Social Media Portrayals of Three Extractives Companies' Funding of Sport for Development in Indigenous Communities in Canada and Australia

by
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Table of Contents

Abstract

The extractives industry (mining, oil, and gas) engages in corporate social responsibility (CSR) activities to reinforce its organizational legitimacy and enhance its public image. One such approach to CSR that is popular in the industry is through funding sport initiatives aimed at Indigenous peoples (often termed Sport for Development; SFD). On the surface, such funding may seem commendable and innocuous; however, questions have been raised about the ways in which such funding may obfuscate the harmful impacts that the extractives industry has had and continues to have on Indigenous peoples and their traditional territories. Through the adoption of a postcolonial theoretical perspective and in conjunction with netnographic methods and discourse analysis, this project involved a consideration of how extractives companies portray their funding of sport programs in Indigenous communities on social media. Given the research focus on Indigenous communities in the countries known as Canada and Australia, between country differences were also examined. Three discourses related to the extractives industry's funding of SFD in Indigenous communities in Canada and Australia were developed. These discourses included the following: 1) Extractives companies are proud "partners" of Indigenous communities; 2) Extractives companies are committed to helping Indigenous communities in Canada and Australia; and 3) Canadian extractives companies are future focused and past-blind, while Australian extractives companies are advocates for reconciliation**.** Overall, extractives companies in Canada and Australia were found to use social media to portray themselves as responsible and committed partners of Indigenous communities, while obscuring the ongoing histories of colonialism through discourses of empowerment and development through sport. Suggestions are made regarding ongoing interrogation of the ways in which the extractives industry perpetuates colonialism.

Dedication

I dedicate my thesis to my parents, Ana Mayorga and Raul Latino. It is difficult for me to convey just how grateful I am for you both and for everything you have done for me and my siblings, but I will attempt to do so nonetheless. Throughout my life I have been and continue to be inspired by you both through your displays of perseverance, tenacity, and resilience in the face of adversity, as well as the compassion, selflessness, and love that you have towards our family and your friends. Thank you both for teaching me how to dream big and to never give up, no matter how difficult the circumstances.

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Chapter One: Introduction

Historically and contemporarily, the lands now known as Canada and Australia have shared a multitude of similarities, ranging from their histories of colonization and membership in the Commonwealth of Nations to the vast amount of natural resources that are found within their borders. One noteworthy similarity is the extractives industry's (oil, mining, and gas) engagement in corporate social responsibility (CSR) initiatives targeted at Indigenous peoples in both countries. CSR refers to a variety of strategies and operating practices that corporations utilize to portray ethical conduct and social responsibility, with the aim of developing positive relationships with their stakeholders and the natural environment (Waddock, 2004). Of particular interest for my research was the extractives industry's CSR funding of sport for development (SFD) initiatives in Indigenous communities in Canada and Australia.

In this paper, I used postcolonial theory, netnography, netnographic methods, and critical discourse analysis to address the following research questions: How do extractives companies portray their funding of SFD in Indigenous communities in Canada and Australia on social media? Are there between-country differences? My results provide valuable insights into the ways in which SFD in Indigenous communities are (re)presented through social media.

Literature Review

In this literature review, I provide a rationalization for my comparison of SFD funding in Indigenous communities by the extractives industry in Canada and Australia. I then provide an overview of the extractives industry, its controversial nature, the significance of organizational legitimacy, and its relevance to this study. The subsequent section examines CSR and its importance to organizations. The penultimate section comprises an examination of SFD programs, initiatives, and their aims. In the final section, I examine the impacts of extractives practices and the implications of extractives-funded CSR programming, particularly in the form

of corporate "redwashing" (Millington, Giles, Hayhurst, Van Luijk, & McSweeney, 2019).

Rationale for Comparison of SFD Funding in Canada and Australia

In my study, I compared prominent extractives companies that operate in Canada and Australia; these countries share a multitude of characteristics that are pertinent to my research. First, both nations have histories of colonization at the hands of Eurocentric powers (mainly Great Britain). Prior to the arrival of European settlers, both lands were inhabited by Indigenous peoples. Upon the arrival of European settlers, disease and conflicts quickly arose and Indigenous peoples in both settings were subjugated and classified as British subjects (Nettelbeck & Smandych, 2010). Moreover, significant components of the colonization of both countries included attempts by colonizers to assimilate Indigenous peoples into the European socio-economic-political system through means such as the forced relocation of Indigenous peoples and the prohibition of cultural practices.

The treatment of Indigenous youth at boarding/residential schools in both countries was deplorable, as Indigenous youth were not only exposed and subjected to physical and sexual abuse, but were also barred from practicing and engaging in their customs, language and cultural traditions, since they were deemed uncivilized by the state (Buti, 2002; Miller, 1997). Given the church and state's assimilationist agenda, Eurocentric values, beliefs, and customs were deemed to be in the best interest of Indigenous youth and, as such, were imposed on them, often through brute force. Notably, the prevailing discourses in the 19th and 20th centuries that regarded Indigenous peoples as requiring the aid of Euro-Canadians and Euro-Australians still exist to this day in the form of discourses of Indigenous peoples' apparent failure and deficiency (Fforde, Bamblett, Lovett, Gorringe, & Fogarty, 2013).

Both Canada and Australia, which are democracies within the Commonwealth,

are also contemporary economic powerhouses on the global stage, with both listed in the top twenty most affluent countries in the world based on gross domestic product (Focus Economics, 2018). Notably, their affluence distinguishes them from the usual sites where SFD programs are mobilized: low- and middle-income countries (Giles, Rynne, Hayhurst, & Rossi, 2019). Concerningly, despite their ranking as two of the wealthiest countries in the world, significant numbers of Indigenous peoples in both countries face an array of socioeconomic challenges related to colonialism including poverty (Das, Kini, Garg, & Parker, 2018), poor health status (Brand, Bond, & Shannon, 2016), lack of access to education (Public Health Agency of Canada, 2012), incarceration (Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Social Justice Commissioner, 2016; Reitano, 2016), and low life expectancy, especially when compared to other portions of the overall populations (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2010).

Another similarity between the two countries is the extensive amount of territory and the abundance of natural resources that are found within their respective boundaries. Similarly, regarding those natural resources, significant numbers of Indigenous communities in each country are situated close to the sites of resource extraction in rural locations (Australian Government, 2011; Baker & Westman, 2018). Moreover, several prominent extractives companies such as Rio Tinto, Newmont Corporation, and BHP have operations in both Canada and Australia and provide funding and SFD programming for Indigenous peoples in both countries. In summary, the strong and numerous similarities between Canada and Australia made them excellent choices for conducting a comparative study.

The Extractives Industry

The extractives industry is often associated with controversy and is thus perceived as a contentious industry. An industry can become controversial when there are industry-wide

practices that violate stakeholder interests or social expectations, such as morally corrupt or unethical behaviours and socially or environmentally irresponsible practices (Cai, Jo, & Pan, 2012; Klein & Dawar, 2004). A substantial amount of research has revealed the many negative social and environmental consequences associated with extractives industry operations, including their role in climate change (Frynas, 2005), deterioration in local air and water quality around refineries (Idemudia, 2009), and the "resource curse" that has struck many countries with extensive amounts of raw resources (e.g., Angola, Chad, Venezuela, Sierra Leone, and Ivory Coast) (Wigley, 2017; Woolfson & Beck, 2005). The resource curse refers to the paradox that a country's possession of abundant natural resources (e.g., oil, gas, and valuable mineral deposits) does not confer economic or developmental success on that country, with resource rich countries tending to have less democracy and worse developmental outcomes than countries with fewer natural resources (Wigley, 2017). Notably, resource extraction often occurs on Indigenous peoples' traditional territories - land they have traditionally used for hunting, gathering, and performing cultural activities (Baker & Westman, 2018). As a result of extractives companies' extraction efforts, Indigenous peoples' traditional lands and sites are often desecrated. Baker and Westman (2018) asserted that the resulting environmental destruction and ensuing increase in pollution adversely affects the public health of Indigenous peoples in nearby communities.

Mired in controversy and frequently scrutinized, extractives companies often face numerous challenges to and questions regarding their organizational legitimacy (Palazzo & Scherer, 2006). In this particular context, legitimacy refers to a generalized perception from the public that an entity's actions are proper, desirable, and moral within some socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs, and definitions (Suchman, 1995). Legitimacy is paramount for

the sustained success and survival of an organization because it ensures the continuous flow of resources to an organization and the continued support by the organization's stakeholders (Suchman, 1995). Thus, in response to considerable negative media attention and the increased level of stakeholder sensitivity to social, environmental, and ethical issues, extractives companies have been increasingly implementing CSR practices as a means of attaining and sustaining their legitimacy (Du, Bhattacharya, & Sen, 2011; Maignan & Ferrell, 2004).

Corporate Social Responsibility and Legitimacy

CSR can be defined as the broad array of strategies and operating practices that organizations use to deal with and develop relationships with their stakeholders and the natural environment (Waddock, 2004). It is through these strategies that companies appeal to the sociocultural norms of their institutional environment and strengthen their organizational legitimacy (Handelman & Arnold, 1999; Palazzo & Scherer, 2006; Scott, 1987). Research in the field of CSR has demonstrated that stakeholders expect companies to be socially responsible and will reward good corporate citizens and punish bad ones (Greening & Turban, 2000; Maignan & Ferrell, 2004; Sen, Bhattacharya, & Korschun, 2006).

Through the implementation of CSR initiatives, a company enacts and upholds the socio-cultural norms in its institutional environment, thereby attaining legitimacy (Handelman & Arnold, 1999; Palazzo & Scherer, 2006). The benefits of CSR actions are visible in the consumption, employment, and investment domains (Du & Vieira, 2012). For example, Du et al. (2011) asserted that in the consumption domain, a positive record of CSR fosters consumer trust in the company that can ultimately increase consumer patronage. Additionally, in the employment domain, socially responsible companies enjoy a sizable advantage in attracting, motivating, and retaining talented employees (Greening & Turban, 2000). Lastly, in the

investment domain, a positive CSR record has been shown to attract socially responsible investors (i.e., investors who consider financial return and social and environmental good to foster positive change) (Hill, Ainscough, Shank, & Manullang, 2007; Maignan & Ferrell, 2004; Sen et al., 2006).

Despite the fact that CSR initiatives can contribute to a company's legitimacy, the contentious nature of the extractives industry can hinder extractives companies' attainment and maintenance of legitimacy. Interestingly, involvement in certain industries (e.g., extractives, tobacco, alcohol) can diminish the effect of CSR initiatives due largely to the unfavourable and cynical attributions that consumers are likely to make towards these industries (Bhattacharya & Sen, 2003). Furthermore, in the specific case of the oil industry, serious concerns have been raised about the sincerity of the industry's commitment to CSR initiatives, with Woolfson and Beck (2005) stating that CSR is solely a facade that allows the industry to continue with "business as usual" (p. 414). Notably, Godfrey, Merrill, and Hansen (2009) asserted that companies in controversial industries obtain fewer benefits in terms of reputational capital or goodwill from their CSR endeavours than those in more neutral industries, due in large part to higher stakeholder skepticism and cynicism.

Notably, social media has drastically altered how individuals interact with corporations and each other. As of December 2019, the world population figured at approximately 7.8 billion people, of which 3.7 billion were actively using at least one form of social media (Smith, 2019). Given its ubiquity, strategic use of social media is now a priority for many corporations as it can provide myriad opportunities for operational improvement (Lam, Yeung, & Cheng, 2016). For instance, social media, which facilitates two-way communication between a company and its stakeholders, has been shown to promote stakeholder involvement, while also signaling a

company's openness and transparency in dealing with its stakeholders (Korschun & Du, 2012; Mangold & Faulds, 2009). Furthermore, previous studies have shown that active stakeholder engagement on social media platforms helps to foster favourable CSR perceptions (Chakravorti, 2010; Korschun & Du, 2012). Moreover, Lam, Yeung and Cheng (2016) contended that strategic use of social media can facilitate a company's information flow and knowledge sharing across internal and external social networks, in turn enhancing internal and external collaboration, and ultimately contributing to operational efficiency and improvement. Given the negative reputation associated with extractives companies, as well as stakeholders' skepticism towards their CSR initiatives, the use of social media may be particularly useful for extractives companies in their efforts to overcome skepticism and gain legitimacy from their CSR initiatives.

SFD in Canada and Australia

Through the use of sport and physical activity, those who deliver SFD programs seek to contribute to the achievement of development objectives ranging from the development of gender equality and the elimination of poverty to the empowerment of groups that experience marginalization (Kidd, 2008). SFD initiatives have traditionally been mobilized in "developing" countries in the global South; however, in recent years, SFD initiatives have been increasingly implemented in Canada (Millington, Giles, Hayhurst, van Luijk, & McSweeney, 2019) and Australia (Rossi & Rynne, 2014).

