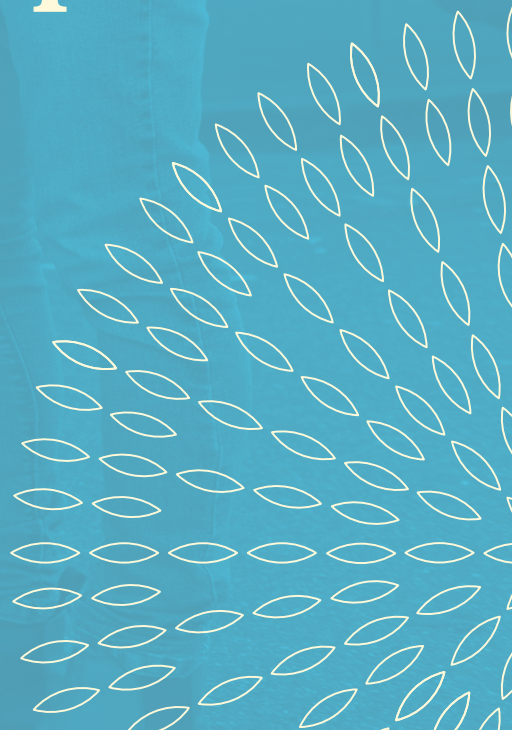


Culturally and Linguistically Diverse Young People and Digital Citizenship:

A Pilot Study



Background

This report derives from a joint pilot project on 'Multicultural Youth Digital Citizenship' between the Centre for Multicultural Youth and the Research Unit in Public Cultures, University of Melbourne. The project is a preliminary investigation into the digital citizenship practices of multicultural young people in Australia, primarily focusing on Melbourne. The research team was made up of Dr Gilbert Caluya, Ms Tamara Borovica and Prof. Audrey Yue from the University of Melbourne.

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Glossary

Civic practices: (a.k.a. 'acts of citizenship') the specific social, cultural, political, or economic activities one engages or participates in as a citizen of a national community.

Culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD): official umbrella term for racial, ethnic, and religious minorities in Australia who are migrants or descendants of migrants.

Digital access: refers not only to whether one has access to the internet and digital technologies, but also whether one has the skills, knowledge, and literacy to use digital technologies or navigate digital environments.

Digital citizenship: the use of digital technologies and environments to participate in the social, cultural, political, and economic life of a national community.

Digital divide: a technological lag in the uptake of digital technologies that reflects and/or exacerbates existing socio-economic inequalities.

Domains of citizenship: spheres of life that citizens participate in as full members of a community. These include social, cultural, political, and economic domains.

Newly arrived migrants: people who have migrated to Australia within the last 5 years.

Refugees and asylum seekers: Asylum seekers are still in the process of having their claims to refugee status assessed, while refugees have already been granted the legal status of refugees.

Young people: in this project, refers to 16 to 25-year-old people.

The Centre for Multicultural Youth is a Victorian not-for-profit organisation supporting young people from migrant and refugee backgrounds to build better lives in Australia.

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Executive Summary

This project explored how culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) young people (16 to 25 years old) in Victoria, Australia use digital and mobile technologies to participate in key domains of citizenship: that is, social, economic, political, and cultural domains. The project also explored the relationship between CALD parents' and their children's use of digital and mobile technologies. The project used an online survey and focus groups with a total of 203 CALD people participating in the project. 175 young people participated in the online survey and 20 young people and 8 parents in the focus groups.

This project suggests that, overall, CALD young people are highly engaged in civic practices through digital technologies, participating across all key domains of citizenship: social, political, cultural, and economic life. The project also shows that they are aware of online security risks and safety issues and have developed various ways of negotiating these issues. However, the focus groups suggest that digital access is uneven along class and generational lines rather than ethnic lines. The focus groups suggest that newly arrived migrants, refugees and asylum seekers may have less access than CALD young people in more established migrant communities, who tend to have similar digital access to young people in general.

Digital access

Digital access includes physical access to digital technologies, as well as, the skills, literacy, and knowledge to use these. Except for one individual, all CALD young people that participated in the survey or focus groups had access to a mobile phone and at least one computer at home or school. Newly arrived CALD parents had uneven digital access, owing to differences in digital skills and digital literacy.

CALD young people tended to use their mobile phones for socialising and networking, while they tended to use their computers for studying and entertainment.

CALD young people tended to be self-sufficient in terms of learning about the internet. Almost three-quarters (74%) are self-taught with only one-tenth (10%) having learnt about the internet or digital devices at school. If they encounter a problem online, most would do their

own research or ask a friend. Only 15% would ask a family member for help while none said they would go to a teacher or an IT professional for help.

When asked about posting regularity, one-fifth of young CALD participants post things online daily or several times a day. The majority will post approximately once a month (44%) or once a week (24%), and 10% say they will not post anything online.

CALD young people had positive experiences with the internet as a place where they could learn new skills (45%), increase their confidence (13%), make new friends (10%) or contribute to something positive (10%) by being active online. Nevertheless, some showed awareness for the downsides of the internet as a space of distraction from their education (10%) or generally about the dangers of spending too much time online.

Participants in the CALD parents focus group, newly arrived parents from Thailand and Burma, reported limited digital access in terms of skills and knowledge.

Differences in digital access were notable between newly arrived migrants with refugee backgrounds compared to international students and more established migrants. While all newly arrived young people participating in the focus groups had access to digital technologies, there were differences in digital skills and knowledge due primarily to differences in education and to some extent on gender. Yet there were no significant differences in digital access between newly arrived migrants and more established migrants in the survey. This may be because many of the newly arrived migrants in the survey were international students. These differences suggest that economic, more so than racial/ethnic, differences impact upon digital access for young people from refugee and migrant backgrounds living in Victoria. This recognises socio-economic status is interlinked with mode of arrival and length of time in Australia, and some ethnic groups may be over-represented in these.

Social engagement online

Social participation, such as connecting with friends, family and work colleagues, are important aspects of social citizenship. They provide important ways for people to feel that they belong in local communities and wider society. The survey shows that CALD young people regularly use digital technologies to participate in social activities. More than 80% of CALD young people surveyed use social media and messaging services for daily contact with friends and family in Australia, while about half are in daily contact with family and friends overseas.

While many CALD young people (75%) surveyed use the internet for “making friends and socializing” only 32% use social media to make new friends. Almost half say they will never meet strangers online while a quarter may meet someone new each month and 13% will meet strangers online at least once per day. This suggests that while social media is a robust space for CALD young people to socialise with existing friends and family, contact outside these circles is relatively limited for most CALD young people. We cannot conclude from the data collected whether this is self-imposed or whether there are barriers to engaging with strangers online.

In terms of online harassment, discrimination, and bullying, 1 in 5 CALD young people surveyed have directly experienced harassment, discrimination or bullying online and 1 in 4 have a friend who has experienced harassment or discrimination online. There is some evidence from the focus groups that CALD young people who are politically active are more likely to encounter harassment and bullying, which suggests that digital safety should be understood in relation to specific activities.

Cultural engagement online

Cultural engagement includes producing and consuming cultural products and participating in cultural events. Cultural engagement is important for young people’s intellectual development and allows young people to shape the community’s shared meanings and values. The data underscores the centrality of the internet for cultural engagement. Almost all CALD young people in our survey (97%) use the internet to listen to music daily or occasionally, and 91% of them watch movies or TV online daily or occasionally.

The data also shows that CALD young people use the internet to plan and coordinate offline engagement with cultural institutions. 60% of survey respondents locate information about art works, galleries and exhibitions online suggesting strong, continued engagement with ‘high’ cultural institutions. This is higher than the attendance of young Australians at visual arts and performance (ACA, 2014: 48).

The internet also facilitated online multilingual engagement. 65% of CALD young people surveyed occasionally or daily watch/listen/read things online in languages other than English. Also 60% occasionally watch/listen/read things online in languages they cannot speak.

90% of survey participants used the internet to find information about social activities and social clubs

occasionally or daily and 80% use the internet to participate in social activities or social clubs online. However, newly arrived young people in the focus groups said that they did not share news of volunteering or local social events online because they did not receive this news or have access to it.

Political engagement online

Being able to participate in political processes allows young people to have a say in who runs the country or the local council and to shape the wider environment. Political engagement was measured in terms of online interactions with traditional political institutions and leaders (such as political parties and community leaders), and involvement in online political activities (such as signing online petitions, being active in online political groups, reading political news, and engaging in online political discussion). The data suggests that CALD young people are very politically active online but not through traditional political channels. At least half of the CALD young people surveyed had signed online petitions, sought knowledge about electoral politics and politicians, sought knowledge about their rights or searched volunteering opportunities.

It is often presumed that young people are becoming disengaged from traditional political institutions (see Martin, 2014). There is some evidence for this assertion

in the data. For example, 79% of CALD young people surveyed avoided participating in online political groups or forums, and almost 90% never or rarely ever contact politicians or other leaders online. However, there was also evidence CALD young people were engaged with traditional political processes, since 50% use the internet to inform themselves about elections and party politics. Thus, while CALD young people may not be actively involved in political parties and engaging leadership directly online, half kept themselves informed about electoral politics through digital technologies.

There is also evidence that CALD young people are engaged in non-traditional forms of politics. More than half of the participants (57%) used social media to get information about social and political issues, while 70% used the internet to find information about their rights. Also, half of the survey's respondents use the internet to sign petitions sometimes.

Focus groups showed that CALD young people are quite sophisticated in navigating perceived political bias in online news reporting, as well as, in choosing when and how to engage politically online. They also suggest that CALD young people participating in politics online are likely to face harassment and bullying at some point.

Economic engagement online

Economic participation is important for being able to conduct daily activities (for example, banking), and for achieving important life goals, such as studying for a degree. Being able to participate economically in society does not just provide necessary income, but also creates confidence, builds important networks, develops skills, and adds to feelings of belonging. The survey shows that CALD young people use the internet for education, business and other economic activity.

The percentage of survey participants using online banking (88%) is comparable with the general population. Many CALD young people use the internet for shopping (80%). This contrasts with another survey that suggests that 38% of Australian young people are buying, selling, or shopping online in the month prior to June 2016 (ACMA, 2016: 66). This may reflect a middle class bias in the survey sample (as evidenced by the highest educational achievement of their parents). CALD young people navigated online shopping using different strategies to protect their financial safety.

