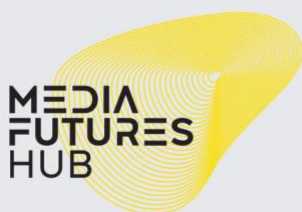# listening/in

Community media and the politics of listening

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Acknowledgements

About the Researchers

Tanja Dreher

Dr Tanja Dreher is Co-Director of the Media Futures Hub and Associate Professor in Media at the University of New South Wales, and a founding contributor to Community and Alternative Media Research Australia (CAMRA). Tanja's interdisciplinary research examines media and social justice with a focus on the politics of listening in the context of settler colonialism and Indigenous sovereignties, intersectionality and anti-racism, ubiquitous datafication and community media interventions. As an engaged researcher, Tanja works with community and activist media and has collaborated on media interventions with Arab, Muslim and refugee communities during the long 'war on terror' and with media and community arts organisations including Indymedia Sydney and Information Cultural Exchange (ICE). Tanja is a former Vice-Chair of the Community Communication and Alternative Media Section of the IAMCR (2016 – 2019), a former Research Manager at UTS Shopfront community engagement program and the incoming Vice-Chair of the Philosophy, Theory, Critique Division of the ICA (2021 – 2025). Her work has been published in various outlets including *Media, Culture &Society*, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *Continuum, borderlands* and *Journalism Studies*. @TanjaDreher
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Poppy de Souza

Dr Poppy de Souza a researcher affiliated with the School of Arts and Media at the University of New South Wales, in Sydney, Australia and the Griffith Centre for Social and Cultural Research at Griffith University, in Brisbane. Poppy's scholarship is concerned with the politics of voice and listening—broadly defined—in conditions of inequality and injustice across a range of contexts. Her doctoral thesis *Beyond Voice Poverty* examined the politics of voice and listening in the context of increasing datafication, media fragmentation, political polarisation, and rapid social change. More recently, her work has examined the relationship between sound, listening and racial in/justice; acoustic violence and the 'white ear'; and slow listening in the context of settler colonialism and offshore detention regimes. Her work has been published in *Media, Culture & Society, International Journal of Communication,* and *Continuum: Journal of Media and Cultural Studies.* http://www.poppydesouza.com/

Introduction

The resurgent #BlackLivesMatter movement has prompted a 'cultural reckoning' on racism and media in Australia (Thomas et al. 2020) and beyond. The 2019 massacre of Muslims at prayer in Otautahi/Christchurch by Australian Brendan Tarrant sparked all-too brief media focus on white supremacy and systemic racism in Australia. Recent years have also seen the publication of numerous reports and insider accounts of dominant whiteness and the lack of diversity across Australian media (Rogers 2020). This report contributes to these vital conversations with a focus on the crucial role of community and alternative media, and of institutional listening in response to self-determined voice in media.

Listening In analyses political voice and political listening against the backdrop of the media diversity debates. We focus on community media in Australia with its' stated commitments to media diversity and to amplifying voices that are rarely heard in the mainstream. We ask to what extent the political voice enabled by community and alternative media is heard by decision-makers and opinion leaders in key democratic institutions of government and media.

The importance of voice and listening was underscored by the CEO of Central Australia Aboriginal Media Association (CAAMA), Warlpiri/Ngulakan/Mara man Karl Hampton, in opening the 2019 First Nations Media Australia *Converge* conference in Mparntwe/Alice Springs. Speaking just weeks after the death in custody of Kumajayi Walker in the remote community of Yuendumu, close to Mparntwe/Alice Springs, Hampton argued that community-controlled media played a vital role in getting the story out and shifting the media frame and state responses:

> *"Through our sector we can influence the decision-makers, both by providing the platforms for our mob to get their message out, but also by projecting our own voice. […] Indigenous media demystifies Indigenous culture and strengthens our identity. It allows us to engage the wider culture of ideas, to become a part of the discussion, to have a voice and to be heard. Our media shines a spotlight on issues that may otherwise be a footnote in the mainstream. Deaths in custody, youth suicide, constitutional recognition, community control, self-determination, economic empowerment. The proof of the power of First Nations people taking control of the media is there in the Justice For Walker movement. The digital media skills of our mob and communities have been critical in getting the real story out, of connecting us with what's going on in otherwise would be just a remote community in some part of our country, that the rest of this country cares little about. It was our mob through digital,*

social and mainstream First Nation media platforms that ignited the passion that saw thousands of people march in the streets of Alice Springs and across our country in a peaceful protest to highlight the real fears, real issues and real desires for justice we have. It was the community and citizen journalists that instigated this issue to be taken up in the national mainstream media. To give you an idea on the influence here, there've been more than 1,500 mentions of Yuendumu in the mainstream Australian media since that tragic Sunday night. […] We must always remember the power of the media to shape attitudes and public opinion that in turn helps shape public policy and drive change, real systemic change."

In this report we examine the possibilities and the challenges for self-determined voices in community media to be heard in mainstream institutions in settler colonial Australia.

Background to the project

Between 2017 and 2020, the project 'Listening In: Improving recognition of community media to support democratic participation and wellbeing'—funded by an Australian Research Council Future Fellowship FT140100515 (2015 - 2020) —sought to understand to what extent Indigenous and community media voices are heard in key institutions of the mainstream public sphere, including by policymakers and journalists in media and government. As part of the project, we aimed to analyse the political listening practices necessary to respond to sovereign and self-determined voice in the changing media environment.

The community media sector in Australia is dynamic and diverse, an exemplar of democratic participation and community voice. Established in the 1970s/80s, the community broadcasting sector in Australia is an international benchmark for public access media that institutionalises a commitment to media diversity (Moran 1995). New media forms, including social media, provide increasing opportunities for marginalised communities to speak up, share stories and find a voice. Yet research increasingly suggests that greater capacity for media production does not always guarantee that diverse voices will be heard. Burgess (2006) argues, 'The question that we ask about 'democratic' media participation can no longer be limited to 'who gets to speak?'. We must also ask 'who is heard, and to what end?' At a time of significant technological change and 'digital disruption' across the media landscape, we must also ask how community media voices heard and valued, and by whom?

The Listening In project aimed to:

- Analyse the means by which voices enabled by Indigenous and community media are valued by key actors in policy and opinion formation

- Identify possibilities and obstacles for listening in response to 'voice' enabled by alternative media

- Map engagement with Indigenous and community media among key actors of the mainstream public sphere

Structure of the report

This report is organised in seven sections. In this Introduction, we provide details on the background, aims and methodology of the research project. The following section outlines the conceptual framework of political voice and listening. In section three we introduce the community broadcasting sector in Australia as a key media institution for political voice. The fourth section provides a snapshot of sovereign and self-determined voice in community media, with a focus on First Nations voices, refugee and asylum seeker voices, women of colour, migrant diaspora communities, and intersectional voices. The fifth section presents results of our research on 'institutional listening' among policymakers and mainstream journalists. In section six we discuss challenges to the core values and key functions of community broadcasting in the context of digital disruption, with particular attention to competition for value from social media, and the conflicting values of corporate digital platforms. In the final section we provide a summary of findings and point to future directions.

Terminology

There has been some debate about the terms 'community', 'alternative' and 'citizens'' media and which is the more useful overall term for non-mainstream media (e.g., Downing 2000, Atton 2002, Rodriguez 2001, Rennie 2006). In this research we adopted an inclusive concept of community or citizens' media which in diverse ways amplify voices historically excluded or marginalised from mainstream public spheres.

We use the phrases 'sovereign', 'self-determined' and 'self-represented' media to signal our focus on voices of negatively racialised communities and people rarely heard in mainstream media *on their own terms* - First Nations voices, refugee and asylum seeker voices, women of colour, migrant diaspora communities, and intersectional voices. We spotlight community radio programs and podcasts/audio series that foreground sovereign and self-determined voices from First Nations, refugee/asylum seeker, and intersectional standpoints, made by or in collaboration with community. Self-determination in media, in our understanding, includes setting the agenda, framing, and priorities in media content and in the production process, and can at times include speaking back to mainstream media, and/or working without reference to mainstream audiences and concerns.

Methodology

Data for this project were collected using mixed methods, including qualitative interviews with policymakers, journalists, and community media producers in six metropolitan and regional centres with culturally diverse populations and a community media presence. Data collection methods included:

- **Program content mapping** to identify where self-determined or self-represented voice can be heard in community media. We sampled 49 generalist community broadcasters across metropolitan and regional Australia, 5 full-time ethnic broadcasters, and 17 key First Nations broadcasters. Follow up email or phone contact was made with key priority stations on our list; an online questionnaire was circulated; and an additional dozen regional stations where program information was not easily available online. We drew on a range of sources for this information: station program grids (where available online); the CBAA's Community Radio Network program guide; desk-based research; interviews with station managers and program makers, and an online questionnaire. The content mapping was not intended to be comprehensive, but rather provided a snapshot of 'diverse voices' atthe station programming level, based on our inclusion criteria. Examples identified through our program content mapping are listed in Appendix A on the project website: https://www.listeninginproject.org/listening-post

- **'Listening out' for media on media** 'Media on media' sources included relevant community radio program broadcasts/transcripts, and sector and academic panel discussions available in the public domain —such as the recent #BlackStoriesMatter seminar and podcast series, presented by the Indigenous Land and Justice Research Hub at UTS; the Decentring white privilege: Decolonising and diversifying the airwaves panel at the 2020 CBAA conference; and the 3CR panel Classroom to Newsroom: Racial gatekeeping in Australian media. We also referred to relevant writing/reporting

by First Nations and minority media practitioners and journalists. Examples identified through our listening for 'media on media' are listed in Appendix B and on the project website: https://www.listeninginproject.org/media-on-media

- **Qualitative interviews** were conducted with journalists and policymakers (n=32) whose professional role includes some responsibility for Indigenous and/or multicultural affairs explored the 'work of listening' (MacNamara 2013) within institutional settings—their engagement with First Nations and community media, as well as obstacles to engagement. We were interested in the media (including social media) that policymakers and journalists use in understanding Indigenous and multicultural affairs, as well as the reasons why some may not attend closely to First Nations or community media. As key institutional listeners, the failure of decision-makers and opinion-leaders to listen risks perpetuating an attention economy that centres whiteness (Garbes, 2019). Interviews with community media producers and program managers (n=25) explored perceptions of engagement with Indigenous and community media in the mainstream public sphere—both specifically in relation to relevant station programming, and more broadly in terms of the sector. Community media practitioners were asked to reflect on their work and offer suggestions to encourage receptivity, recognition and response to Indigenous and community media by mainstream media producers and policy makers. Interviews explored perceptions of engagement with Indigenous and community media in the mainstream public sphere—both specifically in relation to relevant station programming, and more broadly in terms of the sector—as well as any evidence of barriers or inattention.

- **Participating in fora and events,** such as First Nations Media Australia's (FNMA) *Converge* conferences in Brisbane (2018) and Alice Springs (2019); the CBAA and NEMBC annual conferences (2017, 2018, 2020)

We also conducted informal conversations with representatives of the community media sector's three national peak bodies:

- The Community Broadcasting Association of Australia (CBAA)

- The National Ethnic and Multicultural Broadcasters' Council (NEMBC)

- First Nations Media Australia (FNMA), formerly known as the Indigenous Remote Communications Association (IRCA)

The community broadcasting sector in Australia has been the focus of considerable and significant research over several decades. Much of this research has been funded by or conducted in partnership with sector organisations, including the CBAA, NEMBC and FNMA. The Listening In project was independently funded by the Australian Research Council and did not involve a formal or funded partnership with any sector organisations.

Ethics

Ethics approval was granted from University of New South Wales Human Research Ethics Committee. HREC Approval No: HC17640

Voice and Listening

The Listening In project sought to understand to what extent Indigenous media and community media voices are heard in key institutions of the mainstream public sphere, including by policymakers and journalists in more mainstream media and government. In this section we introduce the key concepts that underpinned the research and the previous research the project builds upon. First, we introduce the significance of media for the politics of voice, then we introduce political listening as a vital intervention, and finally we explain our research focus on institutional listening in particular.

Media and the politics of voice

Social justice movements and western political theory have long focused on 'voice' as a vital component of agency, justice, self-determination, and democratic participation (Couldry 2010). 'Having a voice' in decision-making and in media is a common goal. Voice in this sense is a powerful political metaphor and practice, rather than the literal meaning of sound emanating from a voice box. The political practice and metaphor of voice is particularly significant in the context of settler colonialism and entrenched racisms. Research and advocacy consistently find systemic patterns of media racism in Australia, including in negatively racialised media representations of First Nations, of Muslims and Arabs, of communities labelled as 'Asians' and 'Africans' and more (eg. Dreher 2010, Jakubowicz et al 1994, Marjoribanks et al 2010, McQuire 2019, Meadows et al 2007, Thomas et al 2019). Mainstream media has long played a crucial role in the generation, circulation and contestation of racist ideas, while new forms of online and social media racism are now emerging (Titley 2019, Saha 2021)

Given the exclusions and racist representations prominent in mainstream media, negatively racialised communities continue to assert self-determined and resistant media spaces. A long tradition of media research and policy advocates for First Nations media to enable voice and self-representation in response to misrepresentation and marginalisation of Indigenous communities and First Nations aspirations in mainstream media (e.g., Meadows 1996, Meadows and Molnar 2002, Rennie 2008, Hartley and McKee 2000, Meadows 2015, Thomas et al 2019, McQuire 2020). More recently, policy and scholarly research has supported media training and development for Muslim Australians to counter stereotyping in mainstream media after September 11, 2001 (HREOC 2004, Dreher 2003, 2010, Dunn 2005) and research documenting racism in the media directed at Sudanese Australians (AHRC 2010, Nolan et al. 2011), prompted funding for the development of media initiatives (Marjoribanks et al. 2010). One result was the AuSud Media Project, which aimed 'to facilitate Sudanese Australians in the development of their own voice' (Centre for Advancing Journalism 2014).

First Nations media are the exemplary expression and achievement of the politics of voice in the Australian media landscape, grounded in principles of Indigenous sovereignty, self-determination, and self-representation (McQuire 2020, Thomas et al. 2019), at times working to 'redefine' what is meant by media itself (Michaels 1986, Rennie 2008). Research on audiences for Indigenous media

in the community broadcasting sector (primarily community radio) has found that community broadcasting is an essential service for Indigenous audiences (Meadows et al 2007) as for many Indigenous communities in Australia, First Nations media is mainstream media (Rennie 2008).

Self-determined self-representation in media is vital for communities that are colonised and racialised in Australia. This might include speaking back or responding to mainstream media racism, silence or misrepresentations, but crucially also includes a voice on one's own terms, setting the agenda, choosing audiences and determining the frame for debate or representation. For example, the highly influential IndigenousX media organisation describes its mission: 'IndigenousX believes in the principles of self-determination and works to affect change by upholding Indigenous knowledges, voices and ways of being'. The organization RISE: Refugees, Survivors, Ex-Detainees works under the banner 'nothing about us without us' and runs media campaigns and a wide range of projects and services 'managed, developed and run by people from Ex-detainee, Refugee and Asylum seeker backgrounds who have first-hand experience of settling in and outside Australia' (riserefugee.org). Refugee Voices, a recently founded community-led refugee organisation, states on its website, 'we are committed to ensuring that when it comes to the policies, campaigns and decisions that affect us, our voices are heard loud and clear'.

