Journalism and Advocacy in Media Events. The role of *The Guardian* and advocacy groups in the Nauru Files

Lucy Bladen

This thesis has been submitted for the degree of Bachelor of Arts and Design (Honours)

Faculty of Arts and Design

University of Canberra

Word count: 19,715

Student ID number: u3099727

UNIVERSITY OF
CANBERRA

CERTIFICATION OF AUTHORSHIP OF DISSERTATION

Except as specially indicated in footnotes, quotations and the bibliography, I certify that I am the sole author of the Dissertation/Dissertation package submitted today for the partial fulfilment of an Arts and Design Honours degree.

Signature of author		…………………………………………………

Date:			…………………………………………………

The supervisor should endorse this statement, indicating that, as far as the supervisor is aware, the author's declaration is correct.

Signature of Supervisor	………………………………………………….

Date:			…………………………………………………

RETENTION AND USE OF DISSERTATION

I hereby state that I (name of candidate), being a candidate for the degree of Honours in Arts and Design accept the requirements of the University relating to the retention and use of theses deposited in the Library.

In terms of these conditions, I agree that the original of my dissertation deposited in the Library should be accessible for purposes of study and research, in accordance with the normal conditions established by the Librarian for the care, loan or reproduction of dissertation.

Signature …………………………………………

Date: …………………………………………

Table of Contents

Journalism and Advocacy in Media Events. The role of *The Guardian* and advocacy groups in the Nauru Files

Chapter four: #BringThemHere – The Broader Media Event

Abstract

Advocacy groups campaigning for the rights of asylum seekers currently in the Australian-run offshore detentions in Nauru and Manus Island were confronted with a whole new set of challenges on August 10, 2016. This was the day the Australian version of *The Guardian* released a series titled the Nauru Files which detailed allegations of abuse against asylum seekers detained on the Pacific Island Nation. This research project explores how these advocacy groups responded to the media event in a digitally networked context. Two corpuses of material are analysed – *The Guardian's* media coverage and tweets from advocacy organisations involved with campaigning efforts. A mixed-methods approach is applied – applying both discourse analysis and coding. Media event theory is also explored throughout this project, alongside connective action and advocacy journalism. Ultimately, this project seeks to discover how advocacy groups respond to new media events in a digitally networked context.

Introduction

"Following today's release of leaked incident reports from Australia's detention centre on Nauru, a coalition of human rights and refugee organisations have called on the Australian Government to urgently bring the people seeking asylum to Australia." ("Human rights groups launch #BringThemHere campaign," 2016)

In August 2016, a coalition of five Australian advocacy groups officially launched the #BringThemHere campaign ("Human rights groups launch #BringThemHere campaign," 2016). The aim of the campaign was to call on the Australian government to shut down their offshore detention centres in Manus Island (Papua New Guinea) and Nauru. The politics of offshore detention had been an ongoing, complex issue in the Australian political landscape for a number of years. The #BringThemHere campaign was launched to coincide with the release of the Nauru Files from *The Guardian* Australia. The Nauru Files were a cache of over two-thousand documents detailing incidents of child abuse, sexual abuse and self-harm (Farrell, Evershed, & Davidson, 2016) and were the ultimate catalyst for this campaign. *The Guardian Australia* is an online newspaper that is typically associated with being a left-wing publication (Wake, 2013). The corpus of materials collectively known as the Nauru Files were a newsworthy story because happenings on the Nauru Regional Processing Centre (NRPC) and its detainees are shrouded in secrecy with journalists and media outlets banned from visiting the centre (Isaacs, 2016). Isaacs (2016) argued that "while the Australian and Nauruan governments insist on such extreme levels of secrecy, there is no way the Australian public can know what really happens inside our offshore detention centres in Nauru" (p. 64). Therefore, due to the level of secrecy surrounding offshore detention, the Nauru Files were a significant work of journalism as they outlined events in a system which the Australian public is denied knowledge of. The files themselves were shocking in nature; they included, a five-year old girl who was hit on the back of the head by a security guard (Doherty, 2016), and another young boy who was grabbed by the throat from a guard and then had a chair thrown at him (Farrell, 2016). What was perhaps more shocking was the fact that in most cases the perpetrators were not punished. A number of Australian advocacy groups have campaigned for the rights of asylum seekers arriving by boat and also against mandatory detention. Whilst these campaigns have been ongoing for many years,

its impact comes in ebbs and flows and it relies on the broader public attention garnered by media events such as the Nauru Files to gain momentum for their cause.

Research Gap

Although there has been a considerable amount of interest in the impact of digital and networked media on politics and social issues, there is a research gap in the existing literature regarding the role of advocacy groups in a digitally networked context to media events concerning a particular social issue. Firstly, even though social movements have become more individualised, organisations play an important role in online networked campaigning (Schradie, 2014). Secondly, although much research has been conducted into responses on social media to 'real' events such as crises, disasters and acute events (Burgess & Crawford, 2011; Fuller, 2017b), not much research, if any, has engaged with the ways in which advocacy groups act and, in part, facilitate or contribute to media events. The #BringThemHere campaign was officially launched as a part of a clear strategy to contribute to a news-based media event. This project works to engage with the complexity of media event theory by way of a poststructuralist theoretical underpinning. This theoretical underpinning informs a mixed-methods approach, combining discourse analysis with coding. Through analysing the Nauru Files news-based media event and the social media communications by advocacy groups, this project will explore how advocacy groups engaging with #BringThemHere responded to the Nauru Files media event.

Research Question

What is the contribution of advocacy groups to digitally networked campaigns in the context of the Nauru Files media event? How do they utilise the hashtag #BringThemHere?

Thesis Outline

Chapter one explores the Nauru Files as a news-based media event. The chapter introduces the existing research literature which examines hashtag-based digital campaigns and media events in the context of the Nauru Files media event. The key point developed in this chapter is regarding the complexity of the Nauru Files media event; it is a complex intersection of news media reportage and opinion, social media communications from

advocacy groups, national rallies, and public commentary. It locates the media event in a historical context of how asylum seekers arriving by boat has been an issue in Australian politics for at least three decades. This historical context is necessary for understanding how the Nauru Files enabled a campaign and mobilised target publics that were already attuned to the messages and framing of the campaign. The chapter introduces the methodology and mixed-methods research design used in the subsequent chapters. The mixed-methods research design is required to engage with the complexity of the Nauru Files media event.

Chapter two is a critical discourse analysis of the news reports and opinion pieces published by *The Guardian* and which are part of the Nauru Files as a media event. The analysis develops and follows a media discourse analysis framework adapted from Carvalho (2008). Carvalho's (2008) methodology of is instructive for approaching event-based clusters of discourse from a critical perspective. The primary point of the analysis is that the coverage of the Nauru Files from *The Guardian* is a transparent example of advocacy journalism. The various frames and angles used by the media outlet mostly portrayed the NRPC and offshore detention in general as negative. Advocacy groups also featured throughout *The Guardian's* reportage, which is the basis for chapter three.

Chapter three explores the role of advocacy groups in the Nauru Files media event by analysing tweets sent out by groups involved with the campaign. For the purposes of this report, they will be referred to as advocacy groups to encompass the wide range of groupings such as NGO's, political organisations and special interest groups. This is also to differentiate them from the concept of 'organisation' and how it is used to describe campaigning on social media (Bennett & Segerberg, 2013). Through adapting a framework from Lovejoy and Saxton (2012), this part of the project codes tweets into various functions in order to examine the different ways in which advocacy groups participated in the Nauru Files media event. The analysis of tweets from the advocacy groups demonstrates they engaged with the Nauru Files media event by way of adopting journalistic norms and in turn amplifying the media event.

Chapter four is a deeper exploration of the digitally networked campaign. The chapter examines the various texts and discourses surrounding the hashtag #BringThemHere. One

of the ways in which this is analysed is through the generation of a timeline of acute events (Burgess & Crawford, 2011) within the larger media event. An analysis of the advocacy groups relationship with *The Guardian* is also conducted and from this it is determined that the Nauru Files were the catalyst for renewed efforts for campaigns surrounding the wider issue of offshore detention. The chapter concludes by examining the main findings from the research project

Chapter One: The Nauru Files Media Event

On August 10, 2016, *The Guardian* Australia published a series of articles which they titled the Nauru Files. The Nauru Files were a cache of over two-thousand leaked documents which outlined incidents that occurred to asylum seekers currently detained on the Australian-owned offshore processing facility in Nauru (Farrell, Evershed & Davidson, 2016). The documents themselves are mostly incident reports which had been prepared whenever there was a critical event at the NRPC. The average reader was unlikely to read or engage with the leaked incident reports directly, not unlike the role played by partner news organisations in the Wikileaks event (Baack, 2011). Hence, the work of *The Guardian* to publish a series of articles which inform and comment on the content in the files. Over the following weeks, *The Guardian* continued to provide commentary around the issue and sought to create a media event. As the organisation was responsible for leaking the files, their continued emphasis on the reportage of the Nauru Files is to be expected. From the perspective of *The Guardian* in working to turn the corpus of leaked reports into a news-based media event, the event has relatively well-defined contours and can be mapped through news media reports and opinion pieces. However, the media event is made more complex as the Nauru Files has a mixed materiality, consisting of the textual corpus of media reports as well as social media posts by supporters and detractors alike, and a complex intersection of present, past and future states of Australian government policy and the fate of thousands of refugees. Likewise, advocacy groups involved in campaigns for the rights of asylum seekers helped shape the event through their commentary and responses to the files. It is in this context of a complex media event that the issues which arose from the Nauru Files are a constituent part of a larger picture, this being the issue of asylum seekers attempting to reach Australia via boat.

1.2. Asylum Seekers in the Australian Context

In Australia, refugee politics, in particular those who arrive by boat, has been an ongoing site of contestations, it is an issue that has existed for decades with many histories. Since the 1970s the term 'boatpeople' has been used to describe asylum seekers who have reached Australian shores, in turn differentiating them from other migrants (Betts, 2001). Pickering (2001) argues that political and media discussions about asylum seekers arriving

by boat are underpinned by the theme of 'deviance'; seeking asylum by boat is seen as a deviant act and one which represents a significant problem (p. 169). Consequently, those seeking asylum by boat have faced far more scrutiny than other asylum seekers and have been the subject of much longer detention. The policy context of refugee politics has seen refugees as a political resource through which politicians articulate a 'national imaginary' (Hamilton, 1990). National imaginary "refers to the means by which contemporary social orders are able to produce not merely images of themselves but images of themselves against others" (Hamilton, 1990, p.16). Hence, the deviant 'other', asylum seekers are used as a political resource through which to articulate this 'national imaginary' (Hamilton, 1990).

Since the Migration Act of 1958, there has been a policy in place to detain people who arrive in Australia without visas, however, this was not the law until the Migration Amendment Act of 1992 (Betts, 2001, p. 37). Until 2001 most of this occurred in onshore Australian detention centres, however, what came to be known as the 'Tampa Incident' changed the way the government dealt with boat arrivals. In August 2001, a Norwegian container ship called *MV Tampa* responded to a request from the Australian government to rescue passengers who were asylum seekers from a sinking boat (Magner, 2004, p. 53). Once the asylum seekers were on the *MV Tampa*, a number became agitated and threatened to commit suicide if they were not taken to Christmas Island which is part of Australia's territory (Magner, 2004). However, the Australian government instructed the captain of the *MV Tampa* to not enter Australian territorial waters (Magner, 2004). A stand-off unfolded involving Special Air Service Regiment (SASR) soldiers who boarded the ship and who ultimately came to the decision that the asylum seekers needed further medical care. The captain then decided to enter Australian waters. Instead of accepting the asylum seekers the Australian government, under Prime Minister John Howard, negotiated policies to have them resettled in New Zealand and Nauru. The Australian government also sought arrangements with Pacific Island nations to open Australian-owned processing facilities. Negotiations with Papua New Guinea and Nauru were successful and the Pacific Solution was born (Magner, 2004).

Over the next years, a majority of asylum seekers who reached Australian shores were sent to either Nauru or Manus Island in Papua New Guinea. However, in 2008, new Prime

Minister Kevin Rudd dismantled the Pacific Solution resulting in the closure of Nauru and Manus Island (Topsfield, 2007). After the closure of the centres the number of boats reaching Australian shores increased dramatically with 44,317 people arriving on 744 boats from 2007 to 2013 (Phillips, 2013, p. 22). The opposition Liberal-National Party coalition, led by Tony Abbott, led a strong campaign against the Australian Labor Party's policy and stated they would reopen offshore detention facilities in foreign countries if they were to return to power (Abbott, 2010). When Prime Minister Julia Gillard came to power in 2010 she proposed a myriad of policies in order to curb boat arrivals, including, in 2012, the reopening of the Nauru and Manus Island facilities (Gartrell, 2012). After Kevin Rudd ousted Julia Gillard and became Prime Minister again in 2013 he announced the Regional Settlement Arrangement and proclaimed, "asylum seekers who come here by boat without a visa will never be settled in Australia" (Rudd, 2013). This was continued when the coalition came to power in September 2013 and was subsequently made a lot tougher with the development of Operation Sovereign Borders. The policy was a military-led operation to stop people smuggling and therefore seeking asylum in Australia via boat, through propaganda campaigns, boat turn backs and offshore detention (Chambers, 2015). As of October 2017, most of the asylum seekers who arrived in 2013 when these policies were announced are still in offshore detention in either Nauru or Manus Island. In November 2016, The United States agreed to resettle the detainees (Karp & Farrell, 2016) but so far only fifty-two refugees from the NRPC have been sent to the United States (Doherty, 2017).

1.3. #BringThemHere and Hashtag Based Campaigns

When the Coalition government came to power in 2013 and pushed their new border force policy, social media had already proven to be a powerful tool for campaigns (Bruns & Burgess, 2011; Lovejoy & Saxton, 2012; Bennett & Segerberg, 2013). A number of activists and advocacy organisations have developed digitally networked campaigns to call for an end to offshore detention, these include hashtags such as #LetThemStay, #CloseTheCamps, #EndTheAbuse and #BringThemHere (Davidson, 2016e; Oriti, 2016). After the release of the Nauru Files advocacy groups encouraged people to protest around the hashtag #BringThemHere. The #BringThemHere campaign states as its aim that "the people we have unlawfully imprisoned on Manus Island and Nauru should be brought here to safety" ("Human rights groups launch #BringThemHere campaign," 2016).

There is a long history of human rights and refugee-support groups and organisations working to advocate for the on-shore settlement of asylum seekers arriving in Australia (Mountz, 2011). There is no single group or organisation that leads all advocacy for asylum seekers. Instead it is a complex set of relationships between State or Territory-based local groups (often known as Refugee Action Committees or RACS), national advocacy groups such as *GetUp!* and *Amnesty International*, church and other religious groups and legal advocacy groups such as the *Human Rights Law Centre*. At different moments in the history of refugee advocacy, the participatory action of different individuals and groups develop into situational involvement in campaigns, such as 'doctors', 'teachers', 'mothers' and so on. One common characteristic across all interested groups and individuals is the fact they have come to use social media in ways which contribute to overall advocacy efforts, this is perhaps most evident through their use of hashtags.

In digital campaigns, hashtags play a central role as they hasten the process for issue publics to form and advocacy organisations to mobilise for various activities, including offline and online protest actions (Bruns & Burgess, 2011). An issue public is defined as "groups of people with highly important attitudes toward specific policy options" (Krosnick, 1990, p. 81). Integral to the way these 'issue publics' function are the networked affordances which allow disparate groups and individuals to organise around a common interest or concern, hashtags help facilitate such organisation. As a result, hashtags have become integral to the operation of social media, and are responsible for connecting networks of issue publics (Bruns & Burgess, 2011; (Bennett, Segerberg, & Walker, 2014).

