Television News Discourse:  
A Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis of how coverage of the 2013 Australian Federal Election shaped narratives about asylum seekers

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DECLARATION

I hereby certify that the work embodied in the thesis is my own work, conducted under normal supervision. The thesis contains no material which has been accepted, or is being examined, for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text. I give consent to the final version of my thesis being made available worldwide when deposited in the University’s Digital Repository, subject to the provisions of the Copyright Act 1968 and any approved embargo.

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STATEMENT OF AUTHORSHIP

I hereby declare that the work embodied in this thesis also generated the following publication:


ABSTRACT

Policy regarding people arriving by boat in order to seek asylum, was a key focus of political discourse during the 2013 Australian Federal Election campaign. Evening television news reports on the unfolding election revealed a bipartisan push for increasingly punitive approaches to the treatment of people seeking asylum. Distinctive rhetorical techniques drawing on several problematising narratives aligned with asylum seeker discourses were central to exclusionary arguments made by Australian Labor Party and Liberal-National Coalition politicians. These language strategies, coupled with tightly controlled and repetitive imagery, were communicated through mainstream television news broadcasts. Despite the five Australian free-to-air networks, Australian Broadcasting Company (ABC), Special Broadcasting Service (SBS), Network Ten, Seven and Nine having some variations in substance and style, their capacities to convey ideological and thematic coherence was sustained.

This research contributes to the field of Multimodal Discourse enquiry (Bowcher & Royce 2013, Jewitt, Bezemer & O’Halloran 2016), addressing the current dearth of studies which critically analyse both visual and verbal television news data. While close linguistic examinations of asylum seeker discourse within print media are abundant, research which examines the content and conventions of rhetorical and visual languages used in television news especially, and their roles in shaping socio-political discourses, is lacking (Bednarek and Caple 2012). As such, this research applies Piazza and Haarman’s Pragmatic Cognitive Model for interpretation (2016) and adopts a Critical Discourse Analytic (CDA) (Fairclough 2013, Machin & Mayr 2012, van Dijk 2011) framework to analyse television news reports about asylum seekers to answer the research question: How did television news coverage of the 2013 Australian Federal Election shape narratives about asylum seekers?

This project’s findings identify a broadly uniform and dominant discourse of asylum seekers that is underpinned by themes of deviance, illegality and Otherness (Hoenig 2012, Lianos 2013) and the presupposition that people coming to Australia by boat to seek asylum are a problem requiring a military solution. Visual and verbal combinations and constructions used in television news discourses of the 2013 Australian Federal Election contribute to these findings.
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1 INTRODUCTION

‘The compassionate humanitarian everywhere finds himself pressing against the dominant edges of a rhetorical parallelogram’

(Foye & Ryder 2011)

Current global media discourses centring on the ‘threat’ of immigration, reinforce the need for researchers in fields of social justice to continue challenging dominant paradigms in order to illuminate the complex power relations underpinning them. At the commencement of this research in 2014 few contemporary political events demonstrated such sharply defined ideological positions in regard to asylum seeker discourses, as the 2013 Australian Federal Election. This qualitative research has been undertaken with the purpose in mind to not only highlight recurring and problematic asylum seeker narratives communicated throughout the 2013 Election’s television news coverage, but to expose the power relations which have ‘naturalised’ (Fairclough 2013) these constructions as ‘commonsensical’ (Capdevila & Callaghan 2008, Jones & Stilwell Peccei 2013, Schuster 2003, Thornborrow 2013, Toolan 2012).
Federal elections in Australia are inherently significant socio-political events. Compulsory voting in Australia requires all citizens over the age of 18 to vote in local, State and Federal Government elections. The 44th Australian Federal Election was held on September 7th 2013 and occurred following an extremely volatile period in Australian politics (Johnson, Wanna & Hsu-Ann 2015, Wanna 2014). In June 2010, Deputy Prime Minister Julia Gillard had challenged Prime Minister Kevin Rudd for the leadership of the Australian Labor Party (ALP), winning the party’s ballot unopposed after Mr Rudd had declined to contest the position (Rodgers 2010). That year’s Federal Election had been slated for 17th July, and resulted in a hung parliament; the first since 1940. After securing the support of one Greens MP and three independent MPs, Julia Gillard was able to form a minority government and was sworn in as Prime Minister on 14th September 2010. Kevin Rudd who was re-elected in his seat of Griffith in Queensland became Foreign Minister.

Prime Minister Gillard went on to win two additional ALP leadership challenges, one in February 2012 against Kevin Rudd and one in March 2013 where she was re-elected unopposed after no alternative candidates nominated for the position. However, in June 2013, in the lead up to the next Federal Election, persistent tensions within the Labor Party and consistently poor polling results led to yet another leadership challenge. On June 26th Prime Minister Gillard called the ballot and Kevin Rudd announced he would again challenge his former deputy for the ALP leadership. Later that day Kevin Rudd was elected as Prime Minister. On the 5th August 2013 Governor General Quentin Bryce issued a proclamation to dissolve Parliament and the 44th Australian Federal Election date was set for the 7th September.
Election issues such as immigration and the carbon tax (which had proved problematic for Labor in terms of policy implementation) dominated the election campaign. Despite only 14% of voters naming asylum seekers as one of the top three issues most important to them, immigration policy relating to people arriving by boat was the key focus of the political discourse (Johnson, Wanna & Hsu Ann 2015). Evening television news reports on the unfolding election campaign communicated a bipartisan push for an increasingly harsh approach to the treatment of people seeking asylum. Prime Minister Rudd announced plans for a new immigration policy, the ‘PNG Solution’ (World News Australia, 19th July 2013), which dictated that any asylum seeker arriving in Australia by boat, regardless of whether their refugee status was approved or not, would ‘never be settled in Australia’ (Seven Nightly News, 19th July 2013).

The Liberal-National coalition¹, whose dominating campaign catch cry had been ‘stop the boats’, was left with little room to manoeuvre around Kevin Rudd’s new far right policy position. Coalition Leader Tony Abbott & Shadow Immigration minister Scott Morrison publicly supported the policy but continually reiterated that the Prime Minister and the ALP were too incompetent to implement such a policy. On the 27th July, the Coalition announced its campaign centrepiece, the introduction, should they win office, of *Operation Sovereign Borders (OSB)*, a policy which would move asylum seekers arriving by boat, both literally and figuratively, into the domain of the Australian military service.

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¹ ‘The Coalition’ is a political alliance between the Liberal Party of Australia, of which Tony Abbott was leader of during 2013, and the National Party of Australia led by Warren Truss in 2013.
The 2013 Federal Election and its concurrent media event, was defined by the bipartisan approach to people seeking asylum, with both major parties pledging to ‘stop the boats’. Denemark, Ward and Bean (2007) argue that television news is generally accepted as playing a crucial role in establishing common sense ideas about society, this is especially so when politicians continue to rely on television as the primary medium for election campaign messages. As such this study takes a critical discourse analytic (CDA) approach to explore how the language of newsreaders, reporters and politicians together with images and footage used to construct television news packages creates narratives or ‘natural’ ways of talking about asylum seekers.

Contemporary narratology theorists (Bal 2009, Herman 2007, Puckett 2016) argue that narratives and storytelling play a crucial role in the human experience. ‘Stories have come to be viewed as a basic human strategy for coming to terms with time, process, and change’ (Herman, Jahn & Ryan 2004, p.xii). A rhetorical approach to narrative considers not only the purposive nature of narrative communication as a multi-layered and ideologically motivated event, but also the nature of the relationships between speakers (or storytellers) and audiences, whereby ‘tellers seek to engage and influence their audiences’ cognition, emotions, and values’ (Phelan 2007, p. 203). Thus, an examination of the rhetorical and linguistic resources employed by speakers in television news coverage of the 2013 Australian Federal Election reveals archetypal narratives which are constituted by overwhelmingly negative and problematised representations of people seeking asylum. In turn, these impactful stories have significant effects on public discourses about immigration.
Television News Discourse: A multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis into how coverage of the 2013 Australian Federal Election shaped narratives about asylum seekers.

This project’s research question -How did television news coverage of the 2013 Australian Federal Election shape narratives about asylum seekers? -has been answered by critiquing free to air television news reports from five separate networks which aired over a six-month period, from 7th June to 7th December, three months prior to the 2013 Election to three months beyond it. The combination of a CDA methodology performed on multimodal (Bateman & Wildfeuer 2014, Bowcher & Royce 2013, Kress & van Leeuwen 2001) television news data has generated original and significant insights about news and political discourses contributing to the field of asylum seeker studies which has, to date, been neglected in terms of scholarly attention.

Chapter 2: Literature Review outlines and discusses a range of pertinent studies, research and theories that have informed this original project. As the foundations of this project are drawn from fields of scholarship such as sociology, communication and political studies, the literature review identifies themes and concepts established in relation to news, political and asylum seeker discourses which have contextualised this project.

A detailed account of the methodological approach adopted for this project is laid out in Chapter 3: Methodology. This chapter provides a comprehensive justification for a qualitative case study of the election coverage using a Critical Discourse Analytic (CDA) framework for data selection and critique. This CDA approach has also incorporated communication theories which have allowed some of the power relationships underscoring the television news constructions to be revealed.

Chapter 4 focuses specifically on one news report each from ABC, Nine, Ten, SBS and Seven for detailed analyses. These selections potentially mirror how regular television news audiences may have encountered the individual reports throughout the campaign

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coverage. Through the application of Piazza and Haarman’s (2016) Pragmatic Cognitive Model of interpretation, a model specifically designed for the multimodal analysis of television news programmes, micro scrutiny of verbal and visual tracks used in the 2013 Election coverage has yielded macro narratives which are ideologically dominant.

Chapter 5 examines specific rhetorical techniques identified in news reports about people seeking asylum. Prominent rhetorical tools such as metaphors and euphemisms and strategies including obfuscation, metonymy and personification are closely explored in terms of their communicative power and their capacities for shaping asylum seeker narratives underpinned by conceptions of deviancy and illegality.

Chapter 6 expands on one of the primary themes revealed through these analyses; the overarching militarisation of asylum seeker issues in media and political discourses. Language functions such as war metaphors and military jargon, together with repetitive footage of Australian Border Patrol vessels, equipment and personnel, provide evidence of political strategies used to legitimise increasingly militarised government responses to people seeking asylum in Australia.

Images and footage of people seeking asylum which demonstrate ‘dehumanising’ styles of representation are discussed at length in Chapter 7. This discussion reveals that overwhelmingly, images of asylum seekers used in news packages are composed in ways which de-emphasise their humanity and place emphasis on characteristics of ‘Otherness’ (Hoenig 2012, Said 1979). Again, these visual depictions communicate dominant meanings that centre on solving the asylum seeker ‘problem’ through regulatory controls.

Finally, Chapter 8’s conclusion considers the project’s findings in regard to, again, the languages and vision used in the mainstream news constructions along with their likely contributions to powerful asylum seeker narratives. These findings continue to
Television News Discourse: A multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis into how coverage of the 2013 Australian Federal Election shaped narratives about asylum seekers.

demonstrate that overarching themes of militarisation and dehumanisation prevail across both political and news media discourses. Additionally, directions for future research into asylum seeker representations in television news media are proposed and recommendations are made in regard to mainstream television networks implementing socially responsible industry practices in terms of news report production.
2 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Recent Contributions to Asylum Seeker Research in the Context of Australia’s Political Scene

While there are several recently submitted works in the areas of people seeking asylum and the associative spheres of media, politics and communication, the theses identified as similar in research aims to this project also vary in some combination of method, approach, focus or qualification sought.

Voices of acceptance: understanding the acceptance of ‘boat people’ by young Australians (Laughland-Booy 2015) is a rare example of research which seeks to identify ‘positive’ and inclusive views of people seeking asylum, in an effort to address significant discrepancies between approaches in this field or enquiry. As a point of difference, it is not media constructions that form the data set for Laughland-Booy’s study, but participant interviews with young people as part of an ongoing longitudinal project called ‘Social Futures and Life Pathways of Young People in Queensland’ 2. Laughland-Booy uses interview data to firstly, identify narratives ‘that exemplify the accepting perspective’ (p.ii), and secondly, to examine those participants’ conceptualisations of an ‘Australian identity’ and how they position themselves in relation to such an identity. ‘Pro-asylum’

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2 This longitudinal study undertaken by researchers at Monash University. It began in 2006. In 2006, when over 7,000 people ages 12-13 in 213 schools across Queensland participated in the first ‘Our Lives survey’ during their first year of high school. Follow up interviews and surveys with the original cohort continue to produce insights into how their attitudes, values and life pathways are developing.
participants tended to demonstrate three main themes in developing their perspectives; responsibility, openness and compassion.

They...demonstrated openness towards asylum seekers, believing they would contribute to Australia rather than threaten it. Moreover, they expressed compassion towards ‘boat people’ and other asylum seekers, arguing that people who find themselves in such circumstances, regardless of origin, should be provided protection and support. (p. 78)

Laughland-Booy’s research also documents narratives of exclusion referred to by participants during interviews. Interestingly, any *negative* themes and discursive tropes identified in (some of) her participants’ attitudes towards people seeking asylum, also correlate with narratives occurring in this original research’s data as being located within political discourses and repetitively circulated by television news media. For example, a number of ‘anti-asylum participants’ referred to people seeking asylum as not being ‘our’/Australia’s *problem*. Some used terms consistent with the illegitimacy/unfair narrative often associated with claims of ‘jumping the queue’; ‘untrustworthiness’, ‘laziness’, ‘bludgers’, while others drew on the narrative of people seeking asylum as ‘exploiting Australia’s generosity’.

Also, interviewees who were predominantly ‘anti’ asylum seeker also spoke of perceived ‘illegalities’ regarding asylum seekers’ actions:

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3 Such claims have been identified in the language of Federal Politicians reported in television news sourced for this project’s data analysis. For example;

“They won’t go to the back of the queue to wait longer for their permanent visa, they won’t be in the queue at all” (World News Australia, 16th August 2013), “There is no obstacle to people being able to be represented legally. It's just the tax payer is not going to be on the hook for it” (ABC News, 31st August 2013), “Our courts and our appeals systems are being gamed, and used, and promoted by the people smugglers, to put people on boats” (ABC News, 16th August 2013).
Many of the anti-asylum participants expressed a belief that by coming to Australia by boat, asylum seekers are breaking the rules pertaining to legal entry into the country. By not ‘doing the right thing’ and ‘just trying to sneak in’ they thought ‘boat people’ are showing little regard for Australia and its laws. (p.76)

While there was no data collected on what the participants believed influenced their opinions on people seeking asylum, the close correlations between rhetoric used in media constructions and the language participants used to express their views about people seeking asylum indicates their influences in many ways. Laughland-Booy’s doctoral thesis is a valuable contribution to asylum research due to its goal of revealing how positive attitudes towards asylum seekers may be expressed in terms of dominant themes and narratives, and because of its unique methodological approach.

Elizabeth Greenhalg’s (2015) doctoral thesis, Values and Morals in the Dehumanisation of Asylum Seekers, documents her research on the complex phenomenon of ‘humanness denial’ and the role it plays in justifying exclusionary and punitive practices in the treatment of people seeking asylum in Australia, aiming to highlight ways that might overcome less compassionate thinking about asylum seekers.

Greenhalg draws on Haslam’s (2014) conceptualisation of humanness denial, which identifies three key dimensions. The first is the type of humanness denied, the negation of either human uniqueness, or human nature, draws a contrast between, and subsequently aligns the outgroup members with animals in the former instance and inanimate objects such as robots in the later (Greenhalg, 2015). Greenhalg’s work is of special interest to this original study, as it is closely related to Hodge’s (2014) and also Arendt’s (2009) research on the reduction or devaluation of the lives of asylum seekers as ‘grievable’. Although Greenhalg, Arendt and Hodge approached their academic enquiry from human geography and political philosophy perspectives, their work also revealed interesting connections between media and socio-political contexts that have a
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bearing on public opinion and opinions made public regarding asylum seekers, particularly in regard to human rights discourses.

Eyalama’s (2015) work “Go back to where you came from”: Australia’s asylum seeker policy, 2007-2015 is a longitudinal study which aggregates a number of data sources including ‘asylum seeker Bills’ presented to Australian Federal Parliament, as well as ministerial speeches, media events and press releases, produced between 2007 and 2015. Eyalama identifies five key metaphors which dominate the political approach to dealing with and discussing people seeking asylum; the first is the construction of Australia as a ‘house’ or ‘home’ under threat from asylum seekers, the second is the familiar trope of the ‘queue’, which carries connotations of a ‘fair’ line-up system for those seeking to gain entry. The third metaphor Eyalama identifies is the arrival of asylum seekers as a ‘natural disaster’. The fourth is the ‘state as a person’ metaphor which functions in tandem with ‘country as a home’ to locate the Australian Government as the ‘homeowner’ with the right to take action and finally, ‘war’ and threats of asylum seekers as constituting an ‘invading army’ is the last metaphor acknowledged as underpinning Australian asylum seeker government policy between 2007-2015.

Some portions of the politically-generated data set sourced for Eyalama’s study and this original project may overlap - for two reasons: (1) Because of the intertextual relationships between political discourses and particularly news media productions the recirculation of political statements derived from legislative documents, press conference proceedings and media releases would logically be included in edited free-to-air mainstream news packages. (2) The 2013 Federal Election television news coverage this work centres on occurred between 7th June 2013 and 7th December 2013, within the 2007-2015 timeframe of Eyalama’s longitudinal study.

Eyalama’s work emerged from the field of urban and social studies and focused predominantly on official government documents and parliamentary texts. Its findings are confined to five key metaphors in the discursive construction of people seeking asylum. Whereas this original project considers the use of metaphors as but one communicative technique in the socio-political construction of narratives and representations of people seeking asylum. Additionally, it explores these complex narratives within the framework of television news constructions by deconstructing contributing elements such as language, image, news conventions and strategic political communication.

Dunn’s (2015) study, *Twitter and the transformation of the public sphere: an analysis of asylum seeker narratives in the new media landscape*, is a comparative study between print media and twitter over two eight day periods during 2013 and 2014. Its aim was to examine how ‘print media and social media contribute to and interact in the public sphere in relation to the issue of asylum seekers’ (p. v). Dunn’s research drew on Habermas’ concept of the public sphere (Habermas 1991) to consider whether ‘traditional’ print media adequately interrogates government policy in line with the media’s role within the democratic process. It simultaneously, considered how social media may impact public communication about political issues, potentially making space for a disruption of traditional media narratives about asylum seekers. Dunn’s Honours research also identifies narratives which have been previously well documented in asylum seeker research; the illegality or criminalisation of people seeking asylum, and claims of immorality against people seeking asylum (although while previous constructions of immorality are often referenced in terms of ‘queue-jumping’ or other ‘unfair’ behaviour, Dunn’s data identifies this narrative as a response to incidents of self-harm by mothers in detention on Christmas Island). Ultimately, some of Dunn’s research found, at least in
regard to the three newspapers examined, *The Australian, The Daily Telegraph* and *The Sydney Morning Herald*, between 28th August 2013 and 4th September 2013 and 6th July 2014 and 13th July 2014, mainstream (print) media constructions of asylum seekers largely aligned with bi-partisan views of people seeking asylum i.e. common negative or disparaging perceptions of asylum seekers. Consequently, she concluded that the non-interrogative approach of mainstream print media in regard to government policy may be problematic in terms of limiting public discussion and debate through the suppression of alternative view points on the issue. However, contrastingly, her analysis of social media data indicated that:

Twitter provided a vehicle for the dissemination of alternative narratives which differed markedly from those conveyed by the mainstream media. The narratives about asylum seekers that were shared included those that were directly opposed to the dominant mainstream media narratives. (p.63)

Dunn’s research also revealed concerns with and evidence of mainstream media’s dominance regarding prominent and politicised asylum seeker narratives which this original project addresses, but through the ‘lens’ of television news structures and content.

While the material reviewed thus far has been limited to more traditional critical academic research (at Honours, Masters and PhD level) the relevance of the creative novel *Repentance Creek*, and exegesis, *Bound to the borders: Representing refugees in the Australian space* (Nancarrow 2014) to this original project, also warrants attention. According to the author, the novel *Repentance Creek* is aimed at offering a counter-narrative to the current ‘simplistic hegemonic discourses’ offered by Australian media and politicians about asylum seekers and refugees in the Australian space. While the approach and aims of Nancarrow’s work are vastly different to those of this study, her work exposes one of the most crucial elements of contemporary media and political discourses about people seeking asylum; references to Australia’s border are foundational

to recurrent narratives about asylum seekers. ‘Border protection’, ‘border security’ and the high level visibility and ‘patrolability’ of the Australian coast may underpin the development of narratives of exclusion and the justification of exclusionary practices in the treatment of people seeking asylum.