Political listening

As the Refugee Voices mission statement indicates, the necessary corollary to political voice is to be heard 'loud and clear'. Listening is gaining ground as an intervention or a corrective in political theory and in feminist theorising including postcolonial or intersectional approaches. The turn to listening is particularly important in the context of celebratory claims around the capacity of digital media to ensure increased opportunities for voice, speaking up and sharing stories. There is no doubt that the community broadcasting sector and new media technologies including social media, podcasts, and citizen journalism can enable an increase in the range and diversity of voice available on the airwaves and online. Yet the increase in opportunities to speak up, have a voice, and share stories may not, in and of itself, ensure that a greater range of voices are heard.

While 'voice' is undoubtedly crucial for agency, self-representation, and self-determination, we aim to understand 'listening' as the 'other side' of communication and an emerging challenge of the 'post broadcast' media era. If the 20th Century was characterised by demands for access to scarce media resources, the challenges of 'listening' are crucial in an era of rapidly expanding opportunities for media production. While there is no doubt that web-based communications technologies have enabled a proliferation of voices and participation, there is a need to analyse the extent to which voice is actually heard (Couldry 2010) or has influence in wider debates and decision-making (Dreher 2012a). Kate Lacey (2013) contends that the absence of 'listening' operates as a form of censorship, comparable to restrictions on the ability to speak. Nick Couldry (2010) cautions against a narrow conception of 'voice' which does not include the crucial role of 'voice that matters' or political 'listening'. Couldry (2010: 101) further suggests that while contemporary neoliberal democracies offer proliferating opportunities for voice, there is little attention paid to the necessity of that voice being heard, resulting in a 'recognition crisis' when, 'a system that provides formal voice for its citizens but fails so markedly to listen exhibits

a crisis of political voice'. Jo Tacchi (2009: 170) finds a similar absence in the field of Communication for Development, noting that while 'voicing may be encouraged, it may not be heard'. Research increasingly suggests that greater capacity for media production—and the 'democratisation' of media more broadly— does not always guarantee that sovereign or self-determined voices will be heard. Understanding listening as active agency also means that the absence of listening can be understood as an active failure, avoidance or refusal.

People and communities that are silenced, misrepresented, or negatively racialised in mainstream media often demand to be heard and call out media silences as a refusal to listen. Desmarchelier et al. (2018: 151), for instance, argue that 'where Australian Indigenous people have access to and/or control over forms of broadcast media, there is a noticeable dilution of mainstream/Whitestream narratives of Indigeneity'. First Nations experts, organisations, and activists regularly demand that media and policymakers listen to their expertise, solutions and theorisations for a better future including in relation to continuing deaths in custody and over-incarceration (e.g. Coe 2020, Moon 2020, McQuire 2020, Whittaker 2020), the removal of Indigenous children from their families (e.g. Warner 2021) and violence against Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women (e.g. McGlade, Carlson & Longbottom, 2021). Following the massacre of Muslims at prayer at the Al Noor Mosque in Otautahi Christchurch on March 15 2019, Muslim women's organisations and advocates in Aotearoa and Australia explained that they had raised the alarm on white supremacy and racist violence many times, but their voices were ignored (Abdel-Fattah 2019, Rahman 2019a, 2019b). Dreher's earlier research with Arab and Muslim communities speaking back to media racism over a ten-year period identified selective listening as the most intractable dilemma facing community media interventions, rather than a lack of media access or skills (Dreher 2010).

Dreher's previous work developed a concept of 'listening across difference' or political listening as a process of receptivity, recognition, and response (Dreher 2009a). Political listening is not necessarily an auditory practice, nor a therapeutic activity (Lloyd 2009), but rather an ensemble of practices including openness, receptivity, attention, engagement, duration, continuation, and recognition (Bickford 1996). In research and practice on media and social justice, listening shifts the focus from access and voice for oppressed or marginalised voices – to the listening practices and responsibilities of the relatively more privileged and powerful. Crucially, the politics of listening widens focus on media responsibilities from 'giving voice to the voiceless' to the much more unsettling task of cultivating political listening. The turn to listening is therefore significant as it shifts some of the focus and responsibility for just or democratic outcomes from sovereign and self-determined voices and on to the conventions, institutions and practices that shape who and what can be heard in media (Dreher 2009a, 2009b). Coles (2004) describes this as 'turning the tables' and shifting power.

Our own interest in the politics of listening in this study emerges from Dreher's more than ten years of working with 'speaking up' projects developed by Arab and Muslim communities in Australia during the war on terror. Reflecting on these projects, Dreher (2010) found that the dilemmas confronting Muslims in the Australian media are not simply questions of speaking – there is no shortage of spokespeople and commentators – but more importantly the difficulties of being heard. To focus on listening poses the

question of change in terms of learning new ways for the centre to hear rather than simply requiring the marginalised to speak up (Dreher 2010: 99).

Institutional listening

The Listening In project sought to investigate the political listening of key actors within the mainstream public sphere - journalists and policymakers - rather than the individual listening practices of general media audiences. Waller (2012) argues that listening is the key cultural competence required of journalists reporting on Indigenous affairs, while Thill (2009) finds that policymakers and journalists must exercise 'courageous listening' in response to First Nations voices. O'Donnell (2009) argues for journalists to improve listening practices in response to claims around difference and inequality, and Downing argues that those in power have 'an obligation to listen to historically marginalised voices' (2007: 12). This argument extends Husband's proposal for a 'Right to be Understood' which 'would place upon all a duty to seek comprehension of the other' (2000: 208, see also 2009). Crucially, Husband argues that 'media for minorities' are necessary but insufficient for multicultural societies, which require additional 'exchange of information and cultural products across these communities of identity' (2000: 209). Previous research suggests that Indigenous and community media provide an opportunity for settlers to 'eavesdrop with permission' on media which prioritises the needs, interests and perspectives of community and Indigenous audiences (Dreher 2009b). Where community media is produced in English and engages with issues of political or social concern, it provides a platform for communities that are negatively racialised in mainstream media to set the agenda and be heard without necessarily responding to the demands or priorities of mainstream public debate (Dreher 2010). Listening In explored these claims through an empirical study of attention to Indigenous and community media by key actors in the mainstream public sphere.

The Listening In project examined how journalists and policymakers engage with community and alternative media in professional roles which require them to engage with and respond to Indigenous and community concerns. Given their work in key democratic institutions, we assumed that these opinion leaders and policymakers have a responsibility to listen to communities impacted by their work. A First Nations media representative told us that 'people in leadership roles need to listen more than talk, need to hear, not tell, hear more rather than speak'. The proliferation of Indigenous and community media offers opinion leaders and policymakers a ready resource for accessing the interests and claims of communities that are colonised, racialised and marginalized in media.

The listening approach shifts focus from the everyday media practices of negatively racialised communities on to the political listening practices of actors whose work in key institutions means that they have a degree of influence on policy formation, public debate, and mainstream media content. Rather than focus on quotidian audience activity, this study explores institutional practices of attention to 'voice' enabled by Indigenous and community media. The research is also attentive to the structural barriers to political listening within democratic institutions and other organisations. In a comprehensive survey of both government and corporate organisations, Macnamara (2013) found that organisations generally

lack 'architectures of listening' even where community voice is invited. Couldry (2010) argues that neoliberal institutions tend to offer opportunities for 'voice', but that voice is not actually valued or heard.

Political listening was operationalised as receptivity, recognition and response via the following key questions:

- **Receptivity:** where and to what extent are key democratic institutions attentive to Indigenous and community media? Beyond the communities represented, who listens in? How do listeners select among proliferating media outlets?

- **Recognition:** how is community media valued beyond the communities represented? To what extent are outlets perceived as relevant, significant or credible?

- **Response:** how have key actors in the mainstream public sphere responded to Indigenous or community media? What are the examples of influence or engagement from alternative to mainstream public spheres?

Community media in Australia

The community broadcasting sector

Australia has a 50-year history of publicly funded, volunteer-run community radio that serves as a benchmark for developments around the world. Formalised in the 1970s as the official third sector of Australian broadcasting, the current network grew out of a social movement to democratise the media landscape (Moran 1995, Anderson et al 2020). Neither commercial nor national/public in nature, community broadcasting is now the largest independent media sector in Australia – more than 450 community radio stations drawing a listenership of almost 6 million people, or one in four of the population (Anderson et al 2020).

For this research we focus on community and alternative media as key sites for diverse and self-determined political voice in the Australian media field, providing ready access to voices that are excluded, misrepresented, racialised or marginalised in influential mainstream media.

A broad and diverse field of community and alternative media is available in Australia, including independent and autonomous media and an extensive and well-established community broadcasting sector within one of the most concentrated media markets in the world.

An 'institutionalised social movement' (Anderson, 2017), community broadcasting in Australia began with sometimes unlikely coalitions of ethnic communities, universities, grassroots/left-wing political groups and fine music enthusiasts crystallising in a social movement to expand media diversity, access, participation and representations. Despite chronic funding pressures, the sector is a platform for diverse and dissenting voices, including an extensive network of First Nations media (around 130 broadcast and radio services), ethnic community media, radical radio, women of colour collectives, media by and for people with disability, prisoners' radio, alternative journalism and much more.

Previous research has found that the sector is a site for facilitating media diversity, access, participation, and representation (Anderson et al. 2020) and that community radio can expand the project of media democratisation, as community radio amplifies media participation, communication rights, counter-hegemony, and media power (Fox 2019). Community radio has also been understood as citizens media - a site where communities are able to actively engage citizenship (Anderson et al 2020, Rodriguez 2001, Rennie 2006).

Core values and principles

The community broadcasting sector is regulated by the Broadcasting Services Act and must be used for community purposes, not for profit and freely available to the general public (Anderson et al 2020). The sector is underpinned by core values and principles outlined the Community Radio Codes of Practice, specifically to: promote harmony and diversity, and contribute to an inclusive, cohesive and culturally

diverse Australian community; pursue principles of democracy, access and equity, especially for people and issues not adequately represented in other media; enhance the diversity of programming choices available to the public and present programs that expand the variety of viewpoint broadcast in Australia; demonstrate independence in programming as well as in editorial and management decisions; support and develop local arts and music; and increase community involvement in broadcasting.

Code 2 of the CBAA's Codes of Practice relates to promoting diversity and encouraging community participation:

Table 1: Code 2 of the CBAA Codes of Practice

Our stations will make sure that people in our community who are not adequately served by other media are encouraged and assisted to participate in providing our service
Policies and procedures will include mechanisms to enable active participation by our community in station management, programming and general operations
In all station activities and our behaviour we will oppose and break down prejudice on the basis of ethnicity, race, language, gender, sexuality, age, physical or mental ability, occupation, religious, cultural or political beliefs.

A key feature and value that differentiates community broadcasting from public broadcasters and commercial media is the central role of volunteers. The largest proportion of labour in community radio is volunteer and unpaid, so that community radio sees its audiences as actual or potential participants in media production (Moran 1995).

Several peak bodies represent community broadcasting in Australia. The Community Broadcasting Association of Australia (CBAA) 'champions community broadcasting by building stations' capability and by creating a healthy environment for the sector to thrive (www.cbaa.org.au). First Nations Media Australia (FNMA) is the peak body for First Nations not-for-profit broadcasting, media, and communications (firstnationsmedia.org.au). The National Ethnic and Multicultural Communities Council (NEMBC) advocates for and supports ethnic and multicultural community broadcasting with a mission to contribute to media diversity in Australia (www.nembc.org.au).

In an age of digital and social media, radio remains the leading audio platform consumed by Australians, particularly for news and information (Edison Research, 2017). Audiences for community radio have remained consistent over the last fifteen years, despite a proliferation of alternative media sources. Community broadcasting makes up the largest component of the Australian radio industry. While most of the programming on community radio is dedicated to music, less than one quarter (21%) of all community radio programming is dedicated to talks (spoken word) and news programs (CBAA 2018: 17). The 2020/21 CBAA *Community Radio Listener Survey* found that almost half (47%) of listeners tune in to community radio for its 'local information / local news', the top reason listeners tune in—regardless of age, location, how long and when they listen (CBAA 2021). Around the same proportion (48%) of First

Nations listenership tune in for the First Nations focus on programs / news and current affairs (McNair Ingenuity and IRCA, 2016). Across generalist community media, 'spoken word' programming (including news and current affairs) is geographically concentrated in metropolitan stations with 42% broadcast on metropolitan stations, 15% on regional, and 17% rural and remote (CBAA 2018: 17).

Nationwide audience research for Indigenous and ethnic community broadcasting in Australia found that it is an 'essential service' for the communities serviced, and community media is vital for social cohesion, community wellbeing and belonging (Forde, Meadows and Foxwell 2009). Further audience research has generated vital insights into the uses and value of alternative media for Indigenous and ethnic communities in Australia: for cultural maintenance / language maintenance, for information, as an alternative to misrepresentations or absence in mainstream media, and as a cultural resource for negotiating identity and difference (Ang, Brand, Noble and Sternberg 2006, Forde Foxwell and Meadows 2002, Meadows Forde Ewart and Foxwell 2007, Meadows Forde Ewart and Foxwell 2007, Productivity Commission 2000).
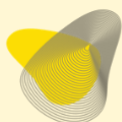
The vital role of community media

The vital role of community media was clear during the 'hard lockdown' of 9 public housing towers in Narrm/Melbourne as Covid-19 cases escalated in the winter of 2020. In early July 2020, without any prior warning, around 3,000 residents living in nine public housing estates in Melbourne, were forcibly detained by the State (Victorian Ombudsman, 2020). Over five hundred armed Victorian Police officers were deployed to enforce an unprecedented and immediate lockdown as residents were held captive in their homes. This 'hard lockdown' was later found by the Victorian Ombudsman to be a breach of human rights laws (ibid).

The nine public housing estates subject to the lockdown are home to a vibrant and close-knit multi-generational community of residents. However, criminalising and racialised discourses from government and mainstream media at the time constructed them as simultaneously 'vulnerable' and culpable (for example, highly coded and racialised language around 'overcrowding' and 'large' families) and therefore justifying the response as necessary and proportionate—adding further stigma and new trauma to communities already under siege and surveillance (Chingaipe, 2020). These residents were not the white, affluent, middle-class residents in the surrounding gentrified suburbs of North Carlton and Fitzroy. They were communities of colour, non-white migrants and their Australian-born families, refugees and ex-detainees, First Nations people; they were poor people, people with experiences of trauma, mental illness, family violence, or homelessness (Walquist and Simons, 2020).

