

Qualifications

2. I have a PhD in Composition and Cultural Rhetoric from Syracuse University. Currently, I am an Associate Professor with Tenure at the University of Houston where I have taught rhetoric and writing courses for 15 years. My areas of research generally focus on political and legal rhetoric, and more specifically on how politicians and news media use repetitive phrases and memes to impact public opinion and voting practices. My scholarship draws from rhetorical scholars who see language use as more than persuasion and debate, but as central to how people come into understanding and shape their lives. Aristotle in *Book II of The Rhetoric* discusses how political persuasion is not tied to logic, but instead the stirring of emotion. Aristotle asserts that emotions are not illogical but have their own predictable processes which can urge people to act.
3. Additionally, I subscribe to the notion that rhetorical meaning is not predicated on intention, but instead the power of rhetoric resides in its affects. This means instead of verifying *why* a public figure makes certain claims, I look at those claims or statements within the politician's public archive which includes interviews, social media, and statements made in session; how the statement fits with political party history and beliefs; and finally, how the politician's statements are circulated and responded to by media, social media, and/or other public figures. In other words, I seek to understand a full picture of a public figure's rhetorical statements to determine if statements align with their public persona or brand. And then, I seek to understand how those statements and beliefs sway legislation or public opinion on a particular issue.
4. For example, my first monograph *Branded Bodies, Rhetoric, and the Neoliberal Nation-State* (Lexington 2013) analyzed how both the U.S. Republican and Democratic parties used repetitive phrasing to disenfranchise immigrant and LGBTQ communities, resulting in the passing of oppressive legislation which impacted each group. I have published my analyses of how statements made by public figures circulate and impact public opinion and legislation at the city, state, and national level in several peer reviewed articles, and I have been interviewed or asked to write opinion pieces by several US national media outlets focusing on the impact of President Donald Trump's anti-immigrant and LGBTQ rhetoric. I have included my full CV as Appendix 1.

Statement of Facts and Assumption of Facts

5. I draw upon a collection of Australian legal documents pertaining to the legal proceedings Faruqi vs Hanson; select interviews by Senator Hanson; select publicly circulated social media posts by Senator

Hanson and Senator Faruqi; numbers of likes and/or shares for said posts; and evidence of threats of violence against Senator Faruqi received after Senator Hanson's Tweet directed at Senator Faruqi. I have included my Letter of Instruction as Appendix 2. A supplement to my Letter of Instruction is included as Appendix 3.

#### Expert Opinion

6. The phrase “go back to where you came from” has stood in for anti-immigrant sentiment in Western countries since nation-states began limiting immigration. Even the United States, with its cultivated image of a “melting pot,” has not made immigration easy or accepted across its history. As early as 1798 *The Alien and Sedition* acts were a way to not only limit immigration from certain countries using quotas, but also to allow the removal of immigrants if they were deemed to be anti-American. The phrase “go back to where you came from” may have circulated between neighbors prior to 1798, but once immigrants and anti-American sentiments were tied together, the phrase began circulating in print and in political speeches.<sup>1</sup>
7. Ever since, the phrase “go back to where you came from” has been used to remind immigrants that they don't truly belong in the US. Whether it be because of sheer numbers – the US is too populous with too few resources to allow a new influx of immigrants – or because immigrants are seen as diluting the national imaginary<sup>2</sup> with their different histories and cultures, the idea that immigrants should “go back to where they came from” has circulated colloquially.
8. But most damaging is when the phrase has risen to the level of national political discourse. In July 2019, President Donald Trump told four junior representatives who were critical of his policies to “go back to where they came from.”<sup>3</sup> This sparked not only a renewed discussion of the US immigration policy, but also a backlash against Reps. Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez of New York, Ilhan Omar of Minnesota, Ayanna Pressley of Massachusetts, and Rashida Tlaib of Michigan. Each minority congressperson saw an increase in threats of violence and verbal harassment on their social media accounts. It is my opinion that the President Trump's use of “go back to where you came from” gave implicit consent to his followers who did not agree with the congresspersons' opinions *and* to those who are anti-immigrant to harass these women.
9. The above example demonstrates just how intertwined anti-immigrant sentiments and the anti-American label are, *and* how they can be signaled with one simple phrase “go back to where you came from.” This phrase has become a shorthand that not only resonates with current debates about immigration, but also draws upon long held assumptions and historical debates about immigration.<sup>4</sup> The phrase becomes a *palimpsest* that carries with it all connotations the phrase has carried through history. Like a paper that has been erased but maintains the shadow and/or indentations of previous writings, a palimpsest never loses previous markings, and instead the new writings become imbued and carry with them previous markings.
10. “Go back to where you came from” is a phrase that carries with it historical anti-immigrant and nativist beliefs. It is so ubiquitous across history, it merely needs to be uttered and people understand that the recipient is being flagged as not belonging, either because there is no room and/or resources for them or because their beliefs do not align with those of the receiving country's citizens. I recognize I am repeating the link between Anti-Immigrant and Anti-American, but I do so to show

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<sup>1</sup> <https://constitutioncenter.org/the-constitution/historic-document-library/detail/the-alien-and-sedition-acts-1798>

<sup>2</sup> In *Imagined Communities*, Benedict Anderson writes all nations are imagined communities. Nations develop a national imaginary or identity through the circulation of stories and shared experience. According to Anderson, learning history, reading the newspaper, and sharing knowledge of local and national events enables citizens across the country to imagine they are in the same community even though they may be thousands of miles apart.

<sup>3</sup> <https://www.npr.org/2019/07/14/741630889/congresswomen-denounce-trump-tweets-telling-them-to-go-back-to-their-home-countr>

<sup>4</sup> <https://www.npr.org/2019/07/15/741827580/go-back-where-you-came-from-the-long-rhetorical-roots-of-trump-s-racist-tweets>

that although the first legislative maneuver to link the two sentiments in the US was in 1798, the linking of the two sentiments persists even today. Like a palimpsest, the sentiments remain even though the circumstances, groups of immigrants, and political stakes have changed.

11. I would now like to turn my attention to how anti-immigrant sentiment is also embedded in the phrase “go back to where you came from” in Australia. Whereas the US oscillates between assimilation rhetoric (e.g. the melting pot) and nativist rhetoric (e.g. Mexicans are thieves; Muslims are terrorists), Australia focuses on the rhetoric of multiculturalism and due process for all citizens. In fact, unlike the US, Australia has enshrined the rights of citizens to be treated fairly regardless of race with *The Racial Discrimination Act*.<sup>5</sup> The arguments above about how “go back to where you came from” is used in the US are not exactly the same as how the phrase is used in Australia. But even though Australia has a different national context than the US, the presence of anti-immigrant sentiment can be felt and tied to specific legislative practices.
12. In his book *White Nation*, Ghassan Hage claims Australia’s multicultural policy is a response to the “need to control marked bodies” within its boundaries. The multicultural policy allows for immigrants to be defined as acceptable or dangerous. According to Hage both types of immigrants function to help define the Australian nation state as a benevolent white nation.<sup>6</sup> Those immigrants who are deemed acceptable are admitted into the nation state, and are often reminded that this recognition is a gift (the gift of citizenship).<sup>7</sup> To be accepted even though one is marked as an immigrant functions not only to put the immigrant in his/her place within the nation state, but it serves to allow those who have granted the immigrant entrance into Australia the ability to think of themselves as liberal and benevolent. What this situation presupposes is the dominant class within the community will always control the acceptance of immigrants who will never be fully equal. They will always be marked.
13. Hage’s theory of “the gift of citizenship” discerns between immigrants based on the perceived threat they pose to the nation-state. And part of that threat lies how different an immigrant’s looks, language, and cultural practices are from that of the receiving country. In fact, Australia’s *1901 Immigration Restriction Act*, colloquially known as the “White Australia Policy” served to prohibit non-British immigration to Australia, thus enshrining racialized immigrants as dangerous to the newly formed Federation of Australia.<sup>8</sup>
14. I am not a lawyer, immigration advocate, or legal scholar of Australian immigration law. My interest in the “White Australia Policy” lies in the historical importance of Australia determining its initial immigration policy based on keeping out immigrants who look and act different than Australians of British decent. Attorney-General Alfred Deakin’s 12 September 1901 statement – “That end, put in plain and unequivocal terms ... means the prohibition of all alien coloured immigration, and more, it means at the earliest time, by reasonable and just means, the deportation or reduction of the number of aliens now in our midst” – makes clear that Australia will not only not allow immigrants of color, but also Australia will begin deporting those immigrants of color already in Australia. Like most immigration laws globally, this law specified categories of immigrants to help determine who could and could not stay in Australia. And as Hage argues, even when an immigrant is deemed acceptable, those immigrants are supposed to feel lucky to have a spot in the nation state. And the specter of the dangerous immigrant and the consequences of that title, non-acceptance and/or deportation, are always looming.
15. And those consequences are seen in Senator Hanson’s tweet in response to Senator Faruqi on September 9, 2022. Senator Hanson tweeted: “Your attitude appalls and disgusts me. When you immigrated to Australia you took every advantage of this country. You took citizenship, bought

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<sup>5</sup> <https://www.legislation.gov.au/Details/C2022C00366>

<sup>6</sup> Hage. *White Nation*. p 48

<sup>7</sup> Hage *White Nation*. p 50

<sup>8</sup> <https://www.nma.gov.au/defining-moments/resources/white-australia-policy>

multiple homes, and a job in a parliament. It's clear you're not happy, so pack your bags and piss off back to Pakistan.”<sup>9</sup> Within this Tweet, Senator Hanson shifts Senator Faruqi's history from one of a lawful non-citizen who has been granted Australian citizenship to that of an unlawful citizen by not only telling her to “piss off back to Pakistan” but by pointing out how her comments on the death of Queen Elizabeth II make her an ungrateful immigrant, rather than an acceptable one. Senator Hanson's tweet implies that Senator Faruqi was “gifted” Australian citizenship, has enjoyed all the nation state has had to offer, but now Senator Faruqi is ungrateful and therefore should “go back to where she came from.”<sup>10</sup>

16. Senator Hanson's tweet not only illustrates Hage's critiques of how immigrants are either acceptable or dangerous in Australian multiculturalism, but it also asserts the phrase “piss off back to Pakistan” which can work as a palimpsest that carries with it the historical meanings of “go back to where you came from.” In fact, as stated above, we don't need to go too far back in history to see this phrase used against a young Muslim congressperson (see my discussion of President Trump above). It could be argued that Senator Hanson may not have knowledge of President Trump's statement, but I find that hard to believe in the age of media proliferation and social media. President Trump's tweets and public statements have circulated far past the US.
17. Additionally in viewing Senator Hanson's public statements over the past three decades, she is clearly invested in the idea of a “White Australia.” As I will discuss, Senator Hanson has been vocal about the threat Asian and Muslim immigrants pose to Australia. And even if Senator Hanson claims that this particular tweet was not meant to invoke anti-immigrant sentiment, the fact that her tweet has circulated amongst far-right conservative media, Senator Faruqi received threats invoking her religious and racial identity, and Senator Hanson doubled down in a future tweet offering to drive Senator Faruqi to the airport shows that she understands the impact of her statement and is allowing it to stand perhaps because it aligns with her far-right conservative views.
18. Senator Hanson is quite public about her views. She has focused much of her career asserting the need to protect Australia from Southeast Asians and Muslims. After the London bombings in March 2017, Senator Hanson changed #PrayforLondon to #Pray4MuslimBan.<sup>11</sup> She received backlash, but she did not apologize or change the hashtag back.<sup>12</sup> Many in parliament on both sides of the aisle pointed out how her hashtag went against Australian multicultural values, but Hanson furthered her resolve in an interview with Australian news wherein she stated that “Islam is a disease that Australia must be vaccinated against.”<sup>13</sup>
19. I want to include Senator Hanson's defense of this statement. She said: “[The issue] is about immigration. I am listening to the Australian people.” Within a media cycle as parliament and the Prime Minister were sending messages of support and solidarity to their kinfolk in London, Senator Hanson focused on the perceived Islamic threat to western nations. By taking a firm stand in the wake of tragedy and tying her comments directly to immigration, it is my opinion that Senator Hanson used her platform to attempt to sway political debates surrounding immigration in Australia.
20. In her popular book *The Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism* (Picador 2008), US journalist Naomi Klein writes that in times of large-scale disaster or crisis, political parties attempt to change economic and social policies in the name of protection or rebuilding from said disaster. She discusses the almost unanimous passage of *The P.A.T.R.I.O.T. A.C.T* less than six weeks after 9/11 by

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<sup>9</sup> <https://twitter.com/PaulineHansonOz/status/1568118251640750083>

<sup>10</sup> Senator Faruqi immigrated to Australia from Lahore, Pakistan in 1992.