While the time frame of Wright’s (2014) research, Asylum seekers and Australian politics, 1996-2007 spans a 20-year period, the focus of her research is nevertheless specific. Examining the Howard Coalition leadership of the Australian Government, Wright argues that the Howard era constituted ‘a pivotal point in time, both politically and historically, when Australia acted contrary to the spirit of its international obligations’ (p. ii). The aims of Wright’s research follow similar lines of this research, attempting to better understand how Howard era exclusionary policies towards asylum seekers were justified through newspapers, television and radio media reports. Wright’s research approaches this field of inquiry from a political studies perspective, focusing on how these representations achieved a ‘self-serving political agenda’ (2014, p.iii) in regards to immigration policy developments, while this original research aims to examine how similar political communication strategies circulate through and influence public discourses of people seeking asylum.

It should be noted that University and copyright restrictions have meant that some recent studies have not been available for detailed critical review. Is the Australian public ‘rational’ on foreign policy issues? (Yarnell 2016), The Battle of the Narratives: Australian media agendas and the Iraq war (Betts 2015), and Australia's asylum seeker policy and Christmas Island (Dimasi 2015), are studies which, while in the domain of asylum seeker research, also display distinctive research emphases which diverge both spatially and temporally from this project’s intentions. Thus, while they are notable in the sense that socio-historical examinations of asylum seeker issues and the resulting
implications for contemporary discourses and policy development continue to be crucial to the current research landscape, the primary knowledge to be gained from any future review of them is further confidence in the original contribution this study makes to the scholarly body of asylum seeker research.

As a multi-disciplinary study, incorporating theories and topics explored in the fields of sociology, psychology, linguistics, political science, communication and media, the relevant literature available for review in these areas is extensive. The various concepts involved in this research project; political power, rhetoric and nationalist ideologies, threats to sovereignty, deviant ‘others’, television news media texts and implied meanings, are also each the focus of a vast and evolving body of scholarly enquiry. The aim of this current review is to provide, through reference to significant literature found at the intersection of these concepts, a clear understanding of the context in which this study has been situated. The following discussion subsequently provides a detailed account of the key research concepts in areas pertaining to news discourses, political discourses, and asylum seeker discourses.

2.2 News Discourses

The role of television news coverage of Federal Elections in shaping narratives about election issues is an area of study which has, to date, been largely neglected in terms of scholarly focus. This research project, which analyses how mainstream, free-to-air television news coverage of the 2013 Australian Federal Election shaped socio-cultural narratives about asylum seekers, contributes to this relatively unexplored area of television news discourse research. Certainly there is a broad section of academic research which incorporates many aspects of news media textual analysis (Bednarek & Caple


2.2.1 What is news?

At this early stage in the discussion it’s useful to make a distinction between ‘news’ and ‘news media’. While in the context of this study the former is a question of what types of topics, events and issues end up being broadcast on television screens each evening, the latter is much more a question of what role does television news media play in shaping viewers’ opinions about asylum seekers?

There are countless definitions of ‘news’, and while it may be beneficial to know that, for example, the Oxford Dictionary defines ‘news’ as ‘newly received or noteworthy information, especially about recent events’, in terms of an analysis of how news reports covering a particular issue may influence or encourage a particular understanding of that issue, it’s more apt to start with a view highlighted by many contemporary news media researchers, that ‘news’ is above all, constructed (Street 2011, Meikle 2009, Hartley 2013). The systematic construction and framing of news is a key finding of news research literature; story, narrative, myth, drama are all common descriptions of the information
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packaged to audiences as ‘news’. James Carey has argued that ‘news is not information but drama’ (1992, p.21) suggesting that news ‘does not describe the world but portrays an arena of dramatic forces and action…and it invites our participation on the basis of our assuming, often vicariously, social roles within it’ (ibid.). Hartley has similarly argued that ‘news is a myth-maker’ (p.30). In *Entertaining the Citizen: When politics and popular culture converge* (2005), Liesbet van Zoonen highlights four types of narratives that dominate the telling of a political story; quest, conspiracy, bureaucracy, and the soap. This is not to say that news is necessarily ‘developed’ or fabricated for particular ends, but to point out that there are always a multitude of production choices and framings (Kitzinger 2007, Smith & Bell 2007) which contribute to a final news report construction. Choices about which events are covered, from which angle, which images will accompany the report, what language will be used, who should be interviewed, which groups’ voices will be heard? The outcome of all of these choices is a culturally specific news report which can convey a number of distinctive messages about the particular society from which it has emerged. This process is particularly telling in regards to what types of social behaviours and characteristics are aligned with the socially constructed role of a valued ‘Australian citizen’ and what types of traits are assigned to Others (Joye 2015).

They [media stories] identify notions of responsibility and blame; they make sense of the chaos of events ‘out there’, and in doing so steer the audience’s response towards one view of the world rather than another. (Street 2011, p.9)

The crux of these conceptions of news as socio-cultural narrative is that news ‘stories’ are vehicles by which news media is able to shape understandings of the world. For, as Meikle (2009) states; ‘the media enable an arena for the defining of reality’ (p.3). Such sentiments are well supported in news media literature focusing on the importance of television as a medium through which people develop understandings about the world.
around them and how they fit into that world (Flew 2014, Hartley 2013, Meikle 2009) In sociology studies, eminent theorists such as Foucault (2000, 1972), Hall (1996), Herman & Chomsky (2002) and Cohen (2011) regard news media as a crucial site for the exercise of power and the maintenance of social hierarchies, in the service of institutions and elite individuals.

In their discussions of the media as a ‘secondary definer’ of newsworthiness (using images and languages to suggest to viewers particular ways of understanding an issue), Hall, Critcher, Jefferson, Clarke & Roberts (1978) explain that it is ‘primary definers’, or politicians, who ‘set the limit for all subsequent discussion by framing what the [social/cultural] problem is’ (p.59). This means essentially, that political stories in news reports may be delivered to media networks ‘pre-framed’(Bock 2006). Gitlin (1980) provides an insightful account of the function of ‘frames’, suggesting that they operate as ‘little tacit theories about what exists, what happens, and what matters’ (p.6). While these ideas imply a simple, hierarchical relationship, in which the media merely reproduces and reiterates the agenda of society’s elite, many scholars, particularly more recent media researchers, acknowledge the co-dependence and complexity of the interrelationships between politics and media in the current media landscape (Bateman 2014, Bowcher & Royce 2013, Lim Fei 2013, Moya Guijarro 2016, O’Halloran 2008).

Two models of communication, which speak to distinct perspectives regarding the power or dominance of media to convey meaningful information are the transmission and ritual models outlined by James Carey (1992). Carey argued that the transmission model is built on a metaphor of geography or transportation and centres on the idea of ‘transmission of messages over distance for the purpose of control’ (p.12). The ritual model, in contrast, is concerned with the maintenance of social groups through the representation of their
shared values and beliefs. ‘If the transmission view is about control, the ritual view is about participation in a shared ceremony; and act of “fellowship and commonality”’ (p.44). Meikle (2009) points out that approaching news media effects from a transmission perspective raises familiar debates about authenticity, bias, effect, influence and control, whereas considering news consumption from a ritual perspective suggests that the ‘payoff’ for watching or reading it is not necessarily the acquisition of new knowledge, but ‘having our view of the world confirmed’ (p.48).

Of course, news as a ritual and an exercise in community (or in the case of this research, nation) building which confirms who ‘we’ are, is dependent on the co-construction of who ‘we’ are not, and by extension who ‘they’ may be. ‘The process of community formation through and in the mediascape can work by exclusion’ (Meikle, p.49). News images and language represent noteworthy information, and information is noteworthy if it is communicated as something unusual, out of the ordinary, unconventional, different, or deviates from the ‘norm’. Thus, is can be surmised that through representations of unfavourable social identities (e.g. criminals, asylum seekers, welfare recipients or ‘cheats’), news media, as a representational system with inherent ideological and structural biases, presents favourable social roles and identities for ‘us’ to maintain as a community,

2.2.2 Media Bias?
There are countless models and theories of bias. While discussions of bias are problematic, not only in ontological terms, (as the very concept of bias assumes an absolute truth which is then misrepresented,) but in terms of their sheer number and applicability as monolithic theories, similarly too notions of assumed ‘media effects’. It is nevertheless worthwhile to outline some of the more prominent and relevant ideas about
media bias, in order to locate this original research within one of its appropriate theoretical contexts.

McQuail’s (1992 pp.193-195) four categories of bias are defined by their position on a two dimensional matrix using the variables of ‘explicitness’, whether the bias is hidden or obvious, and ‘intention’, whether the bias is the deliberate result of policy or agenda, or whether it has resulted from unconscious processes. These four categories, are further defined by such variables as propaganda bias (deliberate, hidden), partisan bias (deliberate, explicit), unwitting bias (unconscious, explicit), and ideological bias (unconscious, hidden). There are two methodological problems associated with these categories relative to media bias, the first is how to discover deeper meanings in a particular media text as separate from surface level meanings, and secondly, how is it possible to make absolute claims about a text producer’s intentions or motivations through exploring their textual constructs? (Fenton 2007, Hughes 2007)

2.2.3 Propaganda Model

Despite its criticisms, a particularly enduring and powerful theory of the role of media in society is the ‘propaganda model’ developed by Herman & Chomsky in their seminal work Manufacturing Consent: the political economy of mass media (2002). Herman & Chomsky see media as normalising and promoting conduct and standards which make up the ideal social subject:

“It is [the media’s] function to amuse, entertain and inform and to inculcate individuals with the values, beliefs and codes of behaviour that will integrate them into the institutional structures of the larger society. (2002, p. 1)"

The Propaganda Model thus centres on how the possession of power and resources by society’s elites places them in positions of privileged access, facilitates their influences
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on news media processes and content production, serving to maintain social hierarchies and wealth distribution. The Propaganda Model ‘traces how money and power are able to filter out the news fit to print, marginalise dissent and allow the government and dominant private interests to get their message out to the public’ (2002, p.2). Herman and Chomsky’s model is built on the premise that information passes through five ‘filters’ before it is deemed newsworthy or appears in news media. The first filter is related to concentration of media ownership, owner wealth, and profit orientation of the dominant media corporations. The second is based on advertising as the primary source of income. The third filter, (which is prominent in the analytical explanations this research offers) is the reliance of media on information provided by government sources, or as Hall et al. (1978) expressed, the ‘primary definers’, in that particular experts and selective forms and sources of information are repeatedly given voice and authority in news reports. The fourth filter is ‘flak’, which Herman & Chomsky regard as a method for disciplining the media and discouraging unfavourable representations of information. The final filter is ‘anti-communism’ as a national religion and control mechanism. While anti-communism concepts are much less relevant now than at the time of Herman and Chomsky’s original publication (1988), in terms of specifically Australian news media and a democratic Australian Government ideology, a protectionist sense of nationhood, or ‘national security’ is an appropriate substitute filter in the context of this study.

Despite questions about the relevance of its application to media landscapes outside of the USA and a conspicuous lack of regard for the role audiences play in the co-construction of meaning, the Propaganda Model nevertheless provides a very ‘powerful set of tools that can be used to examine news media and [offers] a compelling argument about news as symbolic power’ (Meikle 2009, p.44). Particularly in regard to news media

2.2.4 Moral Panics

Cohen’s model of ‘moral panics’ is a cycle of events, made up of five stages. First, a group or individual acts in ways perceived as deviant, different from what ‘we’ do. In Australian news media discourse asylum seekers, ‘they’, are often represented as ‘queue-jumping’ which is deemed inherently unfair, and flies in the face of deeply embedded cultural values attributed to ‘fairness’ or ‘a fair go’.

Meikle (2009) describes Cohen’s final four stages of the moral panic cycle, highlighting how media reporting of an issue enters into the public consciousness and has effects on political outcomes:

If the initial story creates interest, then similar stories will be looked for, found (or created) and reported. These stories will be sensationalised and any underlying social causes will be downplayed or ignored in favour of scapegoating and blame. There will be public pressure for ‘something to be done’ as both the general public and the

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4 The informal egalitarian laws and operating principles of social relations in Australia dictate that we ignore our differences, assume that no one is better than anyone else, and that we act like others are just like us. (Sammut 2015, p.22)
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news media start to call for the authorities to exercise some measure of control. The final stage is where there is a change of the law or to regulation or sentencing in order to ‘clamp down’ on ‘them’. (Meikle 2009, p.113)

Goode and Yehuda (2009) suggest that moral panics are also characterised by certain attributes including, hostility towards the group accused, consensus that they pose a significant threat, and crucially, a reaction or concern which is disproportionate to any ‘actual threat’ posed by the group. These last two attributes are particularly apparent in regard to asylum seeker discourses in the Australian political and media context.

2.3 Political Discourses

2.3.1 Politics & Media

The media are traditionally regarded as an essential component of a functioning democracy (Chen 2012, Drum & Tate 2012, Street 2011). Often referred to as the fourth estate, the media informs citizens and fulfils a ‘watchdog’ role in keeping governments accountable for their actions and decisions. ‘The government is scrutinised and held to account not merely through parliamentary process but more frequently through the media’ (Drum & Tate 2012 p.282). In turn, the media do not ‘autonomously create news items’ but are ‘cued in’ to specific news topics by regular and reliable institutional sources’ (Hall, et al. 1978 p.57). Referring to Becker’s ‘hierarchy of credibility’, or the probability that those holding powerful or high-status positions within society gain credibility and thus influence, due to the assumption of their greater access to specialised information about controversial topics (Becker 1967), Hall et al. define government ‘spokesmen’: politicians, ‘experts’ and institutional representatives as the primary definers of social issues (1978 p.58), and relegate the media to a ‘crucial but secondary role in reproducing the definitions of those who have privileged access’ (ibid.). Mayr

(2008) too (although without making any distinction between primary and secondary definers), stresses the influence of socio-political and media institutions in shaping world views;

They (institutions) have considerable control over the shaping of our routine experiences of the world and the way we classify that world. They therefore have the power to foster particular kinds of identities to suit their own purposes. (p.1)

Media theories involving political messages and their dissemination constitute a large proportion of media communication research. Many of the questions which have driven communication scholars to investigate the symbiotic relationships between politics and media in the past, remain relevant, and are still being addressed in contemporary research.

‘The agenda that drives our curiosity remains rooted in questions of power and democracy. What power do media exercise? On whose behalf? With what consequences? These persist as the dominant concerns’ (Street 2011, p.5). It is with these multiple questions in mind, that this original research seeks to offer insights as to how television news coverage of political events constructs meaning pertaining to asylum seeker discourses through combinations of text and imagery.

2.3.2 Ideology

Ideology and discourse are the principal foci by which this research examines ideas of power and authority through television news content. Ideologies, described fairly broadly as ‘shared framework[s] of social beliefs that organise and coordinate social interpretations’ (van Dijk 1998, p.8), constitute powerful frames through which citizens (or subjects) perceive and learn about the world around them. A critical view of ideology considers that it creates a partial or distorted representation of the world from which people draw meaning in day to day life, it functions by ‘veiling contradictions or
excluding them from discussion, covering up self-interests, and creating a consensus for how the world is’ (Berger 1999, p.192). Discourses are defined in a variety of distinct ways depending on specific fields of enquiry (e.g. linguistics, sociology, political and cultural studies etc), but can be simplistically described as ‘culturally and socially organised ways of speaking’ (Mayr 2008, p.7). They constitute the everyday ‘talk and text’ within which ideology is revealed, reproduced and reaffirmed (Mayr 2008, O’Shaughnessy & Stadler 2012).

Discourse and ideology have been well attended by seminal philosophers: Marx, Foucault, Althusser and Gramsci have written extensively on conceptions of ideology from a sociological perspective. The most relevant of these philosophers in regard to this research’s aims are Althusser (1984) and Foucault (1972, 1977, 2000), while Gramsci (1990, 2009) and Zizek (1999) are additionally drawn on in order to provide an account of the concept of ideology and its centrality in the undertaking of this original research. Althusser (1984) explores two key features of ideological constructions and functions which are crucial to this study. The first builds on the Marxist Theory of the State (Althusser 1984, Jessop 1982) which distinguishes between the two governing mechanisms of State Power and (repressive) State Apparatus. Althusser introduces a third theoretical component to the Theory of State, on the side of, but distinct from the (repressive) State Apparatus (SA). Termed Ideological State Apparatuses (ISA), ISAs include a plurality of elements which are unified by their status as belonging to the ruling or dominant class. They tend to belong to the private domain including religion, schools, media (communications), politics and the family and operate primarily through the deployment of a dominant and collective belief system.

These concepts are fundamental to this study because as the research evidences, crucial intersections especially between communication media and political campaigning have the power to shape naturalised socio-political narratives about asylum seekers. In their critique of seminal writings on dominant ideology theories, Abercrombie, Hill and Turner (1980) suggest that ideological ways of understanding the world, while perhaps less influential in the subjugation of the working class as Marxist theories suggest, can assist the dominant classes in the development of templates for consistent social narratives. Gramsci emphasises the role of language as a bridge between ideology and these ‘common sense’ or naturalised social narratives, arguing that ‘every language contains the elements of a conception of the world’ (Forgacs 1988, p.324). While Zizek (1999) who is critical of Foucauldian and Marxist notions of ideology which emphasize power hierarchies as central to the core of subjects’ social positionings, also concedes that ideological power (in these instances) lies in subjects’ awareness of constructed truths (Vighi & Feldner 2007, Wright & Wright 1999).

The second element of Althusser’s work that is relevant to this study is the concept of interpellation (1984). For Althusser, ideology functions through the recruitment, or interpellation of individuals as subjects. Interpellation refers to the subject’s internalisation of ideologies, which occurs as a result of being addressed, or ‘hailed’.

The media work as a hailing, interpellating system. The way they address us, constantly interpellate us – as family, as citizens as children, and so on… Such modes of address give us our identities and our subjectivities. (Althusser, 1984, p.189)

These mediated ‘call-outs’ are particularly important when discussing discursive formations such as ‘the nation’ and in particular ‘national identity’, because ways of conceiving ‘us’ and ‘our nation’ are also reliant on ways of understanding ‘them’ and
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how ‘we’ may be distinct from ‘them’ (Billig, 1985). This reliance leads to dichotomous constructions of ‘us’ and ‘them’ in the media, conceptions which feature prominently in this research’s analyses.

Foucault’s theory of discourse suggests that societies use an array of statements and utterances to construct power relationships and to understand and make sense of the world (Foucault 2000, Foucault 1972). These discourses consist of a range of voices, ideas, beliefs which weave together and overlap to create overall politicised narratives around social and abstract concepts such as health, religion, criminality and education (Foucault 2000, Schirato 2012). Contemporary theorists have also continued to employ a critical approach to discursive enquiry, in particular institutional discourses, and their roles in influencing social life and social understandings (Dahlberg & Phelan 2011, Dancygier 2012, Every & Augoustinos 2008a, Fairclough 2001, Kurz, Augoustinos & Crabb 2010, Schroter 2013). Riggins (1997) describes discourses as ‘systematic, internally consistent bod[ies] of representations’ (p.2). In Riggins’ account, the concept of an ‘internally consistent’ perpetual framework for representativeness is pertinent. In order to produce a coherent discourse, constructions are limited in regards to which word choices and combinations may appear together. For example, Hartley (2013) points out that in news discourses the words ‘terrorist’ and ‘liberated’ are not discursively compatible, as they belong to ‘two opposing discourses in social use’ (p.21). Significantly for this project, in asylum seeker discourses, ‘internal consistency’ can be seen in the frequency of language imported from exclusionary discourses of war, nationalism, and immigration policy (institutional discourse).

Contributors such as Fairclough (2012, 2001), van Dijk (2013, 2007, 1998), Hansen and Machin (2013), O’Shaughnessy & Stadler (2008) have taken a more communication-
specific approach to discourse studies, using Critical Discourse Analysis\(^5\) (Fairclough 2013, Wodak & Meyer 2009) to examine the role of language and the type of language techniques used in the creation of dominant ideological messages. Hansen and Machin note that examining discourses:

> Can reveal more precisely how speakers and authors use language and grammatical features to create meaning, to persuade people to think about events in a particular way, sometimes even seek to manipulate these people [sic] while at the same time concealing their own intentions. (2008, p.115)

This original research follows the direction of these more recent theorists, adopting a focus on language functions as social and political actions in the shaping of discourses, the maintenance of unequal power relationships, and the construction of ideologically-charged news media content.

### 2.3.3 Nationalism

In the post 9/11 era of heightened security and general global anxiety, nationalism has been described as ‘the most universally legitimate value in the political life of our time’ (Anderson 1991, p.3). Billig (1995) offers extensive work on the notion of nationalism in contemporary political discourses, coining the term ‘banal nationalism’, he focuses on how everyday national referents have the power to mobilise public support for exclusionary practices and legitimise these practices by claiming they are in the ‘national interest’, a cause discursively positioned as the moral high ground.

