriginal people is particularly threatening. While violent behaviour, of course, poses an inherent threat to other people, violence on the part of Aboriginal people(s) is routinely sensationalised (Bullimore, 1999; Hollinsworth, 2005; McCallum, 2007). This seems to occur in two main ways. The first is the use of loaded and politicised lexis, for example use of terms such as “feral”, “vandals” and “gangs” to refer to groups of Indigenous youth (Due & Riggs, 2011; Goodall, 1993). Similarly, charged lexis was used in coverage of the Aurukun school closure and evacuation, for example, “thugs...on a rampage” (2017, p. 597). This kind of lexical sensationalism ultimately serves to present the violent behaviour as maximally threatening.

The second means of sensationalising violent behaviour of Aboriginal people(s) is to centre the perspective of participants other than the aggressors. In coverage of the Redfern demonstrations, police are regularly positioned as embattled and victimised by an angry, impersonalised mob, while the cause of the group’s anger – namely police brutality and harassment – is left out of frame (Budarick, 2011). Headlines such as “They were saying they would kill us” and comments from the then Police Commissioner that “grave fears were held by those officers, justifiable fears, for their safety” are used to maximise a discourse of threat (Budarick, 2011). Similarly, coverage of the Aurukun school closure regularly reported the fear of teachers being

evacuated, positioning them as “innocent and helpless victims” (2017, p. 600). Against this backdrop, the violence of protestors can be interpreted as particularly nefarious.

The second broad theme associated with the violence discourse is that violence committed by Aboriginal people(s) is irrational. As early as the Royal Commission, an increase in use of the word ‘riot’ had been recognised as fostering an association between Aboriginality and violence (Cunneen, 2018, p. 279). Goodall described the association between Aboriginal people(s) and the “‘senseless’ irrational but criminal disorder of ‘riot’ and ‘vandalism’” as “persistent” (1993, p. 76). As she points out, the sense of the word ‘riot’ as opposed to ‘confrontation’ or ‘demonstration’, is senselessness, a key component of our conception of irrationality. Relatedly, for Macoun, Indigenous violence is discursively tied to notions of primitivity (2011).

Aboriginal violence is also positioned as chaotic and without cause or rationale. Often this discourse is constructed through the omission of important contextual information (Due & Riggs, 2011; Goodall, 1993). For example, a widely publicised threat made by an Aboriginal man at the Brewarrina demonstration that he would go get his gun was made in response to police comments about their own arms which were not included in coverage of the events. Similarly, the suggestion from one Aboriginal man that a policeman put down his weapons and fight him one-on-one, is in fact an instance of a well-documented, traditional practice in which a dispute is resolved through a socially controlled, one-to-one witnessed fight (Goodall, 1993, p. 72). Thus, omission of contextual information relating both to the causative sequence of events of the night, and to the broader cultural logic that prompted the actions of those Aboriginal people present, construes them as violent, largely without reason. A similar lack of contextual information was provided in coverage of the Palm Island demonstrations (Due & Riggs, 2011; Selby, 1999; Simmons & Lecouteur, 2008). The root cause was either mentioned only cursorily or was discussed in detail more than halfway through the article (Due & Riggs, 2011, pp. 75-77). As Goodall laments: “the [editorial] effect has been that the coverage of the ‘riot’ has drained away any representation of the logic of Aboriginal actions” (1993, p. 76). In sum, violence carried out by First Nations people is portrayed as sensational and irrational, maximising the sense of threat for the reader and compounding the negativity of the deficit discourses described above.

2.4 Summary

This chapter has summarised work undertaken in the area of media representations of Aboriginal people(s) and issues. Coverage of Aboriginal issues was found to be unfavourable: neutral and positive stories are rare, particularly those around the disadvantage experienced by Aboriginal people(s), while negative stories, especially those related to crime, are common. Regarding sourcing practices, elite (non-Aboriginal) stakeholders are quoted at a much higher frequency than Aboriginal people(s), even in stories concerning Aboriginal people(s) specifically. Finally, the portrayal of Aboriginal people is overwhelmingly negative. A number of potentially damaging discourses persist, namely those of failure, community dysfunction, and irrational and uncontrolled violence. Moreover, responsibility for all three is attributed to Aboriginal people(s) themselves.

As mentioned above, the most widely used methodologies were content, framing and critical discourse analysis. While the majority of studies which utilise CDA do identify discourses – and provide examples from the texts being analysed – those that discuss the construction of these discourses in linguistic terms are rare. In addition to the politically charged lexis seen above, Brough (1999) notes such features as statistics and dollar amounts that reference cost to the taxpayer. Bullimore (1999) bases some of her analysis on word choice, but this is not substantial. Due & Riggs refer to lexical choice considerably throughout their work but do not consider other linguistic elements. The vast majority of studies analyse representation and discourses without looking at how they are constructed. Additionally, with the exception of a small number of early articles (Bullimore, 1999; Meadows et al., 1997), each study tends to focus on a particular event (eg. the Redfern riots (Budarick, 2011), Palm Island riots (Selby, 1999) or Aurukun school evacuation (Carden, 2017)) or theme (eg. health: Stoneham, Goodman, & Daube, 2014), climate change (Belfer et al., 2017) or native title (Meadows, 2000). What has not been undertaken in some years, is a study of the coverage of Aboriginal people(s) and issues *in general*.

Addressing these gaps – analysing representation across all coverage of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people(s) and how this representation is encoded linguistically – is the aim of this study. In terms of the different approaches to ‘representation’ visualised in Figure 2.1, this thesis focuses on coverage and terms of reference (Chapter 4; prominent themes are

also considered here) and discourses (Chapter 5). (Sourcing is not addressed in this thesis, being the subject of a significant body of existing work.) Chapter 3 will explain in more detail how these issues of representation are analysed and introduces the dataset.

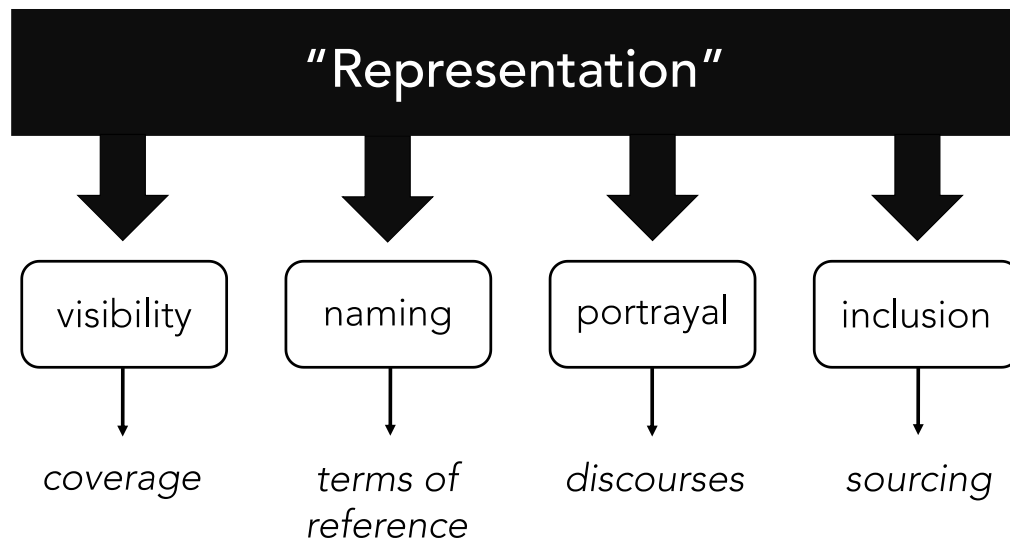


Figure 2.1. Approaches to analysing ‘representation’ in the literature

Chapter 3

Data and Methodology

This chapter outlines the data and methodology used in this study. I begin by describing the process used to compile the corpus in §3.1. The methodology is then outlined in §3.2: corpus-driven critical discourse analysis is presented in §3.2.1, while Sections 3.2.2 and 3.2.3 discuss the specifics of the analytic frameworks and methods employed.

3.1 Data

This thesis analyses a purpose-built corpus of 168 articles published in Australian newspapers in early 2019. The articles contain explicit references to Aboriginal people(s), issues or matters and were published across 12 national and state- and territory-based newspapers. I have titled the corpus the Ngaraguun Corpus of Australian News (NCAN) to pay respect to the traditional custodians of the land on which it was compiled; *ngaraguun* is the Dharug word meaning ‘researching language’.

To compile the corpus, I was provided with a raw file containing the articles retrieved from the Nexis database (<https://www.lexisnexis.co.uk/>) based on the following search parameters: firstly, the articles were published in the three months preceding extraction (that is, between 24 March and 24 June 2019) and contained three or more mentions of *aboriginal* OR *aborigine* OR *aborigines* OR *aborigine*’s.¹ As discussed in Chapter 1, according to various language guides the term ‘Aborigine’ is strongly dispreferred among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people(s). It was included in the search terms to allow me to verify if, and to what degree, it is still being used. Conversely, the term ‘Indigenous’ was not included because it is commonly used to refer to Indigenous peoples worldwide and therefore less likely to capture articles that are about Aboriginal people(s), issues and matters in Australia. The threshold of three mentions was used to exclude articles containing only mentions in passing (as was common in Bednarek, 2020, for example), increasing the likelihood of returning articles which are principally about Aboriginal people(s) and issues. An additional search filter was used to automatically exclude articles relating to lifestyle and entertainment, birth and

¹ Thank you to Monika Bednarek for processing the extraction.

wedding announcements, obituaries, community events, art and reviews, cooking, sports and weather. Articles containing fewer than 500 words were also automatically excluded.

The Nexis database search generated an output of 258 newspaper articles in a single text file. Owing both to the pagination conventions of newspapers and, presumably, to the conversion to plain text, the formatting of the articles is inconsistent. To rectify this, I manually cleaned the data of a large number of errant characters, hyphens, and double and triple spaces. Additionally, all line breaks were removed to ensure consistency across articles. Boilerplate information including newspaper title, publishing date, headline, author, section title and word count were retained but manually marked up (<...>) to allow this information to be excluded from analysis.²

During the cleaning process, 70 sports, arts, lifestyle and travel articles – which should have been excluded during extraction – were manually excluded. Additionally, a number of duplicate articles were returned. Following Bednarek & Carr (2019), duplicates which were published in multiple different newspapers on the same date (with or without minor edits) were retained as being representative of the syndicated nature of Australian news media. However, a small number of genuine duplicates within newspapers were also excluded.³ Finally, in cases where an article was redacted and republished with edits, the more recent version was retained. In total, 90 of the 258 articles returned by the database search were excluded either as duplicates or because they did not belong to the general news or opinion genres. This highlights the importance of exercising caution when using database search facilities in general, and Nexis in particular. This is an important point since such databases are widely used in corpus-based approaches to discourse analysis (eg. Baker, Gabrielatos, & McEnery, 2013; Bednarek, 2020; Mockler, in press).

After cleaning, the articles were then split and saved as separate text files, each with a unique file ID. For example:

² Mark-up refers to the annotation of non-linguistic information about a document, such as information about its authors or formatting conventions (McEnery, Xiao, & Tono, 2006).

³ Articles from the *Canberra Times*, in particular, often appeared twice in the search results: once with a section title and once without. In these cases, omission of the section title was taken to be an error and only the version that had been assigned a section title was retained. These section titles were also spot checked and found to be accurate.

ADV_07042019_OPD_565.txt	<i>The Advertiser</i> , 7 April 2019, OpEd, 565 words
CAN_11062019_841.txt	<i>Canberra Times</i> , 11 June 2019, (general news), 841 words

The ID includes a three letter code corresponding to the newspaper title, the date published, a section code (indicating either Opinion or OpEd, where relevant and available)⁴ and the article word count as calculated in corpus linguistic program, Wordsmith (Scott, 2017a).

In summary, NCAN consists of 168 news and opinion articles containing three or more mentions of *Aboriginal(s/'s)* or *Aborigine(s)*. The articles were published in national and state level Australian newspapers between end-March and end-June 2019. They also have a minimum length of 500 words, resulting in a total token count of 146,798 for the corpus. This is summarised in Table 3.1 below. Information on the ownership, newspaper type and political orientation of the newspapers has also been included, based on Mockler (in press). News Corp owns seven of the included titles, Fairfax, four and Seven West, one. There are five broadsheets and seven tabloids, and the newspapers in the corpus are predominantly right-leaning.

3.2 Methods

The analytical frameworks and methods employed in thesis are outlined in this section. I describe the corpus-based critical discourse analytical approach (§3.2.1) as well as the particular critical discourse analytical framework I draw on (§3.2.2). I then outline the corpus linguistic methods applied to the corpus; these are keyword, collocation and concordance analysis (§3.2.3).

⁴ Section codes were derived from the boilerplate information provided in the Nexis output, however, this was found to be imperfect. While section information was accurate when available, I identified a number of articles belonging to sports and arts sections, for example, for which a section heading had not been provided. Thus, while an article coded as OPN is very likely to be an opinion piece, some opinion pieces will no doubt have remained uncoded. The codes were retained despite this inconsistency because the influence of genre on the construction of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people(s) is an important question for future research. However, the genre of the respective articles was outside the scope of this study and therefore not investigated further. The full list of newspaper and section codes is provided in Appendix 1.

Table 3.1 Newspapers represented in NCAN						
				Demographics†		
State	Newspaper	Articles	Tokens*	Owner	Type	Orientation
National	<i>The Australian</i>	41	36,755	News Corp	Broadsheet	Right-leaning
NSW	<i>Daily Telegraph</i>	7	5,180	News Corp	Tabloid	Right-leaning
	<i>Sydney Morning Herald</i>	40	37,197	Fairfax	Broadsheet	Left-leaning
Victoria	<i>The Age</i>	15	13,438	Fairfax	Broadsheet	Left-leaning
	<i>Herald Sun</i>	4	3,018	News Corp	Tabloid	Right-leaning
QLD	<i>Brisbane Times</i>	11	9,744	Fairfax	Broadsheet	Left-leaning
	<i>The Courier Mail</i>	8	7, 211	News Corp	Tabloid	Right-leaning
ACT	<i>Canberra Times</i>	20	16,027	Fairfax	Broadsheet	Left-leaning
SA	<i>The Advertiser</i>	9	7,465	News Corp	Tabloid	Right-leaning
Tasmania	<i>Hobart Mercury</i>	3	3,027	News Corp	Tabloid	Right-leaning
NT	<i>Northern Territory News</i>	6	5,158	News Corp	Tabloid	Right-leaning
WA	<i>The West Australian</i>	4	2,578	Seven West	Tabloid	Right-leaning
Total		168	146,798			
*Token definition: Hyphens and apostrophes included within words						
†Adapted from Mockler. (in press)						

3.2.1 Corpus-based critical discourse analysis

Corpus-based critical discourse analysis is a relatively new approach to analysing discourse, where *discourse* usually means ‘ways of representing...the world’ (Fairclough, 2003, p. 26, as further discussed in §3.2.2). Though the earliest studies of this kind took place in the 1990s (see for example Hardt-Mautner, 1995; Stubbs, 1994), it is since Baker et al. (2008) published an influential article demonstrating its usefulness that the symbiotic relationship between corpus linguistics (CL) and critical discourse analysis (CDA) has been most productive (Nartey & Mwinlaaru, 2019). While both approaches are concerned with natural language in real-world texts, they engage with these texts in very different ways and have distinct, often complementary, sets of strengths and limitations. This complementarity is described in this section.

CDA views language as a social practice and seeks to understand how it is used to establish and legitimise social power (Fairclough, 2010). CDA researchers aim to identify social problems of injustice and inequality and investigate how that inequality is “expressed, signalled, constituted, legitimized and so on” through discourse (Wodak, 2001b, p. 2). Three main schools of thought obtain within CDA: Van Dijk takes a socio-cognitive approach

primarily concerned with the influence of individual and collective cognitions such as “knowledge, attitudes, ideologies, norms and values” on the production and consumption of language (2001, p. 113). Wodak developed the discourse-historical approach which focuses on analysing the historical context in which texts are embedded, and how that context may have changed over time (2001a). For Fairclough, analysis centres around identifying factors of production and consumption which condition and ultimately shape the final text (1989). For all three approaches, the object of study is not so much language itself, but the relationship between language and its socio-political and socio-cultural context. Moreover, CDA’s ultimate aim is to suggest alternate discursive ways forward (Fairclough, 2010). However, one common criticism of CDA is that such an explicitly socio-political agenda could cause the researcher to influence the way the analysis is carried out (Baker, 2012; Narthey & Mwinlaaru, 2019; Widdowson, 2000). Other criticisms relate to the small amounts of data analysed due to the labour-intensive qualitative techniques associated with traditional CDA; either texts or features are ‘cherry picked’ for analysis precisely because they are relevant to the analyst’s hypotheses (Baker & Levon, 2015), or simply that too little data is analysed for the results to be considered empirically sound (Stubbs, 1994).

By contrast, CL uses computer software to facilitate analysis of larger datasets. Statistical analyses are carried out to identify frequencies, probabilities and patterning of linguistic resources. Proponents argue that the associated methodologies are relatively objective both because corpora are usually constructed to be representative of a particular language variety and because the use of statistics to guide quantitative (and qualitative) analysis helps to reduce researcher bias (Stubbs, 1994). The primary criticism of the CL approach, as it relates to CDA, is that it cannot sufficiently capture the socio-cultural context (Narthey & Mwinlaaru, 2019). This is due, firstly, to the fact that the number of texts analysed is usually very large, and it is simply not viable for the researcher to analyse the complex networks of contextual factors of each. Secondly, in order to be analysed using CL software, texts are stripped of multimodal elements (such as images, layout and typography), resulting in what are – to some degree – linguistic abstractions (Widdowson, 2000). The ability to link a text to its socio-cultural context is imperative in responding to research question 3 concerning this relationship.

Thus, the choice to combine CDA and CL in this thesis “responds to limitations of both fields”(Narthey & Mwinlaaru, 2019). For CDA, supplementing traditional, small-scale

qualitative methods which rely heavily on the interpretation of the researcher with more quantitative CL methods helps increase the accountability of results because they are “more likely to be reliable if shown to occur across a larger dataset” (Baker & Levon, 2015, p. 222). On the other hand, supplementing CL analysis with CDA-style qualitative analysis lends interpretive power by allowing the patterns identified to be linked to the socio-cultural factors which condition them. Studies have shown that while the respective approaches very often produce common findings, each can reveal insights that the other does not (Baker et al., 2008; Baker & Levon, 2015; Gabrielatos & Baker, 2008). As a result, findings of a combined CL-CDA methodology ought to be more nuanced in addition to being more empirically robust.

In corpus-based CDA research, quantitative and qualitative analyses are often carried out recursively in consecutive phases, in turn identifying and investigating new insights (Baker et al., 2008). A similar approach is applied in this thesis, combining keyword and collocation analysis with concordance analysis as well as analysis of selected factors of production and consumption (following a broadly ‘Faircloughian’ approach to CDA). Keyword, collocation and concordance methods are outlined below, but I first describe Fairclough’s CDA framework which, broadly speaking, undergirds the study’s qualitative aspects.

3.2.2 Fairclough’s CDA framework

First, it is necessary to operationalise the term ‘discourse’, which is used in a variety of interconnected and overlapping ways (Baker, 2006, p. 3). It can refer to “meaning above the clause” (Martin & Rose, 2007, p. 1), to the “genre, style or text type” (Baker, 2006, p. 2) that obtains within a particular domain, and to “practices which systematically form the objects of which they speak” (Foucault, cited in Baker, 2006, p. 4). It is the latter sense that is adopted in this thesis; discourses are thought of as systems of linguistic and non-linguistic semiotic resources which construct a particular version of events. Fairclough (2003, p. 26) further distinguishes between discourse “as an abstract noun, meaning language and other types of semiosis as elements of social life” and “more concretely, as a count noun, meaning particular ways of representing part of the world”. While both uses are important, and it is largely impossible to invoke one without the other, in this thesis I use ‘discourse’ primarily in the second sense. I am interested in identifying specific discourses of which the linguistic resources in the news articles in NCAN serve as “traces” (Fairclough, 2012, p. 132). I also follow Fairclough in focussing on the linguistic aspects of discourse (Poole, 2010), while

acknowledging that these elements form part of much larger semiotic structures which are also instantiated through non-linguistic means.

Fairclough's approach to CDA centres around analysis of practices of text production and consumption which mediate the relationship between the text and its socio-cultural context. Fairclough thus proposes a three-dimensional model of discourse which is shown in Figure 3.1 below.

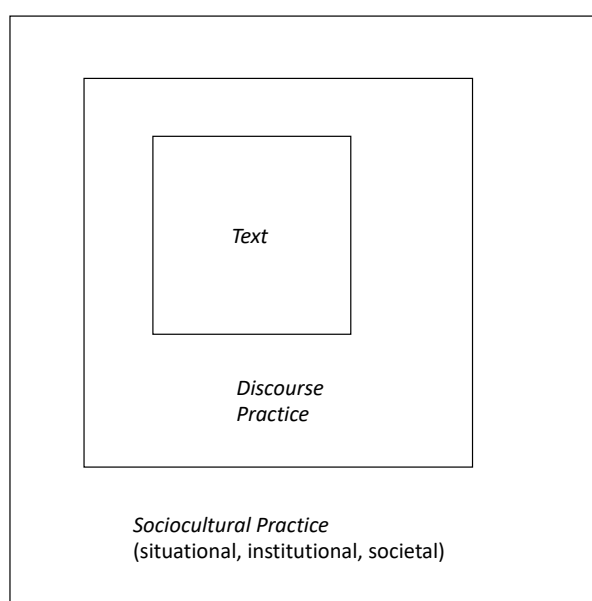


Figure 3.1. Fairclough's three-dimensional discourse framework (adapted from (Fairclough, 2010, p. 133))

The first dimension is the *text*, which might be written, spoken or visual. The second dimension is concerned with what Fairclough terms *discourse practice*, or the conditions of text production and interpretation. The final dimension is the broader *sociocultural practice* in which the discourse is embedded. This embedding occurs at three further levels: at the level of the immediate situation, in the wider institution or organisation, and in society.

For this study, the *texts* analysed are the articles included in the Ngaraguun Corpus of Australian News (NCAN). Fairclough roots his textual analysis in Systemic Functional Linguistics (2003, p. 5) and broadly the same approach is taken here. However, given the large amount of data analysed, it is beyond the scope of the thesis to undertake detailed textual

analysis of all instances. Rather, I focus on identifying themes, topics, and discourses – as is common in corpus-based CDA. Where particularly relevant, I do investigate how these are constructed linguistically – especially in relation to Appraisal. Appraisal is concerned with the attitudes and stances speakers/writers take up in relation to the things they talk about and the people they talk to, and how these attitudes are encoded in language (Martin & White, 2007). I keep this analysis at a general level, identifying only positive/negative appraisal where particularly relevant. I also investigate terms of reference (following the language guidelines introduced in Chapter 1) and, in relevant cases, the construction of events through action chains (Hart, 2013) and of agency through transitivity analysis. These concepts will be introduced in the chapters where they are analysed.

Furthermore, in the context of this study *discourse practice* consists largely of production practices used in journalism and the potential interpretive choices of newspaper readers. While it is beyond the scope of this study to directly investigate discourse practices (i.e. observing processes of production in newsrooms or undertaking audience research with readers), aspects of production and reception are indirectly considered by accessing publicly available information about newsroom policies such as house style guides and the employment of Indigenous affairs correspondents. As outlined above, these discourse practices are conditioned by a range of other factors along the *sociocultural practice* dimension, ranging, for example, from the temporal and spatial location of the event being reported on (the immediate situation), to the role of news media in critiquing government (the institution), to past and current dynamics of race relations in Australia (society). The contexts of the immediate situation and the organisation/institution are particularly relevant in Chapter 4, while Chapter 5 deals largely with context of society. Table 3.2 summarises the operationalisation of corpus-based CDA in this thesis. Textual analysis focuses on keywords and collocations, complemented by qualitative concordance analysis, as introduced in the next section.

3.2.3 Corpus linguistic methods

3.2.3.1 Keyword analysis

A keyword analysis tells us which words in a given corpus are unusually frequent (or infrequent) in comparison to a baseline (a “reference corpus”). Corpus linguistic software compares frequencies of words in the target corpus with the frequencies of those words in a

Table 3.2. Operationalisation of Fairclough’s dimensions in this thesis

Dimension	Operationalisation
Text	Quantitative and qualitative analysis of NCAN: keywords and collocations as traces of themes, topics, discourses (including analysis of their linguistic construction, e.g. via Appraisal); analysis of terms of reference
Discourse practice	Analysis of newsroom practices including story selection and coverage initiatives, employment of Indigenous affairs correspondents, presence and quality of house style guides
Socio-cultural practice	Analysis of inequalities of power within the capitalist-colonial model and Western government

larger reference corpus – usually a more general corpus (Baker, 2006, p. 125; Hunston, 2002) – to produce a keyword list. A keyword analysis thus gives an indication of, among other things, the content of a corpus, or what Scott calls “aboutness” (Scott, 2017b, “keyness definition”). For the purposes of this study, this helps identify common themes or topics discussed in coverage of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people(s) and issues (in Chapter 4, which responds to the research question of patterns of representation). To do so, the target corpus, NCAN, was compared to a reference corpus made up of Australian news articles published in 2016 and 2017. This reference corpus, NOW-OZ:16-17, was extracted from the News on the Web Corpus (NOW-OZ, <https://www.english-corpora.org/now/>) and contains a total of 245,825,360 words of general Australian news coverage.⁵

Critically, keywords analysis is carried out using statistical testing. Effect size tests tell us how big a difference obtains between the two corpora, while statistical significance tests tell us how much evidence we have to support an assertion of this difference (Hardie, 2014; Evert, 2009). Because each test type has limitations (see Baker, 2006; Hardie, 2014; Hunston, 2002), I used a combination of effect size (Log Ratio) and statistical significance (log-likelihood) measures (following, for example, Baker, 2006, p. 102; Culpeper, 2009, p. 36). A minimum Log Ratio score cut-off of 3 was applied. In order to prevent the software from returning a

⁵ I chose to utilise only those articles published in 2016 and 2017 in order to minimise the impact of any potential diachronic variation that might be introduced by using articles from the earlier years. I did not have access to data post-2017.

potentially insurmountable number of keywords, I set a very high cut-off for log-likelihood which is expressed as a p-value of 0.0000001 (following Gabrielatos & Baker, 2008).⁶ Additionally, a minimum raw frequency of 5 and dispersion cut-off of 8 were selected. Dispersion simply refers to the number of texts containing the relevant word. Together, these measures – summarised in Table 3.3 – ensure that keywords which show considerable overrepresentation in NCAN according to Log Ratio, but which may be relatively infrequent, nonetheless show very high statistical significance according to log-likelihood and occur across articles. Thus, the keywords returned are more likely to be genuinely characteristic of the corpus as a whole.