Although almost two-thirds of participants (67%) never or rarely ever use the internet for economic gain, there was a small but significant minority (14%) that used the internet daily or often to earn money. How this income is generated was not captured and is an issue that requires further research.

All but one survey participant used the internet for studying and researching assignments. Most participants used internet to plan their future education (93%) or to search for work (84%). The internet was also important for newly arrived migrants who used it in class to assist with learning, including searching for translations.

Newly arrived CALD migrant parent-child digital divide

The most significant finding was evidence of a digital divide between newly arrived migrant parents and their children. In the focus groups, the newly arrived CALD parents had not used the internet until they came to Australia, although they used it regularly now. In these cases, CALD migrant parents had to learn new technologies upon arrival in Australia. This meant their digital skills and knowledge was quite uneven and sometimes lacking.

Consequently, many newly arrived CALD parents in the focus group relied on their children for help to use the internet. According to newly arrived CALD young people in the focus groups, this responsibility sometimes tended to fall on the young men in the family.

Newly arrived CALD parents were aware that they lacked knowledge of what their children were doing online. Some did not have enough digital knowledge to be able to effectively monitor their children's use of the internet. Even if they did attempt to limit their child's use of the internet, they sometimes lacked the technical skills needed to enforce their rules.

Recommendations

1. Address barriers to digital access among newly arrived migrants, both young people and parents:

- a. Federal and State government support for services to provide training to newly arrived migrants on digital access, literacy, and skills. There should be a focus on newly arrived CALD parents to help them support their children's online participation as well as various digital practices they may need to perform as parents.
- b. Federal and State government to fund technological support among services working with CALD young people to support the services' engagement in digital environments.
- c. Local councils to fund the development and implementation of digital strategies for engaging local CALD young people in social and cultural events, particularly newly arrived migrants.

2. Government and non-government agencies that work with CALD young people develop effective digital communication strategies in a multicultural online context:

- a. Non-government and community organisations review the accessibility of their digital communication strategies for CALD young people. Digital communication strategies to CALD young people should emphasise interactive, dynamic content for self-directed learning across multiple platforms. (For example, campaigns aimed at CALD young people could consider transmedia storytelling to engage young people across multiple platforms.)
- b. Government communication strategies for CALD communities need to consider that CALD young people may be translating material for their parents. Consideration should be given to why this is happening and how digital materials and information can be made more accessible for older migrants.
- c. The Victorian Department of Education and Training should work with schools that are servicing newly arrived migrants to review online communication strategies and engagement with CALD parents regarding the fact that CALD students are often translating school communication (such as letters or forms) for their parents.

3. Universities, government, and services to conduct further research

- a. An in-depth national study of Australian newly arrived migrants' digital technologies is needed to provide more nuance to these findings. Specifically, the study should highlight the family dynamics surrounding the use of digital technologies rather than focusing on individual use of digital technologies.
- b. Increase understanding of CALD young people's online political participation in the context of their empowerment is needed to address community fears of 'online radicalisation'.
- c. More focused studies on specific domains of citizenship online to assess not just the activities but the contributions of CALD young people to the economy, society, politics, and culture. In particular, research on newly arrived young people's use of the internet for income is needed.
- d. Universities should provide training for teachers to take account of the fact that CALD migrant students may be using digital technologies for translation in the classroom.

1. Introduction

This project examines digital citizenship of young people from culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) backgrounds in Melbourne, Australia. The project explores how they use digital technologies to participate in familial and public life but also whether this is reshaping their civic interactions. Specifically, it explores how CALD young people (16 to 25-years-old) in Melbourne engage with digital and mobile technologies in relation to key domains of citizenship: that is, social, economic, political, and cultural citizenship.

Digital citizenship has grown in importance in the 21st century because the internet is now the prevailing medium for most forms of daily and official communication. In 2014-15, the number of Australian households with internet access grew to 7.7 million, i.e. 86% of all Australian households (ABS, 2016). In particular, digital citizenship is most important for young people given how pervasive digital media is in their daily lives. It is well known that young people have much higher rates of digital participation. According to the Australian Bureau of Statistics, in 2014-15 the highest proportion of internet users were in the 15 to 17-years-old age group (99%) and they spent, on average, 18 hours per week online. Both the proportion of internet users and hours of use decreased with age (ABS, 2016; see also ACMA, 2007). As more services, businesses, and institutions 'go online', young people's abilities to participate in social, political, cultural, and economic activities has theoretically increased.

Consequently, unequal internet access can affect people's ability to fully participate in democratic society and it can exacerbate other inequalities in society. Barriers to full participation may include differences in digital access, skills, and knowledge, which may disproportionately affect culturally and linguistically diverse people. While overall internet access between Australian-born and overseas-born young people is similar, lower income households tend to have lower internet access (ABS, 2016). Since some CALD communities (particularly newly arrived migrants, and refugees) are over-represented in lower income households, their digital citizenship may be affected. A recent report from the Centre for Multicultural Youth found that "internet access in the home among newly arrived young people in their first five years in Victoria mirrors rates for Australia's poorer households" (Kenny, 2016: 6).

Yet, to date, there is little research on the digital participation of culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) young people in Australia and their patterns of use. Full participation in civic life is necessary for integration in society and this will increasingly come to depend on digital inclusivity. As digital environments become more important in contemporary society, the extent to which individuals can participate in digital life will shape access to opportunities and benefits in this new media environment. The importance of this is implicitly recognised by recent government and non-government organisation (NGO) programs and projects around young people's digital engagement and digital inclusion in multicultural communities.

Obviously, this is important for CALD young people who are often framed by concerns that they are disengaged from civic practices and activities. These concerns are raised by policymakers, parents, and the news media, who believe that lack of civic participation is related to negative social, economic, or political outcomes (see Furlong, 2009; Burns et. al., 2008; Grattan, 2008). Broad discussions on youth disengagement from civic institutions and practices tend to position CALD, and especially Muslim, young people as disinterested in public life (Vromen, 2011; Harris, Wyn & Younes, 2010; Harris & Roose, 2014). Yet these fail to take account of new ways of engaging in civic life that young people are continuously developing in what Harris and Roose (2014) term

‘DIY citizenship’. In their project, Harris and Roose show young Muslim Australians are actively involved in creative cultural production and consumption, generating, and maintaining their own supportive civic networks and consciously cultivating individual self-expressions (Harris & Roose 2014: 795). By extension, studying digital citizenship among young people can also highlight these creative forms of civic practices and provide a more holistic picture of CALD young people’s engagement and participation in civic life in the internet age.

Since ‘digital citizenship’ in Australia has tended to be associated with issues of cyber safety across government, NGOs, and community organisations (Third and Collins, 2016), it is important to quickly explain what is meant by digital citizenship in this project. Rather than treat ‘digital citizenship’ as a separate realm of citizenship, this project conceives of the digital as a new medium for pre-existing civic practices. The task is to rethink citizenship through the digital. In other words, rather than treating digital citizenship as a domain of civic practices separate from social citizenship, economic citizenship, political citizenship or cultural citizenship, this project attempts to understand how CALD young people participate in social, economic, political, and cultural civic practices using digital technologies and environments.

Although social, economic, political, and cultural citizenship existed prior to the digital age, we are also interested in how these are being transformed by digital technologies and environments. The internet and mobile technologies have reshaped the meaning and function of citizenship because they reshape public space and with it civic behaviours, dialogue, and activities. Traditional citizenship was understood as a two-way communication between the citizen and the state. However, digital environments are multi-layered, transnational spaces that promote open-ended interactions where people are active in negotiating and contesting all kinds of institutions and powers. This allows young people to participate in and appropriate online spaces for civic engagement in ways that differ from traditional citizenship. Furthermore, it is not only a question of how young people practice citizenship online, but also how these online practices relate to their offline lives. From this perspective, digital citizenship may represent a unique opportunity to reinvigorate citizenship more broadly (Third and Collin, 2016).

The pilot study had three research aims or questions that it explored:

1. How do CALD young people (16 to 25 years old) in Melbourne engage with digital and mobile technologies, and what are their patterns of use in relation to key domains (such as social, economic, political, and civic domains)?
2. How do they use these technologies as a form of social participation and political engagement?
3. What is the digital participation and digital literacy of CALD parents in relation to their children?

2. Literature Review

2.1 Digital divide, digital access, and digital participation

Some of the earliest research into inequality in the internet age was conducted around the notion of the 'digital divide', which refers to the gap between those that have access to the internet and mobile technologies and those that do not.

Initially, digital divide research was focused on international inequality of access to ICTs between countries with different economic and technological infrastructures (Compaine, 2001). Drawing on earlier interest in the idea of a 'technology gap', several authors began to draw attention to the growing gap produced by slower rates of technology transfer in the 'Third World' (Marton and Singh, 1992) or 'developing countries' (Nulens, Hafkin and Cammaerts, 2002) or the 'Global South' (Arunachalam, 1999).

The 'digital divide' was also used to research inequality of ICT access within a country. These studies highlighted how race and ethnicity, age, location, social class, and education influenced the unequal access to ICTs. In terms of the digital divide, race was one of the most prominent and ongoing associations with this term (see Katz and Aspden, 1997; Mack, 2001; Fairlie, 2004; Monroe, 2004; Hobson, 2012). Some researchers have argued that the digital divide can severely impede "educational justice" and suggest that the principles of affirmative action need to be applied to internet access (First and Hart, 2002). For example, US universities, colleges, schools, and charities ran various programs to address gaps in digital access in the early 2000s, which have largely been successful.

One of the most researched sites in this literature, and one that is pertinent to this project, is the digital divide between black and white students in the United States of America (Anon, 1999; Roach, 1999; Hill, 2012). This racial digital divide was first recognised as unequal access to technology between different schools, but as this gap between schools slowly decreased through government, school, and charity programs, the 'digital divide' was relocated in differential access to computers outside the school. The 'digital divide' was used to highlight larger issues of poverty, class, and internet provider accessibility.