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\(^5\) Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) will be covered extensively in Chapter 3-Methodology.
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Research into asylum seeker discourses (Anderson 1991, Billig 1995, O’Doherty & Augostinos 2008) has demonstrated that through a combination of the positive construction of Australian national identity and the negative construction of boat arrivals in Australian waters as a risk or a threat to ‘Australia’s sovereignty’, ‘Australian borders’ or ‘Australian national interests’, governments are able to secure popular public support for actions taken in response to these arrivals, even if the actions could be seen as constituting a violation of human rights, and of breaching Australia’s obligations as a signatory of the UN Refugee Convention (UNHCR 2011). For example, O’Doherty and Augoustinos (2008) examined the uses of nationalist discourses in regard to the 2001 ‘Tampa Crisis’ and found that the use of nationalist discourses to legitimise exclusion and oppressive practices was a way to de-racialise arguments pertaining to immigration. They claimed that ‘the nation’ as a rhetorical tool, had superseded the notion of biological superiority/inferiority (racism) as grounds for the exclusion or oppression of minority groups (2008).

Asylum seeker discourse routinely and explicitly incorporates a number of other discourses into its particular talk, text and imagery; legal discourses, political discourses, health discourses and national discourses shape the conversations and debates regarding asylum seeker issues. Every and Augoustinos (2007) observe that arguments about asylum seeker issues which may be essentially racist in nature will often be couched in terms of nationalist discourse. Nationalist tropes may be utilised in order to de-racialise

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6 In 2001, Liberal Party Prime Minister John Howard’s Government denied a Norwegian shipping vessel, the *MS Tampa*, permission to enter Australian waters. The *Tampa*, which had approximately 430 rescued asylum seekers on board (some of whom were reportedly threatening self-harm unless they were taken to Australia) was subsequently boarded by Australian military troops who took control of the vessel (O’Doherty & Augoustinos 2008).
the argument, simultaneously discriminating and denying discrimination. ‘In this new racist strategy, the exclusion of groups such as asylum seekers is warranted as the legitimate enforcement of national boundaries and the protection of the national interest’ (Every & Augoustinos 2007, p. 413). The notion of a ‘national identity’ is foundational to these constructions and is crucial to a number of ideological processes operating in the nexus of politics and media spheres.

National identity rhetoric is ubiquitous in Australian news media discourses. The reporting of almost any topic or social issue is often augmented by language which reinforces a range of characteristics associated with the myth of a collective national identity. As White (1981) argues, ‘national identity is an invention’ (p. viii), there is no set list of traits, values, beliefs and preferences that all Australians possess, that could be said to constitute an overall ‘national identity’. There are however, subject positions built into Australian national identity constructions which influence behaviours and encourage interpellations of certain ideological proposals based on gender, ethnicity and socio-economic position. The function of a national identity as a rhetorical and political tool is arguably three-fold: it acts as a hailing or interpellating system (Althusser 1984), which fundamentally ensures the maintenance of the social group marked ‘Australians’, it informs public opinions and shapes social identities, and it has the potential to motivate populations and legitimise extreme government exclusionary practices in the name of the ‘national interest’.

There are five underlying assumptions, outlined by De Cillia, Reisigl and Wodak (1999) in their paper *The Discursive Construction of National Identities*, which are useful to acknowledge when examining how conceptions of national identity develop and circulate. The first assumption is that national identities are to be understood as mental constructs, ‘represented in the minds and memories of the nationalised subject’ (p.153).
These constructs can be highly influential on ideas, language, and actions. The second assumption De Cillia, Reisigl and Wodak propose is that national identities are discursively, by means of language and other semiotic systems, produced, reproduced, transformed and destructed (ibid.). In the third assumption, De Cillia, Reisigl and Wodak argue that, in their view, national identity is a kind of habitus, or a:

…complex of common ideas, concepts or perception schemes a) of related emotional attitudes intersubjectively shared with a specific group of persons; b) as well as of similar behavioural dispositions; c) all of which are internalised through ‘national’ socialisation…Behavioural dispositions include both dispositions towards solidarity with one’s own national group as well as the readiness to exclude ‘others’ from this constructed collective. (ibid.)

The fourth assumption assumes that the construction of national identity is inextricably linked with the construction of difference, using comparisons to ‘the other’ as reference points to determine what ‘we’ are not, in order to define what ‘we’ are. The researchers emphasise, ‘since every search for identity includes differentiating oneself from what one is not, identity politics is always and necessarily a politics of the creation of difference’ (2014, p.154). Their final assumption argues that there is ‘no such thing as the one and only national identity…but rather that different identities are discursively constructed according to context’ (ibid.). Each of these assumptions are applicable to the various politicised identities represented in the news reports of the 2013 Australian Federal Election coverage, particularly in regard to asylum seeker discourses.

The term ‘Australian’ as an identity marker is utilised in media to address or interpellate its audience; related terms such as “Australian people’, ‘everyday Australians’, ‘hardworking Australians’, ‘hard working families’, ‘Australian community’ are commonly found in Australian news media discourses, especially in those portraying the political scene. Viewers of news reports will generally recognise that, as citizens of the geographical landmass of Australia, they are thus part of the group being addressed or
‘hailed’ as ‘Australian’. However, the term ‘Australian’ acts to achieve a myriad of social and political functions, far beyond the delineation of geographical location within a system of nations. The internalisation of discursive norms or values as a result of being addressed in these ways involves processes where a ‘subject’ recognises that it is ‘really’ them that is being addressed. They may recognise that they are being ‘hailed’ as part of a particular social group e.g. Australian citizen, and as a result may internalise group membership as part of their identity and subjectivity, and will act in accord with those values and norms held by, or which are discursively constructed as being held by that group; ‘people are more likely to perform a particular behaviour that fits with values and beliefs of a group to which they belong…especially more likely if they strongly identify with that group’ (Purdie & Wilss 2007, p.67). The discursive construction of group values is an important process to acknowledge, as with any social group too large for all the members to know each other personally, other group members must be imagined, and group values, behaviours and attitudes constructed (Anderson, 1983).

Benedict Anderson’s seminal work on social group construction and perception *Imagined Communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism* (1983), provides crucial theoretical insights for understanding social group formations and maintenance, and the political power of a national identity. Anderson proposes the following definition of the nation as:

> An imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign. It is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion. (p.6)

Taking on board Anderson’s argument, it is fitting to propose that in the case of an Australian national identity, traditional values of ‘Australianness’ such as ‘mateship’, ‘fairness’ and ‘larrkinism’ (O’Dowd 2011, Turner 1994) have been combined with more
contemporary and politically viable images, cultural values, and behaviours to form a powerful imagining of the Australian community and by extension its national identity (Mummery & Rodan 2007). Althusser points out that ‘religious ideology, ethical ideology and political ideology as “world outlooks” are largely imaginary, i.e. do not correspond to reality’ (1984, p.36), so too, the political proposal of a cohesive national identity to which all Australians conform does not exist in reality. The existence of national identity as a mere myth, imagined by its members and constructed through ideological state apparatuses, leads to the necessity of questioning its use and power in political spheres.

In her paper ‘Lest We Forget’: Creating an Australian National Identity from Memories of War, Clemence Due (2008) discusses the construction of the Anzac myth as the founding narrative of Australian national identity, and the primary way in which the claim of white ownership of the land is legitimised.

This focus on the commemoration of Anzac Day and other military achievements could be read as not only an attempt to glorify histories of war, but to also create a narrative about Australia which reinvigorates the status of ‘Aussie’ soldiers as quintessentially ‘Australian’, thereby reinforcing the Australian identity as ‘white’. (p.25)

Due further explains that this dominant narrative omits Indigenous Australians from Australian histories, commemorations, and memorials as the acknowledgment of the battles fought between the European settlers and Indigenous Australians would undermine the legitimacy of the claim of belonging by white Australians; ‘the continuing emphasis on Anzac Day as “the birth of the nation” denies the existence of an indigenous nation prior to colonisation and functions to build a nation which is based in white, male identity’ (2008, p.39). These exclusions and points of emphasis highlight the subjective and malleable nature of ‘history’, which, as Riggs point out, should not be viewed as an ‘objective truth’, but as a ‘meaning making practice that privileges certain groups of
people over others, and which thus legitimates the worldview of particular groups to the exclusion and oppression of others’ (Riggs 2005, p.38). In determining that history is not simply ‘fact’ or ‘knowledge’, but a collection of symbols, myths and representations which are highly changeable, depending on the power relations at play at any given time, it becomes easier to argue for the mythological nature of contemporary Australian national identity, and simultaneously raises questions about why certain constructions are preferred and reappropriated over others.

Some of the values attached to the Anzac narrative and its implications for issues of belonging in constructions of the Australian national identity are explored in Jessica Pacella’s paper *Crikey, it’s commodified! An investigation into ANZAC Day: The next Nike?* (2011). Pacella suggests that ‘the prominence of particular kinds of “patriotic” language permits new and reimagined rituals and activities associated with the performance of nationalism on ANZAC Day’ (2011, p.26) and notes the growing popularity of participation in ANZAC Day ceremonies as a way of demonstrating one’s own national identity and actively displaying national pride. She argues that the commodification of the ANZAC narrative and ‘traditions’ have led to the highly visible ‘branding’ of Australian icons and symbols. The most iconic and recognisable of these symbols is arguably the Southern Cross, which Pacella argues is ‘the most highly fetishised and sought-after symbol of visible Australian identity’ (p.27). Pacella also explores the role of memory in the constructions of past and present (and in turn future) images of Australian identity, she supports the arguments made by Due in regard to the nature of a national history which ‘offers a single, very specific, stereotyped version of history, one that is dominated by white masculinity’ (2008, p.28). Pacella also speaks of the influence and power of nostalgia in constructing ‘traditions’ and a collective national history, using the contemporary socialised combination of a popular sporting event, an
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AFL game scheduled and played on ANZAC Day, to partially explain how a ‘modern tradition’ (based on embedded traditions from both sporting and Australian historical military realms) emerged. These notions equate sporting combat with war metaphors, encouraging ideas about ‘us’ and ‘them’ as adversaries and consistently providing social reminders for ‘us’ to ‘support the nation’, keeping Australian citizens ‘primed’ and ideally politically positioned (Billig 1984).

Fairness is a distinctive cultural value which is highly privileged and also commonly cited in the media as a core value of Australian identity. Much of the literature on national identity (Bolton 2003, Every & Augustinos 2008, Peeters 2004, Pickering 2001) suggests that ‘fairness’ or egalitarianism is the central tenet which constructions of the Australian national identity are built upon. The broad range of popular phrases and words used in Australian vernacular which reference the value of equality are testament to its cultural significance; terms such as ‘fair go’, ‘fair dinkum’, ‘fair play’, and ‘fair crack of the whip’ are common Australian colloquialisms. In terms of asylum seeker discourses these types of references are often used to draw a contrast with and infer negative evaluation of traits aligned with those seeking asylum7.

The endorsement and validation of fairness principles in the Australian public sphere are useful strategies for achieving government objectives, not only in regard to immigration policy, but also more generally in regard to the cultivation of a useful and obedient

7This fair/unfair dichotomy is one of the most common themes for legitimising the exclusion of asylum seekers, and is generally deployed in the concession/criticism variation of the practice/principle rhetorical technique (O’Doherty & Augustinos 2008), whereby a politician may praise Australians for their generosity and willingness to give everyone a ‘fair-go’ (concession), then alternatively claim that asylum seekers who come to Australia by boat are behaving unfairly by ‘jumping the queue’ (criticism) and are thereby not deserving of ‘our’ generosity or a ‘fair go’.

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national population. According to Due, historically, the quintessential ‘Australian identity’ incorporates a disregard for authority, embodied by traditional images of early English settlers and convicts sent from England to settle Australia as a penal colony, the pioneers and the Anzacs, ‘both the pioneers and the Anzacs are represented as being tough, masculine and practical, both have a wry sense of humour, both are disrespectful of authority and both are dedicated to their “mates”’ (Due 2008). The promotion of fairness as part of the myth of an ‘Australian national identity’ can be seen as fulfilling a Foucauldian notion of governmentality (Foucault 2008) whereby citizens are both regulated and taught to self-regulate, in order to align individual outcomes with universal aims. This ‘political double bind’ (ibid.) combines individualisation techniques with totalitarian strategies to position individuals as ideal subjects within larger social structures. In this case, acceptance and internalisation of societal rules is correlated with the desirable characteristic of conforming to ‘being fair’.

In examining more closely some of the stereotypical themes used in historical and colloquial constructions of the Australian national identity, a number of contradictions inevitably come to light. For example, notions of equality or egalitarianism, which are deeply established and frequently cited as characteristics of the national identity, are considered by some researchers (particularly in the fields of cultural and historical studies) (Curthoys 2015, Hunt 2004) to be severely lacking in regard to gender relations in Australian society; ‘Australia’s values of egalitarianism and justice…apply only to men and are a farce when one considers the overt exclusion of females from Australia’s past and the more covert exclusion of females from Australia’s present’ (Wickes, Smith, & Phillips 2006, p.292). One of the most obvious ways that women have been historically marginalised during early constructions of an Australian national identity is through
characteristic attributes founded exclusively in the acts of men, with particular emphasis on acts of war, defence and protection, as Due notes:

…commemorations of war and the Anzacs are considered celebrations of what it means to be Australian… the Anzacs are portrayed as symbolising values and attitudes which are distinctly Australian, and are generally considered to have had a large impact on the formation of Australian national identity. (2008, p.24)

Underpinning these masculine symbolising values is the overarching concept of ‘mateship’ particularly exemplified by the ‘ANZAC legend of war time sacrifice’ so that ‘mateship has always existed as a tool for reproducing and legitimating dominant masculinities amid the wider structures of power relations’ (Dyrenfurth 2007 p. 213).

Further to these conceptions, there is another all-encompassing condition that is discursively (though not always explicitly) connected with the enactment of a genuine ‘Australian identity’. The condition is as follows; behaviour that is in line with values and beliefs which are discursively constructed as being innately and commonly ‘Australian’ (e.g. acceptance, support, generosity, mateship), need only apply to other (less qualified) individuals within the membership category of Australian. One manifestation of this condition can be seen in the popular, stereotypical ‘nationwide’ support of the proverbial underdog. The Oxford Dictionary defines an underdog as ‘a person who has little status in society’. For all intents and purposes, it may be argued that asylum seekers who arrive in Australia by boat typify this definition as people who have a low socioeconomic status, lacking even the most basic claim of a safe and secure home in which to live and work. If the claim of a national predisposition to ‘supporting the underdog’ did in fact correspond to a legitimate tendency of the Australian people as a whole, in theory, asylum seekers would be likely to be assisted and supported by the majority of Australians and government rhetoric and policy would reflect that.
Finally, constructions of ‘the nation’ and more specifically ‘national identity’ and ‘national interest’ can be used to effectively legitimise governmental policies in regard to exclusionary immigration practices. Billig (1995) offers extensive work on the notion of nationalism in contemporary political discourses, coining the term ‘banal nationalism’, he focuses on how everyday national referents have the power to mobilise public support for exclusionary practices and legitimise these practices by claiming they are in the ‘national interest’, a cause discursively positioned as the moral high ground. A wealth of literature on the issue has demonstrated that through a combination of the positive construction of Australian national identity and the negative construction of boat arrivals in Australian waters as a risk or a threat to ‘Australia’s sovereignty’, ‘Australian borders’ or ‘Australian national interest’, successive governments have been able to secure majority public support for actions taken in response to these arrivals, despite humanitarian concerns.

Furthermore, the rhetorical power of ‘security’ discourses, when aligned with ‘border protection’ operations acts to privilege the life, rights and humanity of one category of persons (Australians) at the expense of another (asylum seekers). Burke (2008) has explored the use of ‘security’ in contemporary Australian political discourse and discovered that:

Security has been central to the construction of powerful images of national identity and otherness, and central to their use in bitter political conflicts that were too often resolved in violent and anti-democratic ways. (p.2)

Australian nationalist discourses incorporate notions of ‘border security’ with perceptions of fear, risk and a need for formalised national protection to legitimise exclusion of asylum seekers and punitive immigration policies.
2.3.4 Militarisation

In recent years there has been a proliferation of scholarly writings on Western governments’ growing reliance on the militarisation of immigration, law enforcement and responses to the modern ‘war on terror’ (Andrejevic 2001, Chambers 2015, Chambers 2012, Dorr, Elcioglu & Gaydos 2014, Graham 2012, Graham 2010, Hodge 2015, Hughes 2010, Jefferis 2013, Smit 2011). In the Australian context, the most current literature on the militarisation of immigration concentrates on: territorial borders as spaces of danger and risk, and the enactment of their security as a function of sovereignty and identity; the introduction of the military led Operation Sovereign Borders (OSB) by the Coalition Government in September 2013; and from a humanitarian perspective, the asylum seeker ‘body’ as a site of subjugation (Chambers 2015, Dechent 2014, Hodge 2015, Hughes 2010, Vogl 2015) examines the territorial excision of the Australian mainland from the Australian migration zone and the subsequent securitisation of the Australian border. She argues that the primary narrative driving the legitimisation of border security is the insistence that the ‘border’ (often used metonymically for the Australian nation-state or the ‘Australian people’) is under imminent threat from the outside, a threat that ‘can be effectively subdued by the sovereign’s complete control of the border’ (p.131). Vogl’s (2015) findings concur with observations made repeatedly across emerging immigration literature (Dorr et al. 2014, Hughes 2010,), that the border is represented as a space which is simultaneously ‘entirely controllable and permanently vulnerable’ (Vogl 2015, p.131). The construction of the border as perpetually under threat, yet governable brings about a cyclical form of false logic, whereby the ‘threat’ to it justifies increasingly militarised measures in order to gain complete regulation over border accessibility.

While Chambers (2015) also examines the key themes of borders and sovereignty in his paper The Embrace of Border Security: maritime jurisdiction, national sovereignty and

the geopolitics of Operation Sovereign Borders, his scholarly interest lies in the ways that conceptions of sovereignty and the protection of nation-states is projected through the discourses of ‘border security’. Drawing on Salter’s (2012) definition of borders as constituting both ‘a division and a knitting together of legal spheres, sovereignties and authorities’ (p.705), Chamber’s examines the installation of Operation Sovereign Borders from a political sociology perspective, seeking to uncover how notions of sovereignty were used by the Abbott Government to supplant jurisdiction of the Australian Maritime Safety Authority (AMSA) in regards to Australian maritime operations and to justify the militarisation of ‘securing the border’.

Operation Sovereign Borders shows one among many contemporary cases in which a nation is seeking to secure a space for itself through enacting domination of space as border security, using jurisdiction – in a way that makes sovereignty effective. (p.412)

In his work Chambers, emphasised how a legislated military operation designed to function as a literal and official deterrent to immigration simultaneously demonstrates political power. Exploring themes of dominance, power and the role border security plays in creating patriotic identities and subjectivities, Hodge (2015) applies his concept of a ‘grievable life’ and points out how the violent frames of Operation Sovereign Borders function to criminalise and delegitimise asylum seeker bodies. According to Hodge when

\[\text{These sentiments have been found repeatedly in this project’s data. In a report aired on ABC television Opposition Leader Tony Abbott claimed: “If you can’t stop the boats you’re not capable of Governing this country” (ABC News, 16th August 2013). Chambers has since written of the Coalition Government’s reliance on the three-word slogan, stating that: ‘spokespeople from the coalition repeat the phrase and the news media disseminate it…”stop the boats” has become a synecdochal phrase that compresses the entire semiotic process that securing national sovereignty through border protection has actually involved’ (2015, p.411)}\]
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these militant contextualisations are combined with other common representations of asylum seekers; as criminalised, or deviant, they deny the asylum seeker subject any semblance of ‘ordinariness’ and preclude them from the subject status of ‘personhood’ (p.123).

The precariousness of asylum seeker lives is further discussed in Dechent’s (2014) *Operation Sovereign Borders: the very real risk of refoulement of refugees*. This paper documents the slow but steady erosion of the rights of people seeking asylum, and the humanitarian obligations Australia has towards them, through amendments to the *Migration Act 1958*. Changes to Section 198A (3) of the Act, Dechent (2014) argues, have reversed the nature of the original document so that rather than protecting rights and interests of refugees and people seeking asylum, the *Australian Government’s* interests are privileged and protected. Dechent also asserts that the government’s determination to treat the border protection crisis as a national emergency, and its implementation of the military-led *Operation Sovereign Borders*, has created a climate in which the basic humanitarian obligations of providing protection and ensuring non-refoulement to refugees and/or asylum seekers have been subsumed with the nomenclature of *Operation Sovereign Borders* (Dechent 2014).

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* Images of asylum seekers in this project’s data almost exclusively depict them in settings discussed by Hodge: in boats, being escorted on and off transport, and behind detention centre fences. The limited range of ways asylum seeker bodies are seen in television news reports supports Hodge’s assertion that the ‘visual and discursive dimensions of OSB, delimit public discourse and produce uncompromising life norms of “personhood”’ (2015, p.123).
2.3.5 Election Coverage

Early research into television coverage of Australian Federal elections has attempted to measure the impact of television consumption, (or exposure, depending on the theoretical framework of the study) on the voting behaviour of viewers. In 1966, Fuchs wrote that ‘a great deal’ (p.226) had already been written about the potential effects broadcast media had on voters, and that: ‘the sum of all this research seems to be that maybe some people are affected in some fashion or another under certain circumstances’ (ibid.). Updated research continued to support Fuchs’ observations particularly as developments in active audience theories (Ang 1996, Hall 1996, Morley 1992) generally supported ‘minimal effects’ theories (Harrop 1986, Hayes 2009, Norris 1996) in relation to gauging specific effects of media on voting activities. Past and present findings on this issue seem to suggest that further research into this already relatively saturated area of scholarship would be unlikely to produce new and remarkable insights, nor comprehensive support for one view or the other.