Hashtags enable communities and issue publics to form *ad hoc* (Bruns & Burgess, 2011). Traditionally, social movements would only be able to respond to particular issues, such as claims produced by investigative journalism *post hoc*. However, the use of a hashtag which enables communication between a wide array of actors allows momentum to build much quicker. Hashtags themselves "emerge from within the Twitter community – sometimes as a result of pre-planning or quickly reached consensus, sometimes through protracted debate about what the appropriate hashtag for an event or topic should be" (Bruns & Burgess, 2011, p. 1). People that consistently use the same hashtag often come together in the formation of a community, and such hashtag communities can respond with great speed to

8

emerging issues (Bruns & Burgess, 2011). There is an interplay between hashtag-based campaigns and the broader context of an associated media event (Bonilla & Rosa, 2015); so hashtags in part become the cultural site of hybrid media events.

1.4. The Nauru Files media event

The Guardian's publication of the Nauru Files acted as a catalyst for renewed campaigns on behalf of those in offshore detention. As mentioned above, a coalition of five advocacy groups did officially launch a #BringThemHere campaign on the same date the Nauru Files were published ("Human rights groups launch #BringThemHere campaign," 2016). This reaction from advocacy groups and activists further contributed to the reportage of these files and in turn amplified the Nauru Files into a greater media event.

The Guardian's media event is an example of what has been described as a new media event (Fuller, 2017b) or hybrid media event (Bonilla & Rosa, 2015). Communications and media studies scholars have grappled with the shifting character of media events in a number of different ways. With the inception of social media and the twenty-four-hour news cycle the notion of a media event has changed greatly over the past two decades. Originally, the concept of a 'media event' was tightly defined and characterised by its grand scale. Media events, as defined by Dayan and Katz (1994), were monumental events which bring the media to a halt through the "live broadcasting of history", for example, the moon landing, and put a "full stop to everything else on the air" (Dayan & Katz, 1994, p. 10). In this definition, unplanned news, such as the assassination of a president, would not be considered as a media event, but the funeral of the assassinated president would have been as there was enough time to carefully orchestrate the event to enable a live broadcast (Seeck, 2015). Dayan and Katz's (1994) work on broadcast media events has been used as a basis for a myriad of other research approaches. However, Vaccari, Chadwick, and O'Loughlin (2015) argue Dayan and Katz's (1994) analysis of broadcast media cannot fully capture the hybrid media events of contemporary media culture. This is prevalent on Twitter and responses on Twitter can even become the story (Fuller, 2017a). There are three main criteria for what has been termed 'new media events.'

First, new media events, mostly enacted by social media (Fuller, 2017a, 2017b), can include events which may be contextual to certain publics or to particular geographical regions.

They represent a shift from a reliance on official sources to a diversity of sources (Seeck & Rantenen, 2015). Seeck and Rantanen (2015) state "a media event blurs the lines between an event and the mediated representation of it" (p. 4). There is a long history to engaging with media culture that blurs the 'real' and 'mediated' dimension of what Boorstin (1962) called 'the image'. More recently, Deuze (2011) argues that the media penetrates all areas of modern life and suggests that our life is lived in the media (p. 137 – 138). Following this logic, a media event can cover a wide array of events – and a media event for one person may not be one for another. Second, new media events often involve intense bursts of activity which is closely related to the concept of 'acute events' (Burgess & Crawford, 2011 as cited in Zeng, 2015, p. 86). The notion of an 'acute event' (Burgess & Crawford, 2011) was developed in order to understand patterns of activity on social media platforms during times of crisis and other events (as cited in Fuller, 2016, p. 297). Acute events come into being through information selection and interpretation (Zeng, 2015). This follows a poststructuralist notion that the reader is responsible for creating meaning from a text, and Zeng (2015) poses the suggestion that online networks are interpretive communities.

The third characteristic of new media events involves their hybridity in relation to traditional media channels and genres of communication. Working within the field of political communications, Vaccari et al. (2015) describes these media events as hybrid media events. Hybridity is a poststructuralist notion that describes what happens when two distinct entities interact, usually the old and the new (Chadwick, 2017). Chadwick (2017) terms the hybrid media system as being "built upon interactions among older and new media logics, where logics are defined in bundles of technologies, genres, norms, behaviours, and organisational forms" (p. xi). Digitally networked media events are examples of hybrid media events. Such events rely on the interplay of traditional media to provide clarity and authority, but the everyday person is also contributing to the event (Vaccari et al. 2015). As these events usually happen *ad hoc*, activists intervene to form narrative frames in the hope these will be adopted by journalists (Vaccari et al., 2015).

The Nauru Files media event has all the characteristics of a 'new media event', of being primarily social media-based mixing of online and offline reality, associated with intense bursts of activity and a hybridity in relation to traditional media channels and genres of

communication. However, it does share the characteristic with traditional media events of being pre-planned. *The Guardian* carefully collated the files and determined how to present them in the hope of creating an impact. This impact was targeted at a particular public, this being the public concerned with the plight of asylum seekers in offshore detention. Both traditional broadcast-based media events and new media events require the role of an interested 'public.' For the broadcast-style media events, participation in the media event is characterised via the role of the audience to still pay attention to television even though there is a ritualised suspension of the everyday broadcast television programming (Dayan & Katz, 1994). New media events require that the public participates beyond a ritual interest and that an 'audience' be 'participatory.' 'Participatory culture' is the catch-all term used to describe the way audiences actively participate and contribute to the production and circulation of media texts (Jenkins, Purushotma, Weigel, Clinton, & Robison, 2009). This is closer to the way 'public' has been characterised as a discursive concept in the work of Michael Warner (2002). Warner (2002) defines the term public as a "space of discourse organised by nothing other than discourse itself" (p. 50), and that such publics come into being only through the circulation of texts. A 'public' for Warner (2002) develops through the reflexive circulation of discourse (p. 62). The public in the conceptualisation of the media event from Dayan and Katz (1994) is assumed, but it is explicit in the participatory role of the 'public' in hybrid 'new media events' (Vaccari et al., 2015). In the context of the Nauru Files media event, there was a significant impact on activists and advocacy groups already involved with campaigning efforts as they contributed to the media event.

1.5. Methodology and Research Design

This project will be examining the Nauru Files media event by analysing two different corpuses of material. The first being the Nauru Files articles as presented by *The Guardian* and the second being tweets from advocacy groups involved with the #BringThemHere campaign. The third level of analysis will examine the mediated relation between the two sets of material.

The Nauru Files as presented by *The Guardian*

Using the online database Nexis.com, 116 articles from *The Guardian* containing the words 'Nauru Files' were collated. These 116 articles were read and the initial number was

reduced to 74 as some were duplicates or in a 'related news story' embedded hyperlink. The search also returned results that were merely summation style news pieces about the news of the day. The timeframe of the corpus of materials start from August 10, 2016 and finishes on December 29, 2016. The first date is the date of the first article published by *The Guardian* about the Nauru Files. The end date of December 29, 2016 captures the last story published by *The Guardian* in 2016. Prior to this there was a significant reduction in the number of stories published.

A discourse analysis approach was used in order to critically analyse the role of *The Guardian* news organisation in the context of the broader Nauru Files media event. The methodology discourse analysis is varied in its approach. Scholars of discourse analysis are reluctant to codify the process as they believe each text also requires a contextual understanding (Bryman, 2012). Critical discourse is a variant of discourse analysis and sees "language as social practice, and considers the 'context of language use to be crucial" (Fairclough & Wodak, 1995, p. 258), it is concerned with the notion of power and how language is used to convey power. Traditional media depictions of social issues are often determined by the media outlet and journalist (Carvalho, 2008). The representations of certain issues can affect public perception. In recent times, critical discourse analysis has become increasingly concerned with analysing the impact of new media (O'keeffe, 2011), something this research is concerned with.

The critical discourse analysis will largely follow and adapt for contemporary media a framework developed by Carvalho (2008). This framework is specifically concerned with media discourse in the form of news articles which is appropriate in a relatively straightforward way for analysing media articles from *The Guardian.* Carvalho (2008) identifies two components in her framework for analysing media discourse, these being a textual and contextual analysis. The textual analysis will be applied to all seventy-four articles in order to determine how the media event is represented by *The Guardian.* The contextual analysis is concerned with the overall coverage of an issue, looking beyond the text itself and it is particularly useful for engaging with media events. Carvalho (2008) addresses two components for doing this – a comparative-synchronic analysis which is where you compare the text to other mediated representations and the historical-

diachronic analysis which "involves examining the course of social matters and their wider political, social and economic context" (Carvalho, 2008, p. 172). The approach taken here adapts Carvalho's (2008) method. Carvalho's approach primarily focussed on news reporting as she appreciates the role of the news media through a normative lens that understands the news media as having a large amount of power to frame social issues. This approach is largely congruent with the normative role of news media in the approach taken by Dayan and Katz's (1994). Due to this, the approach taken here adapts Carvalho (2008) so the comparative-synchronic analysis is supplemented by the examination of social media messages published through the Twitter platform by advocacy organisations. Carvalho's (2008) textual analysis is concerned with analysing the layout, objects, actors, language, discursive strategies and ideological standpoints.

The layout and structural organisation refer to the "surface" elements of the article, such as the section it was published, page number, size of the article, and the visual elements. These elements help convey the valuation and categorisation of the issue by the news outlet (Carvalho, 2008, p. 167). Some of these elements will not be relevant to the discourse analysis as *The Guardian Australia* is an online news source, but nevertheless, this an important step in understanding the importance *The Guardian* places on the *Nauru Files.*

The objects part of the analysis, examines the objects which the text constructs (Carvalho, 2008). It looks at how the author refers and links to wider issues that may be effected by the core issue. For example, in the Nauru Files coverage the author could refer to the plight of asylum seekers escaping from a war that Australia was involved in, therefore making the implication that Australia owes them resettlement. The representations of those mentioned in the article and how their views are framed, also links with this area. Indeed, texts are integral in constructing images of actors (Carvalho, 2008, p. 168) and the media plays an important role in this.

A study of the language, grammar and rhetoric is perhaps one of the most essential parts of a discourse analysis. Critical discourse analysis scholars believe that a study of a text's grammar can reveal its underlying presuppositions (Carvalho, 2008, p. 168). In this part of the method the vocabulary is analysed looking at the verbs and adjectives at play. The study

of the language ties into the discursive strategies which relate to the angle and framing apparent by the journalist in the article. Carvalho (2008) states "framing is to organise discourse according to a certain point of view or perspective" (p. 169). It will be important to pinpoint the frames used by *The Guardian* in the research as such frames could be adapted by advocacy organisations. The final part of the analysis is the ideological standpoint, which has perhaps the greatest influence on the text. Carvalho (2008) states this is the most difficult element to analyse and that one must identify subtle mechanisms, with the author 'appearing natural' at the core of this. The textual analysis will examine the mediated representation of the Nauru Files and its relationship to advocacy. In turn, the findings from this part will help to set the course for the second part, this being the analysis of Twitter datasets from advocacy groups involved with the campaign.

Social media responses from advocacy organisations

The social media analysis is based on examining the Twitter accounts of advocacy groups that participated in the #BringThemHere campaign. Seventeen Twitter datasets from seventeen different groups will be analysed. These advocacy groups have been identified as being part of the #BringThemHere campaign. A large number of these advocacy groups were determined as they were referenced in *The Guardian's* reportage. Others were also added to the list as they signed up for the official #BringThemHere campaign which was announced on the same date the Nauru Files were released ("Human rights groups launch #BringThemHere campaign," 2016). Further groups were identified through examining the tweets from these groups to see if they linked to other advocacy groups.

The seventeen organisations include:

- *Amnesty International* **(@amnestyOz)**
- *Asylum Seeker Resource Centre* **(@ASRC1)**
- *Australian Church Refugee Taskforce* **(@ChRefugee)**
- *Australian Women in Support of Women on Nauru* **(@awswn_)**
- *GetUp!* **(@GetUp)**
- *Human Rights Law Centre* **(@RightsAgenda)**
- *Love Makes a Way* **(@LoveMakesAWay)**
- *Mums for Refugees* **(@Mums4Refugees)**

- *People Just Like Us* **(@Ppljustlikeus)**

- *Refugee Action Committee Canberra* **(@rac_canberra)**

- *Refugee Action Collective Queensland* **(@racqld)**

- *Refugee Action Coalition Sydney* **(@rac_sydney)**

- *Refugee Action Collective Victoria* **(@racvictoria)**

- *Refugee Council of Australia* **(@ozrefugeecouc)**

- *Rise* **(@riserefugee)**

- *Save the Children Australia* **(@savechildrenaus)**

- *Whistleblowers, Activists and Citizens Alliance* **(@akaWACA)**

After the groups were chosen, further criteria were determined in order to capture the most appropriate corpus of material for analysis. The date range of *The Guardian* articles – August 10 to December 29, 2016 - was used in this part so that both corpuses shared the same timeline. It was then determined that all tweets from the groups to be analysed must include the hashtag #BringThemHere, as per the Human Rights Law Centre's media release launching the #BringThemHere campaign in response to the Nauru Files. Consequently, #BringThemHere is an ideal site for analysing advocacy groups contributions and responses to the media event. Web scraping software, OutWit Hub was used to download the dataset, as it helps in overcoming the problems of big data analysis (Dowd, 2016; Fuller, 2017a).

The analysis of social media posts is a huge part of big data analysis, indeed, as a research site the analysis of Twitter data has developed as a strong focus in the last decade (Bruns & Burgess, 2011; Guo & Saxton, 2014; Lovejoy & Saxton, 2012; Obar, Zube, & Lampe, 2012). So-called 'big data' research is a scholarly phenomenon that relies on the interplay of technology, analysis, and mythology (Boyd & Crawford, 2012, p. 663). In analysing the social media activity of nonprofit organisations' social media accounts, Twitter has often been over selected over other platforms, such as Facebook, Instagram or LinkedIn, because "Twitter is well suited to advocacy work, and broadly serves as a proxy for organisations' overall social media use"(Guo & Saxton, 2014, p. 62). Analysis of social media posts do pose problems for researchers, "Twitter and Facebook are examples of Big Data sources that offer very poor archiving and search functions" (Boyd & Crawford, 2012, p. 666). Through

providing a link to search results, OutWit Hub downloads all tweets from the results and inputs them into an excel document. This allows for easy coding and analysis of data.

Coding is one of the primary methods for researching Twitter-based material that is focused on social media as an example of discourse. Lovejoy and Saxton (2012) conducted one of the first studies into how nonprofits use microblogging platforms and examined messages sent by seventy-three nonprofit groups on Twitter. A coding system was developed which classified tweets as having three major functions, defined as 'information', 'community' and 'action', alongside a number of sub-categories (Lovejoy & Saxton, 2012). 'Information' refers to tweets which informs followers about general things to do with the organisation, 'community' refers to network building and engaging with their publics and 'action' refers to a tweet which calls for followers to do something for the organisation or campaign for particular issues (Lovejoy & Saxton, 2012, p. 341-343). These three major functions were determined after Lovejoy and Saxton (2012) defined twelve types of tweets which included 'responses the reply messages' (community), 'promoting an event' (action), and 'lobbying and advocacy' (action). This coding system from Lovejoy and Saxton (2012) has been adapted and used as a basis for analysis in other studies such as Guo and Saxton (2014) who analysed 750 tweets from 188 nonprofits in order to identify new organisational practices.

Lovejoy and Saxton's (2012) categorisation of tweets has been adapted for the current research project with variations introduced so as to account for different types of tweets. These will be determined based on patterns found in the datasets. As discussed further in chapter three, the categorisation of tweets will also be heavily influenced by the critical discourse analysis on *The Guardian's* coverage of the Nauru Files.