<sup>11</sup> [https://twitter.com/PaulineHansonOz/status/844734423228559360?ref\\_src=twsrc%5Etfw%7Ctwcamp%5Etweteembed%7Ctwterm%5E844734423228559360%7Ctwgr%5E9b067ea31eadbb82a4e8b0c08b168b6dac8b69b0%7Ctwon%5Es1\\_&ref\\_url=https%3A%2F%2Fthewest.com.au%2Fpolitics%2Fone-nation%2Flondon-terror-attacks-pauline-hanson-slammed-for-prayformuslimban-push-ng-b88424630z](https://twitter.com/PaulineHansonOz/status/844734423228559360?ref_src=twsrc%5Etfw%7Ctwcamp%5Etweteembed%7Ctwterm%5E844734423228559360%7Ctwgr%5E9b067ea31eadbb82a4e8b0c08b168b6dac8b69b0%7Ctwon%5Es1_&ref_url=https%3A%2F%2Fthewest.com.au%2Fpolitics%2Fone-nation%2Flondon-terror-attacks-pauline-hanson-slammed-for-prayformuslimban-push-ng-b88424630z)

<sup>12</sup> <https://thewest.com.au/politics/one-nation/london-terror-attacks-pauline-hanson-slammed-for-prayformuslimban-push-ng-b88424630z>

<sup>13</sup> <https://www.smh.com.au/politics/federal/pauline-hanson-says-islam-is-a-disease-australia-needs-to-vaccinate-20170324-gv5w7z.html#>

both the house and senate in the United States.<sup>14</sup> She then demonstrates how political parties jockeying for support will use global disasters to sway public opinion.<sup>15</sup> In my opinion, Senator Hanson's comments about Islam and #pray4MuslimBan was a way to use shocking events to sway public opinion on current immigration debates in Australia.

21. I am not claiming that Senator Hanson made these comments capriciously. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] However, her comments signal a version of Australia that no longer and never did exist. Hage calls this "The White Nation Fantasy,"<sup>16</sup> and that fantasy relies on the myth that Australia was an uninhabited continent until British settlers discovered and founded it. This myth does not reconcile with the work Australia is now doing to acknowledge and support its Aboriginal First Nations people. Nor does it allow for immigrants to hold any other place than grateful recipients of the gift of citizenship within the social imaginary.

22. When these fantasies are invoked, it is done by isolating particular immigrant groups through rhetoric that shifts them from acceptable to dangerous. In *Branded Bodies*, I describe how Mexican immigrants became representative of all Latinx immigrants and US citizens of Latinx descent. The claim that Mexican immigrants were stealing US jobs and culture was central to the Republican Party platform for forty years. Instead of highlighting the worker programs the US put in place to assist farmers and large corporations, politicians and the media focused on the supposed criminal nature of Mexican immigrants. And because of this perceived threat to our culture and economy, the US saw several targeted laws which allowed policing of anybody that looked Mexican and therefore "illegal."<sup>17</sup> Many police and immigration law enforcement agents ended up attempting to detain US citizens because they "looked like illegals."<sup>18</sup> As such, many of these laws were struck down by appellate courts across the country because they impinged on the rights of citizens who were targeted because of their race, not their immigration status.
23. It is the embedded racism of the fantasy of the white nation that makes statements like "go back to where you came from" so dangerous for immigrants and citizens of color. Far-right conservatives often claim that they "don't see race" to use benevolent multicultural tropes to defend their (unexamined) racial biases. In fact, Senator Hanson has used the phrase "I don't care if you are black, white or brindle" several times in public fora and in interviews on Sky News. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Yet, her softened version is almost more offensive because she includes a type of animal coat coloring as a racial distinction. The collapsing of racial distinctions with animal traits has a long history in anthropology. As western countries began to explore and colonize foreign shores, there were texts written about Native people describing their traits in terms of animals known in the west, implying that these people were not fully human or were evolutionarily behind the humans in the west.<sup>19</sup>

24. Senator Hanson may not have meant to imply that racialized people are animals, but again, language is not neutral. When it comes to statements drawing parallels between racial categories and animals, there is a long history with which those who hear that statement can make a connection. Again, these phrases are palimpsestic and carry national and social histories even when those histories are not explicitly uttered.
25. "I don't care if you're black, white or brindle" and "It's okay to be white" which Senator Hanson [REDACTED] has continued to repeat, are statements that work in similar ways to the now ubiquitous #alllivesmatter which was coined in response to the #blacklivesmatter

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<sup>14</sup> Klein. *Shock Doctrine*.

<sup>15</sup> Klein. *Shock Doctrine*.

<sup>16</sup> Hage. *White Nation*.

<sup>17</sup> Wingard. *Branded Bodies*.

<sup>18</sup> <https://www.texastribune.org/2019/07/23/texas-ice-us-citizen-detained/>

<sup>19</sup> <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/229433308.pdf>

movement after the death of George Floyd in May 2020. #allivesmatter and the more defiant #bluelivesmatter (which is a pro-police hashtag) were phrases that served to usurp the popularity of #blacklivesmatter and undermine the reinvigorated civil rights movement taking place across the US. #allivesmatter is an attempt at softening and/or universalizing #whitelivesmatter which was deemed white supremacist hate speech by the Anti-Defamation League.<sup>20</sup> These two hashtags were circulated across social media, placed on bumper stickers, and reiterated across conservative media to reinforce myth that white men and white men in uniform were under attack. Far-right conservatives in the US used hashtags developed by white supremacist and neo-Nazi groups to suppress Black people from organizing against police violence.

26. But even in moderate circles, these statements #allivesmatter, “It’s okay to be white,” and “I don’t care if you are black, white, or brindle” attempt to minimize discussions of race. These phrases are *thought terminating clichés*.<sup>21</sup> “Thought-terminating clichés are seemingly harmless and commonly used words and phrases that act to limit or stop conversation, discussion, or questioning.” The invocation of All Lives Matter in the light of systemic violence against Black bodies in the US is a move to end discussions of race in public. Senator Hanson’s statements about race function in much the same way. Instead of engaging with issues of race in Australia, her use of “It’s okay to be white,” and “I don’t care if you are black, white or brindle” allows her to discount and terminate those discussions without claiming that race doesn’t matter. Instead, she can use these clichés to end the conversation because who would disagree that she doesn’t care about a person’s race? And who would argue that a particular racial identity is okay to identify with?
27. But these thought terminating clichés prevent systematic engagement with race and how marked bodies function within the nation-state. When these clichés are invoked, conversations about racialized violence, systemic poverty, and lack of opportunities provided for racialized citizens and immigrants are eclipsed. Instead, the focus is turned to claims about economics and/or personal responsibility. I have argued that personal responsibility is yet another concept that allows the far-right to vilify immigrants and those who are deemed other within the nation state due to their race, class, sexuality, and/or religion.<sup>22</sup> Especially in times of economic insecurity or national crisis, the difference between who is acceptable and who is dangerous becomes blurry, and those differences which are lauded as making the nation-state great become a liability.
28. This shift is seen in Senator Hanson’s tweet to Senator Faruqi. In it she discusses all of the assets (e.g. her citizenship, her homes, her seat in the Senate) which Australia bequeathed to Senator Faruqi. One can assume that because Senator Faruqi has lived in Australia for thirty years, gained citizenship, purchased property, and ran a winning campaign for Senate, she is an acceptable immigrant. But in one tweet, Senator Hanson redefines Senator Faruqi as ungrateful, dangerous, and an immigrant who needs to “piss off and go back to Pakistan.”
29. Though I found no evidence of Senator Hanson publicly recognizing Senator Faruqi as Muslim, she has publicly made derogatory statements about Muslim immigrants throughout her political career (some cited earlier in this opinion). [REDACTED] And she has maintained her anti-Islam position over the course of her political career. She has also been photographed and retweeted by Mr. Elijah Schaffer, a public figure who recently migrated to Australia from the United States. Mr. Schaffer is a well-known far right conservative blogger and reporter. Mr. Schaffer and Senator Hanson have exchanged tweets

<sup>20</sup> <https://www.adl.org/resources/hate-symbol/white-lives-matter>

<sup>21</sup> <https://prowritingaid.com/thought-terminating-cliche>

<sup>22</sup> Wingard. *Branded Bodies*.

[REDACTED]

- and likes on far-right conservative topics including immigration. And shortly after news broke of Senator Faruqi's lawsuit, Mr. Schaffer reposted a photo with Senator Hanson with the text "plotting."
30. The company Senator Hanson keeps may not seem like something of which is worthy to remark. However, Senator Hanson has been interviewed on similar right leaning podcasts and radio shows, and her public record on anti-Islam and anti-immigration sentiment runs parallel to many of Mr. Schaffer's public statements, interview topics, and social media posts. And even if the tweeting, liking, and retweeting are political posturing by Senator Hanson, her repeated comments, statements, and posts on her own social media accounts align with Mr. Hanson's far-right conservative views. The exchange of likes and retweeting amplifies one another's platforms and serves to link far-right conservative messaging in the US and Australia.
  31. And this linking of far-right conservative movements through social media circulation, interviews, public statements, and photographs works to support Senator Hanson's position as a far-right conservative voice in Australia. Furthermore, her support of Mr. Schaffer's public postings creates a link between his opinions and Senator Hanson. I have not seen evidence of Senator Hanson retweeting or liking any of Mr. Schaffer's neo-Nazi or expressly white supremacist guests. The fact that Senator Hanson has made a point to like the public statements of Mr. Schaffer could link her to these individuals by proxy.
  32. In conclusion, after reviewing Senator Hanson's public record, media interviews, ██████████ and social media activity, I see no other way to read her tweet in response to Senator Faruqi as an attempt by Senator Hanson to redefine Senator Faruqi as a dangerous, Muslim, immigrant. The fact that she was sure to include Senator Faruqi's former country while articulating the accomplishments of her thirty years in Australia implies that Senator Faruqi is not a *real* Australian even though she is a citizen who owns property and is a sitting senator. Although Senator Hanson has not ever invoked the phrase "white nation" in reference to Australia, her anti-Islam and anti-immigrant rhetoric over the course of her career and her fellowship with other far-right conservative public figures allows me to read the tweet she sent to Senator Faruqi as discriminatory based on Senator Faruqi's identity as an immigrant and Muslim.

#### Works Cited

33. The works cited in this opinion are used to define, explain, or support my opinion. As someone trained as a humanities scholar, I use sources to help explain and contextualize my claims and analyses. Furthermore, as a US based scholar whose work focuses on the political rhetoric and immigration in United States, I have included several primary and secondary sources focusing on Australian immigration and political rhetoric. These sources are used to contextualize my opinion with current trends in Australian politics.
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Declaration

I, Jennifer Wingard, have made all the inquiries which I believe are desirable and appropriate, and that no matters of significance which I regard as relevant have, to my knowledge, been withheld from the court.



Jennifer L. Wingard



JENNIFER (JEN)  
WINGARD

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University of Houston  
Department of English  
3687 Cullen Boulevard Rm 250  
Houston, TX 77204-3013  
[jwingard@uh.edu](mailto:jwingard@uh.edu)  
713.743.2975

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EMPLOYMENT

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Associate Professor with Tenure, University of Houston, English Department (2014-Present)

- Affiliate Faculty. Women's and Gender Studies (2008-Present)
- Associate Chair, University of Houston, English Department, Houston TX. (2021-2022)
- Director of Graduate Studies, University of Houston, English Department, Houston TX. (2018- 2021)
- Director of Upper Division Studies, University of Houston, English Department, Houston, TX. (2013- 2016)
- Faculty-in-Residence. Cougar Place Residence Hall. University of Houston, Houston, TX (2015-2016)

Assistant Professor, University of Houston, English Department (2008-2014)

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EDUCATION

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**PhD,** Composition and Cultural Rhetoric, Syracuse University (2008)

- Certificate in Advanced Studies in Women's Studies, Syracuse University (2005)

**MA,** English, California State University, Sacramento (2002)

- Certificate in Teaching College Composition, California State University, Sacramento (2002)

**BA,** English, California State University, Sacramento (2000)

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PROFESSIONAL LEADERSHIP

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Expert Witness. *Faruqi v Hanson – Federal Court of Australia proceedings no. NSD 372 of 2023*

Editor. *Peitho: Journal of the Coalition of Women Scholars in the History of Rhetoric and Composition*.  
<http://peitho.cwshrc.org>. (March 2016-July 2021)

Managing Editor. "Cultural Studies/Pedagogy/Activism Series." *Lexington Books*. Lanham, MD.  
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Local Chair. *2016 College Composition and Communication Conference*. Houston, TX (2015-2016)

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SINGLE-AUTHORED BOOKS/MONOGRAPHS

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*Branded Bodies, Rhetoric, and the Neoliberal Nation-State*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2013. Second edition printed February 2015.

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- “#houstonstrong: Resisting and Reifying the Neoliberal Public.” *Communication in the Public*. 3.3 (2018): 218-23.
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- “Toward a Cogent Analysis of Power: Transnational Rhetorical Studies.” with Rebecca Dingo and Rachel Riedner. Special Cluster on Transnationalism and Rhetoric. *JAC: A Journal of Rhetoric, Culture, and Politics* 33.3-4: (Summer 2014). 517-28.
- “Toward a Critical Transnational Feminist Rhetorical Methodology.” with Rebecca Dingo and Rachel Riedner. *Peitho: The Journal of Feminist Scholars in the History of Rhetoric and Composition* 20.2 (Spring/Summer 2018). 181-89.
- “We Could Get Fired for This: A (Trans)(Crip)t on CRT, DisCrit, and Trans-of-Color Critique.” with Ada Hubrig, V. Jo Hsu, and Christina V. Cedillo. Special Issue of *College English* on Critical Race Theory (CRT). ed. Aja Y. Martinez. Forthcoming 2024.