Table 3.3. Keyword settings	
Measure	Threshold
Log Ratio	3
p-value (deriving from log-likelihood score)	0.0000001
Raw frequency	5
Dispersion	8

3.2.3.2 Collocation analysis

Collocation refers to the habitual co-occurrence of two words which is statistically significant in some way (Baker, 2006). In practice, a word which occurs within a specified span of the node (or search term) more frequently than expected (when compared to the individual frequencies of both words across the corpus) will be returned as a collocate. For the purposes of this study, collocation analysis is applied to research question 2 (concerning discourses) by showing what ideas or concepts recurrently occur near the word *Aboriginal*, and therefore become associated with the word through semantic prosody (Baker, 2006; Bednarek, 2008; Gabrielatos & Baker, 2008). I set the span at five words to the left and right of the node (5L-5R; following Gabrielatos & Baker, 2008) and, as with the keyword analysis above, used a combination of effect size and statistical significance measures – in this case MI-Score and log-likelihood. The effect size (MI-Score) threshold of 3 and minimum raw frequency of 5 used in the keyword analysis is also maintained here. However, the threshold for log-likelihood

⁶ A p-value is number between 0 and 1 which indicates how confident we can be that the overrepresentation of a word is not due to chance (Baker, 2006, p. 125). The lower the p-value, the lower the likelihood that the result is due to chance.

was lowered to a p-value of 0.05 so as to capture those collocates which, although somewhat less statistically significant, may still contribute to dominant discourses. The word *Aboriginal* is taken as node because this the most frequent preferred term of reference and the term targeted for investigation in corpus construction.⁷ Additionally, owing to the wide collocation window, at least some of the returned collocates are likely to co-occur with instances of *Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander* (another preferred term) and, as such, the results can be tentatively interpreted as being relevant to both reference terms.

3.2.3.3 Concordance analysis

Concordance analysis is the final – and most qualitative tool – used in this thesis. Concordance software presents every instance of a search term as it appears in the corpus, along with the surrounding co-text. As shown in Figure 3.2 below, the search word is aligned to the centre of the window and the co-text can be sorted alphabetically up to three places to the left or right. This sorting means that additional lexical and syntagmatic patterning can be more easily identified than purely manual analysis might allow.

I use concordance analysis to investigate how keywords are used in the corpus in order to categorise them appropriately into themes/topics. Concordances are also used to determine the subject of articles in investigating coverage spikes, as well as identifying terms of reference used within the corpus. Finally, concordances are used to analyse collocations: Wordsmith allows a ‘context word’ to be specified such that any instance of the node word plus the context word within a particular span will be presented, thus allowing enabling qualitative analysis of specific collocations. This span was set to 5L-5R to be consistent with the settings used in the collocation analysis.⁸

The various types of analysis enabled by quantitative and qualitative corpus analysis are combined in this thesis. In both Chapter 4 (which investigates keywords) and Chapter 5

⁷ Though *Aborigine* was also targeted in corpus construction and a comparison of the two is potentially very informative, the low raw frequency of the term (40) meant that no collocates of this term were returned with the specific cut-offs used.

⁸ The total number of occurrences of a collocation occasionally differs between the collocation and concordance analyses (Scott, 2017b). In these cases, the concordance analysis usually returns a greater number and I retain all instances for investigation.

N	Concordance
1	, as a n....., I wasn't equal." The establishment of the Aboriginal affairs division is one of a number of
2	," the council's president, Aurthur Moses, SC, said. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander adults make up
3	that dedicate their work to improving the lives of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people and
4	with stakeholders to address the difficulties that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders in that area, or
5	in Greater Sydney - the census identified 15,400 Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders in that area, or
6	," Senator Scullion said. "This is the first time Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander representatives
7	to working with Planning "on preserving potential Aboriginal burial grounds in the North West Growth
8	Services Directorate to take into care a family of Aboriginal children five and a half years ago. At the
9	leaders, who felt that the living circumstances of many Aboriginal children in the NT warranted dramatic
10	in a different form. Mr Edmonds knows many of the Aboriginal community members by name, even
11	will be undertaken for increasing understanding of Aboriginal culture . "As an agency, we recognise the
12	in Broome, says FIFO has been an impediment to Aboriginal employment in the north and has led to a
13	the case for the Aboriginal flag. The reason is that the Aboriginal flag is a copyright work owned by the artist
14	, whose brand Clothing the Gap raises money for Aboriginal health, states: "This is not a question of
15	Aboriginal Minister for Indigenous Australians, and first Aboriginal member of cabinet . "After five years of
16	his people towards a better future as the nation's first Aboriginal Minister for Indigenous Australians. He
17	, Murray. Barwon has the highest proportion of Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander people of any
18	for us to build relationships and mutual respect with Aboriginal people and embed these intentions into
19	. There is no easy solution, but the answer lies with Aboriginal people finding local solutions built on
20	the transformation of the area, when large groups of Aboriginal people from neighbouring towns started
21	give health, educational, legal and other assistance to Aboriginal people to use images of the flag for free.
22	into employment. Where other initiatives sought Aboriginal people who were already qualified
23	souvenirs and crafts with no connection to the Aboriginal peoples whose stories, histories and
24	because of what he knew came with the job for an Aboriginal person. "I spoke to my daughter - and it is
25	from around the State, the appointment of an Aboriginal voice to the WA Police board and the

Figure 3.2. Randomly selected concordances of *Aboriginal*, sorted

(which investigates collocates), the results from the statistical (quantitative) analyses are considered in a broad fashion to identify general trends or themes. Qualitative analysis of concordance lines is undertaken to support the categorisation of the words into thematic categories. Further quantitative analysis determines which categories are most salient in the corpus, in terms of the number of associated words and their keyness/collocation scores. In Chapter 5, concordances of words associated with the most salient or interesting categories are considered to determine how the identified discourses are constructed.

This chapter has described the corpus analysed in this study, as well as the process involved in compiling it. I also outlined the methodology employed here in terms of the general approach (corpus-based CDA), the discourse analytical framework (Fairclough's three-dimensional schema) and the corpus linguistic methods deployed (keyword, collocation and concordance analysis). Chapters 4 and 5 discuss the results of applying these concepts to the questions of characterising patterns of representation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people(s) and issues in print media and identifying salient discourses.

Chapter 4

Patterns of representation: Coverage, themes and terms of reference

One important insight gained from the literature review (Chapter 2) is that investigations of reporting on Aboriginal people(s), issues and matters are most often constrained to coverage of a particular event or theme, for example the Aurukun school evacuation, the Intervention or deaths in custody. There is no study that investigates how the Australian media cover Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people(s) and matters in general. This chapter aims to fill this gap by providing a comprehensive and systematic investigation of the corpus, using computer-assisted analysis to better understand such coverage. As outlined in Chapter 3, I draw on Fairclough's multi-level theory of discourse in order to map the relationship between the texts that make up the corpus and their institutional context and broader socio-cultural context. However, in considering production and consumption, the study relies on analysing features such as audiences of the newspapers, the distinction between tabloids and broadsheets, existence of an Indigenous Affairs correspondent, and the potential influence of guidelines, rather than undertaking ethnographic research into how these texts are produced in the newsroom and how they are consumed by readers. This chapter responds to research questions 1 (identifying patterns of representation) and 3 (analysing the relationship between text and context), focusing especially on the discourse practice dimension (as outlined in §3.2.2). §4.1 considers patterns in the volume of articles according to a range of socio-cultural factors; §4.2 uses a keyword analysis to identify the prominent themes within the corpus; and §4.3 analyses trends in terms used to refer to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people(s). Aspects of production/consumption which influence these features are suggested in each case.

4.1 Coverage as article distribution

We can think of media coverage of an issue as the amount of news produced about that issue, for instance measured as the volume of articles. A range of social and organisational factors mediate the volume of this coverage and in order to identify some of these, this section considers the distribution of articles from a range of perspectives including temporal and geographic factors, the political orientation and newspaper type. Each of these factors is considered in turn using a variety of methods which are outlined in the relevant sections. It is worth stating here that in this section I chose to tally the number of articles published, rather

than mentions of a particular word (as Baker et al. 2013 do, for example), because the article is both the unit that a journalist produces (production) and the unit with which a reader engages (consumption).

4.1.1 Distribution over time

I first discuss the coverage of Aboriginal people(s) issues and matters in NCAN across time. Baker et al. (2013, p. 74) have shown that mapping news coverage across time is useful for understanding how real-world events influence ‘spikes’ in coverage. Because that coverage of news stories relevant to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people(s) constitutes a form of representation, whether that representation is of a sustained or sporadic nature is of interest. Moreover, it is helpful to know what kinds of stories are ‘selected’ for reportage (Fowler, 1991). Given that much previous research bemoans the paucity of coverage, an understanding of factors that can result in an increase is significant.

To do so, the period of three months covered by NCAN was divided into 13 sections of one week (Monday to Sunday).⁹ For each of these periods, the articles containing the word *Aboriginal* and those containing *Indigenous* (the two most frequent terms of reference; see §4.3) were tallied respectively. These data points were plotted as separate series on a line graph and the result is shown in Figure 4.1 below. As the graph shows, articles containing *Aboriginal* are more numerous than those containing *Indigenous* across the corpus, no doubt because *Aboriginal* was used as a search term in the collation of the corpus (see Chapter 3). It is nevertheless noteworthy that articles that contain the word *Aboriginal* also contain the word *Indigenous*, and that the trends are in parallel. Relative prevalence of terms of reference will be discussed in more detail in §4.3, but I turn now to the aforementioned spikes in coverage.

The graph indicates one significant coverage spike in Week 10 (27 May – 2 June), and three lesser spikes in Weeks 4-5, 8 and 12. To investigate the socio-cultural context conditioning these articles, I used the concordances of articles published during this period to determine their subject matter, finding that the major peak in Week 10 corresponds to the second anniversary of the First Nations National Constitutional Convention and the reading of

⁹ The final date included in the corpus (24/06/2019) fell outside the final seven-day week and thus was excluded. As only one article was published on this date, the exclusion effected the analysis only minimally.

the Uluru Statement from the Heart (<https://ulurustatement.org/the-statement>),¹⁰ a major initiative on the part of Indigenous activists from across Australia. Of the 46 articles published in this week, 24 discuss matters relating to the Statement, to constitutional recognition or to an Indigenous Voice to Parliament. Six articles discuss the result of the recent federal election, including the appointment of Aboriginal parliamentarian Ken Wyatt to the Aboriginal Affairs portfolio. The remaining 16 articles cover other stories related to Indigenous people and communities, no doubt in response to National Reconciliation Week which also falls at this time.

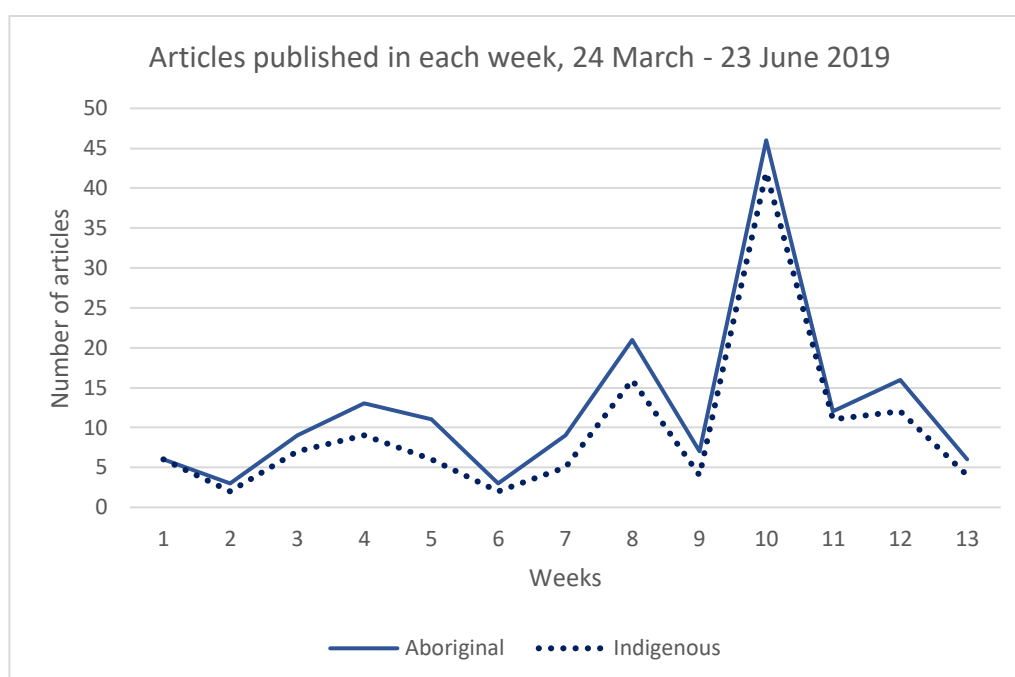


Figure 4.1 Total articles published in each week of the corpus

The second largest spike, in Week 8, coincides with the publication of an edition of *The Australian's* magazine 'The Deal' which was dedicated to Indigenous business (Trinca, 2019). The articles published in *The Australian* in concurrence with the magazine (ie. on 17 May) contribute close to half the total articles for this period, with a majority reporting on Indigenous entrepreneurship. The remainder cover a range of other minor topics, including poverty in remote communities, dry zones in Central Australia, and the legacy of Bob Hawke who passed away during this period.

¹⁰ The Uluru Statement from the Heart is a collective statement made by delegates of the convention regarding their desires for constitutional recognition.

The smaller spikes in Weeks 4-5 and 12 respectively are due to small numbers of articles being published on a wide range of stories indicating no correlation to a major event or initiative. This is by no means a problematic finding; that journalists cover minor stories related to Aboriginal people and matters is an indication of diversity. Ultimately, newspapers are commercial entities and journalistic practices are therefore guided by complex networks of such factors as available resources (Bacon, 2005, p. 36; Mesikämnen, 2013, pp. 36-37) and reader expectations, in addition to current events (Baker et al., 2013, pp. 4-5). However, this analysis has shown that both Indigenous-led initiatives like the Constitutional Convention and coverage initiatives of individual newspapers like that seen in *The Australian* can have a significant impact on the amount of coverage of these issues.

4.1.2 Geographical distribution

The influence of place of publication on article distribution is also of interest (relating to consumption by different audiences in Australia). With the exception of *The Australian*, which is a national paper and thus is excluded from the analysis in this section, the newspapers in NCAN are published in the capital cities of the respective states and territories. Due to significant syndication within print journalism in Australia and the continued closure of regional newspapers, readers in regional areas increasingly rely on metropolitan newspapers to access news (Fisher & Watkins, 2016). As such, we can consider metropolitan newspapers as serving their whole state or territory, and it is of interest then to compare the number of articles published in each state/territory with the Indigenous population of that state/territory.¹¹ If Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people(s) constitute a higher proportion of the total population in an area, we might expect newspapers published in that area to consider stories on Indigenous issues to be more relevant to their audiences, and therefore, to report them more regularly. However, this does not seem to be the case.

The proportions of people within each state and territory who identified as Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander in the most recent census (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2016)

¹¹ I also undertook this analysis using the Indigenous population in each capital city; however, there was minimal difference between the two measures. The Northern Territory was the one exception, with a significantly higher proportion of Indigenous residents present in the territory as a whole (25.5%) than in Darwin alone (8.74%). However, the relevant newspaper, *Northern Territory News*, indeed services the whole state and, as such, using state population figures was considered appropriate.

are shown in Figure 4.2. The graph is organised such that the state/territory with the highest proportion of Indigenous-identifying people (ie. Northern Territory) is on the left through to the lowest proportion (Victoria) on the right. This can then be compared to the distribution of articles shown in Figure 4.3; note that the left-to-right order of states is carried over from Figure 4.2 above to facilitate this comparison. (It is not appropriate to combine both plots in a single figure, given that the unit of analysis differs.) If a large Indigenous population correlated to increased coverage of matters regarding Indigenous people(s), we could expect to see some congruence in the contours of the two plots. However, little correlation can be identified at all. In particular, the Northern Territory and Tasmania, who have the highest Indigenous populations, saw among the fewest articles published. Conversely, NSW, ACT and Victoria, which have relatively small Indigenous populations, show high numbers of articles. The geographical distribution of articles, then, cannot be attributed to presence of Aboriginal people(s) within the local population, a noteworthy finding given that this presence (or absence) constitutes one aspect of the social context which would influence the discourse practice of a given newspaper. It suggests that those newspapers such as the *Northern Territory News* and *Hobart Mercury* (ie. those with low article counts in areas with large Indigenous populations) do not consider it necessary to cater to the local Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander readerships or that they do not consider Indigenous people(s), issues and matters to be of interest to their target audiences.

4.1.3 Distribution according to newspaper type and political orientation

The final discourse production/consumption factors to be investigated in this section are newspaper type and political orientation. Beginning with newspaper type, the distinction between broadsheet and tabloid is relative and the two categories are not discrete. However, clusters of typical characteristics can be identified. A broadsheet, for example, is more likely to report on business and international news and publish longer stories with a wider variety of sources represented. By contrast, a tabloid generally affords greater space to headlines and to sport (Tiffen, 2011). Table 4.1 shows the proportion of tabloids to broadsheets in NCAN. The proportion of articles in each newspaper is shown in Figure 4.4. The newspapers shown in solid colour are tabloids, and those that are patterned, broadsheets, according to Mockler's (in press) classification.

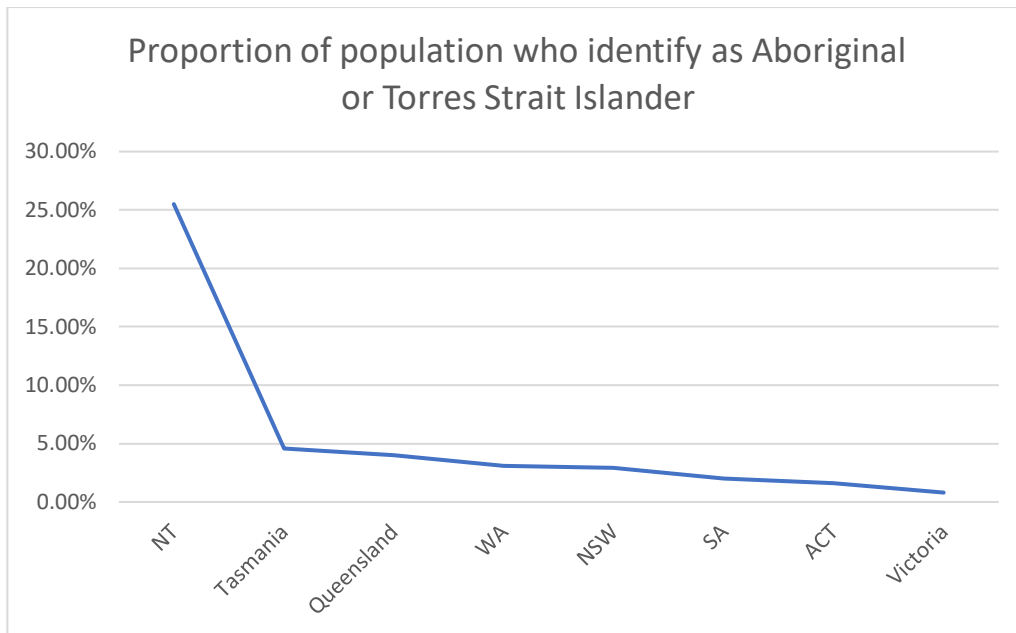


Figure 4.2 Percentage of state and territory populations who identify as Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander

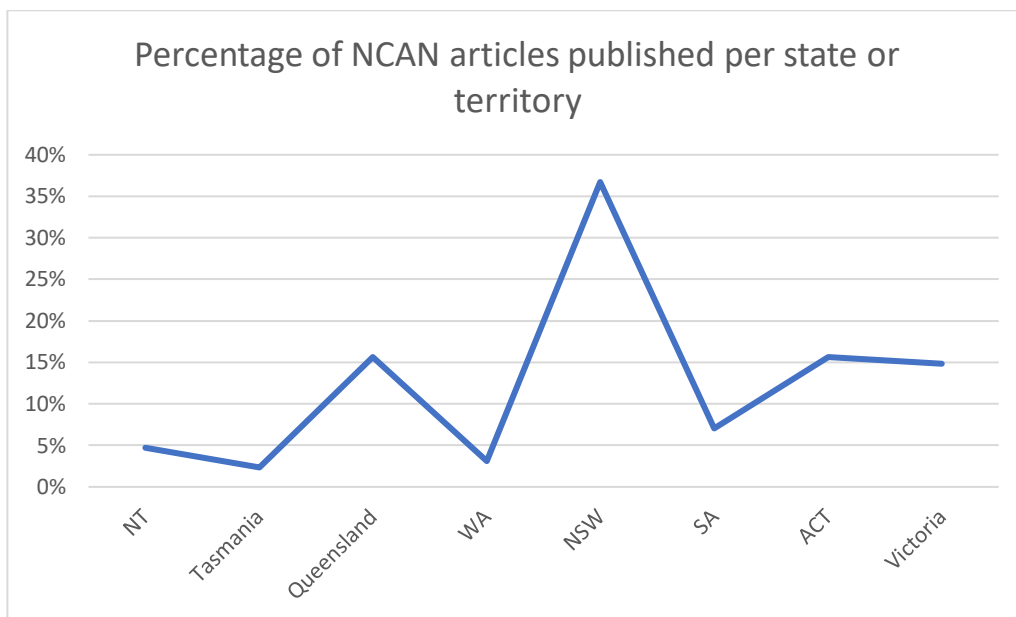


Figure 4.3 Percentage of articles in NCAN published in each state

Table 4.1. Newspaper types in NCAN		
Publication	Style	Total number
The Advertiser	Tabloid	7 (58.3%)
Courier Mail		
Daily Telegraph		
Herald Sun		
Hobart Mercury		
Northern Territory News		
West Australian		
The Age	Broadsheet	5 (41.7%)
Brisbane Times		
Canberra Times		
Sydney Morning Herald		
The Australian		

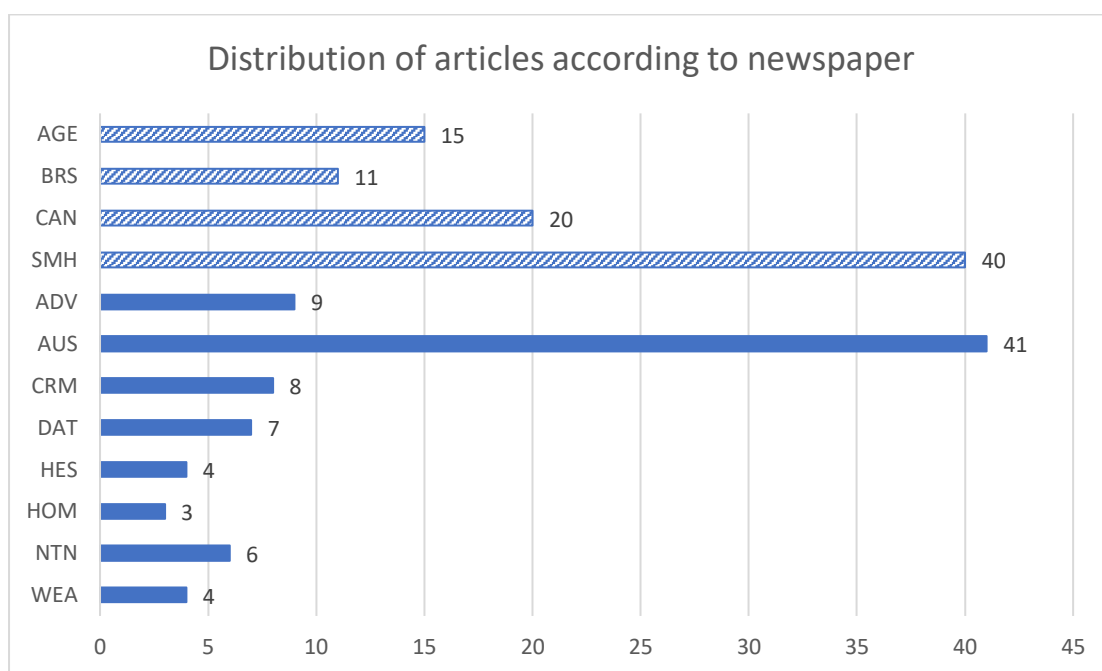


Figure 4.4. Number of articles published in each newspaper

When the articles are collapsed into two totals according to newspaper type, the difference in distribution is marked, as Figure 4.5 below demonstrates. Although broadsheets are in a minority (totalling 5 titles compared to 7 tabloids) they contribute 76% of total articles. *The Australian* (which is right-leaning) and *Sydney Morning Herald* (which is left-leaning) contribute the highest numbers of articles, a trend also identified by Bacon (2005). Despite its conservative stance, McCallum (2013) found, in an analysis of Indigenous health coverage, that *The Australian's* was most extensive, noting that Indigenous affairs is a major campaigning theme for the newspaper. Aboriginal matters are evidently relevant to newspapers on both sides of politics, and since a left-leaning orientation does not correlate to more articles published on this topic, political orientation is not a factor which necessarily conditions higher levels of coverage.