The recent proliferation of extractives industry funded SFD programs in Indigenous communities in Canada is due in large part to two significant policy and programming shifts made by the Government of Canada. Importantly, in 2005, the Government of Canada held a roundtable on SFD during which scholars were advised to examine international examples of how SFD programs may be adapted for use domestically. Secondly, the Government advocated

for increased collaboration between SFD non-profit entities and the private sector with the aim of optimizing SFD programming. Notably, this is exemplified in how corporations - particularly those in the extractives industry - have become increasingly involved in and provide SFD non-profit entities with financial resources to ensure that SFD programs are able to operate in Indigenous communities (Hayhurst & Giles, 2013). Furthermore, in a significant development, the Government of Canada, as part of its "reconciliation with Indigenous peoples" portion of the 2018 budget, allocated nearly $50 million over five years to fund SFD programs in Indigenous communities across Canada (Giles & van Luijk, 2018). The budget called for an allotment of funds to the provinces and territories, as well as to national sport organizations and multisport service organizations to ensure sustained Indigenous athlete development and growth through increased offerings of culturally relevant sport programming (Government of Canada, 2019).

Notably, while the SFD domestic transfer objective frames the use of SFD within the Canadian context as a recent advancement, the history of sport's involvement in the "development" of Indigenous peoples in Canada is, in fact, quite extensive (Hayhurst & Giles, 2013). The Indian Residential School system, as noted above, was a site in which sport was used in attempts to assimilate Indigenous peoples in Canada into the Eurocentric mainstream. Te Hiwi and Forsyth (2017) asserted that the implementation of the residential school system was grounded in the assumption that Euro-centric ways of living and knowing were superior to Indigenous ways, and that for colonization to be successful, it was essential that Indigenous peoples' cultural practices were broken down and replaced with European values, beliefs, and practices. The development of the residential school system resulted in the forcible removal of Indigenous youth from their homes and families in an effort to accelerate the assimilation process and for the church and state's civilizing agenda to be realized (Te Hiwi &

Forsyth, 2017).

Sport and physical activity were salient aspects of the residential school system. Forsyth and Heine (2017) stated that organized and competitive sports and physical activities in residential schools were mainly used as sites for the advancement of its assimilationist objectives. Furthermore, Miller (1997) argued that the promotion and implementation of Euro-Canadian physical activities and sports (e.g., calisthenics, soccer, cricket) were used in residential schools as forms of "self-improvement" to inculcate the idea in students that "the white society's ways were the 'way of good'" (p. 208). Moreover, sport was framed as a form of health promotion and utilized by the Department of Indian Affairs as a way of combatting the high incidence of diseases that were pervasive throughout residential schools (Habkirk & Forsyth, 2016). Thus, sport and physical activity were key factors in facilitating the achievement of Euro-centric church and government goals purportedly related to Indigenous peoples' health, education, and "self-improvement," which are remarkably similar to the goals and outcomes that contemporary SFD programs promote and aim to develop within Indigenous populations (Hayhurst & Giles, 2013).

As with Canada, sport in Australia has historically been integrated into strategies that target the purported negative social behaviours of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander populations, while concomitantly instilling in them positive values (Rossi & Rynne, 2014). A prominent example noted by Rossi and Rynne (2014) is that of the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody from 1987 to 1991 (Australian Government, 1991) that stressed the importance of access to sport and recreation as a tool to discourage Indigenous peoples' ostensibly criminal and anti-social behaviours and as a means of fostering community cohesion. In response to the Royal Commission, the Australian Government supported the establishment of

the Indigenous Sport Program through the Australian Sports Commission in 1993. Its primary objective was to promote increased participation in physical activity and sport at all levels amongst Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples in Australia (Rossi & Rynne, 2014).

Further examples of the use of sport in strategies to target socioeconomic issues include the Closing the Gap framework, which was developed by the Australian government in 2008 with the aim of reducing the health and socioeconomic disparities that exist between Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander and non-Indigenous peoples in Australia and the Indigenous Advancement Strategy through which the Australian Government funds and delivers a variety of programs aimed at Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples (Australian Government, 2018a; Rossi & Rynne, 2014). In an attempt to prioritize Indigenous affairs, the Australian Government implemented the Indigenous Advancement Strategy in 2014 (Giles et al., 2019). In the 2015-2016 budget, the Government of Australia allocated $4.9 billion dollars to the Indigenous Advancement Strategy over four years (Australian Government, 2018b). Notably, sport is framed as a key element of the Indigenous Advancement Strategy and figures prominently in the reporting of specific program progress and outcomes (Giles et al., 2019). For instance, in chapter 6 of the most recent Closing the Gap report, it was stated that the Government of Australia allocated more than $135 million dollars to support the 151 activities that use sport as a means to achieve Closing the Gap outcomes (Australian Government, 2018a). Highlights from the 2018 Closing the Gap (Australian Government, 2018a) report included SFD-type activities to increase Indigenous people's participation in sport and recreation, use sport and recreation to enhance well-being and resilience, improve educational attendance and attainment, engage the youth, develop or improve infrastructure facilities, and aid in the provision of employment and training opportunities. While the incidence of extractives funded SFD programs has increased in recent

years, and they do have the potential to create opportunities *for* development, these programs have shown mixed results and are not panaceas (Millington et al., 2019; Rossi & Rynne, 2014).

Despite how often discourses of empowerment are attached to sport within the SFD sector, tensions exist within the extractives CSR documents when examining how these extractives-funded sport programs actually contribute to social good (Millington et al., 2019). Millington et al. (2019) asserted that the programs funded are often not SFD programs *per se* but "sport development" programs instead, in which positive social outcomes are a by-product, not the primary aim. As such, it is important to question if sport development can result in the same outcomes as SFD. In examining such a question, it should be noted that the conflation of sport development and SFD in policy and practice can be partly attributed to sport's adaptability and capacity to attract youth, as well as its attraction to the government as a reasonably low-cost, highly visible, and pliable response to a variety of social policy issues (Houlihan, Hoye & Nicholson, 2011).

Implications of Extractives Funding of SFD through CSR Programming

While extractive companies' funding and sponsorship of SFD programming in Indigenous communities seem to align well with the Canadian and Australian governments' objectives, it can also obfuscate the potentially destructive effects of corporate initiatives for Indigenous communities. Thomas-Müller (2017) used the term "redwashing" to describe the ways in which extractives companies attempt to justify and offset the various negative impacts that they foist on Indigenous communities and their traditional lands. Additionally, Thomas-Müller (2017) contended that redwashing allows extractives companies that are infamous for their poor environmental and social justice records in Indigenous communities in Canada – an argument that can be applied to Australia, to proceed with corporate practices that typically infringe

upon Indigenous peoples' land rights while damaging local ecosystems under the pretense of providing funding or programs to benefit youth. Millington et al. (2019) asserted that CSR-funded SFD initiatives in Indigenous communities that are also undertaken by extractives companies are a form of redwashing.

It is important to consider how the convergence of the extractives industry, SFD, and Indigenous communities can provide a site to analyze ongoing colonial discourses within both Canada and Australia. Hartmann and Kwauk (2011) stated that SFD programs fundamentally serve to establish and ingrain neoliberal values, while maintaining the status quo with regards to power relations, hierarchy, and the institutionalization of privilege and poverty. The emphasis placed by those offering SFD programs on the development of Indigenous youth's abilities in a multitude of areas (e.g., leadership, communication, physical literacy) is predicated on the assumption that youth will be empowered through sport to overcome a wide array of socioeconomic issues (e.g. poverty, poor health, lack of education) that they and their communities face (Hayhurst & Giles, 2013). Notably, as a result of colonialism, significant disparities exist between Indigenous peoples and non-Indigenous peoples in Canada and Australia. In Canada, Indigenous peoples have vastly lower incomes, have less formal education, and are generally at a higher risk of poor health in a variety of categories when compared to non-Indigenous Canadians (Collin & Jensen, 2009; Giles, Castleden, & Baker, 2010). Similarly, in Australia Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples suffer from significantly higher rates of chronic illness (e.g. diabetes, obesity, heart disease), have a much lower life expectancy, and are much more likely to be hospitalized for mental health and behavioural disorders compared to non-Indigenous Australians (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2010; Das, Kini, Garg, & Parker, 2018).

Of particular concern are the notions that Indigenous peoples' poor educational attainment and health status stem solely from a lack of interest in education and health – or poor decision making – when in fact, such socioeconomic issues can be attributed to the Government of Canada's underfunding of areas pertaining to Indigenous social determinants of health (Brooks, Darroch, & Giles, 2013). With the retreat of the welfare state, nonstate actors such as non-governmental organizations and transnational corporations (TNC) (e.g., extractives companies) have stepped in to provide for Indigenous communities while also targeting them with the aim of implementing a variety of SFD initiatives (Hayhurst & Giles, 2013; Rossi & Jeanes, 2016). Ultimately, the failure of the state to provide adequate funding and resources for Indigenous communities in Canada and Australia has led to the Indigenous "need" for help from TNCs including extractives companies (Hayhurst & Giles, 2013). Importantly, Hall (2013) argued that distractions, such as the funding of SFD programs and other forms of CSR by extractives companies, normalize settler colonial logics of resource extraction, while also obscuring anti-colonial and anti-capitalist critiques.

It is important to note that in recent years impact benefit agreements (IBAs) have become an increasingly common practice in Canada when extractives practices are situated within or near the traditional lands of Indigenous peoples. According to Fidler and Hitch (2007), IBAs are confidential bilateral agreements that are negotiated between extractives corporations and Indigenous communities to address a variety of adverse socio-economic and biophysical impacts that can arise from extractives practices. Fidler and Hitch (2007) noted that the increasing frequency of IBAs signifies recognition that traditional resource extraction practices are no longer acceptable and that meaningful consultation and accommodation with Indigenous peoples is becoming the norm. Notably, over the last four decades, there has been greater Indigenous

participation in resource development as Indigenous people have increasingly become purposive actors utilizing an array of strategies to challenge the once inviolable power possessed by the extractives industry (Connell & Howitt, 1991). Sport and recreation have been cited as being regular components of IBAs as part of broader community provisions (Gogal, Reigert & Jamieson, 2005). Notably, the reduction in public funding of sport (Doherty & Murray, 2007) has led to the private sector becoming a prominent stakeholder and partner in all areas of sport (Gardam, Giles & Hayhurst, 2017) and to extractives companies such as Dominion Diamond's support for such things as youth recreation and sport (Dominion Diamond, 2019, March 1).

Concerningly, there is a dearth of critical literature that has examined how social media (re)produces understandings of the extractives industry's funding of SFD programs in Canada and Australia. Given the stature and influence of extractives companies in both countries and the potentially harmful effects of their initiatives, it is especially important to understand how exactly these corporations and their initiatives are (re)presented and how these depictions are disseminated to the public, particularly through social media.

Epistemology

I adopted a constructionist approach for my study. Researchers who use a constructionist approach assert that the construction of knowledge is contingent on one's convention, perception, social experience, and interactions with other people (Crotty, 1998). Moreover, researchers who employ a constructionist epistemology make use of critical insights to identify and challenge dominant social thought and discourses that objectify, subjugate, and ostracize oppressed populations (Crotty, 1998). Given that my study entailed an analysis of social media, the use of constructionism as my epistemological perspective of choice assisted me in understanding how meanings were constructed through the use of different forms

of social media.

Theoretical Framework

My research engaged with a postcolonial theoretical perspective. According to Radcliffe (1999), postcolonialism can be conceptualized as a means of criticizing colonial discourses and its legacies that persist to this day. Postcolonial perspectives have been described as being anti-colonial in nature and as powerful critiques of "development," while tending to focus on acknowledging the voices of colonized or formerly colonized peoples and scrutinizing the colonial discourses that are associated with these groups of peoples (McEwan, 2001). Moreover, McEwan (2001) noted that postcolonial theory is particularly useful for researchers as a way to discern the political, economic, and cultural factors linked to colonialism. Another strength, as noted by Loomba (2005), is its interdisciplinary nature, making it conducive to addressing the historical and contemporary contexts of colonialism. Additionally, Browne, Smye, and Varcoe (2005) noted that postcolonialism encourages Western academics to question how their knowledge, research, and conclusions have been shaped by colonial systems. Lastly, another noteworthy characteristic of postcolonialism is its emphasis on the need to destabilize the dominant discourses of imperial Europe (McEwan, 2001), which was especially relevant to my study.

Like all theoretical frameworks, postcolonialism has been critiqued as having some weaknesses. Smith (2013) argued that that the term "postcolonialism" itself suggests that colonial domination over Indigenous peoples is solely an issue in the past, having now been rectified. Another critique has described postcolonialism as having homogenizing tendencies that can reinforce colonialism by grouping Indigenous communities together and generalizing about them, as opposed to recognizing their distinct histories and properties (Browne et al., 2005).

Furthermore, Browne et al. (2005) contended that non-Indigenous researchers utilizing postcolonial theory tend to ignore the complexities and ambiguities of multiple social locations held by Indigenous peoples, while coalescing Indigenous histories at the risk of reinforcing the very power relations they seek to destabilize.

In addressing these critiques, Indigenous academics have advocated for the importance of decolonizing research through the use of a decolonization framework to inform postcolonial theory, while also addressing its complexities and assumptions (Battiste, 1998; Smith, 1999). The use of decolonization frameworks enables scholars to gain profound insights into the effects of colonialism from an Indigenous perspective (Battiste, 1998).