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### BOOK CHAPTERS

- “Branding Citizens: Assembling the Logic(s) of ‘One Bad Apple.’” *Rhetoric and Neoliberalism*. Ed. KimH. Nguyen. London: Palgrave, 2016. 148-73.
- Contributor. *Interrupting Heteronormativity: Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Pedagogy and Responsible Teaching at Syracuse University*. Kathleen Farrell, Nisha Gupta, Mary Queen, eds. Syracuse, NY: The Graduate School of Syracuse University, 2004.
- “Disposable Drudgery: Outsourcing Goes to College.” with Rebecca Dingo and Rachel Riedner in *Transnational Writing Program Administration*. Ed. David Martins. Ogden, UT: Utah State P, 2015. 265-88.
- “Houston We Have a Problem: Natural/Neoliberal Disasters beget Neoliberal (Non)Recoveries.” *Encountering Catastrophe: Reading, Writing, and Literacy at the End of the World*.” eds. Amy Robillard and Ryan Skinnell. Forthcoming 2024.
- “It’s Yours Until It Isn’t: Policing Gendered Bodies in Texas.” *Routledge Handbook of Contemporary Feminist Rhetoric*. Eds. Jackie Rhodes and Suban Nur Cooley. Routledge. Forthcoming 2024.
- “A Labor of Love: A Generational Conversation about Success, Living Well, and All That.” With Rachelle A.C. Joplin. *Adequate: Writing New Logics of Success in Rhetoric and Composition*. Eds. Joshua Barszczewski and Timothy Oleksiak. Utah UP, Forthcoming 2024.
- “(Re)producing Globalization: The Laboring Body in *Maria Full of Grace*.” *Screening Cinema: Motherhood in Contemporary World Cinemas*. Ed. Asma Sayed. Toronto, ON: Demeter Press, 2016. 91-107.
- “Rhetorical Assemblages: Scales of Neoliberal Ideology.” *Capital at the Brink: Overcoming the Destructive Legacies of Neoliberalism*, Eds. Jeffery Di Leo and Uppender Mehan. Ann Arbor, MI: Open Humanities Press, 2014. 101-18.
- “Trump’s *not* just one Bad Apple: He’s a Part of a Spoiled Bunch.” *What Rhetoric Can Teach Us About Donald Trump*. Ed. Ryan Skinnell. London: Imprint Academic, 2018. 39-52.

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### NATIONAL INTERVIEWS AND ARTICLES

- “Chelsea and Ivanka: Disrespected in Different Ways.” *Gray Matter: The Houston Chronicle*. 10 May 2017.
- “Childs Play: Team Trump Rewrites a Department of Energy Website for Kids.” Patrick. G. Lee. *ProPublica* and *The Atlantic*. 18 February 2017. (<http://indepthnh.org/2017/02/18/childs-play-team-trump-rewrites-a-department-of-energy-website-for-kids/>)
- “Despite condemnation of hate, Trump has ramped up his use of ‘invasion’ rhetoric in recent months.” Zoe Greenberg and Cristina Prignano. *The Boston Globe*. 5 August 2019. (<https://www.bostonglobe.com/news/politics/2019/08/05/despite-condemnation-hate-trump-has-ramped-his-use-invasion-rhetoric-recent-months/4tDIwWiWdbYawAS7vjhAoK/story.html>)

- “Donald Trump says ‘America First’ like Isolationists before World War II.” Rick Hampson. *USA Today*. 11 April 2016. (<http://www.usatoday.com/story/news/politics/elections/2016/04/10/donald-trump-america-first-slogans/82602144/>)
- “Feminist Networks, Feminist Assemblages, and Feminist Scales: Half the Sky is Only Half the Story” with Rebecca Dingo and Rachel Riedner, *Women in and Beyond the Global*, Nov 2010. (<http://www.womeninandbeyond.org/?p=721>)
- “‘Go back Where You Came From’: The Long Rhetorical Roots of Trump’s Racist Tweets.” *Morning Edition, National Public Radio*. 15 July 2019. (<https://www.npr.org/2019/07/15/741827580/go-back-where-you-came-from-the-long-rhetorical-roots-of-trump-s-racist-tweets>)
- “Harvey’s Toxic Aftermath in Houston: A Catastrophic Neoliberal Legacy.” *Against the Current* 192 January 2018. (<https://www.solidarity-us.org/atc/current>)
- “The Hit Documentary *Blackfish* has a Message as Dubious as its Methods.” with Michael Sicinski. *The Nashville Scene*. 8 August 2013. (<http://www.nashvillescene.com/arts-culture/film/article/13049413/the-hit-documentary-blackfish-has-a-message-as-dubious-as-its-methods>)
- “Interview on Central Time News Hour.” *Wisconsin Public Radio*. 18 July 2019.
- “Interview with Sally Kidd.” *Hearst Media Washington, DC*. 18 July 2019. “Interview.” *Three Interviews: CCCC 2011, All Our Relations*. Sara Moon. April 2011. (<http://cccc2011.jimdo.com/interviews-with-presenters/>) and ([http://www.pearsonhighered.com/cccc2011\\_emergingpedagogies/](http://www.pearsonhighered.com/cccc2011_emergingpedagogies/)).
- “Just How Unique is the Political Rhetoric of the Donald Trump Era?” Janell Ross. *The Washington Post*. 7 December 2015. (<https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-fix/wp/2015/12/07/is-our-out-of-control-political-rhetoric-really-all-that-extraordinary/>)
- “Republicans and Dems Fight Over Appropriate Response to Orlando Shooting.” Miranda Green. *DecodeDC*. 13 June 2016. (<http://www.decodedc.com/republicans-dems-fight-appropriate-response-orlando-shooting/>)
- “The Man Without a Plan: Trump’s ‘Softening’ Rhetoric.” *Women in and Beyond the Global*. 17 November 2016. (<http://www.womeninandbeyond.org/?p=20659>)
- “What Trump’s Rhetoric Says about His Leadership.” *Fortune.com*. 17 November 2016. (<http://fortune.com/2016/11/17/donald-trump-rhetoric-leadership/>)
- “With Markers and Straws, Trump’s Campaign Sells Defiance as a Lifestyle.” Katie Rodgers. *The New York Times*. 15 September 2019. (<https://www.nytimes.com/2019/09/13/us/politics/donald-trump-2020-campaign.html?searchResultPosition=1>)
- “Why the Words We Use After a Tragedy Matter.” Alexandra Hart and Rhonda Fanning. *Texas Standard*. 14 June 2016. (<http://tpr.org/post/why-words-we-use-after-tragedy-matter#stream/0>)

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## REVIEW ESSAYS/REVIEWS

- Luster, Alex. *Stick ‘Em Up*. (film). *Reflections: A Journal of Public Rhetoric, Civic Writing, and Service Learning* 12.1: (Fall 2012).

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## PRESENTATIONS

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### INVITED/KEYNOTE PRESENTATIONS

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- “Future of Feminist Rhetoric.” *Elbow Symposium*. University of Massachusetts, Amherst. 1-5 June 2020. Canceled Due to COVID.
- “Bad Apples: Scapegoats in an Age of Neoliberalism.” *EGO Conference*. University of Massachusetts, Amherst. 8 April 2017.
- “Bad Apples in an Age of Neoliberalism.” *Composition and Cultural Rhetoric Symposia*. Syracuse University. Syracuse, NY. 28 September 2016.

- “Rotten to the Core: Writing Texas as a State of Exception.” *Distinguished WID Speaker*. The George Washington University. Washington, D.C. 12 November 2015.
- “Houston and Teaching the Neoliberal City.” *Rhetoric and Composition Theory Group*. The George Washington University. Washington D.C. 29 September 2014.
- “Superpanel: Rhetoric and the Body.” *16<sup>th</sup> Biennial Rhetoric Society of America*. San Antonio, TX. 22-26 May 2014.
- “Writing Houston: How Local Inquiry Can Achieve Critically Engaged Writing.” Keynote. *Annual December Teaching Conference*. University of Houston. 6 December 2012.
- “Respondent” *Feminist Pedagogies: Interdisciplinarity, Transnational Practices, and the Production of Knowledge*. University of Houston Women and Gender Studies Program. 15 April 2011.
- “Transnational Feminist Pedagogy Workshop.” *University of Missouri, Women’s Studies Department*. Columbia, MO. 11-13 March 2011.
- “Neoliberal Ideology in the aftermath of Hurricane Ike.” *Society of Cultural Exchange Winter Theory Institute: Neoliberalism’s Cultural Work*. Victoria, TX. 10-13 February 2011.
- “Oh Brave New World: First Year Faculty Life in an Era of Shifting Economies.” *Future Professoriate Program Colloquia*. Syracuse, NY. 24 March 2010.
- “Taking the Transnational to the Streets: Teaching and Researching Houston.” *Women In and Beyond the Global*. The George Washington University. Washington, D.C. 2 May 2009.
- “Discovering Houston: How to Re-locate a Transnational Feminist Rhetorical Practice.” *Women’s Studies Program Affiliate Talk*. University of Houston 31 March 2009.
- “Discovering Houston: Researching Writing as Inquiry.” *The Second Annual Spring Mini Conference: Various Ways of Teaching Composition, Literature, and Creative Writing*. University of Houston. Houston, TX. 8 December 2008.

#### INTERNATIONAL/NATIONAL CONFERENCE

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- “We are SO TIRED: A roundtable on being an academic in precarious times.” *Conference on College Composition and Communication*. Chicago, IL. 14-18 February 2022.
- “Supersession: Transnational Feminism and Neoliberalism.” *Rhetoric Society of America*. Baltimore, MD. 25-28 May 2022.
- “Rejections of Kairos as Colonial Orientation: Three Manifestos on Temporal Self-Determination.” *Conference of College Composition and Communication*. 9-12 March 2021.
- “Feminist Mentoring” *Feminisms and Rhetorics Conference*. James Madison University. 13-16 November 2019.
- “Who Owns Feminism? A Conversation with *Constellations and Peitbo*.” *Feminisms and Rhetorics Conference*. James Madison University. 13-16 November 2019.
- “Intersectional Woke: Labor of Anti-Racism and Anti-Sexism” *Conference on College Composition and Communication*. Pittsburg, PA. 13-16 March 2019.
- “Who Owns Feminism? A Conversation with *Constellations and Peitbo*.” *Cultural Rhetorics Conference*. Michigan State University. East Lansing, MI. 15-17 November 2018.
- “The Prospect of Rhetoric in a Neoliberal Age.” *Rhetoric Society of America*. Minneapolis, MN. 1-4 June 2018.
- “Theorizing Rhetorical Education in Response to Globalization.” *Rhetoric Society of America*. Minneapolis, MN. 1-4 June 2018.
- “Writing for the Media: Translating Academic Research for Popular Press.” *Feminism(s) and Rhetoric(s)*. University of Dayton. Dayton, OH. October 4-7 October 2017.
- “Conference Proposal Submission 101: A Guide to the Process.” *Conference on College Composition and Communication*. Portland, OR. 17 March 2017.
- “Cultivating Consciousness through #BlackLivesMatter.” *Conference on College Composition and Communication*. Portland, OR. 17 March 2017.
- “The More Things Change . . . : Residual Rhetoric in Neoliberal Times.” *17<sup>th</sup> Biennial Conference of the Rhetoric Society of America*. Atlanta, GA May 26-29, 2016.
- Respondent. “Writing in the Global: Case Studies from WID and WAC Work.” *Conference on College Composition and Communication*. Houston, TX. April 6-9, 2016.
- “Making the Future: New Avenues in Transnational Feminist Rhetorics, Challenging the Local/Global Binary.” *Feminism(s) and Rhetoric(s)*. Arizona State University. Tempe, AZ. October 28-31.

- “Branding Bodies: Assembling the Logic(s) of “One Bad Apple.” *The 2015 WFI Symposium Communication, Postcoloniality, and Social Justice: Decolonizing Imaginations*. Villanova University, Villanova, PA. 26-29 March 2015.
- “Middling Management vs. Agentive Administrators: How Feminist Administration can be a Site of Innovation and Activism.” *Conference on College Composition and Communication*. Tampa, FL. 18-21 March 2014.
- “Branding Bodies: Assembling the Logic(s) of “One Bad Apple.” *Feminism(s) and Rhetoric(s)* Stanford University, CA. 25-28 September 2013.
- “Hoarders: U.S. Neoliberalism’s Cautionary Discourse.” *American Studies Association Conference*. San Juan, Puerto Rico. 16 November 2012.
- “Disposable Drudgery: Outsourcing Goes to College.” Co-presenter Rebecca Dingo. *Conference on College Composition and Communication*. St. Louis, MO. 21-24 March 2012
- “Discovering Houston: Assembling Local Knowledge in Transnational Networks.” *National Women’s Studies Association (NWSA)*. Atlanta, GA. 10-13 November 2011.
- “Networking Rhetoric: Transnational Feminism and the Global Turn in the Humanities.” Co-presenters Rebecca Dingo and Rachel Riedner. *9th International Conference on New Directions in the Humanities*. Granada, Spain. 8 June 2011.
- “Discovering Houston: Locating and Writing the Neoliberal City.” *Conference on College Composition and Communication*. Atlanta, GA. 4 April 2010.
- “Remixing Global Rhetorics: Toward a Transnational Rhetorical Method.” *Conference on College Composition and Communication*. Louisville, KY. 18 March 2010.
- “Discovering Houston: Using Transnational Feminist Rhetorical Analysis to Produce Locate Knowledge.” *Feminisms and Rhetorics*. East Lansing, MI. 7 October 2009.
- Workshop Developer/Leader. “Transnationalizing/Globalizing Composition and Rhetorical Studies.” *Conference on College Composition and Communication*. San Francisco, CA. 11 March 2009.
- “From Spouse to Marriage, Illegal to Felon: The Marks of Intensity on National Legislation.” *Conference on College Composition and Communication*. New Orleans, LA. 2008.
- “Welcome Home José Padilla: The Making of a Citizen.” *Feminism(s) and Rhetoric(s) Conference*. Little Rock, AR. 5 October 2007.
- “Transnational Rhetoric on National Texts.” *RSA Biennial Workshop: Transnational Rhetoric*. Troy, NY. 22 June 2007.
- “Queer in California: Family Values and the Challenge of Inclusion.” *Conference on College Composition and Communication*. New York, NY. 23 March 2007.
- Globalizing the Rhetoric of the State: Feminizing U.S. Immigrants in Nationalist Discourse." *Rhetoric Society of America, 12th Biennial Conference*. Memphis, TN. 27 May 2006.
- Embodying Motherhood to Re-imagine the Self: San Francisco Latina Activists' use of State Rhetoric to Redefine the Terms of the "Immigrant." *Feminism(s) & Rhetoric(s) Conference*. Houghton, MI. 5 October 2005.
- “What? You Can’t Hear Me?: The Usefulness of the Tolerated Margin.” *Conference on College Composition and Communication*. San Francisco, CA. 19 March 2005.
- “Resisting the Norm: Political Encounters in Composition.” *Thomas R. Watson Biennial Conference*. University of Louisville. 8 October 2004.
- “Who Owns Diversity?: Critical Encounters in Higher Education.” *The Fourth International Conference on Diversity in Organizations, Communities and Nations*. UCLA, Los Angeles. 6 July 2004.
- “Autoethnography: The Language of the Indian Woman Writer.” *Native American Literature Symposium*. Mystic Lake, MN. 16 April 2004.
- “The Rhetoric of *The Bachelor*. (Re)presenting Love American Style.” *National Popular Culture Association/American Culture Association*. San Antonio, Texas. 10 April 2004.