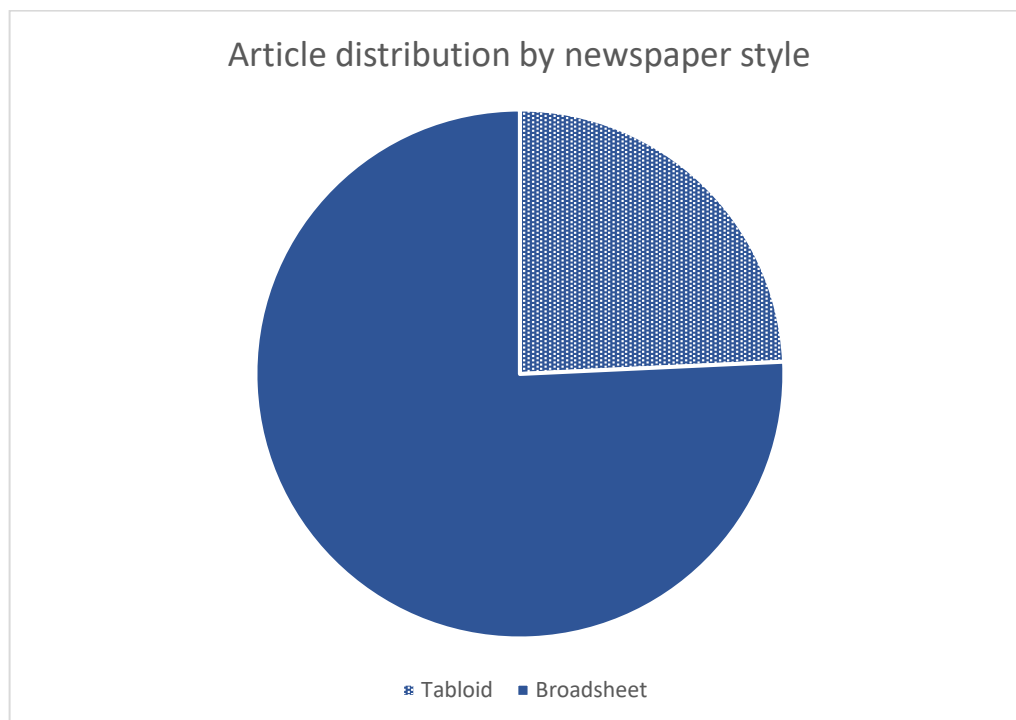


Figure 4.5 Distribution of total articles according to newspaper type

In terms of discourse practice which may condition strong coverage, Bacon (2005) notes that having a dedicated Indigenous affairs correspondent on staff greatly improves the overall level and the breadth of coverage of Indigenous issues. This is a practice that all five broadsheets share that the tabloids do not: at the time of writing, Paige Taylor is Indigenous

Affairs Correspondent for The Australian,¹² and Dan Harrison fills this role for Fairfax Media publications.¹³ Though it must be born in mind that a range of journalists authored the articles in the broadsheet newspapers in NCAN, the above finding does seem to support Bacon's (2005) assertion that having an Indigenous Affairs Correspondent can contribute to an organisational culture where these stories are prioritised.

4.2 Themes

Having analysed the corpus in terms of the distribution of articles, I turn now to an investigation of the topics which are prominent across the corpus. An empirical analysis of the kinds of stories which currently attract journalistic resources – and ultimately column space – has implications for improving and diversifying this form of representation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people(s) in the future. This is undertaken using another computer-aided technique: a keyword analysis. The results of this analysis will allow the topics and themes covered in NCAN to be compared to those identified in previous research (see Chapter 2).

Wordsmith was used to produce the keyword list and 75 words are shown to be 'key' when NCAN is compared to NOW-OZ:16-17.¹⁴ A complete keywords list with frequencies and dispersion, Log Ratio and log-likelihood scores is available in Appendix 2. Once the keyword list has been obtained, the keywords can be categorised thematically. To limit the subjectivity this process might introduce, I used the 'Reduce to N' function in Wordsmith to randomly down-sample the total lines to 25 for each keyword (for words with fewer than 25 instances, all concordances were retained). These concordances (i.e. a total of 1547 lines) were then examined to verify the usage of each keyword prior to categorisation, to ensure they are classified according to their actual meanings and uses in the texts.¹⁵ The full list of themes and

¹² <https://www.theaustralian.com.au/author/Paige%20Taylor>

¹³ <https://www.smh.com.au/by/dan-harrison-hveb0>

¹⁴ It was necessary to exclude a number of words which were identified as key for reasons other than discursive salience; these reasons included differences in token definition between the two corpora and an unusually common spelling error. Full details of the exclusions and their justification are provided in Appendix 3.

¹⁵ One example of the usefulness of qualitative concordance analysis is the word *massacre*, which may be interpreted as referring to colonial massacre of Indigenous people(s) and thus contributing to the theme of Negative Race Relations. In fact, all instances refer to the Christchurch mosque shooting in March 2019 and such do not contribute to any of the prominent themes identified here.

associated keywords is shown in Table 4.2 below, with keywords for each theme arranged from most to least key according to the Log Ratio measure. Following Baker et al. (2013, p. 74), where a single usage is in a significant majority (roughly 75%) the word was classified according to the majority usage only. To more faithfully represent the coverage afforded to different topics across the corpus, I chose to double-classify keywords for which usages are divided fairly equally across two themes.¹⁶ The secondary classification (ie. the usage with slightly fewer instances) is marked with a superscript obelisk (†). Keywords which could not be categorised under one of the dominant themes were captured under Other.

Table 4.2. Themes in NCAN – Keyword classification			Total Types
Governance			
	Government	ATSIC, Makarrata, Uluru, Wyatt, Natale, Pearson, Di, Albanese, Noel, Morrison, sworn, Ken, bipartisan, voice, affairs, parks, Greens, cabinet	31
	Law	enshrine, constitutionally, enshrined, constitutional, 1967, incarceration, referendum, sacred [†] , bans, constitution, recognition, treaty, sovereignty	
Groups			
	Indigenous	Aborigines, Islander, Wiradjuri, Aboriginal, Torres, Strait, Indigenous, Islanders, heritage [†]	19
	General	peoples, ancestors, elders, communities, elder, towns, grandmother, generations, Australians, remote	
Race Relations			
	Positive	reconciliation, rightful, empower, truths [†] , grants, thriving	13
	Negative	colonisation, intergenerational, foster, racism, racial, disadvantage, racist	
Indigenous Culture		culturally, sacred, cultural, heritage, lands, cultures	6
Location		Uluru [†] , Pilbara, Cape, Kimberley, Springs, Alice	6
Other		respecting, truths, massacre, Herald	4

¹⁶ For example, the keyword *sacred* is used 14 times to refer to sacred cultural practices and locations, contributing to Indigenous Culture, and 8 times to refer to the Children Are Sacred report resulting from a parliamentary inquiry, thus also referencing Government.

As shown in Table 4.2, the least prominent thematic categories are Indigenous Culture, Location and Other. Discussion of Indigenous culture is not surprising given the content of the corpus, and locational lexis can be considered typical of news discourse. As such, these minor themes, and the category of Other, will not be discussed further. In contrast, the most prominent thematic categories in NCAN, in terms of the number of associated word types and their relative keyness, are Governance and Groups. The theme of Race Relations is also prominent in terms of the number of associated keywords (13 in total), though these generally attract lower keyness scores than those of Governance and Groups. These three dominant themes are discussed in turn below. Because of the large number of instances analysed, and because the focus of this section is identifying broad thematic trends, the analysis focusses on identifying general patterns in keyword usage, rather than in-depth analysis of linguistic constructions. This aligns with the approach taken in corpus-based critical discourse analyses in general (see Chapter 3), and distinguishes it from manual analysis of a small number of individual texts undertaken in traditional CDA. However, occasional Appraisal analysis will be undertaken where relevant, to identify the stance of the newspaper.

4.2.1 Governance

The large number of types contributing to the theme of Governance seems to support the trend discussed in Chapter 2, that coverage of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people(s) and matters is often politicised. Due & Riggs (2011) and Meadows (2000) found in coverage of Native Title, the Apology and the Intervention that the media tended to focus on the political and legal implications of these issues while the material impacts on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people(s) were sidelined. The above categorisation suggests that this is equally true when a broad cross-section of reporting is analysed.

Under Governance, the subtheme of Government is dominated by proper nouns, which Scott notes is a tendency of keyword lists in general (Scott, 2017b). In the above table, the names of politicians stand out as particularly numerous. Terms referencing Scott Morrison, Anthony Albanese and Richard Di Natale are likely key because they were the leaders of the three major political parties at the time covered by NCAN and, with the exception of Di Natale, were not at the time covered by NOW-OZ:16-17. Consulting the concordances confirms that their names are often used metonymically to refer to the political party under discussion and, in the case of Morrison, for the prime ministership.

Four further keywords also refer to political figures. Seven instances of *Wyatt* refer to Yamatji man Ben Wyatt who is Western Australia’s Minister for Aboriginal Affairs, while the remaining 123 instances and the term *Ken* refer to Ken Wyatt, the first Aboriginal person to be appointed to the federal Indigenous Affairs portfolio. *Pearson* refers to Noel and Gerhardt Pearson – *Noel* also referring to the former – both of whom are Bama Bagarmuguwarra and active in Indigenous policy reform. As discussed in Chapter 2, previous research has shown that elite sources are privileged in news reporting and because systemic disadvantage means that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people face additional barriers to ascending to positions of influence, these elite sources are rarely Indigenous. However, the above analysis shows that out of 7 political figures referenced by keywords in the corpus, 4 are Aboriginal, or more than half. While these people still constitute elite sources, that a majority of sources in these stories are Aboriginal is in line with the calls from Aboriginal activists seen in Chapter 1.

Under the subthemes of Law, most keywords refer to aspects of the Uluru Statement, which is unsurprising given the volume of coverage of this story noted in §4.1.1 above. Figure 4.6 shows that the lemma *enshrine** (both *enshrine* and *enshrined* are key), is mostly used in discussing the Statement’s recommendations which would involve amendment of the constitution. (Duplicate lines resulting from a story being published in multiple newspapers have been removed for clarity.)

N	Concordance	File
1.	people. It is critical we maintain the momentum and advocate for a referendum to enshrine a First Nations voice to the Australian Parliament in the constitution as a meaningful	AGE_30052019_OPN_856.bt
2.	of support. There is opportunity for Scott Morrison to make history and back a referendum to enshrine a First Nations Voice in the constitution. The decision to appoint Ken Wyatt as the	SMH_27052019_OPN_819.bt
3.	the Uluru Statement from the Heart and the proposal to amend the Australian constitution to enshrine a First Nations Voice to Parliament was a watershed moment in Australian history.	SMH_27052019_OPN_998.bt
4.	recently wrote: "It is critical we maintain the momentum and advocate for a referendum to enshrine a First Nations voice to the Australian Parliament in the constitution as a meaningful	SUA_16062019_OPN_498.bt
5.	recommended by the Uluru Statement from the Heart in 2017. The idea for a constitutionally enshrined body of indigenous Australians that would advise government on Aboriginal issues	AUS_30052019_NAT_621.bt
6.	was rejected by Malcolm Turnbull's government in 2017, when it warned: "A constitutionally enshrined additional representative assembly which only indigenous Australians could vote	DAT_02062019_OPD_745.bt
7.	indigenous leaders from around the country. It issued a plea for a "First Nations Voice [to be] enshrined in the constitution" to "empower our people and take a rightful place in our own	BRS_26052019_1030.bt
8.	a firm plan for constitutional recognition. Mr Wyatt's plan means the commission will not be enshrined in the constitution. MAKARRATA COMMISSION The commission would have a full	CRM_30052019_649.bt
9.	, our constitution could hold their hopes and aspirations. Its call for a representative body, enshrined in our founding document, to give Indigenous Australians a greater voice in their	SMH_27042019_REV_884.bt
10.	as much security as possible - by that I mean the Voice, as outlined in the Uluru Statement, enshrined in the constitution. We need to address the past so we can move on as a nation.	SMH_04062019_OPN_652.bt
11.	Islander co-sovereignty with the Crown over Australia and demands a First Nations voice, enshrined in the Constitution, as well as a Makarrata Commission to supervise agreement	AUS_05062019_COM_1203.bt
12.	of 250 Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander delegates. It called for a "First Nations Voice " enshrined in the constitution and the establishment of a Makarrata Commission to supervise	SMH_31052019_OPN_761.bt
13.	done to the Aboriginal people ... Whether that leads to a thing called a treaty, or we simply enshrine into the statute books of this country a statement of those things, I don't think	SMH_18052019_REV_592.bt
14.	sincere belief that homosexuality is a sin. Liberalism doesn't protect us from offence, but it enshrines our right to speak against it. I was fortunate to be part of one of the high water	SMH_27042019_REV_884.bt
15.	lives that we believe will manifest in better outcomes for communities. Being constitutionally enshrined , the Voice will be durable beyond political timetables. It means that Indigenous	SMH_27052019_OPN_998.bt
16.	this through? So now the likes of Barnaby Joyce wants to get through legislation that would enshrine the protection of "religious freedom", most particularly as it pertains to employment	SUH_02062019_817.bt
17.	found there was nothing to fear from giving Indigenous Australians the constitutionally enshrined Voice they deserve. BHP's own commitment to voice, treaty and truth has	AGE_30052019_OPN_856.bt
18.	to see what has happened. Sue Schreiner, Red Hill ACT People who think a constitutionally enshrined Voice to Parliament for our First Peoples is somehow racist miss the point	SMH_08062019_REV_1155.bt

Figure 4.6 Concordances of *enshrine**

In terms of newspaper stance, the discussion is mostly supportive of such a change – a Voice is positively appraised as “a meaningful step” (lines 1 and 4) and something “Indigenous Australians...deserve” (line 17). Similarly, concordances of the phrase *constitutional recognition* (Figure 4.7, duplicates removed), which constitute a majority of instances of both

N	Concordance	File
1	it will take real leadership to establish the broad based community support for Morrison to achieve constitutional recognition along the lines of the Uluru Statement. For example, the concept of a	SMH_31052019_OPN_761.bt
2	lower house MP and first indigenous minister, would also be given a key role in achieving constitutional recognition for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people after the government	AUS_26052019_NAT_632.bt
3	at the weekend called for a meeting with Mr Morrison "as soon as possible" to try to advance constitutional recognition . They were marking the second anniversary of the solemnly worded	SMH_27052019_976.bt
4	co-design of models to improve local and regional decision making and options for constitutional recognition ". Indigenous leaders are rapidly recalibrating expectations after the	SMH_27052019_976.bt
5	Tribunal and is likely to be well into six figures. Mr Morrison does not have a firm plan for constitutional recognition . Mr Wyatt's plan means the commission will not be enshrined in the	CRM_30052019_649.bt
6	is a challenge to national unity and Australia itself. Regardless of how we vote in a referendum for constitutional recognition or an Indigenous Voice, Australia would lose. Merely asking Australians	SMH_06062019_OPN_678.bt
7	leaders told the Herald yesterday that Mr Morrison's re-election might not slow the momentum for constitutional recognition . Pat Turner, co-chair of a new joint council formed between Indigenous	SMH_27052019_976.bt
8	- says the government will not rush to install a voice to parliament, declaring a referendum for constitutional recognition was a "long term" project. Mr Wyatt said the proposal for an indigenous	AUS_30052019_NAT_621.bt
9	, could have introduced Australia's gun laws, perhaps only a conservative government can get constitutional recognition across the line. The hard liners in the Nationals and the Liberal Party	CAN_31052019_611.bt
10	HIGHLIGHT: A The Prime Minister says he is committed to getting Constitutional recognition for Indigenous Australians, but it may not be as fast as some had	BRS_26052019_1030.bt
11	change the constitution in 1967. It said: "In 1967 we were counted. In 2017 we seek to be heard ". Constitutional recognition advocates have always had a weak claim to be the spiritual	SMH_06062019_OPN_678.bt
12	of Aboriginal health in NSW. In 1996 he was awarded an Order of Australia. Closing the Gap for constitutional recognition is uppermost in many Aboriginal leaders' minds. Closing the Gap is	AUS_31052019_INQ_2099.bt
13	for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples. It stated its commitment to the process of constitutional recognition for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples and that it will conduct	SMH_29052019_OPN_793.bt
14	insiders, and will today force Mr Wyatt to defend his plan, and the Government's handling of constitutional recognition , in his second day in the job. The issue has been on the Coalition's	CRM_30052019_649.bt
15	sent his plan to the Prime Minister in February as a "potential way forward to address the issue of constitutional recognition ", the newspaper said. Asked about the proposal last night, Wyatt told	AUS_31052019_INQ_2099.bt
16	in Ken Wyatt, now Minister for Indigenous Australians, is a strong start. Mr Wyatt is a supporter of constitutional recognition . The Herald today launches a campaign for the creation of a Voice by	SMH_27052019_OPN_793.bt
17	Scott Morrison) prepared it pre-election, in his role as chair of a parliamentary select committee on constitutional recognition . As he stressed on Friday, it is "not government policy". But the	CRM_02062019_614.bt
18	affect Indigenous Australians. The Coalition government has committed to "getting an outcome" on constitutional recognition but has called for more detail on what the Voice may look like.	SMH_31052019_OPN_703.bt
19	social and economic progress. Last year's report of the bipartisan joint select committee on constitutional recognition found there was nothing to fear from giving Indigenous Australians the	SMH_30052019_OPN_845.bt
20	retention of their language names to locations". A former parliamentary chair of the committee on constitutional recognition , Mr Wyatt has supported some form of recognition of Aboriginal and	AUS_23052019_NAT_545.bt
21	fast as some had hoped. Prime Minister Scott Morrison has "committed to getting an outcome" on constitutional recognition of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, paving the way for a	BRS_26052019_1030.bt
22	made easier by the final report, delivered last year, of the bipartisan parliamentary committee on constitutional recognition of Indigenous Australians - it declared there should be no concerns	SUA_16062019_OPN_498.bt
23	weekend called for a meeting with Mr Morrison "as soon as possible" to try to make progress on constitutional recognition . They were marking the second anniversary of the solemnly worded	BRS_26052019_1030.bt
24	since 2015. Mr Wyatt's proposed solution is not official Government policy, and any movement on constitutional recognition will have to go through the party room and Cabinet. Mr Morrison's	CRM_30052019_649.bt
25	reports tabled by Dodson and Liberal MP Julian Leeser, co-chairmen of parliament's constitutional recognition committee. "Then I'll turn my mind to the pathways we will take as a	AUS_31052019_INQ_2099.bt
26	The only way we will see constitutional recognition for indigenous people within the next five or six years is if the	CAN_31052019_611.bt
27	his superb leadership on it we are going to work closely with him" Ms Turner said. She added that constitutional recognition was a "complementary parallel process" and "it's important both get	BRS_26052019_1030.bt
28	between government and the bureaucracy than he. Wyatt is now bringing his skills to bear on the constitutional recognition debate. He knows it would be disastrous to take a proposition to the	CAN_31052019_611.bt
29	history and culture of our First Peoples. Wyatt has already said that there should not be a rush to constitutional recognition and we must hasten slowly. That's wise, because we must take the	HES_06062019_OPD_794.bt
30	for an indigenous voice would be one option the government would consider as it worked towards constitutional recognition , but he warned that "nobody has really defined what a voice is".	AUS_30052019_NAT_621.bt

Figure 4.7 Concordances of *constitutional recognition*

individual keywords (39 of 81 and 73 instances respectively), show positive appraisal with references to “a potential way forward” (line 15) and “getting an outcome” (lines 18 and 21).

Two further interesting findings relate to the subtheme of Law. Firstly, in contrast to findings from previous studies, the police force does not appear to be salient in NCAN compared to NOW-OZ:16-17. The consensus, especially among those analysts that focus on events characterised as ‘riots’, has been that the relationship between Aboriginal people(s) and the police force is central to coverage of Aboriginal people and issues (Budarick, 2011; Carden, 2017; Cunneen, 2018; Due & Riggs, 2011; Goodall, 1993; Hollinsworth, 2005; Morris, 2005). However, this does not appear to be borne out when an analyst considers a large dataset which is representative of a broader cross-section of reporting. One possible explanation is that references to police are also frequent in NOW-OZ:16-17, meaning that such references are no *more* frequent in NCAN. It is the comparison of two corpora which renders this finding visible.

Secondly, while *incarceration* (Figure 4.8) references another mechanism of law enforcement, the prison system, it is mostly used to problematise the rate at which Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people are incarcerated. Incarceration rates are negatively appraised as “beyond shocking” (line 9) and “a national tragedy” (lines 10 and 11). This too runs counter to previous research. Analysing an older dataset, Bacon asserts that while a “strong law and order news agenda” dominates the media landscape “critical sources and questioning journalists will struggle for space” (2005, p. 26). However, the above analysis suggests that this is not, or is no longer, so much the case. The majority of keywords categorised under Law, including *incarceration*, are generally used to advocate for a better position for Aboriginal and

N	Concordance	File
1	prisoners compared to any other state that have privatised prisons. Reducing Aboriginal incarceration would take away their easiest and most lucrative business. However, punitive	AGE_01062019_OPN_655.bt
2	funding to "community led, place based initiatives that address the drivers of crime and incarceration ". The federal government said a year ago that it would respond to the report,	SMH_28032019_533.bt
3	, rates of child abuse, alcohol and drug misuse, income, employment, life expectancy and incarceration won't be solved until Indigenous Australians are central to creating the requisite	SUA_16062019_OPN_498.bt
4	people. Governments will have to consider what it says about concrete problems from incarceration rates to employment programs to the taking of children into foster care. The	SMH_27052019_OPN_793.bt
5	in our communities and the devastating impact on that for us, is are we going to see further incarceration rates soar?"	CAN_10042019_559.bt
6	change the narrative and speak the truth, no matter how uncomfortable, until we see a shift in incarceration outcomes for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people. Robyn Oxley is a	AGE_01062019_OPN_655.bt
7	Attorney-General Mark Speakman said there was "no question that the level of indigenous incarceration in Australia continues to be a national tragedy and a major concern to the NSW	SMH_28032019_533.bt
8	average and involved the inflection of 29 children younger than 10. The rate of indigenous incarceration is beyond shocking. According to the Australian Bureau of Statistics, in 2016-17	DAT_02062019_OPD_745.bt
9	before they get back into their dry community," he said. Police statistics show indigenous incarceration rates in the NT rose from 1857 per 100,000 people in the 12 months	NTN_15052019_597.bt
10	those young people into unnecessary contact with the criminal justice system, normalising incarceration and bringing them in contact with criminals," she said. Last year, Mount Isa	BRS_05052019_556.bt
11	. It is true many Indigenous Australians face challenges, from unemployment to high rates of incarceration and drug and alcohol abuse. Addressing these may well require local solutions.	SMH_06062019_OPN_678.bt
12	the diverse needs of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people. To tackle the high rates of incarceration , funding for rehabilitation and reintegration programs should be allocated to	AGE_01062019_OPN_655.bt
13	Jon Stanhope said he feared the legalisation of the drug would have no impact on offending, incarceration and rehabilitation of Indigenous people because the infrastructure to deal with	CAN_30032019_699.bt
14	. These days towns from all over Australia are asking its leaders for advice on how to reduce incarceration rates and improve the prospects of their Aboriginal inhabitants. It has been an	SMH_29052019_801.bt

Figure 4.8. Concordances of *incarceration*

Torres Strait Islander people(s). Rather tellingly, only 2 of 16 instances of *incarceration* occur in right-leaning newspapers. That is, criticism of law enforcement may be more prevalent than previous research revealed, but it is produced by a minority of mostly left-leaning newspapers.

4.2.2 Groups

News coverage often involves discussion of groups of people and this is reflected in high keyness scores for words referencing groups of various kinds in Table 4.2. It is not surprising that terms which refer to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander identities would be key given that these were targeted in the corpus building process. A full discussion of terms of reference used in NCAN is undertaken in §4.3, but it is worth highlighting the more unexpected results here. Firstly, the relative keyness of the dispreferred term *Aborigines* (Log Ratio 7.11) compared to other preferred alternatives such as (adjectival) *Aboriginal* (LR 6.45) is of concern. On the other hand, the salience of the Aboriginal nation name *Wiradjuri* is a positive finding, and one that contrasts with Bednarek's (2020) study of reporting on diabetes in which no instances of nation names were identified. Moreover, *elders* and *elder* register important aspects of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander cultures and their salience in the corpus is encouraging as it indicates an engagement with these cultures. The term *remote* is predominantly used to refer to people living in these areas as a group, known as 'collectivisation' (Bednarek, 2020, for example, found that 'Aboriginal community' was used in a similar way). The concordances provided in Figure 4.9 (with duplicates removed for clarity) show that phrases such as "remote areas", "remote Australia" and "remote communities" are frequent. It has been pointed out that "According to current media constructions, a 'real' Aboriginal person is dark-skinned, lives in a remote area of Australia and is in abject poverty" (MDA, 2018, p. 7). As such, the salience of the concept of remoteness in NCAN may serve to further entrench the invisibility of urban Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people.