Eurocentric education systems and Western research conducted on Indigenous peoples have been identified as significant sites of colonial influence (Smith, 1999). Battiste (1998) asserted that through a variety of racist strategies, Eurocentric research of Indigenous peoples frames much of the discourse on Indigenous peoples in school curricula and texts. Additionally, Smith (1999) noted that Western research or "white research" perpetuates notions of Indigenous inferiority and colonial domination of Indigenous peoples. As a result, Eurocentric research, has manufactured the physical and cultural inferiority of Indigenous peoples (Battiste, 1998). Indeed, such constructions could be labelled as cognitive imperialism, a form of cognitive manipulation used to discredit other knowledge bases and values, while seeking to validate one source of knowledge to empower it through public education. Furthermore, Battiste (1998) contended that cognitive imperialism denies many marginalized groups of people their language and cultural integrity, while maintaining legitimacy of solely one language, one culture, and one frame of reference. Eurocentric education is the primary means through which this has been achieved (Battiste, 1998).

In the context of research on or pertaining to Indigenous peoples, it is important to question whether non-Indigenous peoples can and should speak about and conduct research on Indigenous issues (McConaghy, 1997). Scholars have argued that both Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples serve important roles in the process of decolonization and that both must share the burden of social transformation (LaRocque, 1996; McConaghy, 1997). Ultimately, while non-Indigenous peoples can be allies and partners, Indigenous peoples are the only ones who can lead decolonization, as it must be centred around Indigenous visions and worldviews (Corntassel, 2012). Consequently, it is essential that I critically reflect on my positionality as it relates to the research. I am a cisgender, non-Indigenous, middle-class man of Latin American descent who is pursuing a master's degree and, as such, is in a relatively privileged position. Given my positionality, I acknowledge that I, alone, cannot decolonize research. As such, despite some limitations, I used postcolonial theory to inform my research.

Methodology

In this section, I examine netnography, which was the methodology I utilized for my research questions that examine how extractives companies use social media to (re)present their funding of SFD in Indigenous communities in Canada and Australia. Netnography is a research methodology formulated by Kozinets (2010) as a tool to better understand social interactions that occur in contemporary digital communications contexts. Netnography is essentially the conduct of ethnography over the internet and was specifically designed to examine online communities and cultures (Kozinets, 2010). It integrates the participant-observational approach of traditional anthropological ethnography with specially designed procedures that adapt ethnography to the uniqueness of contemporary computer-mediated communications (Kozinets, 2010). Netnographers utilize and apply common participant-

observation ethnographic procedures (e.g., making cultural entrée, gathering and analyzing data, and conducting ethical research) to these computer-mediated contingencies (Kozinets, 2006). Kozinets (2010) proposed six steps on how to best utilize netnography as a research methodology: planning, entrée, data collection, data analysis, presentation, and adherence to ethical standards. Furthermore, in striving to attain a comprehensive and ethnographic understanding of an online cultural or communal phenomenon, netnographers use computer-mediated communications as sources of data (Kozinets, 2010).

According to Kozinets (2013), netnographic cultural insight into the realm of digital consumption and usage is offered by four distinct characteristics of the approach. First, netnographers delve deep into the lived worlds of significance that are inherent in the vast digital world. Netnography allows researchers to identify patterns of significance and represent them theoretically, which is an order of analysis unparalleled by mere word counts or other quantifications of posted online texts (Kozinets, 2013). Second, netnography involves textual as well as contextual analysis (Kozinets, 2013). For example, netnographers attend to the form, format, and site of communication, as well as whether those communications transpire, for example, while tweeting for entrepreneurial purposes or updating a Facebook status for fun (Kozinets, 2013). Kozinets argued that both the rich description and presentation of these different online forums, as well as the behaviours that take place within them, are a significant contribution to our knowledge and unique to the netnographic representation.

Third, netnographers strive to represent with as much integrity as possible the actual voice of digital consumers as they interact with other digital consumers in the world of cyber culture. Kozinets (2013) asserted that the cultural flux, flow, flavour, and style (the human element of these speech acts) is maintained and preserved by the distinct cultural insight of

netnographic research. Lastly and notably, netnographers not only favour the preservation of context, identity, and meaning, but they also seek out and work with the stories and narratives of social media users. It is only by diligently attending to the stories constructed by social media that the sensitizing concepts, revelatory incidents, and other features of culture's deepest meaning can be gently unpacked and understood (Kozinets, 2013).

Netnography has faced criticism. Critics of netnography cite two significant issues: ethics and the quality of data being collected and presented. With respect to ethical issues, Battles (2010) asserted that the major criticism of netnography lies in its ethical complexities and the number of challenges presented regarding privacy, anonymity and confidentiality, and informed consent. One particularly relevant question posed by Grbich (2013) is if ethical standards that apply to offline research, should also apply to online research? Further confusion arises when asking if conversations on online sites are public or private. A second significant critique of netnography is related to the data; namely, the boundaries of the online field can be difficult to define in such a vast digital world. Where do the boundaries start and end? Access to certain sites and communities may also be problematic, particularly when they are regarded by members as being private spaces or forums.

While these two critiques are noteworthy, I addressed them through my study design and inclusion criteria. I ensured that all of the data that I collected and included in this study were obtained from Facebook and Twitter pages that were publicly accessible. Furthermore, the data that I collected were solely procured from Facebook posts and Twitter tweets, as I excluded any and all discussion data (i.e., the comments that appear in a thread under each Facebook post and Twitter tweet). The netnographic approach enabled me to attend and delve into the form, format, and site of digital communication, which was particularly useful when I engaged with

data derived from Facebook and Twitter (Kozinets, 2013). Moreover, netnography's preservation of context, identity, and meaning, as well as the meticulous attention it allowed me to place on the stories and narratives constructed by social media, made it particularly useful for this study.

Methods

For the purposes of conducting my study, it was first necessary to identify an appropriate online setting, which in turn would guide the data collection process. The identification and selection of an online setting and subsequent data collection procedures were informed by the following conditions: the selection of social media platforms to serve as sources of data, the identification and selection of prominent extractives companies in Canada and Australia that utilized forms of computer-mediated communication, and the specification of a period of time over which data were to be collected. I selected Facebook and Twitter. Facebook is the world's largest social networking site, enabling users to do such things as posting text and multimedia, while connecting with friends, family and/or colleagues (Knausenberger & Echterhoff, 2018). Twitter is an application that enables its users to broadcast messages of 280 characters or less in real time. According to Stelzner (2009), Twitter has consistently ranked among the most used social media applications in official public relations, advertising, and marketing campaigns. I had originally sought to include the popular social network, Instagram, for examination in my study. It was my hope that the inclusion of Instagram would have provided a unique representation of extractives companies' self-portrayals, as it is a social network comprised of images and video. However, I ultimately dismissed Instagram as a viable option as each company had little to no presence on the network and no posts were found that related to funding for SFD in Indigenous communities or even Indigenous peoples as a whole.

In selecting the extractives companies to be included in this study, I adhered to the

following inclusion criteria: i) the company must have operated in Canada and Australia; ii) the company must have engaged in CSR and funded SFD programs with Indigenous communities in both countries; and iii) the company must have had active accounts on Facebook and Twitter during a ten-year period, from 2009 to 2019. In accordance with my inclusion criteria, I selected three companies for this study: BHP, Newmont Corporation, and Rio Tinto. BHP is a prominent Australian mining company that specializes in metals and petroleum with operations in countries including Australia, Canada, the United States, and Mexico. According to Els (2017), BHP is the world's most profitable mining company with a value of $108.4 billion. BHP's social media presence includes Facebook (BHP – page created September 2012) and Twitter (@bhp – page created January 2018). Newmont Corporation is a gold mining company based in Colorado with operations in numerous countries such as Canada, Australia, the United States, and Mexico (Newmont Goldcorp, 2019). Newmont Corporation has both Facebook (NewmontCorporation – page created March 2011) and Twitter (@NewmontCorp – page created May 2018) accounts. DiLallo (2019) noted that Newmont Corporation was valued at $32.7 billion as of September 2019. Lastly, Rio Tinto is a metal and mining corporation based in England and Australia with operations on six continents, but with a significant presence in Australia and Canada (Rio Tinto, 2018). Els (2017) noted that Rio Tinto is one of the world's most profitable mining companies at a market value of $88.7 billion. Rio Tinto is on Twitter (@RioTinto – page created May 2017) and Facebook (Rio Tinto Group – page created January 2014). Each of the principal three companies had Facebook and Twitter accounts, with their subsidiaries and regional branches having an account on at least one of the two platforms; these were the social media platforms from which I collected data.

Throughout my initial review of each extractives company's social media accounts, I found that two of the three companies had subsidiaries and regional branches that also met my study's inclusion criteria. As such, I included these subsidiaries and regional branches to ensure that there were sufficient and various data. The following six subsidiaries and regional branches of Rio Tinto met the inclusion criteria: Rio Tinto Canada (@RioTintoCanada on Twitter – page created April 2016), Rio Tinto BC Works (RioTintoBCWorks on Facebook – page created March 2018), Dominion Diamond Mines (DominionDiamondMines on Facebook – page created May 2016), Diavik Diamond Mine (@Diavik_NT on Twitter – page created April 2015; Diavik.ca on Facebook – page created January 2015), and Rio Tinto Western Australia (RioTintoWA on Facebook – page created November 2015). @NewmontAu (Twitter – page created September 2017) was the only one of Newmont Corporation's subsidiaries that met the inclusion criteria, and, thus, the only one I included in my study. BHP had no subsidiaries that met my study's inclusion criteria.

The data collection process was guided by Kozinets' (2010) assertion that it is necessary to plan and subsequently access the online community or field (entrée) prior to collecting data from different online sources. Entrée entails the immersion of the researcher into the field of a culture or community (Kozinets, 2010). I achieved entrée by assuming the role of an internet "lurker" on each social media site, which according to Williams, Heiser, and Chinn (2012), is a term used on the internet to refer to those who visit online communities but who do not actively contribute. While some might suggest that a lurker is not a member of an online community, I contend that they are in fact members of the community and reflect often silent but large groups on these sites (Zhang & Storck, 2001). Thus, I created lurker accounts on Facebook and Twitter with pseudonyms as a means to immerse myself in each platform, while collecting data from

these sites. Once the lurker accounts were set up, I enabled post notifications for each extractives companies' social media accounts (i.e., I received a notification each time a post was made) to facilitate data collection.

Ultimately, the numerous benefits afforded to me through the use of netnography, as well as the methods outlined by Kozinets (2010), were particularly valuable for the purposes of this study and enabled me to effectively engage with a variety of social media-derived data.

Data collected from Canadian extractives companies' social media accounts referenced the following nations and people: the Tłı̨chǫ Nation, North Slave Métis, Cheslatta Carrier Nation, and Innu Takuaikan Uashat Mak Mani-Utenam. The Tłı̨chǫ Nation, situated in the Northwest Territories (see Figure 1) comprises the communities of Behchokǫ̀, Gamètì, Wekweètì, and Whatì, with some Tłı̨chǫ residents living in and around Yellowknife as well (Tłı̨chǫ, 2017). Traditionally, the Tłı̨chǫ people relied on their intimate knowledge of the land and its wildlife to subsist (Zoe, 2007). This way of life entailed yearly cycles of harvesting caribou in the fall to heading below the treeline for the winter to await the return of spring's warmth and thaw (Zoe, 2007). Over time, the Tłı̨chǫ people's nomadic style of living began to decline with the influences of settler-colonialism. As such, in contemporary times members of the Tłı̨chǫ Nation primarily reside in communities and have entered into a wage economy (Zoe, 2007). Notably, in 2005 the Tłı̨chǫ Agreement went into full effect, signifying the creation of the Tłı̨chǫ Government and the ceding of 39000 square kilometres of land in the NWT to Tłı̨chǫ ownership (Tłı̨chǫ, 2017).

The North Slave Métis people reside north and east of Great Slave Lake in the Northwest Territories (see Figure 1). The North Slave Métis have occupied the lands north and east of Great Slave Lake since the mid-18th century. North Slave Métis people tended to be very mobile while

also possessing a regional consciousness (North Slave Métis Alliance, n.d.). Communities were characterized by a regional network comprising fixed settlements that were connected by transportation systems of river routes, cart trails, and portages along which people settled (North Slave Métis Alliance, n.d.). Furthermore, their traditional territory followed hunting, trapping, and trading trails north to the Great Bear Lake region and east into present-day Nunavut. Historic North Slave Métis settlements existed before European settlers established political and legal control over the geographic area (North Slave Métis Alliance, n.d.). In modern times, the North Slave Métis Alliance (NSMA) was established to represent the Aboriginal rights-bearing Métis people of the Great Slave Lake area. Importantly, on June 20, 2013 the NWT's Supreme Court confirmed that the NSMA and its members possess a strong prima facie claim as a Métis community that holds Aboriginal rights protected by the Constitution Act in the lands north and east of Great Slave Lake (North Slave Métis Alliance, n.d.).

For centuries, the Cheslatta people inhabited the shores of Cheslatta and Murray Lakes in the central interior of present-day British Columbia (see Figure 1), engaging in hunting, trapping, and fishing (Aboriginal Business and Investment Council, 2013). The construction of the Kenney Dam resulted in the formation of the Nechako Reservoir and the flooding of 120000 acres of the Upper-Nechako watershed (Aboriginal Business and Investment Council, 2013). Resultantly, approximately 200 Cheslatta people were relocated to Grassy Plains, about 50km north of their traditional lands (Aboriginal Business and Investment Council, 2013). In contemporary times, the Cheslatta Carrier Nation are based at Southbank, on the south shore of Francois Lake (British Columbia Assembly of First Nations, 2020). Though numerous challenges have arisen over the years, the Cheslatta people have been resilient and resourceful in overcoming them. Examples include the construction of their own health and wellness centre and water filtration system, in

conjunction with the neighbouring Skin Tyee Band and Nee Tahi Buhn Band, as well as their pursuit of independent business ventures in the forestry industry (Aboriginal Business and Investment Council, 2013).