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## PAID CONSULTING

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Digital Faculty Consultant. McGraw-Hill Education. Spring 2016-Spring 2019  
 English Graduate Teaching Assistant Training. Rice University. Houston, TX. Spring 2012.  
 English Faculty Seminar. Lee College. Baytown, TX. 12 January 2012.

## AWARDS AND GRANTS

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CLASS Administrative Internship. AY 2023-2024.  
Friends of WGSS Faculty Summer Fellowship. \$4000. Summer 2023.  
Public Humanities Initiatives at Hispanic Serving Institutions. Co-Primary Investigator with Lynn Voskuil.  
*National Endowment of the Humanities*. Under Review  
Write to Change the World: The Op-Ed Project. University of Houston. 6 February 2023.  
Cougar Chair's Leadership Academy. University of Houston. AY 2021-2022  
UH Women's Academic Leadership Program. Spring 2020.  
Provost Travel Grant. \$1200. Summer 2018.  
"Digital and Physical Inroads to Sustaining Scholarly-Community Rapport: Toward a Research Collective for Writing, Community, and Global Culture." Co-Primary Investigator with Oui Duran, Carl Lindal, Nathan Shepley, and Lauren Zentz. *Hobby Center for Public Policy Grant*. \$10,000. AY 2016-17.  
2013 Ross M. Lence Excellence in Teaching Award. Nominee.  
2012 Ross M. Lence Excellence in Teaching Award. Nominee.  
2012-2013 Small Grants Program (Subvention) Grant. University of Houston. \$640.00. Dispersed February 2013. Awarded December 2012.  
Martha Gano Houston Distinguished Visiting Professor, Dr. Ryan Skinnell. \$2300.00. Visit Scheduled February 2013. Awarded November 2012.  
Martha Gano Houston Research Grants in Literary Criticism. \$1000.00. Awarded October 2012.  
Martha Gano Houston Distinguished Visiting Professor, Dr. Rosemary Hennessy. \$1500.00. Visit Scheduled March 2012. Awarded December 2011.  
2010-2011 New Faculty Grant. University of Houston. \$6000.00. Summer 2011.  
Martha Gano Houston Distinguished Visiting Professor, Dr. Rachel Riedner, \$3600.00. Visit Scheduled December 2010. Awarded November 2010.  
Houston Arts Alliance. "Writing and C/Siting Houston." \$7,500. Awarded October 2010.  
Martha Gano Houston Distinguished Visiting Professor, Dr. Jenny Edbauer Rice. \$3500.00. Awarded Fall 2009. Visit scheduled February 2010.  
Martha Gano Houston Distinguished Visiting Professor, Dr. Rebecca Dingo, \$3500.00. Awarded Fall 2009. Visit scheduled April 2010.  
Faculty Development and Instructional Support (FDIP) Grant of \$4000. University of Houston. May 2009.

## COURSES DEVELOPED/COURSES TAUGHT

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English 1301: First Year Writing I – Media Literacy English  
1302: First Year Writing II (F2F, Hybrid, Online) English  
2396: Intermediate Composition  
English 3301: Introduction to Literary Studies  
English 3340: Advanced Composition – Locating Writing  
English 4319: Teaching English in Secondary Schools  
English 4343: Writing Houston (F2F, Hybrid, Online)  
English 4375: Literature and Pop Culture, Immigration (F2F, Online)  
English 4375: Literature and Pop Culture, Dystopian Futures  
English 4391: Advanced Engagement/Service-Learning Senior Seminar  
English 6300: College Teaching Language and Literature in English  
English 6314: Feminist Criticism English  
English 7374: Critical Pedagogy  
English 7390: Introduction to Doctoral Study  
English 7396: Rhetoric and Literature of Globalization  
English 7396: Rhetoric of Place  
English 8318: Rhetoric and Composition Seminar II: Scholarly Writing  
English 8393: Dissertation Colloquium – Doctoral  
English 8395: Rhetoric and Neoliberalism  
Women's Studies 2350: Introduction to Women's and Gender Studies

Wingard 6

Women's Studies 6301: Feminist Theory and Methods

Instructor, Special Topics in Rhetoric and Pop Culture, Zac Bean and Brandon HERNsberger  
Instructor, Special Topics in Authorship Theory, Michelle Miley  
Instructor, Special Topics in Introduction to Composition Theory, Patricia Nommenson  
Instructor, Special Topics in African American Pedagogy, Mignette Dorsey  
Instructor, Special Topics in Early American Literature and Rhetoric, Janine Joseph  
Instructor, Special Topics in Border Rhetorics, Sara Cooper  
Instructor, Special Topics in Feminist Teen Apocalyptic Fiction, Natalie Stigall  
Instructor, Special Topics in Rhetoric and Composition Research, Clay Guinn  
Instructor, Special Topics in Rhetoric(s) of Affect and Embodiment, Geneva Canino and Allison Laubach Wright  
Instructor, Special Topics in Cultural and Fat Studies, Natalie Stigall  
Instructor, Special Topics in Rhetoric and Disability Studies, Geneva Canino  
Instructor, Special Topics in African American Rhetorics, Emilie Koenig  
Instructor, Special Topics in Neoliberalism and Science Fiction, Amanda Rudd  
Instructor, Special Topics in Anti-Racist Pedagogy and Feminist Allyship, Rachele Joplin  
Instructor, Special Topics in Prison Literacy and Theories of Incarceration, Kaj Tanaka  
Instructor, Special Topics in Chicana Feminist Rhetoric, Lea Colchado  
Facilitator, Reading Hours in Pop Culture Criticism, Brandon HERNsberger  
Facilitator, Reading Hours in Disability and Queer Rhetoric, Ann Kroger  
Facilitator, Reading Hours in Feminist Non-Fiction, Colby Ornell  
Facilitator, Reading Hours in Rhetoric and Composition, Sara Cooper  
Facilitator, Reading Hours in Rhetoric and Composition, Clay Guinn  
Facilitator, Reading Hours in Rhetoric and Composition, Allyn West

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## GRADUATE ADVISING

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### DISSERTATION/THESIS CHAIR

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Geneva Canino. "Speaking While Mental: Explorations of Public Rhetorical Limitation and Opportunity for Autistic Rhetors." 6 April 2022.  
Kyle Chalker. "TBA" In Progress.  
Sara Cooper. "Reforming Standards: Toward a New Rhetoric of Form in Writing Instruction." Defended 30 June 2017.  
Abby Estilore. "'Adjunct Academy': Interrogating Professional Development's Impact on Contingency at Houston Community College." In progress.  
Sarah Fish. "Threat, Anxiety, and American Education: Reforming Public K-12 with Crisis." Defended 8 August 2017.  
Clay Guinn. "The Rhetoric of Public Diplomacy." Defended 20 April 2020.  
Brandon HERNsberger. "The Living Television: Alloy Entertainment and the Brand-New Girl." Defended 14 Feb 2014.  
Rachele A.C. Joplin. "Memoria: A Rhetorical Analysis Of Sticking To And Spreading From JRPG's And Their Fandoms." Defended 25 April 2022.  
Emilie Koenig. "'Listen to My Feet and I Will Tell You the Story of My Life': Recovering Tap Dance as Rhetorical Practice." 15 April 2022.  
Matthew McKinney. "Crime and No Punishment: BP and the Rhetoric of Industrial Pollution." MA Thesis. Spring 2012.  
Natalie Stigall. "The Rise of the Kick-Ass Girl: Examining Neoliberal, Post-Feminist Influence in Contemporary Young Adult Literature." Defended 14 April 2022.  
Allison Laubach Wright. "Higher Education and the Networked Rhetoric of Excellence." Defended 30 April 2021.

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### DISSERTATION/THESIS COMMITTEE MEMBER

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Sara Almalik. "TBA," In Progress

Wingard 7

Zack Bean. "The Language of Blood and Other Stories." Defended October 2013.  
 Liz Blombstead. "Teaching in the Aftermath of the Test: Shifting First-Year Writing Students' Conceptions of Writing in an Era of High-Stakes Testing." Defended 14 April 2017.  
 Cecilia Bonner. "The House that Jim Crow Built: Revising the History of the University of Houston in the Knowledge-Based Economy of the Twenty-First Century." Defended 7 April 2023.  
 Anthony Box. "Meme Potential: Style, Sentences, Internet Memes." In Progress.  
 Alissa Christopherson. "Playing with Romanticism: Austen, Scott, and Gaming's Place in Literary Study." In Progress.  
 Lane Fletcher. "Minding the Gap: Constructing Students Who Transfer Between Community College and University." Defended 21 April 2017.  
 Jacqueline Hadden. "Shame in Young Adult Novels." Defended 17 April 2013.  
 Subhi Hindi. "College Students' Code-Meshing Experiences across Two Transregional FYC Sites: Code-Meshing Practices in the University of Houston and Berea College Writing Classrooms." Defended 26 October 2020.  
 Janine Joseph. "Driving Without a License." Defended 16 April 2013.  
 Cressida Mccue, History. "Mabel of Bellême and the Construction of Power: A Study of an Eleventh-Century Norman Woman." Defended 19 April 2019.  
 Michelle Miley. "Transactional Inquiry in Virtual Third Space: Vygotsky and Online Writing Studios in Writing in the Disciplines and First Year Composition." Defended July 2013.  
 Rachael Sears. "Writing Ourselves out of Trouble: Writing Instruction and Restorative Justice." Defended February 2022.  
 Ernie Wang. "Standard Deviations." Defended 7 April 2023.  
 Georgeann Ward. "Institutional Power and Teaching in the "Space" of Dual-Credit Composition." Defended November 2018.  
 Allyn West. "Houstoning." Defended July 2015.  
 Brian Williams. "Student Perception and Deployment of TFT Curriculum in FYW." Defended 14 November 2022.

#### EXAM COMMITTEE CHAIR

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Cecilia Bonner, *The History of the Corporatization of the University*  
 Anthony Box, "The Style of Memes." In progress.  
 Kyle Chalker, *Critical Pedagogy and Literature Pedagogy*  
 Geneva Canino, *Queer Theory and Disability Rhetorics*  
 Sara Cooper, *Critical Pedagogy and Multimodal Writing*  
 Abby Estilore, *Teaching in the Two Year College and Academic Labor*  
 Sarah Fish, *Educational Policy and the Neoliberal Turn*  
 Clay Guinn, *Political Rhetoric and Diplomacy*  
 Brandon HERNsberger, *Cultural Studies and Feminist Theory*  
 Rachelle A.C. Joplin, *Feminist Rhetoric, Cultural Rhetorics*  
 Emilie Koenig, *Cultural Rhetorics*  
 Ann Kroger, *Public Sphere and Disability Studies and LGBTQIA Theory*  
 Michelle Miley, *Neoliberalism and the Writing Center*  
 Colby Ornell, *Contemporary Women's Novel and Nonfiction forms*  
 Amanda Rudd, *Neoliberalism and Dystopian Fiction*  
 Rachael Sears, *AAVE and Critical Pedagogy*  
 Natalie Stigall, *Feminist Embodiment and Girl Studies*  
 Allyn West, *Rhetorics and Theories of Writing Place*  
 Allison Laubauch Wright, *Writing in the Neoliberal University*

#### EXAM COMMITTEE MEMBER

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Sara Amalik, *Transnational Literacy, Digital Composition*  
 Priitha Bhattacharyya, *Asian American Literature, 20/21<sup>st</sup> Century Science in Literature*  
 Anthony Box, *Style, Digital Humanities*  
 Alissa Christopherson, *English Romanticism, New Media and Gaming Studies*  
 Justin Dykes, *Composition Theory, Anti-Racist Pedagogy*



