Chapter 3
Trolling in the Cultural and Creative Industries

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ABSTRACT

This chapter presents an international state-of-the-art literature review of abusive trolling experienced by workers in the creative and cultural industries (CCIs), bringing target experiences and organizational/ occupational perspectives to the forefront and contributing to the still-evolving understanding of trolling. The abusive trolling encountered by creative and cultural workers essentially reflects workplace cyberbullying at the interpersonal level stemming from external sources, as captured by D'Cruz and Noronha's 'varieties of workplace bullying' framework, and provides evidence for the category-based cyber abuse at the workplace. Apart from discussing the responses of creative and cultural workers to abusive trolling, interventions employed to manage trolling in the CCIs are reviewed and future research directions are forwarded.

INTRODUCTION

Trolling is a recent, widespread and international phenomenon, which has been identified as the most discussed topic on the Internet in the second decade of 21st century (Bishop, 2103a; Sanfilippo, Fichman, & Yang, 2018). Though the meaning attached to trolling is still evolving, two broad strands are discernible. On the one hand, trolling involves luring or baiting others to initiate pointless conversations on online communities/forums to sabotage discussions and derive personal enjoyment from such disruptive behaviours (e.g., wasting members' time in a forum by engaging in futile arguments) (Binns, 2012;

Hardaker, 2010; Hopkinson, 2013). On the other hand, trolling involves offensive remarks, personal attacks and hostile and aggressive online behaviour directed against others in order to provoke reactions (e.g., posting offensive comments on tribute pages) (Bishop, 2013a; Jane, 2012; Herring, Job-Sluder, Scheckler, & Barab, 2002; Lumsden & Morgan, 2017), indicative of cyberbullying (Cruz, Seo, & Rex, 2018; Farley, Coyne, & D'Cruz, 2018).

The present chapter provides an international state-of-the-art literature review of abusive trolling faced by workers in the creative and cultural industries (CCIs). While the CCIs are major drivers of economic growth (Boccella & Salerno, 2016; Flew, 2002), their features of flexible work/freelancing, competition and long working hours create conditions conducive for workplace bullying (Federation of Entertainment Unions [FEU], 2013; Hennekam & Benett, 2017; Siebert & Wilson, 2013). Creative and cultural workers who value autonomy, originality, self-expression, recognition and self-realization are drawn to work in the CCIs; however, they become disillusioned due to the precarious and exploitative nature of employment, which fuels mistreatment and victimization (FEU, 2013; Hesmondhalgh & Baker, 2010). Yet, alongside such abuse from internal sources (D'Cruz & Noronha, 2019), having to interface with customers and clients, often in the form of audiences such as readers, viewers, fans, and so on, can expose creative and cultural workers to harassment from external sources (Mendonca, D'Cruz, & Noronha, 2018). With creative and cultural labour often undertaken through computer-mediated communication (CMC) and/or entailing the use of information and communication technologies and devices (ICTDs) (Flew, 2017b; Hesmondhalgh & Baker, 2010), these workers are known to face abusive trolling from their audiences.

The chapter contributes in several ways. First, in reporting targets' experiences of abusive trolling, the chapter brings this important protagonist to the forefront, deviating from earlier trends of focusing on online interactions rather than target experiences (Bishop, 2013a; Coles & West, 2016; Hardaker, 2010, 2013). Second, in focusing on the CCIs, the chapter brings an occupational and/or organizational perspective to the discussion, reinforcing Sanfilippo and colleagues' (2017) argument that context influences how trolling unfolds and is experienced and defined. Third, in locating abusive trolling within the 'varieties of workplace bullying' framework (D'Cruz & Noronha, 2019), the chapter enriches both the workplace bullying and trolling literatures, adding depth to each conceptualization.

The chapter begins by discussing the concept of trolling and providing an overview of the CCIs. Following an elaboration of the abusive trolling experiences of various sectoral/sub-sectoral groups and social categories in the CCIs, responses and interventions are described. The chapter closes with avenues for future research.

UNDERSTANDING TROLLING

A review of studies examining the concept of trolling presents a diverse, complex, contradictory and often confusing understanding of the term. Trolling has been used in the literature to cover a variety of negative online behaviours with lack of uniformity in definitions (Cook, Schaafsma, & Antheunis, 2018). The early understanding of trolling depicts it as a relatively harmless behaviour of baiting readers to engage and react in discussion forums (Bishop, 2014b; Hardaker, 2010; Matthews & Goerzen, 2019; Lumsden & Morgan, 2017; Schwartz, 2008). However, the meaning of trolling has evolved from provoking others for mutual enjoyment to harassing others by posting offensive remarks to seek personal amusement (Bishop, 2013a; Bishop, 2014b). In addition, there is often a disconnect between the schol-

arly meaning of the term and how it is used in the media text and online interactions (Bishop, 2014b; Sanfilippo et al., 2018); with trolling becoming an umbrella term to refer to various kind of online toxic behaviours in the latter's case.

Several researchers have tried to provide a conceptual definition of trolling. Since the understanding of trolling itself is evolving, so are the definitions. Herring and colleagues (2002) describe trolling as luring others into pointless conversations in online discussion forums, and differentiate it from flaming, identifying the latter as provocation intended to insult others. Hardaker (2010) points deception, disruption, aggression and success as four interrelated characteristics of trolling behaviour. Trolling is considered as successful when the targets respond to the bait. Golf-Papez and Veer (2017) define trolling as deliberate, deceptive and mischievous acts undertaken to elicit reactions from targets for the benefit of trolls but which may have negative effects on targets. While the first two definitions focus on trolls' motivation and behaviour, the third definition incorporates targets' perspectives and possible negative effects of trolling. Some of the manifestation of the above-discussed trolling behaviour are digressing from the topic in online discussions, excessively criticizing someone, inciting emotional responses from group members by manipulation, hurting others in the guise of counselling, triggering others by discussing controversial topics such as religion, death, politics, animal welfare and human rights, and being aggressive for the sake of it (Hardaker, 2013).