Research of mass media effects covers an extensive range of themes, contexts, media platforms and proposed effects. As this study draws its importance from the presupposition that media has an effect, it would be prudent to briefly refer to the literature to establish that such a claim is not merely an assumption, but is well supported in the literature. Although early work in the area of mass media effects (Carey 1992, McQuail 1992) produced simplistic models of understanding (the transmission model of media communication for example) more recent developments in media effects research highlights the intricacies and difficulties involved in such research; ‘the complexity of media stimuli, the special problems in documenting effects, the varying strategies of making inferences from evidence, and the peculiar history and current structure of the
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communication field’ (Preiss 2013, p.17) are just a few obstacles which make assessing the full impact of media consumption challenging.

John Street suggests that although there is disagreement about whether specific political outcomes can be attributed to press influence, the role of television has been more comprehensively established as impacting worldviews in regard to ideas, values and practices that have been naturalised:

The media are viewed, not as having distinct influence which allows particular texts to generate particular effects, but rather, as putting a set of ideas into circulation, as normalising a set of practices and attitudes, representing ‘common sense’. (Street 2011, p.125)

Street’s view of television in the more routine shaping of everyday understandings about the world is also reflected in Craig’s (2004), assertions of television’s socio-cultural functions, ‘the content and form of television has thoroughly shaped our culture, over and above any specific effects’ (p.111). In establishing the importance of television discourses in shaping ‘common-sense’ understandings of the social world, this original study is positioned on a strong theoretical foundation which supports the research’s key premise; that television news discourses can, through framing and repetition, contribute to the ‘naturalisation’ of asylum seeker discourses.

Studies into the 2013 Australian Federal Election to date have considered that particular political/media event from a number of perspectives, all with varying outcomes and resulting contributions to existing election discourse literature. Some researchers approached the election from a distinctly politico-legal standpoint to examine the dynamics which produced the resulting change in government (McDougall 2014, Wanna 2014), while others explored the use of new (social) media by the two major political parties in their communication strategies (Chen 2014). Dimitrov’s analysis of the specific
discourses of the 2013 Election (2014), and Gurney’s (2014) examination of framing and agenda setting of policy issues are most closely related to the aims and methodological focus of this original study. However, there are important distinctions to be made between both Dimitrov’s and Gurney’s treatment of the 2013 Federal Election, and the intentions of this research project.

Dimitrov takes a Critical Discourse Analytic (CDA) approach to his analysis of the four main issues the 2013 Federal Election campaign prioritised. Using the CDA tools of framing, foregrounding, backgrounding, presupposition, generalisation and nominalisation, Dimitrov focused on campaign messages and slogans to ‘interrogate the political aims, semantic gravity and unintended effects of electioneering’ (2014, p.3). His analysis covers four main election issues; (1) the carbon tax, (2) asylum seekers, (3) party reform, and (4) economic management (2014). The examination of asylum seeker discourses promoted through election campaign coverage and content concentrates on five prominent slogans that represented the main frames by which the ALP and Coalition discussed or formulated arguments regarding asylum seekers: ‘We will stop the boats’, ‘breaking the people smugglers’ business model’, ‘absolute scum of the earth’, ‘the rules have changed, if you come by boat, you won’t be settled in Australia’, and ‘a blank sheet of paper’. One particularly interesting insight produced by this study was the apparent preference for substituting (and often conflating) ‘asylum seekers’ with ‘people smugglers’ as the focus of arguments regarding asylum seekers. Dimitrov comments that:

‘People smugglers’ is the ideologically preferred term because it conceals any political agency. In the context of bipartisan dominance, ‘refugee smugglers’, a more accurate phrase, would be a political oxymoron. It grates the ear – apples and oranges, human rights and black market. (2014, p.12)

Dimitrov refers to his data sources broadly as campaign communications. Significantly, in contrast to this original project’s data set and samples, Dimitrov’s resources were
entirely text-based so his analysis lacks any account of visual elements of campaign communications. So although Dimitrov’s study and this project share similar critical methodologies and aims, this project is distinct because of its examination of verbal and visual content and political rhetoric - as communicated in TV news reports throughout the 2013 Australian Federal Election.

Gurney’s (2014) research into the (non)-climate change debate of the 2013 Australian Federal Election (despite focusing on an entirely different issue to asylum seekers) is notable, due to its analysis of frames in political arguments. Gurney establishes the importance of frames both as products of political actors, defined by Hall as ‘primary definers’ (Hall, Critcher, Jefferson, Clarke & Roberts 1978), and their functions, in terms of the effects of repetitive frames which tend to produce ‘common-sense’ understandings. As Gurney explains:

> The power of frames to influence perceptions, reasoning and understanding of particular issues…occurs as a result of constant repetition and reinforcement. Dominant frames, therefore, by virtue of their repetition, also act to ‘naturalise’ the discourse (2014, p.6)

### 2.3.6 Rhetorical Framing

Political rhetoric in communication and news discourses has attracted a number of eminent scholars who have developed an extensive catalogue of rhetorical techniques, their uses and implications (Fairclough 2013, Fairclough 2012, Hansen & Machin 2013, van Dijk 2013, van Leeuwen 2004). Theorists have documented a number of functions or modes of language styles, for example van Dijk (2013) proposes three strategic functions of ‘political’ uses of language; coercion and resistance, legitimisation and de-legitimisation, and representation and misrepresentation. With a view to understanding van Dijk’s schematic functions in a holistic sense, parts of this study are more specifically
interested in linguistic features of reported speech functioning in the reproduction of dominant ideologies. Discursive functions such as presupposition, nominalisation and transitivity are of particular interest to this study. These techniques occur broadly in political discourse and often operate to conceal, obscure or naturalise unequal power relations (van Dijk, 1998, van Leeuwen 2004).

Presupposition relates to what kinds of things are assumed as given in a text (Hansen & Machin 2013). This forces a reader (or television viewer) to accept (at least briefly) certain ‘facts’ or conditions that the text is presupposing in order to make sense of the text. For example, the term ‘border protection’ presupposes that national borders are implicitly under threat. Transitive uses of verbs in political speech attribute agency; that is the agent is acknowledged as the cause of the action. Intransitive uses remove the agent (van Dijk 2013). For example, in a Nine news report aired on 19th July, announcing Labor’s proposed ‘PNG Solution’, reporter Laurie Oakes states: “those found not to be genuine [refugees] will be sent back home” (National Nine News, 19th July 2013). In this sentence, the agent (Kevin Rudd and the ALP) responsible for the action of ‘sending them back’ is omitted from the sentence. A derived nominal structure, otherwise referred to as nominalisation, presents a verb (action) as a noun (a thing) (van Dijk 2013). Van Dijk notes that this type of structure presents ‘things’ as happening ‘naturally’, not as the responsibility or result of the actions or decisions made by an agent. This can be used to encourage the view that there is a ‘natural’ order of things and a ‘natural’ course of events, contributing to an ideological view of the world and its events (2013).
2.4 Asylum Seeker Discourses

Research into asylum seekers in the Australian media has been prolific in the years following the ‘Tampa Crisis’ in 2001, and its subsequent role in the successful Coalition Federal Election campaign just months later. Prior to this, asylum seeker or immigration focused studies were minimal (using date range parameters 1991-2001, EBSCO\textsuperscript{10} returned only 43 unique results for academic journals, using the search terms ‘asylum seekers’ and ‘Australia’, compared to 1065 results returned in the date range 2001-2014) and tended to focus on immigration and resettlement issues from a medical perspective. The ‘Tampa Crisis’ of August 2001 and the ‘Children Overboard Affair’ which followed in October the same year, were catalyst events in the development of the field of asylum seeker and immigration enquiry. They highlighted the power of rhetorical constructions in shaping public opinion, and demonstrated the political advantages (evidenced by the success of the Coalition’s election campaign in the face of a previously predicted loss) of attaching particular labels to a group of people to influence public perception, and of the additional use of nationalist arguments to legitimise excluding that group of people.

Overall, the latest research highlights an overarching problematisation narrative in relation to asylum seekers (Burke 2008, Every 2013, Every & Augoustinos 2007, Goodman & Burke 2010, Martin 2015, McCleary 2011, Smit 2011). This critical narrative is generally underpinned by a variation of one of three primary themes for the construction of asylum seekers in media and political discourses; deviancy, fairness/unfairness, and criminalisation/illegitimacy.

\textsuperscript{10} EBSCO (standing for Elton B. Stephens Co.) is an online research database system.
2.4.1 Deviancy

The concept of deviancy is deeply powerful, not only because of the wide variety of constructions it supports, but because it simultaneously determines who or what is different (them) and thus, who may be legitimately excluded, and by comparison, it also defines the normative behaviour required for inclusion in a particular social group (us) (Pickering 2001). The construction of deviancy incorporates themes such as criminality, race, threat, security and fear. In a preface to the third edition of *Folk Devils and Moral Panics: The creation of mods and rockers* (2011), author Stanley Cohen names a number of ‘panics’ which have not changed since the publication of the original edition in 1972. Number seven on the list is ‘Refugees and asylum seekers; flooding our country, swamping our services’ (p. xxii). This suggests that asylum seekers and refugees are a historically enduring target for the generation of moral panic. With regard to this issue Cohen observes that; ‘the overall narrative is virtually a single, uninterrupted message of hostility and rejection’ (Cohen 2011, p.xxiii).

Cohen’s observation is well supported in asylum seeker research literature. In *Common Sense and Original Deviancy: New Discourses & Asylum Seekers in Australia* (2001), Sharon Pickering argues that ‘refugees and asylum seekers have been routinely constructed not only as a “problem” population but as a “deviant” population in relation to the integrity of the nation state’ (p.170). Pickering examines the use of bipolar oppositional terms in order to consistently align asylum seekers with negative characteristics such as unfairness, criminality and disingenuousness, which simultaneously generate contrasting desirable characteristics such as fair, law abiding and genuine, attributable to the population of the nation state who are constructed as ‘normal’.

Deviance has been underpinned by the language and politics of exclusion and the dichotomous construction of normality as being whatever refugees and asylum
seekers are not. In many ways, the deviancy of asylum seekers and refugees has largely come to be regarded as ‘common sense’. (Pickering 2001, p.169)

Themes of ‘otherness’, in particular, the common construction of the ‘threat’ of the other are prevalent in asylum seeker discourse and are rooted in themes of deviancy.

Race can also be used as an indicator of ‘otherness’, as Edward Said’s (1979) work on Orientalism shows. Yet many of the researchers working in domains of asylum seeker and refugee studies observe that in contemporary political discourses, racialised arguments of ‘otherness’ have predominantly been replaced by assertions of cultural or national differences (Every & Augoustinos 2008a, Macken-Horarik 2003, McKay, Thomas & Blood 2011). Despite these arguments of de-racialised discrimination, Ghassan Hage (2014) has pointed out less overt yet influential racist discourses in the field of Australian Immigration laws, and differentiates between two types of anti-immigration racism. The first is ‘numerological racism’ (for example; too many asylum seekers) and the second, ‘existential racism’, which involves a sentiment of disgust for those from another race (2014)11.

2.4.2 People Smugglers

Within political discourses regarding asylum seekers in Australia, rhetorical attention on asylum seekers themselves has waned - in favour of emphasising the malevolent figure of the ‘people smuggler’. Cameron (2013) asserts that: ‘the arrival of asylum seekers by boat in Australia is increasingly framed as a threat not because of characteristics of asylum seekers themselves, but because of the involvement of transnational organised

11 In the data analysis presented in Chapters 4,5, 6 & 7 evidence of Hage’s de-racialized anti-immigration discourses is made apparent
crime in the form of people smugglers’ (p.241). Cameron cites a number of statements made by Labor Ministers (including Julia Gillard, Kevin Rudd and Chris Bowen), throughout 2010 and 2011, which referenced the ‘evil’ and ‘vile’ nature of the people smuggling trade. Cameron argues that shifting the focus of political immigration rhetoric onto people smugglers means ‘that asylum seekers themselves are now rarely demonised’ (2013, p.258). Yet this claim is neither sufficiently supported with appropriate scholarly literature or updated studies, nor can it be described as accurate in the context of the 2013 Federal Election campaign’s political rhetoric.

2.5 Television & Re-Presentation

As noted previously, there is a well-supported body of literature which emphasises the importance of television in the shaping of worldviews and common-sense ideas about reality (Harrington 2013, Hartley 2013, Street 2011). Despite these observations, scholarly inquiry into the political functions of language used in television news discourses is often concerned with specific analyses of textual data – a similar approach to newspaper report deconstruction (Every & Augoustinos 2008a, Klocker & Dunn 2003, O’Doherty & Augoustinos 2008, Pickering 2001, Teo 2000). As such the literature pertaining to discourses of asylum seekers in the Australian news media is heavily skewed towards analyses of language (for example; labelling strategies, nationalist arguments, fear appeals) and rhetorical features appearing in print articles. ‘By comparison, with the attention paid to newsprint, broadcast news discourse has been relatively neglected. Only the broadcast news interview has attracted significant numbers of researchers’ (Montgomery 2009, p.225). Consequently, this original project posits that the unequal balance between print and televisual news analysis to date is problematic. This is
especially so because crucial insights into the nature of institutional power and its reinforcement through television news may arise through the systematic analysis of televised content. Furthermore, it may be argued that developing these insights now, when growing interest in social media and emerging communication technologies, is attracting researchers away from more traditional forms of media such as television, is particularly important. Especially when considering that television, more than any other media format ‘presents the world through visual and aural conventions which work to invoke realist credibility rather than critical engagement’ (Corner 1995, p.44).

While aiming to gain a more advanced understanding of how narratives of asylum seekers are constructed and reproduced through the conventions and coverage of the 2013 Australian Federal Election campaign, this study builds on work by asylum seeker theorists who have explored text-based data, and expands the analytical scope to include images as well as verbal or textual features in the co-construction and reproduction of firm world-views. A detailed examination of television news discourses in regard to broader socio-political narratives constitutes a valuable contribution to the field, in recognising that; ‘a primary focus of the current analysis must be the medium of television in particular, precisely because of its continued prominence as the central news source’ (Clarke 2014, p.8).

2.5.1 The TV Interview
The television news interview, due to its salience as a mode of political communication, has received extensive attention from both media, and political scholars (Craig 2004, 2013, Ekström & Patrona 2011, Montgomery 2008, Tolson 2011). Montgomery (2008) outlines four sub-genres of television news interview; interviews with correspondents, interviews with witnesses of events, interviews with experts, and interviews with public

figures, particularly politicians, with the last sub-genre receiving the bulk of scholarly attention (p.261). News interviews between politicians and journalists likely gain their research prominence due to their importance as a platform of/for political communication, and for their potential to hold politicians to account for their actions, policies, statements.

Montgomery (2008) suggests that future research in this area could more thoroughly examine the other types of interviews earlier noted as subgenres, especially since existing research into news discourses (Tolson 2011, Winston 2002) suggests that long form political interviews are increasingly being replaced in news by quotations, soundbites and ‘image bites’ (Grabe & Bucy 2009). Although research into other sub-genres may provide new and interesting revelations for non-political communication fields, the trend towards using shorter, simpler and more condensed versions of political interviews in the form of quotes and fragments within news bulletins, demands study. These developing condensed conventions for integrating interview material into the format of news bulletins, and the implications these inclusions have for political communication through news discourses is worthy of investigation.

More recent work on the political television news interview, attempts to broaden the scope of insights gained from analysis of this form. Craig (2013) expands on previous work by Clayman & Heritage (2004), Ekstrom & Patrona (2011) and Montgomery (2008), extending their investigations into the strategic language functions operating in a television news interview between a politician and a journalist, by considering this genre as a site to ‘realise the particular parameters of political subjectivity’ (Craig 2013, p.487). Craig achieves this outcome by focusing, in close linguistic detail on the discursive struggles that take place between two social actors (Kevin Rudd in both interviews, and
Kerry O’Brien or Barrie Cassidy as the interviewer\textsuperscript{12} involved in the interview. Craig identifies linguistic features which are deployed by the actors in an attempt to gain the discursive upper hand. Many of the features identified in Craig’s study, such as Kevin Rudd’s use of rhetorical questions to either challenge the interviewer directly, attempting to undermine their authority, or ‘as a means of framing the context of his answer’ (2013, p.500), provide useful starting points for this original project - which aims to develop an understanding of rhetorical tools used by politicians to gain or retain discursive power and authority. A further goal is to develop insights into how interview-specific discursive techniques are being adapted by political actors to suit the increasing use of interview fragments, sound bites and image bites in TV news discourses.

\textbf{2.5.2 Text & Image}

Traditional news media research has tended to regard images in news discourses as performing a limited range of functions. Bednarek and Caple (2012) cite six communicative functions of news images which have appeared in news discourse literature; illustration, evidence, sensation, icons, evaluation and aesthetics (p.112). Early work in this area has viewed images primarily in illustrative terms, as an adjunct to the information conveyed by the dominant verbal elements of the text (Bednarek & Caple 2012). The development of televisual and digital technologies, however, has meant that image is more easily embedded into print, online, and broadcast news formats. An integrated approach to both text and image demands a more sophisticated analysis of how

\textsuperscript{12} Kerry O’Brien and Barry Cassidy are both highly regarded Australian journalists. Kerry O’Brien formerly edited and hosted the \textit{7:30 Report}, an in-depth public affairs program aired on ABC and \textit{Four Corners}, an investigative journalism program on the ABC. Barry Cassidy is a political journalist working in television and radio on the ABC, formerly hosting the \textit{7:30 Report} and \textit{Insiders} (an ABC program providing in-depth political commentary).
news images, in combination with text communicate meaning. As Couldry and Hepp (1999) identify, ‘communication has to be understood as involving the ongoing mediation of meaning construction’ (p.197). Imagery and text play a significant role in this process, particularly in this ‘third age’ of political communication, in which ‘the public sphere itself is increasingly constructed in and through the media’ (McNair, Flew, Harrington & Swift 2015, p.46).

The neglect of research into contemporary visual elements of news discourses is noted by a number of scholars (Bednarek & Caple 2012a, 2012d, Grabe & Bucy 2009, Kaufer, Parry-Giles & Klebanov 2012, Wang 2014). Despite these calls for further research to explore, more extensively, the implications of image use in broadcast news media bulletins, they have largely been ignored. Significantly, this lack of visual considerations is particularly notable within analysis of political communication. While Richardson and Wodak (2009) have contributed some visual analysis of the construction of asylum seekers in political communication, their research examines data drawn from Austrian and British Governmental communications, subsequently, a continuing gap exists for such analyses with an Australian media focus. Grabe and Bucy (2009) explain how converging technological and political trends including ‘the continued domination of television as the primary channel of political communication’ (2009, p.4) have ‘shifted politics onto a visual platform’ (ibid.). Despite the development towards more visually reliant electoral outcomes such as image-making campaign strategies, ‘surprisingly little research attention has been given [previously] to the systematic analysis of political visuals’ (Grabe & Bucy 2009, p.4). Importantly, this original study seeks to make headway into reducing this deficit.
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Perhaps the reason for discrepancies between the instances of text-based and image-based data analysis in news discourse studies is underpinned by a methodological shortfall in theoretically framing systematic critique of image based texts (Grabe & Bucy 2009, Wang 2014). In an attempt to address this lack, Wang (2014) brings together a range of visual and textual theories from within the field of critical discourse analysis, with the aim of constructing ‘a holistic theoretical framework of critical visual discourse studies’ (p.264). By incorporating theories such as Fairclough’s CDA (2013, 1995, 1992), along with Kress & van Leeuwen’s Visual Grammars (2006), Wang develops a preliminary model for the systematic analysis of news discourse images which includes news discourses ‘presented primarily through photographs with supplementary written explanations’ (p.281) classed as narrative representations. Those consisting of only one or two images with a verbal accompaniment are considered the visual intertextual types, and softer or tabloid news which features caricatures fall under the visual metaphoric type (p.282). The categories of presentation modes Wang uses to define the type of visual semiosis taking place however, are primarily based on print news content, providing no account for her model to be applied to televised (moving) images. While none of the categories are specifically designed for the analysis of television news discourses, the three broad steps documented in the model: (1) description, (2) interpretation of discursive practice, and finally (3) explanation of the ‘macro-mechanism of legitimation’ (2014, p.269) do provide a pragmatic approach to the order and process of analysis that this research incorporates.