By contrast, there is a paucity of academic work on the

digital divide in Australia (Broadbent and Papadopoulos, 2013), although the primary concern surrounding the 'digital divide' was between metropolitan and non-metropolitan areas (that is, rural, regional, and remote communities) (e.g. Hugo, 2001). Nevertheless, early research on the "information poor" incorporated several groups including 'new migrants' and people from 'non-English speaking backgrounds' (Ronald, 1995). A few years later, Barraket and Scott (2001) showed that the economic costs of maintaining personal ICT equipment with internet access was considerably expensive in Australia in 2001, and this significantly affected students from low socio-economic backgrounds and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students. Racial and ethnic minorities were not studied as a separate group, but included as part of larger lists of 'disadvantaged' or 'target equity groups' in line with Australian government policy (see Holloway, 2002). Given the rapid expansion of technology and large uptake we see in recent census data, it is likely these findings may no longer apply (ABS, 2016; see also ACMA, 2007).

As computer and internet accessibility began to increase, research on the digital divide shifted its focus from digital access and computer ownership toward digital skills and literacies (Leurs, 2015). Some researchers placed more emphasis on the skills needed to use ICTs effectively and thus highlighted how disparity might continue despite having access (Mossberger, Tolbert, and Stansbury, 2003). As d'Haenens et al. argue "the true digital divide has shifted from mental and material access to differences in skills and significant usage access" (2007: 286). Arguably, the buzzword 'digital natives' has partially obscured the role of the internet in young people's lives by portraying young people as homogenously 'connected'. Yet the variability of skill is evident among young US internet users. Internet 'knowledge' is not randomly distributed among the population but correlates positively with higher parental education, gender (being male) and race (being white or Asian American) (see Hargittai, 2010).

One of the major elements missing from this picture so far is the difference in digital literacy between racial and ethnic minority parents and their children. Culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) parents value digital literacy of their children even more than native parents (D'Haenens et. al., 2007: 295). Yet they also harbor

concerns about their children's online safety and worry about their capacities to guide and advise their children's online practices (Third and Collins, 2016). Due to a lack of research that looks at CALD parents, it is unclear how this population is dealing with their children's online presence in Australia. In a rare participatory study conducted in Australia where young people and parents were brought together to discuss digital practices and safety, young people stressed that adults often misunderstood why young people go online, they downplay benefits and overstress risks while neglecting young people's capacities to deploy strategies for staying safe online (Third and Collins, 2016: 54). While this research looked at young people in general (not specifically CALD young people), one could imagine that these trends could be exacerbated in the case of CALD young people. For example, CALD parents may face more anxiety about not knowing what their children are doing online because of language barriers, which can negatively impact on their children's access to important information or platforms and thus limit their educational and social capital.

2.2 Digital inclusion and digital participation

While the literature on the digital divide emphasised physical accessibility (and to a smaller extent skills-based accessibility) and service provision, newer work has shifted towards issues of 'digital participation' and 'digital inclusion'. Scholars around the world have examined digital participation among South African young people (Oyedemi, 2015), Indigenous Australian young people in remote places (Kral, 2010; Kral, 2011), 'Afro-descendant' young people in Portugal (Campos and Simões, 2014), and in technology-enhanced afterschool programs in California (London, Pastor and Rosner, 2008). The shift in attention makes sense if we consider that programs on digital participation and digital inclusion were created largely as responses to perceived digital divides. Digital inclusion programs are important because sometimes they recognise that internet access and internet use is important to inclusive citizenship. Digital inclusion programs can bring computers to social groups that would otherwise not have access "thereby strengthening notions of citizenship, human rights, and social empowerment" (Jacobi, 2006: 226).

In academic and policy literature, 'digital participation' and 'digital inclusion' tends to be used interchangeably and often the terms are not explicitly defined. Furthermore,

in some of the literature on digital participation the emphasis on digital skills, usage and competencies is sometimes treated as a 'literacy' issue (Dooley et al., 2016), which has led to work on 'digital literacy' in rural Australia (Starasts, 2015) and Catalonia, Spain (Meneses and Momino, 2010). Nevertheless, broadly speaking, it is possible to make a distinction between the digital participation and digital inclusion based on perspective and approach to the digital divide. While both digital participation and digital inclusion address the digital divide, the former emphasises the perspective of the people in the program as active participants (how can/do they participate in digital environments?) while the latter emphasises the perspective of the people running the program as educators, community workers, etc. with the goal of being more inclusive (how can we be more inclusive of minorities?).

As such, 'digital participation' and 'digital inclusion' do not really break from the digital divide literature. Livingstone and Helsper (2007) use 'digital inclusion' to shift the question from access to internet use. Campos and Simões (2014) use the term 'digital participation' to signal a shift away from questions of access towards "the particular way young people and youth cultures appropriate these resources in their daily lives" (88). Yet work on digital participation continues to be interested in questions of equity explored in the digital divide, since "low-income youth of color have fewer opportunities than their peers for digital participation and civic engagement" (Conner and Slattery, 2014: 14).

A significant proportion of this literature focuses on the pedagogical opportunities of new media technologies for teaching racial and ethnic minorities (see for example, López, 2008; Lewis and Fragnito, 2005). Ito et al. conceives of "learning with new media as a process of participation in shared culture and sociability as it is embodied and mediated by new technologies" (2008: 9). Some researchers provide definitions of participation that emphasise civic engagement in a wider sense. For example, Dooley et al. (2016: 52) define digital participation as "the 'habits of mind' that foster creativity, critical thinking, and engagement as learners and, in turn, enable meaningful contributions in today's digital society".

Digital participation is also about cultural engagement. For Campos and Simões, digital participation includes "wider processes of identity construction, group communication and cultural expressivity" (2014: 88). In

this sense, digital participation can play a special role in multicultural democracies. Emergent forms of digital participation, such as expressing views through the media and especially social media, writing a blog or participating in an online forum, are appealing practices to Australian Muslims of immigrant background living in Melbourne and Brisbane (Harris and Roose, 2014: 802). While there are growing fears that Muslim young people in the West are at risk of becoming influenced by online jihadist networks (Bunt 2009; Sageman 2008; Johns 2014), qualitative research conducted in Australia (Harris and Roose, 2014) suggests that these young people are using digital media mainly for civic participation. According to Harris and Roose (2014: 804), digital participation of Muslim young people in Australia facilitates expression of social and political concerns in a public forum where they can voice their opinions as entitled participants and, secondly, to provide alternative space for meaningful exchange with others, including like-minded peers. Thus, while young people may appear to be disengaged from party politics and parliamentary debates, they may still be engaged in online politics and often participate in digital culture in overtly political ways (Ward, 2013; see also Rahim, Pawanteh and Salman, 2011; Dutta, Bodie and Basu, 2008). Similarly, Jakubowicz et al. (2014: 11) argue that a central aspect of CALD young people's integration is the extent to which they are socially included in their neighbourhood, yet much of this integration can happen online.

The outcomes of digital inclusion schemes are, however, rarely uniformly positive or transformative for the people involved (Davies, Eynon and Wilkin; 2017). Most of these programs pay more attention to formal participation because they rely on normative accounts of 'participation', thus excluding those CALD young people who either oppose the idea of formal participation or prefer self-organised groups and activities (Mansouri & Mikola 2014). As far as digital spaces are extensions of everyday, real life, they are infused with uneven power relations, exclusionary practices, and politics, in which CALD young people employ numerous strategies to assert agency and find enjoyable experiences (Leurs, 2016).

Digital inclusion can also bring exposure, risk, and make vulnerability more visible. The internet is not always a positive space. Many CALD young people encounter severe forms of racist hate speech and witness racial violence at quite young ages, while some may be subjected to racialized cyber-bullying and harassment themselves (Daniels, 2008; Edmonds et. al., 2012; Herborn,

D., 2013; Rice et. al., 2016). It is important to consider digital culture as a public space where tensions and conflicts can also arise and where violence is possible. Cyber-racism in the forms of bullying and harassment can therefore limit and impede CALD young people's access to online spaces.

This means it is necessary to also pay attention to modes of resistance and empowerment among CALD young people. According to a few studies, diaspora communities utilise digital media to produce alternative, diverse and transnational expressions of identity and belonging (Siapera, 2010; Johns & Rattani, 2016). Leurs (2015) coins the term 'digital space invaders' to discuss how these young people occupy locations (digital spaces) where they might not be expected or fit the norms, highlighting complex work they do of overcoming barriers to build identity and belonging and even find moments of joy. Thus, together these works demonstrate that digital spaces are more than simply places for radical democratic projects or places where power plays out in the same ways it does in offline spaces. CALD young people develop complex strategies to navigate these fluid, often contested spaces.

2.3 Digital citizenship

As a concept, digital citizenship is less than two decades old, yet its meanings and application vary significantly. Situated at the nexus of the pervasiveness of digital technologies in a modern world, the promise of new modes of participation, and threats and risks associated with digital media, 'digital citizenship' remains a contested phenomenon (McCosker, Vivienne & Jones, 2016). Initially, digital citizenship was defined broadly 'as the ability to participate online', and thus conflated with digital access and participation, while digital citizens were those who used the internet regularly and effectively (Mossberger et al. 2008, p. 1). More recently, the concept of digital citizenship has paid more attention to citizenship as participation rather than frequency of usage.

An early interest in digital citizenship research focused predominantly on normative ideas about dutiful citizens – what should digital citizenship be like and how should digital citizens behave. This focused the discussions on 'appropriate use of technology', risks associated with digital media (especially when users are children and young people), and issues of privacy, safety, and media literacy (see Bennett, 2007; Bennett et al., 2011; Livingstone, 2004; Ribble, 2011; Jones & Mitchell, 2016; McGillivray et al., 2016).