Eric Higgins, *Environmental Creative Non-Fiction*  
Kate Highfill, *Critical Theory*  
Elizabeth Blomstedt Keating, *Assessment and High Stakes Testing*  
Karen Lagana, *The Social Turn of Rhetoric, Composition and Rhetoric's Relation to Democracy and Ethics*  
Brian McWilliams, *Composition Pedagogy, Metacognition*  
Kaj Tanaka, *The Picaresque and Prison Studies*  
Rena Tillinghest, *Multiliteracy, Information Literacy*  
Amandalin Valentine, *20<sup>th</sup> Century American Fiction, Neoliberal Feminist Theory*  
Ernie Wang, *Asian American Fiction, Humor in Fiction*  
Georgeann Ward, *Dual Credit*

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### EXAM READER

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Non-Fiction Exam, Fall 2011, Spring 2013  
Rhetoric and Composition Exam, Spring 2013, Fall 2013, Spring 2014, Fall 2014, Fall 2015, Spring 2017, Fall 2017

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### UNIVERSITY SERVICE

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Advisor, English Department, Coastal Plains Graduate Student Conference AY 2011-2012, 2012-2013  
Advisor, English Department, Sigma Tau Delta Epsilon Chapter AY 2010-2011  
Chair, English Department, Graduate Committee AY 2018-2019, 2019-2020, 2020-2021  
Chair, English Department, Scheduling Committee AY 2020-2021, 2021-2022  
Director, English Department, TA Orientation for English Department, Houston, TX. 2009-2010, 2015- 2016  
Member, College of Arts and Sciences Grievance Committee (Elected) AY 2017-2018, 2018- 2019 Member, English Department, Graduate Committee AY 2010-2011, 2011-2012, 2012-2013, 2016-2017, 2017-2018

- Admissions Subcommittee 2010-2011, 2011-2012, 2012-2013, 2016-2017, 2017-2018, 2018-2018, 2019-2020, 2020-2021
- PhD Exam Redesign Subcommittee 2016-17, 2017-2018
- TA Training Subcommittee Spring 2018

Member, English Department Lower Division Committee AY 2008-2009, 2009-2010

- Chair, Subcommittee for Mission Statement of Freshman Composition Sequence

Member, English Department, Personnel Committee (Elected) AY 2015-2016, 2016-2017  
Member, English Department, Planning Committee (Elected) AY 2013-2014, 2014-2015, Spring 2020  
Member, English Department, Rhetoric and Composition Planning Group  
Member, English Department, Senior Experience Task Force  
Member, Graduate School, Graduate Employment Committee AY 2021-2022, 2022-2023  
Member, University of Houston, Faculty Senate Research and Scholarship Committee (Elected) AY 2018-2019, 2019-2020  
Member, University of Houston, Faculty Senate Undergraduate Committee (Elected) AY 2011-2012, 2012-2013, 2013-2014  
Member, University of Houston, First Year Experience Task Force  
Member, Teaching Excellence Award Committee, 2019-2020  
Supervisor, Teaching Assistants, English Department AY 2009-2010, Spring 2012

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### SERVICE TO THE PROFESSION

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#### LEADERSHIP

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Chair (Elected). *College Composition and Communication* Nominating Committee. 2017-2018.  
Chair. The Gerard A. Hauser Award subcommittee. *16<sup>th</sup> Biennial Rhetoric Society of America Conference*.  
Member. Events Taskforce Ad Hoc Committee. *Rhetoric Society of America*.  
Member, (Elected), *College Composition and Communication* Executive Committee, 2020-2022

Member, *College Composition and Communication*, CCCC Structures and Processes Working Group 2021-2022  
Proposal Coach. *College Composition and Communication Conference*. 2017, 2018.

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#### EDITORIAL WORK

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Manuscript Review. *Lehigh Valley State Press*.  
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Reviewer. *17<sup>th</sup> Biennial Rhetoric Society of America Conference*  
Reviewer. *18<sup>th</sup> Biennial Rhetoric Society of America Conference*  
Reviewer. *2017 Feminisms and Rhetoric Biennial Conference*  
Stage I Reviewer. *2013 College Composition and Communication Conference*  
Stage I Reviewer. *2014 College Composition and Communication Conference*  
Stage I Reviewer. *2015 College Composition and Communication Conference*  
Stage I Reviewer. *2017 College Composition and Communication Conference*  
Stage I Reviewer. *2018 College Composition and Communication Conference*  
Stage II Reviewer. *2016 College Composition and Communication Conference*

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#### SPECIAL INTEREST GROUPS

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Member of CCCC Labor Caucus Steering Committee (Elected) 2009-2011  
Member of Labor Research Sub Committee

Our reference MB/14217  
Phone +61 2 8216 3003  
Email michaelb@marquelawyers.com.au

11 August 2023

Jennifer Wingard PhD  
Associate Professor  
University of Houston  
Texas, United States

By email: [jwingard@central.uh.edu](mailto:jwingard@central.uh.edu)

Dear Ms Wingard

***Faruqi v Hanson* – Federal Court of Australia proceedings no. NSD 372 of 2023**  
**Letter of instruction for preparation of expert evidence**

1. We act for Australian Senator, Mehreen Faruqi, in relation to the above Federal Court of Australia proceedings which allege a breach of section 18C of the *Racial Discrimination Act 1975* (Cth).
2. The proceedings have been set down for hearing between 29 April 2024 to 3 May 2024.
3. Thank you for agreeing to act as an independent expert in the proceedings. We confirm that Senator Faruqi's expert evidence is due to be filed and served on 30 September 2023.

**Background to the proceedings**

4. The proceedings were commenced by Senator Faruqi against another Australian Senator, Pauline Hanson, on 3 May 2023. The proceedings were commenced under the [Racial Discrimination Act 1975 \(Cth\)](#) (Act).
5. The proceedings relate to the below Tweet which was published by Senator Hanson to her public-facing Twitter account @PaulineHansonOz on 9 September last year, and which directed Senator Faruqi to "pack [her] bags and piss off back to Pakistan" ([Hanson Tweet](#)). Senator Faruqi immigrated to Australia from Lahore, Pakistan in 1992.



*Faruqi motion to Australian Senate in response to the Hanson Tweet<sup>1</sup>*

6. On 27 September 2022, in response to the Hanson Tweet, Senator Faruqi moved the Australian Senate to, amongst other things, censure Senator Hanson for “*her divisive, anti-migrant, and racist statement telling Senator Faruqi to ‘piss off back to Pakistan’, which does not reflect the opinions of the Australian Senate or the Australian people*” (**Faruqi Motion**).<sup>2</sup>
7. In response to the Faruqi Motion, Senator Hanson denied that the Hanson Tweet was racist, instead referring to it as “*criticism*”.<sup>3</sup> Senator Hanson also confirmed to the Australian Senate that she refused to retract the Hanson Tweet and stated that Senator Faruqi “*can go and do what I’ve said. I make the offer, also, to take her to the airport.*”<sup>4</sup>
8. Australian Senators Wong and Birmingham moved the Australian Senate to amend the Faruqi Motion to (amongst other things) remove the proposed censure of Senator Hanson, replacing it with a general call on Senators to “*engage in debates and commentary respectfully, and to refrain from inflammatory and divisive comments, both inside and outside the [Senate] chamber at all times.*”<sup>5</sup> The amended version of the Faruqi Motion was agreed to by the Australian Senate.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Paragraphs 6 to 8 of this letter have been included for the purpose of providing general background in relation to the Senator Faruqi’s court proceedings only. The statements referred in these paragraphs by Australian Senators and/or those which are included in the Senate Office Hansard from 27 September 2022 which has been included as part of your briefed materials at Schedule C, document no. 8 (**27 September Hansard**) are subject to parliamentary privilege. They should not form part of your analysis and cannot be used for the purposes of: (1) questioning or relying on the truth, motive, intention, good faith or credibility of the parties to the proceeding or anything which forms part of the proceedings; or (2) drawing any inferences or conclusions as to anything which forms part of these proceedings.

<sup>2</sup> The terms of the Censure Motion are included in full at page 45 of the 27 September Hansard. The response of individual senators in the Australian Senate, including Senators Wong and Birmingham to the Censure Motion are included at pages 45-52 of the 27 September Hansard.

<sup>3</sup> Schedule C, document no. 8, 27 September Hansard, page 48, 50-51.

<sup>4</sup> Schedule C, document no. 8, 27 September Hansard, page 51.

<sup>5</sup> Schedule C, document no. 8, 27 September Hansard, page 47.

<sup>6</sup> Schedule C, document no. 8, 27 September Hansard, page 52.

*Faruqi complaint to the Australian Human Rights Commission*

9. On 27 September 2022, Senator Faruqi made a complaint to the Australian Human Rights Commission (**AHRC**) in an attempt to engage Senator Hanson in a conciliation process for the purpose of resolving matters relating to the Hanson Tweet.<sup>7</sup>
10. Senator Hanson declined to participate in the AHRC conciliation process.
11. As a result of Senator Hanson's lack of engagement in the AHRC conciliation process, Senator Faruqi's complaint to the AHRC was terminated on 8 March 2023 pursuant to section 46PH(1B)(b) of the *Australian Human Rights Commission Act 1986* (Cth) (**AHRC Act**) on the basis that the delegate of the President of the AHRC was satisfied that there was no reasonable prospect of the matter being settled by conciliation.

*Court proceedings*

12. On 3 May 2023, Senator Faruqi commenced proceedings no. NSD 372 of 2023 in the Federal Court of Australia. It is a requirement under section 46PO of the AHRC Act that the AHRC process be concluded prior to proceedings being commenced in relation to alleged breaches of the Act.
13. At paragraph [3] of the Originating Application filed by Senator Faruqi on 3 May 2023 (Schedule C, document no. 2), Senator Faruqi alleges that the Hanson Tweet is unlawful under section 18C of the Act on the basis that:
  - (a) the publication of the Hanson Tweet was reasonably likely in all the circumstances to, and did, offend, insult humiliate or intimidate Senator Faruqi, and other people that share Senator Faruqi's attributes; and
  - (b) the publication of the Hanson Tweet was done because of race, colour or national or ethnic origin of Senator Faruqi, and other people that share Senator Faruqi's attributes.<sup>8</sup>
14. Part of Senator Faruqi's position in the proceedings is that the words used in the Hanson Tweet are a variation of the phrase "go back to where you came from".<sup>9</sup>
15. At paragraph [6] of Senator Hanson's Concise Response dated 27 June 2023 (Schedule C, document no. 4), Senator Hanson denies that the publication of the Hanson Tweet contravenes section 18C of the Act. Senator Hanson relies on, amongst other things, a defence under

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<sup>7</sup> Senator Faruqi's complaint to the AHRC is annexed to Senator Faruqi's Originating Application dated 8 March 2023, which is included as part of your briefed materials at Schedule C, document no. 2.

<sup>8</sup> Section 18C of the Act has been extracted in full at Schedule A to this letter.

<sup>9</sup> Schedule C, document no. 3, Concise Statement dated 13 June 2023, [10(g)] and [15].

section 18D of the Act in this regard.<sup>10</sup> We have set out this provision in full at Schedule A to this letter of instruction.

16. At paragraph [39] of Senator Hanson's Concise Response dated 27 June 2023, Senator Hanson alleges an alternative defence that sections 18C and 18D of the Act are invalid on the basis that they infringe the implied freedom of political communication which has been held by the High Court of Australia to exist in the Australian Constitution. Broadly, and by way of background, the implied freedom of political communication is a protection which restricts Australia's laws from interfering with free communication about government and political matters, where those laws do not serve a legitimate end.
17. Following the publication of the Hanson Tweet, Senator Faruqi received abusive phone calls, emails and direct messages on social media and was also the subject of abusive social media posts. Examples of these communications have been included at Schedule C, Annexure A of this letter of instruction.

### **Background on Senator Hanson**

18. Senator Hanson was elected as a Member of Parliament in 1996, and continued in this position until 1998. Senator Hanson presently sits as an Australian Senator following her successful election to the Senate in 2016 and re-election in 2022.
19. Over the course of her career, Senator Hanson has been the subject of extensive media coverage, including regular appearances on Australian television and news media programs. She has also been involved in and/or has been accredited with the publishing of three books including an autobiography and a collection of parliamentary speeches.
20. Since 1996, Senator Hanson has had a significant public platform. As at today's date:
  - (a) Senator Hanson's official Twitter profile, @paulinehansonoz, has over 104,400 followers on Twitter;<sup>11</sup>
  - (b) Senator Hanson's public Facebook page entitled 'Pauline Hanson's Please Explain' has over 479,000 followers;<sup>12</sup> and
  - (c) Senator Hanson's Instagram profile @senatorpaulinehanson has over 63,800 followers.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Schedule C, document no. 4, Senator Hanson's Concise Response, dated 27 June 2023, [38].

<sup>11</sup> This profile can be accessed via the following link; <https://twitter.com/PaulineHansonOz/status/1682118959959777283>.

<sup>12</sup> This page can be accessed via the following link; <https://www.facebook.com/PaulineHansonAu>.

<sup>13</sup> This profile can be accessed via the following link; <https://www.instagram.com/senatorpaulinehanson/?hl=cs>.