Innu Takuaikan Uashat Mak Mani-Utenam is an Innu First Nation located in present-day Sept- Îles, Quebec on the north shore of the Saint Lawrence River (see Figure 1) (Aboriginal Interband Games, 2019). For thousands of years the Innu people have inhabited these lands as hunter-gatherers. The Innu traditionally lived in small bands and held a deep connection with the land (Armitage, 1997). The Innu were heavily reliant upon caribou for much of their food and clothing (Armitage, 1997). Their traditional language is Innu-aimun, though some Innu peoples speak French and English as well (Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada, 2015). Despite the hardships associated with colonialism, the Innu have retained much of their traditional knowledge of and relationship with the land and its wildlife (Armitage, 1997).

Figure 1

Indigenous Communities in Canada Near Extraction Sites Mentioned by Extractives Companies on Facebook and Twitter

Data collected from Australian extractives companies' social media accounts referred to the following Aboriginal peoples: the Warlpiri, Martu, and the Kariyarra peoples. The Warlpiri people are situated throughout their traditional land in the Northern Territory in the Alice Springs region (see Figure 2) (Australian Government, 2018c). Warlpiri country comprises the following main communities: Yuendumu, Lajamani, Nyirrpi, and Willowra, with many Warlpiri people also living in the towns of Alice Springs, Tennant Creek, and Katherine (Australian Government, 2018c). The Warlpiri are well known for their resilience, self-reliance and the importance they place on strong communal bonds (Hinkson, 2004). Furthermore, the Warlpiri are renowned for their artistry of both traditional art and artifacts (Australian Government, n.d.).

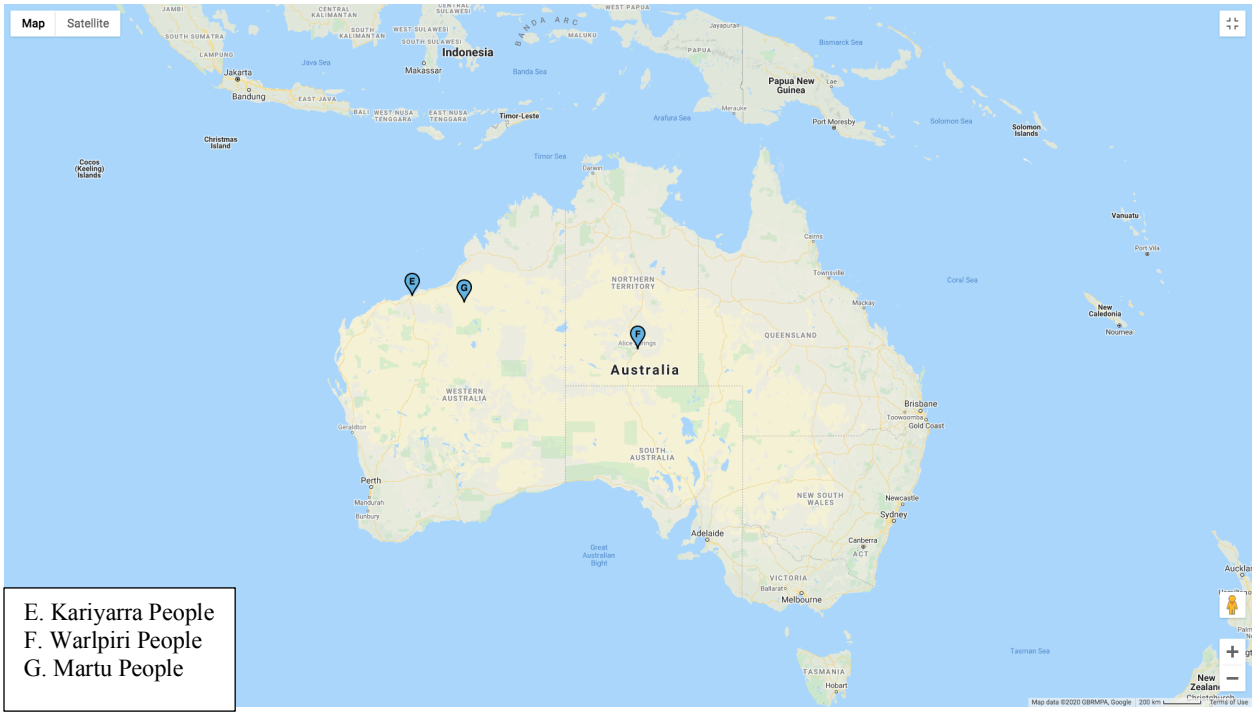
The Martu traditional lands are located within the Pilbara region of Western Australia in the Great Sandy Desert (see Figure 2) (Codding, Bird, Bird & Zeanah, 2016). The Martu comprise five distinct tribal groups: Mandjildjara, Kartudjara, Keiadjara, Putidjara, and Wanman (Codding et al., 2016). Overall, much of the Martu's contemporary economy is based on painting

and wage labour, with hunting still being used as an essential subsistence method (Codding et al., 2016). Notably, in 2002, after decades of conflict, the Martu people were granted native title to much of their traditional lands (Central Desert Native Title Services, n.d.).

The Kariyarra people have traditionally lived around the Port Hedland area in the north-west section of Western Australia (see Figure 2) (Kariyarra Aboriginal Corporation, 2019). Importantly, in 2018 the Kariyarra people achieved native title recognition, with this determination encompassing approximately 17400 square kilometres of Kariyarra traditional territory (Kariyarra Aboriginal Corporation, 2019). While all land is scared to the Kariyarra, the determination area contains places of particular significance to them such as rivers, pools, ceremonial sites, and songlines (Kariyarra Aboriginal Corporation, 2019).

Figure 2

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Communities in Australia Near Extraction Sites Mentioned by Extractives Companies on Facebook and Twitter



Analysis

I utilized critical discourse analysis to examine extractives companies' portrayals of their funding of SFD in Indigenous communities in Canada and Australia on social media. Critical discourse analysts are concerned with the role of discourse in the wider social processes of legitimation and power (Willig, 2008). Van Dijk (1993) stated that critical discourse analysis has traditionally been used by researchers who seek to gain more insight into the role of discourse in reproducing unequal power structures through the intricate relationships that exist between talk, text, society, and culture. As such, researchers who employ CDA examine how meaning is produced and socially shaped (Fairclough, Mulderrig, & Wodak, 2011). Interestingly, as noted by Fairclough et al. (2011), one particular distinction between CDA and other forms of analysis is that those who employ CDA explicitly place themselves on the side of groups who experience marginalization and against dominating groups. As such, CDA enables researchers interested in examining power asymmetries to better understand the challenges faced by oppressed populations (Fairclough et al., 2011).

By utilizing CDA, I was able to gain insight into how the extractives industry understands and depicts its relationship to Indigenous communities, and how it broadcasts its CSR through SFD efforts to large audiences through social media. Furthermore, CDA is particularly useful for understanding and critiquing power asymmetries, making it apt for inclusion in my study as I adopted a postcolonial theoretical perspective, which itself is a powerful way of criticizing prevailing Western discourses that marginalize colonized peoples (Gandhi, 1998). Moreover, my use of postcolonialism sensitized me to particular concepts and understandings of power, as well as to the most salient aspects of the data that I compiled. While reading and re-reading the data, postcolonial theory enabled me to attend to not just the

important aspects of the data, but to questions related to power asymmetries. In this specific context, it was important to question such things as who benefits from these arrangements? Whose concerns are seen as legitimate? And how is land to be understood?

It should be noted, however, that CDA is not without its shortcomings. According to Morgan (2010), one such disadvantage of CDA is that meaning is never truly fixed, as everything is always open to interpretation and negotiation. Furthermore, Morgan (2010) asserted that a lack of explicit procedures for researchers to follow has traditionally been noted as a weakness. In remedying this particular issue, I familiarized myself with and followed Phillips and Hardy's (2002) approach to CDA.

I uploaded all of the data obtained from Facebook and Twitter to the qualitative data analysis software NVivo11 to support my analysis. I categorized the data based on context, social media platform, and source (i.e., Australia or Canada; Facebook or Twitter; Rio Tinto, BHP, or Newmont Corporation). Following this, I analyzed the data in accordance with the steps outlined to conducting CDA as noted by Phillips and Hardy (2002). The first step requires the researcher to read and re-read the data to identify overall patterns in the text. This is followed by coding the data and ultimately utilizing the generated codes to identify broader discourses in the text.

My use of CDA was informed by postcolonial theory which shares much of its philosophical underpinning with the field of critical theory and is well aligned with CDA (Burke, 2015). Notably, researchers who use both aim to address power imbalances and social inequalities, with critical discourse analysts contending that social order is "historically situated…socially constructed and changeable" (Locke, 2004, p.1). Given that I situated my

research through postcolonial theory and within the socio-historical contexts of Canada and Australia, CDA was a fitting method of analysis for my research.

Following the completion of the steps outlined by Phillips and Hardy (2002), I compared the data I analyzed from each national context to identify the differences and similarities that existed in extractives companies' portrayals of their funding of SFD in Indigenous communities in Canada and Australia on social media. My use of CDA, in conjunction with the use of a constructionist epistemology and a postcolonial theoretical perspective enabled me to produce a comprehensive analysis to answer my research questions.

Thesis Format

My thesis was written using the article-based "publishable paper format." My article, which is the next chapter of this thesis, addressed the questions, "How do extractives companies portray their funding of SFD in Indigenous communities in Canada and Australia on social media? Are there between-country differences?" The findings from this research paper elucidate the ways in which SFD in Indigenous communities are (re)presented by the extractives companies that fund them.

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Chapter Two: Extractives Companies' Social Media Portrayals of their Funding of Sport for Development in Indigenous Communities in Canada and Australia

Abstract

The extractives industry (mining, oil, and gas) engages in corporate social responsibility (CSR) activities to reinforce its organizational legitimacy and enhance its public image. One such approach to CSR that is popular in the industry is through funding sport initiatives aimed at Indigenous peoples (often termed sport for development; SFD). On the surface, such funding may seem commendable and innocuous; however, questions have been raised about the ways in which such funding may obfuscate the harmful impacts that the extractives industry has had and continues to have on Indigenous peoples and their traditional territories. Through the adoption of a postcolonial theoretical perspective, and in conjunction with netnographic methods and discourse analysis, this project involved a consideration of how extractives companies portray their funding of sport programs in Indigenous communities on social media. Given the research focus on Indigenous communities in the countries known as Canada and Australia, between country differences were also examined. The following discourses related to the extractives industry's funding of SFD in Indigenous communities in Canada and Australia were developed: 1) Extractives companies are proud "partners" of Indigenous communities; 2 Extractives companies are committed to helping Indigenous communities in Canada and Australia; and 3) Canadian extractives companies are future focused and past-blind, while Australian extractives companies are advocates for reconciliation**.**

The extractives industry (mining, oil, and gas) engages in corporate social responsibility (CSR) activities to reinforce its organizational legitimacy and enhance its public image (Du, Bhattacharya, & Sen, 2011; Maignan & Ferrell, 2004). One of the ways in which it has done and continues to do this is through funding sport for development (SFD) initiatives aimed at Indigenous peoples in Canada and Australia (Millington, Giles, Hayhurst, van Luijk, & McSweeney, 2019). SFD programs are a means by which sport, physical activity, and play are used intentionally to contribute to the achievement of development objectives (Kidd, 2008). On the surface, such funding may seem commendable and innocuous; however, upon further examination, questions need to be raised about the ways in which such funding may obfuscate the harmful impacts that the extractives industry may pose for Indigenous peoples and their traditional territories. As a result, in this study I aimed to answer the following research questions: a) How do extractives companies portray their funding of SFD in Indigenous communities in Canada and Australia on social media?; and b) do between-country differences exist?

Through the adoption of a postcolonial theoretical perspective and in conjunction with a netnographic approach and critical discourse analysis, my research revealed three discourses related to the extractives industry's funding of SFD in Indigenous communities in Canada and Australia. These discourses included the following: 1) Extractives companies are proud "partners" of Indigenous communities; 2) Extractives companies are committed to helping Indigenous communities in Canada and Australia; and 3) Canadian extractives companies are future focused and past-blind, while Australian extractives companies are advocates for reconciliation**.**

In the following section, I provide an overview of the areas of literature that are

pertinent to my research. Next, I discuss the theoretical framework I employed, postcolonialism, its characteristics, and its usage in conjunction with a decolonization framework. I then examine netnography, which was the methodological approach I used in my study. An overview of the methods I utilized as well as critical discourse analysis comprise the subsequent sections. The ensuing section consists of the results I obtained, which is then followed by a discussion of the results and the conclusion.