The lockdown highlighted the vital contribution grassroots and community media made to resisting both state and media narratives, and sharing solidarity across the airwaves. Community radio has been a vital place for communities disproportionally impacted by, or vulnerable to, state and public responses to the pandemic to voice their concerns, priorities, and demands. In the days immediately following 'hard lockdown', several programs broadcast on radical community radio stations (in and beyond Melbourne) featured interviews with residents living in the public housing estates, and with volunteers and community organisers working directly with residents. This included Women on the Line (3CR), Diaspora Blues (3CR), Radiotherapy (RRR), The Rap (RRR), Let's Talk (98.9fm), and The Daily (2SER). These programs amplified residents' demands (including via social media channels) and provided a space for residents to speak back against mainstream media reporting of the lockdown. Crucially, listeners who tuned in were made aware of the history of trauma many residents experienced; the lack of culturally appropriate support and information available prior and subsequent to the lockdown; and racial profiling by Victoria Police of young men living in the Flemington Kensington area.

For instance, 3CR's Doin Time, a talks program which discusses issues faced by prisoners and people in the criminal justice system and migration detention centres (3CR website), spoke about communities made vulnerable in the context of Covid-19 and over-policing, drawing connections between the hard lockdown of the public housing estates in Melbourne and the indefinite detention of refugees in Melbourne's Mantra Hotel (Doin Time, 6 July 2020). Meanjin/Brisbane-based Aboriginal community-controlled radio station 98.9fm's flagship Let's Talk program, broadcast nationally via the National Indigenous Radio Service, drew similar connections. Gamilaraay, Kooma and Murrawarri host Boe Spearim spoke with Anisa Ali, a woman of Aboriginal and Somali descent living in one of the North Melbourne Towers, about her experience on the second day of the lockdown (Let's Talk, 5 July, 2020). Notably, several of these programs made connections to broader structural issues: the uneven policing of pandemic restrictions; racialised state violence; and urgent concerns for the safety of other communities unable to socially distance, such as people in prison and detention centres. They prioritised reporting on community responses and programs showcased the strengths of grassroots activism and organizing in keeping their communities safe and informed.

Within 24 hours of the lockdown, residents and community organisers on the ground—not government or social services—translated government health messaging into ten languages other than English, providing vital multilingual information for residents (Davey, 2020). First Nations media and ethnic community broadcasters

also often perform this role, acting as hubs for both the creation and distribution of culturally appropriate, language- and community- specific public health and emergency information. Solidarities between First Nations organisers and other racialised communities were evident in their mobilising and resistance between and across radio programs and stations, providing listeners with alternative media narratives and sophisticated political analysis.

The public housing lockdown example also highlights dilemmas for political voice and listening. Since the lockdown and during the pandemic there has been increased recognition and support for community media and its role as an essential service (Forde et al. 2007) for information dissemination, but no evidence of increased or improved listening among mainstream media or policy fields. Here, community media is seen as a place for those in power to speak to communities, rather than as a listening post for community political voice.

Mapping diverse and self-determined voice in community media

To research the contemporary politics of voice and listening in Australian media, we sought to identify where self-determined, sovereign, or self-represented voice of negatively racialised communities can be heard in community media. In this section we present a snapshot of the results of our program content mapping research. We sampled 49 generalist community broadcasters, 5 full-time ethnic broadcasters and 17 key First Nations broadcasters as part of the mapping. The content mapping was not exhaustive but rather provided a snapshot of content, based on specific inclusion criteria. Our intention was not to produce a comprehensive directory; rather it provides a useful overview of the *distribution of Indigenous and negatively racialised voices* across the community broadcasting sector, and in community media more broadly.   The resulting directory of diverse and self-determined voice in community media is included in this Report as Appendix A and available online at the project website www.listeninginproject.org.au.

We mapped a very specific kind of programming:

- **Political voice:** we focused on news, current affairs, and issues-focused talks programs—broadly and inclusively defined—made *by* or *for* Indigenous and negatively racialised or multicultural communities (including refugee/asylum seeker communities, Muslim communities, Sudanese communities). We prioritised these news, current affairs and issues-focused talks programs as genres that most closely align with the aims and values of political 'voice' as introduced in the preceding section. Unless there was a strong news and current affairs focus, we did not include general breakfast/drive magazine-style programming. We were particularly interested to 'map' relevant community and alternative media programming focussed on community issues, interests, and opinion[1]; and

- **Racialised communities:** 'Diverse' and 'multicultural' can be problematic terms within and beyond community media. We sought to map programs made by communities who are negatively racialised, misrepresented or subject to racism in mainstream media. Racialisation involves ascribing 'the characteristics, appearances, traditions, and lifestyles attributed to groups of different "others" with negative signifiers that are deemed to be natural and insurmountable' (Lentin 2008, p. xv). As discussed in the previous section, there is an established body of media research and persistent media advocacy that seeks to shift entrenched patterns of racism and white supremacy in the media in Australia; and

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[1] Music programming was beyond the scope of this research, though we acknowledge there are music-oriented programs which foreground the broader political struggles and contexts of the music they feature.

- **English language:** we focused on programming that was produced in English and thus held the potential to influence the dominant Anglo-centric mainstream. Language-specific programming is a vital part of the community broadcasting sector (Forde et al., 2009), and we do not seek to devalue programming in languages other than English in any way. For this research, we were less interested in an ethno-multicultural approach (Ang et al., 2008) focused on language and cultural maintenance than on 'community media interventions' (Dreher, 2010) where political voice from negatively racialised communities could be heard. This focus aligns with more 'radical', 'strong' or 'critical' versions of multiculturalism rather than liberal or 'weak' multiculturalism, and a politics of sovereignty and self-determination rather than mere inclusion (see Moran 1995).

Our primary focus was on talks programming produced by or for First Nations and negatively racialised communities and produced in English, allowing the possibility of influencing the mainstream. This focus on *by or for* Indigenous and racialised communities (rather than about or aimed at) reflects the importance of documenting where self-determined, sovereign, or self-represented voice can be heard. This is especially crucial to correct for mis- and under- representation, and lack of Indigenous and culturally diverse perspectives and standpoints in a highly concentrated mainstream media landscape (Thomas et al 2019, Marjoribanks et al 2010).

News is limited

While community media is a trusted and valued source for local news and information for listeners, we know less about program- and station- level programming. News and current affairs constitute 13% of programming on metropolitan stations; 5% in regional; and 6% in rural and remote (CBAA, 2018: 17). The 2018 CBAA Station Census found generalist stations broadcast on average 5 hours of current affairs content and 4 hours of news content per week (ibid).

In the 2018 Senate Select Committee on the Future of Public Interest Journalism, the CBAA conceded 'its role in the provision of news is limited to a single nationally syndicated broadcast'. The *National Radio News* delivers hourly news bulletins via the Community Radio Network and is produced in Bathurst in partnership with Charles Sturt University. While training in the community sector plays an important role in building the industry's future capacity, the resources to support in-depth news reporting or long-form current affairs programs in community media beyond relatively better-resourced metropolitan stations remains lacking.

Recent years have seen several initiatives to increase news programming in community media. First Nations Media Australia's *Our Media Matters* campaign called for increased funding to strengthen news and current affairs capacity for broadcasters across the sector (FNMA, 2018). At the time of writing, an Indigenous-focussed hourly five-minute news bulletin is broadcast nationally on First Nations media through the National Indigenous Radio Service (NIRS) and distributed via the Community Radio Network (CRN). This year, FNMA began the Capacity Building and News Sharing Project to train community reporters in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities beyond the metropolitan centres.

In 2020, the NEMBC launched a Multilingual News Service for Multicultural Communities during the Covid-19 crisis. The MNS is produced daily by ethnic community radio broadcasters and initially produced bulletins in Arabic, Greek, Spanish, Hindi, Punjabi, Pacific Islander English, and Mandarin, with further expansion since. First Nations media, like the ethnic community broadcasting sector, were at the leading edge of producing community-specific, targeted, and meaningful news and information about Covid-19. As Darumbal and South Sea Islander journalist Amy McQuire (2020) has reported, when COVID-19 first hit, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities 'were getting their information from Black community radio, who were broadcasting public health messages from ACCHO's directly to their audience, both over the airwaves and online via social media'.

The Collaborative News Network

In 2019 the CBAA announced the development of the Collaborative News Network (CNN) as part of its Enhanced National News project. The CNN involves the development of a 'new and improved' National Radio News service in partnership with Charles Sturt University; the appointment of a National Radio News Canberra Journalist, based in the Canberra Press Gallery; a cloud-based Collaborative News Network Hub; and 'Build a Bulletin'– an online training and news creation portal that will provide regular 'ready to air' scripts and audio clips that will enable stations to build their own bulletins and read the news in their own voices.

Some community radio producers we spoke to expressed concern about whether the Collaborative News Network model currently being developed by the CBAA will in fact 'amplify the diverse voices, stories and perspectives of the Australian community and build capacity for local reporting, particularly for journalists in regional and remote communities' as promised (CBAA, 2019). One broadcaster we spoke with suggested the money could be better spent directly employing regional journalists and investing in regional stations to produce their own news, rather than further centralising content syndicated from the sector's existing newsrooms.

Regional stations actively wanting to strengthen their capacity to produce in-depth coverage and local news reporting relevant to their regions told us they find it almost impossible because the kind of journalism they want to do is resource-intensive. A regional station manager we spoke with told us there was no locally-produced news programming, with their news bulletin syndicated from CRN. Their attempts to produce or source local news were stymied because they couldn't find local journalists to do it; they were frustrated at the lack of resources to support these efforts. They wanted the capacity to produce their own local news bulletin and aspired to establish a dedicated news and current affairs program. The station manager actively reached out to other local media in the area—such as the local ABC and other community stations—to build relationships to produce news, but again found there was no capacity to do this, as they were in another regional town. The station manager was looking for a collaborative news model that would support jobs for local journalists to do reporting from their own communities.

Other community broadcasters we spoke to in regional and remote stations were similarly trying to develop locally produced, daily news content for their audiences, but stressed that there wasn't funding

or resources to do so. They were frustrated that the CNN model didn't invest in creating local journalism roles to build capacity in the regions where diversity of news was already limited. Instead, some saw the CNN model as further centralising, rather than diversifying voice.

The CNN model does not explicitly address the needs of First Nations broadcasters in this respect either, with a key component of the FNMA *Our Media Matters* campaign—employment outcomes and jobs for their communities—remaining unaddressed. This gap is currently being filled, in part, through philanthropic investment in public interest journalism, training and partnerships, such as those offered by the Google News Initiative and other partnerships between community and independent media organisations. For instance, the Judith Nelson Institute for Journalism and Ideas (JNI) has funded a range of projects to support journalism within and beyond community media. A 2019 JNI project grant, for example, provided funding for a casual news reporter for twelve months to enable a greater volume of news bulletins and reporting to be produced at Ngaarda Media, an Aboriginal community-controlled radio station in Roebourne, WA, that broadcasts to audiences across the Pilbara region.

And, at the time of writing, absent from the current CNN model are news and current affairs programming *in English* from the ethnic community broadcasting sector. Support for original news and current affairs programming that prioritises issues and concerns relevant to, and made by, racialised and multicultural communities across the sector, could be strengthened. This presents an opportunity. Consultation with the NEMBC, on how its member broadcasters could be supported to contribute English-language news items to the CNN for wider distribution, for instance, is one possible avenue for diversifying syndicated CNN content.

Beyond 'news': issues-focussed talks programming on community media

While what might be formally recognised as 'news' is limited and lacks diversity, we do find an impressive line-up of political voice in what we call 'issues-focussed talks' programming, or current affairs very broadly defined, in English, across community media. We know that across generalist community broadcasting stations, spoken word programming is geographically concentrated in metropolitan stations—as described earlier— with 42% broadcast on metropolitan stations, 15% on regional, and 17% rural and remote (CBAA 2018: 17)[2]. Our mapping of a specific subset of talks programming (as described above) reflected this pattern of concentration of spoken word content across the sector—with relevant programs overwhelmingly broadcast on metropolitan stations in capital cities. Many community radio stations have magazine-format morning/breakfast and/or afternoon/drive programs that are generally

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[2] It is also worth noting that while most community radio news programming, whether syndicated or original content, is produced by the sector, some community radio stations simulcast commercial news bulletins—for instance, Territory FM in Darwin and The Light in Melbourne simulcast their local nightly Nine News bulletin five days a week.

a mix of local news, community information, interviews, and music. However, as noted earlier, these were not included in our mapping unless we found a strong focus on issues-focussed talks or in-depth reporting for that program.

First Nations voices

Our mapping found an extensive and diverse range of First Nations issues-focussed talks programming produced by and for First Nations communities in English—both on Indigenous stations and across generalist community radio stations. An extensive network of Aboriginal and Torres Strait broadcasters work across the continent, including in regional and remote locations, connecting communities, sharing information and strengthening culture. Long-established networks include RIBs (Remote Indigenous Broadcasting), TEABBA (Top End Aboriginal Bush Broadcasting Association) and BRACS (Broadcasting for Remote Aboriginal Communities). First Nations media reports on news and current affairs from a First Nations perspective (Meadows 2015, Thomas et al 2019, McQuire 2020), in culturally appropriate ways for the communities they represent and speak to, through programming in Indigenous languages and in English.

Here we present a series of 'spotlight' overviews of relevant examples. These snapshots are not comprehensive or exhaustive, but rather provide a brief indication of the depth and breadth of programming available. A more comprehensive list of programming is included as Appendix A.

Flagship Indigenous news and talks programming in English on community-controlled radio stations include:

Table 2: First Nations voices on community-controlled Aboriginal media

Blackchat (Monday to Friday 9am to 12 pm, Koori Radio, Sydney)
Country Affairs (Monday to Thursday 10am to 11am, Goolarri Media, Broome and via NIRS)
The Edge (Mondays 5pm, Wangki Radio, Fitzroy Valley)
Let's Talk (Monday to Thursday 10am to 11am, 98.9fm, Brisbane and via NIRS)
Morning Focus (Monday to Friday 10am to 11am, Black Star Radio, Cairns and via QRAM)
National Indigenous News Review (National Indigenous Radio Service)
National Talk Black (Monday to Friday 11am to 12pm, Bumma Bippera, Cairns)
Our Voices (Friday 11am to 12pm, Noongar Radio, Perth)
Strong Voices (Monday to Friday 11am to 12pm, CAAMA, Alice Springs)
Wild Black Women (Friday 10am to 11am, 98.9fm, Brisbane and via NIRS)

Several metropolitan generalist community radio stations produce regular, weekly programs made by and in collaboration with First Nations broadcasters. Speaking on 98.9fm's *Let's Talk* program, Wiradjuri/Gamilaroi writer, poet, and broadcaster Lorna Munro, who co-hosts *Survival Guide* on Sydney community radio station Radio Skid Row (2RSR), reflected on that station's history of supporting/platforming Indigenous voices and standpoints, 'they understood one of the most revolutionary things you can do is pass the mike on' (25 February 2020). *Survival Guide* 'centres Indigenous voices amongst multicultural Waterloo residents to critique colonisation and gentrification', revealing the 'Blak History to your flat white'. Melbourne community radio station 3CR has a similar record of commitment in its programming, with several programs where First Nations voices and priorities are platformed. For example, the *Fire First* program, hosted by Gunnai Elder Robbie Thorpe, has been on air since the 1980s; it's program page states it is 'an Indigenous and non-Indigenous collaboration looking at colonialism and activism towards justice' presented from an Aboriginal activist point.