21. Senator Hanson has used her public platform to communicate controversial opinions. Examples of the types of rhetoric Senator Hanson has deployed publicly are as follows.
- (a) *"It is ok to be white,"* which is a statement that Senator Hanson initially presented as a part of a Motion to the Australian Senate in 2017, and which she has publicly repeated outside of Parliament on numerous occasions including a press conference<sup>14</sup> and in a television interview on the Sky News program entitled Paul Murray Live.<sup>15</sup>
  - (b) Variations of the phrase *"I don't care if you are black, white or brindle,"* which she stated in public fora on several occasions including in a television interview on the Sky News program entitled Paul Murray Live.<sup>16</sup>
  - (c) She has said *"Islam is a disease and we need to vaccinate ourselves against that"*<sup>17</sup> and variations of that notion on several occasions, most notably in response to the 2017 London Terror Attacks;
  - (d) She has promoted the hashtag *"#Pray4MuslimBan,"* purportedly in solidarity with victims of the London Terror Attacks. She proposed this hashtag be used instead of #Pray4London, saying *"People are feeling sorry for these people over there and I've seen the hash tags 'pray for London'. Look I have my own hash tag and you won't need to be praying for this place, or that place. Put a ban on it and then let's deal with the issues here."*<sup>18</sup>

### Instructions

22. We are instructed to brief you to:
- (a) review the materials at Schedules A, B and C of this letter of instruction;
  - (b) prepare an expert report providing your opinion which falls within your expertise and experience on the following questions:
    - (i) what is your understanding of the empirical and historical roots of the phrase "go back to where you came from"?

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<sup>14</sup>Schedule C, document no. 11; The press conference can be accessed via the following link; [youtube.com/watch?v=-XUIgB0hK\\_A](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-XUIgB0hK_A)

<sup>15</sup> Schedule C, document no. 12; This television interview can be accessed via the following link; <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7Uq2W0m6ekw>

<sup>16</sup> Schedule C, document no. 12; This television interview can be accessed via the following link; <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7Uq2W0m6ekw>

<sup>17</sup>Schedule C, document no. 13; <https://www.smh.com.au/politics/federal/pauline-hanson-says-islam-is-a-disease-australia-needs-to-vaccinate-20170324-qv5w7z.html>

<sup>18</sup> Schedule C, document no. 14; <https://www.sbs.com.au/news/article/put-a-ban-on-it-pauline-hanson-calls-for-muslim-faith-to-be-banned/lrma21jbg>

- (ii) in what contexts has the phrase “go back to where you came from” been used in history?
  - (iii) what, if anything, is the social and/or cultural significance of the phrase “go back to where you came from”?
  - (iv) what, if anything, does the phrase “go back to where you came from” signal, both to white supremacists/racists and/or targeted minorities? Does it have a coded meaning?
  - (v) what, if anything, does the phrase “Islam is a disease and we need to vaccinate ourselves against that” signal, both to white supremacists/racists and/or targeted minorities? Does it have a coded meaning?
  - (vi) what, if anything, does the phrase / hashtag “#Pray4MuslimBan”? signal, both to white supremacists/racists and/or targeted minorities? Does it have a coded meaning?
  - (vii) was Senator Hanson’s direction in the Hanson Tweet for Senator Faruqi to “pack [her] bags and piss off back to Pakistan” a variation of the phrase “go back to where you came from?”
  - (viii) what is your understanding of the empirical, historical roots of the phrases referred to at paragraph 21 above (“it’s ok to be white” and “black, white or brindle”)? How and by whom have these phrases been used in history?
  - (ix) what if any legitimate political comment might be intended by the Tweet? Is there an available interpretation that would not qualify as racist or discriminatory speech?
23. We request that you set out your opinion in relation to the above in a written report with numbered paragraphs.
24. Your expert report must include the following.
- (a) your name and address;
  - (b) your training, study and experience and also attach a detailed curriculum vitae to the report;
  - (c) the facts, and assumptions of facts, on which the opinions in the report are based (a copy of this letter should be annexed to your expert report);
  - (d) your reasons for each opinion expressed;
  - (e) if applicable, that a particular issue falls outside your field of expertise;
  - (f) any literature or other materials used in support of your opinions, and the reasons for using this literature or other materials; and



- (g) any examinations, tests or other investigations on which you have relied, including details of the qualifications of the person who carried them out;
  - (h) the extent to which any opinion which you express involves the acceptance of another person's opinion, the identification of that other person and the opinion expressed by that other person;
  - (i) a declaration that you have made all the inquiries which you believe are desirable and appropriate, and that no matters of significance which you regard as relevant have, to your knowledge, been withheld from the court.
  - (j) any qualifications on an opinion expressed in the report without which the report is or may be incomplete or inaccurate;
  - (k) whether any opinion expressed in the report is not a concluded opinion because of insufficient research or insufficient data or for any other reason; and
  - (l) where the report is lengthy or complex, a brief summary of the report at the beginning of the report.
25. If, when preparing your report you require additional factual information to express an opinion in respect of the question, please also make this clear in the body of your report.
26. If this matter proceeds to trial, you may be required to attend Court and give evidence. If you are required to attend Court, we will contact you to discuss your availability and make the necessary arrangements.

**Relevant documents**

27. You are briefed with the materials identified at Schedules A, B, C to this letter.
- (a) Schedule A: extracts of sections 18C and 18D of the Act.
  - (b) Schedule B: the Harmonised Expert Witness Code of Conduct.
  - (c) Schedule C:
    - (i) the Expert Evidence Practice Note (GPN-EXPT) dated 25 October 2016, including the Harmonised Expert Witness Code of Conduct (**Expert Practice Note**).
    - (ii) Originating Application filed on behalf of Senator Faruqi on 3 May 2023, which includes Senator Hanson's complaint to the AHRC on 27 September 2022 at pages 9-21.
    - (iii) Concise Statement filed on behalf of Senator Faruqi on 13 June 2023 (which includes Senator Faruqi's complaint to the Human Rights Commission as an annexure).

- (iv) Concise Response filed on behalf of Senator Hanson on 27 June 2023.
  - (v) Notice of a Constitutional Matter under section 78B of the *Judiciary Act 1903*, filed by Senator Hanson on 27 June 2023.
  - (vi) Concise Reply filed on behalf of Senator Faruqi on 11 July 2023.
  - (vii) Explanatory memorandum to the *Racial Hatred Bill 1994* (Cth), which is the legislative Bill that inserted section 18C into the Act.
  - (viii) 27 September Hansard.
  - (ix) Report of the National Inquiry into Racist Violence in Australia, which was prepared by the Australian Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission in 1991.
  - (x) A folder containing examples of the communications referred to at paragraph 17 above.
28. You can access and download the materials referred to in Schedule C of this letter via [this Dropbox link](#).

#### **Harmonised Expert Witness Code of Conduct**

29. Any expert who produces an expert report for the purposes of court proceedings has a duty to the Court. That duty takes precedence over any duty to the party instructing the expert and/or the party responsible for the expert's fees.
30. Your report, and any evidence that you later give in proceedings relating to this matter must adhere to the requirements of the Harmonised Expert Witness Code of Conduct found in Annexure A to the Expert Practice Note. For ease, a copy of the Harmonised Expert Witness Code of Conduct is included at Schedule B to this letter. Please ensure you review the Harmonised Expert Witness Code of Conduct.
31. Your report must also contain a statement confirming that you have read and agree to be bound by the current Harmonised Expert Witness Code of Conduct.
32. Please do not hesitate to contact us with any questions or concerns.

Yours sincerely



Michael Bradley  
**Managing Partner**

**Schedule A**  
**Extracts from *Racial Discrimination Act 1975 (Cth)***

**1. Section 18C Offensive behaviour because of race, colour or national or ethnic origin**

*(1) It is unlawful for a person to do an act, otherwise than in private, if:*

- (a) the act is reasonably likely, in all the circumstances, to offend, insult, humiliate or intimidate another person or a group of people; and*
- (b) the act is done because of the race, colour or national or ethnic origin of the other person or of some or all of the people in the group.*

*Note: Subsection (1) makes certain acts unlawful. Section 46P of the Australian Human Rights Commission Act 1986 allows people to make complaints to the Australian Human Rights Commission about unlawful acts. However, an unlawful act is not necessarily a criminal offence. Section 26 says that this Act does not make it an offence to do an act that is unlawful because of this Part, unless Part IV expressly says that the act is an offence.*

*(2) For the purposes of subsection (1), an act is taken not to be done in private if it:*

- (a) causes words, sounds, images or writing to be communicated to the public; or*
- (b) is done in a public place; or*
- (c) is done in the sight or hearing of people who are in a public place.*

*(3) In this section: **public place** includes any place to which the public have access as of right or by invitation, whether express or implied and whether or not a charge is made for admission to the place.*

**2. Section 18D Exemptions**

*Section 18C does not render unlawful anything said or done reasonably and in good faith:*

- (a) in the performance, exhibition or distribution of an artistic work; or*
- (b) in the course of any statement, publication, discussion or debate made or held for any genuine academic, artistic or scientific purpose or any other genuine purpose in the public interest; or*
- (c) in making or publishing:*
  - (i) a fair and accurate report of any event or matter of public interest; or*
  - (ii) a fair comment on any event or matter of public interest if the comment is an expression of a genuine belief held by the person making the comment.*

**Schedule B**  
**Harmonised Expert Witness Code of Conduct**

**1. APPLICATION OF CODE**

1.1 This Code of Conduct applies to any expert witness engaged or appointed:

- (a) to provide an expert's report for use as evidence in proceedings or proposed proceedings; or
- (b) to give opinion evidence in proceedings or proposed proceedings.

**2. GENERAL DUTIES TO THE COURT**

2.1 An expert witness is not an advocate for a party and has a paramount duty, overriding any duty to the party to the proceedings or other person retaining the expert witness, to assist the Court impartially on matters relevant to the area of expertise of the witness.

**3. CONTENT OF REPORT**

3.1 Every report prepared by an expert witness for use in Court shall clearly state the opinion or opinions of the expert and shall state, specify or provide:

- (a) the name and address of the expert;
- (b) an acknowledgment that the expert has read this code and agrees to be bound by it;
- (c) the qualifications of the expert to prepare the report;
- (d) the assumptions and material facts on which each opinion expressed in the report is based [a letter of instructions may be annexed];
- (e) the reasons for and any literature or other materials utilised in support of such opinion;
- (f) (if applicable) that a particular question, issue or matter falls outside the expert's field of expertise;
- (g) any examinations, tests or other investigations on which the expert has relied, identifying the person who carried them out and that person's qualifications;
- (h) the extent to which any opinion which the expert has expressed involves the acceptance of another person's opinion, the identification of that other person and the opinion expressed by that other person;
- (i) a declaration that the expert has made all the inquiries which the expert believes are desirable and appropriate (save for any matters identified explicitly in the report), and that no matters of significance which the expert regards as relevant have, to the knowledge of the expert, been withheld from the Court;

- (j) any qualifications on an opinion expressed in the report without which the report is or may be incomplete or inaccurate;
- (k) whether any opinion expressed in the report is not a concluded opinion because of insufficient research or insufficient data or for any other reason; and
- (l) where the report is lengthy or complex, a brief summary of the report at the beginning of the report.

**4. SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT FOLLOWING CHANGE OF OPINION**

- 4.1 Where an expert witness has provided to a party (or that party's legal representative) a report for use in Court, and the expert thereafter changes his or her opinion on a material matter, the expert shall forthwith provide to the party (or that party's legal representative) a supplementary report which shall state, specify or provide the information referred to in paragraphs (a), (d), (e), (g), (h), (i), (j), (k) and (l) of clause 3 of this code and, if applicable, paragraph (f) of that clause.
- 4.2 In any subsequent report (whether prepared in accordance with clause 4 or not) the expert may refer to material contained in the earlier report without repeating it.

**5. DUTY TO COMPLY WITH THE COURT'S DIRECTIONS**

- 5.1 If directed to do so by the Court, an expert witness shall:
  - (a) confer with any other expert witness;
  - (b) provide the Court with a joint-report specifying (as the case requires) matters agreed and matters not agreed and the reasons for the experts not agreeing; and
  - (c) abide in a timely way by any direction of the Court.

**6. CONFERENCE OF EXPERTS**

- 6.1 Each expert witness shall:
  - (a) exercise his or her independent judgment in relation to every conference in which the expert participates pursuant to a direction of the Court and in relation to each report thereafter provided, and shall not act on any instruction or request to withhold or avoid agreement; and
  - (b) endeavour to reach agreement with the other expert witness (or witnesses) on any issue in dispute between them, or failing agreement, endeavour to identify and clarify the basis of disagreement on the issues which are in dispute.