Sanfilippo and colleagues (2018) identify trolling behaviour as multi-dimensional, motivated by multiple factors and includes both light-hearted and deviant trolling. On similar lines, several studies have tried to develop the taxonomy of trolling (e.g., Matthews & Goerzen, 2019; Sanfilippo et al., 2018). Bishop (2014a, 2014b) differentiates between classical and anonymous trolling. Classical trolling is conducted within online communities where trolling is an accepted form of enjoyment (trolling for lolz), while anonymous trolling is done for one's enjoyment by abusing other victims (trolling for the lulz). Bishop (2012) also differentiates between kudos and flame trolling where the former aims at entertaining others and the latter is abusive.

When trolling is examined as a by-product of individual attitudes, decisions and values (Cruz et al., 2018), it has been largely linked to dark personality traits such as narcissism, sadism, psychopathy and Machiavellianism (Buckels, Trapnell, & Paulhus, 2014; Sest & March, 2017). Trolls are found to have low self-esteem, low affective empathy, low internal moral values, high impulsivity and lack of conscience (March, Greive, Marrington, & Jonason, 2017; Sest & March, 2017). Nevertheless, the motivations for trolling differ based on the context and may not always be linked to the personality profile of trolls. In the gaming context, personal enjoyment, revenge and thrill-seeking are identified as motivations for trolling (Cook et al., 2018). In social media platforms such as Facebook, trolls attack targets who are likely to receive more media coverage, thereby aiming to increase other's irritation (Bratu, 2017). Cruz and colleagues (2018) instead of approaching trolling as a product of individual motivation, examine it as a phenomenon occurring as a part of social practice and recognize trolling as a form of engagement with the online community.

It is evident from the literature that perception of what constitutes trolling varies based on the context (de Seta, 2013; Sanfilippo, Yang, & Fichman, 2017) such as the nature of online community (Sanfilippo et al., 2017), the platform (Morrissey & Yell, 2016), the topic of discussion (Hopkinson, 2013), and the parties involved (e.g., bystanders, target or perpetrator). Online forums/communities, which have trolling as a central characteristic (e.g., 4chan), are more accepting of trolling and see its humorous side (Kirman, Lineham, & Lawson, 2012). Similar is the case with online gaming communities where trolling is used to initiate new members (Thacker & Griffiths, 2012). However, in feminist forums, the blogosphere and

news forums, trolls are perceived as antagonistic, abusive, harmful and polarizing (Binns, 2012; Eckert, 2018; Jane, 2014; Herring et al., 2002; Zelenkauskaite & Niezgoda, 2017). The nature of the platform influences the manifestation and effects of trolling. Often trolling that is anonymous, instantaneous, takes place in real time, and entails direct messaging to the target is found to be intentional and abusive (Morrissey & Yell, 2016). Trolling is also perceived as transgressive or amusing based on whether the person is a perpetrator, target or bystander (Kosonen & Ylönen, 2017). In most cases, it is the perpetrators who perceive trolling as funny (March & Marrington, 2019) and the targets/bystanders find trolling disruptive and harmful (Jane, 2014; Sanfilippo et al., 2018).

To summarise, trolling can be defined as a public online behaviour, often found in platforms that encourage debate/discussions, which entails posting offensive, inflammatory and off-topic comments to provoke and abuse others, create discord, disrupt discussions, discourage other users from online participation, harm specific individuals, and/or to amuse oneself or others (Cook et al., 2018; Hardaker, 2010; Hopkinson, 2013; Mantilla, 2013; Shaw, 2013). Trolling can range from harmless to abusive, and in certain cases result in extreme outcomes such as suicide and self-harm (Bishop, 2015; Gudipaty, 2017; Morrissey & Yell, 2016; Shachaf & Hara, 2010). Trolling can be both malicious and playful, real and pretend. Nevertheless, trolling embodies the characteristics of CMC such as anonymity, physical remoteness, lack of accountability and social disinhibition which together can quickly escalate the trolling from a mere act of provocation to intense personal attacks (Jane, 2012; Hardaker, 2010; Hopkinson, 2013; Suler, 2004). Such potential of trolling to do great harm renders it unethical and unacceptable behaviour (Coles & West, 2016). The present chapter focuses on abusive trolling, faced by creative and cultural labour, invoking workplace cyberbullying.

CREATIVE AND CULTURAL INDUSTRIES (CCIs) AS CONTEXT

The CCIs are considered driving forces of economic growth (Boccella & Salerno, 2016; Flew, 2002) with creative and cultural human capital powering regional economic development (Florida, 2003). The CCIs comprise economic activities that produce products and services of cultural, artistic and entertainment value, emerging from individuals' creativity (Eikhof & Warhurst, 2013; Flew 2017a). The CCIs encompass a heterogeneous group of industries including art (music, dance, theatre, visual arts), media (television[TV], radio, cinema), new media (computer games, software, mobile content, social media [e.g., Facebook, Twitter, 4chan]), fashion and design, publishing business (books, newspapers, magazines), advertising and craft production (Boggs, 2009; Cunningham, 2007; Hesmondhalgh & Baker, 2010), whose diverse workforce encompasses fashion designers, writers, novelists, playwrights, lyricists, performing artists, bloggers, animators, game designers, workers involved in movie-making (e.g., directors, actors, cinematographers), people from broadcasting, music and recording industry, and so on (Cunningham, 2007).