Table 3: First Nations voices on generalist community radio (selected)

The Black Block (Monday 11am to 1pm, 3CR, Melbourne)
Fire First (Wednesday 11:00am to 12:00pm, 3CR, Melbourne)
Indigi-Brizz (Sunday 1pm to 3pm, 4ZZZ, Brisbane)
Koori Survival Show (Tuesday 10:00am to 11:00am, Radio Skid Row, Sydney)
The Mission (Tuesday 9pm to 8pm, RRR, Melbourne)
Still Here (Sunday 1pm - 2pm, RRR, Melbourne)
Survival Guide (previous episodes via SoundCloud, Radio Skid Row, Sydney)
The Thin Black Line (2SER, Sydney)
Yarnin' Country (Friday 9pm to 9.30pm, Friday 9pm to 9.30pm, Radio Adelaide)
Yarning Circle (Saturday 10am to 12pm, Cairns FM, Cairns)

Racialised and multicultural voices

While there is a strong presence of First Nations talks and current affairs programs across community media, a different picture emerges for multicultural voices and negatively racialised communities in English on community media, including for programs made by communities from refugee/asylum seeker backgrounds.

In contrast to generalist community radio—where music makes up most of the station programming—the majority of 'ethnic' programming on community radio is devoted talks programs (86%), with a minimum spoken word content requirement of 50% for the five full-time ethnic community stations. However, of the spoken content on ethnic community radio, 79% are produced in languages other-than-English (CBAA 2017: 17, 22). This important focus on multilingual programming, language maintenance, and strengthening social cohesion is a legacy of the policy of multiculturalism in which the ethnic community broadcasting sector emerged in the 1970s and remains a core strength. Content grant guidelines for ethnic programming (via the Community Broadcasting Foundation) that support language content programs also reflect this history.

Although there are five full-time ethnic community broadcasters (located in metropolitan state capitals), and several regional community radio stations program multilingual content by communities within their terrestrial footprint (i.e. non-English language content), our research identified only a handful of regular programs by racialised communities and intersectional collectives *produced in English*. This is partly explained by the policy, funding, and nation-building context. The policy and regulation frameworks that underpin 'ethnic and multicultural broadcasting' within the broader community broadcasting sector—which is embedded in the peak organization's name, the National Ethnic and Multicultural Broadcasters' Council—shape and constrain possibilities for English language programming made by and for 'diverse' communities. This legacy is most evident for full-time ethnic radio stations in metropolitan centres and regional generalist community broadcasters.

Some of the station managers we spoke to within the ethnic broadcasting space told us that they would love to develop talks programming in English that spoke *beyond* their immediate ethnic communities of interest, or that could contribute to broader public debates that effect the ethnic communities they serve. However, these station managers felt constrained by the current regulatory environment that leaves little room for such programming on their terrestrial airwaves. On the face of it, this suggests decreased opportunity for racialised communities and multicultural voices to be heard by decision-makers or for 'mainstream' media and government to 'listen in'. For these reasons, news, current affairs and issues-focused talks programming by racialised and refugee communities in English rarely features on specialist ethnic community stations. At the same time, some generalist community stations—particularly well-established stations in metropolitan areas—do provide a space for racialised, intersectional and multicultural and refugee voices.

Table 4: Racialised and intersectional voices on community radio

Accent of Women (Tuesday 8:30am to 9:00am, 3CR, Melbourne, and via CRN)
Afrika Connections (Radio Skid Row, Sydney)
Palestine Remembered (Saturday 9.30am to 10.30am, 3CR, Melbourne, and streamed online)
PNG Women's program (Saturday 7pm - 9pm, Cairns FM)
Race Matters (Monday 5.30pm to 6pm, FBi, Sydney and podcast)
Tamil Manifest (Saturday 1:00pm to 1:30pm, 3CR, Melbourne, and streamed online)
Ubuntu Voice (Wednesday 8.30pm to 9.30pm, 3CR, Melbourne, and streamed online)
Voice of West Papua (Tuesday 6:30pm to 7:30pm, 3CR, Melbourne, and streamed online)

Again, 3CR stands out as an exemplar, with the strongest programming in this area across generalist stations. The weekly program *Accent of Women* is one of 3CR's flagship current affairs programs, made by, for and about women from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds (including refugee backgrounds). *Accent of Women* has been on the airwaves since 1996 and is syndicated nationally to other community radio stations via the Community Radio Network (CRN). While the longevity of this program, and its national reach via the CRN is a major achievement, one station manager we spoke with noted it would be a challenge to fund the establishment of a similar program at another station—at the content grant level at least—based on their perception there's only 'room for one' *Accent of Women* type program in the sector.

Increasingly, podcast series and audio documentaries are further formats where refugee and multicultural voices can be heard, including programs made in collaboration with community radio stations and/or supported through content grant funds. Examples include:

- *Refugees on Air*, a fortnightly podcast made by Syrian twins Sarah and Maya Ghassali, with the support of SYN—Melbourne's community youth station

- *New Beginnings,* a twelve-part audio documentary series exploring stories of refugees, asylum seekers and migrants in Australia. M*ade* with the support of the CBF and 2XX 98.3FM Community Radio Canberra, and distributed nationally via the CRN.

Overall, then, our mapping found an extensive and diverse range of First Nations issues-focussed talks programming produced by and for First Nations communities in English—both on Indigenous stations and across generalist community radio stations. Our mapping of refugee and asylum seeker voices, women of colour, migrant diaspora communities, and intersectional voices in English on community media revealed a different picture. Here, we found a smaller range of programs, largely concentrated within a small number of primarily metropolitan community radio stations. There is no doubt that refugee

and asylum seeker voices, women of colour, migrant diaspora communities, and intersectional voices are well represented in languages other than English and within established ethnic community broadcasters. This might include programs produced by refugees from South Sudan or Iraq or Myanmar in languages including Dinka, Kurdish, Arabic, Karen, Burmese and more. However, our focus on talks programming broadcast in English—a potential site where institutional listening could occur—were limited to a handful of programs.

Institutional Listening

The proliferation and increasing accessibility of First Nations media and community media offers key institutional listeners - opinion leaders and policymakers - a ready resource for accessing the interests and claims of communities that have been negatively racialised and marginalised in dominant media and politics. Where community media is produced in English and engages with issues of political or social concern, it provides a platform for negatively racialised communities to set the agenda and be heard without necessarily responding to the demands or priorities of mainstream public debate (Dreher 2010). The institutional listening practices of journalists and policymakers are significant in that they have potential to shift and unsettle entrenched hierarchies of attention, transforming responsibilities for change.

Perceptions of community and alternative media

Our research found that while decision-makers and opinion leaders generally value community media an essential service *for communities*, they rarely saw community media as a source of news and current affairs relevant to them in their work. Despite increasing opportunities to 'listen in' to self-determined voices across community and Indigenous media, we found limited listening by journalists and policymakers we spoke with, even when they held a general receptiveness. When asked whether they listened to their local community or Indigenous radio station, the policymakers, and journalists we spoke to indicated various levels of awareness and relevance, but few actually tuned in to listen to local news or current affairs programs in their area. This was the case even for a federal politician who has a long history of volunteering at a community radio station. One journalist we spoke to expressed doubt about the relevance of news and current affairs on community media at all, beyond its value as a training ground for journalism students. The perception that community media is amateur or lacks the 'professionalism' and rigour of commercial or public media news reporting was evident in some responses, including the journalist mentioned above who also started out in community media. For example, when asked how diverse communities might be better heard, journalists and policymakers located responsibility back onto those communities (e.g., diverse communities need to better understand the media, what it does, who to engage with, how media frames stories etc.). They were less likely to reflect on their own barriers to listening or the responsibility of mainstream media journalists to listen to media made by the diverse communities they report on and speak to.

Speaking to and listening in

We found decision-makers and opinion-leaders were more likely to use community media as a channel to speak *to* diverse communities, rather than listen in. This was especially so for the policymakers we spoke to—elected local councillors and local government workers in particular. For instance, it was not uncommon for a local mayor or councillor to come into a community radio station or do an on-air

interview if they wanted to communicate to communities of interest. Local councils regularly distribute media releases, community service announcements, and council events information targeted to specific community groups to their local community stations. Yet this engagement suggests they value their local community broadcaster as a communication channel where they could get their messaging *out*, rather than as a site for listening *in*.

Many local policymakers maintained good relationships with the local ethnic and/or community broadcaster in their community and were responsive to being interviewed on a local program, but they otherwise did not see themselves as one of its target audiences. To some extent, this reflects a structural legacy of the ethnic community broadcasting sector, as described in Section Three. Prevalent in many of our interviews was the assumption that community media made by multicultural communities is broadcast in languages other than English and therefore not for them.

Journalists were more likely to 'listen in' to media made by racialised and First Nations communities if it was part of an already existing practice of diverse media consumption—or as one of our participants told us, part of their 'healthy news diet'. For one journalist, receptivity to voices beyond mainstream media prompted reflection on their own sourcing and reporting practices when producing stories relevant to First Nations people—to go beyond the usual 'community spokesperson'; to consider and centre Indigenous perspectives and voices; to consider how those communities might respond. We thought about this as a practice of *listening for accountability.* The journalists most receptive to community media voices were less likely to work for commercial media outlets, and more likely to be working within the public broadcasting sector (SBS/NITV, ABC), or had themselves previously been involved in community media.

Often, decision-makers and opinion leaders are free to decide whether and to what extent they 'listen in' to diverse voices on community media with little consequence on their own work and activities. In other words, they have the 'power' not to listen. The exception we found was where a geographical region's only media outlet was an independent small press reporting on stories across the Torres Strait and Cape York regions and therefore had a proportionately larger influence or share of 'voice' in the region. In this case, journalists, government agencies, public servants, and other decision-makers would pay attention to voices and stories that they may not have otherwise.

Community engagement and building relationships

The majority of our respondents prioritised face-to-face relationships and networks as their primary mode of 'listening in' to diverse communities. For policymakers, this often took the form of attending community festivals, celebrations, and other cultural events or activities; regular meetings with community organisations and representatives; and being present at government-supported initiatives. This is understandable and not surprising, particularly for local government workers whose engagement with multicultural communities in their Local Government Area was informed by a Community Development approach. For local government workers responsible for delivering services and programs to diverse communities, less importance was placed on *listening to* community media per se than more

'direct' ways of engaging with community. We found this was also the case for news journalists we spoke to who cover specific communities of interest (multicultural, Indigenous). For them, building and maintaining personal contacts, networks, and relationships was a crucial component of their everyday reporting and journalistic practices.

But while community media was not seen as a source of news and current affairs for them, many were more likely to turn to *social media* as a way of getting across issues and concerns of diverse and racialised communities—often in the form of managing negative feedback. For policymakers within local government in particular, social media was seen as a site to access community interests and issues— sometimes in a very instrumental way, listening out for blow back on decisions, or for scandals to erupt. Social media was often described as a 'double-edged sword' that enabled easy sharing of information and brought the potential to amplify complaints and tensions.

For the journalists we spoke to, social media was another channel to distribute and circulate their story *to* larger audiences, though within this we did find some important nuances. For example, one journalist strategically posted their stories in a way that built trust with the communities they were reporting on: they would post the story on the group pages of the communities who were invested in the issue; and to decision-makers who could make an impact on the issue if it were addressed by them. This had a two-fold effect of building trust and accountability with the communities the journalist reports on (it goes back to the people who it affects and addresses); and potentially puts pressure on decision-makers by directing the story to their (social media) pages.

While several interviewees used social media in their practice, none indicated that this was replacing a previous engagement with community media. So, while not disrupting patterns of listening in, social media attention may 'crowd out' the potential for community media to be a place where institutional listening occurs.

Overall, we found limited institutional listening to First Nations and community media among decision-makers and opinion-leaders who participated in this research. While most valued community media as service *to* communities, and as a means to speak *to* communities, very few respondents approached or valued community media as a listening post relevant to their work within government or media. This finding chimes with the pattern described by Moran (1995: 175): 'for decades, the sector has been sanctioned and supported but under-resourced, and ignored in public debate, analysis and polemic'.

Table 5: Perceptions of Community and Alternative Media among Institutional Listeners

Decision-makers and opinion leaders value community media as a community service
Decision-makers and opinion leaders rarely see community media as a source of news and current affairs that is relevant to them
Decision-makers and opinion-leaders are more likely to use community media as a channel to speak to diverse communities, rather than to listen in
Decision-makers and opinion-leaders who did listen in did so as part of a 'healthy news diet' of diverse media consumption, including community and alternative media
Decision-makers and opinion leaders are more likely to use social media to access community interests and issues – often in the form of negative feedback
Decision-makers and opinion leaders also see community events as an important opportunity to meet with communities face-to-face to hear about interests and issues

Producer perspectives on institutional listening

We found a mix of perspectives on institutional listening from the First Nations and community media producers and broadcasters we spoke to. Some would like more listening from decision-makers. Others, depending on the programs they produced, were less interested or more wary of those in positions of power who might listen in. Much of what producers told us was from anecdotal feedback and/or from long-term experience and knowledge working in the sector. It was generally difficult for stations to assess who listens to their programs *at a program level* or the impact those programs had on contributing to change. Part of this difficulty is due to a lack of station resources and the ability to survey this kind of information for their terrestrial programming. Potentially, it is easier to collate information from streaming services or where a program is also delivered as a podcast. The annual CBAA National Listener Survey generally collects top-level demographic data, but again, this still doesn't give station managers much information on whether decision-makers are listening in, and why, or why not.

Welcome and unwelcome modes of listening in

Examples of welcome impact on mainstream media and policymaking by First Nations media were high on the agenda at the 2019 First Nations Media Australia annual conference, *Converge*, held in Mparntwe/Alice Springs. At the conference opening, throughout the panel sessions and in our interviews with the conference hosts and participants, speakers regularly mentioned the importance and impact of First Nations media coverage of two highly significant events close to Mparntwe during the preceding

weeks – the closure of the Uluru rock climb and the police shooting of Walpiri man Kumanjayi Walker in Yuendumu. As mentioned in our Introduction, *Converge* participants were told of the key role citizen journalism on social media and established Warlpiri community radio had in bringing the voices of the Walker family and the remote Warlpiri community to national attention, influencing mainstream media framing of the event and sparking protests across the country. Shortly after, in an unprecedented development, the police officer who shot Kumanjayi Walker was charged with murder. Media attention to Kumanjayi Walker's death in custody was preceded by intense media coverage of the closure of the Uluru rock climb in accordance with the wishes of the An̲angu traditional owners of Uluru. Here again, Indigenous social media and National Indigenous Television (NITV) were seen to impact mainstream media by centring An̲angu knowledge and law.