Literature Review

Despite the fact that Canada and Australia are both classified as "high income countries" on the World Bank's Country and Lending Groups classification (World Bank Group, 2019), at a population level, Indigenous peoples in each nation continue to face a host of socioeconomic and health-related inequities. Due to the historical and ongoing impacts of colonialism, Indigenous peoples in both countries are over-represented amongst those who experience poverty (Brand, Bond, & Shannon, 2016), poor health status (Public Health Agency of Canada, 2012), incarceration (Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Social Justice Commissioner, 2016; Reitano, 2016), and low life expectancy relative to the overall populations (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2010). In what follows, introductions will be offered regarding the three foundational elements of this research: Indigenous communities, the extractives industry, and sport.

Indigenous Peoples in Canada

In Canada, Indigenous peoples are constitutionally defined as First Nations, Métis, and Inuit. Indigenous peoples inhabited what is now called Canada thousands of years before the arrival of European colonizers (Government of Canada, 2013). Historical relations between colonizers and Indigenous peoples – relations shaped by colonial and imperialist expansion activities – ultimately led to the displacement of Indigenous peoples from their ancestral lands,

erosion of their languages, and weakening of their social structures (First Peoples' Heritage Language and Culture Council, 2010). In conjunction with this displacement, Indigenous peoples were also restricted from engaging in traditional activities such as hunting, fishing, and trapping, even if for the purposes of subsistence (Reading & Wien, 2009). Restrictions such as these have led scholars to contend that the historical trauma experienced by many Indigenous peoples is deeply rooted in land dispossession (Adelson, 2005; Waldram, Herring & Young, 2006; Young, 1988).

In the contemporary context, Indigenous peoples comprise 4.9% of the total population of Canada, numbering more than 1.6 million as of 2016 (Statistics Canada, 2019). An effect of colonialism, Greenwood and de Leeuw (2012) asserted that Indigenous children, youth, their families, and their communities are afflicted by unacceptably disproportionate burdens of illness, including higher rates of infant mortality, child and youth injuries and death, obesity, youth suicide, and exposure to environmental contaminants.

Though sport is often seen as a health-improving intervention, throughout the history of Canada, sport has been inextricably tied to colonialism (Donnelly, 2011; Forsyth & Wamsley, 2006; Kidd, 2008). A salient example of sport as form of colonialism in Canada could be seen in Indian Residential Schools, which operated from 1876 – 1996 (Miller, 1997). The Indian Residential School system used sport as a disciplinary tool to facilitate Indigenous youth's assimilation into mainstream society while attempting to strip them of their customs and physical cultural practices, which were deemed uncivilized by the state (Forsyth, 2013).

In light of the cultural genocide and atrocities suffered by Indigenous peoples in Canada, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) was formed to promote reconciliation between settlers and Indigenous peoples. The TRC was established in 2008 with the purpose of

documenting the history and lasting impacts of the Indian Residential School system while providing those directly or indirectly affected by the legacy of the system with an opportunity to share their experiences. The TRC's work concluded in 2015 with the formation of its multi-volume final report, which included 94 "Calls to Action", devised with the intention of facilitating reconciliation between Canadians and Indigenous peoples (Northern Affairs Canada, 2019; TRC, 2015).

Notably, two of the TRC's Calls to Action were strongly related to SFD, with the 89th Call to Action aiming to support reconciliation through the enactment of policies to promote participation in sport and physical activity, and the 90th Call to Action calling for stable funding for community sports programs that reflect traditional Indigenous sporting activities (Giles, Rynne, Hayhurst, & Rossi, 2019; TRC, 2015).

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders in Australia.

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, the original inhabitants of what is now called Australia (inclusive of the series of islands in the Torres Strait), currently comprise 3.3% of the total Australian population (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2018). Prior to the arrival of colonizers in 1788, for more than 60,000 years Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples engaged freely in their traditional practices and beliefs, which included holding deep spiritual connections to the land and water (Dudgeon, Wright, Paradies, Garvey, & Walker, 2014).

The introduction of foreign diseases by colonizers, the settlement and exploitation of Indigenous land, the forcible removal of Indigenous peoples from their ancestral lands into settlements (including the forced removal of Indigenous children from their families and subsequent placement in institutions), and the destruction of their traditional ways of life and resources, has led to significant and ongoing emotional and intergenerational trauma (Das et al.,

2018; Franklin & White, 1991). Indeed, when compared to non-Indigenous Australians at the population level, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people have poorer life expectancy and health-related outcomes (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 2011), while also having higher rates of mental illness (Steering Committee for the Review of Government Service Provision, 2014), suicide (Pink & Allbon, 2008), alcohol and substance abuse (Trewin & Madden, 2005), and incarceration (Das et al., 2018).

As with Canada, sport in Australia has been historically integrated into strategies that target the health and well-being of Indigenous populations (Rossi & Rynne, 2014). A notable example highlighted by Rossi and Rynne (2014) is that of the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody (1987-1991), which emphasized access to sport and recreation as a tool to discourage Indigenous peoples' apparent criminal and anti-social behaviours, as well as to foster community cohesion. In response to the Royal Commission, the Australian Government supported the establishment of the Indigenous Sport Program through the Australian Sports Commission in 1993. Its primary aim was to encourage Indigenous peoples in Australia to be more physically active and to participate in sports at all levels (Rossi & Rynne, 2014).

Extractives-Funded SFD

In addition to the ongoing impacts of colonial legacies in both Canada and Australia, contemporary Indigenous peoples' connections to land continue to be troubled by the activities of extractives industries in both countries (Frynas, 2005; United Nations General Assembly, 2013). Of particular note is the fact that resource extraction occurs on Indigenous peoples' traditional territories - land that has been the context for familial histories, sustenance, and cultural practices since time immemorial (Baker & Westman, 2018). Moreover, the processes of negotiation between extractives companies and Indigenous peoples has historically relied on the

exploitation of Indigenous peoples, while seldom including them in decision-making processes. While Indigenous peoples' participation in decision-making processes in resource extraction has increased across both countries in recent years, power imbalances between multi-billion dollar corporations and Indigenous communities remain (Baker & Westman, 2018). Irrespective of these shifts and imbalances, one area that is often supported by such arrangements is sport.

In both nations, sport has historically been and is contemporarily used as a tool of assimilation and integrated into strategies that target the health and well-being of Indigenous populations (Forsyth & Wamsley, 2006; Hayhurst & Giles, 2013; Rossi & Rynne, 2014). Indeed, this is a global phenomenon with SFD programs being increasingly implemented by corporate, governmental, and non-governmental agencies in pursuit of a variety of development objectives since the turn of the millennium (Darnell, 2007; Kidd, 2008). SFD programs are a means by which sport, physical activity, and play are used intentionally to advance development objectives (Kidd, 2008). Moreover, SFD initiatives have been used to not only purportedly enhance the social development and well-being of marginalised populations, but also as a means of facilitating reconciliation between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. Traditionally, the majority of SFD initiatives have been based in the global South; however, in recent years, SFD interventions and programs have been increasingly implemented with Indigenous peoples in Canada (Millington et al., 2019) and Australia (Rossi & Rynne, 2014) and funded by the extractives industry. Notable examples of SFD programs in Indigenous communities in Canada that are funded by the extractives industry include Diavik Mine's (Rio Tinto) sponsorship of the Northwest Territories' (NWT) Super Soccer program and the NWT Track and Field Championships (NWT School Athletic Federation, n.d.; Rio Tinto, 2014). Examples of the extractive industry's funding of SFD programs and initiatives in Australia include Rio Tinto's

and BHP's funding of the Wirrpanda Foundation as well as Rio Tinto's funding of the Clontarf Foundation (Rio Tinto, 2017; Wirrpanda Foundation, n.d.).

Millington and et al. (2019) noted that there is a significant need for critical attention to be paid to the increasing incidence of extractives-funded CSR programming in Indigenous communities in Canada. While these particular gaps pertain to the Canadian context, they can also be extended to the Australian context (Thomson, Darcy, & Pearce, 2010). As Millington et al. (2019) asserted, this gap requires further academic attention to better understand how extractives companies frame themselves as being responsible corporate citizens through funding SFD in Indigenous communities. This is the gap that is addressed in this research through an examination of three extractive companies' social media use.

Theoretical Framework

Postcolonialism is typically thought of as a way of criticizing the discursive legacies of colonialism that remain to this day (Radcliffe, 1999). Postcolonial theory enables researchers to engage with individuals who have been subjected to colonialism, while foregrounding the ways in which developed nations founded on imperialism exploit and govern the original inhabitants of the land which they have occupied (Gandhi, 1998). Postcolonialism also emphasises the need to destabilize the dominant discourses, which is of particular relevance to this study (Gandhi, 1998).

It should be noted, however, that postcolonialism has been critiqued on several grounds. Smith (2013) contended that the term "postcolonialism" implies that colonialism is finished business and that the colonizers have left, which is not the case. Furthermore, Smith (2013) noted that Indigenous intellectuals typically resist engaging in discussion within the discourses of postcoloniality, as it is viewed as "the convenient invention of Western intellectuals which

reinscribes their power to define the world" (p. 14) while also reinforcing colonial ideals and the subjugation of Indigenous peoples (Smith, 1999). An alternative for Indigenous academics has been to engage in decolonizing Western research practices (Battiste, 1998; Smith, 1999) although even this approach has been met with some critique (Hokowhitu & Page, 2011). It must be noted, however, that while non-Indigenous peoples can act as partners in decolonization efforts, Indigenous peoples are the only ones who can lead decolonization, as decolonization must be centred on Indigenous perspectives and worldviews (Corntassel, 2012). As a non-Indigenous researcher, I argue that my scrutinization of the prominent role that the extractives industry has had and continues to have in maintaining dominant power relations in both Canada and Australia can play a role in supporting Indigenous peoples' decision making in how – or, even if they desire - to decolonize SFD in Indigenous communities in Canada and Australia.

Methodology

Netnography provides a means for understanding the marketplace of digital consumption and social media through a combination of the participant-observational stance of traditional anthropological ethnography with specially-designed procedures suited to the unique contingencies of computer-mediated communications (Kozinets, 2010). Common approaches to netnography involve planning, entrée, data collection, data analysis, presentation, and adherence to ethical standards (Kozinets, 2010, 2018). While these features offer useful guidance, in practice, netnography is often considered to be even more flexible than ethnography. This study required immersion in the digital world so as to make use of the computer-mediated communications of extractives companies as data. In response to the ethical critiques of netnography, particularly related to privacy (Battles, 2010; Grbich, 2013), data accessed in this study were from Facebook and Twitter pages that were publicly accessible through popular

search engines (e.g., Google). Moreover, I omitted discussion comments (i.e., the comments that appear in a thread under each Facebook post and Twitter tweet) from data collection.

Methods

I selected Facebook and Twitter due to their widespread usage and prominence. As of October 2019, Facebook had almost 2.41 billion monthly active users, while Twitter had approximately 330 million monthly active users (Clement, 2019). Using Kozinets' (2010) procedures for netnographic data collection, entrée was achieved by assuming the role of an internet "lurker" (Williams, Heiser, & Chinn, 2012) on each social media site. In keeping with the lurker role of visiting but not contributing to online communities (Harridge-March & Quinton, 2009; Nielsen, 2006; Zhang & Storck, 2001), I created pseudonym lurker accounts on Facebook and Twitter to enter, observe, and gather data from these sites. The posts and tweets that I included in this study had to be pertinent to the research question. As such, I utilized key terms and hashtags via popular search engines (i.e., Google) including mining, Indigenous peoples, Indigenous relations, Aboriginal Torres Strait Islanders, reconciliation, corporate social responsibility, and sport for development. I also created post notifications for each extractives company's social media accounts to facilitate data generation. I completed these actions for posts over a ten-year period (August 1st, 2009 – August 1st, 2019) to ensure that there were sufficient data to collect and analyze.

There were three inclusion criteria for extractives companies: i) the company must have had operations in Canada and Australia, ii) the company must have engaged in acts of CSR that included the funding of SFD initiatives with Indigenous communities in both countries, and iii) the company must have had active accounts on Facebook and Twitter. Based on the inclusion criteria, three companies were selected for this study: BHP, Newmont Corporation[1], and Rio

Tinto. BHP, which is headquartered in Australia, is a mining company that specializes in metals and petroleum with operations in countries such as Australia, Canada, and the United States. Els (2017) noted that BHP is the world's most profitable mining company with a value of $108.4 billion dollars. BHP's social media presence included Facebook (BHP) and Twitter (@bhp). Newmont Corporation is a prominent gold mining company headquartered in Colorado, with operations in Canada, Australia, and the United States - among other countries (Newmont Goldcorp, 2019). Newmont Corporation was valued at $32.7 billion as of September 2019 (DiLallo, 2019) and is active on Facebook (NewmontGoldcorp) and Twitter (@NewmontGoldcorp). Rio Tinto is a mining corporation headquartered in England and Australia with operations on six continents, but with a notable and concentrated presence in Australia and Canada (Rio Tinto, 2018). According to Els (2017), Rio Tinto is one of the world's most profitable mining companies at a market value of $88.7 billion. Rio Tinto is active on Facebook (Rio Tinto Group) and Twitter (@RioTinto).