Chapter two: *The Guardian* - #BringThemHere's greatest ally

The central thesis of this chapter explores how the Nauru Files media event is best understood as an example of advocacy journalism by *The Guardian.* This chapter analyses seventy-four articles published by *The Guardian* about the Nauru Files, from August 10, 2016 to December 29, 2016. There are four ways this analysis is carried out. The first works to represent the editorial perspective of *The Guardian* in terms of what Carvalho (2008) calls an 'ideological standpoint' (p. 170). Second, the analysis locates *The Guardian's* role in the broader news-based media event. Third, the role of imagery both in terms of visuals and the discursive framing of news elements are analysed. This includes the various journalistic angles and discursive frames that circulate in the event and which are attributed to various actors. Fourth, the different types of articles are presented in terms of different themes and directions in which *The Guardian* presented the files.

2.2 From watchdog to advocate

The transformation of journalism over the last decade means there are many different ways to discuss the relationship between advocacy groups and news media. Vromen (2017) discusses journalism in the context of how people access news, and the ways advocacy groups, such as *GetUp!* work to intervene in this process, which is distinct to thinking about the work of producing journalism being advocacy. Fisher (2016) contends that within journalism there is a continuum of advocacy and that each work of journalism fits along this, "ranging from *subtle* displays at one end to *overt* at the other" (p. 711). Fisher's (2016) work engages with the history of critical engagement within advocacy journalism, such as Janowitz (1975) who described the phenomenon of advocacy journalism as it arose in the 1960s. Prior to this, a journalist solely held the role of the gatekeeper and sought objectivity above all else, however, a shift occurred when academic social scientists began to criticise this as they thought objectivity was impossible. However, Janowitz (1975) states that in advocacy journalism "the journalist must "participate" in the advocacy process. [The journalist] must be an advocate for those who are denied powerful spokesmen, and he [or she] must point out the consequences of the contemporary power imbalance" (p. 619). Janowitz (1975) compares a journalist's source to that of their client and therefore, the journalist seeks to represents their interests over the public's. The hierarchal relationship

between 'source' and 'public' can be used to understand the role of *The Guardian* in the Nauru Files. For example, throughout its Nauru Files coverage, *The Guardian* is constantly seeking for better treatment of their subjects. On August 12, 2016 an article was published titled *Nauru Files: how you can help people held in detention by Australia* (Davidson, 2016b). The article lists a number of advocacy groups and agencies that provide support to those currently in offshore detention on Nauru. This is reflective of the wider editorial stance *The Guardian* took in reporting the Nauru Files.

2.3. *The Guardian's* view on the Nauru Files and offshore detention

Carvahlo (2008) claims that discourse analysis cannot always uncover an ideological standpoint, but in the case of the Nauru Files there is a clear bias at play from *The Guardian.* The media outlet embodies a strong view against offshore detention. In order to uncover the ideological standpoint, an analysis was undertaken of each article which asked the question "What view does the article take towards offshore detention?" (see *Figure 1*). This question was asked because the ethical and moral implications of offshore detention are at the core of the Nauru Files. The three options were positive, negative or neutral.

What view does the article take towards offshore detention?

- 55% Neutral
- 45% Negative
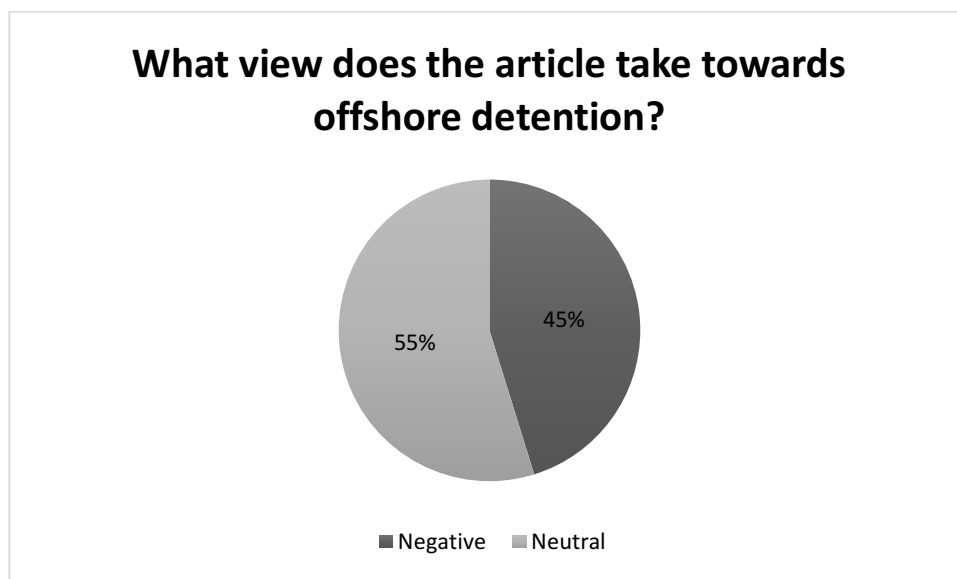
■ Negative ■ Neutral

Figure 1

An analysis of the seventy-four articles determined that thirty-four embodied an overtly negative view towards offshore detention and the other forty were neutral but this was mostly due to the fact they were hard news stories. Indeed, there were subtle elements of advocacy present in the neutral articles but not enough to label them as negative. There were no articles labelled positive, whilst there were stories which portrayed the subjects in

a positive manner – for example, the protestors (Davidson, 2016e; Hunt, 2016a) – no article actually had a view in support of offshore detention.

One of the first articles published is an editorial which expresses *The Guardian's* overall view of offshore detention. It states:

> "Leaked documents reveal the abuses and trauma of asylum seekers in a system that should never have been created. Now it must be tackled" ("The Guardian view on the Nauru Files: Australia's offshore detention centres breed misery," 2016)

The editorial uses language such as "fear and despair", "dehumanising", "inherently toxic" and "this is not "offshore processing" but warehousing". The analysis labelled articles as negative if there was evidence the author was critical of offshore detention through their language, grammar or rhetoric. Examples of this include:

> "There cases are not outliers [self-harm attempts]. According to former detention centre employees this was – for the time they were there – the usual trajectory for people trapped in an incoherent response system which allows the hierarchy of service providers to trump expertise" (Davidson, 2016a).

> "Justice for those who have allegedly been abused is not easy to achieve" (Farrell, 2016b).

> "*The Guardian's* publication of the Nauru files shows she was one of many victims to receive an inadequate response from the system charged with her care" (Davidson, 2016d).

Selection of quotes was also taken into consideration as journalists can use sources in order to represent their world view whilst appearing natural (Brüggemann, 2014; Carvalho, 2008). If an article used only quotes from people critical of offshore detention and if these quotes included harsh criticisms they were placed in the negative category. All opinion pieces were labelled as negative. With such a high percentage of negative articles, it is evident that *The*

Guardian is conveying a strong argument against offshore detention and consequently have cemented themselves as a main actor in the media event.

2.4. *The Guardian* as an actor in the media event

The Guardian is the driving actor of the Nauru Files media event and it does not shy away from presenting itself as such. Through the publication of these files and the resulting commentary, it is evident *The Guardian* sought to create a media event, the first article states:

> "The publication is likely to renew calls for an end to the political impasse that has seen children in Australia's care languish on Nauru for more than three years" (Farrell et al., 2016).

Over the series of articles there is a concurrent theme of *The Guardian* reiterating how damning these files are. In most of the articles *The Guardian* includes an attribution to itself in leaking the files. The media outlet clearly wants to reiterate to all readers they broke the files. When describing the files, it states:

> "The publication of the Nauru files by Guardian Australia has revealed widespread and systemic abuse within the detention centre on the island, with children disproportionately represented among reports of physical and sexual abuse, deprivation, self-harm and suicide attempts" (Doherty & Farrell, 2016a).

By doing this, *The Guardian* is placing itself as an actor, and therefore cementing its position in the media event. This is unlike traditional journalism which merely sought to relay facts to a public in an objective manner without offering commentary (Schudson, 2001).

Advocacy groups and *The Guardian*

As well as the reflexive self-identification by journalists who represent the role of *The Guardian* in the broader media event, the Nauru Files news reporting and opinion pieces work to represent the role of advocacy groups in a sympathetic fashion. In 41% of the articles, advocacy groups were either mentioned or a spokesperson quoted. In particular,

the group *Save the Children* played an integral role in the resulting commentary, featuring in eight articles.

2.5. Framing, Imagery and Visuals

Discursive strategies such as the angle and frame of a particular issue within an article is integral to achieving the intended effect of the article (Carvalho, 2008). Framing is the process of organising discourse "according to a certain point of view or perspective" (Carvahlo, 2008, p. 169). Journalistic framing practices are basically what viewpoints and facts journalists represent or do not represent in a particular article (Bruggemann, 2014). *The Guardian* adopts journalistic framing practices throughout their coverage, and this is evident through their utilisation of one viewpoint over another. There were two dominant choices of framing by *The Guardian*. Firstly, there was a negative framing of 'trauma' or 'abuse' for representing the current 'border protection' policy and affairs. Secondly, when representing the experiences of those detained in offshore detention camps a 'storytelling' frame is utilised. 'Imagery' is related to framing in that it is often a deliberate journalistic technique of editorial selection and production, but can be articulated across positive and negative frames.

Negative frame of 'trauma' or 'abuse'

As mentioned above, thirty-four out of seventy-four articles about the Nauru files by *The Guardian* embody a negative view towards offshore detention. This negative view is evident throughout entire articles, but it is perhaps most obvious in the titles. Tewksbury et al. (2000) argue that frames are most often communicated in the heading, and consequently titles have been shown to influence the audiences understanding of the news story (p. 807). None of the following article titles are opinion pieces but these they clearly convey a negative angle and overall negative view of offshore detention on Nauru:

- From pleas to threats to harm: files reveal escalation of trauma on Nauru
- 'They don't care': a refugee's story of reporting sexual assault on Nauru
- Reports of family violence widespread amid despair of Nauru detention
- United Nations to grill Nauru over abuse of children in Australian-run detention
- Newly leaked Nauru reports detail harrowing accounts of sexual abuse and self-harm

As evident in these titles, a large portion of the negative articles from *The Guardian* focused on the abuse and trauma detainees were subjected to. A majority of the Nauru Files articles are examples of 'frame setting' which is the implication "that journalists mostly frame their coverage in line with their personal interpretations of what is at issue" (Bruggemann, 2014, p. 64). This is opposed to 'frame sending' which is merely representing quotes and statements from actors with their already defined frames (Bruggemann, 2014, p. 64). Instead, *The Guardian* has chosen to attack quotes from actors, such as Dutton (Taylor, 2016) and in doing so, have adopted advocate frames in order to further their coverage. Indeed, advocacy frames are utilised in media reports and it has been found the more an advocate frame is used the more likely audiences are to interpret the issue in terms of that frame (Tewksbury et al., 2000, p. 810). Perhaps the most used advocate frame in *The Guardian's* media coverage is storytelling.

Storytelling frame

Vromen and Coleman (2013) state "when successful, storytelling tactics can influence policy debates and mobilise citizens through stories that simultaneously personalise the impact of public policy decisions and transform private narratives into public rationales for political action" (p. 79). Typically used by marketers, politicians and activists – a storytelling frame often relays a story from an individual affected by a particular issue in order to further the cause and move people into action (Polletta, 2009). Storytelling frames are usually more successful when they are consistent and maintain a sense of moral urgency (Vromen & Coleman, 2013).

The storytelling frame is perhaps most utilised by *The Guardian* in articles about children on Nauru. The impact on children is a key theme throughout the coverage, and their stories are often highlighted within the storytelling frame. Of the incident reports themselves, 51.3% involve children (Farrell, Evershed & Davidson, 2016) and *The Guardian* highlights the impact on children in 53% of their articles on the Nauru Files (see *Table 2*).
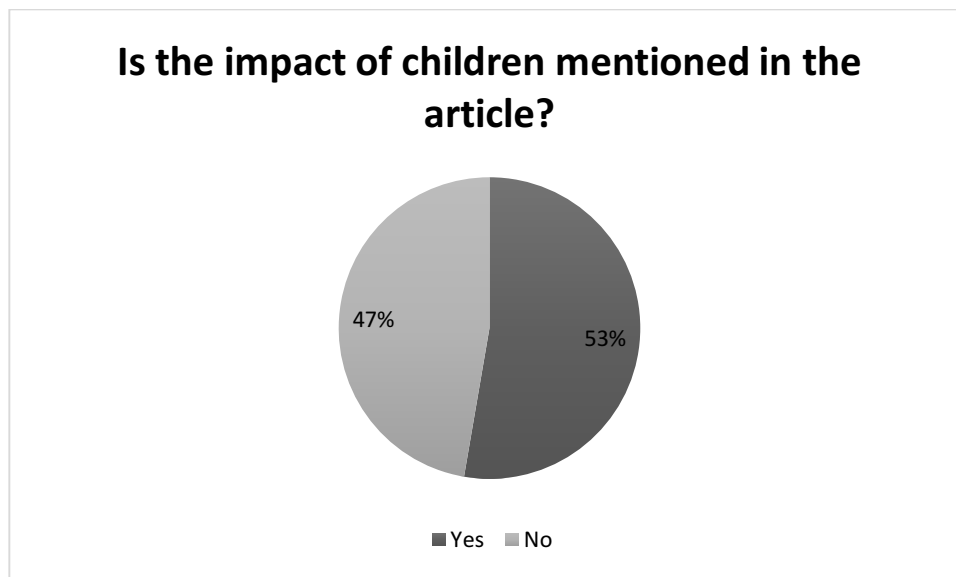
Is the impact of children mentioned in the article?

47%

53%

■ Yes ■ No

Figure 2

Polletta (2009) argues a storytelling frame has the greatest effect on audiences that already hold the beliefs exhibited by the narrative, that is perhaps why advocacy groups responded to the Nauru Files by launching the #BringThemHere campaign.

Use of visuals

The Guardian is not heavily reliant on visuals in their coverage on the Nauru Files. Only three articles have more than one image with *The Guardian* placing a greater emphasis on its language and frames in order to convey their message. Despite the lack of visuals used by *The Guardian* they are still integral in a discourse analysis as images can assist in rhetorical argumentation (Kjeldsen, 2015). Rhetorical argumentation "involves making a case in an attempt to convince a relevant audience of a claim about what we collectively should do or how we should act" (as cited in Kjeldsen, 2015, p. 198). As images are static and can only express one element of a wider story, image selection is integral as it is left to the viewer to make the connection. For an author wishing to express a certain viewpoint the stronger the rhetoric of an image the more likely this is to occur (Kjeldsen, 2015). For example, the use of a protest photo in an article which details how the Nauruan government believes the Nauru Files were fabricated (Davidson, 2016c) conveys disagreement with the statement. The critical discourse analysis found that six categories of images were utilised across *The Guardian's* coverage:

- Camp – Any images taken from either the Nauru or Manus Island detention facilities. These typically show detainees with their faces blurred or the squalid conditions of the camps.
- Stock – As photos from the camp were limited, *The Guardian* resorted to using stock photos most of which are sombre in nature and generally depict people in a dark place.
- Protest – A number of protests arose in response to the Nauru Files and are therefore ideal and accessible photos for *The Guardian* to use.
- Government – Articles about politicians generally included a corresponding picture of them.
- Data – Data journalism is utilised in a number of reports in order to visually represent some of the statistics.