Grabe and Bucy (2009), provide, potentially, the most useful recent development in the analysis of both text and image in television news discourses. Their work explores the concept of the ‘image-bite’, which is defined as a feature of news bulletins in which still or moving images are overlaid with a voiceover. Using the concept of the ‘image bite’,

Kauffer, Parry-Giles & Klebanov (2012) observed that muted images with a voiceover have become ‘an increasingly used but understudied format of political language by the television news media’ (p.336). They conducted a critical discourse analysis of the ways that stock footage of Hillary Clinton was used across 10 newscasts over a period of 20 months. Their approach drew on a feminist perspective, and incorporated theories of feminist critical discourse analysis and notions of gender performance. The researchers found that ‘media images are susceptible to continual de-contextualisation and re-contextualisation’ (p.336). As such their findings revealed that image bites can ‘function as floating signifiers with reusability in multiple and diverse contexts’ (p.352). The potential for re-contextualisation of images (i.e when a text’s main element is ‘implemented in a new context’ (Richardson & Wodak 2009, p.47) thus acquiring new meaning) in of television news coverage of the 2013 Australian Federal Election is a key concern of this project.

2.5.3 News Structure

Television news reports are a highly structured genre, operating within tightly bound constraints which dictate ‘a limited set of structural elements and the order in which they occur’ (Redfern 2014, p.1558). Redfern notes that while the discourse structure of television news has been well represented in scholarly literature (Montgomery 2007 & 2016, van Dijk 2013, van Dijk 1998), the formal structure receives far less attention. Formal structures of news- sequences of elements, shot types, textual conventions such as headlines and supers, order of speakers- conform to a highly standardised format; a format which is not only historically consistent (allowing for changes and updated technology) but geographically consistent across countries.

The overall structure of a bulletin follows a basic pattern common across different countries consisting of opening titles and headlines (though the order may be
reversed), a sequence of news items interrupted by a recap of the main story and/or a preview of upcoming news items. (Redfern, 2014, p.1561)

While this original research is primarily concerned with the discursive structures of television news, it is still essential to highlight some of the more prominent formal structural elements with the aim of showing how these elements support, broadly, the discursive structure of television news, and specifically, how formal structures such as headlines, background ‘framing’ images and established sequences contribute to dominant asylum seeker discourses through the consistent textual and visual representation of asylum seekers in ways which may encourage a negative perception of people seeking asylum.

2.6 News Roles (Identities)

Television news conforms to a very particular structure with a very particular and distinct set of ‘roles’ or identities acting within that structure. Each role is distinct from the others and carries its own particular set of expectations in terms of settings, order within the news report, title or super as well as differing levels of audience trust and credibility. Some studies into identities in news construction focus more narrowly on different sources used within news packages. Kathleen Cross (2010) discusses the use of news sources in her 2010 study Experts in the News: The Differential Use of Sources in Election Television News. She examined news coverage of the Canadian Provincial election in 2001 and found four categories for the classification of additional sources used in news reports, they are; (1) the political actor, (2) the individual, (3) the representative, and (4) the expert (p. 418). While in many cases it may be useful to distinguish more narrowly between source use, this original research benefits from a broader approach to source

classification as either (1) news readers, (2) reporters, (3) politicians, (4) experts, and (5) vox pop.

In order to encapsulate each of the theoretical propositions included in this project (that have been thoroughly detailed in this literature review), with a view to conducting a comprehensive account of predominant asylum seeker narratives, a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) Multimodal methodology has been applied and is discussed extensively in Chapter 3.
3 METHODOLOGY

3.1 Theoretical Frameworks

The positioning of social research as grounded in a particular theoretical perspective, allows the researcher to address a number of assumptions that they (as an individual subject with particular preferences, beliefs and values, located within a particular socio-historical context) inevitably bring to their research. Priess (2013) has examined the role of a theoretical perspective in mass media research, finding that there are several areas which either lack a specific theoretical approach, or are beyond the application of a single cohesive theory. Significantly, the areas Priess identifies as problematic include media constructions or portrayals, and political communication, which constitute the focus of this original study. Indeed, the research design for this study relies on an imbrication of communication and sociologically based theories; semiotics (Barthes 1982, de Saussure 2011, Hartley 2013) moral panics (Cohen 2011), political rhetoric (van Dijk 2013, 2009, 1998), mass media effects (Flew 2014, Herman & Chomsky 2002, McQuail 2010, Preiss 2013) and agenda setting (Maddison 2009)

Limiting the study to one particular theory, such as media framing, would have been unnecessarily reductionist, and impacted the results and scope of the analysis. As such, the broader theoretical perspective used to explore and explain this research is the sociological view of interpretivism: the notion that humans experience the world around them through perceptions which are unavoidably influenced by ‘preconceptions, beliefs and values’ (Walliman 2011, p.22). This approach allows a number of multidisciplinary theories to be combined throughout the research in order to most effectively analyse and
consequently, understand the data. At their core is the centrality of language to the human experience.

The role of language in shaping social processes, institutions, and ultimately, the self, is comprehensively accounted for and advocated by the theory of symbolic interactionism, a branch of interpretivism made prominent by sociologists George Herbert Mead (1959, 1964) and Herbert Blumer (1969). There are three main assumptions that symbolic interactionism is founded upon. The first assumption is that human beings act towards things based on the meanings they have attributed to those things (Blumer 1969). This premise is foundational to this particular research project because it has enabled the researcher to propose that ‘naturalised’ representations of asylum seekers in mainstream television news likely have negative implications for the treatment of asylum seekers within Australian society. The second assumption follows that meanings attributed to things are constructed and negotiated through social interactions (further mediated by language), and thirdly that ‘these meanings are handled in, and modified through an interpretative process used by the person in dealing with things he encounters’ (Blumer 1969, p.2). This research scrutinises language used in the data so as to understand how particular linguistic and visual features, words or symbols elicit dominant meanings. Street’s statement that: ‘words do not simply describe an object or event, but evoke an entire edifice of associated ideas and impressions’ (2011, p.35) is particularly pertinent here. It could be argued that words commonly used to discuss or report on asylum seekers in television news e.g. ‘illegal’, ‘boat-people’, ‘another wave’, have meaning potential beyond the literal meaning through discursive links to a range of negative associations. These terms, loaded with connotations, may then influence social and political action, to the detriment (by way of exclusion) of particular groups.
3.2 Ontological and Epistemological Foundations

To account for the validity and credibility of the findings, the theoretical approach and methods used in this research align with the ontological and epistemological concerns of the researcher. According to Denzin & Giardina (2016), identifying ontological and epistemological standpoints helps to clarify the researcher’s position in terms of their relationship to their research and their capacity to conduct a rigorous research project.

The researcher identifies with a nominalist stance, which proposes human interactions with an ‘outside world’ or reality, always and unavoidably occur through subjective interpretations so that: ‘personal biography and cultural world view are always organising our experiences into categories and patterns’ (Neuman 2011, p.92). The research design has been shaped by the researcher’s nominalist position, accommodating the idea that understanding media messages occurs through a set of subjective filters. While such filters, theoretically, could result in a myriad of different interpretations, prevailing social discourses assist in identifying likely interpretations.

The flexibility of a nominalist position is in contrast to a realist perspective, which asserts that the ‘world out there’ is already laden with pre-existing meanings and categories waiting to be ‘discovered’ (Neuman 2011). These predominantly positivist and objectivist views (Denscombe 2010, Doyal & Harris 2013, Lewin & Somekh 2011) tend to suggest that ‘true’ meanings can be ‘observed’ through empirical research, so that ‘things’ (both natural and social) have an innate significance independent of social agents and the process of a reasoning mind.

Epistemology is, in short, a theory of knowledge. It refers to the processes we consider necessary to be able to claim that what we ‘know’ is valid and legitimate. One of the primary debates about epistemological concerns is ongoing disagreement about whether
social phenomena should be studied according to the same principles as the natural sciences (Babbie 2013, Berg & Lune 2012, Brennen 2012, Bryman 2008, Hammersley 1995, May 2011). The two main debating principles centre on positivist and constructionist schools of thought.

A positivist approach considers that the study of social phenomena and the physical world should be subject to the same fundamentals as studies of the natural world (Hammersley 1995, Denscombe 2010, Lewin and Somekh 2011). For example, it proposes that phenomena confirmed by the senses should be considered as legitimate knowledge (also known as empiricism) (Doyal & Harris 2013). A positivist paradigm proposes that the purpose of theory is to generate hypotheses that can be tested or proven, producing laws to explain phenomena.

Alternatively, constructionism is constituted by a set of principles which underscore the importance of social interaction in the development and reproduction of social structures (Brennen 2012, Weerakkody 2015). Constructionism asserts that social phenomena and meanings are not pre-determined and external, but are continually being produced though social interaction by individual subjects. Constructionism emphasises, essentially, that meaning is constructed, not discovered (Bryman 2008). Since constructionist thinking considers that meaning and knowledge are socially developed, rather than objectively ‘discovered’, it’s valid to theorise that consistently negative representations of asylum seekers in media discourse may lead the general Australian public, through their interactions with various media, to view asylum-seekers as invariably threatening, criminal, different, ‘un-Australian’ and problematic (Louis, Esses & Lamond 2013, Trounson, Critchley & Pfeifer 2015). The researcher has previously observed that most representations of asylum seekers in Australian mainstream media have been primarily
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constructed using negative connotations such as unfairness, criminality and dishonesty, which are often considered antithetic to those traits associated with populist notions of an ‘Australian identity’. On these bases, the researcher has identified activities concerning the reporting of asylum seeker issues in television news discourses throughout the 2013 Australian Federal Election. Subsequently, a suitable research design to facilitate understanding of how the language of political and media discourses may have contributed to the problematising of asylum seekers has been developed. The overarching research question is:

*How did television news coverage of the 2013 Australian Federal Election shape narratives about asylum seekers?*

### 3.3 Qualitative Research Design

The interpretive, interdisciplinary, political and theoretical nature of this research problem matches characteristics widely attributed to qualitative research. The endorsement within research literature for adopting a qualitative approach to such a research problem is compelling. Qualitative research, as aptly pointed out by Berg and Lune (2012), is concerned with the qualities of things (people, events, situations), the *how* and *why* questions which are answered by collecting data relating to ‘meanings, concepts, definitions, characteristics, metaphors, symbols and descriptions of things’ (p.3). Language is essentially a network of symbols used to create meaning and understanding. Patterns of language use, groupings of particular words, phrases and rhetoric (which carry cultural or national significance) require the scope of a qualitative research approach to effectively locate them within their discursive contexts, and to reveal likely meanings and interpretations *because* of such uses.
Quantitative data is limited in terms of its usefulness for achieving the aims of this research, because of its emphasis on numerical data (Bryman 2008). The research data used in this project has been selected to explore discursive constructions in television news reports, and as such, consists of both textual and visual elements. The numerical measurement of particular words or phrases contained in the data (prominent themes, repetition of ideas) would have offered a limited understanding of report content. For the majority of language analysis in this project relies also on the visual contexts terminology is used in and their relationships to combinations of words and phrases in particular news reports, to reveal the deeper meanings that these connections produce. The reduction of image based sources (e.g. video file footage, pieces to camera, graphics) to quantification is also challenging, as the scope of potential meanings of various images is also complicated by relationships between language elements that accompany visuals (Bateman 2014, Hartley 2013). Therefore, for this study, a detailed, layered and nuanced understanding was not a viable outcome using a quantitative methodology; a qualitative methodology however, has allowed the researcher to examine how language and imagery functions concurrently in television news discourses throughout the 2013 Australian Federal Election, to shape ideologically dominant narratives about asylum seekers.

Criticisms of qualitative research frequently revolve around its comparison to quantitative research, and the resulting perception of qualitative research as less precise, less objective, and less ‘true’ or ‘factual’ than the numerical, statistical data captured by quantitative research (Corbetta 2003, Thomas 2003). However, as Berg and Lune argue ‘the study of imprecise subject matter’ does not equate to ‘the imprecise study of subjects’ (2012, p.4). Brennen states that although ‘qualitative research does not provide us with easy answers, simple truths or precise measurements. It can be controversial, contradictory and ambiguous…it can also be insightful, enlightening, emancipatory and fascinating’ (2012,
As such this research uses an inductive approach to link data and theoretical concerns. Such a strategy is typically associated with a qualitative research design (Bryman, 2008). The fundamental difference between inductive and deductive reasoning is the order in which theory and data is developed. Inductive reasoning first regards the data and develops a theory (or set of theories) from findings and observations (May 2011). Conversely, a deductive researcher first develops a theory and then designs the research strategy in order to test the theory or hypotheses (Corbetta 2003, Creswell 2003). Such an approach is more commonly associated with studies of the natural or ‘hard’ sciences (ibid). Deductive reasoning is generally associated with positivist studies which assume that there is an objective truth to be found or proven (Berg & Lune 2012, Bryman 2016).

In contrast, inductive reasoning facilitates the exploration of concepts and meanings occurring through social processes and interactions (for example political campaigns and television news broadcasts), and allows the researcher to draw conclusions or inferences from selected data, increasing the likelihood of arriving at valid research conclusions. The aims of this social science research project are oriented towards a clear understanding of complex communication factors and relationships, including the political interpellation of the ‘Australian citizen’ (O’Shaughnessy & Stadler 2012), along with rhetorical constructions of asylum seekers, national identity, bipartisanship, and institutional authority. Thus, an inductive approach to this study has allowed for a range of theoretical connections to be uncovered throughout the course of data collection and analyses.

3.4 Case Study

Social research literature positions case studies at various levels of research design; ‘method, technique, strategy, approach, design, methodology or heuristic’ (Perry 2011,
Despite these different definitions of a case study, there is common agreement that, fundamentally, a case study consists of a ‘single, bounded unit’ (ibid), and the distinctiveness and value of a particular case study relies on the ways in which the unit is bounded (Donley 2012, Hammond 2012). For this research, the case unit is mainstream television news coverage of the 2013 Australian Federal Election. The 2013 Federal Election is bounded in two important ways, geo-politically (Perera 2009) and temporally. Geo-politically, the election was an Australian Federal Election meaning the case is contextualised by formal political processes particular to the Australian system of government, and it encompassed the complexities of Australia’s geographical position especially in terms of the visibility of Australia’s borders (Maravillas 2013). Temporally, in line with Australia’s constitutional requirements, the actual election event took place on Saturday 7th September 2013. The election campaign however, began on Monday 4th August when Governor General, Quentin Bryce, signed a proclamation dissolving Parliament, formally beginning the election period (Bryce 2013, Ward & Stewart 2010).

For optimum sampling of the election-related television news reports collected for this project the temporal boundaries for the case study were expanded to cover dates three months prior and three months post the actual date the 2013 Australian Federal Election took place. This decision was not made arbitrarily. After initial peer review of the research proposal, which included only the ‘official’ election period (5th August to 7th September), it was decided that extended coverage could offer additional insights into the ways representations of asylum seekers differed or were consistent, across pre-election and

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13 Wherever reference is made to the 2013 Federal Election throughout this research, it is the election campaign that is being referred to.

14 For more information about the formal processes of Australian Federal Elections see Ward & Stewart (2010).
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post-election television news reports, leading to a more comprehensive understanding of how television news discourses shaped dominant narratives about people seeking asylum.

Different types of case studies have been documented in case study literature. While some cases may be selected as an example of a ‘typical’ case, and taken as ‘representative of a wider class of cases’ (Perry 2011, p.228), the case of the 2013 Australian Federal Election campaign (with respect to the particular aims of this study) would be defined as a ‘critical instance case study’ (Donley 2012, p.48). A critical instance type of case is selected for its remarkable or ‘extreme’ properties. The 2013 Australian Federal Election stands out in terms of its political rhetoric, particularly in the prominent discussion of asylum seeker issues as one of, if not the key election issue. Mitchell (1983) notes that critical instance case studies can play an important role in illumination and understanding in cases ‘where the concatenation of events is so idiosyncratic as to throw into sharp relief the principles underlying them’ (p.37). During the 2013 Federal Election, the particular language and images used in discussions of asylum seeker issues sharply highlights a distinctive set of dominant narratives communicated through these mainstream news discourses.

3.5 Data Sources/Data Sets/Data Samples
This research is concerned with developing a rich understanding of one specific case, free-to-air, evening television news coverage of issues pertaining to people seeking asylum aired during the 2013 Australian Federal Election. As such, a purposive rather than probability sampling procedure has been employed to identify units of analysis which would best answer the research question (Rapley 2014, Bryman 2016). Filtering criteria was applied to limit the data set to content likely to include dominant discourses about people seeking asylum. Filters included the requirement that news reports were
broadcast on free-to-air networks during ‘evening news’ programs between 7th June 2013 and 7th December 2013.

The decision to analyse television news reports as opposed to other forms of media texts (newspapers, online publications, radio) was made for three main reasons. Firstly, mass media research suggests that although media effects are complex, (sometimes) contradictory, and difficult to pinpoint, a broader conception of media, particularly television, as shaping world views and ‘common sense’ ideas, is well supported (Coleman, Anthony & Morrison, 2009, McKee, 2003, Papathanassopoulos, Coen, Curran, Aalberg, Rowe, Jones, Rojas & Tiffen, 2001; Street, 2001).

The media are viewed, not as having distinct influence which allows particular texts to generate particular effects, but rather, as putting a set of ideas into circulation, as normalising a set of practices and attitudes, representing ‘common sense’. (Street, 2011, p.125)

Secondly, television news reports also tend to feature video of politicians and others making direct statements (particularly during election coverage), allowing for spoken language to be analysed that has not been paraphrased by a journalist, or distilled to a brief quote. Thirdly, there is a conspicuous gap in the literature relating to the incorporation of images into analyses of news and political discourses. A number of theorists (Bednarek & Caple 2012, Clarke 2014, Grabe & Bucy 2009, Montgomery 2008, Tolson 2011). have encouraged researchers to address the lack of image analysis within news discourses. Studies contributing to the analysis of visual modes of communication are crucial for developing understandings of contemporary political discourses. Despite the increasingly image based nature of contemporary Australian politics, a disparity between text (print news) and image based (television news) research into political news discourses continues (Grabe & Bucy 2009). As such, by exploring multimodal texts this
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research aims to help rectify the disproportionate amount of attention that is paid to print media in political news discourse research.

The research data sources have been limited to mainstream Australian free-to-air television networks: ABC, SBS, Nine, Seven & Ten and included both public and commercial television networks. The decision to analyse free-to-air network news reports was made for theoretical and pragmatic reasons. Firstly, television-viewing data reveals that significantly higher numbers of Australian viewers watch free-to-air programs over subscription or pay TV programs (Free TV Australia Consolidated Report 2013). Denemark, Ward and Bean (2007) point out the central role of free-to-air television news in informing Australian audiences. ‘A broad cross-section of Australian voters continue to rely upon free-to-air television as their main source of political news and information’ (p.90). Thus, the salience of free-to-air television news programs throughout the political processes of a Federal Election, combined with a larger proportion of Australian viewers than subscription networks, provides ample justification for the use of data exclusively collected from the free-to-air networks. Another pragmatic reason for sourcing this particular news content was that the free-to-air news reports were also freely available through the Informit TV News library database. This access enabled the researcher to

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15 The Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC) is a national, publicly funded network which operates under a mandate of editorial independence. The Special Broadcasting Service (SBS) is a national multi-cultural and multi-lingual public broadcaster. SBS is primarily government funded, with commercial activities such as corporate sponsorship making up the remainder of their budget. The Nine Network is one of the three major commercial free-to-air broadcasting networks in Australia. In 2013, Nine News attracted 1.262 million viewers per night, making it the highest rating news program of the year (Knox 2013). Network Seven is an Australian free-to-air commercial network owned by Seven Group Holdings Ltd, a diversified group invested in mining and construction industries as well as media. The third commercial free-to-air network is Network Ten, owned by Ten Holdings Ltd. Network Ten broadcasts Ten Eyewitness News at 5pm daily as five state-based editions.

locate the actual bulletins, which had been broadcast in 2013, and to source the original contexts in which the individual reports were aired.

The data sample was limited to each network’s traditional ‘evening news’ bulletin. While there is a range of news and current affairs programs on Australian free-to-air television, recent research into broadcast journalism in the political public sphere shows that political programs on the commercial networks Nine, Seven and Ten, are in decline (McNair, Flew, Harrington & Swift 2017). McNair, Flew, Harrington & Swift (2017) have found that the three commercial networks provide political content mostly through traditional evening news broadcasts. Consequently, ‘evening news’ (as in each network’s main news program, airing between 5pm and 7pm each day) is the only standardised format ‘news program’ that appears on every network, which contains political content and demonstrates similar generic features and structures. These generic similarities have allowed the researcher to compare and contrast differing techniques or variations in news reports across the data samples.

The data set is an exhaustive sample of all free-to-air, ‘evening news program’ reports yielded using the defined search terms (‘asylum seekers’, ‘border protection’, ‘boat people’, ‘Scott Morrison’ and ‘stop the boats’) within the defined date range (7th June-7th December 2013) through the Informit TV News library database.17

16 Scott Morrison was Shadow Immigration Minister prior to the election and later installed as Minister for Immigration and Border Protection when the Coalition won government. Given his official role, he was particularly vocal and prominent in news reports during the data collection period.