For some community media producers working with multicultural communities on the other hand, a particular type of attention was (perceived to be) lacking from local level decision-makers in relation to issues that affect their communities of interest. One station manager we spoke to saw this a 'really big missed opportunity' and wanted to think more strategically about their station program grid as to how they might better be able to influence policy or create new programming that contributed more directly to public debate. For ethnic community broadcasters wanting to do this, their broadcasting licence also made this difficult. At the same time, they noted that while local politicians were 'definitely aware of the value of the organisation', the focus on multilingual talks programming for ethnic broadcasters meant that politicians almost never listened to their programs.

Responses from First Nations media producers placed high value on First Nations media as a place where a quality journalism approach is brought to reporting Indigenous affairs. In a radio conversation with FNMA's previous CEO Catherine Liddle on *Let's Talk* on 98.9fm in Brisbane, not long after the fatal police shooting of Kumanjayi Walker in the Northern Territory, host Boe Spearim, a Gomeroi, Kumar and Murrawurri man, observed 'the difference between First Nations Media and mainstream media is our relationality to our community' (19 December 2019). This accountability and connection to community—beyond what is typically considered within the frame of 'news values'—is valued as one of the strengths of Indigenous-led news reporting, within and beyond community media (see McQuire 2020). The *Let's Talk* program begins by locating its listeners—Indigenous and non-Indigenous alike firmly within a First Nations standpoint: 'news and current affairs that focuses on all relevant First Nations issues from a First Nations standpoint'.

One Indigenous journalist working in mainstream media noted a shift 'nationally and even internationally to listen to communities that are directly affected by issues […] to stop speaking for people and let people speak for themselves'. But the connection between listening to communities and listening to the media those communities produce was not always made. For Jennifer Nixon from First Nations Media Australia, the importance of listening to First Nations media and journalism is that 'it's about getting the right stories, from the right people, in the right way' and that it can be an education tool. But as to whether they were ready to start listening—'they can tune in or tune out' (*Let's Talk*, 2 December 2019).

However, we also found that for some community media producers, having decision-makers' 'listen in' was not always seen as desirable and was not always welcomed. We found this to be the case particularly in relation to issues-focussed talks programs made by communities with a history of over-surveillance by authorities or those in positions of power. In other cases, issues-focussed talks programs were conceived by their producers/broadcasters as an opportunity to build grassroots solidarity, capacity and organising networks *within and across* multicultural and Indigenous communities, and thus decision-makers were not their main focus of attention. Decision-makers could 'eavesdrop with permission' (Dreher, 2009b), but 'speaking back' to power was not the primary goal of these program hosts.

Table 6: Community media producer perspectives on institutional listening

Community media producers highly valued their news, talks and current affairs programming, and for the most part, hoped that their programs had an impact on decision-makers
However, community media producers did not always view decision-makers listening in to their programs as desirable—sometimes experiencing it as a form of surveillance

Digital disruption, voice, and community media

While conducting field research during 2017 – 2020 we were struck by the increasing presence of social media platforms and digital media corporations across the community broadcasting sector in Australia. We found that many institutional listeners and community broadcasters value social media as a tool for voice and listening. In the previous section we found that institutional listening in response to First Nations and racialised community voice in community media is rare, and that political voice is thus constrained by policy and funding structures and by entrenched hierarchies of value. In this section we outline the further challenges to political voice and listening produced by the 'digital disruption' of the media field. Developed in the broadcast era of spectrum scarcity and campaigns for access to broadcast airtime, community media in Australia faces considerable challenges in the context of the explosion of 'voice' across digital media and increasing entanglement with commercial social media platforms. While previous research has focused on the technical challenges of this 'digital disruption' and advocated for funds to ensure technical adaptation in community media (Anderson 2017), here we focus on the increased competition as social media platforms and 'amplifier' online media claim to provide 'voice' and the business models of digital capitalism conflict with core community broadcasting values.

We find that social media platforms and 'amplifier' online news outlets are increasingly seen to enable voice, amplification and listening for communities and interests that might previously have seen community broadcasting as the most valuable institution for self-determined media participation. In response, we suggest that further debate is needed with the aim of protecting and deepening core community media values at a time of increased competition, and to imagine future media platforms that embody, rather than conflict with, community media values. We begin with an overview of the value placed on social media for functions that have previously been ascribed to community media, then turn to the rise of 'amplifier' media outlets and finally highlight the conflicting values of the community broadcasting sector and corporate social media platforms.

Social media competition

Commercial social media and digital media corporations are increasingly entangled with community and alternative media, including throughout the community broadcasting sector in Australia. Facebook Live has been promoted as a tool for reaching further audiences, including diaspora audiences, at the annual conference of the NEMBC. The Google News Initiative partners with the CBAA and presents regular online training workshops as well as sessions at the annual CBAA, FNMA and NEMBC conferences. For instance, Google News Lab was one of the training partners involved in delivering online workshops as part of the FNMA's Capacity Building and News Sharing Project.

Many stations, programs, and broadcasters use Twitter effectively to promote and amplify content, to shout out for talent and leads or to monitor ongoing issues and key voices. Our interviews found that institutional listeners were more likely to monitor social media than to monitor community radio to keep

up to date with community voices and concerns. As a result of these developments, social media is increasingly seen as an essential tool or service for voice, participation, and media access that has historically been the preserve of community media.

The 2021 Facebook news ban in Australia prompted Naomi Moran (2021), Nyangbal Arakwal (Bundjalung) and Dunghutti woman from New South Wales, and General Manager of Australia's only independent Indigenous newspaper, the *Koori Mail*, explained the value of Facebook for First Nations media:

> *"Facebook has provided a free and relatively easy solution to content sharing to interest groups. It also provided us with an accessible way to share our stories globally. Social media has been a useful tool for leap-frogging commercial media in Australia who have shown scant interest in our positive outcomes. Our media is more than just doing the bare minimum – it is the avenue for telling those stories to the world, and social media has been a valuable space to broaden our audiences in this way, educating non-Indigenous people in the process. We believe Facebook has not been stealing our stories but amplifying them. Would we like to see the data they collect about our media services in the process? Sure. Would we like to better understand their algorithms to pre-empt disruptions to connecting with our audience? Of course."*

This is a powerful encapsulation of the argument that social media platforms can be a crucial tool for decolonial anti-racist efforts. Previous research has found that social media are used by Indigenous people for political participation, grassroots activism, connection and more (Carlson and Fraser 2018, Carlson and Berglund, 2021) and that Twitter can be used as a 'decolonising tool' (Geia et al. 2017). With the proliferation of 'voice' in the context of digital media abundance, more and more outlets, projects and platforms claim to fulfill, or are perceived to fulfill, (some of) the traditional functions and values of community media. There is an implicit challenge here to traditional community broadcasting as social media appears to offer 'voice' and participation more easily, effectively, and freely.

The amplifiers

Digital disruption in media is characterised by an increase in opinion and commentary alongside news journalism, and the increasing role of media outlets in aggregating or curating content as digital media enables an explosion of user-generated voice and content creators. As a further challenge to the long-established argument that community media in Australia are best placed to provide 'voice', participation and platform for sovereign and self-determined voices of First Nations and racialised communities, online news and commentary outlets increasingly position themselves as amplifiers of diverse and previously marginalised voices.

Online only entrants in Australia such as *Guardian Australia*, *New Matilda* and *Crikey* have developed new models of news and journalism that amplify alternative voices. *Guardian Australia*, which launched in 2013, positions itself as a media organisation well-placed to spotlight and amplify 'new Australian voices': 'some of the most interesting work is now being done outside the mainstream, we wish to highlight this, while promoting our partner sites to a global audience' (Viner, 2013). Recent research in partnership with *Guardian Australia* finds that its content expands journalistic boundaries by embracing the affordances of digital networked media and the contributions of diverse First Nations writers (Myers et al 2021).

The outlet produces several 'spotlight' and feature series of in-depth and sustained reporting on particular issues, including Indigenous affairs reporting funded through philanthropic organisation Balnaves Foundation through the Guardian Civic Journalism Trust. *Guardian Australia* has partnered with Sydney community radio station 2SER on two podcast series: *Common Ground*—a series that explored what ordinary Australians think of the political system; and *Breathless: the death of David Dungay Jr.*—an investigative podcast examining the 2015 death in custody of Dunghatti man David Dungay Jr. In 2020, *Guardian Australia* partnered with the UNSW Centre for Ideas and Kaldor Centre for International Refugee Law to produce *Temporary*, an eight-part podcast series that showcases stories from those seeking asylum in Australia. Increasingly, independent podcast series and audio documentaries are further formats where Indigenous, refugee and multicultural voices can be heard, including programs made in collaboration with community radio stations and/or supported through content grant funds.

Guardian Australia's partnership with *IndigenousX* platforms diverse First Nations voices, stories and opinions and connects them to mainstream audiences under the strapline, 'Guardian Australia is proud to partner with IndigenousX to showcase the diversity of Indigenous peoples and opinions from around the country'. On the IndigenousX website, the partnership with the *Guardian* is listed as one of IndigenousX's important achievements.

While online first and online-only news outlets have led the way in providing digital media space for a wider diversity of voices beyond conventional news agendas, these developments are increasingly being replicated at the more established, 'legacy' media under the digital disruption of broadcast era media models. For example, the *SBS Voices* website, a relaunch of *SBS Life*, began in 2019 with 'a new strategy of elevating the voices of young writers from culturally diverse backgrounds' (SBS, 2019). *SBS Voices* maintains an ongoing partnership with Western Sydney writers' collective Sweatshop, and has fostered an Asian-Australian Emerging Writers project and Muslim and African-Australian writers. From *SBS Voices* to *Guardian Australia* and beyond, more and more media outlets now aim to platform and amplify previously marginalised voices. While this diversity and innovation is welcome, key decision-makers within these 'amplifier' outlets, for the most part, still hold power on the terms of inclusion (Media Diversity Australia, 2020).

Conflicting values

Engagement with social media was widespread across the participants in this research, including among journalists, policymakers and community media producers. Many described social media as a double-edged sword – enabling increased diversity and connectivity in media, but also amplifying harassment, scandals and conflict. A First Nations media producer at an influential metropolitan station told us that social media makes it more challenging to have the 'deeper conversations' that community media can sustain. Instead, the social media landscape creates echo chambers that 'don't actually try and contribute to a coherent dialogue with relation to these important social issues'. This contrast, between the 'echo chambers' of commercial social media and the 'deeper conversations' enabled by community media points towards the contrasting and conflicting values that differentiate the founding principles of community broadcasting and the corporate logics of the major social media platforms. Veteran community broadcaster and researcher, Juliet Fox (2019), asks whether the logic of social media and other digital platforms is compatible with the democratic aims of community broadcasting. In this section we sketch these conflicting values with an aim to prompt further debate on the implications for voice and listening as community media in Australia confronts the rise of social media platforms.

Writing from the Scandinavian context, Nikunen and Hokka (2020) have summarised the conflicting values that differentiate Public Service Media and corporate platforms.

Table 7: Public Service Media values versus Corporate Platform values

Public Service Media values	Corporate platform values
Public funding, public ownership	Corporate commercial monopolies
Universal service and egalitarianism	Audience segmentation and individualisation
Diversity	User profiling and targeting
Quality	Popularity
Independence, transparency and accountability	Commercial competition and trade secrets
Public rather than commercial interests	Hidden mechanisms of data gathering

Nikunen and Hokka argue that the corporate platform values listed above are, in the end, incompatible with the values that underpin Public Service Media – including the public funding for public infrastructures and services that are regulated to ensure universality, egalitarianism, diversity and quality. In contrast to the public service model of taxation to fund public media, social media corporations avoid taxation and regulation. Rather than the public service media aim of universality, the corporate social media approach to audiences is targeting, filter bubbles, niches, segregation and user profiling. Instead of transparency and public accountability, corporate platforms maintain a strong culture of trade secrets and commercial competition and various hidden mechanisms of ubiquitous data gathering. Social media logics include

datafication and popularity (van Dijk and Poell 2013) in contrast to community broadcasting values of equal access and a voice for the marginalized.

We find a similar contradiction between the specific core values of community broadcasting in Australia and the key values of commercial social media. Core values and guiding principles of the community broadcasting sector are listed in the Community Radio Codes of Practice. These guiding principles include:

Table 8: Community Radio Codes of Practice Guiding Principles

Promote harmony and diversity, and contribute to an inclusive, cohesive, and culturally diverse Australian community
Pursue principles of democracy, access, and equity, especially for people and issues not adequately represented in other media
Enhance the diversity of programming choices available to the public and present programs that expand the variety of viewpoint broadcast in Australia
Demonstrate independence in programming as well as in editorial and management decisions
Support and develop local arts and music
Increase community involvement in broadcasting

There is a clear contrast and worrying tension between these core values and the underlying logics of corporate social media platforms. Media justice activists, whistle-blowers and media scholars highlight the hidden costs of the platform business model and the underpinning digital technologies. Hidden costs include the destructive environmental impacts of the massive energy consumption and extractive mining for materials required (Maxwell and Miller 2012, Crawford and Joler 2018). Indeed, the ascendant form of digital capitalism has been summed up as extractive business models that mine every aspect of life for profit (Crawford 2021). Critics also point to exploitation of low-level workers and extreme income disparities typical of the platform economy (Crawford and Joler 2018), while the tech giants have been found to suppress labour organising and critical research. Further research demonstrates that social media algorithms and targeted advertising are oppressive in racist, gendered, classist, heteronormative and other ways (e.g., Noble 2018, the #StopHateForProfit campaign). Social media companies tend to avoid taxation and resist regulation, relying instead on a business model that privileges sensationalism, controversy, and partisanship over accuracy (Andrejevic 2020) and provides a platform for white supremacy, racism, misogyny, the resurgent far right and more.

Most relevant to our interest in the politics of voice, listening and community media in Australia is the contrast between modes of participation embedded and enabled in community broadcasting as compared to social media platforms.

Table 9: Community media versus social media values

Community broadcasting participation	Social media participation
Collective	Individual
Regulated – Codes of Practice, Charters etc.	Entrepreneurial
Participation in ongoing institutions	
Volunteer – training, membership of a station	Exploited unpaid labour

Where social media supports an individualised, entrepreneurial model of participation underpinned by an extractive business model, the community broadcasting sector in Australia is built on a tradition of collective organising, building and sustaining institutions and collectives, underpinned by regulation for values of diversity, democracy, access and equity and collaborative and cooperative ownership and control.

Overall, while corporate social media platforms may appear and at times even claim to enable voice and participation more effectively than established community media, the voice and participation enabled under digital disruption are embedded in business logics and produce hidden costs that are fundamentally at odds with the formalised guiding principles of the community broadcasting sector in Australia.