Despite the promotion of the CCIs as a channel of economic development, studies identify problematic features of these industries (Hesmondhalgh & Baker, 2011) such as the commodification of culture (Otmazgin, 2011), precarious labour practices, competition and lack of regulation (Hennekam & Benett, 2017; Hesmondhalgh, 2010), especially in the digital creative economy. Despite sectoral and sub-sectoral differences, CCIs share common features such as contingent nature of work, gendered power structure, varying degree of display/aesthetic work across sectors/sub-sectors (e.g., models versus TV reporters) and informal networks (Hennekam & Benett, 2017). Further, individuals who work in the CCIs often

operate in high-pressure situations, with some of their work requiring emotional and aesthetic labour and live performances [e.g., dance, musicians, actors] (Giga, Hoel, & Cooper, 2003) which are subjected to public scrutiny and judgement linked to societal expectations and standards (Chen et al., 2018). Apart from their employers and co-workers who can be sources of harassment, creative and cultural workers can be bullied by their customers and clients which includes audiences (FEU, 2013; Hennekam & Benett, 2017). Under such circumstances, it is not surprising that an increased presence of workplace bullying and harassment has been reported in the publishing industry, performing arts (e.g., dance, music, fashion modelling, entertainment) and media (Squires & Driscoll, 2018; Giga et al., 2003; Quigg, 2005).

The interface between CCIs and CMC and/or ICTDs, linked either to job design, work organization and labour process including the emergence of new types of media, occupations and business models with the industry (Flew, 2017b) or to content sharing, marketing and audience reactions (Dickinson, Matthews, & Saltzis, 2013; Wotanis & McMillan, 2014), have not just altered the character and reach of the sector (Boccella & Salerno, 2016; Flew, 2017b) but have also created conditions conducive to trolling in situations where creative and cultural workers are directly accessible to the public (Wolfe, 2018). Available literature shows that the creative and cultural workforce faces abusive trolling as detailed in the following sections. Obviously, while technology fuels and sustains the growth and evolution of the CCIs, it ushers in a dark side that vitiates the sector and harms its workforce.

CREATIVE AND CULTURAL WORKERS AS TARGETS OF ABUSIVE TROLLING

This chapter reports available international literature on the abusive trolling experienced by the creative and cultural workers such as journalists, TV presenters, bloggers, YouTube content producers, actors, video game developers and social media influencers whose online presence ranges from being part of small community interactions to a wider reach among the public (e.g., blogger versus actor) such that mistreatment occurs at multiple digital locations ranging from online discussion forums to social media platforms. Interestingly, the studies focus on trolling that is perpetrated by audience or people external to the organization rather than co-workers or other members of the organization. The subsections below cover targets' experiences of abusive trolling in the CCIs in terms of occupational groups (namely, publishing and news media, blogosphere, and performing arts [e.g., actors, artists, musicians, YouTube content producers]) and social categories.

Occupational Groups

Publishing and News Media

A large share of studies on trolling are located in the publishing and news media industry, which mainly cover two themes: a) trolling in the context of readers' comments, and newspapers' response to the same (e.g., Sindorf, 2013; Turner, 2010); and b) trolling experiences of workers (e.g., journalists) who produce online content. The studies exploring the latter theme, often use the terms trolling and online abuse/harassment interchangeably while referring to personal abuse/attacks, offensive remarks, death and rape threats, and hate speech (Binns, 2017; Reporters Without Borders [RSF], 2017).

Use of digital technology in news media has encouraged online participation of readers; nonetheless, the anonymous nature of comments has resulted in incivility, trolling, flaming, vitriol and racial and

sexual abuse in news forums (Sindorf, 2013; Turner, 2010). Traditional media outlets such as newspapers are struggling to discourage abusive trolling (Santana, 2014; Turner, 2010). At the centre of this struggle are journalists/reporters/presenters. Due to the onslaught of trolling, most newspaper publishers have entirely ceased online discussions, banned anonymous comments or resorted to moderation of comments (Santana, 2014; Sindorf, 2013; Turner, 2010); however, they have passed on the burden of ensuring online participation to journalists to do it via their personal social media accounts (Wolfe, 2018). As part of their job, journalists are increasingly required to create their online presence and reputation and interact with their audience (Wolfe, 2019). The responsibility of promoting content has left journalists vulnerable to trolling without any or minimal support from the publishing/media houses (Wolfe, 2018).

Of all the workforce in the CCIs, journalists are most vulnerable to personal abuse via trolling. Television reporters are targeted more frequently than online journalists where the former's physical attributes are constantly targeted by the audience (Chen et al., 2018). According to the Women Media Survey based on Australian journalists, 41% of staff and 18% of freelance workers in the field were attacked by trolls (Wolfe, 2019). The report prepared by RSF (2017), based on the cases from 32 countries, highlights widespread trolling manifested in the form of hate speech, name-calling, persistent stalking and shaming, death, bomb and rape threats, and releasing of personal details and intimate videos online. Such uncivil acts are not only perpetrated by a handful of trolls but also on certain occasions carried out by mass trolls called as troll armies (Lofgren Nilsson & Örnebring, 2016; RSF, 2017; Wolfe, 2019).

The trolling which happens in the field of journalism, cannot be discussed without dwelling on ideological or political trolling (Zelenkauskaite & Niezgoda, 2017). The frequent targets of trolls are journalists who discuss political news and undertake investigative stories, whose reporting challenges authoritarian regimes or political groups (Gudipaty, 2017; RSF, 2017). For instance, Indian journalist Rana Ayyub, who is a vocal critic of a particular political party, has been a frequent target of trolls and hate speech (RSF, 2017). Similar is the case with Amanda Smith, a freelance journalist reporting on Kurdish issues in Turkey and Syria, whose articles on war crimes have made her the target of vicious online trolling (Munoz, 2016).

Alongside online news forums, magazine publications encounter trolling via online reader communities (Binns, 2012). Compared to news forums, magazines have loyal readers who enjoy strong identification with the magazine community. Though in the case of magazines, the number of trolls is small, they are loud and determined, pose a threat to destroy the carefully built brand of the magazine, and affect readers who have strong community sense (Binns, 2012). Certain types of magazines are more prone to trolling and online abuse than others. For instance, in the case of Pikara magazine (Spanish feminist electronic magazine), both male and female authors have been targeted by trolls owing to the feminist content of their writings (Rodríguez-Darias & Aguilera-Ávila, 2018).