17 While all news reports fitting the selection criteria were imported into NVivo, it is possible that the Informit database did not contain every report from the five free-to-air networks for the date range. While enquiries were made about obtaining additional reports directly from networks, the ephemerality of television news reports made identification of ‘missing’ reports exceedingly difficult post-broadcast and the financial costs networks charge for obtaining such reports was deemed preventative. Considering the
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The data comprises 336 television news reports aired between 7th June 2013 and 7th December 2013\(^1\). The utilisation of NVivo, computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS) for the organisation and content analysis stages was essential. The large number of news reports and the complexities of analysing the various discursive elements within each one necessitated importing all 336 reports into NVivo for the purposes of transcribing, categorising and coding the data. NVivo enables the transcription and coding of news reports as they are viewed (while the recording plays) allowing for detailed categorisation of both the visual and the verbal track elements simultaneously. Viewing both information inputs at once aided in conserving the integrity of the data by ensuring the context of each visual and verbal track remained intact. For example, the NVivo transcription process not only identified all speech verbatim, it also identified the speaker, and where appropriate, their role as communicated by superimposed on-screen graphic text such as ‘Foreign Minister’ Julie Bishop, or ‘Immigration Minister’ Scott Morrison\(^2\).

Each individual news report constituted one unit of analysis. Each unit of analysis was separated into smaller sections during the manual transcription process to facilitate a close examination of verbal material and accompanying images/imagery. Sections consisted of one or more sentences spoken by one particular speaker with a consistently displayed accompanying visual element. Breaking the news report down into small sections of

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\(^{1}\) For the date and network information of these broadcasts see Appendix 2.

\(^{2}\) The use of CAQDAS as a primary tool for the storage, retrieval (Kelle 2007) and filtering of data for this research, has generated ongoing interpretive analytical processes. Importantly, as Ezzy (2013) stresses, CAQDAS facilitates data analysis, it does not actually perform it.

verbal speech with a visual referent allowed for a much more detailed multimodal analysis of each report. As Biocca pointed out in his discussion of television and political advertising: ‘broad classifications …make for blunt tools; the analyst can only hammer away at the structure. But a more probing dissection of the political ad calls for a more precise instrument, a scalpel instead of a hammer (2014, p.18). It may be argued that the same applies to analysing television news and political campaigning. While it is important to consider each news report as a whole to identify overarching themes and narratives, micro level analyses of language and image provide insights as to how the overarching narratives and themes have been constructed and communicated.\footnote{These detailed processes are explained later in Section 3.6.4 when the application of Piazza and Haarman’s (2016) Pragmatic Cognitive Model for interpreting verbal-visual communication in television news programs is discussed.}

Initially, manual transcription enabled the researcher to identify broad themes such as militarisation, criminalisation and dehumanisation across the entire data set. These emergent themes were then entered into NVivo for the purposes of sorting and retrieving specific news report content. Similarly, specific ‘image types’ were also identified, for example politicians making statements, images of Australian Navy vessels, images of asylum boats, asylum seekers shown in the custody of Australian authorities, asylum seekers shown in detention centres. Next, each separate image in all of the 336 reports was coded accordingly. At this point, limitations regarding the processing capacity of the computer hosting the CAQDAS became apparent and beyond the first two coding processes, the specific categorisation of footage of asylum seekers was tallied manually and thereafter functions performed in NVivo were primarily limited to viewing and retrieving data.

\footnote{These detailed processes are explained later in Section 3.6.4 when the application of Piazza and Haarman’s (2016) Pragmatic Cognitive Model for interpreting verbal-visual communication in television news programs is discussed.}
3.6 Analytical Schema

3.6.1 Content Analysis

Preliminary categorisation and coding was essential in order to locate broad thematic and recurrent symbolic components of the television news reports. Emerging patterns and recurrences were identified through this qualitative content analysis (QCA), a method used to systematically attribute meaning to qualitative material (Schreier 2014). The systematic reduction of 336 complex, multimodal television news reports into manageable, meaningful categories was essential for identifying salient themes and aided in synthesising large amounts of detailed, qualitative material (Flick 2014). An exploratory pilot QCA was performed on the transcribed linguistic material to reveal frequent news tropes (Manuel & Davey 2009). Further QCA identified common rhetorical techniques and strategies and emphasised prevailing narratives. Mutually exclusive categories, such as ‘asylum seeker boat’, ‘military personnel’, ‘reporter piece-to-camera’, ‘statement-politician’, ‘protest scene’ and ‘diplomatic scene’ were also established for the QCA of the visual material. Each image was assigned to one of 26 categories using NVivo 21. This coding process did not only reveal the limited number of ways that asylum seekers were actually visually represented in the data, it also provided valuable quantitative results to support and triangulate some of the significant qualitative findings.

21 For the full list of these image categories and descriptions see Appendix 3.
3.6.2 Critical Discourse Analysis

The research problem: ‘how did television news coverage of the 2013 Federal Election shape narratives about asylum seekers’ indicates a specific focus on language, particularly in regard to the construction of asylum seeker identities (within the layered and dynamic fields of media and political discourse) and is bound up with issues of power and ideological dominance. With these concepts in mind, the researcher considered the application of CDA the most appropriate choice to achieve the research outcomes since:

‘CDA is an interdisciplinary approach to textual study that aims to explicate abuses of power promoted by those texts, by analysing linguistic/semiotic details in light of the larger social and political contexts in which those texts circulate (Huckin, Andrus & Clary-Lemon 2012, p.107). The choice of CDA as both a methodological framework and method (Meyer 2009) for this project follows logically from the researcher’s position that language is the primary means by which social subjects construct meaning. Hansen and Machin (2013) explain the crucial role of language in critical discourse studies as follows:

CDA can allow us to reveal more precisely how speakers and authors use language and grammatical features to create meaning, to persuade people to think about events in a particular way, sometimes even seek to manipulate these people…while at the same time concealing their own intentions. (p.115)

The critical element of CDA is, ultimately, the reason it has been chosen to achieve this research’s more general aims, which are directly concerned with how the microstructures of language shape narratives and perceptions and thus contribute to the maintenance of macro social structures particularly those impacting asylum seeker discourses.

One of the most common ways CDA allows researchers to make likely predictions about how texts may be understood is by considering semiotic choices in terms of the words and images used in textual construction (Dancygier 2012, Fairclough 2013, Machin & Mayr 2012, Meyer 2009, Wodak & Meyer 2009). Machin and Mayr (2012) point out that
descriptions and representations of people and groups are always inherently loaded in terms of cultural values. ‘In any language, there exists no neutral way to represent a person. And all choices will serve to draw attention to certain aspects of identity that will be associated with certain kinds of discourses’ (p.77). These concepts have enabled the researcher to identify the main ways that people seeking asylum haven been represented and to explore what aspects of their constructed identities have been emphasised. Identifying these dominant representations has occurred through looking at linguistic choices made by various speakers, along with image correlations in the television news reports. One of the central tenets of CDA is that language constitutes social action (Fairclough 2013, Fairclough 2012, van Dijk 2013, van Dijk 2006, Wodak & Meyer 2009). Thus, consistently finding words or phrases with negative connotations (e.g. ‘illegals’ or ‘queue jumpers’) which have been used to label asylum seekers, suggests that dominant political and media discourses perform exclusionary functions that could also be detrimental to the physical and social conditions asylum seekers experience (Butler 2009, Hodge 2015)

Jager and Maier (2009) point out the significance of repetition in establishing dominant discourses. ‘A discourse, with its recurring contents, symbols and strategies, leads to the emergence and solidification of ‘knowledge’ and therefore has sustained effects’ (p.118). Pinpointing repetitive themes, motifs, narratives and patterns across the 336 news reports have been crucial steps in this research process. Drawing on typical types of discourses identified in the research literature, such as ‘deviance’, ‘criminalisation’ and ‘risk’ and considering them as tropes evidenced in the data, reveals rhetorical strategies that communicate dominant narratives of, problematisation militarisation and dehumanisation. Fairclough argues that the exercise of power, in modern society is ‘increasingly achieved through ideology, and more particularly, through ideological
workings of language’ (2001, p.2). The identification of words and images repeatedly representing asylum seekers as problematic, using themes of dehumanisation, criminalisation and threat, suggests (in the absence of any alternative representations), that the language used in news reports throughout the 2013 Election functioned powerfully and ideologically (Fairclough 2013, Wodak & Meyer).

Within a Critical Discourse Analytic methodology there are a range of more specific applications of a CDA method. For example, Political Discourse Analysis (PDA) was originally considered as a possible explanatory tool given the political nature of this research’s aims and the data selected to achieve them. PDA is essentially the analysis of argumentation in the service of a particular outcome or action (van Dijk 2002). Actions and decision-making, Fairclough (2013, 2012) argues, should be the focus of PDA rather than matters of representation. Fairclough (2012) advocates van Dijk’s (1997) definition of political discourse as discourse that is aligned with political actors involved in political processes. Both van Dijk and Fairclough stipulate that these actions and processes must take place within an actual political context to be considered ‘political discourse’. According to these views this clause therefore excludes from PDA, the practices of political actors which take place outside of a specifically political context. In the context of this research project this stipulation could be seen as problematic as it tends to confine the notion of ‘political discourse’ to situations of procedural governance. Federal Government elections, however, are inherently political. They are a primary feature of a democratic process, the media coverage of which features political actors performing various types of political activities. Thus, the researcher argues that discourses communicated through the television reports of the 2013 Australian Federal Election are fundamentally ‘political’.
Television News Discourse: A multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis into how coverage of the 2013 Australian Federal Election shaped narratives about asylum seekers.

While the television news reports do feature argumentative statements from various politicians, the majority of the news packages are made up of other types of material. The ‘representations’ that a strictly PDA approach effectively sidelines are the main points of interest for this research. However, the central concept of PDA, that of argumentation, and the claim that analyses of speech acts is strengthened by linking the use of rhetoric and persuasive language to the practical argument being made (Fairclough 2012), does provide depth and support to the overall CDA framework adopted for this project. It facilitates explanatory critique, which seeks to understand how social systems work and how potentially damaging social practices endure (Fairclough 2012).

### 3.6.3 Limitations of CDA

There are limitations associated with a CDA methodology, as well as a number of criticisms. According to Trainor and Graue (2013), some of the common critiques include: political and social ideologies are read onto data rather than revealed through the data; there is an unequal balance of social theory and method; analyses often lack close textual or linguistic analysis and tends to be decontextualised; there can be an overemphasis on domination and oppression versus liberty and freedom. The possibility of a subjective reading of ideology onto the data is potentially the most problematic issue in relation to the integrity of a CDA methodology. This research does rely on the researcher’s interpretation of data to explain results. However, legitimacy regarding the most likely meanings of language identified in the data is well supported by the extensive

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22 It is unlikely that a PDA approach would have produced the results required to fully interrogate the research problem of how television news coverage of the 2013 Australian Federal Election shaped narratives about asylum seekers. Additionally, the narrow focus of PDA on processes of deliberation and argumentation would have limited the study’s in-depth analysis of how certain views and issues came to be deliberated on in the first place and how they are aligned with authoritative positions so that ‘others’ are positioned as illegitimate through mediated rhetoric.

work of Fairclough (2001, 2012, 2013) and van Dijk (1997, 1998, 2009, 2013), who together, provide solid theoretical grounding for the analysis of language and rhetoric in political and media discourses. Moreover, Archer (2016) points out that ‘knowingly or unknowingly, all our work is theory-laden and perspectival…Thus is it much better to know what one is doing and to have reasons one finds good and defensible for doing it that way’ (p.426). By asking; ‘in which ways can the linguistic choices of the speaker be interpreted as functioning in a politically strategic manner’ (van Dijk 2013, p.314), the range of potential meanings are not limitless, but shaped by the prevailing social, cultural and historical conditions at the particular point in time the news texts constituting the study’s data were constructed. Regarding the criticism of an imbalance between social theory and method, ample attention has been paid during the research design stage, to the development of a sound and definitive theoretical framework to underpin the precise and appropriate methods for exploring the data.

3.6.4 Multimodal Discourse Analysis

The outcomes of this qualitative research project primarily hinge on the effective application of the research’s grounding principles. While it is one thing to observe a discrepancy between print and television based discourse analyses and propose to address it, it is quite another to effectively breakdown television news data into the appropriate stratum, categories and units, in order to perform an effective analysis which is also methodologically sound. As many researchers working in the field have affirmed (Chouliaraki 2006, Feng 2016, Kress & Van Leeuwen 2001, Montgomery 2007, Price 2013), examining the words and images used in dynamic news reports and providing a detailed theoretical account of how they are combined to make meaning is an essential yet complex task:
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The combination of the verbal track with its various elements of direct speech, dialogue and voice-over, the sound track including signature music and ambient sound, and the visual track with the use of film footage, stills and graphics, make the television news program a complex semiotic event that necessarily activates various channels for cognition. (Piazza & Haarman 2016, p.462)

Analysing different modes of discourse concurrently poses some key challenges. The two modes, or semiotic systems found in this research’s TV news data fall under the categories of text and image. While these classifications may be common across social science studies, they are far from simple, for as Bateman (2014) suggests, the interchangeable use of terms such as ‘word’, ‘image’, ‘text’, ‘picture’, ‘visual’, ‘verbal’ and ‘depiction’ ‘turn out to be rather thin ice for the weight of analyses and frameworks’ required (p.13). For example, in television news reports, the linguistic element of the data classified as ‘text’ is actually spoken material, not written. However, in some bulletins, written text, for example a press release from a politician’s office, may appear on the television screen as part of a visual configuration, which is then also read or spoken by a reporter. Additionally, televised images sometimes include front pages of print publications, with the textual headline as the key feature of the image. Conversely, ‘text ‘is frequently found embedded in the ‘visual’ or ‘image’ mode, particularly in footage of protests; signs featuring text-based statements and messages are often afforded prominence in such footage.

Each news report is made up of several semiotic modes, or types of meaning-making resources which occur simultaneously. These can be classified broadly as either one of two primary modes; the verbal, which actually refers to the spoken linguistic element of the news report. The other is the visual or image-based mode. While ‘image’ in its singular form does tend to imply a sole, static piece of visual material, it still serves as an appropriate category when analysing television news reports, which combine multiple
static images with multiple shots of video footage (moving images), infographics and superimposed captions embedded in the visual mode.

Bateman (2014) discusses the foundational dilemma of differentiating what is ‘text’ and what is ‘image’, and more importantly, what is produced when they are combined. Lemke (1998) uses the phrase ‘meaning multiplication’ to describe how the historically enduring tendency to combine text and image together produces multiple potential meanings which then multiply by the number of combinations which occur within a given discourse: ‘under the right conditions, the value of a combination of different modes of meaning can be worth more than the information that we get from the modes when used alone’ (Lemke 1998, p.6). But how does this occur?

Instead of the analysis of one (already extremely complex) semiotic mode, the would-be analyst is faced instead with the task of accounting not only for several (already quite complex) semiotic modes, but also for their combinations. This involves a range of uncharted territories whose complexities we are just beginning to discover. As a consequence, and despite growing interest, our understanding of multi-modality is still under-developed and there is a considerable need for further research. (Bateman, 2014 p.49)

Accordingly, in order to perform a systematic analysis of many, dynamic multimodal data samples it has been necessary to narrow the focus of such an analysis to fit the scope and theoretical propositions of this original research project. Barthes’ seminal analysis of images in newspaper reports ‘has been key in most subsequent research on verbal/visual combinations, particularly which focus on images in the press’ (Piazza & Haarman, 2016, p.463). He conceptualised three categories for the classification of text-image relations. The first classification is ‘relay’; in this relationship both visual image and language (or text) contribute equally to the making of meaning. The second classification is ‘anchorage’; this relationship is unequal in terms of the distribution of the meaning-making load between text and image. An ‘anchoring’ text-image relation occurs when
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text is used to ‘fix’ the meaning of the image by suggesting how it should be interpreted. A classic example of anchorage is the caption run alongside a photograph in a newspaper, suggesting to the reader where and/or who the image is of and why it is important. The third text-image relationship is ‘illustration’, in which an image ‘supports’ the text (Barthes 1977), thus completing the tri-classification system still frequently drawn on in discussions of text and image communication.

Another type of multimodal method of analysis evolved from the Hallidayan (Halliday & Webster 2009) theory of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), is the Systemic Functional (SF) approach to Multimodal Discourse Analysis (MDA), known as SF-MDA (O’Halloran 2008). Proponents of this approach cite Halliday’s metafunctional principle that ‘semiotic resources simultaneously provide tools for constructing ideational meaning (i.e. experiential meaning and logical relations) and for enacting social relations (i.e. interpersonal relations)’ (O’Halloran 2008, p.444), as the key focus for analysis. SF-MDA is thus concerned with the ‘meaning potential’ of stratified semiotic resources (ibid.). While this approach has been a popular choice for discourse theorists (Caple 2010, Jewitt, Bezemer & O’Halloran 2016, Moya Guijarro 2016, O’Halloran 2008), many of the data sets it has been performed on consist of whole ‘texts’ constituted by a static image and printed text. Additionally, the level of detailed textual deconstruction, (for example stratified micro categories which break written language down into discourse, grammar and expression) if applied to dynamic media such as television news reports where spoken language features prominently would be in the context of this original research, an insurmountable task. Thus, the news reports of the 2013 Australian Federal Election have undergone analysis using a unique framework for text-image relations that has been specifically developed for analysing multimodal television news content. The Pragmatic Cognitive Model (PCM) (Piazza and Haarman 2016) has provided the
theoretical tools to explore the news report data combinations in significant detail, without reducing the reports to categories which are too fine to be able to draw meaningful conclusions from them as a ‘whole’.

3.6.5 Pragmatic Cognitive Model

The Pragmatic Cognitive Model developed by Piazza and Haarman (2016) has been designed to ‘propose a model for the systematic classification of the relations between verbal and visual tracks in television news’ (p.463). These researchers situate the model within the theoretical framework of Sperber and Wilson’s Relevance theory (1986), which posits that audiences’ interpretations of texts are regulated by a Principle of Relevance; a cognitive process of pragmatic inference based on the audiences’ presumptions that words and images used in a textual construct are of optimal relevance to the information the text’s author is trying to communicate. Montgomery’s (2007) work builds on Sperber and Wilson’s relevance theory (1986). Underpinned by the assumption of the author’s intention to communicate, Montgomery developed Principles of Intelligibility (2007) which relate to the cognitive processes through which viewers’ make sense of television news reports. The first principle proposes that;

(1) for any referring expression in the verbal track, viewers will search for a relevant referent in the image track, and (2) viewers will ‘treat any element depicted in a shot in the visual track as a potential referent for a referring expression in the verbal track. (Montgomery, 2007, p.96-98)

These correlating processes are crucial to the way audiences’ make sense of semiotic resources presented in television news reports, particularly in regard to repetitive, dominant constructions involving political rhetoric and people seeking asylum.
Expanding on these key principles of meaning-making Piazza and Haarman have conceptualised their Pragmatic Cognitive Model by first splitting the verbal/visual relations into (1) relationship of text to image, and (2) relationship of image to text. The relationship of text to image is then categorised into instances where (a) ‘text and image are conjoined in talk to/on camera’ - this category includes the newsreader’s standard mid-shot, piece-to-camera but also includes interviews with political actors, experts and other identities where they are addressing the camera/viewer, and (b) the text addresses the image in some way - either through deictic indicators, for example, in one of the news report packages the newsreader’s statement “they are the first to learn their fate under the new offshore processing regime” (World News Australia, 22nd July) uses the deictic indicator ‘they’ to refer to the accompanying footage of asylum seekers, or through the representation of actors, actions or circumstances (Piazza & Haarman, 2016). The relationship of image to text is broken into three categories. Illustration (c), which draws from Barthes’ work and suggests that the images support and add detail to the primarily textual message - for example, in television news reports about asylum seekers, the verbal announcement of boat arrivals is often illustrated by footage of a security force’s or an asylum seeker boat. Adding meaning (d), is where the use of images, through their inherent nature as polysemic texts, may make possible, other, divergent or unexpected meanings, which are likely to be an unintended message; and style or artful conjunction (e) ‘when the verbal text engages in a stylistic relation with the visuals constructing metaphors and word play’ (Piazza & Haarman 2016, p.479).