Beyond issues of risk and safety, one could think of digital citizens as those that regularly use the internet for civic, political, and economic participation in the information age. Online technologies have fundamentally reshaped the meaning and function of citizenship in the internet age because they have reshaped public space. If traditional citizenship was based on two-way communication, digital citizenship assumes a multi-layered, open-ended political interaction where individuals find ways to 'recognize, contest, and negotiate with the powers that exist to control them' (Coleman, 2006: 259). Johns (2014) argues that normative definitions of citizenship (as a set of rights, obligations, norms, and practices) fail to capture what she calls "acts of citizenship" that happen in young people's everyday, non-governed online interactions, and the work they do in creating identities, belonging and culture. Therefore, some advocate for critical digital citizenship studies in school curriculum that provides young people with the opportunity to experiment with - design, create, make, remix and share - creative content using a range of digital tools and technologies (McGillivray et al., 2016). The emphasis here is on educating these young 'digital natives' to be a 'good citizen' by taking responsibility for safety online, while also learning appropriate codes of good behaviour in the same way that they are taught how to 'behave properly' in social settings. This shifts digital citizenship to civics and civic duty rather than online safety. According to Mossberger, Tolbert and McNeal, digital citizens are "those who use technology frequently, who use technology for political information to fulfil their civic duty, and who use technology at work for economic gain" (2008: 2). Choi's understanding of digital citizenship goes beyond political and economic participation, she defines it as "abilities, thinking and action regarding Internet use which allows people to understand, navigate, engage in, and transform self, community, society and the world" (2016: 584). Many scholars also note that connectedness with the offline world is crucial for understanding digital citizenship (Coleman, 2006; Bakardjieva, Svensson and Skoric, 2012; Couldry et al., 2014; Choi, 2016). Thus, it is not only a question of how people practice citizenship online, but also how these practices relate to their offline lives.

More recently scholars of digital citizenship have offered more nuanced and complex understanding of what defines digital citizenship and how it is practised. For example, Isin and Rupert (2015) question pervasive, universal, and homogenising meanings of most definitions of citizenship and call for moving beyond the binary of freedom (digital

citizenship as participation, inclusion, creativity) and control (dutiful, normative citizenship). They conceptualise digital citizenship as a complex assemblage of technical, social, political, legal, and commercial processes that cultivate fragmented, multiple, and agonistic digital spaces and digital citizens. Similarly, McCosker, Vivienne and Jones suggest that digital citizenship "emerges as a fluid interface that connects control mechanisms with people and practices within even the most intimate of cultural contexts" (2016: 1-2).

2.4 Defining digital citizenship for this pilot study

This project defined digital citizenship not as another domain of citizenship, but as civic activities in pre-existing domains of citizenship that are practiced in the new, digital medium. Obviously, digital access is necessary for digital participation, but we define digital citizenship as a kind of participation, what Johns (2014) calls "acts of citizenship". Digital citizenship here refers to the use of ICTs to plan, organize or conduct activities in any of the various domains of civic life: social, cultural, political, and economic. Sometimes the internet may be a space for these civic activities and engagement, but in other cases the internet may simply be a planning tool to enable these activities to occur offline.

This project took the classic liberal idea of citizenship as composed of distinct domains constituted by a series of rights, duties, responsibilities, and participation from T.H. Marshall (2009; see also Turner, 2009). Marshall divided citizenship into three elements or domains: civil, political, and social. Each element of citizenship was associated with specific socio-political institutions and the associated rights needed to fully participate in these domains. Marshall's model championed the idea of citizenship in terms of full participation in a community, rather than the limited relationship between the individual and the state (Steenburgen, 1994: 2).

A Model of Citizenship		
Citizenship domain	Institutions of civic participation	Associated rights
Social	family, friendships, colleagues	right to associate, right to form relationships, freedom of intimate expression, reproductive rights, right to leisure
Political	political parties, governmental institutions	right to political communication, right to political association, right to vote, right to stand for election and right to legal protection
Economic	educational institutions, businesses, workplaces	right to education, right to work, protection from discrimination in employment, right to fair wages, access to needed employment
Cultural	media and entertainment industries, cultural and artistic industries, social clubs, sport and recreation clubs	right to cultural expression, right to participate in cultural heritage and cultural productions, right to access cultural products

This project used this model as a framework for designing its research methods to highlight how CALD young people's civic engagement practices continue into the digital age. The project measures digital citizenship then in terms of the use of ICTs to engage in the four domains of citizenship outlined above: social, cultural, political, and economic.

3. Method

Participants in this project were culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) young people, aged 16 to 25-years-old, and CALD parents with young children, living in Victoria at the time of participation. A total of 203 people participated in this project with 175 young people taking part in the online survey component and an additional 20 young people and 8 parents participating in the focus groups.

Participation in the research was voluntary and recruitment was done with the help of the Centre for Multicultural Youth (CMY) and their partner organisations who provide services for migrant young people and their families.

The literature review of key themes and debates provided a basis for the conceptual and theoretical background for the survey and focus group design. Questions for focus groups and the online survey were informed by existing knowledge on digital participation and digital citizenship and grouped around four domains of digital citizenship: digital accessibility, digital participation, digital inclusion, and the digital divide. Both the online survey and focus groups explored practices and patterns of use and engagement with mobile and digital technologies.

The online survey

The online survey served to create an overall picture of digital access, participation, and inclusion of CALD young people. Survey questions focused on digital accessibility, participation, and inclusion by measuring patterns of use in relation to key domains of formal and informal civic engagement in four citizenship domains outlined above: social, cultural, economic, and political.

The online survey 'Multicultural Youth Digital Citizenship' was comprised of a combination of open-ended, scaled, closed, and partially closed questions. The survey consisted of 70 questions, which was time-consuming for participants, but provided rich detail regarding participants' engagement with digital technologies in relation to key domains of citizenship.

A total 175 survey participants were recruited through a variety of strategies but in the end most respondents came through the Centre for Multicultural Youth and the University of Melbourne. Although the online survey aimed to gather information about CALD young people in Victoria, we did receive a few responses from young people in New South Wales.

Most of the survey participants were born outside of Australia (69%) and have come to Australia to study (55%). 25% of the survey participants came to Australia with their parents or guardians, among the reasons they list for this are better life quality and escaping violence and racism in their home countries. 42% of the survey sample are Australian citizens. Those who are temporary residents (30%) come predominantly from China, Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Vietnam and India, and have come to Australia to study. While those who are permanent residents (17%) come mostly from Malaysia, China and Pakistan, and have relocated to Australia for several reasons. These reasons include study, parental reasons, and humanitarian reasons.

The survey participants were predominantly female (68% are female participants), bilingual (80% of the participants speak two or more languages), highly educated (37% are high

school graduates, 30% have some university education, and 17% are university graduates) and predominantly still in education (93%). The notably high level of parental educational background (24% of the sample have mothers who are university graduates and 23% of mothers have postgraduate degrees) suggests the sample is slightly skewed to middle-class CALD young people. CALD young people from refugee backgrounds, young people who are working full-time, as well as young people who are in neither education or employment were underrepresented in this sample.

Demographic characteristics of the online survey sample point to a predominantly high social and economic capital of survey participants and thus limits generalisability of the survey. Future research should focus on responses from CALD young people from refugee backgrounds, newly arrived migrants, and non-students (i.e. young people who are working or are neither studying nor employed).

Focus Groups

The pilot study also used focus groups to target disadvantaged and newly arrived young people, including those from refugee backgrounds, and this provided important information that was missing from the survey. While focus groups are costly in comparison to surveys the information we received was far more nuanced, particularly in describing family dynamics and specific uses of internet and mobile technologies.

A total of 20 young people participated in three focus groups held across Melbourne metropolitan area and another focus group with 8 parents was conducted in Werribee. Focus groups were hosted by CMY and participants were recruited through CMY's contacts with a focus on: newly arrived migrant young people and CALD parents with young children.

The focus groups were facilitated by a research assistant from the University of Melbourne. Most young participants had Thai, Iranian, Sudanese, Somali, Iraqi or Egyptian backgrounds, with one young person with an Indonesian background also participating. Many participants from Somalia and Iraq were Muslims. All focus group participants (except for the Indonesian interviewee) have spent less than five years in Australia and the majority less than two years in Australia. Focus groups with young people were conducted at CMY and CMY's partner schools. The focus group with parents was conducted at Werribee Secondary College and with the help of two translators, as the parents were not fluent in English.

The focus group findings provide a more nuanced understanding of how newly arrived CALD young people use digital technologies in their daily lives and civic practices. The focus group with parents provided invaluable insight into this specific population's practices and engagement with mobile and digital technologies in family settings. These findings support prior research conducted by CMY (Kenny, 2017) on newly arrived young people and suggest that a larger, long-term project is needed to gather more data to test generalisability.

Quantitative and qualitative data collected in this research were grouped by emerging themes relating to the four domains of digital citizenship outlined above: social, cultural, economic and political life. Attention was also paid to digital access, digital participation, digital inclusion and the digital divide. Percentages are rounded to the nearest whole number.

4. Results and Discussion

Overall, this project's findings suggest that CALD young people have high levels of digital access, participation, and skills similar to young people in general. This was evident in both the young survey participants and the newly arrived young people focus groups. These results partially question previous studies that suggest the economic costs of internet access and technologies serve as barriers to access for recent migrants and people from non English speaking backgrounds (Barraket and Scott, 2001; Holloway, 2002). These results also align with recent census data which suggest that internet and mobile technologies are now widespread in Australian societies (ABS, 2016; ACMA, 2007). One reason for this result may be that the diversity of mobile phones and diversification of data/payment plans have made mobile phones more accessible to young people, one of their largest markets. The project shows the majority of CALD young peoples' online activity was using social media via their mobile phones. This is discussed under 'Digital access'.

This project shows overall that CALD young people have extensive and sophisticated civic engagement online across the four domains of citizenship explored: social, cultural, political, and economic. Each domain of citizenship is discussed below under the corresponding heading.

The focus groups show that the picture was more complex among newly arrived migrants. While newly arrived young people had access to digital technologies and were generally confident using their mobile phones in daily life, newly arrived parents had uneven digital access and digital skills. This suggests there is a digital divide between newly arrived parents and young people. This is discussed under 'The CALD parent-child digital divide'.

4.1 Digital access

The online survey data showed that CALD young people in Melbourne, Victoria have very high levels of access to digital technologies. All but one survey participant had a mobile phone and access to the internet at home. 68% have more than one computer in their home, and most access computers from multiple locations, such as school (83%), workplace (32%), public library (47%) and friend's place (24%). All survey participants use electronic email. They spend varying amounts of time online (ranging from 5 hours a week to more than 80 hours a week), with most spending around 15-20 hours per week online.