The foray of digital technology into the traditional media and its interface with new media such as social media platforms (e.g., Twitter, Facebook, YouTube) has created a complex ecosystem where some amount of trolling is also practised by individuals who generate online content. Aslan, Dennis, and O'Loughlin (2015) identify a complex tension between broadcasters, journalists, celebrities and Twitter users, where all of them negotiate the control of event framing. The constant pressure of creating a buzz or generating clicks demands journalists, reporters and TV presenters to bait the audience and be deliberately provocative, which in a way makes them accidental trolls.

Blogosphere

Apart from journalists, the occupational group that is vulnerable to trolling is bloggers. Blogs or weblogs, which are a type of online publishing, have single or group of people who can start a discussion on issues which are available to others to read and respond (Bishop, 2014b). The blogosphere provides a unique community space where the comments are directed towards the blogger and the fellow commentators in public view (Krueger, 2012). Blog forums are frequented by trolls who disrupt the discussions and also post abusive comments, rape and death threats. Eckert (2018) in a study involving 109 women bloggers (who mainly wrote on feminist, family and maternity politics) from Germany, Switzerland, UK and US, observes that trolls continuously post and follow the bloggers online with negative comments. Trolling also extends to offline encounters blurring the boundaries between online and real abuse. In a case documented in Japan, a prolific blogger was attacked and stabbed by a troll who often clashed with the blogger online. Later, the troll posted online about the murder and shared that he would be surrendering to the police (Chiu, 2018).

Scholars who maintain academic blogs or engage in online publishing of their work are also targets of trolling (Vera-Gray, 2017). Academic blogs are a relatively new form of weblogs where scholars interact with members of their discipline, including with members of other research areas and non-academic readers (Luzón, 2011). Vera-Gray (2017), in an auto-ethnographical study, documents her experience of being targeted with explicit and offensive flame comments while undertaking a recruitment drive online for a feminist research project. In a similar phenomenon, Chess and Shaw (2015) elaborate their experiences of becoming targets of online trolling with offensive comments for being feminist women scholars researching the video game industry which is notorious for being abusive towards women. Trolling in the case of women scholars is mainly targeted to discredit the intellect of the researcher and their self-confidence.

Performing Arts

In the case of performing artists (e.g., TV presenters, actors, artists, celebrities), the trolling predominantly takes place on digital and social media platforms. In most cases, the performing artists targeted with trolling are public figures/celebrities. Trolling becomes challenging in the case of public figures as they have to negotiate a relationship with public (Morrissey & Yell, 2016). As celebrities are increasingly using internet to build their brand and interact with fans (Scott et al., 2020), they are also becoming targets of variety of online harassment such as hacking personal photographs, releasing nude pictures on the internet and harassment on social media platforms (Halder & Jaishankar, 2016; Lawson, 2018b). Posting abusive comments that will incite celebrities to react creates a room for cyberbullying with severe consequences. The case of Charlotte Dawson, the Australian TV personality is an example of severe effects of trolling on public figures. Dawson was driven to commit suicide due to the extreme negative trolling that ensued hours before her attempt to take life. Though trolling is considered as harmless, in Dawson's case, it became performative commands aimed at harassing rather than amusement (Morrissey & Yell, 2016).

In the context of the entertainment industry, studies identify a phenomenon called fan trolling or trolling by toxic fans which happens mainly on social media platforms that are shared by both celebrities, content creators and fans (Proctor, 2018; Proctor & Kies, 2018; Scott, 2018). Fans turn into trolls when they become aggressive in their affective attachment towards the creative content (e.g., films, TV shows)

and collectively criticize the content, actors and other representational aspects. The fan-based trolling is predominantly gendered and homophobic. For example, actor Leslie Jones was subjected to malicious trolling when she was cast in the movie Ghostbusters (Lawson, 2018a; Scott, 2018). The fan trolling is also often targeted at popular TV programs which try to include diversity (e.g., including women and minority) in terms of their characters, which is not well received by fans and hence becomes the subject of trolling (Proctor, 2018; Scott, 2018).

A similar kind of trolling by fans has been extensively identified in the context of South Korea. One of the prominent cases is cyber harassment of South Korean pop star Tablo. The harassment began in 2010 when some netizens formed online communities questioning the pop star's educational credentials and military service evasion. The seemingly harmless online trolling quickly converted to offline harassment where the pop stars family members were targeted. In the aftermath, the pop star ceased his career routine and entered mental health treatment. Similar cases have also been identified in the Japanese entertainment industry which promotes idol culture, particularly J-pop. Any deviation from norms of idol culture (e.g., no dating, being available to fans to fuel their romantic fantasies) makes idols/performers vulnerable to trolling and online abuse. The online forums, blogs, and social media platforms in tandem are used by normal audiences to troll idols, TV presenters, voice actors, and so on. As opposed to the English-speaking trolling, in the context of Japan, trolling adopts a stance of detachment and superiority towards the targets (Johnson, 2016), making it vicious.

Social Categories

Research on internet harassment is increasingly evidencing that online communities reproduce and further intensify pre-existing societal prejudices (Vickery, 2018) such that cyberbullying is entwined with category-based mistreatment (D'Cruz & Noronha, 2013; Stoll & Block Jr., 2015). When it comes to the CCIs, they are characterized by a lack of diversity with limited representation from ethnic minorities and women (Eikhof & Warhurst, 2013; Siebert & Wilson, 2013). Nevertheless, the frequent targets of trolls in the industry are women, minorities, religious groups and the LGBTQ community (Duggan, 2014; Jane, 2014; Mantilla, 2013; Lumsden & Morgan, 2017). For instance, in the case of journalists, the one who are subjected to most abuse are Muslims, women, non-white and /or gay (Gardiner et al., 2016: RSF, 2018). In the context of India, Dalits (people of scheduled/ lower castes) and tribals (or indigenous people) have also been identified as targets (Rego, 2018).