There were other images used in the coverage of minor actors or locations, however, as they were not consistent they have simply been placed in category called other.
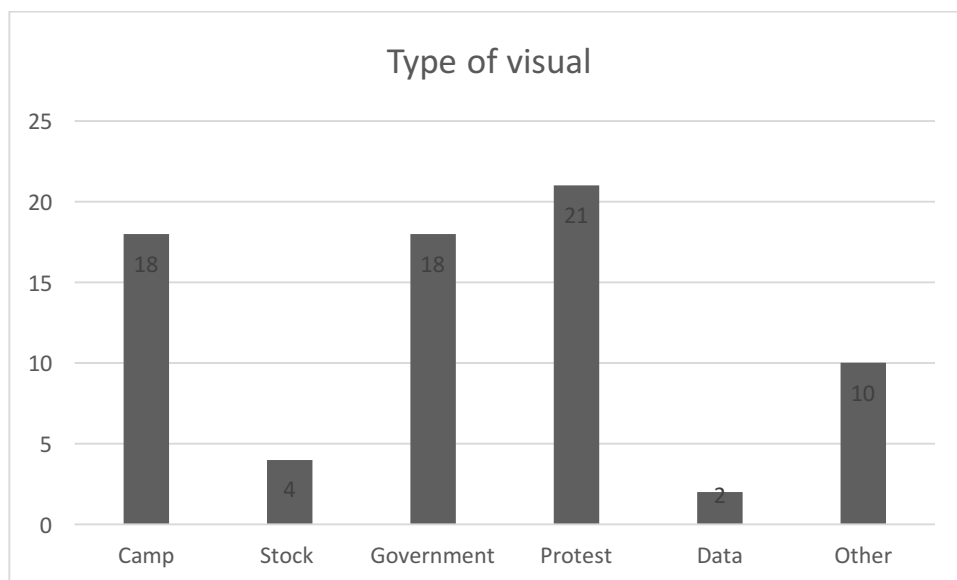

Figure 3

As *Figure 3* shows, protest visuals were the most used throughout *The Guardian's* coverage on the Nauru Files. Most of these visuals were used to compliment articles about protests, however, protest visuals also featured in hard news stories, stories about government responses and in opinion pieces (Chan, 2016; Lowenstein, 2016; Murphy, 2016).

2.6. Article Themes

All seventy-four articles published by *The Guardian* about the Nauru Files were read critically to uncover any common themes in *The Guardian's* coverage. Themes within news coverage are significant because they have a great influence on the rhetorical effects of the subject in question (Seale, 2001). Stories were coded for subject matter and types of stories (such as reporting or opinion pieces). The four themes also emerged from elements of Carvalho's (2008) method for completing critical discourse analysis such as the language, discursive strategies and ideological standpoints. The themes used in *The Guardian's* coverage all convey a negative stance toward offshore detention, this is keeping with their ideological standpoint.

Recounting stories about the files

The Guardian begins its reporting on the Nauru Files by recounting stories that featured in the files using caseworkers and detainees as their sources. These types of stories were most prevalent in the first few days of the coverage and were more likely to have a greater word count. In the second published article Davidson (2016a) recounts the story **'I'm ready for her to die.'** It discusses the story of a detainee who threatened to kill himself and his children. The man is referred to as a 'father' and is not presented in a negative light, rather there is the underlying acknowledgement that offshore detention is responsible for people's erratic actions. It is evident in this quote – "the files show the progression of trauma as individuals' distress escalated without remedy" (Davidson, 2016a). Anonymous case workers were the source for this article.

There are also a number of stories of guards allegedly assaulting children on Nauru. In one case a five-year old girl was hit on the back of the head by a security guard for simply running. The guard was not punished and continued to work monitoring children in the facility despite complaints filed (Doherty, 2016). In another case a young boy told a caseworker on Nauru that a guard had grabbed him by the throat and thrown a chair at him (Farrell, 2016). In these stories, there is the inclusion of portions of the incident reports, such as:

""[REDACTED] then reported that the security guard grabbed him around the throat and hit his head against the ground twice," the report said. [REDACTED] also said that the security guard threw a chair on him and showed [REDACTED] a red raised mark on his arm."" (as cited in Farrell, 2016)

These are used to support the story and to provide evidence to the reader of a firsthand account. Some of the incident reports in the coverage are quite in-depth and provide graphic descriptions of assault and sexual abuse. It is evident *The Guardian* chose to include these in order to evoke a greater response from an audience.

Criticism of Dutton

The Minister for Immigration, Peter Dutton becomes an integral actor in the media event after his response to the files. He said:

"I won't tolerate any sexual abuse whatsoever. But I have been made aware of some incidents that have been reported, false allegations of sexual assault because in the end people have paid money to people smugglers and they want to come to our country" (Doherty & Farrell, 2016b).

This response is repeated through subsequent coverage and Dutton becomes somewhat of an object. Dutton first responded to the files on August 11, 2016, one day after the files were published. After his response, he is an actor in twenty-five articles, prior to this he was only an actor in one of the articles. Multiple times he is conveyed as being dismissive and uncaring towards the plight of asylum seekers.

"We get the immigration minister, Peter Dutton, being the immigration minister, Peter Dutton, which with due respect to Peter Dutton is about as depressing as it gets." (Murphy, 2016)

The Guardian does a fact check on Dutton's statements and refutes a number of his claims (Farrell, 2016a). It is clear they are seeking to undermine his authority, and he is positioned as an enemy. This criticism of Dutton is evident in *The Guardian's* protest coverage.

Protest Coverage

The intended effect of the Nauru Files was to orchestrate change through mobilising publics to act. Therefore, *The Guardian* was always going to give a lot of coverage to protests which occurred in response to the Nauru Files, adding to the hybridity of the media event. The first protest covered by *The Guardian* was published on August 15, 2016. It followed the Christian advocacy group *Love Makes a Way* as they protested outside the various offices of Federal MPs in Sydney. There are a number of photos and tweets included of the protest.

One could make the assumption there was some coordination between *The Guardian* and the protestors in order to ensure a newsworthy report. This is most evident in the article 'Refugee protestors disrupt Malcolm Turnbull speech: 'Close the bloody camps' (Karp, 2016b)*,* where Prime Minister Turnbull, was giving a speech about a 'science and innovation agenda' when he was interrupted by people protesting offshore detention. *The Guardian* shares a video of the events to complement the article, and from this video one could make the assumption the outlet was aware of the protest prior to its occurrence. Multiple cameras and angles are utilised by *The Guardian* and they capture the protests as soon as they begin and follow the protestors as they are escorted out by security. The footage also includes interviews with protestors outside of the event and complaints against security.

The Guardian frames Turnbull in an uncaring light and appears to be following on from the statements made by the protestors:

> "Just moments after [the protests] he [Turnbull] quoted the national anthem: "We sing Advance Australia Fair – but there is nothing more unfair than saddling our children and our grandchildren with mountains of debt that we have created because our generation could not live within our means" (Karp, 2016).

Most of the protest articles occur between August 15 to August 27, 2016. However, towards the end of analysed time period, there are a few articles about protests which occurred in Parliament House. Whilst these are most likely in response to the wider issue of offshore detention and not explicitly the Nauru Files *The Guardian* does include links to their reports in covering the protests.

Opinion Pieces

Opinion pieces are interspersed throughout the coverage, all of which are very critical of the policy of offshore detention and which reflect the overall ideological standpoint of *The Guardian*. The pieces are very emotive and there is a use of adjectives and metaphors which are intended to create maximum impact. Carvalho (2008) states "an emotionally charged discourse, with an appeal to readers' emotions, for instance, is often found in the press, and can have an important rhetorical role" (p. 169). 'The Nauru Files are raw evidence of torture. Can we look away?' by David Marr refers to both the Nauru and Manus Island detention centres as "refugee gulags." Comparisons to the Soviet forced labour camps are utilised in order to emphasise the graveness of offshore detention and indeed, evoke an emotive response from the reader. Marr (2016) also includes quotes from detainees, to amplify this, some of which include:

- "I will kill myself"

- "Enough is enough"

- "I need poison so I can kill myself"

These quotes show the viewpoint of detainees and by their inclusion in Marr's opinion piece a sense of urgency is created in stopping offshore detention.

Another opinion piece begins by stating:

> "The recently released Nauru files reveal an inventory of horrors unleashed by Australia on brown and black bodies away from public or media scrutiny. These people now have a voice, albeit in often banal descriptions of sexual abuse, rape, violence, and psychological breakdown" (Lowenstein, 2016).

Lowenstein (2016) takes a different angle to most of the coverage by blaming the events on Nauru to an overall racist attitude in Australia. He claims this is "what Australia represents" and calls for a citizen's arrest of every Australian Prime Minister from John Howard to Malcolm Turnbull. The utilisation of opinion pieces not only emphasises *The Guardian's*

ideological standpoint but it also allows for harsher descriptions of offshore detention in the hope an audience will act.

2.7. Nauru Files – An overt display of advocacy from *The Guardian*

As mentioned above, Fisher (2016) contends there is a continuum of advocacy present in journalism. She poses the development of a theory of continuum in order to determine the varying degrees of advocacy present within journalistic works (Fisher, 2016, p. 722). As demonstrated by this critical discourse analysis, the Nauru Files as presented by *The Guardian* is an overt display of advocacy. The ideological standpoint, alongside the utilisation of the opinion pieces and negative frames are perhaps the greatest factors of the advocacy. Protest coverage was also an integral theme in the coverage. It demonstrated to a wider public that individuals and groups responded to the Nauru Files and therefore helped justify its publication. Tewksbury et al. (2000) argue there has been minimal research into what happens when advocacy groups adopt journalistic frames and norms in campaigning. With such a strong ally in *The Guardian*, advocacy groups could possibly adopt journalistic norms in their campaigning efforts.

Chapter three: Advocacy groups in the #BringThemHere campaign

There are a number of advocacy groups in Australia that are concerned with the plight of asylum seekers (Mountz, 2011). When the Nauru Files were released such groups used the material to spark new protests and conversations around offshore detention. Consequently, advocacy groups became heavily involved in the hybrid media event and their responses are at the core of this research project. The theory of connective action is important to understanding the role in which advocacy groups play in a digitally networked context. This chapter explores literature surrounding connective action and the role of advocacy groups in connective action. Literature about the role of Twitter is also examined in order to provide understanding into how it operates in enabling both hybridity and connective action. Lovejoy and Saxton's (2012) typology is applied to the analysed datasets and what follows is an analysis into these findings. After the application of the typology, each of the advocacy groups and the roles they played are analysed. The chapter then concludes by outlining the elements of hybridity, connective action and journalism in the #BringThemHere campaign.

3.2. The launch of the #BringThemHere campaign

As mentioned previously, on August 10, 2016, a coalition of five advocacy groups officially launched the #BringThemHere campaign ("Human rights groups launch #BringThemHere campaign," 2016). Whilst the hashtag #BringThemHere was used prior to this official launch, the Nauru Files helped to provide momentum for the campaign. The coalition of groups included *the Human Rights Law Centre, GetUp!, the Asylum Seeker Resource Centre, the Australian Churches Refugee Taskforce and Save the Children.* The press release attributes this official launch to Nauru Files by stating:

> "Following today's release of leaked incident reports from Australia's detention centre on Nauru, a coalition of human rights and refugee organisations have called on the Australian Government to urgently bring the people seeking asylum to Australia" ("Human rights groups launch #BringThemHere campaign," 2016).

The press release does not provide any information to actions of the campaign itself, rather it finishes by simply stating the five organisations are calling on the Australian Government to bring asylum seekers in offshore detention to Australia. Shortly after this campaign was launched *GetUp!* started their own campaign ("We say #BringThemHere," 2016). In *GetUp!'s* campaign users were asked to sign a petition, after which they would be sent a poster and they were asked to share this poster on social media platforms through the hashtag #BringThemHere.

3.3. Connective Action

Networked digital communication technologies have changed the way in which individuals engage in advocacy. Whilst this project is not particularly concerned with individual's engagement, the notion of connective action is still an important one to examine due to its assumptions about advocacy groups. In the past, those who wished to engage with a certain campaign did so through adopting a collective identity frame, usually under the banner of an organisation (Bennett & Segerberg, 2013). Through recognising the change in organisation due to digital communication technologies and social media, Bennett and Segerberg (2013) coined the term 'connective action'. Connective action posits individuals in the online sphere engage with movements in a more personalised manner, "without the requirement of collective identity framing of levels of organisational resources necessary to respond effectively to opportunities" (Bennett & Segerberg, 2013, p. 32).

Connective action has two defining characteristics. The first refers to the personalised character of participation such as fulfilling *GetUp!'s* request to share their post through social media using the relevant hashtag. Bennett and Segerberg (2012) argue that online political movements and protests are made up of "individualised publics" – people with common problems and solutions whom do not wish to join traditional movements for risk of homogenisation. In individualised publics people still share concerns of traditional movements but their engagement is more so "an expression of personal hopes, lifestyles, and grievances" (Bennett & Segerberg, 2012, p. 743). The second characteristic of connective action is that it relies on network organisation – where "interdependent actors engage in reciprocal relationships in pursuit of common goals" (Bennett, Segerberg & Walker, 2014, p. 234); this differs from previous movements which through collective

identity framing relied on dependent relationships between actors (Bennett & Segerberg, 2013). In this context, organisation does not refer to a group but rather organisational processes where social media acts as the organising agent. Such organisation on social media is crowd-enabled and relies on the merging of many layers of networks via stitching mechanisms such as email, Twitter, SMS and Facebook (Bennett et al., 2014). Networks are important for campaigns, indeed social movements have been said to be networks (Schwarz, 2011) and social movement literature confirms networks are central to recruitment, maintaining support and in the identification of the in-group and out-group (Schwarz, 2011, p. 5). In digital campaigning, due to the fast and participatory nature of social media, networks are formed with greater speed (Schwarz, 2011). While the role of participants has shifted to the individualised and networked character of digital campaigning, there are still advocacy groups "pulling the levers" (Schradie, 2014, para. 14).

3.4. Advocacy groups in connective action

Researchers have been developing new ways of understanding how campaigns operate in digitally networked contexts and the new role of advocacy organisations (Bennett & Segerberg, 2013; Chadwick, 2007; Lovejoy & Saxton, 2012; Vromen, 2017). Previous studies have shown that advocacy organisations tend to mostly utilise social media as a tool to inform as opposed to a mobilisation tool (Lovejoy and Saxton, 2012; Guo & Saxton, 2014). Vromen (2017) contends that advocacy groups are still politically relevant but their role has changed. Instead of citizens signing up to formal memberships with organisations, Vromen (2017) argues engagement is now "ad hoc and issue specific on the terms of the citizen rather than the organisations" (p. 11-12). Indeed, much research has pointed to the fact that in contemporary society, individuals are disillusioned with organisations and instead their political engagement is with particular issues (Bennett & Segerberg, 2013; Vromen, 2017).

Chadwick (2007) argues the internet enabled organisational change in traditional advocacy groups and this has meant that such groups start "to resemble the looser network forms characteristic of social movements" (p. 284). He termed this as "organisational hybridity", meaning different actors could organise and collaborate, rather than a reliance on a hierarchal organisation (Chadwick, 2007). Prior to digital networking, the advocacy group

itself relied on a great deal of resources such as money, labour, a solid support base and strategies (McCarthy & Zald, 1977). The advent of the internet removed a number of these barriers for advocacy groups, as it allowed for groups to broadcast their message at no cost, enabled efficiency leading to less labour and it became easier to spread their message (Chadwick, 2007). However, it created a whole new set of limitations due to the rise of individualised publics (Bennett & Segerberg, 2013) and an oversaturation of content. If advocacy groups wanted to compete, they had to rely on networking, commonly a repertoire of social movements (Chadwick, 2007; Schwarz, 2011).

Bennett et al. (2014) argue certain communication technologies and practices serve as stitching mechanisms "that connect different networks into coherent organisation" (p. 234). Stitching mechanisms are essential in the enabling and integration of networks in digital campaigning. Hybrid organisations base their campaigning efforts on the utilisation of such mechanisms, indeed the advocacy group itself acts as a stitching mechanism. Bennett and Segerberg (2013) identified 'organisationally enabled networks' as one form of organisation which is evident in digital campaigns. In this form of organisation, loosely tied networks of advocacy groups seek to establish relations in order to garner support (Bennett & Segerberg). It is a hybrid model, as advocacy groups not only collaborate with each other but also individuals in order to broaden the network and spread the intended message of the campaign.