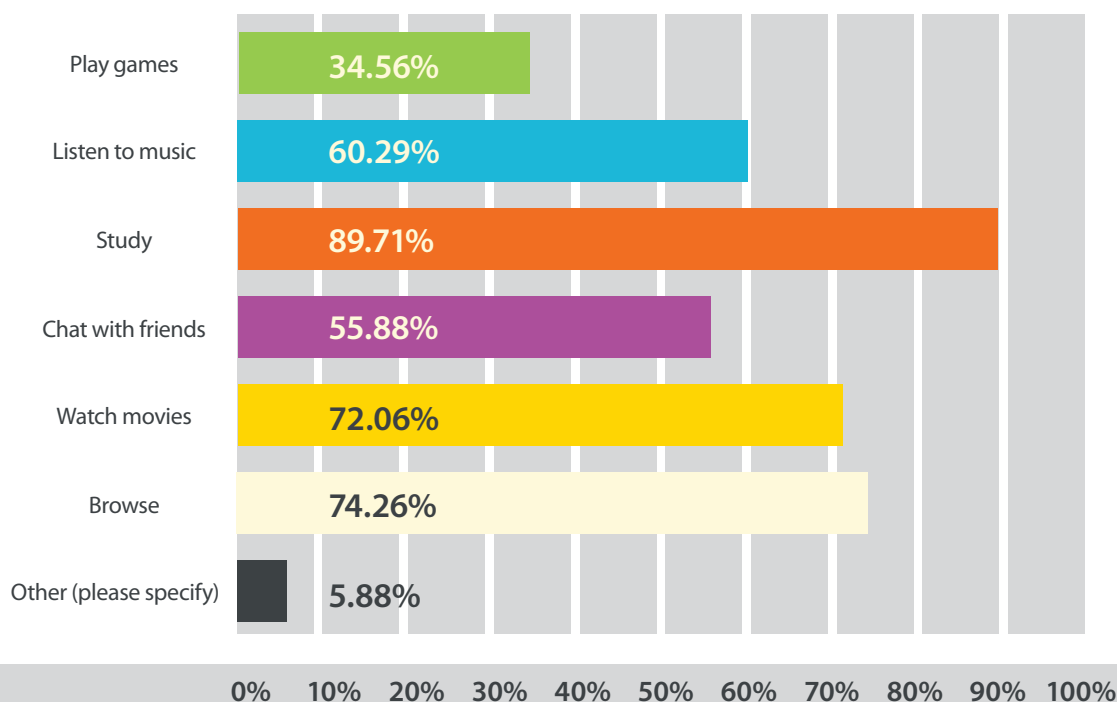
Similarly, the focus groups with newly arrived young people also revealed high levels of digital access. All the young people in the focus groups had access to their own mobile phone and access to at least one computer at school or at home. Three participants had their own laptops. Their hours spent online varied from 14 hrs a week to 60 hrs a week. However, some pointed out that the hours they spent online changed depending on the day of the week, school semester and whether they were on school holidays. Some spent more hours online because of the nature of their studies, such as IT or computing. Also, some used the internet inside their class for their studies. A 21-year-old Indonesian Australian man, who was not newly arrived, had an online business and needed to maintain his business website.

The survey reveals that mobile phones are used for the purposes of socialising and networking. Participants mostly used their mobile phones to access the internet, with more than 57% of participants using it to go online and only 5% using the phone predominantly for calls and 18% for texting. When online, their most common activity was communicating via social media (68%), followed by browsing (14%) and e-mails (8%). Listening to music, reading news, banking and other activities received less than 4% each. It is quite clear that the overriding use of mobile phones is for socialising/networking.

By contrast, the main reason that participants used their computers (see Figure 1) was for study (90%). However, when asked to indicate all the reasons for using their computers, 74% of respondents said they used it for browsing the internet, 72% for watching movies, 60% for listening to music, 55% for chatting with friends and 34% for playing games. Thus, besides study, computers are also used for socialising and entertainment purposes.

The young people focus groups suggested there may be more practical reasons for the difference. Like survey participants, they also tended to use the computer for 'serious' pursuits like studying, paying bills, etc. but kept the phone for more 'fun' things. However, they also mentioned, at a practical level, they prefer to use the computer for surfing because the screen is bigger and allows more information per screenshot. Nevertheless, when you compare CALD young people's activity on the phone versus the computer, it immediately becomes clear that the phone is primarily used for communicating on social media, while the computer has a much wider function in their lives.

Figure 1: The most common activity on a computer



4.1.1 Digital skills and competencies

CALD young people in the survey showed confidence in their digital skills and competencies. One sign of this confidence is in the high percentage of those that are self-taught in using digital devices. Almost 3 in 4 CALD young people (74%) report being self-taught in using digital devices and the internet. Only 10% have learned about internet and digital devices in school.

Another sign of their confidence can be seen in how they would tackle a problem with digital technology. Most participants would do their own research or ask a friend for help. Only a small minority (15%) would ask their family for help. Not a single survey participant said they would ask a teacher or professional IT for help. One interpretation of these results is that young people are more likely to trust young people (whether themselves or their friends) about problems with digital technology. But it is also possible that it is simply more convenient to deal with the problem immediately by searching online for help. Some may not seek help because of shame rather than lack of confidence. Two participants in the focus group commented that they preferred to personally resolve their problems because they were too ashamed to ask for help (yet arguably this is still a sign of self-sufficiency).

The young people focus groups suggest that there may be a digital divide between parents and children in newly

arrived migrant families. Some participants in the young people focus groups spoke about being the 'go to' person for digital technology problems in their family. This would explain why these individuals don't seek help from their parents/family. This is expanded upon later in Section 4.6.

4.1.2 General patterns of digital activity

When asked about the kinds of things they would most often do online, the majority of survey participants selected studying (research for assignments and study) and entertainment (listening to music, watching TV shows and movies) as the two most common activities. This was followed by communicating with friends, browsing internet, reading news, online shopping, banking and searching for work.

When asked why they go online, respondents gave the following reasons: to make friends and socialise (75%), to gain new skills and experience (70%), to work with a group of like-minded young people (57%), to belong (39%) and to have a say and to be heard (35%). While making friends/ socialising and gaining new skills were the overriding motivations for all CALD young people in the survey, some differences emerged in how different sub-groups responded to this question. Young Australian citizens and permanent residents had as their third motivating factor to

work with a group of people who share similar ideas (64%) and to belong (41%). However, for temporary residents belonging was less relevant, these young people rather choose to go online to gain new skills and experiences (78%) and to have a say and their voice heard (48%). Belonging (60%), having a voice and being heard (60%) and putting their ideas into action (60%) is more important to those who are not studying than to those who are still in education.

Major blocks for going online are the lack of time (63%), having too many more important things going on in their lives (39%), feeling unsure about what is involved (28%) or what opportunities are available (22%), and worrying about feeling unwelcome or unaccepted (20%). Feeling unsure about what is involved and worrying about feeling unwelcome or unaccepted was more prevalent among those with permanent or temporary residence. Similarly, not knowing what is involved and what opportunities are available is a bigger block for young people not in education, than for those who are studying. While young people who are not in education did not report that they worry about being unwelcome or unaccepted online, in their comments to this question they mentioned poor mental health as a major block as well as 'feeling too intimidated' to go online.

When asked about posting regularity, only one-fifth of survey participants post things online daily or several times a day. The majority will post approximately once a month (44%) or once a week (24%), and 10% will never post anything online. When they do post, they mostly post photos (54%) followed by articles (14%), their personal thoughts/reflections (12%), funny images/videos (10%) and then other events and music.

Generally, survey participants report positive benefits to digital access. CALD young people in the survey stress that they have gained new skills (45%) and increased their confidence by being digitally active (13%). They have also made new friends (10%) and feel they have contributed to something positive (10%) by being active online. Contributing to something positive was particularly important to young people who were not born in Australia, but have permanent resident status (21%) and to those participants who were not in education anymore (30%). For those who were not studying, digital activity was significant because it contributed to making new friends (30%) while those young people who were studying did not report this. These young people also reported smaller increase

in confidence by being digitally active compared to other groups (only 7% for permanent residents and 10% for those who are not studying). On the contrary, temporary residents reported increase in confidence by going online (11%). Almost 5% claimed they feel like nothing has changed in their lives with digital technologies but it is unclear whether this is because they have grown up in the digital age and thus have not experienced it as a 'change' in their lives.

On the other hand, 10% of the survey participants felt that digital devices and the internet can be a distraction from their education. This was echoed in the young people focus group where some were also critical of the overuse of social media. One participant said that it can also make "social life [...] a little bit disconnected". When pressed to explain what he meant he clarified in terms of his own life history:

Mostly I would say it's not that beneficial at all because social life get a bit disconnected with friends and family. ... I'd say disconnect in terms of when me and my friend meeting up when we don't have anything to talk about we just get on the phone and then focusing, for example, on social media or even funny pictures, whereas back then ... when I was 11 or 12, we always go outside and barely have any technologies all we have is just a soccer ball (21-year-old Indonesian Australian man).

In a different focus group, one of the newly arrived Iraqi Australian men joked that some people post every insignificant detail of their daily routine, which provoked laughter from the other participants. These moments in the focus group suggested that these young people perceived the benefits of the internet and digital connectivity, yet they were aware of stereotypes about young people being 'addicted' to, or 'distracted' by, social media.

One advantage of the mobile phone the survey had not focused on was its GPS features, which newly arrived migrant young people felt was important for helping them get around:

...the GPS help us to go everywhere [...] So when you come here in Australia just open my phone and I want to go this place. Just place and you can go by car or walking, and how much time, so we manage [...] it's very, very, very easy.

The mobile phone allowed them to navigate public space more confidently, which also allowed them to learn about their new neighbourhoods or city faster.

4.2 Social engagement online

The CALD young people surveyed were socially very active online. They regularly used digital technologies to engage with their online networks both overseas and in Australia. They mainly used their mobile phones for social online engagement, although many also used their computers for online chatting as well. This mirrors the general population of young people in Australia, suggesting that for young people digital technologies are ubiquitous in modern life across race and ethnicity, for both native and migrant young people.

The major motivations for going online were to make friends and socialise (75%) and to belong (39%). One would expect social networking applications to, therefore, be important online spaces for CALD young people. The survey showed that the most widely used media platform for CALD young people is Facebook, followed by YouTube, Snapchat, Instagram, WhatsApp, and Twitter. Some participants also added that they often use Line, Telegram, and Tumblr. This was similar among the young participants in the focus groups who mentioned the same social media platforms and apps: Facebook, followed by Snapchat, Instagram, and WhatsApp. Most participants used social media to keep in contact with their friends (96%) and to chat (75%). Participants also used social media to keep in contact with families overseas (72%) and families in Australia (48%). One participant in the young people focus group spoke about how she created online profiles with the specific aim of communicating with overseas family and friends.