**Schedule C**  
**Index of briefed material**

No.	Document	Date
1.	Expert Evidence Practice Note (GPN-EXPT)	25 October 2016
2.	Originating Application, filed by Senator Faruqi	3 May 2023
3.	Concise Statement, filed by Senator Faruqi	13 June 2023
4.	Concise Response, filed by Senator Hanson	27 June 2023
5.	Notice of a Constitutional Matter under section 78B of the Judiciary Act, 1903, filed by Senator Hanson	27 June 2023
6.	Concise Reply, filed by Senator Faruqi	11 July 2023
7.	Explanatory memorandum to the <i>Racial Hatred Bill 1994</i> (Cth)	Undated
8.	27 September Hansard	Undated
9.	Report of the National Inquiry into Racist Violence in Australia	1991
10.	Material sent to Senator Faruqi following publication of the Hanson Tweet, including call logs, emails, social media posts, direct messages on social media and voice messages (see Index included at Annexure A)	Various – see Annexure A
11.	YouTube video entitled ‘Government withdraws support for “it’s okay to be white” motion,’ which was uploaded by the YouTube account ‘Pauline Hanson’s Please Explain’. This video can be accessed via the following link; <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-XUIgB0hK_A&amp;ab_channel=PaulineHanson%27sPleaseExplain">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-XUIgB0hK_A&amp;ab_channel=PaulineHanson%27sPleaseExplain</a>	16 October 2018
12.	YouTube video entitled ‘IT’S OKAY TO BE WHITE   Pauline Hanson on Paul Murray Live,’ which was uploaded by the YouTube account ‘Pauline Hanson’s Please Explain’. This video can be accessed via the following link; <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7Uq2W0m6ekw&amp;ab_channel=PaulineHanson%27sPleaseExplain">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7Uq2W0m6ekw&amp;ab_channel=PaulineHanson%27sPleaseExplain</a>	17 October 2018

No.	Document	Date
13.	Article published by The Sydney Morning Herald entitled 'Pauline Hanson says Islam is a disease Australia needs to 'vaccinate'. This article can be accessed via the following link; <a href="https://www.smh.com.au/politics/federal/pauline-hanson-says-islam-is-a-disease-australia-needs-to-vaccinate-20170324-gv5w7z.html">https://www.smh.com.au/politics/federal/pauline-hanson-says-islam-is-a-disease-australia-needs-to-vaccinate-20170324-gv5w7z.html</a>	24 March 2017
14.	Article published by SBS News entitled "Put a ban on it': Pauline Hanson calls for Muslim faith to be banned.' This article can be accessed via the following link; <a href="https://www.sbs.com.au/news/article/put-a-ban-on-it-pauline-hanson-calls-for-muslim-faith-to-be-banned/lma21jbg">https://www.sbs.com.au/news/article/put-a-ban-on-it-pauline-hanson-calls-for-muslim-faith-to-be-banned/lma21jbg</a>	23 March 2017

**Annexure A**

**Index of material sent to Senator Faruqi following publication of the Hanson Tweet including call logs, emails, social media posts, direct messages on social media and voice messages**

<b>Call logs and voice messages</b>		
A.	Excerpt Call and Mail Log Spreadsheet	12 September 2022 – 21 March 2023
B.	Voice message from Anonymous A	Undated
C.	Voice message from Anonymous B	Undated
D.	Voice message from Anonymous C	Undated
E.	Voice message from Anonymous D	Undated
<b>Emails</b>		
F.	Email from Wayne Aigner to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	9 September 2022
G.	Email from R Aspey to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	9 September 2022
H.	Email from Jason Bendeich to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	9 September 2022
I.	Email from Peter Bishop to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	9 September 2022
J.	Email from Bronwyn Borradaile to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	9 September 2022
K.	Email from Italo Corsello to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	9 September 2022
L.	Email from Paul Craft to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	9 September 2022
M.	Email from Mary Craig to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	9 September 2022
N.	Email from Garry Duffield to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	9 September 2022
O.	Email from Trevor Ellis to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	9 September 2022
P.	Email from David Hopkins to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	9 September 2022
Q.	Further email from David Hopkins to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	9 September 2022
R.	Email from John Howson to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	9 September 2022
S.	Email from Karl Hubmer to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	9 September 2022
T.	Email from Barbara Jenkins to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	9 September 2022
U.	Email from Roy Jones to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	9 September 2022
V.	Email from Steven Leoni to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	9 September 2022
W.	Email from Pat Lynch to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	9 September 2022
X.	Email from Rusty Marsh to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	9 September 2022
Y.	Email from Glenn McNeil to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	9 September 2022



Z.	Email from Jason Menio to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	9 September 2022
AA.	Email from Peter Nisbet to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	9 September 2022
AB.	Email from Brian & Mararet to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	9 September 2022
AC.	Email from Carol Pountney to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	9 September 2022
AD.	Email from Adam Redman to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	9 September 2022
AE.	Email from Michael Scott to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	9 September 2022
AF.	Email from James Swail to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	9 September 2022
AG.	Email from Tedsmithzip to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	9 September 2022
AH.	Email from Julien Wiener to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	9 September 2022
AI.	Email from xu150 to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	9 September 2022
AJ.	Further email from xu150 to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	9 September 2022
AK.	Email from James Angel to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	10 September 2022
AL.	Email from Graham Anna to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	10 September 2022
AM.	Email from Roger Armnaud to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	10 September 2022
AN.	Email from Ken Brookes to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	10 September 2022
AO.	Email from Marie Bezzina to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	10 September 2022
AP.	Email from check book to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	10 September 2022
AQ.	Email from ballyboruma to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	10 September 2022
AR.	Email from Michael Buss to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	10 September 2022
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AT.	Email from R Cassidy to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	10 September 2022
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AW.	Email from Andrew Francis to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	10 September 2022
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AY.	Further email from Kevin Franklin to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	10 September 2022
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BA.	Further email from Dan Graham to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	10 September 2022
BB.	Email from Peter Groessler to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	10 September 2022
BC.	Email from Peter & Tessa to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	10 September 2022

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BG.	Email from Peter Lee to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	10 September 2022
BH.	Email from Jon Mansfield to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	10 September 2022
BI.	Email from Alex Morovich to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	10 September 2022
BJ.	Email from Alistair Morrice to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	10 September 2022
BK.	Email from Sean Mulroy to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	10 September 2022
BL.	Email from Anthony Proctor to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	10 September 2022
BM.	Email from Daisy Rose to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	10 September 2022
BN.	Email from Melanie Ryan to Senator Mehreen Faruqi & Ors	10 September 2022
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BP.	Email from Tatsushige Shigure to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	10 September 2022
BQ.	Email from Pete Sneddon to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	10 September 2022
BR.	Email from Ken Swepr to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	10 September 2022
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BT.	Email from Mark Taylor to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	10 September 2022
BU.	Email from Bob Turlington to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	10 September 2022
BV.	Email from Chris Turnbull to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	10 September 2022
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BX.	Email from Marc Wapengo to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	10 September 2022
BY.	Email from Lorenzo Ward to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	10 September 2022
BZ.	Email from Nigel Blackworth to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	10 September 2022
CA.	Email from borod to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	11 September 2022
CB.	Email from Jeff Caines to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	11 September 2022
CC.	Email from Meg Cole to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	11 September 2022
CD.	Email from Brian Dooley to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	11 September 2022
CE.	Email from Chris Hayes to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	11 September 2022
CF.	Email from John Horton to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	11 September 2022
CG.	Email from Julianne Woolley to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	11 September 2022

CH.	Email from Ken McDonald to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	11 September 2022
CI.	Email from Brian Nathan to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	11 September 2022
CJ.	Email from David Smith to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	11 September 2022
CK.	Email from Paul Springer to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	11 September 2022
CL.	Email from Steve Squires to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	11 September 2022
CM.	Email from Barry Taylor to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	11 September 2022
CN.	Email from Cheryl Thelan to Senator Mehreen Faruqi & Ors	11 September 2022
CO.	Email from Melissa Wolf to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	11 September 2022
CP.	Email from Kevin Beinke to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	12 September 2022
CQ.	Email from Ruairidh Boyd to Senator Mehreen Faruqi & Ors	12 September 2022
CR.	Email from Pauline Clayton to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	12 September 2022
CS.	Email from Phillip Duff to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	12 September 2022
CT.	Email from David Hammond to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	12 September 2022
CU.	Email from Ian Horseman to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	12 September 2022
CV.	Email from Eckard Huebl to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	12 September 2022
CW.	Email from Gaila Ivoska to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	12 September 2022
CX.	Email from Lui Lipari to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	12 September 2022
CY.	Email from Peter Loughnan to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	12 September 2022
CZ.	Email from Margaret Milne to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	12 September 2022
DA.	Email from Brian Nathan to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	12 September 2022
DB.	Further email from Brian Nathan to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	12 September 2022
DC.	Email from John O'Dell to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	12 September 2022
DD.	Email from Anthony Norman Parker to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	12 September 2022
DE.	Email from Wayne Cook to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	13 September 2022
DF.	Email from Mary Craig to Senator Mehreen Faruqi & Ors	13 September 2022
DG.	Email from Malcolm Edwards to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	13 September 2022
DH.	Email from Mel Hawk to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	13 September 2022
DI.	Email from Carole Rutter to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	13 September 2022
DJ.	Email from John Williams to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	13 September 2022
DK.	Email from Sim Kho to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	14 September 2022

DL.	Email from Anthony Reid to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	15 September 2022
DM.	Email from Asif Realname to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	15 September 2022
DN.	Email from Peter Bruce to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	15 September 2022
DO.	Email from Jeff Caines to Senator Mehreen Faruqi & Ors	15 September 2022
DP.	Email from Dean Ryan to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	15 September 2022
DQ.	Email from Kevin Drinnen to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	15 September 2022
DR.	Email from Kevin Franklin to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	15 September 2022
DS.	Email from Brian Gosnell to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	15 September 2022
DT.	Email from Marcel Hunt to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	15 September 2022
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DW.	Email from Jack Kelly to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	15 September 2022
DX.	Email from Michelle Larkin to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	15 September 2022
DY.	Email from Pat Martin to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	15 September 2022
DZ.	Email from Brian Nathan to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	15 September 2022
EA.	Email from Peter Shead to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	15 September 2022
EB.	Email from Robert Thornton to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	15 September 2022
EC.	Email from Margaret Tidey to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	15 September 2022
ED.	Email from Julien Wiener to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	15 September 2022
EE.	Email from Adrian Adair to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	16 September 2022
EF.	Email from Dean Van Den Broek to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	16 September 2022
EG.	Email from Ken Brookes to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	16 September 2022
EH.	Email from Butross to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	16 September 2022
EI.	Email from Robin Kay-Riley to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	16 September 2022
EJ.	Email from Allan Kingsley to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	16 September 2022
EK.	Email from Jason Menio to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	16 September 2022
EL.	Email from Richard Rhodes to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	16 September 2022
EM.	Email from Bert Rybarczyk to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	16 September 2022
EN.	Email from Roger Middleton to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	17 September 2022
EO.	Email from Lyn Rollason to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	17 September 2022

EP.	Email from Daniel Salomoni to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	17 September 2022
EQ.	Email from Dave Atfield to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	18 September 2022
ER.	Email from Tom Wright to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	18 September 2022
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ET.	Email from LTA72 to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	27 September 2022
EU.	Email from Ron Moore to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	27 September 2022
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EX.	Email from Stuart Allen to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	28 September 2022
EY.	Email from Phillip Daniel to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	28 September 2022
EZ.	Email from Ron Danko to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	28 September 2022
FA.	Email from Greg Fitzgerald to Senator Mehreen Faruqi & Ors	28 September 2022
FB.	Email from gunmat to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	28 September 2022
FC.	Email from Jason Hateley to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	28 September 2022
FD.	Email from Trevor Longley to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	28 September 2022
FE.	Email from Aaron Makker to Senator Mehreen Faruqi and Pauline Hanson	28 September 2022
FF.	Email from Roger Middleton to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	28 September 2022
FG.	Email from Peter Robinson to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	28 September 2022
FH.	Email from Mohamed Saleh to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	28 September 2022
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FJ.	Email from Troy9170 to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	28 September 2022
FK.	Email from Jack Zero to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	28 September 2022
FL.	Email from Harry Blade to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	29 September 2022
FM.	Email from Rodney Rodwell to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	29 September 2022
FN.	Email from Cheryl Thelan to Senator Mehreen Faruqi & Ors	29 September 2022
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FP.	Further email from Richard Farrell to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	2 October 2022
FQ.	Email from Michael Gray to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	7 October 2022
FR.	Email from Lindsay Lake to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	8 October 2022

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FW.	Email from Jared Corbin to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	3 May 2023
FX.	Email from Jack Kelly to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	3 May 2023
FY.	Email from Michael O'Shea to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	3 May 2023
FZ.	Email from Waspy to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	3 May 2023
GA.	Email from Jack Wheeler to Senator Mehreen Faruqi and Senator Pauline Hanson	3 May 2023
GB.	Email from Michael Bennett to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	4 May 2023
GC.	Email from Danny to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	4 May 2023
GD.	Email from Geoff Leahy to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	4 May 2023
GE.	Email from DamnItJanet to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	4 May 2023
GF.	Email from Chris Wise to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	4 May 2023
GG.	Email from James Cole to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	5 May 2023
GH.	Email from Colleen Green to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	5 May 2023
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GJ.	Email from Michelle Knott to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	5 May 2023
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GS.	Email from Michael Bennett to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	15 May 2023
GT.	Email from Michael Bennett to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	15 May 2023
GU.	Email from Diana Pokula to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	1 June 2023