N	Concordance	File
1	from being the intractable product of an inherently broken society - as the problems facing remote Aboriginal communities are all too often characterised by outsiders - Dr Baumann	NTN_18052019_WKD_1894.bt
2	the Northern Territory from its then Labor government. It took over direct governance of 73 remote Aboriginal communities on declared Aboriginal land, banned alcohol and	SUA_09062019_1487.bt
3	to visit them and see first hand how Aboriginal woman are working to curb family violence in remote Alice Springs communities . She travelled to the NT on Monday to meet with the	NTN_10042019_507.bt
4	community, whole of family approach. We also have a portion of indigenous people living in remote and very remote communities where there are limited jobs or no jobs, therefore	AUS_17052019_2321.bt
5	health centre, which opened in November. About 15 per cent of Aboriginal people in remote areas , and about 30 per cent in non remote areas, live with a long term mental	AGE_15062019_644.bt
6	. About 15 per cent of Aboriginal people in remote areas, and about 30 per cent in non remote areas , live with a long term mental health condition, according to the most recent	AGE_15062019_644.bt
7	said. "I thought I'd give it a try." The turnaround at Coles has created noticeable change in remote areas such as the east Kimberley where even a small number of indigenous jobs	AUS_15062019_525.bt
8	to the coast experiencing growth and larger inland towns soaking up the flight from more remote areas . The mid western town of Dubbo is in the midst of a real estate boom, as it	SMH_01062019_2264.bt
9	. "Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people own or control significant areas of land in remote areas where there is limited economic potential," Mr Fry said. This first of its kind	NTN_12062019_BUS_643.bt
10	this statement is to visit Aboriginal people living in substandard living conditions in remote Australia and ask them if they think the statement will help them. Address these	DAT_24042019_OPD_793.bt
11	outside, are locking up Aboriginal lands at a huge rate. Millions of hectares of land across remote Australia are being quarantined by green regimes, condemning traditional owners	AUS_27052019_COM_772.bt
12	with more than 1200 Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people across urban, regional and remote Australia . Hearts and minds bound together in vision and hope. Two days of robust	SMH_17052019_OPN_819.bt
13	Board. In The Deal, he says that one of the problems for indigenous communities in remote Australia is an economic structure that assumes that if major infrastructure is	AUS_17052019_BUS_606.bt
14	you should be informed. I hope this televised trip will help Australia understand that life in remote Australia is completely different to the city."	NTN_10042019_507.bt
15	, or one extra Aboriginal adult into a real job. It would not get a single extra policeman into remote Australia or protect a single woman from bashing or a child from sexual abuse.	DAT_02062019_OPD_603.bt
16	for local Aboriginal people once operational. "CIAT exists to provide people in regional and remote Australia with options for maintaining their relationship with country. We do this by	NTN_12062019_BUS_643.bt
17	community when it comes to housing, health, justice and education," she said. "Like many remote Australian communities , Nauiyu has been devastated by the Federal	NTN_18052019_WKD_1894.bt
18	Mr Mayor has spent 18 months touring the Uluru Statement around the country. He began in remote bush communities of the Kimberley and Pilbara, where traditional owners could	SMH_27052019_550.bt
19	the Medicare money should pay for the running costs," Ms Brown said. Purple House's first remote clinic was set up in Kintore, 550km west of Alice Springs, in 2004.	ADV_13042019_649.bt
20	. Like 36 other town based reserves adjacent to 20 regional towns in WA, federal funding for remote communities doesn't flow into the reserves, leaving them in limbo. In the case of	SMH_11062019_782.bt
21	the policy does more harm than good. Nauiyu Nambiyu CEO Tony Lane said "making remote communities dry needs to be reconsidered" to stop drinkers being taken	NTN_15052019_597.bt
22	and Torres Strait Islanders online and conducted a further 56 face to face sessions in two remote communities in northern Australia. First, to the obvious: Indigenous people don't,	SMH_30052019_OPN_956.bt
23	identified is the enormous workloads that we carry and we are the only service providers in remote communities ," she said. "At a time where we've had this government talk about	CAN_10042019_559.bt
24	had resettled on the outskirts of Newman after moving from the Western Desert and other remote communities such as Jigalong, camping in makeshift settlements in the fringes of	SMH_11062019_782.bt
25	people of the south east corner of the state, is riding a booming digital push to reach out to remote communities through the internet. Building websites, shooting pictures and videos	AUS_17052019_555.bt
26	of family approach. We also have a portion of indigenous people living in remote and very remote communities where there are limited jobs or no jobs, therefore high	AUS_17052019_2321.bt
27	, well it's a lot harder." MIRIAM-ROSE Baumann is a shining example of a life well lived in a remote community . After becoming the NT's first fully qualified Aboriginal teacher in 1975,	NTN_18052019_WKD_1894.bt
28	what an observer could be forgiven for thinking was a shameless rort. "For example, a remote community in central Australia of about 400 people received social and emotional	AUS_07052019_INQ_2626.bt
29	the community as "damaged goods", a judge has said. A group of Aboriginal people from a remote community in the Northern Territory is suing Channel Seven over the Sunrise "Hot	SMH_13062019_560.bt
30	experience trauma and mental health conditions more often and more severely than remote Indigenous Australians , Dr Walsh says. "There's a preconceived idea that	AGE_15062019_644.bt
31	has drawn West Australian Indigenous Affairs Minister Ben Wyatt, an Aboriginal man, to the remote Kimberley town of Kununurra to pay tribute to the Duracks, their immense	AUS_15062019_NAT_1197.bt
32	exploring an island in the Dampier Archipelago, in Western Australia's Pilbara region. The remote location on Enderby Island is part of a much larger precinct where Aboriginal	AUS_17052019_NAT_518.bt
33	in the footage could be identified. But Justice Steven Rares said Aboriginal communities in remote parts of Australia , particularly the Northern Territory, were "much more integrated	SMH_13062019_560.bt
34	life." But Shillingsworth was at the front of a wave of migrants who came to Dubbo from the remote regions that has more recently been blamed for importing social problems into the	SMH_01062019_2264.bt
35	in a town camp in Alice Springs and talk to locals if she wanted to understand the issues remote residents are up against. "Kerri-Anne told me she was coming but unfortunately I	NTN_10042019_507.bt
36	the origins of a local insect known as the mamutiiti, ACARA details how students at a remote school in Central Australia are taught by an Aboriginal Elder "the Dreaming story"	DAT_16042019_OPD_833.bt
37	among agencies, multiplying "beige tape", while public corporations drain coffers and remote service providers operate what an observer could be forgiven for thinking was a	AUS_07052019_INQ_2626.bt
38	economic independence, despite hundreds of millions of dollars being spent annually on remote services . Canberra politicians have offered incremental investments but have	AUS_07052019_INQ_2626.bt
39	, has "immediate flow on effect". He wants to see community finance hubs established in remote settings to offer Indigenous Australians the best financial products for their needs.	AGE_13052019_1053.bt
40	, has "immediate flow on effect". He wants to see community finance hubs established in remote settings to offer Indigenous Australians the best financial products for their needs.	BRS_12052019_1165.bt
41	When Stewart Cox was growing up in the remote town of Kununurra, he did not see Aboriginal people working at the supermarket	AUS_24062019_525.bt
42	of marginalisation that was already under way in rural Australia - the drift of people from remote towns to larger regional centres and the city, and a sense of alienation from the	SMH_01062019_2264.bt
43	or drive in drive out basis," the report says. "Stakeholders also raised government funded remote travel A&A, A as an area ripe for efficiency improvement, with limited co-ordination	AUS_07052019_INQ_2626.bt
44	Travel Scheme despite each dealing with overlapping patients and communities. Inefficient remote travel arrangements appear to be an issue across the NTPS." One might expect	AUS_07052019_INQ_2626.bt

Figure 4.9 Concordances of *remote*

4.2.3 Race Relations

The final theme to be discussed here is Race Relations. Under this heading, Table 4.2 shows a roughly equal number of keywords referencing positive and negative aspects of race relations in Australia. The most key positive term, *reconciliation*, is used exclusively in relation to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people(s), as Figure 4.10 demonstrates (duplicates removed). Ten usages refer to “Reconciliation Week”, 6 to reconciliation plans, 3 to different reconciliation-focused organisations and 2 to reconciliation events. The remaining 18 instances centre around what reconciliation “is” and “means”, as well as its nature as a “movement”, a “process” and a “cause” for which all instances seem to express support. The term *rightful* (Figure 4.11), encoding positive appraisal, is also used exclusively to advocate for affording Aboriginal people their “rightful place”. The majority of instances remain irrealis, expressed through infinitive, modal and negated constructions, indicating that equality is not yet a reality.

Likewise, all but one instance of *empower* refers to empowering Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people and communities (Figure 4.12), primarily through truth-telling, additional funding and constitutional and legislative change. Once again, the modal and infinitive constructions seen here reflect the irrealis status of this empowerment.

Name	Concordance	File
1	and to be celebrated for the rich offerings that await us. Mark Redmond is chief executive of Reconciliation Tasmania.	HOM_28052019_OPD_891.tb
2	2 Nations voice to the Australian Parliament in the constitution as a meaningful step towards reconciliation ." A "movement of the people", he said, has emerged to back the Uluru	SUA_16062019_OPN_498.tb
3	followed suit. And yesterday, a group of 14 major Australian organisations from the Elevate Reconciliation Action Plan issued a statement as a springboard for action. We are proud	SMH_30052019_OPN_845.tb
4	to make a genuine impact on my people and my workplace. We just launched our first Reconciliation Action Plan at Caltex and I've been a key part of the group getting that	AUS_17052019_732.tb
5	with indigenous people. Police Commissioner Chris Dawson will today launch his reconciliation action plan at a "Dandjoo" - a Noonung word for gathering - that brings	WEA_28052018_496.tb
6	through a council of elders may well help a university proclaim its formal commitment to reconciliation and associated policies. In our view, meaningful engagement with	AUS_24042019_HED_916.tb
7	after a successful vote. But some indigenous leaders, such as Tom Calma, co-chair of Reconciliation Australia , worry that a too vague proposal will not command majority	SMH_27052019_976.tb
8	voters saying if they'd known he was Aboriginal they wouldn't have voted for him." Today's Reconciliation breakfast in Perth will include business figures such as BHP's iron ore	AUS_31052019_INQ_2099.tb
9	from history itself. The idea of indigenous recognition seeks restoration in an exercise of reconciliation . But recognition walks a national fault line: history, race. These are things	AUS_13042019_2342.tb
10	needed and I fit set realistic priorities," he says. Innes says the roomful of people at today's Reconciliation event will be on his side. "He's a Nyongar man from Western Australia	AUS_31052019_INQ_2099.tb
11	a yes." "Wyatt says his speech today will begin by explaining "how along the way in my life, reconciliation has happened even though there was then no process". He will describe	AUS_31052019_INQ_2099.tb
12	history perpetuates a conspiracy of silence "but truth telling must be a process leading to reconciliation , healing and the ownership of our shared history". "If it is used to blame,	AUS_15062019_NAT_1197.tb
13	said. "What Senator Dodson is suggesting Labor will do if elected will set back the cause of reconciliation ." Indigenous academic Megan Davis said Senator Dodson's approach was	AUS_27042019_NAT_666.tb
14	an opportunity to reflect and act on the truth telling challenge that has been asked of us all . Reconciliation is the responsibility for all Australians, to listen, hear and open our eyes to	HOM_28052019_OPD_891.tb
15	the faith of Abernethy, who would bring speaking books to his house. "She epitomises what reconciliation is ; she taught me, she walked with me," he says. "Years later, she came	AUS_31052019_INQ_2099.tb
16	Mungo Lady, Dark Emu by Bruce Pascoe, The Biggest Estate on Earth by Bill Gammage). " Reconciliation means the reconciling of the two stories about what happened when	HOM_28052019_OPD_891.tb
17	Australia. "What we specifically honour and celebrate today is an extraordinary story of reconciliation ," Mr Wyatt will say, according to a copy of the speech he will deliver in front	AUS_15062019_NAT_1197.tb
18	Brad Pettitt to add the Nyongar name "Walyalup" to the port city's name as part of its reconciliation plan . "I would welcome any local government across this nation doing what	AUS_23052019_NAT_545.tb
19	to the "courage" shown by Mr Dawson in making the apology and moving to develop the reconciliation plan . "His apology was a game changer," Supt Wilkinson said. "I thought	WEA_28052018_496.tb
20	and traditions, and acknowledge their custodianship of our State," Mr Dawson said. " The reconciliation plan demonstrates it is a priority for us to build relationships and mutual	WEA_28052018_496.tb
21	Nations voice to the Australian Parliament in the constitution as a meaningful step towards reconciliation . Priority must be given to a voice that is co-designed by government and	AGE_30052019_OPN_856.tb
22	Week. The original choice had been Pat Dodson, invited to speak as the father of reconciliation rather than as Labor's aspirant for the job that Wyatt has since landed.	AUS_31052019_INQ_2099.tb
23	will give WA's roughly 180 Aboriginal police officers the opportunity to contribute to future reconciliation strategies . It will include the unveiling of an artwork by Aboriginal artist Barry	WEA_28052018_496.tb
24	and videos and developing social engagement campaigns involving health, education and employment. "We want to see how each of us can contribute to achieving	AUS_17052019_555.tb
25	and Torres Strait Islander peoples and explore how each of us can contribute to achieving reconciliation ." This year, the focus turned to advocacy for a referendum to "recognise"	SMH_06062019_OPN_678.tb
26	Dodson pulled out from today's event soon after Labor's May 18 election defeat, prompting Reconciliation WA co-chairwoman Carol Innes to pick up the phone to her friend Wyatt,	AUS_31052019_INQ_2099.tb
27	What a Reconciliation Week . Not only were we reconciling differences after a bruising election, but	CAN_31052019_OPN_602.tb
28	Wyatt. "Anna (Wyatt's historian wife) and I had been talking about the 1967 referendum and reconciliation week ." "The Prime Minister said: 'I'd like to offer you the opportunity to	AUS_31052019_INQ_2099.tb
29	supposed to be standing on the podium as keynote speaker marking the end of National Reconciliation Week . The original choice had been Pat Dodson, invited to speak as the	A

Figure 4.10 Concordances of *reconciliation*

N	Concordance	File
1	"First Nations Voice [to be] enshrined in the constitution") to "empower our people and take a rightful place in our own country." The communique of around 40 Indigenous leaders at the	BRS_26052019_1030.tbr
2	Statement from the Heart calls for "constitutional reforms to empower our people and take a rightful place in our own country. When we have power over our destiny our children will	SMH_29052019_OPN_793.tbr
3	"First Nations Voice [to be] enshrined in the constitution") to "empower our people and take a rightful place in our own country." The communique from around 40 Indigenous leaders at	SMH_27052019_976.tbr
4	Strat Islander leaders made a significant proposal for recognition of their community's "rightful place" in modern Australia. They called for a change to the constitution to create a	SMH_27052019_OPN_793.tbr
5	and advocacy by our ancestors who fought an existential battle so that we could take our rightful place in and on our own country. We are still here, still striving. Six months of	SMH_27052019_OPN_819.tbr
6	if Aboriginal warriors such as Marnalagarna, Walyer and Mosquito were given a rightful place in history as honourable men and women who fought bravely for their nations	HOM_27042019_OPN_880.tbr
7	in Blackdown in 1972, when Mr Whitlam said Aboriginal people had been "denied their rightful place in this nation". Its definition of sovereignty as a "spiritual notion" borrows	SMH_27052019_550.tbr
8	fairness and using the highest Australian law to empower our people so they can take their rightful place in the nation. We issued Uluru to the Australian people and not to the	SMH_27052019_OPN_998.tbr
9	rights Aṁä . "All of us as Australians are diminished while the Aborigines are denied their rightful place in this nation," he said. "We will abolish fees at universities and colleges of	AUS_17052019_NAT_809.tbr

Figure 4.11 Concordances of *rightful*

N	Concordance	File
1	in this referendum. On this occasion we are returning to the Australian people to ask them to empower us to make decisions about our own lives. The amendment to the constitution is	SMH_27052019_OPN_998.bt
2	for the constitution to include Aboriginal Australians in determinations of population, and to empower the federal Parliament to legislate specifically for First Australians. It then took a	SMH_31052019_OPN_761.bt
3	Territory Labor Government is restoring local decision making to Aboriginal communities to empower residents, because they should decide what is best for their community when it	NTN_18052019_WKd_1894.bt
4	forward together. The Uluru Statement from the Heart calls for "constitutional reforms to empower our people and take a rightful place in our own country. When we have power	SMH_29052019_OPN_793.bt
5	the law can also redeem. The Voice is about fairness and using the highest Australian law to empower our people so they can take their rightful place in the nation. We issued Uluru to	SMH_27052019_OPN_998.bt
6	the country. It issued a plea for a "First Nations Voice [to be] enshrined in the constitution" to " empower our people and take a rightful place in our own country". The communique from	SMH_27052019_976.bt
7	the country. It issued a plea for a "First Nations Voice [to be] enshrined in the constitution" to " empower our people and take a rightful place in our own country". The communique of	BRS_26052019_1030.bt
8	everyone is on the same path so I think it's more about helping provide meaningful ways to empower our people . Do you have any advice you would like to share with budding	AUS_17052019_732.bt
9	participation in a Makarrata Commission to oversee agreement making and truth telling can empower Indigenous and non-Indigenous people . It is critical we maintain the momentum	SMH_30052019_OPN_544.bt
10	of participation in Makarrata Commission to oversee agreement making and truth telling. It is critical we maintain the momentum of reforms aimed at doing what bureaucracy and politicians have been unable to do: empower Indigenous communities to take control of their future. The reforms known as	AGE_30052019_OPN_856.bt
11	than \$56 million with Indigenous businesses this financial year, and will further economically empower Indigenous people within and outside our business. We know we can and must	SMH_30052019_OPN_845.bt
12	businesses in the 2019 financial year, and we will push ahead to further economically empower Indigenous people within and outside our business. We know we can and must	AGE_30052019_OPN_856.bt

Figure 4.12 Concordances of *empower*

The two most key terms under the Negative Race Relations subtheme are *colonisation* and *intergenerational*. This is a noteworthy finding as previous studies have asserted that the colonial roots of the systemic disadvantage faced by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people(s) are ignored in coverage of issues and matters concerning them (Banerjee & Osuri, 2000; Due & Riggs, 2011; Meadows, 2000). While neither term is particularly widely dispersed – *colonisation* occurs in 13 texts, *intergenerational* in 9 – suggesting this is still a minor discourse, both acknowledge this historical reality. This again highlights the contribution of

methods which measure salience in statistical terms and are based on general rather than topic-specific dataset.

4.2.4 Unattested themes

As mentioned in Chapter 3, one of the advantages of corpus-based critical discourse analysis lies in the avoidance of ‘cherry-picked’ data and findings. The above analysis revealed cases where themes thought to be prominent in previous research are unattested in the keyword list. The first, perhaps most salient absence is the theme of violence (see §2.3.3). Aside from the keyword *massacre* – which refers to the March 2019 mosque shooting in Christchurch, which was carried out by a non-Aboriginal Australian – there are no keywords that relate to violence or crime in NCAN. Similarly, themes of failure and dysfunction (see §2.3.1 and §2.3.2) are absent from the keyword list. The one possible exception is the term *foster* for which a majority of instances refer to foster care of Indigenous children and youth. Concordances are shown in Figure 4.13 (duplicates removed).

N	Concordance	File
1	for advice. From two months to 18 years of age, Isaiah Dawe lived in a succession of 17 foster homes where he was subjected to daily physical and verbal abuse, racial slurs and	BRS_19042019_659.bt
2	slurs and neglect. "Isaiah, you are a nobody, and that's why your family abandoned you," a foster carer told him when he was seven. That continued for years. For the past four years	SMH_19042019_662.bt
3	towards non-Aboriginal foster carers and by extension, one assumes, against Aboriginal foster carers is indeed gravely concerning and demands an urgent response by the	CAN_10062019_OPN_1030.bt
4	An ACT foster family was told to perform an acknowledgement of country "regularly throughout the	CAN_26052019_SUN_600.bt
5	A damning report into the ACT foster system's treatment of Indigenous children has raised grave concerns about bias	CAN_10062019_OPN_1030.bt
6	youth work. Almost 40 per cent of Victorian young people living in out of home care - such as foster care, kinship or residential care - say they don't have a current caseworker. Only a	AGE_18042019_699.bt
7	of our own we felt there was always space for one more," Jack says. To be accepted as foster carers they underwent thorough background checks that they passed easily. After all	AGE_20042019_INS_1479.bt
8	they are a couple who, having drawn a lucky hand in life, decided to give back by becoming foster parents to help the disadvantaged. So this should be a happy yarn about a happy	AGE_20042019_INS_1479.bt
9	defending ourselves. "We are an ordinary family. We are law abiding. We truly believed foster care was something we should do." The school issued a half baked apology and after	AGE_20042019_INS_1479.bt
10	a revolving door of children coming and going, we received a phone call asking if we could foster a four week old baby girl. No other carers were able to assist as the baby girl was	CAN_19052019_SUN_606.bt
11	their home in "emergency action" in 2013. They were separated and put into three different foster homes, including one in NSW. The ACT's highest court ultimately found the decision	AUS_13042019_2342.bt
12	land with no home other than the one he would make here. I am a young man named Frank Foster born not 100 years after the British boats dropped anchor, huddled in the boat shed at	AUS_13042019_2342.bt
13	and violence that ravaged the First People of this land. I am John Grant and I am Frank Foster. I am the view from the ship and the view from the shore. This is my blessing and my	AUS_17052019_2321.bt
14	or as industry mentors as a strategy to share skills; some offer seed funding to help foster innovation and growth. When joint ventures are set up fairly and responsibly, they	BRS_19042019_659.bt
15	attended the launch - was taken and placed in a girls' home, while his mother also grew up in foster care. "This trauma has lasted four generations, and this is the generation when it will	BRS_19042019_659.bt
16	yourself will initially provide twice a week mentoring after school for eight indigenous youth in foster care. Aboriginal children account for 38 per cent of the 2157 children in care in NSW.	AGE_20042019_INS_1479.bt
17	with it and so starts our experience as alleged offenders. After all, it was an Aboriginal girl in foster care with ex police parents. What risk averse police wouldn't run with it?" Jack says.	AGE_18042019_699.bt
18	to - and a lack of opportunity for children to have a say in important decisions. Children in foster or kinship care had a more stable experience than those living in residential care or	SMH_27052019_OPN_793.bt
19	problems from incarceration rates to employment programs to the taking of children into foster care. The current Closing the Gap annual reports, the only formal accounting of	CAN_10062019_OPN_1030.bt
20	report of "apparent bias by ACT Together towards non-Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander foster carers" is indeed a matter of grave concern. "Apparent bias" has a fairly broad but	CAN_10062019_OPN_1030.bt
21	that: "The apparent bias of ACT Together towards non-Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander foster carers is cause for grave concern given the level of responsibility afforded to ACT	BRS_19042019_659.bt
22	they are not dead, or in hospital, there is nothing we can do". After being thrown out of his last foster home, Mr Dawe was fortunate to end his school career as a boarder at St Gregory's	CAN_10062019_OPN_1030.bt
23	not impartial. The finding by the Our Booris review of apparent bias towards non-Aboriginal foster carers and by extension, one assumes, against Aboriginal foster carers is indeed	BRS_19042019_659.bt
24	their family had abandoned them. "We were brainwashed," he said. He is highly critical of foster care. After his sister's fingers were smashed in a door, a neighbour complained. But a	CAN_09052019_750.bt
25	the care of children and young people to greater scrutiny and transparency, which can only foster greater community trust and confidence in the system. Other improvements to the	CAN_26052019_SUN_600.bt
26	connected to country and their community. However, just 35 care plans were provided to the foster or kinship family. There was just one case where a plan was developed in consultation	SMH_30052019_OPN_956.bt
27	, and to discourage them from sharing is to lose more of that culture ... we want to work to foster an attitude with clients of sharing and caring while also planning a future where they	DAT_25032019_OPD_724.bt
28	The Greens should consider how their toxic identity politics helps to foster hate The massacre of Muslims in Christchurch by a white Australian racist shield	

Figure 4.13 Concordances of *foster*

The issue of foster care carries with it an implication of family breakdown and many instances discuss problems in the system, as seen in lines 3, 11 and 24, for example. Finally, the topic of Indigenous health is absent from the keyword list, though in this case the current analysis confirms previous research that coverage issues of health in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander populations such as obesity or diabetes is limited (Bednarek, 2020; Islam & Fitzgerald, 2016).

The above keyword analysis has helped us investigate representation in terms of the dominant themes and Governance, Groups and Race Relations were found to be particularly prominent. In addition, I compared the themes identified in the keyword list to those in previous research. While the prominence of the topic of politics and the absence of the topic of health was consistent with the literature, the above analysis suggests that the salience of the topics of law enforcement and violence has been overstated (or has changed over time). Conversely, while previous research asserts that the context of colonisation in which the disadvantage faced by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people(s) is embedded is absent from media coverage of these issues, the above analysis identified some evidence that it is being discussed. As I pointed out in the course of this section, these differences are likely owing firstly to methodological limitations of previous research which does not analyse large representative datasets. Secondly, these differences may point to institutional change at the newsroom level or within society more generally, which is only brought to light by using recent data.