In terms of frequency of social contact, more than 80% of CALD young people use social media and messaging services for daily contacts with friends and family in Australia, while about half of participants are in daily contact with family and friends overseas. Those born outside Australia, contact with friends and family overseas was less frequent since their arrival (55%) while one-third reported that contact is approximately the same as before (33%). Nevertheless, at least half of CALD young people report having meaningful conversations at least once a month with their family and friends in Australia (65%) and overseas (50%).

Being able to contact friends and family is important for social and psychological wellbeing. They provide networks of support for settlement and when facing discrimination. The internet and digital technologies make international networking much easier. For example, a 19-year-old Somali woman in the focus groups spoke about how

she contacted her friends in her homeland to maintain her personal wellbeing. When she felt stressed or upset she would contact her friends online to speak to her until she felt “comfortable” again. In this case, the internet enables her to maintain social contact transnationally with her friend who helps her cope in her new national context. This shows how transnational friendships and contact with their homeland provides much needed social and emotional support to make settling into Australia easier.

Although 75% of CALD young people surveyed used the internet “to make friends and socialise”, only 32% used social media to make new friends. The majority were simply socialising with family and friends rather than with strangers. While almost half claimed they would never talk to strangers online, a quarter said they talked to strangers only once a month and 13% said it was at least once per day. Only 7% will use social media for dating. Since the survey did not ask for more information about contacting strangers we cannot tell whether it was for work purposes or in their personal time and neither can we discern what kind of contact it was. Nevertheless, these results suggest that while social media provides a robust space for online social engagement with family and friends, CALD young people are far less likely to use social media to engage with people they do not know.

4.2.1 Harassment, bullying and discrimination

One of the barriers to online social participation could have been the potential for negative experiences. Harassment, bullying and discrimination are a reality for a minority of the survey participants. 1 in 5 (20%) have directly experienced bullying, harassment or shaming online in the past three months. 14% have had rude or mean comments directed to them online and 11% have been harassed or bullied online in the same period. 7% have had someone sharing private information about them and 3% said they have had a picture or video of them posted online without their consent. This is slightly more than the most comparable studies report for Australian young people generally. We do not have comparable data of cyber-bullying and harassment for the same age group as this study since most of the public interest has been on cyber-bullying in school children. One study found that 7-10% of Australian young people between year 4 and year 9, i.e. between 8 and 14-years-old, have been bullied online (Cross et. al., 2009). A more recent study found that 17% of Year 9 students,

approximately 14-years-old, in Victoria, Australia report being cyber-bullied (Hemphill et. al., 2015).

When friends or family face harassment, bullying and discrimination this can have an indirect negative effect on individuals. When asked if they knew of someone who had experienced bullying or harassment online, the numbers were much higher than direct experiences of online bullying or harassment. 34% know friends who have had rude or mean comments directed at them, 26% have friends who have been harassed or embarrassed online, 15% know friends who have had rumours about them being spread on the internet, 25% know friends who have experienced something private being shared online without their consent and 20% have a friend who has had a video or picture of them being posted online without their consent. If we exclude 'rude or mean comments' because this is not necessarily harassing behaviour, then approximately 1 in 4 CALD young people have friends who have experienced online harassment or bullying.

Although 20% had directly experienced online harassment and/or bullying, only a small percentage admitted to being perpetrators. A clear majority (87%) of survey participants claim they have not perpetrated disrespectful behaviour online. Some admit to being involved in a group that shamed or made fun of someone (7%), making rude comments about others online (5%), publicly embarrassing someone they were mad at (3%) or posting someone's private information without their consent (3%). While these results suggest that CALD young people are more likely to be victims than perpetrators of online harassment and bullying, care should be taken in interpreting these results. People tend to be biased when reporting their own socially unacceptable behaviour. Also, people can be unconsciously biased by not acknowledging their own behaviour as bullying or harassment even though they may recognise the same behaviour performed by someone else as bullying or harassment.

The focus groups with CALD young people provided some insight into bullying and harassment in relationship to politics. While many had not experienced bullying or harassment online, those who identified as being politically active or actively engaged with online news about their home country had experienced bullying and harassment from strangers and took steps to deal with it as discussed under '4.4 Political Engagement Online'. This suggests that CALD young people may experience more bullying and harassment if they are politically active.

4.2.2 Managing online persona

While the management of online privacy and security may seem like a general online activity, we included it here because the results indicate that CALD young people use it to manage social interactions online. About two-thirds of survey participants take care of their online presentation and safety by managing the privacy level of posts and being aware of what information the public can see about them.

In the focus groups, a 21-year-old Indonesian Australian man spoke about posting less online because he was concerned about the perpetuity of data:

I post once a month because it's public, everyone can see, especially if you don't know the Facebook settings ... also it's internet, it sticks forever in there [...] cache memory.

In other words, because he was concerned about the potential for harm using his publicly accessible information he began to limit how often he posted. He also capitalised on various levels of privacy to manage social interactions online. For example, sometimes he or his friends would use private chat to try and calm their friends down during heated online debates.

CALD young people sometimes need to manage their online presentation to navigate complex social territories. This is especially important because social media can sometimes mix personal, familial, friendship and professional spheres of one's life, which can lead to online tension. The same Indonesian man spoke about these tensions:

Could ruin your relationship with your friends or family [...] if you have interaction with someone who have different opinion, especially if they don't appreciate your opinion, they abuse you, you get hot-headed and you sort of respond to your friends in a different way, you could not say bad things deliberately to them but they could take it personally.

As a result, he became far more cautious about online social engagement.

Several participants said that who can see their posts varies on different social media platforms and with different content. While most participants keep their Facebook profiles private, they use other platforms for more public presentations (such as Instagram). One focus group

participant commented on having separate public and private profiles on the same social media.

The young people focus groups showed they were quite knowledgeable about issues of internet privacy, data protection practices, etc. either to protect their business or their identity. One of the participants spoke about the importance of setting Google Documents to private:

... otherwise they could stole my ID and sell it and then I get stressed out ... there is a dangerous side as well, you know, you just never know if hacker could hack Google and then they could stole your personal identity as well and it happened with the Apple cloud, where all the inappropriate photos came out through the internet and then being shared by hackers.

They mentioned controlling the information that was available (such as personal information and photographs), making passwords difficult (using a mixture of characters) and being selective in 'friending' (ensuring they only befriend people they know) as ways of protecting themselves.

4.3 Cultural engagement online

For CALD young people, entertainment is one of the most common activities they participate in online. Almost all (97%) of CALD young people surveyed listened to music online daily or occasionally, and 91% watch movies or TV online daily or occasionally. CALD young people in the focus groups also mentioned that other than communicating with friends they used the internet mostly for entertainment, such as watching videos. They talked about posting funny videos, memes or posts, video streaming, and cute baby and animal photos. Some also mentioned playing games, reading books, and listening to podcasts.

CALD young people still used the internet for more traditional cultural institutions. 60% of those surveyed use the internet to find information about art works or gallery and museum exhibitions and a similar number watch artistic performances online. This contrasts with young people's attendance at cultural events. During 2014, only 34% of 15 to 24-year-old people in Australia visited a visual arts and crafts event and 35% visited a theatre and dance event (ACA, 2014: 48).

The internet also fostered cross-cultural activities for CALD young people. While 65% of CALD young people surveyed

occasionally or daily watch/listen/read things online in languages other than English, 60% occasionally watch/listen/read things online in languages they cannot speak. The internet allows CALD young people to access a wide variety of cultural products from many parts of the world, which in turn enriches Australia's own cultural landscape. In the focus groups, they spoke about using the internet to follow celebrities like movie stars or athletes. One Somalian man spoke about following his favourite football clubs like Liverpool, watching the games online and following stories about players. In a different focus group, a 17-year-old newly arrived Thai woman joked about spending too much time watching Korean dramas and movies online.

Close to 90% of survey participants use the internet to find information about social activities and social clubs occasionally or daily and close to 80% use internet to participate in social activities or social clubs online. When talking about community involvement, one of the focus group participants spoke about getting involved in cultural institutions such as sports clubs and events:

Yeah, I'm a sports officer myself. As a sports officer just engaging Australian and Indonesian background I create an event on Facebook to see how many people are actually interested in it and if they click interested or going then I straight away contacted them, 'hey, I just saw you clicking this or interested in this, could I please have your details so I can contact you in some way, like reminder of this game'. It's just connecting between community, I would say.

However, in another focus group with young, newly arrived Muslim migrants, when asked about sharing news about volunteering or social clubs or other local events many mentioned that they didn't share this because they did not know about it. This suggests a lack of local engagement, which may be because of their own digital practices or it may be because local social and recreation venues are not successful at digital advertising with recent migrants. Another reason may be that the first participant had been in Australia for over 5 years, whereas the newly arrived migrants were still quite new to Australia.

CALD young people also frequently use the internet to plan outings with friends (93%), such as finding information about places to go or to communicate social arrangements. As one participant put it:

A lot of my friends tagging me in event or in Facebook,

say, there is a cultural or social event and there is like a government, free government event, like Victoria Cultural Hub thing. Yeah, it's helpful for things to get on my social engagement.

In the focus groups, several young participants also mentioned checking opening hours of various businesses or checking on movie session times and using Google Maps to locate the venue.

The internet could also be a place for cultural discovery. One focus group participant, a young Indonesian man, spoke about becoming enamoured by horse racing after arriving in Australia:

I love horse racing so much. It's so interesting. I came from ... Indonesia where they don't have any horse racing and I checked out about horse breeding. The majority is I'd say article, reading about an article on daily horse racing.

His passion for horse racing led him to create his own website on the topic. So, while the internet was originally a space of cultural discovery and inspiration, it eventually served as a space for his own cultural expression. Unfortunately, CALD young people's cultural production (for example, their own websites, podcasts or videos) was not an area of focus in this project. Future qualitative research should focus on CALD young people as active cultural producers in online digital environments.

4.4 Political engagement online

The online survey suggests that CALD young people use digital technologies to build and manage their identities and to engage in various aspects of political life (both transnationally and locally).