I also included subsidiaries of Rio Tinto and Newmont Goldcorp in this study as a means of ensuring that there I had ample and variable data. Subsidiaries of Rio Tinto included the following companies: Rio Tinto Canada (@RioTintoCanada on Twitter), Rio Tinto BC Works (RioTintoBCWorks on Facebook), Dominion Diamond Mines (DominionDiamondMines on Facebook), Diavik Diamond Mine (@Diavik_NT on Twitter; Diavik.ca on Facebook), and Rio Tinto Western Australia (RioTintoWA on Facebook). Newmont Goldcorp's sole subsidiary included in this study was Newmont Goldcorp Australia (@NewmontAu on Twitter), as it was the company's only subsidiary that met the inclusion criteria.

Ultimately, I collected 191 posts and tweets, with 88 and 103 of them sourced from Canadian and Australian extractives companies, respectively. Of those 88 collected from

Canadian extractives companies 26 were from Twitter and 62 were from Facebook. Of the 103 posts and tweets collected from Australian extractives companies' social media accounts, 70 were from Twitter and 33 were derived from Facebook.

Analysis

I filed and labelled content of all relevant posts and tweets with the source, date, and URL link, then uploaded into NVivo 11 to support the analysis process. I then employed critical discourse analysis (CDA) to explore how extractives companies portray their funding of SFD in Indigenous communities in Canada and Australia on social media. Given its emphasis on criticality and elucidating power asymmetries, I felt CDA was particularly suitable in this study adopting a postcolonial theoretical perspective. Following Phillips and Hardy's (2002) approach to CDA, I read and re-read the data to identify overall patterns and were subsequently coded. I then used the generated codes to identify the broader discourses in each national context. The broader discourses then formed the basis for comparison between the Canadian and Australian contexts. Importantly, through using postcolonial theory, I was sensitized to not only the principal aspects of the data that I compiled, but to certain concepts and understandings of power. Through multiple readings of the data, postcolonial theory also furthered my understanding of and allowed me to attend to questions related to power imbalances within this specific research context.

Results

The analysis of posts and tweets from the Canadian and Australian extractives companies led to the identification of the following three discourses: 1) Extractives companies are proud "partners" of Indigenous communities; 2) Extractives companies are committed to helping Indigenous communities in Canada and Australia; and 3) Canadian extractives companies are

future focused and past-blind, while Australian extractives companies are advocates for reconciliation**.**

Extractives Companies are Proud "Partners"

Posts and tweets frequently used language suggesting how proud these companies were to support Indigenous development, communities, or programs. Examples of such support in the Canadian context included Rio Tinto's support for events such as the 2019 Inter-band Indigenous Games hosted by the Innu Takuaikan Uashat Mak Mani-Utenam, the Northwest Territories (NWT) Track and Field Championships, the Aboriginal Sports Circle of the NWT, Diavik Super Soccer, and on-the-land programs such as Northern Youth Leaderships' land camp programs. The Inter-Band Indigenous Games is a Quebec-based event that consists of athletic and sporting contests between youth athletes from different First Nations. Events include such things as running, javelin throw, ball hockey, and canoeing (Brisson-Proulx, 2019). The NWT Track and Field Championships and Diavik Super Soccer are both events that are offered by NWT School Sports for students in the NWT (NWT School Sports, n.d.). The Aboriginal Sports Circle NWT serves to provide accessible and equitable sport and recreation opportunities for Aboriginal peoples across the NWT, with an emphasis on building a future of healthy, active, and culturally connected Indigenous communities (Aboriginal Sports Circle NWT, n.d.). Lastly, Northern Youth Leadership brings together Indigenous youth from across the NWT to participate in on the land camps that provide such activities as hiking, swimming, and canoeing (Northern Youth, n.d.). Interestingly, Northern Youth Leadership's mission statement is to "provide on the land personal growth, leadership opportunities and connections that empower young people to create positive change" (Northern Youth, n.d., para. 2). The emphasis on such things as empowerment, personal growth, and positive social change through sport and physical activity is an essential

quality of SFD programs (United Nations, 2003). When examining such events as the NWT Track and Field Championships, it is important to question how events of these nature can be understood as SFD and not just sport development. The NWT Schools' Athletic Federation, which organizes the NWT Track and Field Championships advocates for youth involvement in school sport and strives to promote healthy living and empowerment through sport (NWT School Sports, n.d.). With this emphasis on participation, healthy active living, and empowerment, the NWT Track and Field Championships could fall under the umbrella of "sport for all," where participation is valued for its own sake and "for which the personal enjoyment and the physical benefits of sport are the goals (Thoma & Chalip, 2003, p. 147). Such descriptions and characteristics of sport are especially salient when comparing SFD to sport development, which emphasizes the enhancement of skills and abilities as a means to become involved in elite and high-performance sport (Kidd, 2008). As such, programs and events such as Northern Youth Leadership's land camps and the NWT School Sports' events can be understood as SFD.

It was very common for extractives companies to express feelings of pride and excitement to be supporting Indigenous communities while emphasizing the specific event/program and the nature of their support. A representative example is this Facebook post by Diavik Diamond Mines Inc (2016, June 2): "The NWT Track & Field Championships continue today and tomorrow in Hay River. We're proud to support this event with a three-year $45,000 sponsorship. Good luck to all the athletes and enjoy the event!" In another example, Dominion Diamond (2016, November 23) posted this on its Facebook page:

> Dominion Diamond would like to congratulate the Tłı̨chǫ̀ Government and the Community Government of Behchokǫ̀ on the grand opening of the recreation complex in Behchokǫ̀ this Saturday. Along with other partners, Dominion was pleased to provide

> funding for the building, which will have a positive impact on the community. Recreational facilities provide opportunities for children, youth and other community members to stay active and interact with one another.

A follow-up post by Dominion Diamond Mines (2017, February 20) on Facebook stated: "Dominion Diamond was proud to be one of the supporters of this project and is happy to see the Dominion Diamond Arena being used and enjoyed".

In the Australian context, common expressions made by extractives companies pertaining to their partnerships with Indigenous communities included, "we are committed to supporting", "we are proud to support," (Rio Tinto, 2019); and "we are extremely proud" (Rio Tinto WA, 2018). Furthermore, examples of the extractives industry's support for Indigenous communities included Rio Tinto's (2019, April 29) expression of its "commitment to making a positive contribution to the communities where we have a presence", and Newmont Goldcorp's (2018, July 7) "dedication to the community partnerships we've developed through our Aboriginal Participation Framework in Australia." Furthermore, BHP (2018, August 8) tweeted the following: "Today is #IndigenousPeoplesDay. Learn how we build partnerships with #Indigenous peoples" with an attached link outlining its approach to working and partnering with Indigenous communities as well as their Reconciliation Action Plan and Indigenous Peoples Strategy.

Extractives Companies are Committed to Helping Indigenous communities in Canada and Australia

In both the Canadian and Australian contexts, posts and tweets from extractives companies alluded to the notion that extractives companies are committed to helping Indigenous communities and peoples in Canada and Australia. In the Canadian context, examples included

Rio Tinto Canada's broad statement of commitment to fostering development in the communities in which it operates and Dominion Diamond's (2019, May 3) post which stated that: "Modern diamond mining creates billions in positive socioeconomic and environmental benefits in countries and communities where we operate." Furthermore, Diavik Diamond Mines (2017, February 20) expressed its support for the Aboriginal Sport Circle NWT on its Facebook page: "The 2017 Traditional Games Championship is being held this weekend in Yellowknife. We're proud to support the Aboriginal Sport Circle of the NWT, so they can host important events like this!" Moreover, Dominion Diamond (2017, June 19) also posted the following on its Facebook page: "Dominion continues to make a positive impact in the North by protecting the environment and partnering with local communities and organizations." Overall, examples noted in the Canadian context implicitly suggested that extractives companies are committed to helping Indigenous communities in Canada.

However, in the Australian context, this same notion from extractives companies was made more explicit. Such pronouncements were typically accompanied by a monetary value of the donation given by the company, along with other details regarding their sponsorship and the positive implications for Indigenous peoples and their communities. On its Twitter account, for example, RioTintoWA (2018, July 20) tweeted,

> Rio Tinto is proud to be the largest corporate partner of the Clontarf Foundation and one of the leading employers of graduates from the Foundation. We've contributed over $8 million in funding since 2012 to help the Foundation expand across Australia.

The Clontarf Foundation is an organization that aims to improve the education,

discipline, life skills, self-esteem, and employment prospects of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander youth, in turn equipping them to participate more meaningfully in society (Clontarf Foundation, 2020).

Another prominent discourse in the Australian context concerned sport and its transformative "power". Several posts and tweets emphasized sport's apparent ability to develop and motivate people. One notable retweet by RioTinto came from the South Australian Premier @marshall_steven (2019, July 2):

> Footy inspires. Footy motivates. The Clontarf Foundation utilises the passion of footy to improve everything from education to life skills in Aboriginal students. Four Clontarf Foundation football academies are now being piloted within six SA schools. We couldn't be prouder!

Furthermore, numerous tweets by BHP and RioTinto included videos describing Australian Rules Football's capacity to "change the lives of young Indigenous boys and turn them in into great Indigenous men."

Occasionally, posts and tweets stated how programs offered by certain organizations would give Indigenous youth help and hope. For example, RioTintoGroup (2018, June 1) posted the following on its Facebook page:

> The Clontarf Foundation are making a real impact on young Indigenous boys' lives by getting them back to school and focussed on their studies. You can see the difference the foundation is making which is why we'll proudly continue to support them. It also doesn't hurt that they let us come around to kick the footy from time to time.

Of the discourses identified, sport and its power to transform was salient and prevalent throughout content disseminated by each extractives company.

Canadian Extractives Companies are Future Focused and Past-Blind, While Australian Extractives Companies are Advocates for Reconciliation

In the Canadian context, extractives companies' social media accounts emphasised the importance of future development. Fifteen posts and tweets made by Canadian extractives companies stressed the importance of their continued growth and development or of their continued sponsorship of an event or community. An example can be seen in a tweet from Rio Tinto Canada (2017, August 15) which noted that: "We are committed to fostering long-term development in the #communities where we operate." The few posts that were relevant to SFD were retweets or quotes. Otherwise, content that related to sport typically consisted of the funding to be donated to whichever program or event that the company chose to sponsor. In these instances, there was no further mention or description of the value of sport or its ability to spur growth and development in Indigenous youth. An example can be seen in Dominion Diamond's Twitter account, in which it retweeted a tweet from Northern Youth Leadership (2018, December 11), which stated that:

> #NYL12DaysOfGratitude wants to send a huge thanks to one of our longest supporters! Dominion Diamond has supported our programming since the beginning and without them it would be much harder for us to run transformational programming for youth from across the NWT!

Moreover, Diavik_NT (2016, May 25) tweeted: "Proud to support NWT Track&Field Championships w/ 3-yr funding partnership!" with no additional mention of the intangibles often associated with participation in sport. Overall, within the Canadian context, posts and tweets

pertaining to SFD were uncommon, with content instead relating to the future donations that extractives companies made towards the communities in which they operated or expressions of their long-term commitment to supporting Indigenous communities.

In the Australian context, extractives companies consistently asserted that they had a responsibility, as corporate entities, to support reconciliation. Moreover, they expressed their commitment to such things as reconciliation, human rights, cultures, and values of those affected by their activities, to sustainability and positively contributing to the quality of life and independence of Indigenous Australians. NewmontGoldcorp (2019, May 27), for instance, tweeted the following: "#MiningWithPurpose: In 2018, @RecAustralia endorsed our Innovate Reconciliation Action Plan – which formalizes our commitment to expanding opportunities for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities." Moreover, RioTintoWA (2018, March 9) posted the following on its Facebook page:

> Rio Tinto is the principal partner of the all AFL Indigenous Programs, supporting male and female Indigenous youth as well as current AFL and AFL Women's stars. We are extremely proud of our long-standing partnership with the AFL as we work together to promote Indigenous advancement and reconciliation in Australia.

Another example tweeted by NewmontAu (2018, May 28) stated that: "We're working through the @RecAustralia Reconciliation Action Plan (RAP) Program to launch our first Innovate RAP. This plan supports the work we're doing to recognise and celebrate Aboriginal & Torres Strait Islander people through relationships, opportunities & respect #NRW2018" Also related to acts of reconciliation, BHP and RioTinto's support for the Uluru Statement from the Heart (an Indigenous consensus position on constitutional recognition) was conveyed through tweets such

as this one by NACCHOAustralia (2019, January 30), “Mining giants @BHP and @RioTinto will today become the first major companies to publicly support the #UluruStatement from the Heart, with BHP chief executive Andrew Mackenzie to announce roughly $1 million into a referendum campaign.”

Discussion

My results indicate that extractives companies portray themselves on social media as altruistic and committed partners that are responsible for helping and “advancing” the Indigenous communities in Canada and Australia in which they fund SFD initiatives. Additionally, extractives companies utilize social media as a tool to disseminate information pertaining to the funding of SFD initiatives that ostensibly enhances their legitimacy, thereby contributing to the obfuscation of their harmful impacts on the land, communities, and peoples situated near their extraction sites. As such, given the ongoing histories of colonialism in Canada and Australia, I contend that the digital spaces in which these portrayals are shaped and shared provide important sites of analysis of the extractives industry’s role in funding SFD programming in Indigenous communities in Canada and Australia.