4.3 Terms of reference

In terms of the approaches outlined in Chapter 2, representation has so far been discussed in terms of coverage (§4.1) and themes (§4.2). The final feature to be studied in this chapter is the terms of reference that are used in relation to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people(s), analysed using a wordlist and concordances. As outlined in Chapter 1, individual preferences for reference terms differ and it is therefore always preferable to seek guidance from the person(s) in question. However, some guidelines for best practice are generally agreed upon, namely, a) use of *Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander*, *First Nations* or, in some cases, *Indigenous*, with the former being most preferred, b) eschewal of the term *Aborigine(s)* and c) capitalisation in all instances. It is important, then, to investigate how consistently these guidelines are applied across the corpus and within individual newspapers. Like newspaper-specific style guides (the impact of which is discussed further below), these language guides constitute “regulatory texts” (van Leeuwen, 2005, p. 83) which inform us on the “semiotic rules” (van Leeuwen, 2005, p. 47) in place. Having been published and circulated prior to the period covered by the corpus, they form an important part of the socio-cultural context which mediates text production.

4.3.1 Reference terms in NCAN

A wordlist was first generated for NCAN, using Wordsmith, and then sorted alphabetically to identify single-word terms used to refer to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people(s), groups, organisations, and so on. The concordancing tool within Wordsmith also identifies frequent clusters; these were consulted to identify multi-word terms such as *Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander*. The terms and their frequencies are listed in Tables 4.3.

Table 4.3. Terms of reference in NCAN	
Term of reference	Tokens
ABORIGINAL	715 ¹⁷
ABORIGINAL AND TORRES STRAIT ISLANDER	146
ABORIGINAL AND/OR TORRES STRAIT ISLANDER	6
ABORIGINAL OR TORRES STRAIT ISLANDER	3
ABORIGINALS	2
ABORIGINES	40
INDIGENES	1
INDIGENOUS	805
FIRST AUSTRALIANS	6
FIRST NATIONS	57
FIRST PEOPLE	11
FIRST PEOPLES	27
FIRST PEOPLE'S	2
TOTAL	1821

I also used the concordancer to identify any instances of Indigenous nation and language group names by searching for terms which were likely to co-occur with these names; these were *woman, man, person, people, language, clan, band, mob, nation, community, communities, country, land, heritage* and *ancestry*. The returned concordance lines were sorted

¹⁷ In calculating token frequencies, hyphens separated words, such that *non-Aboriginal* is not counted as an instance of *Aboriginal*, and apostrophes were treated as characters so as to capture forms such as *Aboriginal's*, none of which occurred. The total of 715 does not include other forms which include the word *Aboriginal* such as *Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander*. It does include one instance of *Aborginal* which is taken to be a typo and therefore included in the count.

alphabetically one and two places to the left to highlight premodifiers, and lines that did not include an Indigenous tribe or language group name were manually deleted. A total of 88 instances of 37 such group names were found; *Martu*, *Wiradjuri*, *Yindjibarndi* and *Yolngu* are among the most numerous. (Conversely, *Noongar/Nyoongar* is also common but is not always appropriate (MDA, 2018)). Though a full analysis is not possible here, this is significant and differs from Bednarek's (2020) findings from (health) news data published prior to the publication of the guidelines, therefore indicating a potential impact of these guidelines on journalism practice.

According to the table, despite not being used as a search term to compile the corpus, *Indigenous* is the most used term of reference (with 805 tokens), followed by *Aboriginal* (715 tokens) and *Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander* (146 tokens). Another preferred term, *Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander*, is in a marked minority with just 6 tokens. The strongly dispreferred term *Aborigines* occurs 40 times, and in 23 separate articles. Some of these instances are likely to include historical reference, a question I return to below. However, given that the various guidelines are so clear about the negative effects of this term, its prevalence in the corpus is problematic. The term *indigenes* – of which there is only one instance in NCAN – is not discussed in any of the guidelines cited in this study, but given its similarity to *Aborigines* in terms of past usage, it is also probably best avoided.

Given its relative novelty, the term *First Nations* is well represented with 57 tokens. Additionally, the dispreferred singular form *First Nation* did not occur in reference to Indigenous people(s) or groups. The picture is not so positive when it comes to other related terms, however. While the plural form *First Peoples* is in the majority, there are also 11 instances of *First People* which refer to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander groups. Singular forms, such as *First People* and *First Nation*, are dispreferred because they imply that First Nations peoples and cultures are homogenous (PHAA, 2017). The term *First Australians* – of which there are 6 instances – is also sometimes considered problematic, because the notion of citizenship was only introduced after colonisation.¹⁸ In sum, the guidelines are applied

¹⁸ See <https://www.commonground.org.au/learn/aboriginal-or-indigenous> and <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2017-12-01/who-identifies-as-poc-in-australia/9200288> for discussion of this concern.

inconsistently. While the most preferred terms are, in general, the most frequent in the corpus, the more problematic terms and forms are still relatively common, even as recently as in 2019.

As mentioned above, the term *Aborigines* is considered by many Aboriginal people to be particularly offensive because “Historically, it has been used in racist contexts as a derogatory term to belittle or objectify Indigenous people” (MDA, 2018, p. 5). Given this historical usage, it is important to determine whether the tokens in NCAN are also historical or whether they “originate in the institutional voice of the newspaper” (Bednarek, 2020, p. 7). Analysis of the concordance lines for instances of *Aborigines* reveals that just 18% of instances are truly historical in that they form part of the name of former organisations, government bodies or legislation, or of direct quotations, and as such are somewhat beyond editorial control. The newspaper could opt to include an editorial comment on the language, but none do. The below concordance lines exemplify such historical usages.

- (1) Bodies such as the Federal Council for the Advancement of *Aborigines* and Torres Strait Islanders were highly active in the years before the change, and helped fuel the rapid rise in interest in Aboriginal affairs in the late 1950s and early 1960s. (AGE_01062019_INS_1543.txt)
- (2) "We will legislate to give *Aborigines* land rights; all of us as Australians are diminished while the *Aborigines* are denied their rightful place in this nation," he said. (AUS_17052019_NAT_809.txt)

The first example refers to the Federal Council for the Advancement of Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders which operated from 1958-1978; the second example is a direct quote by Gough Whitlam. A further 20% of instances are used in describing past events, such as:

- (3) ...*Aborigines* settled on outstations on tribal territories as the old mission system was wound down and indigenous people attempted to revive traditional language... (CRM_01062019_859.txt)
- (4) What about the French meeting with *Aborigines* at Recherche Bay or Abel Tasman sighting and naming Van Diemen's Land in 1694? (HOM_28052019_OPD_891.txt)

In these cases, the events described occurred at times in history when the dispreferred term might have been the norm within source materials. Nonetheless, the instances form part of the editorial voice, and the preferred term *Aboriginal people(s)* could – and should – have

been used instead. The remaining 63% of instances are current usages, referring to Aboriginal people(s) in relation to recent events. The following concordance lines demonstrate:

- (5) *Aborigines* believe they are paths their ancestors walked; in this case from Mt Coot-Tha to the Brisbane River at Toowong. (BRS_03042019_715.txt)
- (6) QUT students argued computer rooms reserved for *Aborigines* was segregation. (DAT_13052019_OPD_698.txt)

These instances are likewise in the institutional voice of the respective newspaper, and in (6), among others, in the voice of an editor themselves. The term appears in 9 of the 12 newspapers; only the *Canberra Times*, *Herald Sun* and *The West Australian* do not use it. It occurs in broadsheets and tabloids, and in left- and right-leaning newspapers alike. Once again, the advice to avoid this term is applied broadly, in that instances of *Aborigine* constitute only 2% of total references to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people(s) in the corpus. It is, however, evidently applied inconsistently.

4.3.2 Capitalisation

Finally, the guidelines are unanimous in recommending that all instances of *Aboriginal*, *Torres Strait Islander*, *Indigenous* and *First Nations* be capitalised as a mark of respect. In order to test whether this is the case in NCAN, a case sensitive wordlist and cluster list were generated and sorted alphabetically in the same manner as above. It was determined that all instances of both *Aboriginal* and(/or) *Torres Strait Islander* and *First Nations* in the corpus are capitalised. Similarly, the vast majority of instances of *Aboriginal* are capitalised, with only four instances of *aboriginal*; two in the *Brisbane Times* and two in the *Canberra Times* (total un/capitalised instances for each newspaper can be found in Appendix 4). In both cases these occur within a single article (BRS_21052019_710.txt and CAN_29052019_1407.txt respectively). The two instances in the *Canberra Times* occur in a quotation of Section 51 of the constitution, which was removed following the 1967 referendum, meaning they are examples of historical usage. The instances in the *Brisbane Times* article, though current, are likewise attributed to an external source via a direct quote. It is not clear from the extended co-text whether the quote was reproduced directly from a written press release or transcribed by the author from speech and, therefore, whether the newspaper had full editorial control. It does bear noting that all six further mentions of *Aboriginal* within the article are capitalised. Regardless, a total of two non-historical instances across the whole corpus, and just 0.2% of total instances of *Aboriginal*, shows encouraging consistency.

On the other hand, capitalisation of *Indigenous* (Table 4.4) is less consistent. Only 58.1% of instances of *Indigenous* are capitalised, confirming a trend identified by Bednarek (2020) in her analysis of health news reporting.

Table 4.4. Capitalisation of <i>Indigenous</i>			
Newspaper	Capitalised	Uncapitalised	Total
<i>The Advertiser</i>	0	10	10
<i>The Age</i>	87	1	88
<i>The Australian</i>	17	216	233
<i>Brisbane Times</i>	62	2	64
<i>Canberra Times</i>	82	7	89
<i>Courier Mail</i>	16	36	52
<i>The Daily Telegraph</i>	0	20	20
<i>Herald Sun</i>	2	20	22
<i>Hobart Mercury</i>	8	1	9
<i>Northern Territory News</i>	6	9	15
<i>Sydney Morning Herald</i>	192	4	196
<i>The West Australian</i>	1	3	4
Total	466	336	802

When these figures are represented as percentages of capitalised tokens for each newspaper, the effect is even more pronounced, as Figures 4.14 (showing left-leaning newspapers) and 4.15 (showing right-leaning newspapers) demonstrate. In all four left-leaning publications, capitalisation is well above 90%. In right-leaning publications, capitalisation ranges from 40% in the *Northern Territory News* to 0% in *The Advertiser* and *The Daily Telegraph*.

Conventions around issues such as capitalisation are often governed by a house style guide. The Fairfax Media Style Guide (2010) indeed directs journalists to capitalise both *Aboriginal* and *Torres Strait Islander* and *Indigenous*, which goes some way to explaining the high degree of consistency seen in those publications. News Corp, on the other hand, has faced criticism of its guidelines on language regarding Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander identities

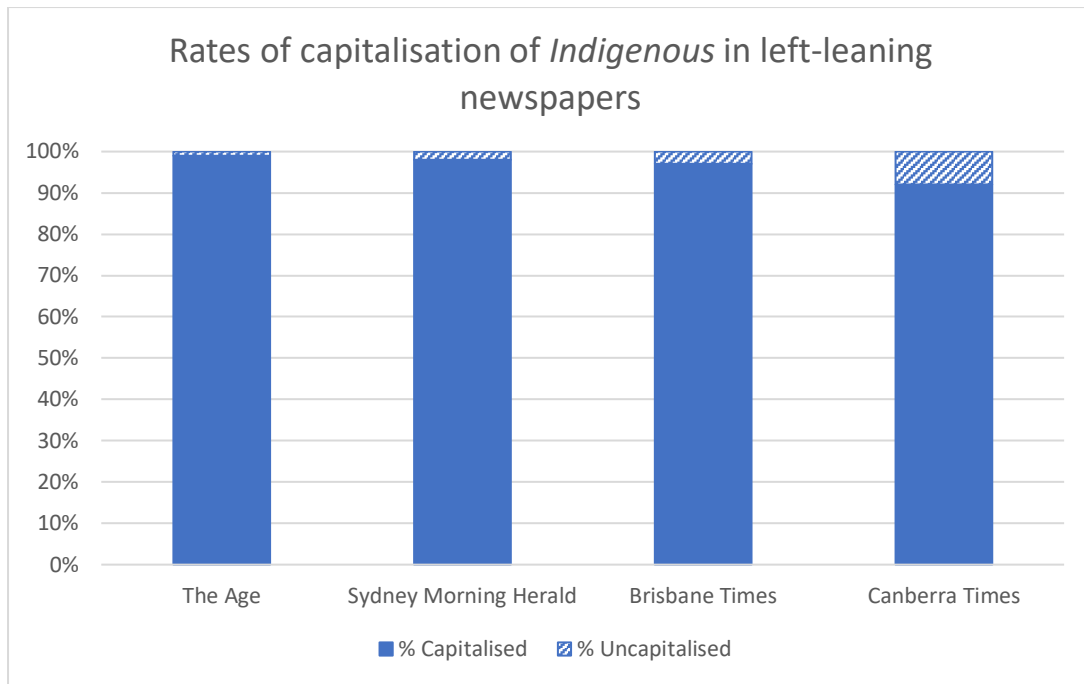


Figure 4.14 Percentages of capitalised tokens of *Indigenous* in NCAN

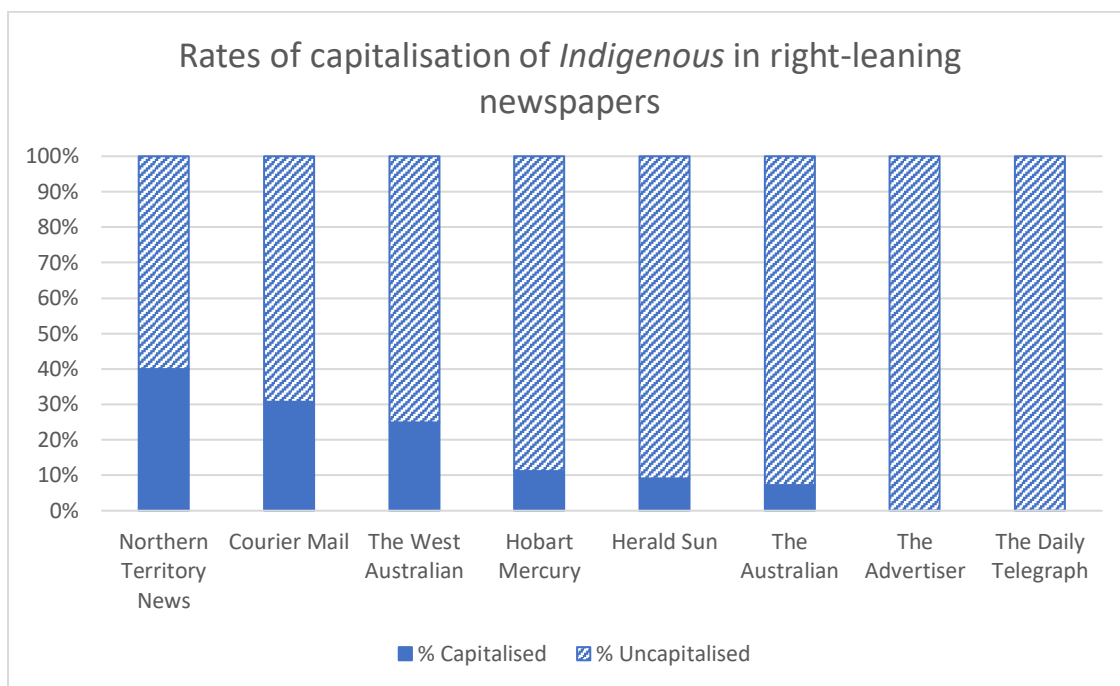


Figure 4.15 Percentage of capitalised tokens of *Indigenous* in NCAN

(Burton-Bradley, 2018). In general, whether or not a token is capitalised depends on a range of factors beyond just political orientation. For example, references to indigenous people(s) of other countries, or to flora or fauna generally attract a lower case *i*, while names of organisations are universally capitalised. In NCAN, however, these usages account for only

two instances of uncapitalised *indigenous*, in SMH_18042019_OPN_686.txt and SMH_31052019_OPN_703.txt respectively. These trends indicate that a house style is indeed influential in journalistic practice and suggests an area for improvement for individual newspapers, especially right-leaning ones.

4.4 Summary

Since this is the first study to analyse a broad cross-section of newspaper coverage of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people(s), issues and matters using corpus-based CDA methods, the contribution of this chapter is two-fold. Firstly, it has served to systematically analyse NCAN and in doing so, to identify patterns in the representation that these matters are afforded by Australian newspapers; coverage, themes and terms of reference were all covered in this analysis (research question 1). Secondly, this chapter analysed the relationship between the texts in NCAN and their organisational contexts along the discourse practice dimension of Fairclough's framework to identify a number of norms and practices in print media in Australia which influence this degree of coverage (research question 2).

These results suggest that news coverage of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people(s) and matters remains inconsistent. While §4.1 showed that newspaper initiatives and activism by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people(s) and groups both have an important role to play in increasing coverage of relevant stories, §4.2 highlighted that greater presence of Indigenous people(s) in a particular state or territory does not necessarily translate to greater presence within newspaper coverage. If the coverage of Aboriginal people(s) and issues is to accurately represent them, newspapers in areas with large Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander populations would do well to increase coverage. §4.3 demonstrated that a broadsheet newspaper type was a stronger indicator for a high level of coverage than political orientation. It was also suggested that employing an Indigenous affairs correspondent can help foster an organisational culture which prioritises coverage of Aboriginal issues. Prominent themes of Governance, Groups and Race Relations were identified in §4.4, while Indigenous health – a present and major challenge facing Australia – was absent, findings which deepen our understanding of the kinds of stories that are selected for production at the institutional level. Finally, §4.5 investigated trends in the terms of reference used to refer to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people(s). While the most preferred terms are generally the most frequent across the corpus, use of dispreferred terms and forms persists. In this area, the right/left-leaning

distinction was relevant, with left-leaning newspapers performing significantly better than right-leaning newspapers. Media guidelines, including style guides, were also identified as influential, but not fully deterministic of language use.

Together, these findings constitute an important contribution to Australian corpus-based critical discourse analysis, extending our knowledge of these aspects of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander representation and highlighting additional solutions to the social problems of representation highlighted by Indigenous leaders. The findings also have important implications for journalistic practice, as well as journalism pedagogy. I close by noting that the amount of coverage alone does not determine that the representation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people(s), issues and matters is positive. As noted in Chapter 2, representation also involves how people and groups are portrayed in addition to how visible they are, and articles may still present ideologically problematic views and discourses. An analysis of the discursive construction of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people(s) is undertaken in the next chapter.

Chapter 5

Discourses and their construction

While Chapter 4 analysed representation in terms of coverage, themes and terms of reference and addressed research question 1 by uncovering how these aspects pattern across the corpus, I have not yet analysed discourses (research question 2). This chapter uses collocation to do so. Collocation analysis provides information “about the most frequent or salient ideas associated with a word” (Gabrielatos & Baker, 2008, p. 10) and can therefore offer insights into the discourses which surround Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people(s) and issues in NCAN, as well as suggesting how they are constructed linguistically. For the latter type of analysis, this chapter continues to draw on Appraisal analysis where appropriate, but also includes analysis of agency in the construction of one major discourse. The linguistic framework used will be introduced where relevant in §5.2.2. In other cases, the analysis focuses on describing trends in language use more generally, as often the practice in corpus-based critical discourse analysis.

First, a list of collocates was generated in Wordsmith, taking *Aboriginal* as the search term; 72 collocates were returned (a full list is available in Appendix 5).¹⁹ In the same manner as the keyword analysis, the concordances were randomly down-sampled to 25 lines and used to identify majority usages; in total 824 concordance lines were analysed. Based on this analysis, the collocates were categorised into the series of themes shown in Table 5.1 below. While the keywords analysis offered insight into themes in the corpus texts overall (regardless of where exactly the words occur), a collocation analysis provides insights into the text directly surrounding the word *Aboriginal*. As a reminder, we are here considering the words that co-occur within a span of five words to the left and right of the search term (see Chapter 3). Some overlap between keywords and collocates is necessarily expected, however, and will be discussed below.

¹⁹ In contrast to the keyword analysis above, in which the effect size measure was used to produce the final ranking of keywords, here the statistical significance measure, log-likelihood, was chosen. This helps maximise our confidence that the co-occurrence of the terms is not due to chance and that the collocates identified – and the discourses they construct – are significant within the corpus.

Table 5.1 Collocates of <i>Aboriginal</i> in NCAN			
			Total Types
Groups			
	General	<i>people, peoples, leaders, women, children, community, communities, carers, groups, remote, region, residents</i>	19
	Ethnic	<i>Torres, Strait, Islander, Islanders, European, person, population</i>	
Governance			
	Government	<i>affairs, Burney, peak, director, nation's, minister, department</i>	15
	Law	<i>licensing, declared, owners, agreement, recognition, laws</i>	
	Law Enforcement	<i>officers, police</i>	
Business		<i>corporation, controlled, businesses, organisations, owned, owners[†], organisation, employment, executive, business, training</i>	11
Health and Welfare		<i>health, legal, service, medical, problems, rate, responsibility, strategy, protect, living</i>	10
Cooperation		<i>partnerships, division, consultation, relationship, with, between</i>	6
Culture		<i>flag, heritage, artists, clothing, cultural, stories</i>	6
Other		<i>hand, move, using, trying, many, among</i>	6
Total			72

As the table demonstrates, six themes emerge: Groups, Governance, Business, Culture, Cooperation and Health and Welfare. Some overlap with keywords is evident in that Groups

and Governance are again dominant both in terms of the number of collocates they include and their relative significance. Because both themes were discussed in the previous chapter, I do not undertake an in-depth analysis here. I will, however, describe all six themes broadly and identify some of the more interesting insights, before turning to qualitative analysis of Business and Cooperation.

Beginning with Groups, a number of concepts which appeared under this theme in Chapter 4 are also seen here; these include *people/peoples*, *community/communities*, locative groupings (eg. keywords *towns* and *remote* and collocates *remote*, *region* and *residents*), community leaders (*elder* and *elders* are keywords, while *leader* is a collocate) and familial relationships (keyword *grandmother* and collocate *children*). This semantic overlap suggests that the theme of Groups which was found to be prominent in NCAN does arise in relation to Aboriginal (and Torres Strait Islander) people(s). Grouping people according to Indigenous identities also occurs here, under Ethnic Groups, as well as in the keyword list; the terms *Torres*, *Strait*, *Islander* and *Islanders* are all common to both lists.

The theme of Governance also shows some conceptual overlap with the results of the keyword analysis. Both returned terms which reference aspects of Government and Law. Under Government, the collocates *Burney* (which refers to Linda Burney, the first Aboriginal woman elected to the House of Representatives) and *minister* echo the prominence of politicians as elite sources seen above, particularly those with Aboriginal ancestry. Similarly, *affairs* is common to both lists, suggesting that Aboriginal affairs are regularly discussed. However, under Law, the majority of keywords focused on aspects of constitutional recognition, while the collocates refer to licensing law (eg. *licensing* and *agreement*) and traditional land ownership (eg. Aboriginal *declared* land and traditional *owners*).

The third theme is that of Business, which is less lexically rich than Governance (with 11 related collocates compared to 15) but slightly more prominent in terms of significance, with the collocates achieving an average log-likelihood score of 14.79 compared to 13.45 for Governance. Because this theme is not identified in the literature, and is therefore an unexpected finding, I return to a full discussion below. It likely arises at least partially from the articles in *The Australian* accompanying its special issue of the magazine *The Deal* on Indigenous business that were identified through the analysis of ‘spikes’ in Chapter 4.

The final three themes – Culture, Health and Welfare and Cooperation – each have fewer than 10 related collocates. Culture is the most significant of the three, with an average log-likelihood score of 23.21 for relevant collocates. This is largely owing to the term *flag*, which has a log-likelihood score of 72.72 and relates to a single widely publicised story regarding the trademarking of the Aboriginal flag by a non-Aboriginal clothing company. Given the content of the corpus, it is not particularly surprising that discussions of Aboriginal culture should arise and, as such, this theme is not analysed further. Similarly, because Health and Welfare is not particularly lexically rich and has already been the subject of a number of studies (see §2.3.1) it will not be discussed here either. The remaining theme of Cooperation, however, did not arise in the keyword analysis and is somewhat antithetical to many of the discourses identified in previous research, namely failure, dysfunction and crime (see §2.3). This theme, along with Business, are discussed in the following sections; Business in §5.1 and Cooperation in 5.2.

5.1 Business

5.1.1 Synonyms of ‘business’

As identified in Table 5.1, this theme groups 11 collocates, five of which are near synonyms (and their plurals) for ‘business’, including *Corporation*, *businesses*, *organisations*, *organisation* and *business*. Whether the businesses being discussed are owned or controlled by Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander people(s) is of interest. I am also attentive, in this section, to whether any appraisal of these businesses and initiatives is positive or negative, and whether their circumstances are positioned as positive or characterised by deficit.

Beginning with the most statistically significant collocate, *corporation*, the concordances reveal that all 17 instances refer to Aboriginal owned or controlled corporations. A majority of these are traditional owner corporations which manage the lands awarded in a Native Title determinations, such as Olkola Corporation (AUS_27052019_NAT_552.txt) and Ang-Gnarra Aboriginal Corporation (CRM_08062019_1273.txt). Other corporations provide essential services to remote communities, such as Mutitjulu’s Community Aboriginal Corporation (SUA_09062019_1487.txt). Extended concordances reveal that close to half of the instances of *corporation* are used to introduce a representative of the named corporation who is used a source on some other issue such as government-mandated dry zones

(NTN_15052019_97.txt) or tourism in Queensland (CRM_0862019_1273.txt). (This also constitutes the majority of uses of the collocate *executive*.) Notably, this perspective is often articulated by an Aboriginal person, which is noteworthy given the findings that Aboriginal voices are underrepresented (§2.2).