The survey data shows that CALD young people in Victoria are digitally engaged in political matters and that they employ complex strategies to navigate their political digital engagement.

It is often presumed that young people are becoming disengaged with traditional political forms such as involvement in party politics and other traditional political institutions. Martin (2014) argues that for young people in Australia traditional electoral politics, measured by willingness to vote and party identification, is becoming less attractive. This was also reflected in online engagement with politics. A significant proportion of participants (79%) avoided participating in online political groups or forums, and almost 90% will never or rarely ever contact politicians or other leaders online. This is congruent with current knowledge about young people's declining participation in traditional political institutions (Ward, 2013).

However, the survey shows that CALD young people are still politically engaged. A high percentage of CALD young people in the survey (66%) read news about politics online often or every day or (21%) read the news occasionally. For more than half of the participants (57%) social media is a way to get information about social and political issues, although only (22%) use social media to inform others about social and political issues. Similarly, only 16% post their thoughts about politics on any social media regularly while a further 21% do it occasionally. In short, even though more than half of CALD young people read the news online or use social media to stay informed politically, a much smaller proportion are willing to share political news or their political views online.

Nevertheless, many are still engaged online with the politics of their daily lives. Close to 70% of the survey participants have used the internet to find out about their rights when

necessary. Half (50%) of survey participants have used the internet to inform themselves about elections and political parties and the same percentage will occasionally sign online petitions. Also, three-quarters (75%) of survey participants used the internet to find out about volunteering opportunities in community organisations. In general, this data suggests that CALD young people are actively involved in political citizenship in digital environments but are discerning in navigating their political participation.

Care should be taken in interpreting this data since what CALD young people think of as 'political' may be different. One of the interesting things that emerged from the focus groups was the distinction some made between what they consider 'political' and what was not 'political'. When newly arrived CALD young people were asked about posting "political news", only one or two per focus group said that either they posted news about politics or that they knew a friend who did that. However, almost all the young focus group participants paid attention to news of their country. Three of the young people from Somalia and Iraq mentioned that internet access was important for being able to access news about their home country. For them this is simply 'news' about their country, but from Australia this might be classified as 'international news' and related to 'foreign affairs'. Thus, it is possible that engagement with 'political news' may be under-reported in the survey.

One of the reasons CALD young people may be cautious in participating politically online is because of negative backlash. A few of the newly arrived CALD young people expressed anxiety about commenting on political news. When asked about their level of confidence in using the internet, one young Iraqi man specified that when speaking to friends online he was 'very confident', but when commenting on posts he was far less so. He explained that he had experienced backlash from friends and strangers for his online comments and thus no longer comments on Facebook. He now only comments when he uses a private account that cannot be traced to him. He recounts once being blocked by Facebook and in a separate incident two friends ended up blocking him for his comments on the news. As a result, he mostly limited his Facebook posts to "celebrations", such as birthdays, parties, holidays, or family shots. This political disengagement with his friends means that he was forced to participate politically through anonymous profiles away from friends and family.

Most in the focus group were simply fine to follow news of their home country rather than engaging in online political debate. In one of the focus groups with young people, they talked about keeping up with news of their home country by following mainstream news sites like Al Jazeera, Al Arabiya, BBC and Deutsch on Facebook so that the stories went directly into their news feed. An Iraqi young man from the same group said that one of the advantages of following news through Twitter was that it was in real-time: "For information you need it, like news, is for Twitter more correct and more speed to be in the same time you ... you can see it in Twitter." He later clarified that Twitter was a good way to assess whether the news was correct because he could hear from people from that country. He mentioned that he prefers to follow the news in Twitter and save his comments for Facebook. This data reflects that CALD young people are negotiating different media platforms to manage their online political identities and online political participation. It also indicates an awareness of how different news sources travel across or within different media platforms.

CALD young people were aware of the danger that online news could sometimes be fake news. A young, newly arrived Somali woman commented that 'fake news' about her home country could make her worry needlessly. It makes her anxious about the safety of her friends and her homeland until she finds out later that it is not true. This critical awareness of the problems with online news sources was also evident in a separate interview with a 21-year-old

Indonesian man. His long response below revealed how he had mapped the political layout of the media landscape:

Obviously in politics there's biased websites and there's neutral websites and they always have different views. What I find it useful is for example, if I go to abc.net.au I could see something about the Trump administration being neutral, and if I check through Al-Jazeera which is, which goes towards the Middle East bias and they will say something bad about Donald Trump, or something, they not vilifying but in a certain way they have, like, a very different point of view to ABC and then if I go to Sky News or Fox News they may praise about Donald Trump administration. So, I would say it's pretty useful to see different point of views and then from there you sort of gathering the information and then compact it into one opinion and then you can sort of judge from there.

This shows how he navigated multiple media biases to develop what he believes is a more balanced approach to information gathering.

The same Indonesian man was also aware of how media not only shaped political bias, but also encouraged people to be political. He said that neither himself nor his friends were particularly 'political', but they were swept into politics by global media events. Their interest in politics was recently stirred by viral social media events:

I have a background of sports the majority of my friends always be in sports, and then all of a sudden when Donald Trump got elected they started to talk about how atrocious is Donald Trump, how dictate the United States

However, he was also critically aware of the dangers of online political discussion. When asked about whether people have been rude online he said:

Yeah absolutely. All the time. I think generally everyone, you know, given the fact that they are the other side of the world and then they don't necessarily have the ... I mean, in order to create a Facebook, you don't even need your real name, you can create someone else's name using someone else's picture and then abuse you.

Rather than focusing on the injustice of this anonymous harassment and bullying, he recognised and accepted that this occurs online and focused his attention on practical measures to deal with it:

If things getting heated I would turn off my phone. [...] Go outside my room [...] take a breather, take a really good breather and let yourself out for 5 mins and come back to the internet ... and then 'let's argue' [laughs]. If I want to argue I'll argue but if I don't want to argue then I will get away from the post.

He spoke about his New Year's resolution to not look at comments to help reduce unnecessary online engagement:

Funnily enough, new year, I have a resolution of stop checking comments [on news articles] on Facebook. ... Mostly from news media, something about left-wing and right-wing and, you know you have the urge of you want to get into the politics you want to come across to your opponent, but at the other side of the world, they maybe not agree with you and then all of a sudden if things getting heated and then all of a sudden they just throw an F-bomb I would say, and then you get into fight for unnecessary things. And my new year resolution is checking less comment and then just check the box and then go away from it, otherwise I get too stressed out.

His story is a good illustration of when CALD young people are critically aware of online political participation. While one cannot generalise his specific resolutions to CALD young people in Australia, we can glean from this example that the internet can be a politically fraught space for some CALD young people who need to find ways to manage this tension.

The data suggests that a majority of CALD young people are politically active online (although not

necessarily going through traditional political channels) and roughly 20% being very politically active online. At least half of CALD young people surveyed had signed online petitions, sought knowledge about electoral politics and politicians, sought knowledge about their rights or searched volunteering opportunities. While more than half used social media to keep themselves politically informed, a smaller proportion (roughly about 1 in 5) were very politically active through posting or sharing political information/news (22%) or regularly engaged in online political discussion (16%). In other words, they were more likely to be recipients of political knowledge. Nevertheless, focus groups show that CALD young people are quite sophisticated in navigating perceived political bias in online news reporting and choosing when and how to engage in online politics.

4.5 Economic engagement online

Education and employment are often among the primary concerns for young people in general because they are important for achieving life goals and aspirations. Besides income, economic participation can also increase confidence, strengthen social networks, develop new skills, and encourage a sense of belonging (CMY, 2014). As educational and economic institutions move online, this provides low-cost opportunities for young people to access these institutions. Consequently, some questions in the survey sought to measure how many CALD young people are involved in various economic activities online.

The survey shows that a significant number of CALD young people use the internet for shopping (80%). This is significantly higher than for the general Australian young population. Roy Morgan polls showing that in the four weeks before June 2016, 38% of Australians aged 18-24 were involved in either online buying, selling, or shopping (ACMA, 2016: 66). A contributing factor for this discrepancy might be the middle class skew of the sample population. By contrast, newly arrived interviewees in the young people focus group were cautious about online economic transactions. One young Somali woman said she did not trust online shopping. The group suggested other options to navigate this online insecurity. A different Somali woman in the same group said that she used the internet to locate a shop or to contact them and ask for an address so that she could shop in person. In other words, she used a mixture of online and offline strategies to mitigate the risk of online shopping. A 22-year-old Egyptian man from the same group used a different strategy to protect his financial details. He would put money onto a Woolworth's card which he then used

to purchase things overseas. This still allowed him to shop online, but without having to give personal information. Thus, while many CALD young people in the focus group used the internet for shopping, they demonstrated a variety of techniques for navigating risk of online transactions.

While a high number of respondents used the internet for online banking (88%) this corresponds with figures for the general population. A 2016 ACMA survey found that 88% of Australian adults aged 18 years and over used online banking services (ACMA, 2016: 71). One Iraqi young man from the focus groups said he appreciated the convenience of internet banking. Internet banking allowed him to manage his everyday life activities, including banking, paying bills and his education. He noted that in his previous country you had to physically go to a venue to make a payment, which used up a lot of time. Yet online banking brought other security challenges for some. In a separate interview, a 21-year-old Indonesian Australian man, also said that he used online banking, but warned about security issues:

With netbank it's secured but it's unsecured at the same time. Just gotta be careful where you using it as well, if you use it in public, make sure you hide it, don't show your password, obviously, to everyone. I use it all the time for groceries and daily stuff (21-year-old Indonesian man).

This reflects an awareness of different levels of online and environmental risks, as well as, knowledge of how to manage these issues.

Although almost two-thirds of participants (67%) never or rarely ever used the internet for economic gain, 33% of CALD young people use the internet to earn money (19% sometimes and 14% daily). Although there is no comparable data for Australian young people generally, these results are consistent with Roy Morgan polls showing that in the four weeks before June 2016, 38% of Australians aged 18 to 24 years were involved in online buying, selling, or shopping. Nevertheless, 14% using the internet for daily economic gain seems like a significant proportion of CALD young people. Future research could focus on what kind of economic transactions these entail, whether this is a significant income and what the scale of operation is.