Overall, the following three discourses emerged: 1) Extractives companies are proud “partners” of Indigenous communities; 2) Extractives companies are committed to helping Indigenous communities in Canada and Australia; and 3) Canadian extractives companies are future focused and past-blind, while Australian extractives companies are advocates for reconciliation**.** I discuss these discourses in the sections that appear below.

The Politics of “Partnership”

A prominent discourse in the data was that extractives companies in both countries are proud partners of Indigenous communities. Discourses of partnership are intended to

(re)construct the developer-developee relationship as one based on equitability and mutual respect, rather than one based on benevolence and gratefulness (Abrahamsen, 2004). Notably, in recent years impact benefit agreements (IBAs) have become standard practice in Canada for extractives companies that operate on or near Indigenous peoples' traditional lands (Fidler & Hitch, 2007). Interestingly, Gilmour and Mellett (2013) stated that IBAs are used by extractives corporations to encourage Indigenous "participation in, and support for, proposed projects where such projects may potentially be hindered by issues which arise out of community concerns." (p. 387)

Given the controversial nature of the extractives industry and its colonial histories, it can be argued that equitable corporate partnerships with Indigenous communities are essential for extractives companies (Millington et al., 2019). Nicholls, Giles, and Sethna (2011) argued that a common trope in the SFD realm is the use of discourses of partnership as a tool to enhance legitimacy in the wake of criticism. Indeed, partnerships can have strong foundations built on admirable qualities; however, Nicholls et al. (2011) asserted that power relations are often inextricably woven into the fabric of partnerships that separate those that have the funding from those who need it. Instead of fostering an equitable partnership based on mutual respect and open communication, these discourses work to perpetuate the cycle of domination imposed by the donor onto the recipient (Nicolls et al., 2011). As such, unequal power dynamics between the donors (i.e., extractives industry) and recipients (i.e., Indigenous communities) are underpinned by colonial histories, which are in turn foundational to much of the SFD sector (Millington et al., 2019).

I posit that the extractives companies I analyzed use specific language that boasts of their partnerships with Indigenous communities to produce themselves as essential contributors to

these communities – when of course the Indigenous communities' land is also indispensable to extractives corporations, though this was not referenced in these companies' social media posts. Furthermore, through disseminating content that outlines the nature of their relationships with Indigenous communities, and the funding and sponsorship they provide them with, extractives companies further portray themselves as equitable and altruistic partners to the thousands of people who follow their accounts. As such, more attention should be placed on the ways in which extractives companies require Indigenous peoples' traditional territories to extract resources. Access to these lands is reliant on having social licence to operate, which can be achieved through funding SFD initiatives, as this is rendered silent in their social media portrayals.

Commitment to Helping Communities and the Provision of Social Good

The disseminated posts and tweets that pertained to Canadian and Australian extractives companies' funding of CSR and SFD efforts reproduced discourses of apparent Indigenous deficit while discursively producing extractives companies as satisfying these communities' needs. Indeed, the notion that Indigenous peoples require help and that that help can only be provided to them by non-Indigenous peoples has persisted for generations in both countries. This deficit discourse is a line of thinking that frames Indigenous peoples' identity in a narrative earmarked by deficiency and failure (Fforde, Bamblett, Lovett, Gorringe, & Fogarty, 2013; Hyett, Gabel, Marjerrison, & Schwartz, 2019). For instance, Bond (2005) noted that the framing of health policy in terms of "Closing the Gap" implicitly carries and replicates an assumption of deficit. Furthermore, the deficit discourse is characterized by the efforts of non-Indigenous peoples to impose change, particularly Indigenous peoples' ways of life, which are deemed to be

"correct," while ignoring the knowledge, skills, talent, and passion that Indigenous peoples possess (Gorringe, 2015; Wane, 2008). SFD is one of the areas in which this occurs.

In the Australian context, in particular, several posts and tweets made by extractives companies alluded to the problems faced by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander youth in areas such as education, employment, and health. Such posts and tweets were accompanied by mention of extractives companies' efforts to combat these issues, while also expressing pride and excitement to be offering such support. Notably, in Australia there exists the consensus that sport is a panacea (Nelson, Abbott, & Macdonald, 2010). Indeed, concerning Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, Cairnduff (2001) contended that sport is an effective community development tool that can facilitate the achievement of social and health outcomes. Recognizing this, Australian extractives companies' social media accounts frequently extolled the benefits of participation in sport, especially Aussie rules football, for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander youth with such statements as "Footy inspires" and "The Clontarf Foundation utilises the passion of footy to improve everything from education to life skills in Aboriginal students." While not explicitly stated, content posted on social media was typically marked by notions of lack pervading Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities, thus reinforcing discourses of deficiency that have persisted for generations. Accompanying such posts or tweets were the ideas that sport could be used to "close the gap" and spur positive change.

Sport, and Aussie rules football in particular, was discursively framed by Australian extractives companies as a means to empower Indigenous youth and communities, and contribute to educational and health outcomes, while simultaneously positioning extractives companies as indispensable parts of communities, without any mention of the potential harms caused by their presence and actions in Indigenous communities. Posts and tweets disseminated

by Rio Tinto regarding Aussie rules were also inextricably tied to education as a means of helping Indigenous students reach their full potential with Rio Tinto citing Aussie rules' ability to inspire and motivate Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander youth, while using the "passion" of the sport to improve their educational outcomes and life skills. This link to educational opportunities and associated social outcomes imparted on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander youth was another means through which sport was discursively framed as a social good.

Certainly, sport has, and continues to be, framed and seemingly revered as an effective tool to contribute to the social good in communities that experience marginalization (Kidd, 2008). Importantly, Kidd (2008) noted that throughout the world sport has been used as a means of control and assimilation through the imposition of Eurocentric values onto supposedly primitive Indigenous youth. Comparably, in the modern development context, sport is positioned as a prominent way of moulding Indigenous youth and ultimately building a certain kind of employable, competitive, and economically-driven citizen, which in turn perpetuates the broad colonial discourses related to notions of Indigenous inferiority (Hayhurst & McSweeney, 2019; Millington et al., 2019).

It is paramount to note that Indigenous peoples are not passive recipients of SFD and in fact may not only resist but also reconceptualize and develop their own versions of how they utilize and implement SFD for their own purposes in their own contexts (Darnell & Hayhurst, 2011). Indeed, Darnell and Hayhurst (2011) asserted that SFD may be well suited to embracing "radical" development politics such as the resistance of corporate and/or state-sponsored hegemonic development forces and the support for Indigenous self-determination.

While Indigenous communities' partnerships with extractives companies can increase Indigenous self-determination and access to cultural and recreational programs (Hayhurst &

Giles, 2013), these partnerships nevertheless arise due to a lack of funding and resources from elsewhere. Indeed, Indigenous peoples are not passive recipients; however, CSR practices of using SFD exist in a system that is heavily rooted in power asymmetries, which can lead them to engage in partnerships with the extractives industry as they are left "with few choices'"(van Luijk, Millington, Frigault, Giles, & Hayhurst, 2020, p. 514).

Future Development and Reconciliation

Throughout my analysis, a subtle yet prominent discourse that emerged was Canadian extractives companies' emphasis on future development, while concomitantly disregarding the past. This stood in contrast to the Australian companies' focus on reconciliation. Of particular concern associated with the future development of Indigenous lands is the perpetuation of the negative consequences that arise from extractives practices, such as the loss of control over and desecration of traditional lands and resources, and the subsequent overall detriment to the environment and public health of Indigenous peoples (Baker & Westman, 2018; United Nations General Assembly, 2013). Importantly, the funding of SFD programs, which can facilitate extractives companies' attainment of social licenses to operate on Indigenous lands, plays a prominent role in the continuation of the industry's extractives operations and its disregard for the past.

According to Darnell (2007), the veritable silence regarding the past is intrinsic to SFD, with the sector relying on the ahistorical narratives concerning sport and its power to transform lives for the better. These ahistorical narratives and depictions of sport are particularly important for extractives companies with their need to foster corporate partnerships with Indigenous communities, given the impact that their operations have on the natural landscape and resources, and the colonial histories of resource development. Thus, Canadian extractives companies'

silence regarding the past sustains the narratives surrounding sport and its popularity as an empowering tool, which in turn maintains and obfuscates asymmetrical power relations between extractives companies and Indigenous peoples.

While extractives companies in Australia also highlighted future development, albeit to a lesser extent than their Canadian counterparts, their social media accounts depicted them as strong advocates for reconciliation, suggesting that they recognize the historical and contemporary factors that have afflicted Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders and their resultant desire for constitutional recognition and reconciliation. The intent to shift unequal power relations between Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander and non-Indigenous peoples has been at the forefront of the reconciliation objective in Australia since the inception of the Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation in 1991 (Brennan, 2004). Notably, through their posts and tweets, the Australian extractives companies I studied proudly endorsed its support for reconciliation and for the Uluru Statement. Despite this explicit support, I contend that the language used by extractives companies on social media perpetuates the unequal power relations that exist between Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander and non-Indigenous peoples, which contradicts the reconciliation movement's aim to attain balance. This perpetuation of asymmetrical power relations is buoyed by the notions that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples need help from non-Indigenous Australians, SFD programs' imposition of Eurocentric ideals onto Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander youth, while transforming Indigeneity, and extractives companies' self-portrayals as "partners" to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities.

The Canadian extractives companies' social media accounts made no explicit mention of the TRC or of reconciliation in general, seemingly suggesting that the fostering of reconciliation is highly prioritized by Australian extractives companies, while appearing as a non-issue to

Canadian extractives companies. I posit that these differences can be ascribed to the distinct ways in which the processes of reconciliation have unfolded in Canada and in Australia. For instance, Lamensch (2019) asserted that despite the considerable advancements made by the Australian government towards the treatment of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, little progress has been made since 2000 in truly advancing reconciliation. Importantly, to this day Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples are still not formally recognized in the Australian constitution, which is in stark contrast to Canada, as it has treaties with its Indigenous peoples (Lamensch, 2019). As such, Australia's federal government has no obligation to consult with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples when passing laws that could affect them (Chrysanthos, 2019). Perhaps this lack of constitutional recognition is seen as an opportunity by Australian extractives companies to step in and enhance their public image by fostering their relationships with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples through such things as funding CSR and SFD initiatives, especially if those initiatives involve the immensely popular sport of Aussie rules.

Conclusion

The results of this research revealed that extractives companies in Canada and Australia, use Facebook and Twitter to portray themselves as responsible and committed partners of Indigenous communities, while obscuring the ongoing histories of colonialism through discourses of empowerment and development through sport. Furthermore, Facebook and Twitter were used to disseminate content that framed extractives companies' SFD initiatives as panaceas, which served to reproduce implicit notions of apparent Indigenous deficit. This in turn, discursively produced the extractives companies as fulfilling the needs of Indigenous communities. Moreover, these results illustrate how the extractives industry's funding of SFD

initiatives contribute to the attainment of social licence to operate on traditional Indigenous lands, which plays a significant role in the continuation of the industry's growth and development, thereby contributing to the perpetuation of colonialism. Ultimately, these findings help elucidate the ways in which the extractives industry utilizes social media as a tool to disseminate information that apparently enhances their legitimacy, while concealing their harmful actions.

To date, despite the recent proliferation of extractives-funded SFD programs in Indigenous communities in Canada and Australia, there still exists a paucity of studies that scrutinize the way that extractives companies present themselves as socially responsible corporate entities through funding SFD (Giles et al., 2019; Millington et al., 2019). As such, the research presented in this paper addressed the need for further critical attention placed on the increasing incidence of extractives-funded SFD programming in Indigenous communities in Canada and Australia. Future research should continue to question the ways in which the extractives industry perpetuates colonialism, with particular attention paid to CSR through SFD as a form of colonialism. Potential studies could examine how extractives companies are perceived by both Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples in Canada and Australia and contrast these findings with extractives companies' self-portrayals on social media. Moreover, given the dearth of critical studies that examine Indigenous peoples experiences as "targets" of SFD in Canada and Australia, SFD scholars would do well to address this gap to better understand the mechanisms through which the extractives industry utilizes CSR through the funding of SFD to frame its role as a good corporate citizen.

Lastly, with the retreat of the welfare state and the increased privatized aid provided by extractives corporations, it is paramount that the federal government increases provision of

funding to Indigenous communities. Such action would ensure that Indigenous communities would not have to seek alternative sources of funding such as the funding provided by extractives corporations.

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Footnotes

[1] Newmont Corporation (formerly Newmont Goldcorp) rebranded and dropped Goldcorp from its name. The update was officially announced on January 6th, 2020.

Chapter Three: Conclusions

Throughout the time I spent working on my Master's of Arts research, I was fortunate to learn about an array of topics ranging from the history of Indigenous peoples in Canada and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples in Australia, to the effects of colonialism in each country, to how the extractives industry engages in corporate social responsibility (CSR) through the funding of sport for development (SFD) initiatives. By analyzing CSR-related Facebook posts and Twitter tweets made by three extractives companies that operate in Canada and Australia, I was able to gain insight into the processes through which these extractives companies use social media to strengthen their legitimacy in a controversial industry by emphasizing their funding of SFD initiatives in Indigenous communities in Canada and Australia.