Online trolling is gendered, and even more so in the CCIs. In the CCIs, women who are visible in public spaces (e.g., artists, writers, performers), belong to marginal social identity categories, discuss issues on politics, sensitive topics (e.g., refugees, rape victims), feminism and discrimination, and work in male-dominated online spaces (e.g., sports, technology, video game), are frequently targeted (Adams, 2018; Chen et al., 2018; Filipovic, 2007; Herring et al., 2002; Vera-Gray, 2017). The trolling directed at women is termed as gendertrolling, which involves vicious language, credible threats, intensity, scope and longevity of attacks (Mantilla, 2013), and entails comments that focus on female sexuality, body and appearance (Jane, 2012; Lumsden & Morgan, 2017). For instance, in a comparative study, Wotanis and McMillan (2014) observe that female YouTube stars are vulnerable to misogynistic comments, sexualization, objectification and hostility, whereas the comments directed at male stars are racial and attack the content rather than their body. Likewise, women commentators in Australian media, are targeted with comments that point out their ugliness, hysteria and unintelligence with threats or fantasies of violent sex (Jane, 2014). On similar lines, women TV presenter/reporters in Taiwan are called as fat and ugly,

and not fit to be on TV (Chen et al., 2018; Pain & Chen 2019). Overly sexualization of comments is also observed in the case of women celebrities, where their sexual life is discussed in in the guise of moral and ethical debate targeting and scrutinizing their private life (Lawson, 2018a).

Trolling is situated in the socio-cultural context where misogynist treatment of women is appreciated (Lumsden & Morgan, 2017). Majority of the sector in the CCIs are male-dominated and share the culture of misogyny where women who dare to undertake an activity that predominantly meant for male are perceived as deviant (Lumsden & Morgan, 2017). One of the widely discussed examples is the video game industry and the Gamergate controversy. Gamergate began when women working in the video game industry (e.g., Zoe Quinn, Brianna Wu, Anita Sarkeesian) became targets of gendertrolling. The trolling was escalated via social media platform using #Gamergate hashtag (Blevins, 2018), and took the form of a campaign aimed at systematic harassment (Nieborg & Foxman, 2018). A similar phenomenon is observed in the field of sports and technology, both of which are male dominated fields. Women journalists' reporting on sports and tech are subjected to consistent online abuse which makes them doubt their abilities, despite their education and skills (Adams, 2018; Everbach, 2018).

Gender intersects with race and other stigmatized identities in the context of trolling. Chen et al. (2018) observe that comments belittle journalists' racial identity as well as gender. For example, in the case of a Latina journalist who wrote on rape victims, comments such as 'needy Hispanic' were posted (p. 9). In a similar example, in Britain, blogger and YouTuber Kat Blaque, who is an activist promoting equality, was subjected to trolling laced with sexist and racial insults (Lumsden & Morgan, 2017). In the case of actor Leslie Jones (American comedian and actress), comments were targeted at her appearance and attractiveness, which at the same time ridiculed her black women identity (Madden et al., 2018).

The difference in the nature of commenting is also documented in the racial context where readers write more negative comments towards black authors. The frequency of the comments escalates when black authors discuss topics related to prejudice and discrimination (Sumner, Stanley, & Burrow, 2017). The racial nature of trolling is found to be amplified by social media platforms, which provide an echo-chamber like effect facilitating racial antagonism (Murthy & Sharma, 2019). Matamoros-Fernández (2017) term this as platform racism where social media platforms amplify, reproduce and manufacture racism.

The extant international literature documenting the abusive trolling experienced by creative and cultural workers essentially reflects workplace cyberbullying at the interpersonal level of analysis stemming from external sources, in line with D'Cruz and Noronha's (2019) 'varieties of workplace bullying' framework. Creative and cultural workers are singled out for hostile attacks enacted virtually by audiences such as readers, viewers, fans, etc., who are generally strangers to the targets. While instances of the mistreatment developing into real/offline abuse in physical in-situ settings are reported, the enmeshment with category-based cyber abuse (D'Cruz & Noronha, 2019) is also evidenced. As highlighted earlier, abusive trolling embodies the unique features of workplace cyberbullying, namely, boundarylessness, anonymity, invisibility, concreteness and permanence (D'Cruz & Noronha, 2013; Farley et al., 2018). Transcending spatial, temporal and relational boundaries along with tremendous audience reach (D'Cruz & Noronha, 2013), trolling endures as a tangible digital footprint (D'Cruz & Noronha, 2013; D'Souza, Forsyth, Tappin, & Catley, 2018). Apart from families of trolled workers becoming direct targets (Pellegrini, Tolfo, Azeredo, & D'Cruz, 2019), the possibility of abused workers turning into 'quasi-perpetrators' (D'Cruz & Noronha, 2018a, p. 151) through replays and re-reading of the offensive comments cannot be ruled out. Among the varied causes of trolling, self-dissociation and sometimes identity concealment, promoting disinhibition, due to mediated interactions cannot be ignored (D'Cruz & Noronha, 2013; Vranjes, Baillien, Vandebosch, Erreygers, & De Witte, 2017). As well as furthering existing insights into external

cyberbullying at work (e.g., D'Cruz & Noronha, 2014) especially through the addition of another sector, the literature on trolling in the CCIs encompasses workers whose workplaces are anchored in materiality and/or virtuality (e.g., D'Cruz & Noronha, 2018b) extending nascent insights into bullying in virtual workplaces. Moreover, it is possible that creative and cultural workers may be facing other varieties of workplace bullying (D'Cruz & Noronha, 2019) simultaneously alongside abusive trolling.