Summary of findings

As the resurgent #BlackLivesMatter movement has prompted a 'cultural reckoning' on racism and media in Australia (Thomas et al. 2020) and beyond, our report seeks to contribute to these vital debates with a focus on community and alternative media, and on institutional listening in response to self-determined voice in media. We found limited evidence of institutional listening, and that sovereign and self-determined voices are both enabled and constrained in community media. Based on these findings, we call for an increased focus on the pressing challenges of shifting white supremacy and on securing community media values in the context of increasingly influential commercial social media platforms.

The Listening In project examined how journalists and policymakers engage with community and alternative media in professional roles which require them to engage with and respond to Indigenous and community concerns. Given their work in key democratic institutions, we assumed that these opinion leaders and policymakers have a responsibility to listen to communities impacted by their work.

We focussed on community and alternative media as key sites for diverse and self-determined political voice in the Australian media field, providing ready access to negatively racialised voices that are excluded, misrepresented, or marginalised in influential mainstream media.

Data for this project were collected using mixed methods, including qualitative interviews with policymakers, journalists, and community media producers in six metropolitan and regional centres with culturally diverse populations and a community media presence. It also included program content mapping, 'listening out' for media on media, and participating in community media sector fora and events.

To research the contemporary politics of voice and listening in Australian media, we sought to identify where self-determined, sovereign, or self-represented voice can be heard in community media. Our program mapping identified a very specific kind of programming—news, current affairs, and issues-focussed talks programming in English—genres that most closely align with the aims and values of political 'voice'. We identified relevant community and alternative media programming focussed on community issues, interests, and opinion. Our primary focus was on talks programming produced by or for Indigenous and racialised communities and produced in English, allowing the possibility of influencing the mainstream.

Institutional listening was operationalised as receptivity, recognition, and response via the following key questions:

- **Receptivity:** where and to what extent are key democratic institutions attentive to Indigenous and community media? Beyond the communities represented, who listens in? How do listeners select among proliferating media outlets?

- **Recognition:** how is community media valued beyond the communities represented? To what extent are outlets perceived as relevant, significant or credible?

- **Response:** how have key actors in the mainstream public sphere responded to Indigenous or community media? What are the examples of influence or engagement from alternative to mainstream public spheres?

Below we present an overview and brief discussion of the key findings:

01 Diverse and dynamic First Nations media

Our mapping of First Nations community media programming supports previous research and advocacy work that identifies a range of diverse and dynamic First Nations programming grounded in principles of Indigenous sovereignties, self-determination, and self-representation in the community broadcasting sector in Australia. We found an extensive and diverse range of First Nations issues-focussed talks programming produced by and for First Nations communities in English—both on Indigenous stations and across generalist community radio stations.

Amy McQuire (2020) has noted that the media diversity debates ignited by the resurgent Black Lives Matter movement have focussed on mainstream media, 'rather than promoting the value of a truly independent, strong Black media space'. Our research further highlights the strength of independent Indigenous media within and beyond the community broadcasting sector. Based on our findings, we support McQuire's (2020) call to build up Black media:

"The challenge should not be in working within white structures, but in building up a powerful Black media that can be at every inquest into black deaths in custody, that can be at every Royal Commission, that can be in the budget lock up and parliamentary inquiries scrutinising government policy, that can uplift our communities and tell our success stories in ways that do not pander to the easement of white guilt. The challenge is to create an Aboriginal media workforce that is well supported and trained to do this."

02 Contained voices

Our mapping of refugee and asylum seeker voices, women of colour, migrant diaspora communities, and intersectional voices *in English* on community media revealed a different picture. These voices were unevenly distributed and highly concentrated in specific sites across the sector, and absent in others. Here, we found a smaller range of programs, largely concentrated within a small number of primarily metropolitan community radio stations. The policy and regulation frameworks that underpin 'ethnic and multicultural broadcasting' shape and constrain possibilities for English language programming made by and for 'diverse', negatively racialised communities. This legacy is most evident for full-time ethnic radio stations in metropolitan centres and regional generalist community broadcasters. For these reasons, news, current affairs, and issues-focused talks programming by racialised and refugee communities in English rarely features on specialist ethnic community stations.

At the same time, some generalist community stations—particularly well-established 'radical' radio stations in metropolitan areas such as 3CR in Melbourne, Radio Skid Row in Sydney, 4ZZZ in Brisbane, and Radio Adelaide—do provide a space for racialised, intersectional and multicultural and refugee voices. Our mapping indicates that within Australia's community broadcasting sector, refugee and asylum seeker voices, women of colour, migrant diaspora communities, and intersectional voices are largely contained within 'ethnic broadcasting' in languages other than English, or in English-language programs produced at a small number of metropolitan generalist stations. This pattern reproduces the structure and policies of liberal multiculturalism that is also symptomatic of larger structural patterns which underpin the wider Australian media landscape, including the public broadcasters. As Ang et al. (2008) write of SBS Radio, the 'linguistic privacy' of 'ethnic language' radio means that most of the programming remains inaccessible to audiences beyond a particular language community. Community media produced in languages other than English is vital for self-representation, however, 'linguistic privacy' also leaves institutional listeners off the hook, as possibilities for listening in are constrained. 'Weak' or liberal multiculturalism maintains and even celebrates 'diversity' at the margins, while white dominance remains central (Moran 1995). Our program mapping suggests that this structure remains in place in the community broadcasting sector in Australia. This is an enduring tension in the community media sector, and little has shifted since sector-wide research from early 2000s (Forde et al., 2007, 2009). We argue this pattern of distribution centred on white dominance with 'diversity' celebrated at the margins needs to be directly addressed.

03 Limited institutional listening

While decision-makers and opinion leaders generally value community media an essential service *for communities*, we found they rarely saw community media as a source of news and current affairs relevant to them in their work. Decision-makers and opinion-leaders were more likely to use community media as a channel to speak to diverse communities, rather than listen in. Often, decision-makers and opinion leaders are free to decide whether and to what extent they 'listen in' to diverse voices on community media with little consequence on their own work and activities. In other words, they have the 'power' not to listen.

Most of our respondents prioritised face-to-face relationships and networks as their primary mode of 'listening in' to diverse communities. While community media was not seen as a source of news and current affairs for them, many were more likely to turn to social media as a way of getting across issues and concerns of diverse and racialised communities—often in the form of managing negative feedback. Overall, we found limited institutional listening to First Nations and community media among decision-makers and opinion-leaders who participated in this research. While most valued community media as service to communities, and as a means to speak to communities, very few respondents approached or valued community media as a listening post relevant to their work within government or media.

We found a mix of perspectives on institutional listening from the First Nations and community media producers and broadcasters we spoke to. Some would like more listening from decision-makers. Others, depending on the programs they produced, were less interested or more wary of those in positions of power who might listen in. This was the case particularly in relation to issues-focussed talks programs made by communities with a history of over-surveillance by authorities or those in positions of power.

04 Social media competition and conflicting values

Engagement with social media was widespread across the participants in this research, including among journalists, policymakers, and community media producers. With the proliferation of 'voice' in the context of digital media abundance, more and more outlets, projects, and platforms claim to fulfill, or are perceived to fulfill, (some of) the traditional functions and values of community media. There is an implicit challenge here to traditional community broadcasting as social media and 'amplifier' outlets appear to offer 'voice' and participation more easily, effectively, and freely.

Our report highlights the contradictions and conflicting values between community broadcasting principles and commercial social media platforms with the aim of prompting further debate on the challenges and opportunities for community media values in the context of digital disruption. We echo Dr Juliet Fox's concerns (2019, 2021) that the logic of social media and other digital platforms is incompatible with the democratic and diversity aims of community media. Social media logics include popularity and datafication (van Dijk and Poell 2013), audience segmentation and user profiling, commercial competition, and trade secrets (Nikunen and Hokka 2019), amplification of hate speech and resistance to regulation. These key features of commercial social media platforms stand in stark contrast to the guiding principles of community broadcasting in Australia. Where community media supports modes of participation that are collective, regulated and volunteer, commercial social media offers an individualized and entrepreneurial mode of participation funded by exploited unpaid labour. It is vital that all involved with and advocating for community media in Australia confront the conflicting values in play as community broadcasting becomes ever more entangled with commercial social media platforms and the underpinning logics of digital capitalism.

Future directions

Our key findings suggest several important questions and issues for further research beyond the scope of this project. We suggest two intersecting research trajectories, echoing calls by Dr Juliet Fox (2021) in opening the CAMRA 2021 Community and Alternative Media Research Australia workshop.

Firstly, further research is required to understand the persistence of white dominance in a community media sector that is celebrated for diversity. As calls for racial justice focus on all forms of media, the community broadcasting sector in Australia is yet to have its #communicationsowhite moment. As Fox (2021) has identified, 'interrogating how the community broadcasting sector might remain silent, tolerate, or even embolden, white supremacy' is an urgent priority, and 'community broadcasting sector bodies, stations, volunteers, and broadcasters [must also] address racism in their practices, in their programming, in the make-up of the staff and Boards'. There is an urgent need for race-critical research and interventions to question the containment of sovereign and self-determined voice at specific locations, leaving white dominance of the sector largely untouched.

Secondly, further research is needed to examine the implications of platforms as infrastructures and ideologies within the media field, rather than simply as tools that can be used in service of community media values. The political economy and digital logics of social media and of platforms for searching and sharing content operate in stark contrast to foundational principles of community broadcasting in Australia, and democratic communication more broadly. A crucial challenge here is to work at the level of imaginaries (Zuckerman 2020), prioritising awakenings and the development of alternatives (Nikunen and Hokka 2020) that might transform platforms towards community media values, rather than the other way around.

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Appendix A:
Listening guide—sovereign and self-determined voices

Below is a listening guide to a selection of programs (with links), which prioritises sovereign and self-determined voices on community radio—First Nations voices, refugee and asylum seeker voices, women of colour, migrant diaspora communities, and intersectional voices. The content mapping was not intended to be comprehensive, but rather provides a snapshot of 'diverse voices' on community radio at the station programming level. Descriptions based on those available for the program/event/article via the link.

01 Community radio programming

Aboriginal Way (Radio Adelaide)

On air: Friday 8.30pm to 9pm, stream/listen back via website

About: First Nations news and stories for South Australian Aboriginal communities. Presented by the South Australian Native Title Services (SANTS).

Accent of Women (3CR)

On air: Saturday 1:00pm to 1:30pm; stream/listen back via website; podcast; distributed via CRN.

About: A program by and about women from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds with a commitment to progressive politics.

Africa Connexions (Radio Skid Row)

On air: Sunday 12pm to 3pm

About: With its beginnings as a radical, anti-apartheid program over 30 years ago, the show has expanded to embrace every wave of African migrants to Australia. Features news, interviews, and music.

Anything Goes (Radio Skid Row)

On air: Wednesdays - Fridays 10am to 12pm.

About: Presented by Lima Peni.

The Black Block (3CR)

On air: Monday 11:00am to 1:00pm; stream/listen back via website

About: An interactive Indigenous current affairs program spotlighting everyday local Indigenous voices and connections made through social media. Hosted by Viv Malo and Meriki Onus.

Backchat (FBi)

On air: Saturday 9.30am to 10am; stream/listen back via website; podcast

About: Alternative to talkback. Interviews, discussion, feature stories and news; informed and approachable politics and current affairs. Hosted by Chantelle Al-Khouri and Charles Rushforth.

Balit Dhumba: Strong Talk (3KND)

On air: Wednesday 11am to 12pm, stream/listen back via Soundcloud

Covers the Victorian Government and Treaty. Hosted by Charles Pakana.

Blak n Deadly (3CR)

On air: Friday 11:00am to 12:00pm, stream/listen back via website

About: The latest news in Indigenous music and theatre with First Nations presenter Robbie Thorpe.

Blaknoise Radio (3CR)

On air: Thursday 2:00pm to 3:00pm; stream/latest episode via website

About: Reporting on local and national blak news and current affairs from an Aboriginal woman's perspective. Hosted by Blak Betty.

Blackchat (Koori Radio)

On air: Monday to Friday 9am to 12 pm; distributed nationally via NIRS; tune in via IndigiTube

Flagship program presenting Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander news and views, hosed by Lola Forester. Blackchat informs its national audience on a range of current issues and celebrates the excellence of First Nations people across Australia.

Beyond the Bars (3CR)

About: annual radio series held each year during NAIDOC week, dedicated to giving voice to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander men and women in the Victorian prison system.

Breakfast Show (Ngaarda Media)

On air: Monday to Friday 8am to 9am; stream via website; tune in via IndigiTube

About: News and current affairs show hosted by Tangiora Hinaki, bringing new local stories from the Pilbara and Kimberley.

Connection Matters (3KND)

On air: Monday, Wednesday, Friday 1pm to 2pm, stream/listen back via soundCloud

About: Focuses on positive Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander stories from around Victoria. Hosted by Charles Pakana

Diaspora Blues (3CR)

On air: Monday 2:30pm to 3:00pm; stream/listen back via website

About: Diaspora Blues provides a platform for people interested in ideas about home, community, and belonging. Hosted by Bigoa and Baasto and produced by Ayan Shirwa.

Dial Afrika (EastSide Radio)

On air: weekdays 9:00am; stream via website

About: Hosted by PJ (Patrick Johnathan) who co-found the radio program African Connection on Radio Skid Row in the 1980s. Dial Afrika shares the music PJ loves and has collected with the wider community.

Doin' Time (3CR)

On air: Monday 4:00pm to 5:00pm; stream/listen back via website

About: An open forum, presenting information and discussion around issues faced by prisoners in the criminal justice system and migration detention centres. Strong First Nations focus. Hosted by Marisa and Peter.

The Edge (Wangkai radio)

On air: Mondays 5pm; tune in via IndigiTube; SYN Radio, Saturdays 9am to 9.30am

About: First Nations news and current affairs show broadcasting from Fitzroy Crossing in the Kimberley Region of WA.

Fire First (3CR)

On air: Wednesday 11:00am to 12:00pm; stream/listen back via website

About: A historically informed, critical analysis of Aboriginal affairs and the ongoing political movement for land rights, treaty, sovereignty and the cessation of genocide. Hosted by Robbie Thorpe.

Flight 106.7 to Africa (PBS)

On air: Sunday 3:00pm to 5:00pm

About: A musical journey into the world of traditional and contemporary African music. Hosted by Stani Goma.

IndigiTube

About: media platform (website and mobile app) where users can listen live, listen back, and access a diverse range of First Nations content—including current affairs and talks programming from 27 contributing Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander radio stations across the continent.

Jam Pakt w/ Jonzy (8CCC)

On Air: Wednesday - 5:00 pm to 6:00 pm, streamed via website

About: Mix of music, guests and yarns for Indigenous mob all over Australia. Hosted by Jonathan Lindsay-Tjapaltjarri Hermawan (Jonzy).

Highly Melanated (TripleR)

On air: Mondays 10pm - Midnight; stream/listen back via website

About: Celebrating the creative genius of melanin-soaked people - locally, nationally and worldwide.

Presented by Eva Lubulwa.