These communicative principles, working in tandem with the systematic application of the PC Model have provided a very effective means of achieving one of the main goals of this original research: to illuminate the complex ways in which the language and images in television news discourses work together to construct and encourage broadly
negative understandings of people who come to Australia by boat to seek asylum. Having closely scrutinised all 336 news reports aired between 7th June 2013 and 7th December 2013, the decision was made to select one report only from each of the free-to-air television news networks to focus on in detail. The rationale for these selections is threefold: (1) it was beyond the scope of this research project to apply the PCM to each verbal and visual track of every news report in the data set; (2) selecting one report from each source network across the timespan of the Federal Election television news coverage has enabled the researcher to ‘treat’ the news report selections as an everyday viewer might – in terms of random viewing habits and varying levels of interpretive engagement with political news discourses; (3) each news report selected is distinctive in both its range and volume of verbal and visual track components, allowing for a deep level of discussion about how (despite their differences) similar themes and socio-political narratives about people seeking asylum prevail. The detailed analysis which follows next in Chapter 4 applies the Pragmatic Cognitive Model to each verbal and visual track component of the selected news reports from the ABC, Nine, Ten, SBS and Seven Networks demonstrating how overt and subtle relationships between text and imagery functioned to shape dominant asylum seeker narratives throughout the 2013 Australian Federal Election.
4 MULTIMODAL ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

Using some of the approaches discussed previously, this preliminary analysis highlights the complexities of analysing television news reports in order to answer the research question; how did television news coverage of the 2013 Australian Federal Election shape discourses about asylum seekers? Multimodal discourse analysis does not constitute the entire analytical scope of this research. Rather, it serves as an effective initial technique to demonstrate on a micro scale, how multiple discursive elements combine to produce meaning within contemporary Australian political and asylum seeker discourses. The preliminary analysis here aids in revealing both the overarching themes that have emerged from the broader data set and it identifies those requiring further consideration. To begin with, the discussion points to specific ways that broad themes have been manifested in individual news reports, so that they constantly ‘flag’ dominant ideological positions.

The initial analysis of one news report each from ABC, Nine, Ten, SBS, and Seven using the Pragmatic Cognitive Model (Piazza & Haarman 2016) outlined in Chapter 3, serves a number of functions: it provides a systematic and detailed micro analysis of the discursive features of a single news report to suggest the ways they work together to generate meaning; and it aids in identifying, rhetorical strategies, structural elements and reoccurring themes which are explored in more detail throughout Chapters 5, 6 and 7. Subsequently this first stage interpretive work also facilitates macro analyses of broader trends across the data set and highlights how the repetitive nature of particular themes may significantly impact negative socio-political narrative constructions about people.
seeking asylum. The detailed analysis which follows also fulfils one of the primary goals of this original research project - to address an imbalance between research into media constructions of asylum seekers that concentrates solely on text-based data (primarily newspaper reports) and the number of those which use a multimodal approach. It thus contributes detail-rich accounts of asylum seeker representations through multimodal critical discourse analyses of television news reports of the 2013 Australian Federal Election. These particular reports were selected for analysis based on their broadcast date, in order to represent reports aired before the election was announced, during the official election campaign and post-election. Additionally, a purposive selection was made to best exemplify the types of issues reported on during the data collection period e.g. asylum seeker boats in distress, asylum seeker policy debate between the Liberal National Coalition and Labor parties, introduction of OSB and ‘regional cooperation’ on asylum seeker policy. This selection process also mirrors how a mainstream, free-to-air television viewer may have encountered news reports over the six-month period.

Piazza and Haarman’s (2016) analytical categories used in their Pragmatic Cognitive Model (PCM) for the interpretation of verbal/visual relations have been explained in detail in Chapter 3, and are reiterated here for clarification. The first two categories deal with the relation of the text to image; (1) *conjoined text and image* which consists of shots depicting direct speech to the television audience, often by the newsreader direct to camera, or by experts or politicians answering a question or making a statement, whose gaze is directed towards a reporter off camera. The second category (2) is one in which the *text addresses the image* either by the representation of actors, actions or circumstances, or through explicit deictic indicators (e.g. ‘they are the first’, ‘these asylum seekers’). Additional categories for those relations where an image supports or refers to the text are (3) *illustration*, where visual correlates for verbal referents are
identified (e.g. an institutional building appearing on the visual plane to accompany a verbal reference to a ‘detention centre’) (4) *adding meaning*, for example where image use may have the unintended consequence of altering the meaning of the verbal track, and (5) *artful conjunction*, where the verbal text engages in a ‘stylistic relation with the visual, constructing metaphors and wordplay’ (Piazza & Haarman, 2016, p.479). For example, in a report aired on ABC News, 15th July, just after serving Prime Minister Julia Gillard was replaced in a Labor leadership ballot by former Prime Minister Kevin Rudd\textsuperscript{23}, *artful conjunction* was used in part of the news package when the reporter stated: “Prime Ministerial welcomes are almost ritual in Port Moresby, the parliament’s hosted two from Australia in two months, a bit like seeing double” (ABC News 15th July 2013). While

\textsuperscript{23} Prior to the announcement of the 2013 Election, persistent tensions within the Labor Party and consistently poor polling results led to a leadership spill. Kevin Rudd announced he would challenge Gillard for leadership of the party. Rudd was reinstalled as Labor party leader and Prime Minister on June 27\textsuperscript{th} 2013.
the phrase ‘seeing double’, based on the verbal information, seemed to refer to the two individual Prime Ministers, the visual footage displayed this imagery;

**Figure 4.1 ‘Seeing Double’, Artful Conjunction**

This combination of verbal and visual content would be classified as *artful conjunction* because the ‘double vision’ of the verbal track is actually located and identifiable in the visual footage.

### 4.2 Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis

#### 4.2.1 ABC News Report

The first news report for analysis titled *Another boatload of asylum seekers has arrived in Darwin* aired on ABC News, on Friday 21st June, only two weeks into the six-month data collection period. This report was selected from the data set and demonstrates a straightforward structure communicating factual content, offering an excellent starting point for a multimodal critical discourse analysis.

Table 4.1 lists the verbal and visual structure of the report with the transcription of the verbal track on the left and a description of the visual track on the right.

**Table 4-1 ABC Report Track**
Television News Discourse: A multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis into how coverage of the 2013 Australian Federal Election shaped narratives about asylum seekers.

[Running Time: 0:21]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EDITS</th>
<th>VERBAL TRACK</th>
<th>VISUAL TRACK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>E1</td>
<td>Another boat-load of asylum seekers has arrived in Darwin, the patrol vessel,</td>
<td>Standard mid shot of Newsreader to camera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E2</td>
<td>HMAS Maitland brought the 43 passengers and 3 crew</td>
<td>Footage of passengers boarding an Australian Navy vessel, which takes up almost the entire frame.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E3</td>
<td>ashore this afternoon at the Larrakeyah Naval Base.</td>
<td>Wide angle footage of multiple ships moored in a marina. A small, superimposed geographical tag ‘Darwin’ appears at the top left of screen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E4</td>
<td>They'd been intercepted north west of Darwin yesterday,</td>
<td>Same shot of large Australian Navy vessel (as from E2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E5</td>
<td>they were taken this evening by bus to a detention centre, where they'll undergo security, health and identity checks.</td>
<td>Wide shot containing a nondescript building with a bus pulling up in the mid-ground, and the waterline and the ‘towers’ of several vessels in in foreground.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The verbal/visual relation in E1 is one of conjoined text and image in which the newsreader addresses the viewers (via the camera) directly. In E2, the visual/verbal relation would be best described as illustrative, where the visuals support the spoken narrative textual message. The subject of the verbal track, ‘the patrol vessel’, is pictured in the visual track taking up almost the entire frame. There are two interesting points to

make about this relation. The first is that, although the newsreader reports that the asylum seekers were “brought ashore”, the footage used depicts people getting on rather than disembarking from the ‘patrol vessel’. This dissonance between the textual message and the visual image would be likely to go unnoticed, according to Montgomery’s (2007) Principle of Intelligibility. Montgomery’s principle proposes the ‘supposition of co-reference between…verbal and visual tracks’ (p.474) based on the expectations of viewers to find correspondence between referents in simultaneous visual and verbal tracks. As such viewers of the ABC news report would likely assume that the file footage of a ‘patrol vessel’, was of optimal relevance to the narrated information potentially triggering the pragmatic inference that, in the absence of a legible, identifiable name on the hull of the vessel, the footage displayed was of ‘patrol vessel, HMAS Maitland’.

The visual/verbal relation in E2 also has implications in terms of conveying negative representations of asylum seekers. While the verbal track states that the patrol vessel “brought the 43 passengers and three crew ashore” the accompanying footage features a queue of approximately 10 people on a jetty and in the mid-distance, what appears to be another large group of people lined up along a side section of the hull on the opposite side of the boat to the jetty and directly in the viewer’s sightline. The scale of the people in this view is also sharply contrasted by the large size of the vessel. These visual elements combined with the verbal track from the previous scene, in which the newsreader announced that a “boat-load of asylum seekers has arrived in Darwin”, may imply that the ‘boat’ in the visual track, was in fact ‘full’ of asylum seekers. It may be argued that this kind of representation relates to what Hage (2014) calls ‘numerological racism’ which he describes as; ‘racism of numbers in the sense that it always comes with the category “too many”’ (p.233). Plus, the relation of the visual image in E2 to the verbal track in E1, also qualifies as an example of artful conjunction, in which the source domain
Television News Discourse: A multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis into how coverage of the 2013 Australian Federal Election shaped narratives about asylum seekers.

of the metaphor in the verbal track ‘a boatload of asylum seekers’, is made manifest in the subsequent scene, visually constructing what Lakoff and Johnson refer to as a ‘target domain’ (2008).

E3 of the news report contains temporal (“this afternoon”) and geographical (“at the Larrakeyah Naval Base”) references in the verbal track, and vision of several Navy boats moored in a dockyard, as well as a superimposed geographical tag at the top of the screen which reads ‘Darwin’. Again, the visual/verbal relation appears to be one of illustration. The linking element of the Australian Navy vessels gives the visual track continuity so that viewers are likely to understand, through their familiarity with television news genre conventions, that the superimposed tag ‘Darwin’, means that the place represented in the footage is in fact Darwin. These connections further legitimise the possibility for pragmatic inferences to be made between edits 1, 2 and 3 that the images of a Navy vessel and dockyard do accurately portray the actual ‘patrol vessel’ and the actual Larrakeyah Naval Base24 the news narrative speaks of.

E4 is constituent of the verbal: “they’d been intercepted north-west of Darwin yesterday”, and the visual track includes exactly the same footage as used in E2, of a large-scale Navy vessel, although this shot appears to be at a closer zoom than the previous display. The vague figures which in edit 2 appeared on the outside of the deck, are much more clearly discernible in edit 4, and there appear to be more people lined up along the vessel’s side-deck. The people along the line shuffle forward, which has the effect of suggesting these persons are continuing to ‘move up’ to make room for yet more people to board. This part

24 The Larrakeyah Barracks is the main Australian Defence Force base, located in Larrakeyah, just west of Darwin in the Northern Territory. The Larrakeyah Barracks incorporates HMAS Coonawarra, which is the Australian Navy base from which vessels are often dispatched for the search and rescue of asylum seekers.

of the news report would arguably fall into the verbal/visual category of the PCM where the text addresses the images through reference to actors, actions and circumstance. The deictic reference ‘they’ used in the verbal track of E4 corresponds neatly with the transition of the visual track to footage featuring asylum seekers on a boat. Building on earlier inferences potentially made when viewing edits 2 and 3, this would likely lead audiences to assume that ‘they’ refers to the people shown in the visual track, which in E4’s imagery appears to be even ‘more’ people, supporting the claim of a large volume or ‘boat-load’ of asylum seekers mentioned in the opening statement of E1.

The verbal/visual relation in E4 is different from the earlier sections of the report, as where E2 and E3 were primarily illustrative, the key action of the verbal track in this section “intercepted north-west of Darwin yesterday”, is absent from the visual track. However, the continuity function of the visual track is maintained through the linking symbol of the Navy vessel, the verbal referent ‘they’ and the video recorded persons. Additionally, although it has less to do with the interaction of the verbal and visual track and more to do with the structural elements of the imagery, the tone of the footage, (in terms of colour) set by the apparently hazy and cloudy weather, in all four pieces of footage is exactly the same, suggesting that all footage was likely filmed at the same place at the same time. This gives the visual track additional coherence through continuity and supports the theory that the visual track is actuality footage rather than file footage.

The final section of the news report, E5, features the verbal: “they were taken this evening by bus to a detention centre, where they’ll undergo security, health and identity checks”, along with footage of a nondescript building with a bus parked in the mid-ground, and the waterline and ‘towers’ of several vessels in the foreground. Figures of people can be seen (although not clearly) moving around close to the bus. The correlation of the image
to the first half of the verbal track is strong, the verbal construction and grammar indicates past tense, which makes the visual footage of the bus parked outside the ‘detention centre’ possible and coherent, based on viewers’ expectations of the correspondence between the verbal referent ‘taken by bus to a detention centre’ and the illustration on the visual plane, of a non-specific building with a bus parked at the front. However, the visual footage could have just as easily been taken as asylum seekers were put on the bus at the Naval Base.

The second part of the verbal track; “where they’ll undergo security, health and identity checks”, is grammatically formulated in future tense, indicating those particular protocols have not yet happened. As such, it makes sense that there is no vision to illustrate these processes, although formal restrictions such as limited media access to detention centres and government buildings are just as likely to be the reasons for the lack of visuals to represent actual ‘security, health and identity checks’. References to ‘security’ and ‘health’ checks link to broad narrative constructions of asylum seekers as a general ‘risk’ (Lupton 2013) to Australian citizens, as well as to more specific and commonly mediated constructions of asylum seekers as ‘diseased’ (Pickering 2001). Both of these widely

25 Between 2007 and 2013 under the Department of Immigration and Citizenship (DIAC) journalists who were granted access to detention centres were required to sign a Deed of Agreement (see Appendix 4). Under this agreement journalists were not permitted to ‘interview or otherwise engage in any substantive communication with any Detainee Clients during the Visit’ and all recorded content was reviewed by a DIAC representative, who could order the deletion of any ‘unsuitable’ content. Between August 2012 and May 2013 zero journalists were granted access to the Immigration Detention centre on Manus Island (Davis 2013). In June 2014, the Nauruan Government raised the application fee for a journalistic visa from $200 to $8000 (non-refundable if the application was rejected) (Nethery & Holman 2016) making it exceedingly difficult for journalists to gain access to the centre. In 2015 the Australian Border Force (ABF) introduced the Australian Border Force Act, making it an offence for anyone working in or providing services for the ABF to disclose ‘protected information’ without authorisation (Hoang 2015).
repetitive tropes promote negative understandings of people seeking asylum by reinforcing the idea that they are an unhealthy ‘threat’ to Australians. A further symbolic dehumanisation of asylum seekers depicted through their visual representation, is also demonstrated in this news report. Noticeably, in the majority of the news reports’ visual data, the footage of asylum seekers is shot from a distance and too far away for viewers to be able to make out any definitive facial features or individual characteristics. These ‘distal, long shots’ (van Leeuwen 1991, p.98) support and reinforce dehumanised perceptions of these people, emphasise difference rather than shared human traits, and tend to preclude compassionate or humanitarian responses in audiences.

In a narrative sense, holistically, this particular news report contributes to bodily representations of people seeking asylum as constantly moving. The verbal track narrates their movements through a number of action/process phrases such as “arrived in Darwin”, “brought ashore”, “intercepted” and “taken by bus”. All of these phrases construct the asylum seeker as a passive actor, having the action or process applied to them rather than being done by them. While the visual track uses images where the main environmental components are stable or fixed, such as the ship, the dockyard, buildings, the bus etc., only the asylum seekers are ‘seen’ to be moving, either onto or off transport. This perpetual movement of asylum seekers is a significant feature of the various television news reports across the data set. Gill (2009) has examined tensions between mobility and stillness in the experience of asylum seekers and found that in Britain, the state ‘employs a range of strategies of mobility that serve to deprive asylum seeking communities of

26 Additionally, the representation of asylum seekers within exclusively institutional spaces has the potential to further demarcate them from the ‘Australian’ in-group and encourage perceptions of difference. The concept of dehumanisation is explored in greater detail in Chapter 7.
geographical stillness…[which] undermines their psychological stability’ (p.2). In the context of this original research the use of mobility as a security practice, and its consistent representation, underscores narrative progressions repeated throughout the data where asylum seekers arriving in Australian waters are ‘intercepted’, detained and eventually either incarcerated indefinitely or transported ‘home’. It may be argued that these narratives fulfil the function of symbolic resolution (Ott & Aoki 2002, p.494) providing ‘acceptable’ outcomes to the asylum seeker stories for television news viewers. Symbolically, these encodings featured in the ABC news report also share a number of strong cognitive links to others across the data set 27.

The most overtly negative element identified in this analysis of the ABC news report was the use of the verbal referent “boat-load”, and the corresponding visual images of actual ‘boat-loads’ of asylum seekers, reinforcing one of the key themes and assumptions which runs consistently throughout the entire data set, that there are ‘too many’ people coming by boat to seek asylum in Australia. There are however, more ‘benign’ threads of negative social narratives which are better highlighted, not through the micro-analysis of this individual news report, but through considering this report as part of a network of multiple text-types within both asylum seeker and political discourses ‘which taken together within a particular alignment or context, may present or suggest some form of “meaning coherence”’(Price 2007, p. 60 [original emphasis]). Furthermore, the repetition and

27 Specifically, the persistent use of military visuals reiterating the dominant theme of militarisation has been consistently identified throughout the reports. Present in the lead up to the election, the theme of militarisation gained momentum throughout the campaign, and intensified even further with the implementation of OSB when the Liberal National Coalition Party was installed as government, supporting the claim that the ‘problem’ of asylum seekers required a military solution. (This dominant discourse is discussed at length in Chapter 6).

reinforcement of such dominant themes, installs particular ways of talking about asylum seekers (such as ‘there’s too many of them’) as a common-sense view.

4.2.2 Nine News Report

A news report titled *A fresh shot has been fired in the tit-for-tat battle over how to deal with asylum seekers* which aired on the 30th of July was selected as the Nine Network’s sample for analysis. This report, which aired prior to the announcement of the election date is quite a typical example of the ‘election campaign’ coverage, it contains no major policy developments or information about asylum seeker related events, but consists of minor policy announcements and the criticisms and reactions from each of the major parties about the policy position of the other.
Television News Discourse: A multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis into how coverage of the 2013 Australian Federal Election shaped narratives about asylum seekers.

**Table 4-2 Nine Network Report Tracks**

[Running Time: 1:43]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EDITS</th>
<th>VERBAL TRACK</th>
<th>VISUAL TRACK</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>E1</td>
<td>A fresh shot has been fired in the tit for tat battle over how to deal with asylum seekers. The Coalition has released new details of its plan to stop the boats, the centrepiece, a massive tent city on Nauru.</td>
<td>Standard mid-shot of newsreader reading to camera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E2</td>
<td>It's a high stakes game of political poker,</td>
<td>Mid-range shot of boat with asylum seekers sitting on foredeck and Border Patrol staff standing around them. ‘Asylum seeker’ boat visible in background.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E3</td>
<td>And the Coalition’s the latest to up the ante.</td>
<td>Tony Abbott (Opposition Leader) exiting a car, approaching a suited man and shaking hands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E4</td>
<td>With a five-year plan for a tent city on Nauru,</td>
<td>Three male asylum seekers sitting in detention centre tent.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>for initially 2000, Eventually up to 5000 people.</td>
<td>Detention centre tent occupies most of the frame with three males (faces blurred) visible sitting at the opening of the tent. Two more tents visible to one side. Close range shot of three males pictured from the neck down, sitting in a detention centre tent. Long shot taken from above showing three rows of identical tents.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E5</td>
<td>It's not the only element but it's an important element in stopping the boats.</td>
<td>Close range shot of Tony Abbott speaking to camera, two suited men flanking him, in an outdoor setting.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E6</td>
<td>Today is the day that Tony Abbott effectively admitted that turning back the boats won't work.</td>
<td>Close range shot of Labor's Tony Burke (Minister for Immigration), indoor setting, blank background.</td>
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</table>
Television News Discourse: A multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis into how coverage of the 2013 Australian Federal Election shaped narratives about asylum seekers.