3.5. The role of Twitter in Hybridity

The "participatory culture" of social media makes it an ideal site for enabling hybridity in networking and campaigning. In particular, Twitter has been shown to be suited to advocacy work due to its participatory nature (Guo & Saxton, 2014). Twitter is a platform for conversation and people can become drawn into to the various discourses taking place (Yardi & Boyd, 2010). Vromen (2017) states that Twitter allows for "instant evaluation of newsworthy events" (p. 802). Unlike Facebook, communications on Twitter can be across a range of social relationships and networks as one does not need to 'follow' or 'friend' someone in order to engage (Fuller, 2017b). Consequently, as a platform Twitter allows for greater democratisation in the way that citizens can participate and mobilise in campaigning making it an ideal site for enabling hybridity.

3.6. Tweets from the advocacy groups

The adapted coding system used in this project was developed using a sample of 630 tweets to test Lovejoy and Saxton's (2012) methodology. As a consequence, the information category from Lovejoy and Saxton (2012) was slightly altered for the purposes of this project. In Lovejoy and Saxton's (2012) original typology, the 'information' category related to tweets from the organisation informing its public about the respective organisation or charity, however, the results from this initial sample were more closely related to tenets of advocacy journalism. Indeed, the datasets show that a majority of the advocacy groups adopt journalistic norms and styles in their campaigning efforts. The 'information' sub-categories – protest coverage, commenting on event, opinion, storytelling, sharing of news article, happenings from detention centre and government responsibility are closely related to the frames utilised by *The Guardian.* The social media posts by advocacy groups are best understood as part of the participatory journalism that collectively produced the Nauru Files media event, and therefore need to be coded in terms of the journalistic practices and norms. Through engaging with these journalistic frames, it is evident that advocacy groups actively contribute to a hybrid media event.

From the seventeen groups identified, 1335 Tweets were scraped. However, four of these groups – *Australian Churches Refugee Taskforce*, *Australian Women in Support of Women on Nauru*, *Rise Refugee* and *Save the Children* did not engage with the hashtag #BringThemHere. This is despite two of them signing up to the official campaign ("Human rights groups launch #BringThemHere campaign," 2016). In order to gain an understanding into their campaigns, all of their tweets containing the word 'Nauru' were scraped, however, their tweets were not coded as this project is concerned with analysing how the hashtag operates in response to the media event. As a result, 1169 tweets from thirteen groups were analysed for this research.

Categories

Using the overarching framework of information, community and action from Lovejoy and Saxton (2012), a further fifteen sub-categories were determined from patterns found in the datasets. These patterns were also in part determined, by the analysis of *The Guardian's* reportage on the Nauru Files.

Lovejoy and Saxton	Sub-category
Information (80% of tweets)	*Commenting on event* (8% of tweets) *Protest coverage* (28%) *Happenings from detention centre* (21%) *Sharing of news article* (13%) *Government responsibility* (5%) *Opinion* (3%) *Storytelling* (2%)
Community (8%)	*Linking to another organisation* (3%) *Collaboration with another organisation/s* (3%) *Giving thanks* (3%) *Reply to Tweet* (1%)
Action (12%)	*Link to campaign* (2%) *Protest to MP* (2%) *Sharing protest info* (7%) *Further online actions* (1%)

Table 1

As per other studies (Lovejoy & Saxton, 2012; Guo & Saxton, 2014) this dataset (see *Table 1)* further confirms that Twitter is used by advocacy groups as a tool to inform, with an overwhelming eighty percent of tweets falling into the information category.

The sub-categories determined by patterns within the tweets help to provide greater insight into the overall online activity from the organisations.

Information

Sub-Category	Description
Commenting on event	This category was applied to Tweets that commented on a particular event such as a protest, the death of an asylum seeker or the broadcast of a television show related to offshore detention. **@amnestyOz:** Sympathy for the family of Faysal Ishak Ahmed, dead at just 27 after seeking Australia's protection # Manus # BringThemHere
Opinion	Tweets which expressed an opinion. Such tweets were usually random and expressed a view about the nature of offshore detention. **@ASRC1:** Mandatory detention is an affront to our values as a fair and caring community # WeCanDoBetter # BringThemHere
Happenings from detention centres	A number of advocacy groups have contacts within the detention centres and tweet about various happenings from the detention centre, most of which are about the protests. **@Mums4Refugees:** Today is Day 145 of protest on Nauru. Life continues despite the horrific abuse. #BringThemHere #EndTheAbuse pic.twitter.com/bOVZb7A7Gt
Sharing of news article	To support their campaign, advocacy groups shared news articles, a number of which were from *The Guardian*'s reportage on the Nauru Files. **@RightsAgenda:** 'Manus Island detention centre to close, Aus and PNG agree.' But no details about the men. # BringThemHere http:// gu.com/p/5v6dp?CMP

Government responsibility	As was evident in *The Guardian's* reportage on the Nauru Files, government responsibility was a huge theme from the datasets. In particular, Peter Dutton was a prime target. Government responsibility incorporates both blame and a call for them to do something. **@rac_sydney:** @ Nick_Xenophon @ NXT_HQ The LNP's lifetime visa ban is punitive and arbitrary. Please help to block it in both houses. # BringThemHere **@rac_canberra:** Send Dutton to the Hague # NauruFiles # BringThemHere pic.twitter.com/v9mOrB14IC
Storytelling	As mentioned in chapter two, storytelling often relays a story from an individual affected by a particular issue and is used in campaigning to further the cause (Polletta, 2009). It is a repertoire utilised by hybrid organisations (Vromen, 2017) and are more successful when they create a sense of moral urgency (Vromen & Coleman, 2013). Whilst limited, tweets of this nature were evident in the datasets. **@amnestyOz:** Meet Amir, 23, Imprisoned on Manus Island http:// amn.st/6010BCJnE # BringThemHere pic.twitter.com/e9VWqyHA9R
Protest coverage	It was common for the advocacy groups to provide live updates about the various rallies and protests across the country. **@racqld:** Caring Australians in # Brisbane # BringThemHere pic.twitter.com/XdFKocPKK1

Table 2

Community

Sub-Category	Description
Linking to another organisation	This category was applied to tweets in which an advocacy organisation linked to the work of another. **@rac_canberra:** @ lovemakesaway vigils at MPs' offices around the country. # BringThemHere # NauruFiles # Nauru # Manus https:// witness.theguardian.com/assignment/57a ff9b0e4b062ce4d2232a9 …
Collaboration with another organisation/s	Tweets in which the advocacy group demonstrated their collaboration with another organisation on a particular element of a campaign. **@Ppljustlikeus:** A packed room to discuss how to # EndDetention and # BringThemHere @ GetUp # Hope pic.twitter.com/ciiKD6ZTt2
Giving thanks	A tweet giving thanks to either a member of the public, someone who has a high profile or another group. This tweet was not a reply. **@racvictoria:** Thank you @ NaomiAKlein for speaking up for refugees on # QandA Around the country, thousands marched this weekend to # Bringthemhere
Reply to a tweet	This sub-category was applied to all replies to tweets from the advocacy groups. **@GetUp:** Hey @ YaelStone – you can join the movement convincing @ TurnbullMalcolm he must # BringThemHere. 1st step is signing: http://www. getup.org.au/bringthemhere

Table 3

Action

Sub-category	Description
Link to a campaign	An external link, generally to a website related to the campaign or a petition. **@rac_sydney:** Please donate to help resubmit the court application to close # Manus https://chuffed.org/project/fundraiser-to-resubmit-manus-application … # CloseTheCamps # BringThemHere #EndDetention
Protest to MP	A tweet encouraging supporters to protest to a member of parliament. **@ASRC1:** Our leaders could end the harm being done to people seeking asylum on Nauru. Call your MP https://www.asrc.org.au/campaigns/lobby-righttrack/ … # 4Corners # BringThemHere
Sharing protest information	Sharing information about offline protest actions. **@rac_canberra:** Don't forget our rally tomorrow, "It's time. # BringThemHere. Close # Manus & # Nauru." 1-3pm Civic Square, # Canberra.
Further online actions	Encouraging people to engage in further online actions, such as voting in a poll about offshore detention from a media outlet. **@GetUp:** Teachers are standing up to # BringThemHere - but this poll isn't appreciating how awesome that is. Let's fix it.; https://www.facebook.com/7NewsAustralia

Table 4

3.7. The advocacy groups

Each of the advocacy groups followed a similar pattern to the overall dataset, with all of them predominantly tweeting messages of an informative nature. In spite of this, each group contributed to the media event in different ways.
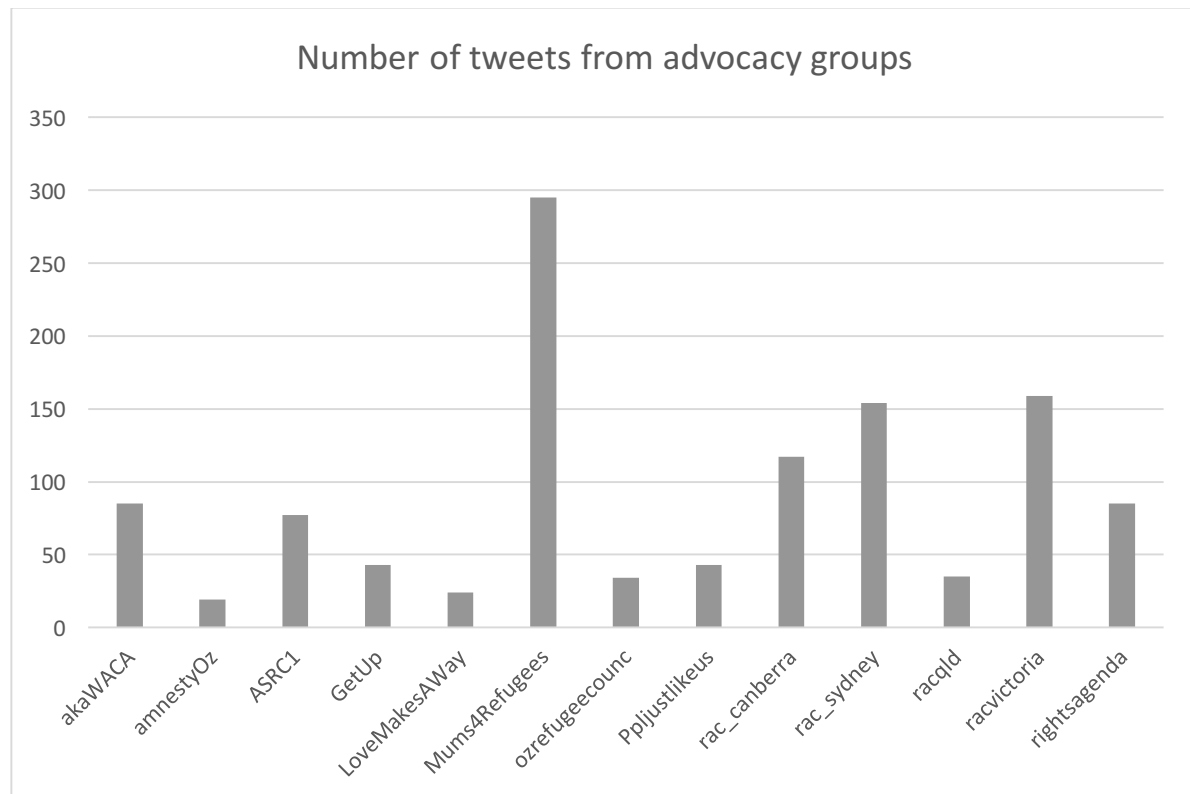

Figure 4

Mums for Refugees was the most active advocacy groups using the hashtag #BringThemHere (see *Figure 4*). The group utilised all three categories, however, eighty-six percent of their tweets fell into the 'information' category. *Mums for Refugees* was very active in sharing tweets informing the reader about happenings in the detention centre with 116 instances of this. In spite of their high levels of engagement, *Mums for Refugees* had one of the lowest number of average retweets (see *Figure 5*) at ten. Also, the group was not featured in any of *The Guardian's* articles nor was it involved with the coalition of organisations that officially launched the campaign.

The five organisations that launched the campaign on August 10, 2016 included the *Asylum Seeker Resource Centre*, the *Australian Churches Refugee Taskforce*, *GetUp!*, the *Human Rights Law Centre* and *Save the Children Australia*, all of which had differing levels of

engagement. The most active from this coalition was the *Human Rights Law Centre* with eighty-five tweets, seventy-six of which were 'information' tweets with seven 'community' and two 'action' tweets. The *Asylum Seeker Resource Centre* was also very active in the #BringThemHere campaign, and their seventy-seven tweets were more versatile with regard to categories than the *Human Rights Law Centre.* Whilst the 'information' category was the most used, twenty-five per cent of the *Asylum Seeker Resource Centre's* tweets were in the 'action' category. They were more active than most groups in calling for their supporters to protest directly to their member of parliament. *GetUp!* had the largest number of retweets with thirty-nine on average (see *Figure* 5) despite only tweeting forty-three times with the hashtag #BringThemHere. Vromen (2017) states "no other single organisation in Australia can claim to have as many members as GetUp" (p. 87), suggesting that *GetUp!* is the most influential out of the group. Indeed, the number of retweets suggest this. As mentioned above, the *Australian Churches Refugee Taskforce* and *Save the Children* did not engage with #BringThemHere. The two organisations had eight and forty-one tweets respectively.
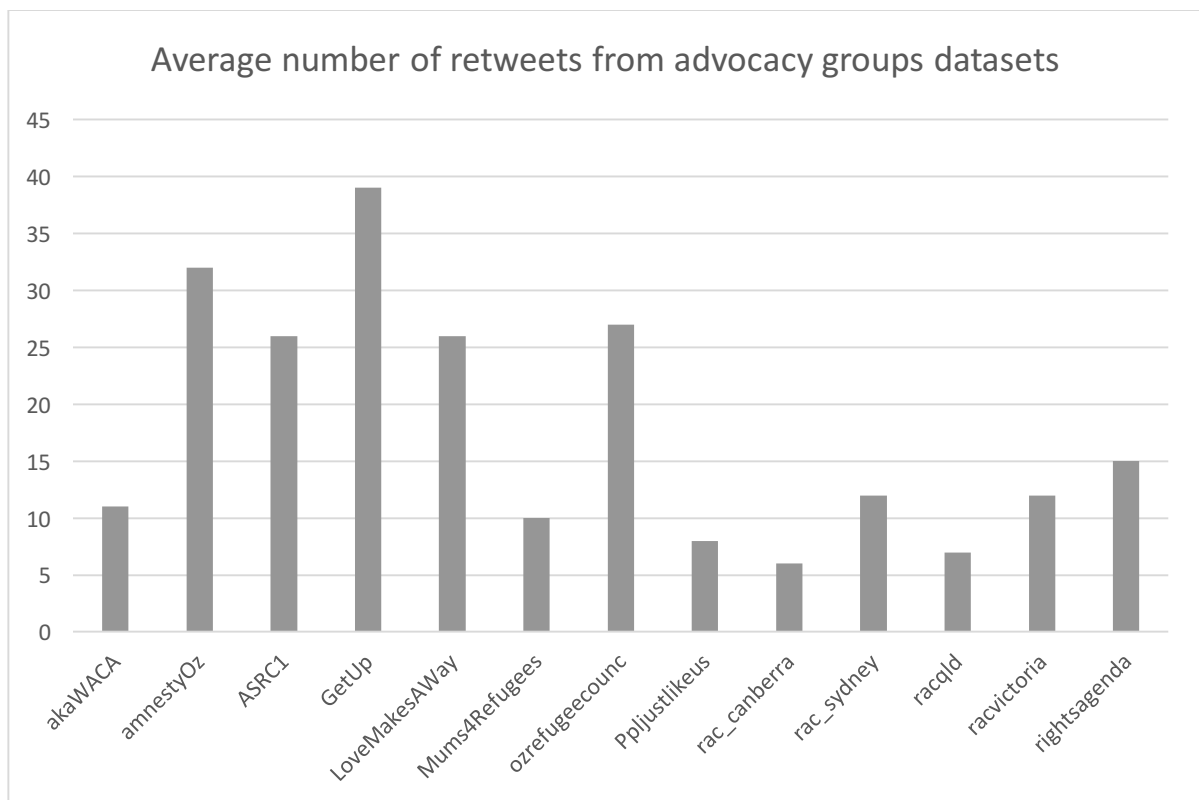

Figure 5

The RAC's in Canberra, Queensland, Sydney and Victoria typify local and grassroots actions in the #BringThemHere campaign. They were some of the most active in providing protest coverage and also in providing a call to action by sharing local protest information with *RAC Sydney* sharing thirty-three tweets of this nature. *RAC Victoria* was also very active in sharing 'happenings from the detention centre', sharing 111 updates over the dataset. Surprisingly, there was not a strong engagement between the RAC's, indeed, this is fitting with the rest of the data in regard to the number of 'community' tweets.