Koori Survival Show (3CR)

On air: Tuesday 10:00am to 11:00am, stream/listen back via website

About: Grassroots Indigenous news, views and music.

Indigi-Brizz (4ZZZ)

On air: Sunday 1pm to 3pm; stream/listen back via website.

About: Interviews and yarns, deadly discussions, community announcements and alternative news, what's on, what's wombah, as well as music from Indigenous artists.

Let's Talk (98.9fm)

On Air: Monday to Thursday 9am to 10am; stream/listen back via website; distributed via NIRS; podcast

News and current affairs that focuses on all relevant First Nations issues from a First Nations standpoint. Hosted by Boe Spearim and Karina Hogan.

MegaHerzzz (4ZZZ)

On air: Sunday 12pm to 1pm; stream/listen back via website

About: an intersectional feminist program and give voice to various marginalised communities featuring news, opinions, and interviews, as well as music.

The Mission (TripleR)

On air: Tuesdays 7pm - 8pm; stream/listen back via website

About: Exploring the issues that impact the lives of Aboriginal people and those at the wrong end of social justice in this country. Presented by Daniel James.

National Indigenous News Review (NIRS)

On air: Syndicated via NIRS; and on Radio Skid Row, Radio Adelaide and 2XX Canberra via the Community Radio Network.

About: First Nations-produced and presented magazine-style news and current affairs program. Produced by the National Indigenous Radio Service.

National Talk Black (Bumma Bippera)

On air: Monday to Friday 11am to 12pm, tune in via IndigiTube, sindicated via NIRS

About: National talkback program which focuses on inspiring hope in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities. Presented by Gudju Gudju (Seith) Fourmile, or Trevor Tim (Trendy Trev).

Nunga Wangga (Radio Adelaide)

On air: Monday 7pm to 9pm, stream/listen back via website

About: Local, national and international issues, as well as news of cultural and community events. Nunga Wangga means black fellas talking.

Our Voices (Noongar Radio)

On air: Friday 11am to 12pm, stream via website

Our Voices will take you straight to the community's ins and outs. Topics have no boundaries it's just what the mob want to say and do.

Palestine Remembered (3CR)

On air: 3CR, Saturday 9:30am to 10:00am; stream/listen back via website

About: News and views regarding the Palestinian situation. Bringing listeners the untold side of the Palestinian/ Israeli conflict. Hosted by Yousef Alreemawi, Nasser Mashni & Robert Martin.

PNG Women's program (Cairns FM 89.1)

On air: Saturday 7pm - 9pm

About: PNG music, the latest news, community awareness and announcements of events and other relevant information ranging from education, health and other related community issues to the PNG and wider community in Cairns. In English and Tok-psin.

Queering the Air (3CR)

On air: Sunday 3:00pm to 4:00pm; stream/listen back via website

Queer current affairs with an anti-racist, feminist, and anti-capitalist bent. We have a particular interest in the intersection of queerness with other experiences of marginalisation.

Race Matters (FBi)

On air: Saturday 5pm to 6pm; stream/listen back via website; podcast

About: Conversations between people of colour about the ways we understand and value our racial and cultural identities; race, culture, arts and current affairs. Hosted by Sara Khan and Darren Lesaguis.

The Rap (TripleR)

On air: Wednesday 9am - 12pm; stream/listen back via website; podcast

About: The Rap weaves conversations about culture, politics, literature, art and music into a weekly mix.

Refugees on Air (SYN)

On air: Listen back via website

About: Fortnightly podcast giving refugees from all around Australia a voice to share their stories. Hosted by Syrian twins Sarah and Maya Ghassali. 1 season, 12 episodes.

Salaam Radio Show (3CR)

On air: 3CR Sunday 4:00pm to 5:00pm; stream/listen back via website

About: Salaam aims to introduce you to the surge of new, modern and reinterpreted sounds of Arabic

music ranging from trap, rap, RnB, pop and electronic music. Hosted by Marroushti.

Second Thoughts (3CR)

On air: Monday 1:00pm to 2:00pm; stream/listen back via website

About: First Nations talks program that creates a space to review, and contemplate, subjects you may not have thought about enough. Hosted by Shiralee Hood (Nyoongar, Kurnai and Gunditjmara)

Sierra Leone Radio (Radio Skid Row)

On air: Saturdays; stream via website

About: The latest news from Sierra Leone, along with interviews and music. The program is a meeting place for people who have arrived in Sydney and need to connect with their brothers and sisters.

Still Here (TripleR)

On air: Sunday 1pm - 2pm; stream/listen back via website

About: Music and interviews with Indigenous community, and other peoples of colour speaking from their unique position as voices in the now that represent ongoing cultural and decolonial narratives. Presented by Neil Morris and Paul Gorrie.

Strong Voices (CAAMA Radio)

On air: Weekdays at 11am; stream via website; tune in via Indigitube

About: Flagship magazine program with up to date Aboriginal current affairs daily. Produced by Paul Wiles and hosted by Damien Williams, Lorena Walker, Paul Wiles, and Philippe Perez.

Survival Guide (Radio Skid Row)

Podcast via SoundCloud

About: A podcast series which centres Indigenous voices amongst multicultural Waterloo residents to critique colonisation and gentrification showing there is a Blak History to your flat white. 2 series. Hosted by Lorna Munro and Joel Sherwood Spring.

Tamil Manifest (3CR)

On air: Saturday 1pm to 1.30pm; stream/listen to latest episode via website

About: Aims to inform the wider Australian community about Tamil people's fight for the restoration of their traditional homeland in the North and East of Sri Lanka.

Thursday Breakfast (3CR)

On air: Thursday 7:00am to 8:30am; stream/listen back via website

Current affairs, media analysis, alternative media. Hosted by Carly Baque, Max Castle, Scheherazade Bloul, Cait Kelly, Priya Kunjan and Rosie Isaac.

Tuesday Breakfast (3CR)

On air: Tuesday 7:00am to 8:30am; stream/listen back via website

Current affairs, media analysis, alternative media. Hosted by Lauren Bull, Zoya Gill, Madison Griffith and Genevieve Siggins.

Ubuntu Voice (3CR)

On air: Wednesday 8.30pm to 9.30pm; stream/listen to latest episode via website

About: Giving voice to the local African community to tell their stories through music and spoken word.

Voice of West Papua (3CR)

On air: Tuesday 6:30pm to 7:30pm; stream/listen to latest episode via website

About: Issues-focused talks program presented by West Papuan activists and community members who voice the aspirations of Papua's struggle, share songs, interviews, music and stories.

Where We At (Radio Skid Row)

Co hosted by Huna Amweero and Sydnye Allen and centering Black diaspora perspectives on issues of concern, struggles and strengths of Black and Indigenous communities in Australia and overseas.

Wild Black Women (98.9fm)

Previous episodes are available via podcast

About: Dr Chelsea Bond and Angelina Hurley discuss all the things that made them wild this week.

Women on the Line (3CR)

On air: Monday 8:30am to 9:00am; stream/listen back via website; distributed nationally on the CRN; podcast

About: National feminist current affairs program with a gender analysis of contemporary issues, as well as in-depth analysis by a range of women and gender diverse people around Australia and internationally. Hosted by Amy McMurtrie, Anya Saravanan, Ayan Shirwa, Emma Hart, and Iris Lee.

Women of Colour in Solidarity and Struggle
(Radio Skid Row)

Coming soon: keep an ear out for a new podcast series which will explore the feminist strategies of women of colour – how they fight against gender injustice inside families and communities, while also fighting racism and poverty from the wider world. Produced by Rose Nakad.

Women's Profile (4EB)

On air: Friday 12pm to 1pm

About: Voices, views, news and issues of concern and interest for women, girls and families; interviews with local community members. Hosted by Maureen Mopio.

Women's World (3ZZZ)

On air: Thursday 1pm to 2pm

About: Issues-focused talks program presented by women from diverse ethnic backgrounds on a range of issues and interests.

Yarnin' Country (Radio Adelaide)

On air: Friday 9pm to 9.30pm; stream/listen back via website

About: First Nations issues-focused talks program connecting Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people together.

Yorgas Yarning (Noongar Radio)

On air: Tuesdays 6:00pm to 7:00pm, Saturday 8:00am, stream via website; tune in via IndigiTube

About: Informative program for women in the community, focused on a number of different topics such as health, education, child –rearing practices, employment and career paths.

02 Community podcasts and audio series

A selection of independent podcasts and audio series that foreground sovereign and self-determined voices from First Nations, refugee/asylum seeker, and intersectional standpoints, made by or in collaboration with community. Some podcasts have been made in collaboration with community broadcasters (SYN, 2SER, FBi); others have been produced in partnership with larger news organisations venturing into audio storytelling and narrative journalism (e.g. NITV or Guardian); others still are outcomes of academic research projects (UTS and UNSW) or diversity initiatives (Media Diversity Australia, Diversity Arts Australia). A few are entirely independently produced.

The Arts of Inclusion (Diversity Council of Australia)
A podcast which 'flips the script on who we include, who we don't, and how we can do better in everything from gender, race, mental health and disability, through to the inclusion of LGBTQI+ and Indigenous communities'. Two seasons.

#BlackStoriesMatter (UTS)
A five-part series that brings together media researchers, historians, former policy makers and Aboriginal journalists whose work is disrupting the patterns of the past. The podcast is inspired by the book *Does the Media Fail Aboriginal Political Aspirations?: 45 years of news media reporting of key political moments*' by Amy Thomas, Heidi Norman and Andrew Jakubowicz.

Breathless: the death of David Dungay Jnr
(2SER/Guardian)
A podcast series launched today by Guardian Australia and 2SER which tells the story of David Dungay Jr., a young Dunghatti man who died in Long Bay jail in 2015 after a disagreement about a packet of biscuits.

The Colour Cycle (Diversity Arts Australia)
The Colour Cycle aims to 'disrupt cultural whitewashing and examines whether Australia's Arts and Cultural sector looks like Australia'.

Curtain (BIMA/independent)
A podcast on the darkest parts of our justice system; investigates the wrongful conviction and murder trial of Kevin "Curtain" Henry, from Rockhampton Queensland. Hosted by Amy McQuire and Martin Hodgson.

Cultural Protocols Show (BIMA)
6-part podcast series in which Angelina Hurley is joined by Greg Kitson and a host of special guests to discuss First Nations protocols.

Don't @ Me with Ayebatonye (FBi)
Explores the intersectionality of identity within the arts, pop culture, social media and beyond. Hosted by Ayebatonye Abrakasa.

Frontier War Stories (independent)
Boe Spearim speaks with different Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people about research, books and oral histories that document the first 140 years of conflict and resistance against colonisation.

Hey Aunty!
Independent podcast hosted by Belize Kriol woman Shantel Wetherall, Hey Aunty! gives voice to 'black women, fems and non-binary siblings in Australia. Connecting Sisters across cultures and generations and showing that there are millions of ways to be magical'.

IndigenousX Presents: Blak Nation
(IndigenousX and Judith Nelson Institute)
Blak Nation 'delves into the conversations that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders are having which are rarely heard outside the communities where they're being discussed'. 6 episodes. Hosted by Rhianna Patrick.

The Real (33 Creative)
This podcast presents a collection of First Peoples voices, sharing their experiences, dreams, hopes and beliefs. Hosted by Wiradjuri woman, Mayrah Sonter.

Take it Blak (NITV)
Current affairs podcast from the NITV news online team, hosted by Jack Latimore and others.

Temporary (UNSW/Guardian)
An eight-part narrative podcast from the UNSW Centre for Ideas and Kaldor Centre for International Refugee Law and co-produced with Guardian Australia. Features the stories of six asylum seekers living in Australia. Presented by Sisonke Msimang with Ben Doherty.

Refugees on Air (SYN)
Fortnightly podcast giving refugees from all around Australia a voice to share their stories. Hosted by Syrian twins Sarah and Maya Ghassali. 1 season, 12 episodes.

Three Dumplings
Hosted by three Asian Australian women—writer Hannah-Rose Yee, blogger Peony Lim and photographer Kit Lee—the hosts explore this question in relation to 'their varied and shared heritage, and the issues, complexities and absurdities of their lives'.

The Wait (2SER/Guardian)
Five part narrative podcast series focusing on the impacts of Australia's border policies from the perspective of refugees waiting in Indonesia to be resettled. Co-hosted by Nicole Curby and Mozhgan Moarefizadeh.

Appendix B:
Listening guide—media on media

Media diversity and racism in the media are hot topics frequently discussed in media. Media on Media is a curated selection of media content - podcasts, opinion pieces, regular programs and more - about issues ranging from diversity debates and de-colonial practices to media justice and the politics of representation - and prioritising sovereign and self-determined expert voices. Descriptions based on those available for the program/event/article via the link.

Podcasts, community radio broadcasts and panel discussions:

30 Years of 'Speaking Out'
A look back at Australia's first national radio program produced and presented by Indigenous broadcasters changed the game in Black media. Presented by Daniel Browning. ABC Radio National.

Accountability - The Point Specials
In this Point Special, John Paul Janke speaks with Catherine Liddle, CEO of First Nations Media Australia and Muriel Bamblett, CEO of the Victorian Aboriginal Child Care Agency about how government agencies and institutions can be held to account to 'Close the Gap' and make meaningful and lasting reforms for First Nations people. *The Point,* Season 2020 Episode 4, NITV.

Black Lives Matter with IndigenousX
A panel discussion curated by IndigenousX exploring how state sanctioned violence is enabled and protected by racist ideology, and the role of protests in achieving reform.

Blak Newsrooms & New Boardrooms
NITV Channel Manager & Media Diversity Australia Board member Tanya Orman talks about racism and representation in the NITV newsroom, Kodie Bedford's Twitter thread, an open letter from SBS employees to appoint a BIPOC to News Director, and an open letter to the Melbourne Press Club to recognise the need for greater diversity on its board. *Take it Blak* podcast (episode 10), NITV online. Co-hosted by Jack Latimore and Rhanna Collins.

#BlackStoriesMatter Podcast
Black Stories Matter is a five-part podcast series that brings together media researchers, historians, former policy makers and Aboriginal journalists whose work is disrupting the patterns of the past. The series was inspired by the book *Does the Media Fail Aboriginal Political Aspirations: 45 years of news media reporting of key political moments* by Amy Thomas, Heidi Norman and Andrew Jakubowicz from the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences at UTS.

Broadly Speaking: Future Voices: Decolonising — The Wheeler Centre
This event brought together First Nations women working in community, media and journalism for a discussion about the tensions between their work and the white feminism that often characterises Australian media narratives as part of the *Broadly Speaking* series. The panel featured Bridget Brennan, Chelsea Watego, Sono Leone and Karla McGrady.

Classroom to Newsroom: Racial Gatekeeping in Australian Media
A panel discussion that challenges the defence of the status quo and identifies how institutional barriers—from Australian schools and universities all the way to newsroom—work to directly and indirectly exclude Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander, non-Indigenous Black and POC journalists and presenters. Hosted by Anya Saravanan, and featuring Areej Nur, Osman Faruqi, Madeline Hayman-Reber and Jim Malo. Jointly presented by 3CR Community Radio's Tuesday Breakfast Team and Democracy in Colour.