The second most significant synonym is *businesses*, which occurs 13 times. As with *corporation*, all instances refer to Aboriginal owned businesses. Constructions include “*Aboriginal businesses*”, “*Aboriginal people DO X in their businesses*”, “*Aboriginal owners of [...] businesses*” and so on. The concordances show, in contrast to *corporation*, that these businesses are the topic of discussion and appraisal is much more frequent (lexis registering appraisal is hereafter shown underlined). One instance positively appraises Aboriginal business practices: “...Aboriginal **businesses** will naturally employ *Aboriginal* people. It’s a win-win for us” (AUS_17052019_2321.txt). The remainder of appraisal resources – which occur in 9 of the 13 lines – register negative evaluations of challenges faced by the businesses. This is primarily achieved through negative affect (i.e. emotion terms) attributed to Aboriginal business owners, for example:

- (7) We’re all bewildered at the moment, trying to figure out why Aboriginal people should not use the *Aboriginal* flag in their **businesses**. (SMH_12062019_667.txt)
- (8) The *Aboriginal* owners of two clothing **businesses** are shocked after receiving legal letters demanding they stop using the Aboriginal flag on their merchandise... (BRS_11062019_744.txt)

Alternatively, the challenges themselves are negatively appraised, as demonstrated in the following two examples:

- (9) The IPP is certainly creating opportunities for *Aboriginal* people and **businesses**, but it’s certainly getting a lot of people’s noses out of joint too[...] (AUS_17052019_2321.txt)
- (10) Blaze Kwaymullina has seen the horror stories that have plagued many *Aboriginal businesses* trying to gain a foothold in the resources industry. (AUS_17052019_694.txt)

Aboriginal businesses, although being covered, are therefore constructed as facing significant difficulty.

Uses of the related, and less significant, collocate *business* (shown in Figure 5.1) are slightly more varied. Of 9 instances, 5 reference Aboriginal owned businesses (lines 1-3, 8 and

9). Three further lines refer to business as a general concept (eg. line 6 in which Aboriginal engagement is described as “everyday **business**”). The remaining instance in line 7 refers to another challenge faced by Aboriginal owned businesses, that of “black cladding”, the practice of non-Aboriginal owned or controlled businesses “seeking out Aboriginal partners, figureheads and front men/women to present their business as an Aboriginal organisation” (AUS_17052019_2321.txt). The practice receives strong negative appraisal in the following clause attributed to the author, Kristy Masella, “a Murri woman who has worked in Aboriginal affairs for 25 years” (ibid): “It makes me ill to watch”.

N	Concordance	File
1	started selling boomerangs 25 years ago and has grown into a commercial business that works with Aboriginal artists to sell fabric products all over the world. "I just don't know what to believe - I thought as	BRS_11062019_744.bt
2	started selling boomerangs 25 years ago and has grown into a commercial business that works with Aboriginal artists to sell fabric products all over the world. "I just don't know what to believe - I thought as	AGE_12062019_532.bt
3	started selling boomerangs 25 years ago and has grown into a commercial business that works with Aboriginal artists to sell fabric products all over the world. "I just don't know what to believe - I thought as	SMH_12062019_667.bt
4	there are around 57 different agencies and groups responsible for northern Australian business - that's not Aboriginal business only, it's mainstream business as well. We need to streamline that, and the	AUS_17052019_2321.bt
5	artwork and plaques will also be displayed at specific police facilities, officers will make more visits to Aboriginal communities and a business case will be undertaken for increasing understanding of	WEA_28052018_496.bt
6	views on that, but what's not up for debate is it's pretty clear in all the mining and oil and gas sector that Aboriginal engagement is considered everyday business ," he says. "If you're out of step with that, you	AUS_17052019_694.bt
7	seeking out token Aboriginal partners, figureheads and front men/women to present their business as an Aboriginal organisation - " black cladding ". It makes me ill to watch mainstream businesses sniffing out	AUS_17052019_2321.bt
8	were made in Indonesia, the court found. Clothing the Gap is part of Spark Health Australia, an Aboriginal owned business that runs health and wellbeing programs for the Indigenous community in	BRS_11062019_744.bt
9	were actually made in Indonesia, the court found. Clothing the Gap is part of Spark Health Australia, an Aboriginal owned business that runs health and wellbeing programs for the Indigenous community in	SMH_12062019_667.bt

Figure 5.1. *Aboriginal + business* concordances

The final near synonyms of ‘business’ are *organisation* and *organisations*, which occur 6 and 9 times respectively. Concordances of *organisation* are shown in Figure 5.2. Aside from line 5, the instances of *organisation* do not contribute significantly to the Business theme.²⁰

N	Concordance	File
1	will co-chair the first meeting of the joint council alongside Pat Turner, the chief executive of the National Aboriginal Community Controlled Health Organisation and on behalf of the Coalition of Peaks. "The	AUS_27032019_NAT_542.bt
2	is uppermost in many Aboriginal leaders' minds. Closing the Gap is another urgent priority. National Aboriginal Community Controlled Health Organisation head Pat Turner has welcomed Wyatt's	AUS_31052019_INQ_2069.bt
3	do. A central tenet of the principles is the need to ensure that the Aboriginal community, and specifically an Aboriginal community controlled organisation , is involved in all decisions affecting an Aboriginal child in	CAN_10062019_OPN_1030.bt
4	seeking out token Aboriginal partners, figureheads and front men/women to present their business as an Aboriginal organisation - " black cladding ". It makes me ill to watch mainstream businesses sniffing out	AUS_17052019_2321.bt
5	Treasurer, Deputy Premier and minister for indigenous partnerships, Jackie Trad, met with an Aboriginal organisation , Oikola Corporation , to discuss mining bans on its land. Trad said she was	AUS_27052019_COM_772.bt
6	plan, the highest across all states. Last year Victoria adopted an approach that enables the head of an Aboriginal organisation to assume full legal responsibility for an Aboriginal child, with the aim of providing	AGE_18042019_699.bt

Figure 5.2. *Aboriginal + organisation* concordances

The majority of concordances of *organisations*, on the other hand, do demonstrate sustained discussion of Aboriginal controlled business; these are shown in Figure 5.3 below. Three lines describe challenges faced by the organisations: black cladding (line 9), bullying by non-Aboriginal companies (line 6) and funding cuts (line 4). These contexts of negativity are counterbalanced by 5 instances of solutions, namely additional “long-term” funding from the government (lines 1-3, 5 and 9). However, it is worth noting that the guidelines recommend that in order to counter deficit discourses, the strengths of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities be reflected in the language used to talk about them (PHAA, 2017; RA, n.d.).

²⁰ Two instances name the National Aboriginal Community Controlled Health Organisation in discussing a forum on Closing the Gap, contributing to a discussion of welfare, rather than business (lines 1 and 2). Line 4 was already discussed above in relation to the practice of ‘black cladding’. Lines 3 and 6 describe solutions to concerns around foster care, again, more in relation to Health and Welfare than to Business.

N	Concordance	File
1	The Morrison government is funding a coalition of peak Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander organisations "to change the way governments and indigenous	AUS_27032019_NAT_542.txt
2	governments can take," she said. Ms Espinosa urged the state government to work in partnership with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander organisations to implement a number of reforms, including	CAN_28032019_498.txt
3	governments can take," she said. Ms Espinosa urged the state government to work in partnership with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander organisations to implement a number of reforms, including	SMH_28032019_533.txt
4	ongoing training to CYPSS staff on culture and unconscious bias. More funding should also be provided to Aboriginal community controlled organisations to provide early support to families. Further, we believe	CAN_09052019_750.txt
5	"Our communities see our services as being crucial in their lives and when we've seen the demise of many Aboriginal community controlled organisations by this government with the reduction of funding, we are	CAN_10042019_559.txt
6	people. It's a win win for us. It's also been interesting to watch the other side of the story ... the dark side: Aboriginal organisations being bullied into joint ventures or one sided "partnerships" because	AUS_17052019_2321.txt
7	walked this country for millennia. On that timeline, 250 years is such a short part. Local government, local Aboriginal organisations, settler and convict descendants and recently arrived peoples are all wanting to	HOM_26052019_OPD_891.txt
8	the high rates of incarceration, funding for rehabilitation and reintegration programs should be allocated to Aboriginal owned and led organisations. As Aboriginal people, we know what our communities need. We	AGE_01062019_OPN_555.txt
9	solutions to the scale needed to hit government targets; mainstream organisations seeking out token Aboriginal partners, figureheads and front men/women to present their business as an Aboriginal	AUS_17052019_2321.txt

Figure 5.3. *Aboriginal + organisations* concordances

Discussion of the solution of additional funding may be preferable to a discussion of the issues only. However, as a solution, it originates in the government, i.e. outside the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities concerned and does not reflect their strengths or resilience.

5.1.2 Other collocates

Of the remaining collocates, three are semantically related: *controlled*, *owned* and *owners*. Five of 6 instances of *controlled* occur in relation to Aboriginal controlled businesses and one to an area of land that is "controlled by...Aboriginal culture" (SMH_01062019_2264.txt). Five of 6 instances of *owned* discuss Aboriginal owned businesses and one refers to "Aboriginal owned land" (NTN_12062019_BUS_643.txt). Similarly, 4 instances of *owners* refer to the "Aboriginal owners of two clothing businesses" who were told to stop using the Aboriginal flag on their products due to copyright infringement. The remaining 5 instances contribute to the theme of Law – and, as such, *owners* was double classified – because they refer to the traditional owners of land, a designation that is awarded under Native Title legislation.²¹

The final two collocates captured under this theme are *employment* and *training*. Four instances of *employment* occur in naming the recruitment company Aboriginal Employment Strategy which is (implicitly) positively appraised as "the nation's largest" (AUS_17052019_51.txt) and "encourag[ing] Indigenous women into construction and engineering careers" (SMH_24042019_553.txt). Two further positive constructions occur:

- (11) They exceeded their goal for *Aboriginal employment* hours by something like five times... (AUS_17052019_1444.txt)
- (12) Coles said it sought guidance from *Aboriginal employment* specialists big and small... (AUS_24062019_525.txt).

The remaining 3 instances register negative circumstances:

²¹ In these cases, the capitalist nature of Native Title determinations is rendered explicit, but it bears mentioning that the notion of land ownership in and of itself is a Western, capitalist concept (Rigsby, 1999). As such, we can think of even the instances of the term *owners* which refer to traditional land ownership as implicitly reinforcing a capitalist discourse of Business.

- (13) 2 instances of ‘an impediment to *Aboriginal employment*’ and to the development of infrastructure (AUS_17052019_2321.txt and AUS_17052019_BUS_606.txt)
- (14) ...don’t have the experience...to deliver *Aboriginal employment* solutions to the scale required... (AUS_17052019_2321.txt)

The uses of *training* are also mixed, two duplicate lines lament that “the rate of **training** of *Aboriginal* people...[is] still not good” (AUS_17052019_2321.txt and AUS_17052019_BUS_606.txt), while two name Aboriginal people who have received training (SMH_24042019_553.txt and AUS_17052019_1444.txt) and one notes future investment (NTN_12062019_BUS_643.txt). It seems then that the representation of Aboriginal employment and training is perhaps more balanced than other discussions under this theme.

In sum, the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people being referred to in this section are indeed discussed as business owners (rather than customers etc.) constructing them as economically successful. As the dedicated issue of *The Deal* would suggest, this is a status that is viewed positively by news outlets. Indeed, *The Deal* editor, Helen Trinca, describes First Nations business owners as “Not so much good news stories as GREAT news stories” (Trinca, 2020), suggesting that stories which reproduce this idea are selected for publication at the discourse practice level. Moreover, significant column space is dedicated to highlighting and negatively appraising the challenges Indigenous business owners face. However, in only a small minority of cases are concrete solutions presented, and these amount to additional funding from the government rather than solutions from Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people(s). The literature review identified that cost to the taxpayer is a recurrent and problematic theme in coverage of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people(s) and issues and, as such, the focus on aid from the government, and the implication that Indigenous people(s) are in need of help, does not adhere to the recommended “strength-based approach” (Bednarek, 2020, p. 18; RA, n.d., p. 2) or to the following recommendation by FreeTV Australia (n.d.):

“Balanced portrayal is particularly important when the reports or programs deal with negative aspects of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples’ lives. Descriptions of problems should, where possible, be balanced by details of efforts being made by the people themselves to resolve them.”

Additionally, while a discourse of economic success is a positive finding in that it challenges the deficit discourse of economic failure identified in §2.3.2, it is imperative that this is not the only type of Indigenous “contribution” (RA, n.d) that is publicised. As Stan Grant states: “Individual academic or economic achievement is not the only measurement of success. Keeping our culture, languages, kinship alive is essential to who we are” (2020). To focus on economic success at the expense of other positive stories risks reinforcing the notion that in order to be considered successful, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people(s) must be “assimilated” (ibid) to the dominant capitalist system, a system which does not align with many traditional First Nations worldviews (Lloyd, 2010; Rigsby, 1999). Both the capitalist system and the notion of assimilation are inherently colonial and, as such, this discourse ought to be treated with caution and supplemented with others. Positive discourses arising under the theme of Culture (which is not explored here) may present such an opportunity.

5.2 Cooperation

The theme of Cooperation is less lexically rich than Business, with 7 associated terms compared to 11, and slightly less significant with the collocates receiving an average log-likelihood score of 12.66. Nonetheless, it is of interest firstly because it had not been identified either in the analysis undertaken to this point, or in the survey of previous research. Secondly, it captures the only prepositions in the collocate list whose usage was consistent enough to be categorised – that is, *with* and *between*. (*Among*, by contrast, has varied usage and is therefore captured under Other.) The question of why these rare types are so significant warrants further investigation.

5.2.1 Nominal collocates

Four collocates captured under this theme are nouns – *partnerships*, *consultation*, *relationship* and *division*. This analysis will focus on the former three terms as they tend to co-occur with the prepositional collocates discussed in the next section. All 10 instances of *partnerships* (Figure 5.4) refer to the Department of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Partnerships, a department of the Queensland government which provides “leadership in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander policy, coordination and monitoring” (<https://www.datsip.qld.gov.au/about-us/our-organisation>). This collocation occurs only in

newspapers servicing Queensland, but it gives an early indication that government bodies engage in the cooperation being referenced, a trend which is revisited throughout this section.

N	Concordance	File
1	, refused. Its latest report was tabled in parliament in March by Deputy Premier and Minister for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Partnerships Jackie Trad, and includes a preamble from Mr	AUS_21062019_NAT_614.bt
2	briefing note shows Dr Sarra, Ms Trad's hand picked director general of the Department of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Partnerships, warned her in March that there were "issues"	AUS_21062019_NAT_614.bt
3	the Family Responsibilities Commission draft annual report regarding changes the Department of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Partnerships sought to Noel Pearson's preamble to the	AUS_21062019_NAT_614.bt
4	order against a parent. Hope Vale local commissioner Doreen Hart implored the state's Minister for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Partnerships, Jackie Trad, and her federal counterpart Ken	AUS_22062019_NAT_501.bt
5	tree. On Monday, the community group wrote to Deputy Premier Jackie Trad, who is also Minister for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Partnerships, to stay any work for 30 days. "The site is home	BRS_03042019_715.bt
6	isa attend a cultural awareness training package run by Indigenous staff from the Department of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Partnerships. "The training covers a raft of issues including	BRS_06052019_556.bt
7	Minister Grace Grace described the outcome as "a win" after working closely with the Department of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Partnerships and traditional owners. She said they wanted to	BRS_17042019_728.bt
8	and he speaks from the heart. He told me he blames Deputy Premier Jackie Trad, the Minister for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Partnerships, for tweaking laws to prevent Aborigines	CRM_01062019_COM_759.bt
9	see indigenous Australians living on handouts. Dr Christian Rowan, the shadow spokesman for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Partnerships, said Labor's Cape ban was a blow to	CRM_01062019_COM_759.bt
10	"For the benefit of the House, I will ensure that those opposite understand that my role as Minister for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Partnerships is not to take on responsibility for every single	CRM_01062019_COM_759.bt

Figure 5.4. *Aboriginal + partnerships* concordances

The term *consultation* (Figure 5.5.) is used in relation to the ACT foster care system (lines 1, 2 and 6), the Voice to parliament (lines 3 and 4), and the Western Australia police (lines 5). Extended concordances reveal that in all instances, *consultation* is positioned as important (line 2, extended concordance mentions "priority") or necessary (lines 1, 3-6), and as with *partnerships*, all instances describe cooperation between Aboriginal people(s) and some body of governance.

N	Concordance	File
1	total of only nine involved consultation with the child's community, only one involved consultation with an Aboriginal agency and only two involved consultation with an Aboriginal person in the community. Of the	CAN_10062019_OPN_1030.bt
2	foster or kinship family. There was just one case where a plan was developed in consultation with an Aboriginal agency . In nine cases, the plans were developed in consultation with the child's community.	CAN_26052019_SUN_600.bt
3	I had tears." On the voice to parliament, Mr Wyatt said there needed to be extensive consultation with Aboriginal groups about a "definitional understanding of the voice", before a referendum was	AUS_30062019_NAT_621.bt
4	Minister Ken Wyatt told The Australian this week that there needed to be extensive consultation with Aboriginal groups about a "definitional understanding of the Voice" before a referendum was considered	DAT_02062019_OPD_745.bt
5	these intentions into our agency's culture and service." The plan was developed in consultation with Aboriginal people and the new WA Police Aboriginal affairs division. Supt Brian Wilkinson, an officer of	WEA_28052018_496.bt
6	, only one involved consultation with an Aboriginal agency and only two involved consultation with an Aboriginal person in the community. Of the 108 cultural plans reviewed, bizarrely only 35 were actually	CAN_10062019_OPN_1030.bt

Figure 5.5. *Aboriginal + consultation* concordances

A similar dynamic is seen in instances of *relationship* (Figure 5.6). This collocate registers cooperation between Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people and police (lines 5 and 6), government (line 1), non-Aboriginal people (lines 2 and 4), as well as the relationship Aboriginal people(s) have with Country (line 3). These relationships are often positively appraised, for example:

- (15) [They] are expected to highlight the close working **relationship** between police and *Aboriginal* people and the remarkable achievements of the trackers...
(ADV_2804209_INS_1197.txt)

Taken together, instances of *partnerships*, *consultation* and *relationship* construct cooperation with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people(s) as positive, and as an important function of governments and government agencies.

N	Concordance	File
1	"The joint council represents a historic step forward in the practical working relationship between Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples and governments." Senator Scullion said. "This is the	AUS_27032019_NAT_542.bt
2	as Australians must be grounded in truth. This is the foundation stone of the relationship between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people, and the theme for National Reconciliation Week. We are	HOM_28052019_OPD_891.bt
3	We Told?). We have barely scratched the surface in understanding the deep relationship that Aboriginal people had with their country and what their land meant and their role in protecting their	HOM_28052019_OPD_891.bt
4	Week, a period when we are asked to reflect on our shared histories and relationship with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples and explore how each of us can contribute to achieving	SMH_06062019_OPN_678.bt
5	Steven Marshall are expected to highlight the close working relationship between police and Aboriginal people and the remarkable achievements of the trackers past and present. Trackers will	ADV_28042019_INS_1197.bt
6	an artwork by Aboriginal artist Barry McGuire that symbolises the relationship between police and Aboriginal people. On Thursday, the first Aboriginal Service Medal, recognising the service and	WEA_28052018_496.bt

Figure 5.6. *Aboriginal + relationship* concordances

5.2.2 Prepositional collocates

The final two collocates captured under this theme are the prepositions *between* and *with*. High frequency function words such as prepositions are less likely to feature in collocation analyses which utilise MI Score due to their high degree of frequency in the corpus as a whole (Baker, 2006, pp. 101-102) and are, therefore, of particular interest here. Before we turn to a discussion of these collocates, it is helpful to introduce Hart's (2013) notions of asymmetrical and reciprocal action chains. Hart proposes that there are a range of schemas (or abstract, cognitive representations of event structure) available to speakers for construing the same event. One such schema is the asymmetrical action chain which construes an event as "a unidirectional flow of energy from an agent to a patient" (2013, p. 408). Conversely, reciprocal action chains construe events as "bidirectional flow[s] of energy so that one participant cannot be ascribed the status of agent and the other patient but rather both entities are active participants in the event" (ibid). (These schemas are shown in Figure 5.7). For Hart, the locus of this distinction in language is the verbal complex, but similar dynamics can be observed in prepositional constructions. This is demonstrated in this section using the prepositional collocates, beginning with *with*.



Figure 5.7. Hart's asymmetrical and reciprocal action chain schemas (2014, p. 409)

5.2.2.1 *with*

Of the Cooperation collocates, *with* is the most frequent with 72 occurrences. A full syntactic analysis of all lines is beyond the scope of this study, so I instead focus on the (particularly frequent) construction which most directly encodes a cooperative relationship between Aboriginal people(s) or groups and another party, that is, where *with* occurs to the left of

Aboriginal such that an Aboriginal participant is the complement of *with*, eg. “*with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities*” (line 9). (Full details of the excluded concordance lines can be found in Appendix 6.) Thirty four such instances occur and these are shown in Figure 5.8 below. The concordances have been sorted one, two and three places to the left of the node; *with* also appears in blue where it falls outside this span.

N	Concordance	File
1	every police officer is racist and there are many officers here that do a great job of engaging with young Aboriginal people,” the officer said. “But there are definitely some who could benefit from some more	BRS_05052019_556.bt
2	Minister, from my discussions with him, is open to a solution but he wants to develop it in concert with Aboriginal people,” Mr Wyatt says. “The Uluru statement reached a point in which the views of those	AUS_26052019_NAT_632.bt
3	. Further, we believe there should be consideration of clearer requirements for CSD to consult with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people who have an interest in the wellbeing of a child or young	CAN_09052019_750.bt
4	these intentions into our agency's culture and service.” The plan was developed in consultation with Aboriginal people and the new WA Police Aboriginal affairs division. Supt Brian Wilkinson, an officer of	WEA_29052018_496.bt
5	I had tears.” On the voice to parliament, Mr Wyatt said there needed to be extensive consultation with Aboriginal groups about a “definitional understanding of the voice”, before a referendum was considered.	AUS_30052019_NAT_621.bt
6	Minister Ken Wyatt told The Australian this week that there needed to be extensive consultation with Aboriginal groups about a “definitional understanding of the Voice” before a referendum was considered.	DAT_02062019_OPD_745.bt
7	so many of our leaders before us have called for, to have a say and be heard. In my consultations with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women and girls, the message has been equally consistent. One of	SMH_29052019_OPN_793.bt
8	to our priorities to close the gap. For too long, federal governments have struggled to engage with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples in policy development and service delivery. The right to	SMH_29052019_OPN_793.bt
9	remote communities,” she said. “At a time where we've had this government talk about doing more with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities, supporting our self determination, all we're seeing	CAN_10042019_559.bt
10	for the Education Department. Ms Grace on Tuesday night said the government was negotiating with Aboriginal elders and the school to try to protect the tree while allowing the \$33 million expansion. “The	BRS_03042019_715.bt
11	the Land Rights Act and Mabo you can't move in northern Australia unless you are negotiating with Aboriginal people - but there is no capital. 3. The north will go ahead even if it takes some time because	AUS_17052019_2321.bt
12	the Land Rights Act and Mabo you can't move in northern Australia unless you are negotiating with Aboriginal people - but there is no capital.” But Mr Yu warns Aboriginal groups they must “move outside	AUS_17052019_BUS_606.bt
13	Australia (BA) will fund the project. Global communications company Viasat Inc has partnered with Aboriginal not for profit science and technology company Centre for Appropriate Technology Ltd (CIAT)	NTN_12062019_BUS_643.bt
14	governments can take,” she said. Ms Espanosa urged the state government to work in partnership with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander organisations to implement a number of reforms, including	CAN_28032019_498.bt
15	governments can take,” she said. Ms Espanosa urged the state government to work in partnership with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander organisations to implement a number of reforms, including	SMH_28032019_533.bt
16	signs to give us hope. The Prime Minister has made a commitment to a genuine partnership with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people in co-designing, implementing and monitoring Closing the	SMH_29052019_OPN_793.bt
17	“To effect real change, governments must work collaboratively and in genuine, formal partnership with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples because they are the essential agents of change. The	AUS_27032019_NAT_542.bt
18	Week, a period when we are asked “to reflect on our shared histories and relationship with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples and explore how each of us can contribute to achieving	SMH_06062019_OPN_678.bt
19	“The reconciliation plan demonstrates it is a priority for us to build relationships and mutual respect with Aboriginal people and embed these intentions into our agency's culture and service.” The plan was	WEA_29052018_496.bt
20	will be acting co-ordinator for state operations Superintendent Paul Roberts. He's worked with Aboriginal police aides, community constables and trackers for the past 30 years and is still baffled by	ADV_26042019_INS_1197.bt
21	. The Canberra based Clybucca Dreaming, whose proprietor Tanya Keed has been working with Aboriginal women and children in crisis since 2003, is the current provider for the yarning circles for	CAN_13052019_589.bt
22	started selling boomerangs 25 years ago and has grown into a commercial business that works with Aboriginal artists to sell fabric products all over the world. “I just don't know what to believe - I thought as	SMH_12062019_667.bt
23	started selling boomerangs 25 years ago and has grown into a commercial business that works with Aboriginal artists to sell fabric products all over the world. “I just don't know what to believe - I thought as	AGE_12062019_532.bt
24	started selling boomerangs 25 years ago and has grown into a commercial business that works with Aboriginal artists to sell fabric products all over the world. “I just don't know what to believe - I thought as	BRS_11062019_744.bt
25	Minister Grace Grace described the outcome as “a win” after working closely with the Department of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Partnerships and traditional owners. She said they wanted to	BRS_17042019_728.bt
26	ancestors.” Brettlyn Neal, a youth program co ordinator who has done extensive work with far northern Aboriginal communities, says Douglas is an inspiration. Neal, now running the initiative “Streetwise” in	CRM_01062019_859.bt
27	exhibits. The tour is free and is intended to be run for the next year, constructed with the advice of local Aboriginal elders. Ms Kirkwood, the assistant director of indigenous engagement and strategy with the	CAN_17062019_601.bt
28	Queensland, the cause had long been taken up by unions working closely with indigenous leaders and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander workers who toiled in the cane fields alongside migrants from	SMH_01062019_1561.bt
29	Queensland, the cause had long been taken up by unions working closely with indigenous leaders and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander workers who toiled in the cane fields alongside migrants from	AGE_01062019_INS_1543.bt
30	Treasurer, Deputy Premier and minister for indigenous partnerships, Jackie Trad, met with an Aboriginal organisation, Okolola Corporation, to discuss mining bans on its land. Trad said she was	AUS_27052019_COM_772.bt
31	foster or kinship family. There was just one case where a plan was developed in consultation with an Aboriginal agency. In nine cases, the plans were developed in consultation with the child's community.	CAN_26052019_SUN_600.bt
32	of only nine involved consultation with the child's community, only one involved consultation with an Aboriginal agency and only two involved consultation with an Aboriginal person in the community. Of the	CAN_10062019_OPN_1030.bt
33	, only one involved consultation with an Aboriginal agency and only two involved consultation with an Aboriginal person in the community. Of the 108 cultural plans reviewed, bizarrely only 35 were actually	CAN_10062019_OPN_1030.bt
34	on our own country. We are still here, still striving. Six months of intense dialogue with more than 1200 Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people across urban, regional and remote Australia. Hearts and	SMH_27052019_OPN_819.bt

Figure 5.8. Left-hand, collaborative *with* collocates

Of the 34 instances, there are 16 lines in which nominal groups immediately precede *with*. All of these include lexis with strong associations to notions of cooperation, and several which use appraisal resources (underscored). There are 7 instances of *consultation(s)* (lines 4-7 and 31-33), 4 instances of *partnership* (lines 14-17) and one instance of *relationship* (line 18) which are discussed as nominal collocates of *Aboriginal* above (§5.2.1). Additionally, there is mention of development “in concert **with**” (line 2), “extensive work **with** far northern *Aboriginal* communities” (line 26), “relationships and mutual respect” (line 30) and “Six months of intense dialogue” with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people (line 34). The remaining 18 lines, in which verbal groups precede *with*, show semantic themes that are in line with those seen to this point. The following is a list of the lexemes present in these verbal groups and their frequencies.