The *Australian Refugee Council* had a low number of tweets at thirty-five but they had a high average number of retweets at twenty-six. A majority of the group's tweets were sharing news articles which suggests they position themselves as an informative source. *Love Makes a Way* was one of the organisations that featured most in reports in *The Guardian* about the Nauru Files. Indeed, there were two articles which solely discussed the groups protests (Davey, 2016; Hunt, 2016a). However, they had the second lowest level of engagement with only twenty-four tweets. Out of these tweets, ten fell into the 'action' category meaning the out of the seventeen groups, *Love Makes a Way* had the highest percentage of 'action' tweets. *Amnesty International Australia* had the lowest level of engagement with #BringThemHere with only nineteen tweets. Out of these nineteen, eighteen were in the 'information' category with only one in the 'action' category which was a 'link to a campaign.'

The *Whistleblowers, Activists and Citizens Alliance* was another group that featured in *The Guardian's* coverage (Karp, 2016a). Over half of their tweets were 'protest coverage' and this can be attributed to the fact they were responsible for a number of offline actions including supergluing themselves to Parliament, protesting during a speech from Malcolm Turnbull and protesting on the roof of Peter Dutton's electorate office.

Through examining the individual datasets, it is evident that each group contributed to the Nauru Files media event and that they all engaged in some form of journalism through presenting the files.

3.8. Hybridity, connective action and journalism in #BringThemHere

#BringThemHere is an example of a hybrid campaign that relies on the collaboration of advocacy groups who do indeed pull the levers. Advocacy groups are heavily involved with this campaign and there appears to be a great deal of planning behind the various facets of it. Perhaps the most obvious example of connective action is that it is an issue-based campaign, and this is most evident through the groups involved. Out of the seventeen advocacy groups that were analysed, twelve are solely concerned with campaigning for refugee's rights. #BringThemHere does not rely on collective identity framing, rather, it appears anybody is welcome to join the campaign and can do so merely through utilising the hashtag. Due to the fact this project only examines tweets from advocacy groups and not individuals, it may be hard to gauge the full extent of its connective action, however, this dataset indicates that #BringThemHere fits into the 'organisationally enabled networks' model as set out by Bennett and Segerberg (2013). In the community category, seventy-one percent of tweets were placed in the sub-categories 'linking to another organisation/s' or 'collaboration with another organisation/s'. The fact that a campaign was officially launched by a coalition of five groups on the same date the Nauru Files was leaked further supports this point.

Literature on connective action has not yet established a link between journalism and advocacy groups, but this research suggests that within connective action, advocacy groups in digitally networked contexts take on similar role to journalists. This is most evident through sub-categories such as 'happenings on the detention centres', 'sharing of a news article', 'storytelling' and 'protest coverage'. In order to fully determine how advocacy groups respond to a media event in the context of a digitally networked campaign, a closer analysis of the timeline and the groups relationship with *The Guardian* is required.

Chapter four: #BringThemHere – The Broader Media Event

The impact and reaction of the Nauru Files by both advocacy groups and *The Guardian* are very similar in nature*.* The analysis of tweets from the advocacy groups demonstrated they engaged with the Nauru Files media event in ways that are congruent with journalistic norms, which work to amplify the circulation of texts within the media event. Findings from chapter two showed the advocacy groups did have an ally in *The Guardian*. The media outlet expressed a strong ideological standpoint against offshore detention throughout their coverage, and consequently, the message of the advocacy groups analysed in this project was able to be spread beyond their networks and followers. Whilst the two shared a number of similarities in their engagements with the event, their roles did differ. *The Guardian* acted as the fourth estate in bringing the Nauru Files to the public eye. Whereas, the advocacy groups engaged in a campaign, responding to *The Guardian*, through the hashtag #BringThemHere, and focussed not only on the Nauru Files but the broader issue of offshore detention. It is from this basis that a deeper analysis of the role of the advocacy groups is required. This chapter will examine the hashtag #BringThemHere as used by advocacy groups. It will then generate a timeline of significant events from the time period in the corpuses of material – August 10 to December 29, 2016 and finish by comparing the advocacy groups and *The Guardian.*

4.2. The Intertextuality of #BringThemHere

Hybrid media events in a digitally networked context cannot operate without the interweaving of the many texts arising from various social interactions between individuals, media outlets and organisations. With the contributions of these different actors, the texts become influenced by the large corpuses of texts already in circulation and constituting the discourse (Voithofer, 2006). Consequently, the intended meaning becomes shrouded through other interpretations. For example, out of the 1169 tweets with the hashtag #BringThemHere, only 137 explicitly cited or mentioned the Nauru Files*.* This is a minority but it is still significant to the overall response to the Nauru Files, as the files renewed protests from advocacy groups*.* Whilst the hashtag was officially developed to protest the Nauru Files it became a site in which advocacy groups protested all elements of offshore detention. As such #BringThemHere serves as what Bruns and Burgess (2011) term as an *ad*

hoc public. As mentioned in chapter one, Bruns and Burgess (2011) argue Twitter hashtags enable people to respond quickly to emerging issues, therefore allowing publics to form *ad hoc* (p. 7). However, in an early work researching the internet as a site of digital anthropology, Hine (2000) suggests that whilst social interaction occurs on the Internet it is better described as being a series of texts. In a more recent context, Bonilla and Rosa (2015) state "hashtags have the intertextual potential to link a broad range of tweets on a given topic or disparate topics as part of an intertextual chain" (p. 5).

The concept of 'intertextuality' has a long history with it originally emerging in the field of literature studies (as cited in Alfaro, 1996) and then being used in cultural studies to understand elements of culture as 'texts' (as cited in Alfaro, 1996). The concept is being used here in a way closer to its original literature studies meaning. Intertextuality is the idea "the constituent parts of a text refer back to, quote back to, quote, and react with all other texts that exist around them" (Furey & Mansfield, 1997, p. 56). Indeed, the Internet is the most intertextual electronic communication medium (Voithofer, 2006, p. 204) with social media platforms at the core of this. Intertextuality itself relies on information selection and interpretation, with a particular emphasis on the latter. Poststructuralism places emphasis on interpretation, and, as mentioned above, Zeng (2015) poses the notion that interpretive communities exist in digitally networked contexts. First defined by Fish (1980), interpretive communities are "made up of those who share interpretive strategies" (p. 14). In a proposed comparative study of interpretive communities on Weibo and Twitter, Zeng (2015) argues hashtagging is one of the ways in which these communities are formed as they organise web content into a context collective (Zeng, 2015, p. 81).

Tweets using the hashtag #BringThemHere are intertextual in two ways. Firstly, there was an intertextual relation between tweets and other texts in terms of the number of shares of news articles, links to campaigns, through retweets and replies, and the array of issues explored using the hashtag. Through the categorisation of the dataset, 148 tweets shared an online news article, in doing so they linked to text providing more information about the campaigning issue, with the ultimate goal of amplifying their campaign. This was also evident in other categories such as 'storytelling', 'linking to another organisation', and 'link to a campaign.' The second way tweets using the hashtag #BringThemHere are intertextual

are that many of the Twitter users tweeting to the hashtag clearly belonged to a cohesive interpretive community organised around a concern for refugees and human rights. The analysis of the datasets also showed a significant number of people engaged with the various tweets through replying and retweeting which fits the reacting part of intertextuality. There was a mutual presupposition of beliefs and values articulated through the tweets and linked texts that constitutes the shared sense of belonging to the interpretive community (Yardi & Boyd, 2010). The community itself therefore became the site of action and whilst the #BringThemHere campaign was officially launched as a response to the Nauru Files it also became a location through which advocacy groups campaigned for other elements of offshore detention. Most of the groups used the hashtag to also campaign for detainees on Manus Island and this quickly became a significant part of #BringThemHere. Basically, the Nauru Files acted as catalyst to renew calls to end offshore detention.

4.3. Nauru Files media event timeline

In the Nauru Files media event, there are three major critical events and two other minor events which repeat elements of these three major critical events. These events are characterised by an increase in activity and participatory action by advocacy groups. They are 'critical' in the sense of serving a critical function in the unfolding media event (Fuller, 2015).

The first was the release of the Nauru Files on August 10 and what it implicitly represented which was the launch of a cross media campaign in support of offshore detainees. Part of this includes the increased activity during the week after the launch. The second critical event is constituted by nation-wide rallies on August 27. This served as an opportunity for *The Guardian* and advocacy groups to represent the interpretive community back to itself and therefore articulate a collective identity. The third critical event was a *QandA* episode that featured heated debate about offshore detention. In this event, an *ad hoc* public (Bruns & Burgess, 2011) was formed around the hashtags #BringThemHere and #QandA. The two minor critical events followed a month (October 30) and then two months later (November 30) and they repeat the function of the nation-wide protests to articulate a sense of

collective identity for those offline participants while at the same time enabling those digital participants to participate through connective action.
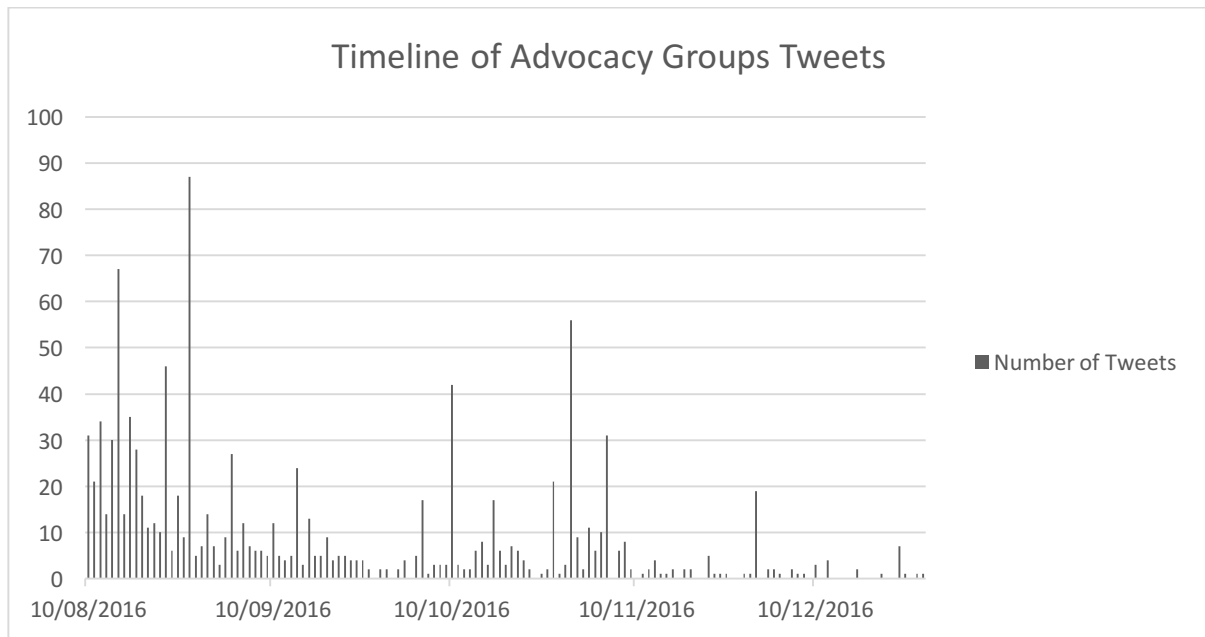

Timeline of Advocacy Groups Tweets

Figure 6

August 10, 2016: The release of the Nauru Files

For obvious reasons, the date the Nauru Files were released was a very significant event. *The Guardian* published seven articles about the Nauru Files on this date, including an article that generated over 55,000 shares on social media, making it the most shared out of the dataset (Farrell et al., 2016). Surprisingly on this date there were only thirty tweets from advocacy groups containing #BringThemHere, in spite of the fact this was the day the campaign was officially launched ("Human rights groups launch #BringThemHere campaign," 2016). Most of the tweets were about the Nauru Files and fell into the sub-category of 'sharing of a news articles'.

> **@ASRC1:** We need to end this. Time to # BringThemHere Devastating by @ FarrellPF on kids in detention on Nauru. 'I want death' https://www. theguardian.com/news/2016/aug/ 10/i-want-death-nauru-files-chronicle-despair-of-asylum-seeker-children?CMP=share_btn_tw …

There were also a number of tweets in the 'action' category, with groups asking followers to sign petitions.

> **@rightsagenda:** Sign petition asking @ TurnbullMalcolm and @ PeterDutton_MP to safely resettle people seeking asylum # BringThemHere https://www. getup.org.au/campaigns/refu gees/bring-them-here--2/bring-them-here?t=QWtYt1B …

'Community' tweets also featured on the day, due to the fact that the coalition of five organisations hosted an official launch for their campaign.

> **@GetUp:** Human Rights Director Shen Narayanasamy talking about # NauruFiles and the need to # BringThemHere pic.twitter.com/p6PPXbxn96

The low number of tweets mentioning #BringThemHere suggests that advocacy groups were using the initial release to develop a plan as to how to implement their campaign, indeed, this is supported by preceding events.

August 11 to 18, 2016: The week after the release of the Nauru Files

From August 11 to August 18, 2017 *The Guardian* published twenty-eight articles about the Nauru Files. These articles generated a total of 156,356 shares. In this same time period the #BringThemHere hashtag was mentioned 242 times by the selected advocacy groups. From Lovejoy and Saxton's (2012) typology the most used category during this time period was 'information' with 194 tweets, followed by 'community' with 31 tweets and then 'action' with 17 tweets. The most used sub-category was protest coverage with 72 tweets. Indeed, during this time, a number of small protests occurred throughout the country which mostly took place at government offices. The first such occurrence was on August 12 – just two days after the release of the files - when the group *Mums for Refugees* protested outside the Department of Immigration in Sydney. Indeed, *Mums for Refugees* was active throughout this week with such protests.

> **@Mums4Refugees:** Mums protest outside Dept Immi & BP today. Great turnout, we are pissed! This is enough! # naurufiles # BringThemHere

Also during this period, advocacy groups started to share 'action' tweets about national protests occurring on August 27, 2016. *RAC Sydney* was the first to post about this on August 11. From this it is evident that although there was not much social media activity on

the release date of the files advocacy groups were definitely working to respond to the media event.

> **@rac_sydney:** Rally 1pm Sat 27 Aug at Town Hall: step up the pressure to #CloseTheCamps #BringThemHere with #PermanentProtection

August 27, 2016: National Nauru Files rallies

On August 27, 2016, advocates for those in offshore detention came together to protest both in nationally and internationally. *The Guardian* wrote two stories about the rallies on the same day, which were shared on social media 7,487 times. #BringThemHere was mentioned eighty-six times by advocacy groups on August 27, 2016, meaning out of the dataset, this was the day with the most activity. The rallies were significant as thousands of people attended the protests which occurred in most Australian capital cities and also London and Tokyo (Davidson, 2016e). The eighty-six tweets came from seven advocacy groups and were mostly in the 'information' category with the sub-category of 'protest coverage.'