CREATIVE AND CULTURAL WORKERS' RESPONSES TO ABUSIVE TROLLING

Given the public evaluative component of creative and cultural work and the deep attachment of creative and cultural workers to their job, the effects of public trolling directed at their product/work/content can be enormous (Gill & Pratt, 2008). The impact of trolling on the employees working in the CCIs include self-doubt, low-confidence, self-censorship, humiliation, withdrawal, fear, emotional distress, and in some cases suicide and self-harm (Adam, 2018; Eckert, 2018; Morrissey & Yell, 2016; RSF, 2017; Wolfe, 2018). Trolling can consume the targets life physically and emotionally, cause fear of their life and their loved ones (Jane 2014; RSF, 2017), and disturb work routines (Pain & Chen, 2019). Trolling can succeed in its silencing agenda and force individuals to remove themselves from online spaces. In the case of celebrities, social influencers and lifestyle bloggers, the silencing strategies and abatement from online participation can cost their livelihood (Abidin & Thompson, 2012). Further, trolling leads to offline abusive encounters such as stalking, invading personal property and murder (Chiu, 2018; RSF, 2017).

Notwithstanding the severe effects, the research on trolling presents a variety of ways in which targets deal with the abuse individually and collectively, often taking an agentic role. Broadly, the individual level strategies can be grouped into problem-focused coping where targeted creative and cultural workers directly engage with the issue in order to resolve it; and emotion-focused coping where targeted creative and cultural workers change their own thoughts, feelings and behaviours as means of dealing with the situation (D'Cruz & Noronha, 2010a, 2010b; Hodson, Gosse, Veletsianos, & Houlden, 2018).

Problem-Focused Coping

Problem-focused coping entails proactive strategies such as moderating comments (Wolfgang, 2018), exposing abuse (Eckert, 2018) and resisting trolls and taking actions against them (Hänninen, 2018). Journalists, who are one of the most targeted groups with trolling in the CCIs, manage trolling by developing routines and practices related to moderation of comments (Chen & Pain, 2017; Chen et al., 2018; Wolfgang, 2018). For instance, a white American journalist had developed a moderating system on her page which deleted comments entailing words such as sexy, hot, boobs, etc. (Chen et al., 2018). Journalists in the US engage in boundary work which entails establishing standards for comments based on which uncivil comments from readers are rejected (Wolfgang, 2018). Similar to the case of journalists, bloggers moderate readers' comments. Australian women bloggers resist silencing practices by adopting permanent moderation where no anonymous post is allowed on blogs (Shaw, 2013). Likewise, lifestyle bloggers get in touch with blog administration and remove the discussion threads that are abusive and discuss or reveal their personal lives (Hänninen, 2018). Apart from moderating comments, targets take control by discouraging discussions that lead to trolling. For instance, feminist bloggers come up with Bingo cards which list a set of expected discussion points and arguments against feminism. Such Bingo cards are used to render derailing trolling invalid (Shaw, 2013). Though the design of digital platforms

enables trolling in many cases, targets use the same platform to counter the perpetrators. For instance, women YouTube stars/ influencers use the platform to create content that challenges the existing gender stereotypes and get a paycheck for the same (Wotanis & McMillan, 2014).

Along with the proactive ways, creative and cultural workers develop strong reactive measures that discourage trolling. Faced with trolling that involves threats, journalists expose the abuse to a larger audience and bring visibility to their negative experiences. For instance, sports journalists widely share their stories of abuse, which helps them to assert their gendered experience and create awareness for change (Antunovic, 2019). Likewise, bloggers make the abuse visible through hashtags and memes, also posting them in other social media platforms (Shaw, 2013). Apart from exposing the abuse, targets resist trolling and act against trolls. Women bloggers make trolls pay to access their websites with the strategy that haters should pay for their hate (Eckert, 2018). Vitis and Gilmour (2017) document the unique way of resistance through Instagram art which not only records the harassment but also resists, engages and punishes the perpetrators.

Emotion-Focused Coping

Studies show that in addition to problem-focused coping, creative and cultural workers rely on emotion-focused coping to tackle trolling. These strategies include not engaging with the comments (Binns, 2012; Pain & Chen, 2019), trolling the troll (Coles & West, 2016), using humour and art (Binns, 2017; Vitis & Gilmour, 2017), compartmentalizing professional and personal identities, seeking emotional support from others, avoiding online presence, and turning to silence (Binns, 2017; Hodson et al., 2018). The most common form of negotiating trolling among journalists and bloggers is to ignore or block the trolls (Abidin, 2013; Everbach, 2018) Sometimes bloggers publicly call out trolls; however, that only intensifies the cycle of abuse. In the case of lifestyle bloggers, the dependency on readers for the livelihood makes them change their content, avoid sensitive and personal topics, and also alter their appearance (Hänninen, 2018). Further, one in five female tech journalists working across the world, disguise their identity and gender and prefer publishing anonymously (Adams, 2018). Targets also use humour to cope with trolling as in the case of bloggers, who tackle trolling by removing the vowels from abusive comments (called as disemvowelling), which makes trolls to appear as if they cannot type.

Apart from individual strategies, there are examples where targets have come together to manage trolling collectively. One such initiative is Trollbusters app that addresses online/cyber abuse of women journalists, publishers and thought leaders. Trollbusters app was developed by a team of women journalists in the US, which aimed at providing just in time help for women journalists and writers (Ferrier & Garud-Patkar, 2018). Trollbusters work with local law enforcement and deal with trolling by sending positive messages to the point of attack, providing emotional support and reputation management (Munoz, 2016).

Despite studies evidencing the agentic role taken by targets to cope with trolling, the universal advice given to targets is 'do not feed the troll' (Binns, 2012; Lumsden & Morgan, 2017). Lumsden and Morgan (2017) remark that media portrays targets of trolling as powerless and victims and often propagates the popular discourse 'do not feed the troll'. In a study on women bloggers, Eckert (2018) points that very few targets actively engage in ceasing or moderating the comments or interacting with users, as abusive comments have become ever-present background noise to them. Such a strategy which stops targets from countering trolls makes them complicit in online abuse, normalizes trolling, and increases the chances of being trolled (Munoz, 2016).