CALD young people also used the internet to search for work. One of the focus group participants, a 22-year-old, newly arrived Egyptian male migrant, used the internet to search for jobs and said that it was hard to find work

without it. He used the internet to check what the job entailed, what employers wanted from employees and whether it was easy for him to perform. While some felt quite confident applying for jobs online, one mentioned that he had difficulty with filling out very long forms online.

In terms of education, all but one survey participant used the internet occasionally or daily for studying and all but one (who uses it rarely) use it occasionally or daily to do research for their assignments. Most participants used the internet to plan their future education (93%) or to search for work (84%).

Similarly, a Somali young woman and an Iraqi young man in a focus group mentioned using the internet in class to check the meaning of words they did not understand. Also, as institutions go online internet access is now recognised by participants as essential to undertaking the basic administrative processes required to engage in education:

I remember very, very clearly, when I finish Year 12, I can search my result on the internet and it's such a helpful [...] and also for applying for tertiary education and you know you have to look what document do you need, which is very, very helpful." (21-year-old Indonesian man)

4.6 The CALD migrant parent-child digital divide

Digital citizenship for young people can be complicated by the assumptions society makes about age (Third and Collin, 2016). Young people are often thought of as 'not-yet-adults' and thus in need of protection and guidance. Similarly, their digital civic practices are portrayed as 'not-yet-citizenship', which provides justification for adults to 'manage' young people's digital citizenship (Third and Collin: 25). However, the focus groups with newly arrived parents reveal that this assumption may not be helpful when considering newly arrived migrant families.

The newly arrived CALD parents in the focus group primarily used the internet as forms of long-distance communication. Yet there were differences that reveal uneven technological skills in the cohort. Two of the mothers mentioned having their own Facebook profiles, which they used to stay in touch with their families overseas via Messenger. By contrast, many of the other parents asked their children for help when they want to contact their families online. Not all, however, relied on digital technologies. One father mentioned using the landline phone to talk to his family in Burma.

While all CALD parents in the focus group said they used the internet daily in Australia now, they also all mentioned they had never used the internet before coming to Australia. In other words, the international digital divide between highly digitally connected and less digitally connected countries could be seen in the process of migration. Migration here also entails learning new digital technologies. Therefore, the CALD parents had uneven digital knowledge and skills, with more than half clearly not confident with the technology.

Many of the CALD parents were aware that they lacked knowledge of what their children were doing online. One Thai mother, who had spent time in a refugee camp, spoke about her frustration with this situation. She looks after her five children as well as two of her cousins and said that while all the children were using the internet daily, she had no idea what they do when they are on their iPads and on the internet. This feeling of ignorance manifested as physical distance as well. She talked about how they would lock themselves in their room and when she asked what they were doing, they always claimed they were doing their homework. Although she did not always believe them she was resigned to let it go because she could not prove otherwise.

This digital divide between migrant parents and their children proved to be a recurring theme in the focus groups. Newly arrived CALD parents' lack of knowledge about digital technologies or their limited digital skills made it harder to both monitor and support their children's online activities. Many suspected that their children were 'playing' on Facebook, chatting with friends, or streaming TV or movies. Yet the parents did not know the passwords to log into children's computers, effectively handing ownership of the device to their children. Also, a lack of knowledge of digital technologies meant that punishments felt somewhat arbitrary. For example, some parents used time-based management techniques, such as limiting their children's online hours to 1-2 hours per day, but admitted that they did not know how those hours are being used nor could they tell whether their child's work was completed or not. They could potentially be limiting their children's access to important information or activities. Furthermore, some had difficulty enforcing their house rules because they did not know how to enforce it through the technology. One mother mentioned that she would take away the children's iPads when she thought they had been online long enough but when she went to bed they would take them back and continue to play

games into the night. While parental struggles with discipline are not limited to newly arrived CALD parents, the added language and education barrier exacerbated generational differences in digital skills.

In this divide children are often the ones to help their parents. As mentioned above, two parents mentioned needing assistance from their children with digital technologies. They spoke about having to ask their children to help them with Facebook, Messenger, or Viber when they want to connect with their overseas relatives. This was also reflected in one of the focus groups with CALD young people. When asked who knew the most in their family about the internet many of the young men said themselves. A 19-year-old Somali woman said her brother did, but a 22-year-old Egyptian man said he relied on his younger sister. In other words, all but one identified a male member of the family. But in each case, the most knowledgeable about digital technologies in the house were the young people not the parents. Family members constantly asked young people to assist them with using digital technologies. Two of the Iraqi young men spoke about having to do stuff for their family on the internet, such as opening new accounts or recovering passwords.

Interestingly, there were gendered differences in who to go to for help. When asked where they go to for help regarding the internet, the young men mentioned going to online sources, like YouTube or Google. For example, the young Egyptian man said:

I would go to internet to go to general forum. For example, if there's anything wrong with your iPhone you go to a specific forum, or go to Apple forum [...] and before you write down the topic you google out first, find out if there's no solution then create a topic and then from there you're just waiting for the answer.

By contrast, the young women said they would go to parents, family, and teachers. This may be because the young men in the focus group tended to be seen as digital authorities in the household, thus turning to their parents for help in these matters makes little sense.

Thus, while these young men often assisted family members, their status as digital authorities in the household challenges the 'not-yet-citizen' model that Third and Collin (2016) outline. In a few cases, newly arrived CALD parents sought help with online technologies externally to their family. Some mentioned community centres as places where they get help rather

than their children. Nevertheless, the parent-child digital divide in newly arrived migrant families affects the parent's capacity to monitor and support their children's online activities. Thus, one of the mothers mentioned that she gets a lot of help from her children but noted that because of this she could not control how much time they spend online.

This generational gap in digital skills and knowledge should be placed in a wider context. On the whole parents were supportive of digital technologies, believing the internet to be beneficial for their children. They know it is useful for doing homework, filling in forms, finding information, or chatting with their school friends. However, they cannot tell whether their children are using it in "the right way". They expressed some concern that playing games online was "not useful".

In terms of internet safety, CALD parents expressed a 'stranger danger' approach to their children's online safety. The CALD parents in the focus group advised their children not to talk to strangers online. One mother said so long as her children respect that rule, she can feel they are safe online. However, the parents also admitted that they do not know if anything unpleasant has happened to their children online and they do not know where they can turn to for help if anything unpleasant does happen. The parents in the focus group overwhelmingly expressed support for internet training. They wanted to learn how to use the internet and how the internet works so they could more effectively monitor their children. Parents want to be able to help their children when they need help but at this moment that assistance comes from their children instead. One mother wanted to learn how to use the internet so that she can better contribute to her child's education. Another mother raised the issue of not being able to log into her children's school portal to check their attendance and see if there are any issues at school. She said she is dependent on what her children tell her about school and they always say that everything is OK and that they are all the time in the school.

Conclusion

This project shows that CALD young people are highly digitally connected and engage online in various civic domains on a daily basis through their mobile phones and computers. Indeed, one of the difficulties of this project was attempting to talk to young people about something they thought of as similar to breathing, i.e. as natural, ubiquitous, and necessary for life. Some survey respondents complained that the survey asked too many questions. In the focus groups, it was clear at times that participants were confused why the interviewer was trying to ask for more detail.

Nevertheless, the data provides a preliminary foundation for knowledge about CALD young people's digital citizenship in Melbourne, Australia. Far from being 'disengaged' from society, CALD young people showed strong levels of engagement across various civic domains online. They used digital technologies to participate in social, cultural, economic, and political life online.

CALD young people were highly engaged in social and cultural domains of life. A very high proportion of participants used digital and mobile media to socialise, as well as for entertainment purposes. Specifically, social media allows CALD young people to manage their social relations with local friends and family in Australia and overseas, although there was less evidence of interactions with people outside family and friends. In comparison to previous technologies this places a significant amount of control in the hands of young people to manage their transnational social networks and indeed, many newly arrived young people looked after their family's international communication needs.

The internet was also an important tool for accessing cultural life. CALD young people used it for entertainment purposes or for accessing information about cultural events they would attend with friends offline. Yet in most cases (80%) CALD young people were still using the internet to participate in more traditional social and cultural activities, such as social clubs, community organisations and other volunteering work. However, newly arrived migrants showed less online participation in local social and cultural activities because, for whatever reason, this information was not reaching them.

While the majority of CALD young people were not engaged in traditional forms of political engagement, such as political forums and political parties or contacting politicians online, a majority use social media to inform themselves of contemporary social and political issues. About half still follow electoral politics online while 70% use the internet to find out about their rights. There was a minority (about one-fifth) of survey participants who were politically active online. They posted political news and engaged in political commentary and debate. However, there was a larger majority (almost three-fifths) that read the news and comments in social media, but did not participate through posting or commenting themselves. This suggests that the majority of CALD young people are willing to engage in politics as witnesses, but not necessarily become actively involved in political parties. However, about half were still actively engaged in politics through signing online petitions.

CALD young people's digital economic participation was most evident in the form of online shopping and banking and online study. While some participants were concerned about online security, many continued to use the internet anyway using different strategies to mitigate risks. Surprisingly, there is a small minority, about 14%, that use the internet daily or often to earn money, although how this income is generated and how much income is unknown. Further research is needed in this area.

The focus groups with newly arrived young people and parents revealed a parent-child digital divide among newly arrived CALD migrant families. These parents did not have experience in using the internet before migrating to Australia, although they are regular users of the internet today. However, the newly arrived CALD parents often relied heavily on their children for assistance with using digital technologies. Some parents expressed concern about not having the digital skills to effectively monitor their children's online activities or enforce their house rules through digital technologies. Future studies on digital technology use among newly arrived migrants should focus on the family context to better capture these family dynamics.

The ability to generalise these findings are limited by the sample. Future studies are needed with a focus on generalisability. Focus groups proved much more useful for generating more nuanced understandings of actual practices and perceptions of the parents and young people. While this was time-consuming, the data generated was extremely useful for highlighting, and expanding upon, the survey data.

Overall, this project shows evidence that CALD young people are digitally engaged across all domains of citizenship online. While there are some new civic practices that are enabled by digital technologies, there was also evidence of old civic practices being renewed through digital technologies and offline civic practices being supported by digital technologies. Thus, rather than thinking of digital citizenship as replacing traditional citizenship it is better to think of these as overlapping and co-existent modes of practicing citizenship for CALD young people.

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