- CONSTRUCT (1)
- WORK (8)
- PARTNER (1)
- NEGOTIATE (3)
- CONSULT (1)
- MEET (1)
- ENGAGE (2)
- DO (1)

While some of these lexemes, such as *partner* and *consult* carry meanings that are more closely related to notions of collaboration, for others, such as *develop*, *work* and *engage*, this meaning is introduced or extended when accompanied by *with*. See for example:

- (16) “works **with** *Aboriginal* artists to sell fabric products” (BRS_11062019_744.txt)
compared to ‘works to sell fabric products’

In their given co-text, instances of the collocate *with* encode events that are reciprocal – or, at least, events in which the two parties act jointly with respect to some project or goal.

However, if we combine Hart’s action chain analysis with SFL analysis of agency, it is noteworthy that the Aboriginal participant is repeatedly encoded via a prepositional phrase. In an SFL analysis, prepositional phrases introduced by *with* are analysed as Circumstances of Accompaniment, answering the question ‘who/what with?’ (Thompson, 2014, p. 116). Thompson (2014, p. 111) describes the discursive distinction between central and circumstantial constituents this way:

The central participants in a process are those that relate directly to the verb (Subject and Complement...), while circumstances, which give background information, are often realized by nominal groups that are only indirectly linked into the clause by means of a preposition.

Again, it is somewhat marked that ‘active participants in the event’ (see Hart’s action chain definitions above) would be so consistently downgraded to the position of ‘background information’ when a canonical construal is also possible in many cases. Table 5.2 shows three concordance lines that have had their syntax reconfigured to include both participants in a coordinative construction (and therefore with equal agency) in Subject position. This coordination is shown in [square brackets].

Ultimately, what are reciprocal or mutual real-world events (with two active participants in the event) which could be encoded as such, are not. Rather than being construed via the canonical schema as they have been in the right-hand column here, they are construed using an asymmetrical action schema in which the Aboriginal participant(s) are demoted into a prepositional phrase encoding “the background against which the process takes place” (Thompson, 2014, p. 114). Thompson notes that circumstantial elements, and their discursive effects, have as yet gone under-interrogated in SFL (2014, p. 117). Similarly, prepositional

Table 5.2. Prepositional versus coordinated construals of reciprocal events		
	Original prepositional construction	Adjusted coordinated construction
Line 4	The plan was developed in consultation with <i>Aboriginal</i> people and the new WA Police Aboriginal affairs division	The plan was developed by [Aboriginal people and the new WA Police Aboriginal affairs division] through extensive consultation
Line 13	Global communications company Viasat Inc has partnered with <i>Aboriginal</i> not for profit science and technology company, Centre for Appropriate Technology Ltd	[Global communications company Viasat Inc and Aboriginal not for profit science and technology company Centre for Appropriate Technology Ltd] have partnered together
Lines 28 & 29	...the cause had long been taken up by unions working closely with Indigenous leaders and <i>Aboriginal</i> ...workers	...the cause had long been taken up by [unions and Indigenous leaders and <i>Aboriginal</i> workers who toiled in the fields...]

phrases are not one of the features which are routinely analysed for agency in CDA (Hart, 2013, pp. 402-403). However, if it is fairly uncontroversial within CDA that Patients tend to carry less agency than Agents (ibid), no doubt the same can be said of Circumstances which are still further removed from the main clause. Though it is unlikely to be positive, the implications of this reduced agency for the representation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people would need to be verified. This, of course, is a potential area for future study.

Given this demotion of First Nations participants, who occupies Subject position in these constructions is also of interest. While a complete analysis of the thematic roles of participants in these constructions is beyond the scope of this study, this collocation does seem to occur in contexts of cooperation between Aboriginal people and some other powerful group – usually the government – which is encoded as Subject, as the following examples demonstrate:

- (17) ...[Deputy Premier and minister for indigenous partnerships, Jackie Trad], met **with** an *Aboriginal* organisation... (AUS_27052019_COM_772.txt)
- (18) ...the cause has long been taken up by [unions] working closely **with** Indigenous leaders and *Aboriginal* and Torres Strait Islander workers... (SMH_01062019_1561.txt)
- (19) ... [the government] was negotiating **with** *Aboriginal* elders... (WEA_28052019_496.txt)

It is also noteworthy that the downgraded participant is always Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander. Of course, only instances where *Aboriginal* occurs to the right of *with* are considered

here, making it highly likely that *Aboriginal* forms part of a prepositional phrase that *with* introduces, rather than holding Subject position. However, looking again at the concordance lines for right-hand collocations of *Aboriginal* + *with* (Appendix 6a) reveals that there are no instances which refer to cooperation in which Aboriginal people(s) are encoded as Subject. Similarly, none of these concordance lines show the government or other powerful groups being downgraded in this way.

There are, of course, a number of reasons – not necessarily ideological – why the government may be more likely to be encoded as Subject and Aboriginal people(s) and groups as Circumstances. Firstly, this type of construction may be something of a codified phraseology in NCAN. We know from the keyword analysis that bodies of governance are significant within the corpus, and from previous research that coverage of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people(s), matters and issues are often discussed in political terms (§4.2.1). Mesikämmen (2013) found that, at the level of the text, the government was often afforded an agential, agenda-setting role within the first couple of paragraphs of an article, a tendency which may extend to the clause level. Secondly, if this were true of texts in NCAN, then the significance of this construction may simply result from the discourse-structural practice of tracking an agent through a stretch of language. Thirdly, it is possible that this construction is not specific to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people(s) and groups but rather is a feature of news reporting on interactions between governments and community interest groups more generally. A full analysis is not possible here, but to gain a sense of its prevalence in general news discourse, I consulted the concordance lines for the most frequent relevant construction – *consultation with* – in NOW-OZ:16-17 (100 randomly selected concordances are available in Appendix 7). Impressionistically, this construction is relatively common (with 1422 instances), with a range of community groups such as physicians, stakeholders and whole communities frequently serving as the complement of *with*, suggesting it is not Aboriginal identity which conditions use of this construction but simply existing relations of governmental power. This, again, could prove fruitful for further investigation. Finally, in addition to prominence and autonomy, agency involves notions of volition and intent (Nuttall, 2019), which in turn suggests two further explanations. First, if these constructions originate in quotes from government officials, as representatives of this group, it is natural that they would position themselves as Subjects. Second, where the constructions originate in the editorial voice of the newspaper, it is possible that the author uses this construction to avoid assigning volition or intent to Aboriginal people(s), a group for which they do not feel entitled to speak. An analysis

of Sayers (sources) would be necessary to determine which were the case. Whatever the reason, this authorial choice is frequent enough to be significant within the corpus and, at best, a loss of agency for an already disempowered group is the collateral.

5.2.2.2 *between*

Turning now to instances of *between*, the concordance lines are shown in Figure 5.9. There a small number of heterogenous uses of this term that are not relevant to a discussion of cooperation.²² Setting these aside, all other instances describe some kind of relationship between Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people(s) and another group.

N	Concordance	File
1	. Our own Black War was the violent conflict for nearly a decade between British colonists and Aboriginal Tasmanians, fought as a guerrilla war on both sides and costing the lives of 200	HOM_04052019_OPD_1274.bt
2	opposed delaying a public vote until a model was negotiated between the government and Aboriginal communities. "You are not enshrining the model in the Constitution. "Any model you	AUS_27042019_NAT_666.bt
3	artwork by Aboriginal artist Barry McGuire that symbolises the relationship between police and Aboriginal people. On Thursday, the first Aboriginal Service Medal, recognising the service and	WEA_28052018_496.bt
4	Steven Marshall are expected to highlight the close working relationship between police and Aboriginal people and the remarkable achievements of the trackers past and present. Trackers	ADV_28042019_INS_1197.bt
5	waterways that they knew so intimately. There have been informal treaty agreements between Aboriginal leaders and colonial governments in the 1830s which remain documented as early	HOM_28052019_OPD_891.bt
6	Aboriginal people, but it's still not good. "There is also the problem of co-dependency between Aboriginal people and bureaucrats and governments. The public outlays perpetuate the levels of	AUS_17052019_BUS_606.bt
7	of Aboriginal people but it's still not good. There is also the problem of co-dependency between Aboriginal people and bureaucrats and governments. The public outlays perpetuate the levels of	AUS_17052019_2321.bt
8	Australians must be grounded in truth. This is the foundation stone of the relationship between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people, and the theme for National Reconciliation Week. We are	HOM_28052019_OPD_891.bt
9	joint council represents a historic step forward in the practical working relationship between Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples and governments," Senator Scullion said. "This is	AUS_27032019_NAT_542.bt
10	from some more cultural awareness training, particularly because of the history between local Aboriginal people and police here." The officer was referring to a police massacre of many local	BRS_05052019_556.bt

Figure 5.9. *Aboriginal + between* concordances

These instances refer to “the relationship between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people” (line 9), violent conflict and informal treaty between Aboriginal people(s) and colonists (lines 1 and 5), interactions between Aboriginal people(s) and police (lines 3, 4 and 10), registering both working relationships (these instances were seen in the analysis of *relationship* above) and the history of brutality and, finally, the relationship between Aboriginal people and government, noting both co-dependency as well as negotiation (lines 2, 6, 7 and 8). Notably, in contrast to the nominal collocates, these construct both positive and negative interactions between Aboriginal people(s) and other groups or, in other words, both the presence and the absence of cooperation. Table 5.3 summarises how these values are distributed.

While positive relations are still in a majority, four constructions using *between* describe events that would be considered negative, and these are the focus of this section. The first is the Black War:

²² One instance indicates a numerical range (line 1), two instances are locative in nature (lines 2 and 12) and one instance makes a comparison between Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people and “the rest of the population” (line 14).

Table 5.3. Positive and negative instances of <i>Aboriginal</i> + <i>between</i>		
	Positive	Negative
Non-Aboriginal people	1 (irrealis)	0
Colonists	1	1
Police	2	1
Government	2	2
Total	6	4

- (20) Our own Black War was the violent conflict for nearly a decade **between** British colonists and *Aboriginal* Tasmanians, fought as a guerrilla war on both sides and costing the lives of 200 European colonists and between 600 and 900 Aboriginal people... (HOM_04052019_OPD_1274.txt)

That the Black War is constructed as a mutually violent conflict *between* colonists and local people(s) is noteworthy given that the war has been described by historians as invasion and genocide (Clements, 2014). This mutuality is reiterated with the phrase “fought as a guerrilla war on both sides” despite the marked disparity in fatalities and that this number of Aboriginal deaths constituted almost the entire population (Hayman-Reber, 2018). The instance concerning police is similarly construed:

- (21) But there are definitely some [officers] who could benefit from some more cultural awareness training, particularly because of the history **between** local Aboriginal people and police here. (BRS_05052019_556.txt)

This history is positioned as obtaining mutually *between* Aboriginal people and police. However, the following clause explains that this ‘history’ in fact involved “a police massacre of many local Kalkadoon people in 1884”, an event that cannot be described as reciprocal.

The final two negative uses of *between* describe co-dependency between Aboriginal people(s) and government (lines 6 and 7). It seems unlikely that a government could be genuinely dependent on a group that is often socially disempowered by those systems of government (see Macoun, 2011, for example, regarding the Northern Territory Intervention policy) but extended concordances reveal the author’s meaning:

In fact, the entire north of the country is a false economy because it is subsidised by public outlays servicing Aboriginal people, but Aboriginal people are not getting the jobs...There is also the problem of co-dependency between Aboriginal people and bureaucrats and governments. The public outlays perpetuate the levels of dependence on each other. If you were cynical you would say that governments need Aboriginal people to be dependent so they can continue to fund jobs for bureaucrats in the north.
(AUS_17052019_2321.txt)

Indeed, according to the author – Yawuru man and expert in Indigenous advocacy and development, Peter Yu – the co-dependence is not genuine but rather caused, or at least perpetuated, by imbalances of power in the region. In either case, the Aboriginal people being referred to cannot be said to bear the responsibility implied by this construction. Each of the constructions discussed in this section show some incongruence between the degree of responsibility assigned to Aboriginal people(s) and the real-world responsibility they bear for the events being described. That is, equal agency, and therefore, equal responsibility is implicitly assigned to the Aboriginal people(s) in situations where equality of agency is questionable.

This section has shown that much of the cooperation registered under this theme occurs between bodies associated with governance and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people(s). This is a considerable improvement on discourses of savagery that construct First Nations people as needing to be controlled, for example (Macoun, 2011). However, while many of the events being described are reciprocal in nature, they are rarely construed this way. Instead, the Indigenous participant is routinely demoted into a prepositional phrase. Whether this practice promotes “mutually respectful and genuine two-way relationships of shared significance” (RA, n.d., p. 3) as the guidelines recommend, is questionable. In addition, there are a small number of cases of asymmetrical events in which Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people(s) have little genuine agency which are construed reciprocally. In effect, while in events that are mutually cooperative, the agency of Indigenous participants is often linguistically minimised, occasionally, in non-cooperative events in which Indigenous participants are Patients, their agency is linguistically amplified. Research on the effects of these kinds of construals on a reader’s perception of the participants is only emerging but early findings do suggest that encodings of agency can influence the apportionment of blame or

liability (Fausey & Boroditsky, 2010) and emotion, volition and intent (Nuttall, 2019) that a reader attributes to event participants. With this in mind, and given that an important function of the media is to hold the government accountable, it is worth considering what kinds of inequality the constructions seen in this section might be (re)producing.

5.3 Summary

This chapter sought to uncover the themes and discourses surrounding Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people(s) in NCAN, as well as accounting for how they are constructed. The collocation analysis undertaken identified six themes (Governance, Groups, Business, Health and Welfare, Cooperation and Culture), two of which had not previously been identified, those of Business and Cooperation. Business was found to be predicated of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people(s), constructing business owners as economically successful, but facing significant challenges. Moreover, concordance analysis showed that articles contained sustained discussion of these matters, suggesting that stories which reproduce this discourse are selected for production at the institutional level. The economic success discourse was shown to be constructed primarily through collocates, as well as negative appraisal resources. In terms of Fairclough's socio-cultural dimension, the discourse is embedded in a context in which Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people(s) have called for more positive stories. On the other hand, the colonial origins of the capitalist model as it exists in Australia (Keen & Lloyd, 2012) means that focusing on this particular form of Indigenous success risks constructing First Nations peoples(s) in colonial terms. In addition, the proposed solutions to challenges focus on government funding rather than Indigenous-led solutions as the guidelines recommend.

The Cooperation theme was found to primarily reference cooperation between Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people(s) and bodies of governance. However, further investigation of collocation, positive appraisal and syntactic processes of agential demotion revealed that the involvement of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people is non-agential. While, semantically speaking, the collocates under this theme register collaboration, this is undermined by syntactic operations that reduce the reciprocity inherent in the events being described. Importantly, for (corpus-based) CDA practitioners, this is achieved through manipulation of the agency of participants using prepositional phrases, something not yet

investigated in the literature. Moreover, the linguistic resources used to construct this discourse constitute choices made by the journalist in the process of text production, a finding with important implications for journalism pedagogy. Finally, the socio-cultural context of this discourse is one in which governments are powerful, and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people(s) are often disempowered, an inequality that the discourse risks reproducing. While the themes of Business and Cooperation constitute improvements on the representation seen in §2.3, the more subtle discourses of economic success and non-agential cooperation identified in this chapter ultimately reproduce the imbalances of power which systems of capitalism and Western government uphold.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

This thesis took up calls from Indigenous activists to improve the representation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people(s) in Australian media, and addressed significant gaps in our knowledge of this representation (especially beyond specific events and topics, and in recent years) and how it is encoded linguistically. It applied corpus-based CDA methods to empirically analyse four aspects of Indigenous representation (as introduced in Chapter 2), namely patterns in the level of coverage, frequent themes and trends in terms of reference (responding to research question 1), as well as identifying and describing the linguistic construction of discourses that occur in relation to First Nations peoples in NCAN (responding to research question 2). Additionally, it accounted for the relationship between the texts and their context at Fairclough's levels of discourse practice and sociocultural practice by identifying factors which condition their production, and by describing the influence of systems of capitalism and Western government on the discourses they construct (research question 3).

6.1 Findings and contributions

This study constitutes an important contribution to Australian corpus-based CDA, a field which is only beginning to emerge (Bednarek, Crosthwaite, & Garcia, in press). It is the first empirical, large-scale analysis of a broad cross-section of reporting on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people(s) and issues. With the help of statistical measures and recent data, I uncovered two discourses which had not been identified previously, those of economic success and non-agential cooperation. Moreover, while previous research did not tend to address how discourses were linguistically constructed, I showed how collocation, appraisal resources and syntactic structures contribute to the (re)production of these discourses. A particularly valuable innovation is the suggestion that prepositional phrases can be used to manipulate the agency dynamics of reciprocal and asymmetrical actions chains. This is a valuable insight for critical discourse analysis of agency, which tends to focus on analysis of subject/agent, object/patient, and active/passive voice.

I also developed methods for computer-assisted analysis at the discourse practice level of Fairclough's framework, an aspect of the approach that is sometimes neglected in corpus-based CDA studies. By analysing the distribution of articles according to a range of socio-cultural factors, I identified a number of production/consumption factors which can impact the level and/or quality of coverage of a group or issue. These, of course, are useful findings for practitioners of (both traditional and corpus-based) CDA who investigate news media, but they also have important implications for journalistic practice. Employing a dedicated Indigenous affairs correspondent, enforcing appropriate house style guides and implementing coverage initiatives are all practices which can be instituted at the newsroom level. Regarding linguistic features such as capitalisation and use of appropriate terms of reference, there may be scope for this to be implemented automatically (e.g. adjusting an inbuilt spell and grammar checker so that non-capitalised instances are flagged). Further, the insights into the impact of these practices, as well as the linguistic construction of the discourses discussed above, have the capacity to make an important contribution to journalism pedagogy around reporting on marginalised groups of all kinds, the need for which has been repeatedly highlighted in the literature (Johnston, 1991; McCallum & Holland, 2010; O'Donnell, 2003). Finally, the analysis also highlighted the impact of political initiatives by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people(s), illustrated through the media coverage attracted by the Uluru Statement. This emphasises the strength and agency of First Nations peoples themselves.

6.2 Limitations and future directions

While this thesis has made several important contributions to our understanding of Indigenous representation, it has also identified a number of possibilities for future research that were beyond the scope of this study. Firstly, only certain discourses were afforded in-depth analysis, with a focus on newly-discovered discourses. It would also be of interest to determine how known discourses are constructed in linguistic terms, as well as whether their nature or construction has changed since they were first identified. Similarly, because of the scope of this thesis, I was able to undertake only selective detailed linguistic analysis (of Appraisal and certain syntactic constructions) but analysis of other linguistic features would be illuminating. Secondly, some of the analysis undertaken in this investigation dealt with features with low frequencies and limited dispersion. While the "incremental effect of discourse" (Baker, 2006, p. 13) means that these features can still be influential for public perception of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people(s), to confirm and perhaps supplement these findings with

analysis of higher frequency features or more data would be a welcome addition. In a similar vein, the dataset used in this study was relatively limited, covering only a three-month period. Notably, there were no protests (violent or non-violent) during this time. Coverage of protests has been shown to include significant discussion of law enforcement (§2.3.3), a theme that was found to be largely absent here. At the time of writing, demonstrations supporting American anti-racism movement Black Lives Matter and demanding justice for David Dungay are taking place around the country;²³ reporting of these events would prove a valuable point of comparison for this study.

This research has afforded us a greater understanding of how Australian print media providers treat Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people(s), issues and matters. Claims of improvement in some aspects of representation (Bacon, 2005) seem to be supported by the results of this analysis (for example, the lack of overtly negative discourses and newspapers implementing practices aimed at improving coverage), in turn suggesting that the appeals from Indigenous groups introduced in Chapter 1 are beginning to be heeded. However, newspapers remain an influential source of information and attitudes for the general public (Civic Impact of Journalism Project, 2017) and the inconsistency with which the language guidelines are being applied, particularly among tabloids, suggests there is still much room for improvement. Likewise, while the opportunities for future research outlined above indicate there is more academic exploration to be undertaken, this thesis has contributed significantly to our understanding of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander representation, the linguistic construction of discourses surrounding these issues and the aspects of news production which influence their prevalence in public discourse, laying an important foundation for future work in this area.