> **@Mums4Refugees:** On the March Sydney rally # BringThemHere # CloseTheCamps pic.twitter.com/VLxf02cvRX

> **@racvictoria:** Fifteen years since the Tampa and here we are today. You are the resistance - @ pamelacurr # BringThemHere pic.twitter.com/Ts2hZ6V5sk

> **@racqld:** Caring Australians in # Brisbane # BringThemHere pic.twitter.com/XdFKocPKK1

The most retweeted message from the day came from **@GetUp**, who sent out the following tweet:

> **@GetUp:** It's a good day to end bad policy # BringThemHere pic.twitter.com/T16MZRbIkx

This was retweeted seventy-four times and the tweet itself included an image of protestors walking down a street with various signs.

October 10, 2016: QandA episode

On the night October 10, 2016, Australian television program *QandA* explored the topic of offshore detention. *The Guardian* published one article about the *QandA* program which was shared on social media 490 times. The article focused on a comment made by panellist retired General Jim Molan who played a great role in the development of Operation Sovereign Borders (Hunt, 2016b). Molan stated "every Australian should be extraordinarily proud of the immigration policy" (Hunt, 2016b). This was labelled as a neutral story in the critical discourse analysis. There were thirty-eight tweets send out on October 10, 2016 from the analysed advocacy groups with most of those also engaging with the hashtag #QandA.

QandA is television program which brings together politicians, experts and other public figures on a panel where the audience, made up of everyday people, have the opportunity to ask questions which the panel answers. There is also an online element through the hashtag #QandA, indeed, it is "a program that deliberately engages with the real-time Twitter audience by broadcasting selected tweets at the bottom of the screen" (Burgess & Bruns, 2012, p. 10). Like #BringThemHere, #QandA is also intertextual in nature.

> **@rightsagenda:** Tonight on @ QandA experts debate our cruel policies on people seeking asylum and how # WeCanDoBetter # BringThemHere # LetThemStay pic.twitter.com/1yqdt0sb7c

On the night of the program, *GetUp!* was the most active with the group posting fifteen tweets about the event both before and throughout the program. This could be attributed to the fact the group's Human Rights Campaign Director, Shen Narayanasmay was featured as a panellist on the program. Most of the tweets fell into the sub-category 'commenting on event' but interestingly enough there were also five tweets in the 'storytelling' sub-category. Throughout the show the group tweeted stories about men currently detained on Manus Island. This is an example of an advocacy group engaging in dual screening which is the practice of switching between live broadcast media and social media (Vaccari et al., 2015). This is most common during media events.

> **@GetUp:** Meet Amir, one of the people imprisoned by the government's current policy.;# BringThemHere # LetThemStay # WeCanDoBetter # qanda pic.twitter.com/qQOvjqx37J

> **@GetUp:** Men like Aadil deserved safe, secure pathways, but were denied them. Now they're on Manus. # WeCanDoBetter;# qanda # BringThemHere pic.twitter.com/0XWdsol1Nw

October 30, 2016: Canberra protests and new asylum seeker policy

As *Figure 6* shows there was a great deal of activity on October 30, but this was partly due to the fact that the *Refugee Action Committee* in Canberra held a protest. As far as the dataset shows this was the only protest to occur on this day. *RAC Canberra* heavily covered the protest on their Twitter account, resulting in fifty-six tweets for the date.

> **@rac_canberra:** # Canberra says # BringThemHere pic.twitter.com/H71BxWLFBT

> **@rac_canberra:** Thousands of # Canberrans turn out to say # BringThemHere pic.twitter.com/j3otbRledP

This date was also significant for another reason as on this date the Australian Government announced a new law which prevented asylum seekers who arrived by boat from ever coming to Australia (Medhora, 2016). This would even extend to those wanting to travel on a tourist visa. Whilst this event was not picked up in *The Guardian's* reportage and was not widely mentioned in the Twitter datasets, it is significant as tweets about the event resulted in the three most retweeted tweets of the dataset.

Amnesty International Australia tweeted an article from Australian newspaper *The Daily Telegraph* –

> **@amnestyOz:** Australia will breach Int'l law if it gives life ban to ppl seeking asylum by boat http:// ow.ly/N012305Fdzh #auspol #bringthemhere

This tweet generated 180 retweets and was the second most retweeted tweet of the dataset. It was placed in the 'information' category under the sub-category of 'sharing of a

news article. *The Asylum Seeker Resource Centre* also responded to the event, with the following tweet –

> **@ASRC1:** Stand for decency and call your local MP and ask them to block this inhumane law. http:// goo.gl/hFoA1R # RightTrack # BringThemHere pic.twitter.com/Z60TKnZAbu

This generated 176 retweets, and is an 'action' tweet in the subcategory of 'protest to an MP.' Although it did not occur on October 30, the most retweeted tweet came from **@GetUp** on October 31 and was a response to the announcement from the government -

> **@GetUp:** It's a dark day when Hanson can openly celebrate forcing the government to introduce barbaric policy # bringthemhere pic.twitter.com/pGd4dv1IQb

The tweet itself was a response to a tweet from Australian One Nation Senator, Pauline Hanson. The tweet from Hanson, stated – "Good to see that it looks like the Government is now taking its cues from One Nation. Just like last time. #auspol #PHON #Nauru #Manus", and was in response to a Sky News Australia story which quoted Prime Minister Turnbull on saying the door to Australia is closed.

Instead of being a direct Twitter response *GetUp!* created an image which included a screenshot of the tweet and the words "The Turnbull government is getting refugee policy seriously wrong." This tweet was categorised into the 'information' category and the 'opinion' subcategory.

November 30, 2016: Parliament House protest
On November 30, the advocacy group *Whistleblowers, Activists and Citizens Alliance* partook in a large protest in the House of Representatives at Parliament House in Canberra. Close to forty protestors superglued themselves to the railings of the viewing gallery and chanted "close the camps" and "bring them here" (Belot, 2016). Whilst there were only nineteen tweets on this day with most from the account **@akaWACA** it was a significant event as it amounted in a great deal of media coverage (Belot, 2016; Bickers, 2016; Butler, 2016). *The Guardian* published one article about the event on December 1, 2016 and this was shared on social media 1753 times.

@akaWACA: We interrupted Parliament but it's not about us. # Closethecamps and # bringthemhere. # auspol https://www. facebook.com/akaWACA/videos /1148363865201384/ …

@akaWACA: parliament shutdown by @ akaWACA # closethecamps # bringthemhere http:// fb.me/XNctuDWp

Acute events

A majority of the above are examples of acute events, taking place within a larger media event. As mentioned in chapter one, acute events are ones "associated with intense bursts in media activity" (as cited in Zeng, 2015, p. 86). All of the above events, comparatively to this dataset represent intense bursts of activity. Whilst the original campaign and media event began in response to the Nauru Files, intertextuality has added several different dimensions. Whilst *The Guardian* played a huge role in the initial stages of this media event its influence weaned as the event continued, however, its role is still imperative.

4.4. Relationship between *The Guardian* and advocacy groups

The Guardian and the advocacy groups were both incredibly dependent on each other throughout this media event. The Nauru Files as presented by *The Guardian* acted as a catalyst for advocacy groups to renew their efforts and gain further support for the overall campaign to end offshore detention.
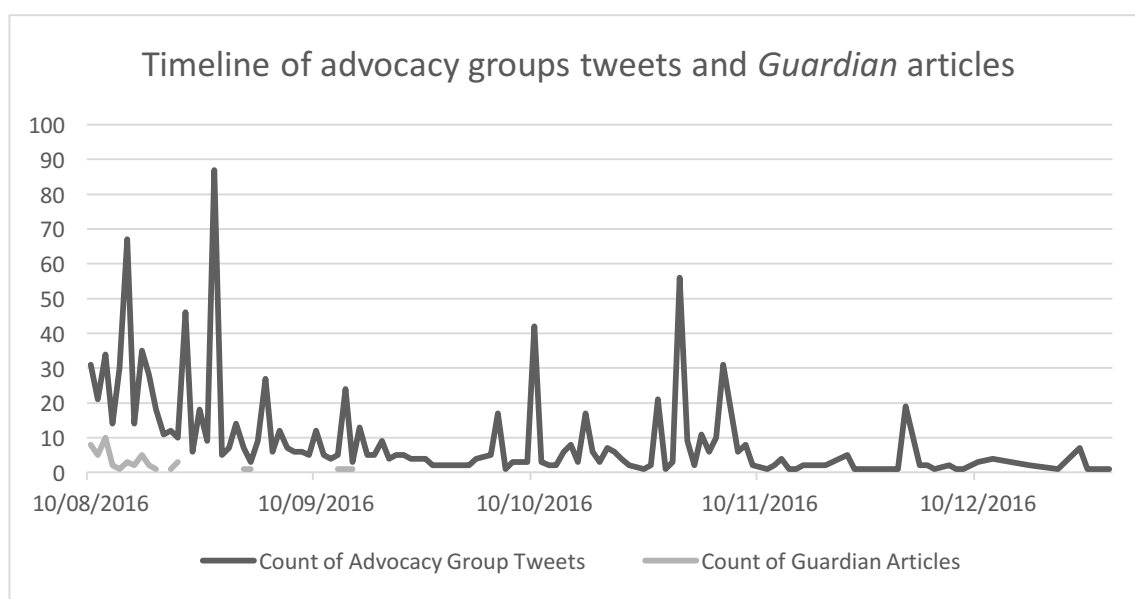

Figure 7

As *Figure 7* demonstrates, *The Guardian's* coverage of the Nauru Files mostly took place during August. In the initial days of the event, *The Guardian* and the advocacy groups followed a similar pattern on the timeline in regard to the amount of content they each produced. As *The Guardian's* coverage weaned so did the Tweets from the advocacy groups. However, there were spikes in the number of tweets between October and November. Towards the end of the timeline – in late December – tweets from the advocacy groups started to lessen as well.

Through having an ally in a media outlet*,* advocacy groups were able to spread their message in a way that ensured they were favourably represented. In turn, advocacy groups provided a wealth of content to *The Guardian*, in the form of sources and stories. As mentioned above, 41% of the articles from *The Guardian* mentioned an advocacy group. The following advocacy groups were either quoted or mentioned in *The Guardian*'s reportage of the Nauru Files:

1. Save the Children
2. International Alliance Against Mandatory Detention
3. Refugee Action Collective
4. Australian Human Rights Commission
5. GetUp!
6. Human Rights Law Centre
7. UNICEF
8. Love Makes a Way
9. Human Rights Watch
10. Amnesty International
11. Refugee Action Coalition
12. Doctors 4 Refugees
13. Teachers for Refugees
14. OXFAM

This is a significant number of groups, all of which were portrayed in either a positive or neutral way in *The Guardian's* coverage. Typically, protesters struggle to be conveyed in a positive light in the media, instead, often the disorderly protestors and rallies are highlighted (Smith, McCarthy, McPhail, & Augustyn, 2001). As mentioned above, groups mentioned in *The Guardian's* reportage were selected for the second part of the method, however, not all of these groups were analysed as some of them did not have Twitter accounts or they did not engage with #BringThemHere. *The Guardian* also put a call out to protestors to share photos from the rallies they attended ("Love Makes a Way: share your pictures and stories if you are joining protests around Australia," 2016) further adding to the hybridity of this event. Eighty-one of the 1169 analysed tweets from the advocacy groups included a link to *The Guardian,* these garnered 1306 retweets*.* Most often this was in the 'information' category and the 'sharing of a news article' sub-category. But there were also some tweets where the advocacy groups engaged with and retweeted journalists from *The Guardian.* The continuous contributions from both *The Guardian* and the advocacy groups demonstrate the hybridity of this event and shows the two both engaged in advocacy journalism.

4.5. Advocacy groups orchestrating action as citizen journalists

The main finding from this research is that advocacy groups contributed to the Nauru Files media event through adopting journalistic norms. Indeed, both *The Guardian* and the advocacy groups engaged in advocacy journalism through presenting this media event. Both have acted as the fourth estate, which is evident through them making the government accountable. It appears advocacy groups in digitally networked context adopt the roles of citizens journalists as they use the platform to further their cause. As digital technologies have changed the ways in which campaigns are enacted, advocacy groups use social media as an informative source, as opposed to a tool for mobilisation (Lovejoy & Saxton, 2012; Guo & Saxton, 2014). The findings of this report demonstrate that advocacy groups overwhelmingly used the platform as a tool to spread information. However, the groups shared a lot of information about various protests they were partaking in, meaning, the groups are obviously using another platform to mobilise citizens. Indeed, #BringThemHere is transferable to other social media sites such as Facebook and Instagram.

The Nauru Files is part of a much wider media event, and through intertextuality, advocacy groups extended the #BringThemHere campaign to include all facets of offshore detention. The hashtag #BringThemHere played a significant role in the media event, indeed, it became a cultural site in which the Nauru Files media event played out. #BringThemHere is very literal term – it's a call to resettle asylum seekers in Australia and therefore, easily transferable to all campaigns against offshore detention.

Conclusion

The advocacy groups were able to begin their campaigning efforts from an advantageous position as a major media outlet was on their side meaning they were guaranteed coverage. Advocacy organisations often struggle to make the news because they are not official sources or have easy access to newsrooms (Waisbord, 2009). The Nauru Files media event is a combination of both advocacy and civic journalism. The civic model of advocacy journalism as outlined by Waisbord (2009) posits that organised groups use the news media "to influence reporting, and ultimately, affect public policies" (p. 371). Whilst advocacy groups attempt to influence the news media, they are also influenced by it. Indeed, *The Guardian* and the advocacy groups shared similar frames through their respective telling's of the files. The fact a majority of the tweets were in the 'information' category and were mostly ones that were journalistic in nature shows advocacy groups responded to this media event by furthering the advocacy journalism. They also added to the media event and consequently, amplified their own coverage by protesting.

The media event became such an event because *The Guardian* pushed strongly for its cause, with the outlet clearly the driving actor. The outlets use of harsh language to describe offshore detention and the fact they mostly sought out quotes from those who were against offshore detention is evidence of this. There was a great number of opinion pieces which further reiterated the ideological standpoint of *The Guardian.* The use of frames by *The Guardian* is also integral to this project, indeed, frames utilised by the outlet in their coverage were also evident in the analysis of Twitter datasets such as the protest coverage, storytelling and opinion frames.

Coding 1169 tweets from thirteen advocacy groups determined that the groups involved with this campaign approached their tweets by adopting norms typical of journalists. It also showed the campaign used the Nauru Files as a catalyst to start campaigning on other elements of offshore detention, this is evident in the inclusion of Manus Island. As the analysis only examined advocacy groups, it is hard to gage the full impact of the media event, particularly individual's engagement which is large part of the notion of connective action. Perhaps the greatest sign this campaign had high levels of individual engagement are

through the number of attendees at protests, in particular the national rallies which occurred on August 27, 2016 (Davidson, 2016e). However, this research has demonstrated facets of connective action through the advocacy groups such as the ways in which the advocacy groups collaborated with each other. The fact this is an issue-based campaign is another element of connective action which is evident.

This research had limitations, as it only examined the datasets of advocacy groups from one social media site. Future projects could examine the online interactions between groups and individuals in their responses to a media event. Facebook is another social media site in which datasets could be obtained, as there is evidence to suggest that the platform is used in mobilisation efforts, which could result in different findings.

Reference List

Alfaro, M. J. M. (1996). Intertextuality: Origins and development of the concept. *Atlantis*, 268-285.

Baack, S. (2011). A new style of news reporting: Wikileaks and data-driven journalism. *Cyborg Subjects*, 10.

Belot, H. (2016). Question Time suspended as pro-refugee protestors call to 'close the camps' and 'bring them here'. *ABC* Retrieved from http://www.abc.net.au/news/2016-11-30/protesters-disrupt-question-time/8079674

Bennett, W. L., & Segerberg, A. (2012). The logic of connective action. *Information, Communication and Society, 15*(5), 739 - 768.

Bennett, W. L., & Segerberg, A. (2013). *The logic of connective action: Digital media and the personalization of contentious politics*: Cambridge University Press.

Bennett, W. L., Segerberg, A., & Walker, S. (2014). Organization in the crowd: peer production in large-scale networked protests. *Information, Communication & Society, 17*(2), 232-260.