In this concluding section of my thesis, I provide a summary of chapter two and discuss the gaps in the research that my study addresses. I then address the methodological, theoretical, policy, and program implications of my research. Following this, I describe the limitations of my research and provide recommendations for future research. I conclude by providing some final thoughts.

Summary of Chapter Two

In chapter two, my "publishable paper," I examined how three prominent extractives companies, Rio Tinto, BHP, and Newmont Corporation, along with their subsidiaries, portrayed their funding of SFD in Indigenous communities in Canada and Australia on Facebook and Twitter. Guided by a postcolonial theoretical framework (Gandhi, 1998), I used netnography (Kozinets, 2010) and critical discourse analysis (CDA) to better understand how social media can be utilized as a tool to enhance the legitimacy of extractives companies' operations.

By using CDA with support from NVivo11, I identified three discourses: 1) Extractives companies are proud "partners" of Indigenous communities; 2) Extractives companies are committed to helping Indigenous communities in Canada and Australia. Sport in Australia is framed as a tool to promote the "social good" and transform Indigenous youth; and 3) Canadian extractives companies are future focused and past-blind, while Australian extractives companies are advocates for reconciliation**.**

With regards to how Canadian and Australian extractives companies used social media to portray their funding of SFD, a number of similarities existed between each national context. A noteworthy similarity that I identified was how extractives companies in each country explicitly used language on Facebook and Twitter that boasted of their partnerships with and commitment and dedication to Indigenous communities, while concomitantly using social media to frame themselves as partners with these communities. Another similarity I noted was the emergence in each context of the discourse that extractives companies are committed to helping Indigenous communities in Canada and Australia. This particular discourse stemmed from content that lauded extractives companies' CSR efforts and described SFD initiatives as panaceas, which carried and reproduced implicit notions of Indigenous deficit. Generally, the differences that I identified between the Canadian and Australian contexts can be partially ascribed to the ways in which Facebook and Twitter were utilized by extractives companies in each country. Content disseminated by Canadian extractives companies was typically very concise and uncomprehensive, whereas Australian extractives companies, which tended to post more frequently, were much more explicit in their usage of social media, making posts and tweets that were relatively thorough and exhaustive.

The findings revealed that Rio Tinto, BHP, and Newmont Corporation use social media to depict themselves as altruistic and responsible corporate citizens, while concurrently positioning themselves as indispensable to Indigenous communities given their purported responsibility for helping and advancing these communities and their peoples. Furthermore, the results illustrated how the extractives industry's funding of SFD initiatives, which contributes to the attainment of social licence to operate on traditional Indigenous lands, plays a prominent role in the continuation of the industry's growth and development, which in turn perpetuates colonialism. Ultimately, these findings provide insight into the ways in which prominent extractives companies in Canada and Australia utilize social media as a tool to communicate information that seemingly enhances their legitimacy, while obfuscating their harmful actions.

Research Implications

Below, I address the methodological, theoretical, policy, and program implications of my research for SFD funded by the extractives industry in Canada and Australia.

Methodological Implications

The ways in which I used netnography in this research has methodological implications for the study of SFD. Scholars have noted that there exists a need for novel ways of critically examining SFD initiatives and its funding by extractives companies (Darnell, Whitley, & Massey, 2016). In light of this, and given the dearth of studies that have scrutinized extractives corporations' usage of social media in broadcasting SFD-related messaging, I contend that there is a need for more netnographies in qualitative research. My research contributes in a novel way to the study of SFD not only through the critical analysis of the ways in which extractives companies use social media, but also through the examination of the messages that they disseminate. The examination of extractives companies' usage of social media was particularly

salient because the advent of social media and its ubiquitous nature has changed the dynamics of corporations' relationships with stakeholders, with social media now seen as an effective means through which stakeholders immerse themselves in and interact with different communities (Fieselier & Fleck, 2013; Vasiliki et al., 2013). Further, Fieseler and Fleck (2013), noted that social media and its ubiquitous nature has changed the dynamics of corporations' relationships with stakeholders. As such, by exploring the online contexts in which extractives companies frame themselves as reputable corporate entities, I maintain that my research contributes to the domain of SFD while addressing a key gap in knowledge.

For the purposes of this research, I assumed the role of a lurker (Williams, Heiser, & Chinn, 2012), opting to passively observe the online communities in which I immersed myself. Advantages to such an approach include not requiring Research Ethics Board approval to collect data, as the data were collected from publicly accessible sites, while also enabling community membership in a relatively uninhibited manner that is typical of online communities (Mkono & Markwell, 2014). There are, however, limitations to conducting a netnography as a lurker. Indeed, while lurking has its merits, the development of netnography's use in SFD would benefit from the integration of other approaches in future research. One such approach could entail the researcher's active participation in online communities, as such an approach enables netnographers to probe and direct the flow and content of online acts and communications (Mkono & Markwell, 2014). Future netnographers should consider the opinions shared by stakeholders on the comment threads attached to posts on different social media applications as a way to gain insight into their perceptions of extractives companies' CSR efforts. Notably, Tapscott and Williams (2006) asserted that social media has empowered previously disenfranchised stakeholders and has enabled them to voice their opinions on a variety of

applications (e.g. Facebook and Twitter). As a result, such studies could serve to richen our understanding of the efficacy - particularly for perceptions of members of affected Indigenous communities - of social media-based strategies utilized by extractives companies to improve their public perception and legitimacy.

Theoretical Implications

My use of postcolonial theory was an essential aspect of the research that I conducted for this thesis. Such an approach not only enabled me to discern the wide variety of political, economic, and cultural factors linked to colonialism, but to also attend to the unequal power relations that are inherently part of SFD programs (McEwan, 2001). Of particular relevance to this study is postcolonial theory's utility in aiding researchers to understand how colonialism has contributed and continues to contribute to the health disparities between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples (Lavallée & Poole, 2009).

As a non-Indigenous researcher and middle-class man of Latin American descent, I must acknowledge my positionality in this research and assert that in order for research to truly be decolonized, efforts must be spearheaded by Indigenous peoples, as I, alone, cannot decolonize research. Consequently, my role in conducting this research was to analyze the mechanisms through which extractives companies perpetuate colonialism through their funding of SFD initiatives. As a result, my research can help to inform dialogue about the use of social media by extractives companies to enhance their legitimacy, while also contributing as an ally to supporting Indigenous peoples' contemplation of the decolonization of SFD in Indigenous communities in Canada and Australia.

Policy Implications

My research findings also had policy implications for each country. The results of my study suggested that the Canadian divisions of BHP, Newmont Corporation, and Rio Tinto make few references to government-mandated policies or strategies related to reconciliation or alleviating disparities between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Canadians, especially when compared to their Australian counterparts. Interestingly, Maignan and Ferrell (2004) asserted that corporations cannot expect to reap the benefits from CSR unless they strategically and intelligently communicate about their initiatives to relevant stakeholders. Accordingly, the use of the internet, and social media in particular, by corporations seeking to communicate their responsible behaviour to stakeholders has become increasingly important in recent years (Capriotti, 2011). As such, I posit that in striving to enhance their legitimacy and public perception, Canadian extractives companies' social media accounts would do well to enhance their social media usage strategies. This could take the form of increased frequency of posts on both Facebook and Twitter, the potential incorporation of Instagram into their social media strategy, and increased references to not only their CSR and SFD efforts, but to their support for such things as the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) and its Calls to Action. Importantly, Canadian extractives companies must not solely rely on the rhetoric that they disseminate through social media and as such, I recommend that they move beyond their rhetoric and directly translate it into action.

The results of my study contributed to our understanding of the ways in which extractives companies use social media to communicate with stakeholders and disseminate messages that frame them as good corporate citizens in Australia, especially through the advocacy of strategies and frameworks such as the Closing the Gap Framework, the Indigenous Advancement Strategy, and the Uluru Statement from the Heart (Australian Government, 2018a; Australian

Government, 2018b; McKay, 2017). A common strategy utilized by the social media accounts of BHP, Newmont Corporation, and Rio Tinto was the mention of their efforts to close the socioeconomic gaps and other disparities that exist between Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples and non-Indigenous peoples, while also endorsing the Uluru Statement and supporting Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples' goal to attain a constitutionally recognized voice. My results indicated that in their attempts to improve their public image and perception through social media, Australian extractives companies frequently expressed their support for both government-led strategies and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander-formulated statements, such as the Indigenous Advancement Strategy (Australian Government, 2018b) and Uluru Statement (McKay, 2017), respectively.

Concerning notable differences between each national context, Australian extractives companies consistently framed and lauded sport as a panacea, while also regularly expressing support for reconciliation between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians. This was in stark contrast to the Canadian extractives companies, which made virtually no mention of sport's capacity for promoting positive change or of reconciliation between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Canadians. Despite the numerous similarities that exist between Canada and Australia, I posit that the Australian extractives companies' emphasis on sport and reconciliation and lack thereof in Canada could be attributed to a fundamental difference between each country: Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples do not have formal recognition in the Australian constitution, while the rights of Indigenous peoples in Canada are constitutionally recognized (Otis, 2014) - though still often ignored. Consequently, the absence of constitutional recognition for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples may provide incentive for Australian extractives companies to enhance their legitimacy and perception by positively engaging with

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples through initiatives such as the funding of CSR and SFD programs, particularly those involving the favoured sport of Aussie rules football.

Given that these extractives companies have headquarters in each country but operate globally, it is important to question whether Canada and Australia can be examined separately. Ultimately, the content and findings that were derived from each national context differed and were specific to each case. As such, I contend that there is merit to examining each national context separately.

Program Implications

My findings suggest that Australian extractives companies are seemingly more invested in and interact more with the recipients or beneficiaries of their SFD programs than their Canadian counterparts. Part of the Australian extractives companies' social media strategy included the mention of prominent individuals, whether politicians or senior corporate employees, spending time with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander youth while engaging in friendly games of Aussie rules football or rugby. Posts and tweets from BHP, Newmont Corporation, and Rio Tinto that highlighted these instances would also often boast about the benefits of sport and its ability to transform those who partake in it. Such disseminated claims and descriptions of SFD programs carry implicit notions of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander deficit.

As such, the results of my research reaffirm that SFD programs funded by extractives companies are indeed typically targeted at subjugated peoples with the hopes of "bettering" them. While this may seem innocuous, it is paramount to question the ways in which the funding of SFD initiatives may render obscure the harmful impacts that extractives companies may pose for Indigenous peoples and their traditional lands. Furthermore, through the sponsorship of SFD

programming in Indigenous communities, the extractives industry produces itself as an essential contributor to these communities – yet, the indispensability of Indigenous communities' land to extractives corporations, which contributes to their attainment of social licence to operate, is never referenced. Future research should direct focus on the mechanisms through which the depictions of sport as panaceas and the funding of SFD programs contribute to the perpetuation of colonialism in Canada and Australia.

Limitations

Given my positionality as a non-Indigenous researcher, a significant limitation to my research was the absence of Indigenous peoples' interpretations of the ways in which extractives companies portrayed their funding of CSR and SFD on social media. Importantly, this absence limits the capacity of my research to contribute to decolonizing the realm of SFD.

Future Research

While my research opened a discussion about the use of social media as a tool utilized by extractives companies to enhance their legitimacy and image, much work is left to be done. Future research should continue to scrutinize the mechanisms through which the extractives industry perpetuates colonialism, with an emphasis on examining CSR through SFD as a form of colonialism. Moreover, future work should include Indigenous peoples' perspectives so as to contribute to opening up space for Indigenous peoples to decide how – or, indeed if – to decolonize SFD in Indigenous communities in Canada and Australia. Such research could be informed by the use of a decolonizing framework and thus, should be led by Indigenous scholars.

Concerningly, there exists a dearth of critical studies that examine Indigenous peoples experiences as "targets" of SFD in countries other than Canada and Australia. As such, SFD researchers would do well to address this gap in the future to better understand the processes

through which extractives companies use the funding of SFD to position themselves as good corporate citizens and as important members of the different communities worldwide that they operate in.

Final Thoughts

In our contemporary world, the ubiquitous nature of social media has far-reaching implications, both positive and negative, in a multitude of different contexts. My hope through conducting this research was to facilitate a conversation on the extractives industry's role in contributing to colonialism through the mobilization of their CSR efforts in Indigenous communities in Canada and Australia, as well as to examine the intricacies of social media use by extractives companies in their attempts to cultivate positive public perception and legitimacy. More specifically, I sought to examine how the CSR and SFD-related information that extractives companies disseminate can obfuscate the harm that their extractives practices impose on Indigenous peoples in Canada and Australia. Given the increased involvement by extractives companies and their funding of Indigenous communities and initiatives, it is essential that the federal government increases its provision of funding to Indigenous communities. By providing funding that Indigenous communities can use to determine their own good, Indigenous communities would not have to rely on the funding provided by the extractives industry. Lastly, with the omnipresence of the internet, and the vast amount of information at our disposal, it is paramount to critically question the messages, particularly those from people or corporations in power, which are relayed to us on a day-to-day basis.

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Contributions

Steven Latino developed, designed, and undertook this thesis, its theorization, analysis, and writing. Dr. Audrey Giles supported all aspects of this thesis's development, theorization, and analysis, while Dr. Giles and Dr. Steven Rynne provided input and assistance into writing and reviewing the publishable paper. Any papers derived from this thesis will be published with Latino as first author, Giles as Second, and Rynne as third.