Converge 2019 (part 1)
Boe Spearim travelled to Alice Springs for the 2019 Converge conference host by First Nations Media Australia. Boe speaks with Jennifer Nixon Assistant Manager of First Nations Media Australia, Ian Hamm Yorta Yorta man and new President of CBF and my last guest on the show is Karl Hampton CEO of CAAMA Radio. *Let's Talk,* 98.9fm, November 2019.

Converge 2019 (part 2)
Boe Spearim travelled to Alice Springs for the 2019 Converge conference host by First Nations Media Australia. Boe speaks with James Saunders from IndigenousX, Lola Forester from Koori Radio and Damien Williams from CAAMA Radio. *Let's Talk,* 98.9fm, November 2019.

First Nations Journalists in Black Media

This morning on Let's Talk, Dan Rennie shines a light on some of the exceptional work of our First Nations journalists are doing in black media. Qld correspondent for NITV Douglas Smith speaks about his love for telling stories, while Danny Teece Johnson reflects on the challenges surrounding reporting from mainstream media on black issues.

Diversity in the Media

Journalist, radio presenter, and producer, Nicola Joseph discusses with Areej Nur the need for diversity within our media and Media Diversity Australia's recent report that outlined how behind our country's media landscape is when it comes to representation. *The Rap* — Triple R 102.7FM, September 2020.

Decentring White Privilege: Decolonising and Diversifying the Airwaves

Panel discussion bringing together community broadcasting practitioners and researchers, both academic and community-based, to engage in candid and critical discussions on decolonisation and decentring whiteness in community media. Panellists: Catherine Liddle, Areej Nur, Priya Kunjan, and Nicola Joseph. Presented at the CBAA Conference 2020, Online, October.

First Nations Media and the Politics of Listening

Featuring First Nations media producers Lorena Allam and Summer May Finlay. Allam and Finlay reflect on the politics of listening in their work, including at The Guardian, the ABC, #IHMayDay Indigenous Health MayDay and #JustJustice. Lorena speaks about her award-winning work for Guardian Australia's Deaths Inside interactive database which tracks Indigenous deaths in custody. Summer May picks up the theme of listening responsibilities and the difficult work of listening to uncomfortable truths. From a plenary address given at the Politics of Listening conference, UNSW, November 2018.

From the Ground up: New Media and Indigenous Reporting

Media coverage of Indigenous peoples has tended to focus, for a long time, on negatives. It's also tended, at least in mainstream media, to be dominated by non-Indigenous voices. What do the changes in the media landscape mean for reporting on Indigenous issues? Can new media platforms be harnessed to provide better reporting, representation and recognition of black voices? Hosted by Jack Latimore, with Allan Clarke, Paul Daley, Amy McQuire and Steve Hodder Watt. Part of the 2015 New News program hosted by the Wheeler Centre.

The importance of Black Media

IndigenousX Business Development and Engagement Manager James Saunders talks about the growth of black media in Australia. 'The importance of black media cannot be underestimated, it's the truest purest form of bringing Indigenous voices to the forefront', Saunders says. *Let's Talk* podcast, 98.9fm, August 2020.

Naomi Moran on First Nations news and communications through social media

First Nations Media Australia calls for the immediate reinstatement of First Nations media organisation Facebook pages blocked last Thursday in response to the Government's proposed Mandatory News Bargaining Code. *Let's Talk* podcast, 98.9fm, February 2021.

Indigenous Representation in News

First Nations journalists, be it as industry professionals or citizen journalists, are the best placed source to report and advise on Indigenous Australia, says Jack Latimore. But they are still underrepresented in mainstream media. Social media and new digital channels are starting to change that. From *Not just news to us* presented at the Melbourne Knowledge Week. Broadcast on *Big Ideas*, ABC Radio National, 2018.

IndigenousX as a form of Digital Disruption

A conversation between Luke Pearson and Dr Sana Nakata for the Indigenous Australia and Digital Futures 2019 Seminar Series, University of Melbourne. They discussed the formation of IndigenousX as a social media project turned independent media platform; and explored some of the past achievements of IndigenousX, looking at how it has played a disruptive role in traditional media and more broadly within the national discourse on Indigenous affairs. They also discussed the challenges IndigenousX faces in establishing itself as a sustainable platform for the promotion and amplification of indigenous voices online.

IndigiTube as an Innovation serving Australia

IndigiTube is a digital hub where members from remote communities can access culturally appropriate content; it's an online treasure trove of music, radio and videos. IndigiTube Project Manager Jaja Dare. *Service Voices*, Radio Adelaide. September 2019.

In Our Own Words

Since the 1980's, community radio stations have played a pivotal role in challenging racism in the media, while providing a platform for First Nations perspectives and stories. But in 2007 the country's first Indigenous dedicated national television channel, NITV, hit the airwaves. So how far have we come since then? With Karla Grant, Rachel Hocking and Tanya Denning-Orman. *Speaking Out*, ABC Radio National, June 2020.

Minute 71 with Jack Latimore
Digital editor at NITV news, Jack Latimore, talks about the guilt of the Australian media in elevating racist voices, Black Lives Matter and slogans for a changed Australian national day.

All the President's Minutes podcast, July 2020.

A Media Reckoning
Co-hosts Sara Khan and Darren Lesaguis are joined by NITV journalist and Walpiri woman Rachael Hocking to discuss racism within media organisations, and those who have come forward to call out racism against Indigenous people and people of colour working in media and news organisations, and more broadly. *Race Matters* podcast, FBi radio, August 2020.

New News: Indigenous Voices
Panel discussion with Kelly Briggs, Gamilaroi writer (the Guardian, Croakey), Amy McQuire (Tracker), Jim Remedio, station manager at 3KND and Patricia Karvelas (the Australian) about the new media revolution in Indigenous communication. Chaired by Ellie Rennie. The Wheeler Centre. 2014.

Survival Guide: Media Watch
Joel Sherwood Spring and Lorna Munro. *Survival Guide* podcast (ep 16).

Towards Accountability
As more people than ever before begin to grapple with systemic racism around the world, we're seeing organisations, institutions and even entire industries being rightly held accountable for their racist past and present. *Race Matters* (ep 63), FBi radio, July 2020.

Transforming public discourse: The media, Aboriginal aspirations and agreement-making in Australia
Part of a webinar series about the how the media has engaged with Aboriginal political aspirations over time, and how we can better understand how to shift public dialogue and achieve meaningful agreements between Aboriginal peoples and government. Hosted by Amy Thomas, with Rachael Hocking, November 2020.

Unpacking Bla(c)kness in Audio
This Audiocraft recording brings together a panel of Aboriginal, African and Islander voices to critique podcast structures past and present, and explore how we might break through these to make space for underserved and underrepresented voices. Namila Benson (ABC) moderates this discussion with Angelina Hurley (Wild Black Women), Areej Nur (Broadwave) and writer Nayuka Gorrie.

Unfinished Business: Disrupt the Narrative - Media
Rhianna Patrick and Luke Pearson from IndigenousX discuss the importance of Indigenous participation in the media and how media platforms can be used to challenge and disrupt stereotypes. Presented by QAGOMA.

Editorial and opinion pieces, news journalisms:

SBS Seemed like a Miracle, Then I Realised It Was Not a Place for People Who Looked like Me
Nick Bhasin, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 11 July 2020.

Disrupting the Master Narrative: Indigenous People and Tweeting Colonial History
Bronwyn Carlson, *Griffith REVIEW* 64: New Disruptors (2019).

Gut Punch After Gut Punch, Death After Death
Allan Clarke, *Meanjin,* June 7 2020.

Covering Black Deaths Led This Aboriginal Journalist to a Breakdown
Allan Clarke writes about the costs for First Nations journalists in the media reporting on stories that impact them and their communities. ABC online, June 2020.

ABC Indigenous Journalist Miriam Corowa on Cultural Diversity in TV News and Her Personal Struggles and Triumphs'.
By Miriam Corowa, ABC, 28 August 2020.

Remaking Our Newsrooms
On the experience of Aboriginal journalists working within mainstream news organisations: "We are told to remain impartial, to be unbiased; essentially, to be white", writes Madeline Hayman-Reber. *The Saturday Paper*, 18 July 2020.

Remote Indigenous Media Festival
IndigenousX, 27 September 2019.

Riot or Resistance? How Media Frames Unrest in Minneapolis Will Shape Public's View of Protest
Kilgo, Danielle K. n.d. *The Conversation,* May 2020.

Lack of Diversity in Black Lives Matter Coverage: "A Monolithic Cultural Background and Colour"'
The lack of media diversity in Australia has been highlighted with the recent coverage of the Black Lives Matter protests in the United States and Australia. By Ahmed Yussuf for *The Feed*, SBS, June 2020.

Jumping the Gate
On the history and achievements of IndigenousX, including shifting the debate around Recognise campaign and constitutional recognition; Indigenous new media interventions. Quotes Celeste Liddle: "The ability for us to create spaces for our own voices using these online platforms was the key starting point". By Luke Pearson, Inside Story. 23 August 2017.

Black and White Witness
Darambul and South Sea Islander journalist Amy McQuire exposes the white norms that underpin news reporting, and specifically the way 'Aboriginal affairs' is reported in Australian mainstream and public media by non-Indigenous journalists and media commentators. Amy McQuire 2019, *Meanjin*, 17 June 2019.

Black Witness: Reading Ida B Wells in this place
Journalist Amy McQuire on the strong tradition of black journalism both in Australia and overseas. Amy McQuire, 2020, *Presence*, October 18.

Nothing about us, without us. That's why we need Indigenous-owned media
Luke Pearson about the importance of IndigenousX, *The Guardian*, August 2015.

SBS Staff Urge Leadership Change as Former Journalists Air Claims of Racism.
Amanda Meade and Naaman Zhou, *The Guardian*, 30 June 2020.

Who Gets to Tell Australian Stories?
Media Diversity Australia report 2020.

Indigenous Current Affairs: Reckoning: The Limits and Possibilities of Journalism Part 1 and Part 2.

Featuring First Nations Canadian journalist Candis Callison and Mary Lynn Young, *co-authors of Reckoning: Journalism's Limits and Possibilities. Media Indigena* podcast, episode 214, June 2020.

More than 100 Journalists Call for Racial Diversity on Melbourne Press Club's All-White Board
Brittney Rigby, *Mumbrella*, July 2020.

New Research Shows How Australia's Newsrooms Are Failing Minority Communities

Usha Rodrigues, Michael Niemann, and Yin Paradies, *The Conversation*, October 2018.

Australia's Media Has Been Too White for Too Long. This Is How to Bring More Diversity to Newsrooms
Janak Rogers, *The Conversation*, July 2020.

Sweatshop on SBS Voices
SBS Voices is an online platform devoted to contributing a raft of diverse viewpoints on national and international conversations. As part of that commitment, they entered into a formal partnership with Sweatshop in 2018 to support our ever-growing ensemble of writers. Sweatshop provides editorial support and mentoring for each writer in the lead up to publication on the site.

The Black Lives Matter Movement Has Provoked a Cultural Reckoning about How Black Stories Are Told
Amy Thomas, Andrew Jakubowicz, Anne Maree Payne, and Heidi Norman, *The Conversation*, November 2020.

Australian News Outlets Fail Migrant Communities. Here's What Needs to Happen
Mary Tran, *Screenhub Australia*, October 2020.

"It Dampens the Conversation": No More Excuses for Australian Media's Lack of Diversity
Naaman Zhou, *The Guardian*, 28 June 2020.

We Will Disrupt Racism in Media
Strong 'blak' voices are deeply embedded in the media and are challenging the sector, on many fronts. Biased and discriminatory reporting will be powerfully challenged, on the streets and on our devices. By Karen Wyld, NITV. 16 January 2019.

Why "whitewashing" in the Australian media must end
Every few weeks, there's another 'whitewashing' scandal keeping people of colour firmly on the margins of society. It's no wonder public episodes of bigotry in our media are on repeat, writes Ruby Hamad, as Australia's default is currently set to white. *SBS* online, August 2016.

I helped launch NITV. I know how much it means to the Indigenous community
Tanya Denning-Orman, *The Guardian Australia,* January 2020.

Australia's Media Have Systematically Thwarted Aboriginal Aspirations
Amy Thomas, Andrew Jakubowicz, and Heidi Norman, *The Guardian*, June 2020.

Why the media are to blame for racialising Melbourne's 'African gang' problem
John Budarick, *The Conversation,* August 2018

Blog posts from IndigenousX

"IndigenousX champions voices from our communities through analysis, commentary, and public interest journalism." A selection of media-focused posts below.

Laura Murphy-Oates writes While On-Screen Diversity Is Important, What Happens Offscreen Is Paramount: "We need leaders on all levels who understand the importance of representation in the media, because they themselves have shouldered the burden of representation and wish to make a world where others of non-Anglo heritage see themselves on and off screen. The consequences of doing otherwise are stark. August 2020.

Amy McQuire writes We Must Build upon the Foundations of Black Media: "Wouldn't it be great to have a Black media space that is not seen as just a beginning, but as an end? The power of Black media is not just in the ability to report on Aboriginal issues without the oversight of white people who want to control the narrative, but in its accountability". July 2020.

Jack Gibson writes Media and White Blinkers: "We are told that Aunty ABC is the impartial perspective, the media source that will show us the truth but all too often Aunty ABC disappoints. This time – the reporting of the devastation being experienced by Walpiri mob is reprehensible". November 2019.

Tarneen Onus-Williams writes I was inspired by young blackfullas making media for black audiences: She writes about her involvement with the Warriors of the Aboriginal Resistance collective, and the influence of the *Blackfella Revolution* Facebook page and the power of *Black Nations Rising* magazine. March 2018.

Tristan Kennedy writes We must listen to Indigenous voices. Social media is a good place to start: "January is increasingly becoming a time for fierce debate about Indigenous identities and Australian nationhood. And each year the debate is gathering more attention. Indigenous voices, especially on social media, are getting louder". February 2018.

Jack Latimore highlights Five figures in the history of First Nations Media you should know about: featuring profiles of John Newfong, Dot West, Tiga Bayles, Bruce McGuinness, Gavin Jones, as well as links to other First Nations media pioneers Jack Patten, Merv Bishop, Ross Watson, Bill Thaiday, Thomas Brune, and Walter George Arthur. March 2018.

Tess Ryan writes about Strong, black women to highlight the positive stories we share: on challenging deficit discourse, and positive stories of strong black women that she writes about in her work. "This demonstrates an emergence of power and influence that does not fit in with the deficit stories that are brought by the mainstream media". August 2017.

Jack Latimore writes about A lack of Indigenous voices is turning blackfellas off old media: "There are more blackfellas working in media than a few decades ago but real change will come from true diversity and seniority, not token appointments". November 2016.

Emily Nicol writes Indigenous media is crucial to the Australian landscape and it needs to be self-sufficient. September 2015.