INTERVENTIONS TO MANAGE TROLLING IN THE CCIs

Besides targets coping with trolling at the individual and collective levels, studies highlight the institutional-level interventions undertaken by employers/organizations and through platform management and media as well as legislation. Employers/organizations take top-down approaches where they create systems and policies that discourage trolling behaviour. In the case of the publishing industry, most of the newspapers manage trolling by banning anonymous comments and mandating readers to register before commenting (Schaefer, 2014; Turner, 2010). Some news fora allow readers to post comments; however, after publication, writers, editors and readers flag offensive posts (Schaefer, 2014). Negative comments are discouraged by providing high ratings for positive readers' comments reinforcing good behaviour (Binns, 2012; Bishop, 2012). Trolling is also combated by using technology such as automatic content screening and online aggression blocking (Bishop, 2015) and by filing lawsuits against anonymous trolls (Green, 2019).

Notwithstanding employer/organizational initiatives, targets find these interventions to be unsupportive when they wish to act against their perpetrators. German women journalists share that they have very little training on how to deal with online trolling and, most of the time, they are left on their own to deal with abuse, receiving no support from their managers (Chen et al., 2018). Journalists generally advised not to take trolling personally (Chen et al., 2018; Wolfe, 2018). Likewise, though scholars and professors are usually backed by their institutions, when it comes to cyberbullying and harassment, organizations lack a support system (Olson & LaPoe, 2018). Though trolling originates from sources external to the organization, it is resultant of fulfilling one's work duties, making it a workplace phenomenon. This insight from the present review highlights the importance of planning and implementing managerial level interventions (e.g., training and support to workers) in the CCIs to tackle trolling.

Digital platforms and media play a significant role in preventing and discouraging trolling. Social media platforms shape online experiences through their policies, business models and codes (Vickery et al., 2018). In 2016, Twitter, a microblogging platform notorious for trolls, provided more control to users to decide who can see and interact with them, with the facility to report offensive tweets (Olson & LaPoe, 2018). This example shows that identifying trolling, reporting it and taking relevant actions is very much within the control of digital platforms. Further, automated methods to detect trolls have already been used in some platforms (e.g., Wikipedia) which flag or detect trolls and delete them (Kumar, Spezzano, & Subrahmanian, 2015). Designing platforms keeping in mind the possibility of harassment and including the means to pre-empt and/or stop such negative behaviour can create safe online spaces where diverse users can participate (Vickery et al. 2018).

Along with digital platforms, news media can play a pertinent role in managing trolling. News organizations and media have been identified to engage in hybrid trolling where they amplify the initial act of trolling (e.g., covering and analysing offensive tweet by a troll or controversial twitter debate) resulting in sustained controversy that generates clicks. Further, journalists escalate the initial act of trolling or controversy through their comments/tweets on social media leading to secondary trolling. Since news media have a powerful influence in shaping social discourse (Vickery et al., 2018), ensuring that they steer clear of hybrid and secondary trolling) and, instead, address the abusive situation and support targets is crucial (Aslan et al., 2015; Vickery et al., 2018).

Studies discuss legislations as a way to combat trolling and protect targets while highlighting issues related to the application of existing laws to tackle the problem (Henry & Powell, 2016), the lack of specific laws addressing trolling (Bishop, 2013a; Myers & Cowie, 2017), and loopholes in the law

enforcement system (Marshak, 2017). Several existing laws are applicable to trolling (Bishop, 2012). In the case of England and Wales, cyberbullying including abusive trolling is a legal offence under the existing laws such as Protection from Harassment Act 1997, Malicious Communications Act 1988 and Section 127 of the Communications Act 2003 (Bishop, 2012; Myers & Cowie, 2017). Though existing laws provide for prosecuting the perpetrators (Bishop, 2012), they are limited in their scope in capturing the intersection of multiple types of online abuse (Henry & Powell, 2016). In the context of Australia, Henry and Powell (2015) observe that existing laws treat traditional and new technologies as tools of abuse, and fail to capture the unique ways through which new technologies can harm and aggravate abuse towards targets. Further, existing laws may not account for the intersection of marginalized identities in the case of trolling. Edstrom (2016) points out that since gender is not a part of hate crime legislation in Sweden, it is difficult to deal with sexualized hate speech. The need for specific legislation is pertinent to address the constantly evolving nature of online harassment and trolling (Vickery et al., 2018).

Apart from the limitations of existing laws, their enforcement is inadequate owing to the complex and technological nature of online abuse, social attitudes, and the reluctance of legislators and law enforcement to challenge online harassment (Enarsson & Naarttijärvi, 2016; Marshak, 2017; Vickery et al., 2018). The technical nature of online abuse leads to complexity since judges, legislators and law enforcement officials do not always have required technological literacy, giving rise to the need for training and awareness for the effective implementation of laws (Vickery et al., 2018). Further, the lack of specificity and clarity in legislation adds to the problem. In the context of the UK, Bishop (2013a) underscores the difficulties associated with using the nature of comments as a marker for sentencing a troll, since labelling comments as offensive and intended to harm depends on the context and the judgement of the target. Such lack of clarity leads to numerous inconsistencies in the application of Criminal Procedural Rules in the UK (Bishop, 2013a).