GV.	Email from Bill Johnstone to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	10 June 2023
GW.	Email from Julian Le Bas to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	14 June 2023
GX.	Email from Julian Le Bas to Senator Mehreen Faruqi	14 June 2023
GY.	Email from Kevin Bliss to Senator Mehreen Faruqi and Ors	15 June 2023
<b>Social Media</b>		
<i>Facebook</i>		
GZ.	243 comments responding to post published by Facebook page entitled Pauline Hanson's Please Explain which shared a link to an article published by The Guardian entitled 'Mehreen Faruqi considering human rights commission complaint over Pauline Hanson Tweet.' This Facebook post can be accessed via the following link; <a href="https://www.facebook.com/PaulineHansonAu/posts/pfbid02Zh62duB62ezF6pEKcGNsEtJZjGL4GWj7r7ZwKDgWEZbYtT2ivuoTZ3AMbshwxdjFI">https://www.facebook.com/PaulineHansonAu/posts/pfbid02Zh62duB62ezF6pEKcGNsEtJZjGL4GWj7r7ZwKDgWEZbYtT2ivuoTZ3AMbshwxdjFI</a>	15 September 2022
HA.	50 comments responding to post published by Facebook page entitled Pauline Hanson's Please Explain which shared a link to a television interview between Pauline Hanson and Alan Jones from 15 September 2022. This Facebook post can be accessed via the following link. <a href="https://www.facebook.com/PaulineHansonAu/posts/pfbid0XhSAHGApUhC3Pi16VfznEiJp82dbA1Gg1Knk2xRpgShhP2KbF6V5L57k5vD7gdgFI">https://www.facebook.com/PaulineHansonAu/posts/pfbid0XhSAHGApUhC3Pi16VfznEiJp82dbA1Gg1Knk2xRpgShhP2KbF6V5L57k5vD7gdgFI</a>	19 September 2022
HB.	27 comments responding to post published by Facebook page entitled Pauline Hanson's Please Explain which can be accessed via the following link: <a href="https://www.facebook.com/profile/100044505936566/search/?q=greens%20are%20trying%20to%20silence%20me">https://www.facebook.com/profile/100044505936566/search/?q=greens%20are%20trying%20to%20silence%20me</a>	4 May 2023
<i>Instagram</i>		
HC.	Direct message sent from the Instagram account '@stevenb227' to Senator Faruqi	4 May 2023
HD.	Direct message sent from the Instagram account '@Grimmdogmillionaire' to Senator Faruqi	4 May 2023
HE.	Direct message sent from the Instagram account '@doratheaa23' to Senator Faruqi	5 May 2023
HF.	Direct message sent from Adam Gambell via the Instagram account '@gambellator' to Senator Faruqi	5 May 2023

HG.	Direct message sent from Shaun M Gill via the Instagram account '@shaunmgill' to Senator Faruqi	Undated
HH.	Direct message sent from the Instagram account '@Too_many_projectsss' to Senator Faruqi	Undated
HI.	Direct message sent from Cam Schroder via the Instagram account '@cam_schroder' to Senator Faruqi	Undated
<i>Twitter</i>		
HJ.	46 comments responding to Tweet published by @paulinehansonoz on 9 September 2022. This Tweet can be accessed via the following link: <a href="https://twitter.com/PaulineHansonOz/status/1568118251640750083">https://twitter.com/PaulineHansonOz/status/1568118251640750083</a>	9 September 2022
HK.	18 Quote Tweets responding to Tweet published by @paulinehansonoz on 9 September 2022. This Tweet can be accessed via the following link: <a href="https://twitter.com/PaulineHansonOz/status/1568118251640750083">https://twitter.com/PaulineHansonOz/status/1568118251640750083</a>	9 September 2022
HL.	10 comments responding to Tweet published by @marquelawyers on 3 May 2023 which shared a link to an article published by the Sydney Morning Herald entitled 'Hanson sued for alleged racist tweet telling Greens senator to 'piss off back to Pakistan.' This Tweet can be accessed via the following link: <a href="https://twitter.com/marquelawyers/status/1653686603628290048">https://twitter.com/marquelawyers/status/1653686603628290048</a>	3 May 2023
HM.	8 comments responding to Tweet published by @marquelawyers on 3 May 2023. This tweet can be accessed via the following link: <a href="https://twitter.com/marquelawyers/status/1653687444632481792">https://twitter.com/marquelawyers/status/1653687444632481792</a>	3 May 2023
HN.	16 comments responding to Tweet published by @paulinehansonoz on 4 May 2023 This Tweet can be accessed via the following link: <a href="https://twitter.com/PaulineHansonOz/status/1654027274671517701">https://twitter.com/PaulineHansonOz/status/1654027274671517701</a>	4 May 2023
HO.	5 comments responding to Tweet published by @marquelawyers on 20 June 2023. This Tweet can be accessed via the following link:	20 June 2023



	<a href="https://twitter.com/marquelawyers/status/1671056024877387776">https://twitter.com/marquelawyers/status/1671056024877387776</a> .	
<i>Miscellaneous social media comments</i>		
HP.	101 miscellaneous comments published to social media.	Various
<b>Other</b>		
HQ.	Television interview between Pauline Hanson and Alan Jones which was published to Facebook video in which Mr Jones states “go back to Pakistan and join hands with the Taliban”.	15 September 2023

Our reference MB/14217  
Phone +61 2 8216 3003  
Email michaelb@marquelawyers.com.au

31 August 2023

Jennifer Wingard PhD  
Associate Professor  
University of Houston  
Texas, United States

By email: [jwingard@central.uh.edu](mailto:jwingard@central.uh.edu)

Dear Ms Wingard

***Faruqi v Hanson* – Federal Court of Australia proceedings no. NSD 372 of 2023  
Supplementary letter of instruction for preparation of expert evidence**

1. We refer to our letter of instruction dated 11 August 2023.
2. The purpose of this letter is to provide you with further background information regarding Senator Hanson's recent dealings in Australia. If you consider this information relevant, the information contained in this letter may be used for the purposes of informing any opinions expressed in your report.

**Senator Hanson's recent dealings with Mr Elijah Schaffer**

3. On or about 20 August 2023, Senator Hanson was photographed with Mr Elijah Schaffer attending the Conservative Political Action Conference event in Australia (**CPAC Australia**).<sup>1</sup> Further background in relation to Mr Schaffer is set out at paragraphs 7 to 10 below.
4. The photograph of Senator Hanson and Mr Schaffer was subsequently posted by Mr Schaffer to his public Twitter account '@ElijahSchaffer' at 1:18pm on 20 August 2023 with the caption "*Australia will rise again @CPACAustralia*" (**Schaffer Tweet**). The Schaffer Tweet can be accessed via the following link: <https://twitter.com/ElijahSchaffer/status/169310027776590672>.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Further background with respect to CPAC Australia can be accessed via the following link: <https://www.cpac.network/>.

<sup>2</sup> A screenshot of the Schaffer Tweet is included as document no. 1 of the supplementary brief.

5. At 1:22pm on 20 August 2023, Mr Schaffer responded to the Schaffer Tweet with a comment which stated "*Plotting*". We interpreted this as meaning that he and Senator Hanson may have engaged in further discussions following the photograph being taken.<sup>3</sup> As at today's date, this comment remains published on Mr Schaffer's Twitter account. It has attracted 74 likes.
6. To date, the Schaffer Tweet has attracted approximately 76,200 views, according to Twitter's view counter; 841 likes; and 154 comments. The Schaffer Tweet remains published on Mr Schaffer's Twitter account.

### Background on Mr Elijah Schaffer

7. Mr Elijah Schaffer is a public figure who recently migrated to Australia from the United States. He primarily works as a podcaster and reporter, and has a moderately sized public profile.<sup>4</sup>
8. Mr Schaffer's public Twitter account can be accessed via the following link: <https://twitter.com/ElijahSchaffer>. As at today's date, Mr Schaffer has garnered approximately 634,600 followers on this account.
9. Mr Schaffer in part uses his public profile to advance his far-right conservative views. In doing so, he regularly deploys and/or endorses controversial rhetoric which is associated with, or can be linked to, white nationalist and white supremacist ideologies. Examples of the types of rhetoric deployed by Mr Schaffer are as follows.
  - (a) Variations of the phrase "*rise again*,"<sup>5</sup> which he has deployed in various posts on his Twitter account, including in the Schaffer Tweet and in posts dated 23 July 2021<sup>6</sup> and 20 August 2021.<sup>7</sup>
  - (b) Mr Schaffer posted a picture to his Twitter account on 12 August 2023 which included a picture of participants in the 'Unite the Right' rally held in Charlottesville in 2017 carrying torches. Mr Schaffer captioned this post with the words "*Villains or heroes?*".<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Mr Schaffer's comment on the Schaffer Tweet forms part of the screenshot included at document no. 1 of the supplementary brief.

<sup>4</sup> Mr Schaffer's public Twitter account can be accessed via the following link; <https://twitter.com/ElijahSchaffer>. As at today's date, Mr Schaffer has garnered approximately 633,400 followers on this account.

<sup>5</sup> We understand that the phrase 'rise again' has been linked to white supremacist and/or white nationalist ideologies and has been deployed by individuals in the United States who hold equivalent views.

<sup>6</sup> Mr Schaffer's Tweet dated 23 July 2021 can be accessed via the following link: <https://twitter.com/ElijahSchaffer/status/1418273818557259779>, and is included at document no. 2 of the supplementary brief.

<sup>7</sup> Mr Schaffer's Tweet dated 20 August 2021 can be accessed via the following link: <https://twitter.com/elijahschaffer/status/1428621059310428160?lang=au>, and is included at document no. 4 of the supplementary brief.

<sup>8</sup> Mr Schaffer's Tweet dated 12 August 2023 can be accessed via the following link: <https://twitter.com/ElijahSchaffer/status/1690358405956009984>, and is included at document no. 6 of the supplementary brief.

- (c) Mr Schaffer appeared in an interview on the show “Andrew Says,” hosted by Rebel News, which was entitled “*How to Sell Your Soul w/ Elijah Schaffer & Sydney Watson*” on 13 September 2021. In that interview, Mr Schaffer stated the following: *“The people who continue to defend Islam by saying ‘well I know a good Muslim’ ok I have too but when you look at the amount of people who are sympathetic in Islam to ISIS ... there are more UK Muslims fighting for Islam overseas than fighting for their own government. ... In military strength it looks like diversity was your weakness and didn’t have a net positive that’s why I’m not a fan of Islam. There’s more of them overseas fighting against western values and that’s not racist to say. That shows you what the ideology breeds which are enemies of western civilisation and freedom and the threats have been well documented. So destabilising the situation and bringing these people over to our countries is just absolutely ridiculously stupid. They don’t want to be westerners, they don’t want to blend in ... this is a disaster and they’re using this to fundamentally change and transform western countries.”*<sup>9</sup>
10. Further, Mr Schaffer has recently been criticised for associating with, and using his platform to promote, individuals who identify as neo-Nazis, extremists and/or white supremacists. For example, on 4 August 2023, Mr Schaffer hosted Mr Joel Davis, a known neo-Nazi, on his podcast entitled ‘*Nightly Offensive*’ in which Mr Davis (amongst other things) shared antisemitic conspiracy theories and spoke out about interracial marriage.<sup>10</sup>

### Instructions

11. The information provided in this letter is intended to supplement that which was provided in our letter of instruction dated 11 August 2023.
12. Please incorporate this material into your consideration and completion of the instructions referred to in paragraph 22-26 of our letter of instruction dated 11 August 2023.

### Documents

13. We have prepared a supplementary brief which the materials identified at Schedule A of this letter. You can access and download these materials via [this Dropbox link](#).

Please do not hesitate to contact us with any questions or concerns.

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<sup>9</sup> This interview can be accessed via the following link: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wFGf9bXUxvI>, and is included at document no. 3 of the supplementary brief.

<sup>10</sup> See for example <https://angrywhitemen.org/2023/08/05/on-his-rumble-show-elijah-schaffer-hosts-australian-neo-nazi-who-pushes-white-genocide-conspiracy/#more-56223> which is included at document no. 5 of the supplementary brief; and <https://www.crikey.com.au/2023/08/15/cpac-australia-elijah-schaffer-removed/> which is included at document no. 7 of the supplementary brief.

MAR  
QUE

Yours sincerely

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'MB', with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right.

Michael Bradley  
**Managing Partner**

**Schedule A**  
**Index of supplementary material**

Tab	Document	Date
1.	Tweet posted by the Twitter account '@ElijahSchaffer', which can be accessed via the following link; <a href="https://twitter.com/ElijahSchaffer/status/1693100277765906722">https://twitter.com/ElijahSchaffer/status/1693100277765906722</a>	20 August 2023
2.	Tweet posted by the Twitter account '@ElijahSchaffer', which can be accessed via the following link; <a href="https://twitter.com/ElijahSchaffer/status/1418273818557259779">https://twitter.com/ElijahSchaffer/status/1418273818557259779</a>	23 July 2021
3.	YouTube video published by the YouTube account 'Rebel News' entitled " <i>How to sell your soul with Elijah Schaffer &amp; Sydney Watson</i> ", which can be accessed via the following link; <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wFGf9bXUxvI">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wFGf9bXUxvI</a>	13 September 2021
4.	Tweet posted by the Twitter account '@ElijahSchaffer', which can be accessed via the following link; <a href="https://twitter.com/elijahschaffer/status/1428621059310428160?lang=au">https://twitter.com/elijahschaffer/status/1428621059310428160?lang=au</a>	20 August 2021
5.	Article published on the WordPress page 'Angry White Men' entitled " <i>On his rumble show, Elijah Schaffer hosts Australian Neo-Nazi who pushes 'White Genocide' conspiracy</i> ", which can be accessed via the following link; <a href="https://angrywhitemen.org/2023/08/05/on-his-rumble-show-elijah-schaffer-hosts-australian-neo-nazi-who-pushes-white-genocide-conspiracy/#more-56223">https://angrywhitemen.org/2023/08/05/on-his-rumble-show-elijah-schaffer-hosts-australian-neo-nazi-who-pushes-white-genocide-conspiracy/#more-56223</a>	5 August 2023
6.	Tweet posted by the Twitter account '@ElijahSchaffer' which can be accessed via the following link; <a href="https://twitter.com/ElijahSchaffer/status/1690358405956009984">https://twitter.com/ElijahSchaffer/status/1690358405956009984</a>	12 August 2023
7.	Article published by Crikey entitled " <i>Right-wing conference dumps US podcaster who interviewed an Australian neo-Nazi last week</i> ", which can be accessed via the following link; <a href="https://www.crikey.com.au/2023/08/15/cpac-australia-elijah-schaffer-removed/">https://www.crikey.com.au/2023/08/15/cpac-australia-elijah-schaffer-removed/</a>	15 August 2023