Betts, K. (2001). Boat people and public opinion in Australia. *People and place, 9*(4), 34.

Bickers, C. (2016). Protestors return to Parliament House. *news.com.au*. Retrieved from http://www.news.com.au/national/politics/protesters-return-to-parliament-house/news-story/e44a24633b14331be8850de06bcb59df

Bonilla, Y., & Rosa, J. (2015). # Ferguson: Digital protest, hashtag ethnography, and the racial politics of social media in the United States. *American Ethnologist, 42*(1), 4-17.

Boorstin, D. J. (1962). *The image: A guide to pseudo-events in America*: Vintage.

Boyd, D., & Crawford, K. (2012). Critical questions for big data: Provocations for a cultural, technological, and scholarly phenomenon. *Information, Communication & Society, 15*(5), 662-679.

Brüggemann, M. (2014). Between frame setting and frame sending: How journalists contribute to news frames. *Communication Theory, 24*(1), 61-82.

Bruns, A., & Burgess, J. E. (2011). *The use of Twitter hashtags in the formation of ad hoc publics.* Paper presented at the Proceedings of the 6th European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR) General Conference 2011.

Bryman, A. (2012). *Social Research Methods* (4th ed.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Burgess, J., & Bruns, A. (2012). (Not) the Twitter election: the dynamics of the# ausvotes conversation in relation to the Australian media ecology. *Journalism Practice, 6*(3), 384-402.

Burgess, J., & Crawford, K. (2011). Social media and the theory of the acute event. *Internet Research, 12*.

Butler, J. (2016). Big refugee protest shuts down question time in Parliament House. *Huffington Post*. Retrieved from http://www.huffingtonpost.com.au/2016/11/29/noisy-parliament-refugee-protest-shuts-down-question-time_a_21617033/

Carvalho, A. (2008). Media (ted) discourse and society: Rethinking the framework of critical discourse analysis. *Journalism studies, 9*(2), 161-177.

Chadwick, A. (2007). Digital network repertoires and organizational hybridity. *Political Communication, 24*(3), 283-301.

Chadwick, A. (2017). *The hybrid media system: Politics and power*: Oxford University Press.

Chambers, P. (2015). The embrace of border security: maritime jurisdiction, national sovereignty, and the geopolitics of Operation Sovereign Borders. *Geopolitics, 20*(2), 404-437.

Chan, G. (2016, 21/08/2016). Offshore detention still has support after Nauru Files. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/aug/21/offshore-detention-still-has-support-after-nauru-files-says-coalition-minister

Davey, M. (2016, 17/08/2016). Love Makes a Way protestors rally outside Bill Shorten's Melbourne office. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/aug/17/love-makes-a-way-protesters-rally-outside-bill-shortens-melbourne-office

Davidson, H. (2016a, 10/10/2016). From pleas to threats to harm: files reveal escalation of trauma on Nauru. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from https://www.theguardian.com/news/2016/aug/11/from-pleas-to-threats-to-harm-files-reveal-escalation-of-trauma-on-nauru

Davidson, H. (2016b, 13/08/2016). Nauru Files: how you can help people held in detention by Australia *The Guardian*. Retrieved from https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/aug/13/nauru-files-how-you-can-help-people-held-in-detention-by-australia

Davidson, H. (2016c, 16/08/2016). Nauru says refugee claims fabricated and being used to suit 'political agendas'. *The Guardian* Retrieved from https://www.theguardian.com/news/2016/aug/16/nauru-says-refugee-claims-fabricated-and-being-used-to-suit-political-agendas

Davidson, H. (2016d, 13/08/2016). 'They don't care': a refugee's story of reporting sexual assault on Nauru. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from https://www.theguardian.com/news/2016/aug/13/they-dont-care-a-refugees-story-of-reporting-sexual-assault-on-nauru

Davidson, H. (2016e). Thousands call for Nauru and Manus camps to close in rallies across Australia.

Dayan, D., & Katz, E. (1994). *Media events*: harvard university press.

Deuze, M. (2011). Media life. *Media, Culture & Society, 33*(1), 137-148.

Doherty, B. (2016). Nauru guard hit five-year-old girl 'so hard it lifted her off her feet'. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from https://www.theguardian.com/news/2016/aug/12/nauru-guard-hit-five-year-old-girl-so-hard-it-lifted-her-off-her-feet

Doherty, B. (2017, 12/09/2017). First Nauru refugees leave for US resettlement *The Guardian*. Retrieved from https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2017/sep/27/first-nauru-refugees-leave-for-us-resettlement

Doherty, B., & Farrell, P. (2016a, 12/08/2016). Legal advice says inquiry into child sex abuse can examine Nauru regime. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from https://www.theguardian.com/news/2016/aug/12/legal-advice-says-inquiry-into-child-sex-abuse-can-examine-nauru-regime

Doherty, B., & Farrell, P. (2016b, 11/08/2016). 'People have self-immolated to get to Australia' - immigration minister's response to Nauru Files. *The Guardian*. Retrieved

from https://www.theguardian.com/news/2016/aug/11/labor-will-reintroduce-bill-to-force-mandatory-reporting-of-child-abuse-after-nauru-files

Dowd, C. (2016). The new order of news and social media enterprises: visualisations, linked data, and new methods and practices in journalism. *Communication Research and Practice, 2*(1), 97-110.

Fairclough, N., & Wodak, R. (1995). *Critical discourse analysis*: na.

Farrell, P. (2016a, 12/08/2016). Fact check: immigration minister Peter Dutton's claims against Nauru files. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from https://www.theguardian.com/news/2016/aug/12/fact-check-immigration-minister-peter-duttons-claims-against-nauru-files

Farrell, P. (2016b). Nauru security guard 'grabbed boy by throat and banged head against ground' *The Guardian*. Retrieved from https://www.theguardian.com/news/2016/aug/11/nauru-security-guard-grabbed-boy-by-throat-and-banged-head-against-ground

Farrell, P., Evershed, N., & Davidson, H. (2016). The Nauru files: cache of 2,000 leaked reports reveal scale of abuse of children in Australian offshore detention. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/aug/10/the-nauru-files-2000-leaked-reports-reveal-scale-of-abuse-of-children-in-australian-offshore-detention

Fish, S. E. (1980). *Is there a text in this class?: The authority of interpretive communities*: Harvard University Press.

Fisher, C. (2016). The advocacy continuum: Towards a theory of advocacy in journalism. *Journalism, 17*(6), 711-726. doi:doi:10.1177/1464884915582311

Fuller, G. (2015). Meta: Aesthetics of the media assemblage. *Platform: journal of media and communication, 6*, 73-85.

Fuller, G. (2017a). Shane Warne versus hoon cyclists: affect and celebrity in a new media event. *Continuum, 31*(2), 296-306.

Fuller, G. (2017b). The# tay4hottest100 new media event: discourse, publics and celebrity fandom as connective action. *Communication Research and Practice*, 1-16.

Furey, P., & Mansfield, N. (1997). Cultural Studies and the New Humanities: Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Gartrell, A. (2012, 13/08/2012). Govt embraces Pacific solution measures *The Australian*. Retrieved from http://www.theaustralian.com.au/news/latest-news/labor-considers-reopening-nauru/news-story/f15ffccd9251da489c61f8ca1eead3e8

The Guardian view on the Nauru Files: Australia's offshore detention centres breed misery. (2016). *The Guardian*. Retrieved from https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/aug/10/the-guardian-view-on-the-nauru-files-australias-offshore-detention-centres-breed-misery

Guo, C., & Saxton, G. D. (2014). Tweeting social change: How social media are changing nonprofit advocacy. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly, 43*(1), 57-79.

Hamilton, A. (1990). Aborigines, Asians and the national imaginary. *Australian Cultural History, 9*, 14-35.

Hine, C. (2000). *Virtual ethnography*: Sage.

Human rights groups launch #BringThemHere campaign. (2016). [Press release]. Retrieved from https://www.hrlc.org.au/news/human-rights-groups-launch-bringthemhere-campaign

Hunt, E. (2016a, 14/08/2016). Hundreds of protestors target Turnbull and other MPs over Nauru files *The Guardian*. Retrieved from https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/aug/15/hundreds-of-protesters-target-turnbull-and-other-mps-over-nauru-files

Hunt, E. (2016b, 11/10/2016). Q&A: border policy architect Jim Molan says Nauru facilities 'extraordinary'. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/oct/11/qa-border-policy-architect-jim-molan-says-nauru-facilities-extraordinary

Isaacs, M. (2016). *Nauru Burning*. Australia: Edita.

Janowitz, M. (1975). Professional models in journalism: The gatekeeper and the advocate. *Journalism Quarterly, 52*(4), 618-626.

Jenkins, H., Purushotma, R., Weigel, M., Clinton, K., & Robison, A. J. (2009). *Confronting the challenges of participatory culture: Media education for the 21st century*: Mit Press.

Karp, P. (2016a). Refugee protestors abseil down Parliament House and due fountain red. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/dec/01/refugee-protesters-abseil-down-parliament-house-and-dye-fountain-red

Karp, P. (2016b, 17/08/2016). Refugee protestors disrupt Malcolm Turnbull speech: 'Close the bloody camps' *The Guardian*. Retrieved from https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/aug/17/close-the-bloody-camps-protesters-disrupt-malcolm-turnbull-speech

Kjeldsen, J. E. (2015). The rhetoric of thick representation: How pictures render the importance and strength of an argument salient. *Argumentation, 29*(2), 197-215.

Krosnick, J. A. (1990). Government policy and citizen passion: A study of issue publics in contemporary America. *Political behavior, 12*(1), 59-92.

Love Makes a Way: share your pictures and stories if you are joining protests around Australia. (2016). *The Guardian* Retrieved from https://www.theguardian.com/community/2016/aug/15/love-makes-a-way-share-your-picture-and-stories-if-you-are-joining-protests-around-australia

Lovejoy, K., & Saxton, G. D. (2012). Information, community, and action: How nonprofit organizations use social media. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication, 17*(3), 337-353.

Lowenstein, A. (2016, 12/08/2016). Dark past: so little has changed in Australia's posture towards asylum seekers. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/aug/12/dark-past-so-little-has-changed-in-australias-posture-towards-asylum-seekers

Magner, T. (2004). A less than 'Pacific'solution for asylum seekers in Australia. *International Journal of Refugee Law, 16*(1), 53-90.

Marr, D. (2016, 10/08/2016). The Nauru files are raw evidence of torture. Can we look away! . *The Guardian*. Retrieved from https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/aug/10/the-nauru-files-are-raw-evidence-of-torture-can-we-look-away

McCarthy, J. D., & Zald, M. N. (1977). Resource mobilization and social movements: A partial theory. *American journal of sociology, 82*(6), 1212-1241.

Medhora, S. (2016, 30/10/2016). Asylum seekers who arrive by boat banned from setting foot in Australia. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from http://www.abc.net.au/triplej/programs/hack/boat-asylum-seekers-banned-from-australia/7978370

Mountz, A. (2011). Where asylum-seekers wait: feminist counter-topographies of sites between states. *Gender, Place & Culture, 18*(3), 381-399.

Murphy, K. (2016, 10/08/2016). Liberal MP appeals to 'people of conscience' after release of Nauru files. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from https://www.theguardian.com/news/2016/aug/10/liberal-mp-russell-broadbent-appeals-to-people-of-conscience-after-release-of-nauru-files

O'keeffe, A. (2011). Media and Discourse Analysis.

Obar, J. A., Zube, P., & Lampe, C. (2012). Advocacy 2.0: An analysis of how advocacy groups in the United States perceive and use social media as tools for facilitating civic engagement and collective action. *Journal of information policy, 2*, 1-25.

Oriti, T. (2016, 02/04/2016). Let Them Stay labelled a success, more than half of 267 asylum seekers in community detention. *Australian Broadcasting Corporation*. Retrieved from http://www.abc.net.au/news/2016-04-02/let-them-stay-labelled-success-asylum-seeker-community-detention/7294456

Phillips, J. S., Harriet (2013). *Boat arrivals in Australia since 1976* (ISSN 1834-9854). Parliamentary Library Retrieved from http://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/download/library/prspub/5P1X6/upload_binary/5P1X6.pdf;fileType=application/pdf - search=%22boat%20arrivals%20in%20Australia%20since%22.

Pickering, S. (2001). Common sense and original deviancy: News discourses and asylum seekers in Australia. *Journal of Refugee Studies, 14*(2), 169-186.

Polletta, F. (2009). *Storytelling in social movements*: na.

Rudd, K. (2013). Australia and Papua New Guinea Regional Settlement Arrangement [Press release]. Retrieved from http://pmtranscripts.pmc.gov.au/release/transcript-22764

Schradie, J. (2014). Bringing the organization back in: Social media and social movements. *Berkeley Journal of Sociology, 58*.

Schudson, M. (2001). The objectivity norm in American journalism*. *Journalism, 2*(2), 149-170. doi:doi:10.1177/146488490100200201

Schwarz, E. (2011). Social Network Websites and Social Movement Involvement.

Seale, C. (2001). Sporting cancer: struggle language in news reports of people with cancer. *Sociology of Health & Illness, 23*(3), 308-329.

Seeck, H. R., Tehri. (2015). Media events, spectacles and risky globalization: a critical review and possible avenues for future research. *Media, Culture & Society, 37*(2), 163-179. doi:doi:10.1177/0163443714553493

Smith, J., McCarthy, J. D., McPhail, C., & Augustyn, B. (2001). From protest to agenda building: Description bias in media coverage of protest events in Washington, DC. *Social Forces, 79*(4), 1397-1423.

Taylor, L. (2016, 20/08/2016). Dutton blames Nauru crisis on everything but his rigid policy. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/aug/20/dutton-blames-nauru-crisis-on-everything-but-his-rigid-policy

Tewksbury, D., Jones, J., W. Peske, M., Raymond, A., & Vig, W. (2000). The Interaction of News and Advocate Frames: Manipulating Audience Perceptions of a Local Public Policy Issue. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly, 77*(4), 804-829. doi:doi:10.1177/107769900007700406

Topsfield, J. (2007, December 11, 2007). Nauru fears gap when camps close. *The Age*. Retrieved from http://www.theage.com.au/news/national/nauru-fears-gap-when-camps-close/2007/12/10/1197135374481.html

Vaccari, C., Chadwick, A., & O'Loughlin, B. (2015). Dual Screening the Political: Media Events, Social Media, and Citizen Engagement. *Journal of Communication, 65*(6), 1041-1061. doi:10.1111/jcom.12187

Voithofer, R. (2006). Studying intertextuality, discourse and narratives to conceptualize and contextualize online learning environments. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education, 19*(2), 201-219.

Vromen, A. (2017). Digital Citizenship and Political Engagement *Digital Citizenship and Political Engagement* (pp. 9-49): Springer.

Vromen, A., & Coleman, W. (2013). Online Campaigning Organizations and Storytelling Strategies: GetUp! in Australia. *Policy & Internet, 5*(1), 76-100. doi:10.1002/poi3.23

Waisbord, S. (2009). Advocacy journalism in a global context. *The handbook of journalism studies*, 371-385.

Wake, A. (2013). The Guardian: too local for Australian lefties? *The Conversation*. Retrieved from https://theconversation.com/the-guardian-too-local-for-australian-lefties-14664

Warner, M. (2002). Publics and counterpublics. *Public culture, 14*(1), 49-90.

We say #BringThemHere. (2016).   Retrieved from https://www.getup.org.au/campaigns/refugees/bringthemhere/we-say-bringthemhere

Yardi, S., & Boyd, D. (2010). Dynamic Debates: An Analysis of Group Polarization Over Time on Twitter. *Bulletin of Science, Technology & Society, 30*(5), 316-327. doi:doi:10.1177/0270467610380011

Zeng, J. (2015). How information around acute events comes into being on social media: a comparative analysis of interpretive communities on Weibo and Twitter. *E-journal of E-democracy and Open Government, 7*, 72 - 92