In addition to the lack of clarity, social attitudes of trivializing online abuse and blaming victims discourage targets from reporting the negative experiences (Marshak, 2017). Yet, where targets do report, law enforcement has often failed to provide remedy or support to them. For instance, when a British feminist blogger approached the police to address severe trolling that morphed into offline harassment, the latter asked her to change her online accounts and identity and refrain from writing about certain topics (Eckert, 2018). Lack of support from the legal system and societal expectations often force women in the CCIs to adopt passive strategies to deal with trolling. Apart from societal attitudes, the friction between the notions of freedom of expression and right to privacy hinders legislators from challenging online abuse. In the US, courts and legislators are reluctant to enforce laws against online harassment owing to the Communications Decency Act, which provides online intermediaries with immunity vis-à-vis user content (Vickery et al., 2018). A similar debate pertaining to the rights to privacy and freedom of expression is also observed in the case of Sweden (Edstorm, 2016; Enarsson & Naarttijärvi, 2016).

CONCLUSION AND FUTURE RESEARCH

This chapter has presented a state-of-the-art international review of literature of the abusive trolling faced by creative and cultural workers from their audiences. Apart from foregrounding targets' experiences and an occupational and/or organizational perspective, the chapter locates abusive trolling within D'Cruz and Noronha's (2019) 'varieties of workplace bullying' conceptualization. Detailing the online harassment creative and cultural workers in publishing and news media, the blogosphere and the performing arts are

subjected to by their readers, viewers, fans, and so on, the chapter describes these negative episodes as workplace cyberbullying enacted at an interpersonal level of analysis and arising from external sources. The chapter notes that such mistreatment could sometimes be linked to the creative and cultural worker's gender and/or racial identity.

Notwithstanding the several insights offered by the extant literature as brought out in the chapter, there is scope for further research. While it is crucial to study trolls and bystanders who have not been researched so far, investigating targets' lived experiences of abusive trolling is important. Despite attention paid to the phenomenon of abusive trolling in the CCIs by the popular media (e.g., Khaleeli, 2016; Vishnoi, 2018) and academic research (as this chapter has highlighted), there are no in-depth academic studies on how public figures, artists, authors and other creative and cultural workers subjectively experience and respond to trolling. The complexity of targets' sensemaking and coping is therefore not captured. Moving beyond the social categories of gender and race to examine religion, disability/chronic illness, sexual orientation, class and caste and their intersectionalities vis-à-vis creative and cultural workers' experiences of trolling is another relevant research agenda.

As well as exploring abusive trolling across all the sectors and sub-sectors of the CCIs, moving beyond the current Western-centric and English-language focus to gain a truly international perspective is pertinent. Trolling is culture specific construct which can be shaped and perceived differently based on the local internet culture (de Seta, 2013), in addition to the influences of sociocultural factors and national culture (Sun & Fichman, 2018). Trolling occurs in languages besides English, as is the case with Indian journalists who work in India's numerous languages (Siddique, 2017), underscoring the need to explore experiences of the phenomenon in other language settings. Moving further along, cross-cultural inquiries constitute another aspect calling for attention. These could proceed in two ways: (a) studies which explore abusive trolling within societies conducted across two or more countries, providing a comparative analysis; and (b) studies which recognise that international linkages often mark abusive trolling since targets, trolls, bystanders, employers/organizations and platform owners and managers may be located in different places.

Systematic and rigorous research on abusive trolling in the CCIs is needed to provide a foundational basis for intervention. The findings of well-designed empirical studies serve as inputs for employers/ organizations, platform owners and managers as well as policymakers as they plan and execute sector-/ sub-sector- and culture-specific primary, secondary and tertiary prevention initiatives that take into account the various stakeholders involved in trolling situations. Inquiries evaluating the effectiveness of interventions and providing recommendations for improvement are also called for.

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KEY TERMS AND DEFINITIONS

Coping: Coping refers to cognitive and behavioural efforts to resolve or reduce the demands that are created by stressors (Folkman, 1984).

Creative and Cultural Industries (CCIs): The CCIs encompass a heterogeneous group of industries that produce products and services of cultural, artistic and entertainment value, applying the creativity of individuals and groups (Eikhof & Warhurst, 2013; Flew, 2017a).

External Bullying: External bullying at work involves customers, clients, suppliers and others beyond the organization who engage in abusive behaviour with employees, manifested as aggressive and intimidating acts, causing the latter physical and emotional strain (D'Cruz & Noronha, 2014).

Gendertrolling: Gendertrolling involves the use of gender-based insults, vicious language and credible threats (e.g., rape threats, death threats) by a coordinated group of trolls to humiliate women, particularly those who speak out (Mantilla, 2013).

Trolling: Trolling can be defined as a public online behaviour, often found in platforms that encourage debate/discussions, which entails posting offensive, inflammatory and off-topic comments to provoke and abuse others, create discord, disrupt discussions, discourage other users from online participation, harm specific individuals, and/or to amuse oneself or others (Cook et al., 2017; Hardaker, 2010; Hopkinson, 2013; Shaw, 2013).

Workplace Bullying: Workplace bullying signifies emotional abuse, encompassing subtle and/or obvious negative psychosocial behaviours embodying aggression, hostility and intimidation, generally characterized by persistence, exhibited by workplace insiders and/or outsiders operating individually and/or as a group, to an individual employee or a group of employees during the course of the latter's work. Being interpersonal and/or organizational in level, the display of negative behaviours, which most often bears the mark of influences from within and/or outside the workplace, occurs privately and/or

publicly, in real and/or cyber forms, in the context of an existing or evolving unequal power relationship between the parties. While targets of workplace bullying, notwithstanding the harm they undergo, often strive towards well-being, protagonists like bullies, bystanders and employers experience varied outcomes (D'Cruz & Noronha, 2019).

Workplace Cyberbullying: Workplace cyberbullying refers to inappropriate and unwanted acts of hostility, intimidation, aggression and harassment displayed at work via information and communication technologies and devices (ICTDs), marked by boundarylessness, anonymity, invisibility, concreteness and permanence, with implications for the course of the misbehaviour in terms of pervasiveness, spread, intensity, evidence and persistence, thereby affecting outcomes for targets and other protagonists like perpetrators, bystanders, employers, etc. (D'Cruz & Noronha, 2013).