²³ David Dungay died in custody in December 2015 of a cardiac arrhythmia after being held down by six prison guards and sedated. In November 2019, an inquest found that medical treatment had been inadequate and ultimately caused his death; <https://www.sbs.com.au/nitv/article/2019/11/21/david-dungay-inquest-coroner-finds-inadequate-medical-attention-main-factor-death1>

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Newspaper and section codes

Table X. Newspaper and section codes in NCAN			
Newspapers		Sections	
ADV	<i>The Advertiser</i>	INS	<i>Insight</i>
		OPD	<i>OpEd</i>
		POL	<i>Politics</i>
AGE	<i>The Age</i>	INS	<i>Insight</i>
SUA	<i>Sunday Age</i>	OPN	<i>Opinion</i>
AUS	<i>The Australian</i>	BUS	<i>Business</i>
		COM	<i>Commentary</i>
		HED	<i>Higher Education</i>
		INQ	<i>Inquirer</i>
		NAT	<i>The Nation</i>
		REV	<i>News Review</i>
BRS	<i>Brisbane Times</i>		
CAN	<i>Canberra Times</i>	OPN	<i>Opinion</i>
		PAN	<i>Panorama</i>
		SUN	<i>Sunday</i>
CRM	<i>Courier Mail</i>	COM	<i>Commentary</i>
		INS	<i>Insight</i>
DAT	<i>The Daily Telegraph</i>	OPD	<i>OpEd</i>
		OPN	<i>Opinion</i>
HES	<i>Herald Sun</i>	OPD	<i>OpEd</i>
HOM	<i>Hobart Mercur</i>	OPD	<i>OpEd</i>
NTN	<i>Northern Territory News</i>	BUS	<i>Business</i>
		WKD	<i>Weekend</i>
SMH	<i>Sydney Morning Herald</i>	OPN	<i>Opinion</i>
SUH	<i>Sun Herald</i>	REV	<i>News Review</i>
WEA	<i>The West Australian</i>		

Appendix 2: Keyword List

	Keyword	Frequency	Dispersion	Log Ratio	log-likelihood
1	ATSIC	9	8	8.771583557	89.35368347
2	MAKARRATA	16	9	8.30467701	149.5160217
3	ULURU	90	34	7.267145157	720.0490112
4	ABORIGINES	40	23	7.113290787	311.8956909
5	WYATT	130	27	6.946760178	984.9772949
6	ENSHRINE	9	9	6.691413403	65.13459015
7	ISLANDER	160	66	6.551530361	1128.102173
8	WIRADJURI	11	10	6.539321899	77.37778473
9	ABORIGINAL	881	162	6.452231407	6094.797852
10	TORRES	184	73	6.333406925	1243.697021
11	STRAIT	183	72	6.278695107	1223.546753
12	NATALE	52	9	6.125319958	337.0011597
13	INDIGENOUS	850	124	6.086882114	5464.930664
14	CONSTITUTIONALLY	8	8	5.708574295	47.38172913
15	RECONCILIATION	42	20	5.441142559	233.7247467
16	PEOPLES	73	30	5.428412437	404.9934998
17	ENSHRINED	13	13	5.351896763	70.79279327
18	ANCESTORS	28	12	5.328843594	151.6145172
19	CONSTITUTIONAL	81	29	5.167663574	421.1760254
20	COLONISATION	13	10	5.076030731	66.00887299
21	ELDERS	34	22	5.038685322	170.9482422
22	PEARSON	37	12	5.029752731	185.5920563
23	1967	37	13	4.938283443	181.0917358
24	PILBARA	28	9	4.889040947	135.2111206
25	INTERGENERATIONAL	9	8	4.886846542	43.43450165
26	INCARCERATION	16	12	4.882318974	77.12072754
27	ISLANDERS	20	13	4.875450611	96.21858215
28	RIGHTFUL	9	9	4.766440868	41.9975853
29	CAPE	47	13	4.580762863	207.7869415
30	CULTURALLY	22	17	4.524149418	95.6207428
31	DI	52	9	4.497691154	224.2016449
32	REFERENDUM	104	23	4.445362091	441.2475891
33	SACRED	22	11	4.221706867	86.8984375
34	ALBANESE	13	8	4.164595127	50.38157654
35	RESPECTING	8	8	4.14035511	30.75172424
36	NOEL	13	9	4.092645168	49.16565323
37	BANS	22	10	4.090368271	83.13838196
38	MORRISON	108	38	4.054201603	403.0673828
39	CONSTITUTION	53	26	4.025277138	195.8158112
40	EMPOWER	13	9	3.9832654	47.32389069
41	SWORN	12	9	3.970499277	43.48567963
42	KEN	40	27	3.932632208	142.9976501
43	TRUTHS	9	9	3.930761099	32.15275955
44	GRANTS	33	10	3.880897284	115.7744522
45	BIPARTISAN	13	12	3.798386574	44.23119736

46	KIMBERLEY	14	11	3.778408766	47.27548599
47	CULTURAL	129	61	3.766142368	433.5854797
48	VOICE	161	43	3.748338223	537.4772949
49	RECOGNITION	73	31	3.714057446	240.5063477
50	AFFAIRS	74	47	3.57968545	231.1674194
51	COMMUNITIES	141	59	3.578962803	440.3387146
52	HERITAGE	72	28	3.50787878	218.3913269
53	LANDS	21	17	3.465940952	62.58944702
54	TREATY	21	10	3.434571981	61.76268005
55	ELDER	14	13	3.419355869	40.90818405
56	FOSTER	34	13	3.409013987	98.90821838
57	SOVEREIGNTY	12	10	3.402267218	34.80748367
58	TOWNS	31	16	3.36998868	88.66905975
59	SPRINGS	22	11	3.365414858	62.80086517
60	GRANDMOTHER	16	9	3.364073515	45.64657974
61	THRIVING	11	9	3.356692791	31.28076935
62	GENERATIONS	39	28	3.303602219	108.32798
63	MASSACRE	13	9	3.281634569	35.75495529
64	RACISM	29	18	3.267558575	79.25522614
65	CULTURES	18	14	3.256109476	48.9377861
66	PARKS	33	12	3.253981113	89.63237
67	ALICE	20	10	3.250757694	54.24290466
68	RACIAL	22	19	3.245661497	59.52855682
69	AUSTRALIANS	245	73	3.185654402	644.7996216
70	DISADVANTAGE	13	12	3.182268381	34.15970612
71	HERALD	34	19	3.174548626	89.01805878
72	RACIST	26	16	3.160210609	67.61470795
73	GREENS	86	13	3.131029129	220.57164
74	CABINET	46	16	3.104122162	116.4663315
75	REMOTE	51	33	3.055607557	126.1097641

Appendix 3: Keyword exclusions

	Keyword	Freq	Disp	LR	LL	Reason for exclusion
1	Â	55	24	137.62	818.26	Foreign character not detected during corpus cleaning
2	Ã	22	13	15.19	319.08	
3	CANNOT	26	23	11.62	335.03	Token definition. In NOW-OZ:16-17, <i>cannot</i> counts as two tokens (<i>can</i> and <i>not</i>).
4	WEREN	12	10	10.15	138.17	Token definition. For the keyword analysis, the setting which has apostrophes separate words (ie. <i>weren't</i> = <i>weren</i> + <i>t</i>) was selected for NCAN, while in NOW-OZ:16-17, negative contractions are divided into <i>were</i> + <i>n't</i> . Therefore, these particular forms are overrepresented in NCAN because they do not occur in NOW-OZ:16-17.
5	SHOULDN	12	10	9.46	128.99	
6	DOESN	41	31	9.26	431.01	
7	DIDN	60	40	9.16	624.09	
8	WOULDN	13	13	8.76	128.86	
9	WASN	15	13	8.10	136.24	
10	ISN	17	14	8.09	154.22	
11	DON	112	71	4.95	550.10	
12	COPYRIGHT	34	16	3.23	91.14	For reasons that couldn't be determined, some instances of <i>copyright</i> that were marked up within the boilerplate information (and therefore should have been excluded from analysis) were not. A log-likelihood score for the 22 instances that occurred in the body of texts was calculated manually and found to be below the threshold of 3.

Appendix 4: Capitalised and uncapitalised instances of *Aboriginal*

Newspaper	Capitalised	Uncapitalised	Total
<i>The Advertiser</i>	22	0	22
<i>The Age</i>	92	0	92
<i>The Australian</i>	201	0	201
<i>Brisbane Times</i>	58	2	60
<i>Canberra Times</i>	121	2	123
<i>Courier Mail</i>	28	0	28
<i>The Daily Telegraph</i>	50	0	50
<i>Herald Sun</i>	13	0	13
<i>Hobart Mercury</i>	23	0	23
<i>Northern Territory News</i>	23	0	23
<i>Sydney Morning Herald</i>	193	0	193
<i>The West Australian</i>	40	0	40
Total	864	4	868

Appendix 5: Collocate list

N	Word	Frequency	Texts	Log_L	MI
1	PEOPLE	237	98	452.93	5.62
2	TORRES	173	73	916.52	7.31
3	STRAIT	172	72	910.85	7.31
4	ISLANDER	154	66	838.09	7.34
5	WITH	72	53	5.46	3.65
6	COMMUNITY	36	26	20.29	4.43
7	HEALTH	30	16	32.41	4.96
8	CHILDREN	29	14	22.98	4.68
9	FLAG	28	5	72.72	6.10
10	PEOPLES	25	13	54.91	5.83
11	MINISTER	22	17	5.19	3.98
12	HERITAGE	21	8	39.27	5.60
13	AFFAIRS	21	13	36.08	5.49
14	COMMUNITIES	20	17	13.97	4.58
15	LEADERS	18	15	31.29	5.50
16	MANY	18	13	4.86	4.04
17	WOMEN	17	16	26.81	5.38
18	CORPORATION	16	11	53.69	6.54
19	POLICE	15	4	10.43	4.58
20	CULTURAL	15	11	6.66	4.28
21	ISLANDERS	14	12	56.83	6.88
22	BUSINESSES	13	7	19.52	5.32
23	CLOTHING	13	4	17.17	5.17
24	LEGAL	12	6	13.92	5.03
25	SERVICE	12	7	10.40	4.75
26	GROUPS	12	11	9.72	4.70
27	BUSINESS	11	6	6.54	4.46
28	BETWEEN	11	10	4.67	4.26
29	PARTNERSHIPS	10	6	39.03	6.81
30	ORGANISATIONS	9	8	18.18	5.71
31	PERSON	9	6	10.92	5.08
32	OWNERS	9	7	10.28	5.01
33	REMOTE	9	6	9.12	4.89
34	EMPLOYMENT	9	6	7.18	4.68
35	MOVE	9	7	6.37	4.59
36	RECOGNITION	9	8	4.68	4.38
37	LIVING	9	7	3.86	4.26
38	DIRECTOR	8	4	9.38	5.04
39	EXECUTIVE	8	8	6.93	4.75
40	PROBLEMS	8	6	5.86	4.62
41	POPULATION	8	6	4.61	4.44
42	LAWS	8	8	4.29	4.40
43	HAND	7	7	8.83	5.12
44	AMONG	7	7	4.41	4.50
45	LICENSING	6	3	23.41	6.81

46	CONTROLLED	6	6	21.53	6.66
47	EUROPEAN	6	3	16.33	6.17
48	OFFICERS	6	2	14.51	5.98
49	OWNED	6	5	14.51	5.98
50	DIVISION	6	3	13.72	5.89
51	CONSULTATION	6	5	12.33	5.73
52	PEAK	6	4	10.09	5.46
53	AGREEMENT	6	3	9.17	5.34
54	RELATIONSHIP	6	5	8.75	5.28
55	ORGANISATION	6	6	7.98	5.17
56	NATION'S	6	5	7.62	5.12
57	REGION	6	4	6.65	4.98
58	USING	6	4	5.56	4.81
59	TRYING	6	6	5.08	4.73
60	RESIDENTS	6	6	4.06	4.56
61	DEPARTMENT	6	5	3.88	4.52
62	BURNEY	5	2	23.48	7.13
63	ARTISTS	5	4	18.53	6.72
64	DECLARED	5	3	16.87	6.55
65	CARERS	5	4	10.83	5.81
66	MEDICAL	5	4	8.49	5.47
67	RATE	5	5	5.75	5.02
68	RESPONSIBILITY	5	5	5.16	4.91
69	STRATEGY	5	4	4.63	4.81
70	STORIES	5	5	4.16	4.72
71	TRAINING	5	5	4.16	4.72
72	PROTECT	5	4	3.94	4.67

Appendix 6a: Excluded concordance lines of *Aboriginal* + *with*

N	Concordance	File
1	has already found, the overcrowding [at the jail] has resulted in women detainees, a majority of whom are Aboriginal, being accommodated inappropriately with the consequence of being at risk of re	CAN_11062019_780.bt
2	milestone. The past 230 years has seen the creation of modern Australia, but have we brought our Aboriginal brothers and sisters along with us on this journey? There is still no acknowledgment in the	HOM_28052019_OPD_891.bt
3	, and specifically an Aboriginal community controlled organisation, is involved in all decisions affecting an Aboriginal child in contact with the care and protection system. This latest report provides an	CAN_10062019_OPN_1030.bt
4	an approach that enables the head of an Aboriginal organisation to assume full legal responsibility for an Aboriginal child, with the aim of providing cultural connection. Five years ago the national government	AGE_18042019_699.bt
5	appropriate' but are sometimes no better than the homes they have come from. It is assumed that Aboriginal children are best placed with Aboriginal carers because they possess the necessary skills	DAT_24042019_OPD_793.bt
6	latest A Step Up for our Kids snapshot report provides clear evidence of the scale of the crisis engulfing Aboriginal families in touch with the care and protection system. The snapshot report reveals that the	CAN_10062019_OPN_1030.bt
7	ring, Burney, in her portrait, is wearing the Aboriginal flag on her finger. "At Parliament House, we fly the Aboriginal flag with abundance during National Reconciliation Week and NAIDOC Week. But the only	CAN_17062019_601.bt
8	, police decide to run with it and so starts our experience as alleged offenders. After all, it was an Aboriginal girl in foster care with ex police parents. What risk averse police wouldn't run with it?" Jack	AGE_20042019_INS_1479.bt
9	come from those river systems," Mr Jones said. Despite not having a platform that addressed specific Aboriginal interests, with 'fishers' in their name, Mr Jones said it was a "no brainer" Aboriginal people	SMH_29032019_662.bt
10	the more brutal past practices of some mission operators, and the emergence of educated and articulate Aboriginal leaders - all with the growing Civil Rights movement abroad. This week one of the key	AGE_01062019_INS_1543.bt
11	" Flu shots are also free, under the National Immunisation Program, for pregnant women, people over 65, Aboriginal people and those with medical conditions such as asthma, diabetes and heart problems.	SMH_21052019_547.bt
12	Weren't We Told?). We have barely scratched the surface in understanding the deep relationship that Aboriginal people had with their country and what their land meant and their role in protecting their	HOM_28052019_OPD_891.bt
13	prompted the intervention existed. Further, there is now little evidence they have had significant benefit for Aboriginal people in the NT, with suicide and truancy rates increasing. In 2008 there were 4870	SUA_09062019_1487.bt
14	prompted the intervention existed. Further, there is now little evidence they have had significant benefit for Aboriginal people in the NT, with suicide and truancy rates increasing. In 2008, there were 4870	SMH_08062019_REV_1343.bt
15	Lawford Benning and Mary Durack have known for a long time there is more to the story of Aboriginal people's shared history with her nation building family, a dynasty forged by Australia's	AUS_15062019_NAT_1197.bt

A majority of these instances introduce an Adjunct of Circumstance involving a participant or object which is not an Aboriginal person/people. Since dynamics of cooperation involving Aboriginal people(s) are the focus, these are not analysed further.

Appendix 6b: Excluded concordance lines of *with* + *Aboriginal*

N	Concordance	File
1	career in policing he was hesitant to support her dream because of what he knew came with the job for an Aboriginal person. "I spoke to my daughter - and it is sad that I had to have that conversation and I would	WEA_11052019_804.bt
2	to retail outlets around Australia. But these products, despite featuring designs associated with Australian Aboriginal art and words such as '???Aboriginal Art, ???genuine', and '???Australia', were made in Indonesia	BRS_11062019_744.bt
3	. The Human Rights Commission investigated them. I wrote two columns arguing that people with both Aboriginal and European ancestry had choices in how they identified - as Aboriginal, European, bi racial or	AUS_13052019_777.bt
4	. The Human Rights Commission investigated them. I wrote two columns arguing that people with both Aboriginal and European ancestry had choices in how they identified - as Aboriginal, European, bi racial or	DAT_13052019_OPD_698.bt
5	. The Human Rights Commission investigated them. I wrote two columns arguing that people with both Aboriginal and European ancestry had choices in how they identified - as Aboriginal, European, bi racial or	ADV_13052019_780.bt
6	before reaching that conclusion. As one financial capability worker who assisted with the study notes: 'Aboriginal people have already lost so much of their culture, and to discourage them from sharing is to lose	CAN_30052019_OPN_928.bt
7	before reaching that conclusion. As one financial capability worker who assisted with the study notes: 'Aboriginal people have already lost so much of their culture, and to discourage them from sharing is to lose	SMH_30052019_OPN_956.bt
8	before reaching that conclusion. As one financial capability worker who assisted with the study notes: 'Aboriginal people have already lost so much of their culture, and to discourage them from sharing is to lose	AGE_30052019_OPN_786.bt
9	she told me again of seeing her father led through the streets handcuffed and roped together with other Aboriginal men, arrested for simply drinking alcohol. This is her Australia. These are her memories, the	AUS_13042019_2342.bt
10	for growth for all parties involved. COLLEEN HAYWARD 1. While I cannot speak with authority on our (Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander) dynamic across Australia, in Western Australia more than half our	AUS_17052019_2321.bt
11	Blacktown City Council said it was committed to working with Planning "on preserving potential Aboriginal burial grounds in the North West Growth Area" including in the West Schofields precinct. "We	SMH_10062019_730.bt
12	in many ways Multjulu fares better than other communities, while still struggling with the same issues that Aboriginal communities battle across the country. Too many of its young people die from suicide and its	SUA_09062019_1487.bt
13	to Indigenous peoples and communities by inauthentic souvenirs and crafts with no connection to the Aboriginal peoples whose stories, histories and culture they depict. Together, these issues highlight the	CAN_14062019_OPN_973.bt
14	A Step Up for Our Kids is clearly, while the Aboriginal community is excluded, not consistent with the Aboriginal Child Placement Principles. The Our Booris review team makes a number of trenchant criticisms	CAN_10062019_OPN_1030.
15	comments have been to endorse the "twinning" of European names of cities and locations with traditional Aboriginal names. He was responding to a proposal by Fremantle Mayor Brad Pettitt to add the Nyoongar	AUS_23052019_NAT_545.bt
16	Sir Robert Menzies who spoke those words 54 years ago, as his government started wrestling with the way Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples were dealt with (or more accurately, ignored) in Australia's	SMH_01062019_1561.bt
17	Robert Menzies who uttered those words 54 years ago, as his government started wrestling with the way Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples were dealt with (or more accurately, ignored) in Australia's	AGE_01062019_INS_1543.bt
18	announced on Tuesday, the new single mechanism for funding will come into effect in July 2020, with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Legal Services to be guaranteed continued funding at current levels for	CAN_10042019_359.bt
19	"It is very important the inquiry looks specifically at issues around the policies and approach to dealing with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children in contact with the care and protection system, and the	CAN_19052019_SUN_606.bt
20	mental health issues, homelessness and couch surfing. There is no easy solution, but the answer lies with Aboriginal people finding local solutions built on trust, long term investments and a whole of community,	AUS_17052019_2321.bt
21	, regardless of where they live. Raised in Toowoomba, Harris trained as a public relations officer with Aboriginal Hostels Limited and then ATSIC in Canberra in the 1980s. Drawn to the land rights struggle, he	AUS_17052019_555.bt
22	no better than the homes they have come from. It is assumed that Aboriginal children are best placed with Aboriginal carers because they possess the necessary skills for looking after Aboriginal children. This is	DAT_24042019_OPD_793.bt
23	status and where political correctness rules, it can be difficult to challenge these myths. As someone with Aboriginal ancestry, I know first hand the backlash and hate that is generated when these myths are	DAT_24042019_OPD_793.bt

I similarly exclude left-hand collocations where Aboriginal people(s) or groups themselves are not the complement of *with*, such as “what he knew came **with** the job for *Aboriginal* people” (line 1). Here, *the job* is the complement of *with*.

Appendix 7: Randomly down-sampled concordances of *consultation with* from NOW-OZ:16-17

N	Concordance
1	to Ms Berry , the paper will be developed following consultation with a broad range of community
2	show how thinking through the most viable options in consultation with a case manager and establishing a
3	overseas have been found to have less contact or consultation with a doctor . Dr Hudson says " it 's
4	boards " . The framework had been developed in consultation with a number of professional and local
5	abortion because @ @ @ @ @ @ @ @ @ @ and consultation with a physician , as required by Texas
6	and baby sister.Source:Supplied After extensive consultation with a psychiatrist and gender
7	available on the shelf . Men need to have a detailed consultation with a specially trained pharmacist at
8	considering seeking hypnotherapy should do so only in consultation with a trained professional .
9	of time to 1 November 2016 , " Philippou wrote . " In consultation with ACC legal counsel , this was
10	The original application was lodged following extensive consultation with all Aboriginal stakeholders in the
11	after 485 ? You have a @ @ @ @ @ @ @ @ @ @ a consultation with an experienced Registered
12	Balnaves said he was " dumbfounded " by the lack of consultation with art experts and donors . " The lack
13	the subject did not seem to involve much in the way of consultation with backbenchers , the party 's
14	on growers but the decision (to shut) was taken in consultation with Canegrowers . " He hoped
15	work is undertaken within the Transport Portfolio , in consultation with City of Wanneroo and the City of
16	on whether or not to continue playing cricket in consultation with @ @ @ @ @ @ @ @ @ @ @ @
17	@ @ @ @ the possibility of a cap on interchanges after consultation with clubs and coaches . The AFL 's
18	this thoroughly and not make any rushed decision . Consultation with clubs should occur this year with
19	engineering and safety , environmental protection , consultation with communities affected and marine
20	Murray-Darling Basin and the Darling River . She said consultation with community members and groups
21	support and information to the families in Australia , in consultation with Crown . " Vitaly Umansky , an
22	an event in the State Library , had been developed in consultation with educators to deliver on their
23	should be made until there has been full and proper consultation with employees and their
24	The cost is \$25 per workshop , which includes a free consultation with experienced Riverina Murray
25	lack of trust and @ @ @ @ @ @ @ @ @ @ Limited consultation with First Nations communities for
26	are , " he said . " Any future decision will be made in consultation with Fraser Coast Tourism and Events
27	that Protectionist 's racing career was over after consultation with his German trainer , Andreas
28	Policy , developed though three years of public consultation with holiday let operators , Victims of
29	National Energy Guarantee (NEG) policy , with no consultation with industry or states which will @ @
30	did nt specifically talk about , but it was certainly in consultation with industry . " Other new legislation
31	drones can be operated " and were formulated in consultation with industry . " Under the new rules
32	as possible . " He added that the ICA remains in close consultation with insurance companies ,
33	its intention to open some new sites following consultation with insurance partners . The first two
34	receiving an application . The ACCC conducts public consultation with interested parties both before
35	working on the performance measures for a year in consultation with international education expert
36	for Port Adelaide tourism . The strategy included consultation with key stakeholders , including
37	construct 16 pipelines during the irrigation season , in consultation with landowners , as part of its early
38	the NLC and the NT Government had rushed through consultation with local people affected by the
39	crossings saying there would be rigorous work and consultation with locals . @ @14445910 Three
40	" The ten-year plan was developed after extensive consultation with mathematical scientists in
41	her GP discovered an ovarian cyst during a checkup . Consultation with more medical practitioners led
42	taken this decision after much prayer , thought and consultation with my advisers to allow for the
43	Centre . " I decided on my direction of therapies after consultation with my doctors and natural therapists
44	of action . " Police are currently reviewing files in consultation with other jurisdictions to determine if
45	were present were particularly furious at Pell 's lack of consultation with others -- especially his failure , as
46	young people going through gender transition do so in consultation with parents , teachers and medical
47	financial targets for the Development department in consultation with @ @ @ @ @ @ @ @ @ @ @ @
48	football related cardiologists in Madrid , and a final consultation with Professor Christopher
49	scheduled to open by the end of the month . Following consultation with Quinns Mindarie Surf Life Saving
50	in Woodend says the amended legislation , drafted in consultation with Real Estate Institute of Victoria ,
51	who have examined Mr Cy Walsh and following consultation with relevant parties . " I emphasise
52	debate . " There 's been a great deal of stakeholder consultation with representatives of both the yes
53	's transformation of health in the state has shut out consultation with senior clinicians , a parliamentary
54	Centre , no express @ @ @ @ @ @ @ @ @ @ @ @ , no consultation with specialist child psychiatrists and
55	and the state , however the changes are subject to consultation with staff and unions . " The exact
56	was an " agreed protocol " developed after extensive consultation with staff , parents and boys at the
57	which has already been watered down since consultation with stakeholders . " @ @17960436
58	to the Bill would be developed in the new year , in consultation with stakeholders . Shadow
59	Government has not revealed any details as to what consultation with stakeholders was undertaken ,
60	the screening be postponed to a later date to allow for consultation with students . In the co-signed letter ,
61	commissioned the Deloitte Report following extensive consultation with subcontractors across the state
62	or break , leading to dosing issues Novo Nordisk , in consultation with the ... 2 CommentsKaren Hunter
63	the update implemented voluntarily were finalised in consultation with the ACCC . The recall is strongly
64	services to these tenants . " This includes close consultation with the ACT Aboriginal and Torres
65	" A decision has been made by Team Kenya in consultation with the athlete and Kenyan and IAAF
66	of public documents . " The State Archivist in consultation with the CCC has advised that the new
67	to justify others . " The Inspector did not undertake any consultation with the commission on any of the
68	will have the power to divest the interest following consultation with the commonwealth , but Mr
69	system . " Unfortunately , this was done without consultation with the community and without the
70	one and renew two of its strategic plans that includes consultation with the community and industry
71	is important that this process is conducted in open consultation with the community . " Beaches Not
72	, especially me , is there has been absolutely no consultation with the community . " Ms Anderson
73	liabilities may be reduced by the management in consultation with the country 's financial authority .
74	power in place it will develop a work programme in consultation with the Department and other
75	the interim and final dividend were paid out of profits in consultation with the external @ @ @ @ @ @ @ @
76	on preferences . The outcome , which would be in consultation with the federal Liberals , is uncertain
77	actively strive to achieve gender balance and , in consultation with the fund 's @ @ @ @ @ @ @ @ @ @
78	NBN 's assertion that the new model was developed in consultation with the industry , Hurley said IA had
79	premiums . The guidelines were developed in consultation with the insurance industry , and were
80	of Mosul , Iraq . Focus still on training , rebuilding " in consultation with the Iraqi Government , the focus
81	they attempted to source an ambulance . However , in consultation with the jockeys it was decided the
82	he has announced it will be based in St Kilda . After consultation with the LGBTQIA community to
83	whether or not he had held any specific form of consultation with the local Aboriginal community
84	to accommodate the needs of its Muslim students in consultation with the local community -- something
85	exactly clear when the plaque , one of seven made in consultation with the local community , was stolen
86	Military training Initiative . This follows consultation with the local community , businesses
87	being dug next to a property in Narrabundah , without consultation with the neighbours . Liberal and
88	and it is anticipated that this will be the subject of consultation with the profession over the coming
89	may be a case for " very gentle tweaking " in close consultation with the property industry . Senator
90	, but Ms King said those savings were made in consultation with the sector and some were
91	we would expect them to undertake some meaningful consultation with the sector -- and specifically with
92	the budget in May , ' he said . " We have been in close consultation with the sector , with practitioners ,
93	the optimal capital structure . " " Management , in consultation with the Shareholder Ministers ,
94	to ratify the OPCAT by December 2017 , following consultation with the states and territories on our
95	second time , affecting four more batches Apotex , in consultation with the TGA , is recalling four more ...
96	for five to six more phases before calling time off . On consultation with the TMO , Stander was sent off .
97	post on the Carmen Rupe page says:During consultation with the trans community prior to
98	goal by Federico Fazio , awarded after a consultation with the video assistant referee (VAR
99	I think that it is important that patients do n't go into the consultation with this strong expectation that they
100	the Adult Mental Health Unit , " a spokesperson said . " Consultation with union partners is a critical part of