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<tr>
<td><strong>E7</strong></td>
<td><strong>Tony Burke</strong> 28 says the Coalition's backed off its promise</td>
<td><strong>Tony Abbott and Scott Morrison</strong> (Shadow Minister for Immigration) holding up an official document, background banners reading 'choose a better future'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>E8</strong></td>
<td>to make a difference from day one, and open the door to people smugglers</td>
<td>Asylum seeker boat taking up entire frame with 20-30 people visible on board.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>E9</strong></td>
<td>by setting a capacity and not ruling out settling asylum seekers here in Australia.</td>
<td>Mid-range shot of five men walking away from camera inside detention centre, filmed from the neck down. Mid-range shot of large number of asylum seekers sitting in groups inside detention centre common area. All faces blurred out. Close up shot of one man sitting at a plastic table, eating, face is blurred out.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>E10</strong></td>
<td>The Coalition are putting up in lights, if you want to</td>
<td>Close range shot of Tony Burke, indoor setting, blank background.</td>
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28 At the time of this report, Tony Burke was Minister for Immigration within the Labor Government.
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<tr>
<td><strong>Television News Discourse: A Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis of how coverage of the 2013 Australian Federal Election shaped narratives about asylum seekers.</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E11</td>
<td>Long-range shot of two people walking in detention centre, faces blurred out. Mid-range shot of 10-15 asylum seekers sitting on the floor in detention centre, all faces blurred out, one person with head in hands. Close-range shot of the person with head in hands, head down, wiping away tears, face is blurred. Someone out of frame has their hand on her back, comforting her.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>overwhelm the policy, here’s how.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Tony Abbott fired up when asked if</strong> Kevin Rudd’s PNG plan sends a tougher message.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E12</td>
<td>Close range shot of Tony Abbott speaking to camera, two suited men flanking him, in an outdoor setting.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Come on, look at Mr Rudd’s records,</strong></td>
<td><strong>this is a guy who is great at promising</strong> He’s hopeless at delivering</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E13</td>
<td>Close range shot of Kevin Rudd (Prime Minister) signing documents, surrounded by Australian flags. Close range shot of Kevin Rudd seated next to Deputy Prime Minister, Anthony</td>
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Television News Discourse: A multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis into how coverage of the 2013 Australian Federal Election shaped narratives about asylum seekers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>E14</th>
<th>He's had every position and no position on everything.</th>
<th>Albanese at an official meeting, three flags behind him. Close range shot of Tony Abbott speaking to camera, two suited men flanking him, in an outdoor setting.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Coalition would also build a village on Nauru, to house those given refugee status until they're resettled.</td>
<td>Long-range aerial shot of Nauru from plane or helicopter. One man exiting bus at detention centre and approaching Border Patrol staff, filmed from neck down Medium shot of three men in a detention centre cafeteria, bowl of fruit dominates foreground with the three men, all blurred, in the background.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E15</td>
<td>Asylum seekers would receive $5 a day, the extra capacity would cost $50 million, needed, Tony Abbott says, because of the border security crisis Kevin Rudd created.</td>
<td>Close range shot of reporter speaking to camera, Parliament House in background.</td>
</tr>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>E16</th>
<th>It’s been confirmed meantime shadow Minister Scott Morrison’s flight to Nauru</th>
<th>Scott Morrison walking on airport tarmac.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>E17</td>
<td>was provided by the logistics company Toll</td>
<td>‘PDL Toll’ logo on black background.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E18</td>
<td>which specialises in setting up large camps, and has government contracts on the Island. Lane Calcutt, Nine News.</td>
<td>Three shots of construction work being performed by Toll workers and equipment, ‘Toll’ logo visible in each shot. Medium range shot of a row of tents in a detention centre.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The visual track in E1 is a standard newsreader’s piece to camera, thus the verbal/visual relation is one of *conjoined text and image*. The verbal track in this section includes a range of terms and expressions which are significant in terms of emphasising asylum seeker matters as a politicised problem, fore-fronted as ‘key election issue’. The news reader uses the overtly war based metaphor “another shot has been fired in the …battle over how to deal with asylum seekers” to set the scene for the political ‘combat’. As a ‘deliberate metaphor’ (Steen 2009) this news reporting style is powerful in that it ‘has the ability to highlight some elements of reality while at the same time hiding others’ (Lakoff & Johnson in Krennmayr 2015, p. 531) Thus, using a war metaphor to describe politics or a political approach to a particular issue, simplifies a complex network of activities.
down to two opposing ‘sides’. Additionally, the phrase ‘deal with asylum seekers’ reinforces the idea of an enduring problem for whichever political party is in power, another adversary to be overcome:

The war metaphor is ubiquitous, connected to strong emotions and social values and it is widely useful in politics of mass appeal. The metaphor creates pressure for unity, solidarity, mobilisation of people and resources for the common good (against the foe). (Steinert 2003, p.268)

War is not the only metaphor found in the newsreader’s opening statement, in the second section of E1, the newsreader refers to the Coalition’s plan to build a “massive tent city on Nauru”. In democratic societies, a city generally connotes a place where people choose to reside, have employment opportunities and are able to live on a daily basis relatively free of state interference (within the law). A row of tents within an offshore detention facility does not have these features nor does it afford the same living conditions. In fact a number of scholars (Grewcock 2014a, Grewcock 2014b, Giannacopoulos, Marmo & deLint 2013, Nethery & Holman 2016) have produced work which documents the harsh, harmful and inhumane conditions experienced by people who have come to Australia by boat and were subsequently subjected to ‘mandatory, indefinite and unreviewable detention on Nauru and Papua New Guinea’ (Nethery & Holman 2016, p.1018). Thus, while the pragmatic implication of a ‘massive tent city’ could convey positive meanings, the actual circumstances are the opposite. The key term ‘massive’ here also alludes to high volumes of asylum seekers which the government, or politicians have to accommodate. Themes and discursive implications arising from this metaphorical use are largely related to the dehumanisation of people seeking asylum and the process by which, at the intersection of politics and media, the ‘social conditions for a flourishing life are constrained…in the name of securing our borders and protecting the citizen’s way of life’ (Hodge 2015 p.129).
Section E2 and E3 of this news report contain two separate gambling metaphors, E2 referring to a “high stakes game of political poker” and E3 stating that “the Coalition’s the latest to up the ante”. The use of these early ‘framing’ metaphors were fairly typical of Network Nine reports prior to the September 27th election date (although they were less prominent in news report structures post-election). The relation of the visual track to the verbal track in E2 is arguably illustrative, in terms of PCM categories. The first section of E2 runs footage of asylum seekers pictured in transit on a security boat, being stood over by Border Patrol staff while the verbal reference to politics as a poker game plays out. The co-referents between the two tracks are not immediately obvious and rely partly on the prior section (E1) introducing Coalition asylum seeker policy as the news topic, in order for the visual footage in E2 to maintain coherence. The pairing of this visual representation of asylum seekers with the metaphor of “a high stakes game of political poker”, objectifies people seeking asylum, reducing individual lives to ‘pawns’ in a political game. Lakoff and Johnson write about the systematicity of metaphorical constructions, pointing out that while metaphorical representations highlight some characteristics of a concept, they hide others which are inconsistent with the metaphor being used (1980). Thus, asylum seeker lives are devalued in terms of their humanity, but become highly valuable as ‘pawns’ in the strategic moves of a political campaign. The visual referent in E3, Opposition Leader Tony Abbott shaking hands with an unidentified, suited man, could operate in an illustrative relation to the verbal track, in which the verbal referent ‘upping the ante’ is represented by the handshake between the two men (of professional status), thus the visual communication of a greeting tenuously, also thematically symbolises an agreement to meet extra challenges.

In E4 the numerical focus of the verbal track is accompanied by four separate images in the visual track which display a very limited range of repetitive scenes. The verbal track
Television News Discourse: A multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis into how coverage of the 2013 Australian Federal Election shaped narratives about asylum seekers.

is repetitious too in that it re-uses the metaphor of the ‘tent city’ identified in E1, on this occasion the term is re-circulated through specialist political reporter Lane Calcutt’s narration. The visual track both illustrates and emphasises this particular metaphorical trope while simultaneously reiterating major overarching themes identified across the entire data set such as: while some verbal track content may be relatively factual and unambiguous, visual tracks aligned with them are open to a broader scope of associative interpretations, and thus can ‘say things’ or ‘suggest things’ not permitted through language use (Machin & Mayr 2012).

In E4 the tightly held focus of each shot on male detainees inside detention centre tents does limit the scope of alternative inferences audiences can draw from the verbal and visual semiotic resource combinations. For example, this sequence could imply that all or most asylum seekers coming to Australia by boat are young, solo males, as the images appear to exclusively depict this demographic. This could result in audiences drawing links between the young males in the images and constructions of groups of young males as threatening and violent. Thus, viewers may support punitive practices such as mandatory detention of people seeking asylum on the basis of their assumption that if released, large numbers of young men will enter their community and pose a threat to them.

E5 is a piece of *conjoined text and image* with Tony Abbott as the speaker in a ‘press conference’ set-up in an outdoor location. This type of ‘live’ capture is a significant element of television news throughout campaigns. In the verbal track, Tony Abbott references the information provided in edits 1-4 using the deictic ‘it’s’ (the policy), claiming “it’s an important element in stopping the boats”. The phrase ‘stop the boats’ was a key Coalition catch cry throughout the election, repeated 58 times throughout the data set, and was (and remains) significant in terms of continuing to construct and
reinforce dominant, primarily negative, discourses about people seeking asylum due to the simplifying function it performs;

In the past 5 years, this decisionist prerogative has been synthesised in Australian onshore politics in the compressed repetition of the rhetorical phrase ‘stop the boats’, which is ubiquitously known because of mass media: spokespeople from the coalition repeat the phrase and the news media disseminate it… ‘stop the boats’ has become a synecdochal phrase that compresses the entire semiotic process that securing national sovereignty through border protection has actually involved. (Chambers 2015, p.411)

In other words, the phrase ‘stop the boats’ reduces a vastly complex set of processes, variables and decisions down to a three-word slogan, making it easily digestible to the voting audience.

E6 demonstrates another section of *conjoined text and image*, with Tony Burke, Labor Minister for Immigration responding to the Coalition’s announcement of part of their ‘plan’. The structure of this part of the news package, (initial comments from one candidate followed by a response from their political counterpart) is a common arrangement across the data sample. In this case this editing technique also reiterated the phrase used in the newsreader’s introduction, a ‘tit-for-tat battle’, a colloquial phrase, which refers to ‘an equivalent given in return (as for an injury)’ or ‘retaliation in kind’ (Miriam Webster Dictionary). In election campaigning the rhetoric is replete with comments by politicians which first praise the work and policies of their own party and criticise those of the other. No doubt the ‘equal’ attention or time allotted to comments from both major party’s representatives was likely to be a result of the need for news networks to present fair and objective reporting. However, it could also be argued that:

> the journalist’s story may well have been filtered through the media’s vision of politics as conflict and of politicians as more interested in exposing their opponents than in tending the interests of the general public. (Lorenzo-Dus 2009, p. 159)
Television News Discourse: A multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis into how coverage of the 2013 Australian Federal Election shaped narratives about asylum seekers.

The relation between the visual and the verbal track in E7 is predominantly *illustrative*, relying on the visual referents of Tony Abbott and Scott Morrison to represent the verbal reference to “the Coalition”. There are multiple components within the visual track which (when coupled with the verbal) indicate and legitimise Tony Abbott’s and Scott Morrison’s high-status power roles as political figures.

Elements of the setting such as a blue transportable partition – clearly displaying the Coalition Party’s campaign slogan – *Choose a Better Future*29 and the microphone indicates a press conference scenario. While the document Scott Morrison is holding all, Abbott’s listening and concurring gestural expressions and Morrison’s direct address to the ‘imagined’ press conference participants contribute to and communicate the subjects’ formal positions as powerful social actors and that the information they are conveying is important and worth listening to.

Subtle co-referents also appear in this section with the relation between the verbal “Coalition’s…promise” and the hard copy of an official document (likely policy and/or legislation) held up for display by Scott Morrison. While these types of shots (politicians filmed during press conferences) are indicative of general political campaign reporting, much of their significance in terms of shaping understandings of asylum seekers, lies in their symbolic representation and mediation as powerful authoritative identities, who are not only entitled to a voice but may assume that their voice will be heeded.

29 “The 2013 election was largely fought over the battle of the slogans, simplistic catchphrases regularly repeated by leaders, frontbenchers, backbenchers and major party candidates. The resort to sloganeering was in one sense a rational (but cynical) political response to three phenomena. the growing proclivity for asserting headline statements often lacking in specificity and devoid of detail; a shrewd response to the risk-averseness of hyper-adversarial politics (concentrating on simply attacking one’s opponents and allowing no chinks in one’s own armour); and, as a preferred campaign tactic in a situation where many voters had made their mind up about their voting intentions some months out from the poll’ (Johnson & Wanna 2015).
In contrast to E7 the subjects in E8 are people seeking asylum and ‘people-smugglers’. Another metaphor, the reference to opening ‘the door’ to people smugglers is found in the verbal track of E8. This reference to the Coalition “opening the door to people smugglers”, paired with the visual track which shows a large (full-frame) boat full of people seeking asylum has significant implications for viewers understandings of asylum seekers. Although the suggested ‘door opening’ accusation applied to those smuggling people/exploiting the vulnerable, the two ‘outsider’ groups (asylum seekers/people smugglers) were conflated into one because of the visual/verbal track combination. Additionally, the overarching theme in this section (and in earlier parts of the report e.g. E4 “initially 2000, eventually up to 5000”) is that the volume of asylum seekers is immense. While ‘opening the door’ implies people smugglers will start bringing more people (the image of the full boat suggests there may be many, many more). ‘A racism of numbers in the sense that it always comes with the category “too many” (Hage 2015, p.233). This rhetorical tool combined with the implicit threat evoked by the use of the ‘Australia is a house’ metaphor will likely encourage viewers to accept the dominant discourse of problematisation and subsequently support the punitive measures enacted by the Australian Government.

The visual track in E9 contains three separate but related shots, all showing de-identified asylum seeker men inside a detention facility. Examining the relation of visual track scenes in E9 to the preceding section E8, it could be argued that the discursive threat constructed in E8 (that boatloads keep arriving) is subsequently elevated in E9 through the depictions of young solo male arrivals necessitating enforced containment.

The relation between the visual and verbal track is secured through the visual representation of the ‘asylum seekers’ in the verbal. While the three pieces of vision
highlight the ‘detention centre’ as a space of exclusion, the political reporter’s verbal track (which paraphrases Immigration Minister Tony Burke’s derision of the Coalition’s stance on policy) suggests that a political platform of inclusivity may be problematic. Tony Burke’s rhetorical claim of ‘rule-breaking’ implies that asylum seekers should never be accepted into the Australian community ‘in-group’.

Edit 10 is made up of conjoined text and image. Immigration Minister Tony Burke continues to criticise the political manoeuvres of the Coalition using a metaphorical technique, deflecting rather than directly addressing, any discussion of asylum seekers, people smugglers, or alternative policies.

The verbal track in E11 coupled with the sequence of images in E11’s visual track, combine to convey dehumanising messages. Despite showing anonymous asylum seekers in detention and in distress (exemplified by their body language), the verbal track components allude to a heated ‘contest’ between the two major parties as to which party leader can take the strongest stance. On one level, the verbal and visual tracks in E11 appear incongruent in that the language speaks of ‘being tougher’ as the political goal, yet the visual messages clearly show persons in a vulnerable state. In this instance, the relation between verbal and visual referents could be classified as adding meaning where the visual track creates an alternative meaning. One critical interpretation of the correlations between these visuals/verbals could suggest they convey a bipartisan insensitivity to the actual needs of providing services for traumatised asylum seekers due to the political ‘combat’ being played out.

Sections E12 and E13 are two parts of a response statement made by Tony Abbott, his comment here taken from the same outdoor ‘press conference’ context as in E5 of the news package. Tony Abbott’s language in this section is arguably less about legitimising
immigration policy and more about political manoeuvring and election strategy, aiming to discredit Kevin Rudd rather than promote his own agenda. He uses a less formal style of speaking, and employs a technique which appears regularly in the delivery of his statements and speeches throughout the data collection period. Mr Abbott uses the phrase “this is”, he says it slowly and with emphasis as a framing device, explicitly using this rhetorical style to emphasise the importance of topics (people, issues, ‘problems’). As news media scholar Meikle points out; ‘symbolic power is the power to name, to define, to endorse, to persuade’ (2011, p.3). In this case, Tony Abbott’s naming of Kevin Rudd as “a guy who was great at promising, he's hopeless at delivering” cast doubt on Rudd’s suitability to remain in office as Australian Prime Minister.

The relation between the verbal and visual tracks in these sections is interesting because, while the audio runs of Tony Abbott speaking, the visual track cuts to two different file footage shots of Kevin Rudd, which arguably illustrate the verbal track. In the first file shot Mr Rudd is seated with a PNG politician while they both sign official documents, surrounded by other Ministers from both countries who observe. Both countries’ national flags are visible in the background. The political performance at a staged press conference implies importance of the document and well as the pragmatic implication that as the two politicians simultaneously sign, it is likely the legislation they endorse relates to a consensus regarding a bilateral agreement. The co-referents in the visual and verbal track appear to be the reference to ‘promising’ made by Tony Abbott, and the visual emphasis on Kevin Rudd signing a political contract, i.e. formalising a promise. In the second part of the verbal track Mr Abbott claims that Kevin Rudd is “hopeless at delivering”, while the visual track cuts to footage of a relaxed Mr Rudd seated at a formal meeting table and laughing with Deputy Prime Minister, Anthony Albanese. In contrast to the preceding shot, this footage showing the politicians’ informal behaviour (in what is obviously a
formal setting) appears to support Tony Abbott’s claim by visually implying, Kevin Rudd may not be ‘serious’ about keeping his pledges.

The way this particular section of the news package has been edited together is interesting because, the end stage of it returns to conjoined text and image of Tony Abbott finishing his derogatory and dismissive statement. There could be a number of reasons as to why the extra footage of Kevin Rudd was inserted over Tony Abbott’s ‘attacking’ verbal track. Most likely is that the news editor chose to add visual action to the lengthy verbal statement and to create drama by highlighting the rivalry between the two party leaders.

The verbal track in E14 also consists of a single statement, the political reporter’s narration of Coalition plans to “build a village on Nauru”, and is aligned with three separate images. The visual track plays a sequence of images representing a geo-telescopic ‘zooming in’ on the island of Nauru and the facilities there. The verbal and visual co-referents in the first two sections of E14 are relatively easy to identify. The verbal reference accompanied by an aerial long shot of an island, would lead to the pragmatic inference that the location being depicted was, in fact, Nauru. Similarly, and also very importantly, the next section features the verbal referent “those given refugee status”, while picturing people seeking asylum disembarking bus transport, approaching detention centre staff at an immediate temporary check point and handing their documents over for scrutiny, and in a refectory space. The combination of these tracks could be understood as (a rare example), of a combination of verbal and visual messages which imply the legitimacy of people seeking asylum. Visually depicting them as complying with systematic processes, paired with the verbal reference ‘those given refugee status until…’, could lead viewers to infer that genuine asylum seekers are a risk worth taking who’ll be validated by having their refugee status approved accordingly.
Section E15, while constituting a section of *conjoined text and image*, has other verbal features which are worth highlighting. The reporter’s statement that asylum seekers receive $5 a day, as well as the additional $50 million required for the upgrade to the facility draws on themes of financial ‘burden’, while the use of the term ‘crisis’ is another example of the problematisation of asylum seekers discourses. Using the term ‘crisis’ also has significant implications for the way audiences understand people coming to Australia by boat to seek asylum as a ‘problem’, and shapes not only the appropriate reactions to the ‘problem’ but legitimises a range of responses to deal with it which would otherwise be considered inappropriate in less ‘extreme’ situations. The result of these multi-layered constructions is the legitimisation of a set of measures e.g. indefinite and mandatory detention and/or refoulement, designed to stop asylum seekers coming to Australia.

The content of the visual and verbal tracks in sections E16, 17 and 18 segue into another aspect of the news report which discusses Scott Morrison’s travel to visit to Nauru being funded by Toll Holdings, which while related to asylum seeker discourse through the reference to the detention centre in Nauru, is significantly more related to the performativity of politics, where politicians are seen to be ‘on the ground’ dealing with matters that are in the public interest rather than asylum seeker discourses. As such, analysis of these sections does not provide any additional insight into the way verbal and visual elements of the news reports and the way they are combined shape understandings.

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The use of “border security crisis” together is also interesting because many of the claims of trying to ‘stop the boats’ is premised on the politicians’ desires to stop people dying at sea, while these claims appear sporadically throughout the data, particularly when an asylum seeker boat sinks or capsizes and people die, the general focus on border security rather than vulnerable persons’ safety is a conspicuous feature of the data sample.
Television News Discourse: A multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis into how coverage of the 2013 Australian Federal Election shaped narratives about asylum seekers.

and more specifically predominantly negative socio-political narratives about people seeking asylum, and thus require no further discussion here.

The content of this report, possibly due to its length as well as representing a more standard example of pre-election campaign coverage, features a wide range of discursive elements which have been extensively documented in Australian immigration literature and studies as shaping ‘common-sense’ narratives about people seeking asylum. Combinations of visual and verbal elements produce a range of meanings, metaphors, problematising and dehumanising themes as well as the legitimisation of institutional power held by politicians which all contribute to a dominant asylum seeker discourse which requires and supports the ongoing exclusion of people seeking asylum from mainstream Australian society.

4.2.3 Ten News Report

The third news report selected for analysis is from the range of Network Ten reports included in the data set. This report titled Five asylum seekers are on the run tonight, after escaping from a detention centre east of Perth, aired on Monday 18th August, two weeks after the official announcement of the election date, essentially right in the middle of the 2013 Federal Election campaign. The structure of the news report contains many multimodal elements; a reporter’s piece-to-camera, infographics, statements from an ‘expert’, ‘vox pops’, and it runs for approximately 1 min 45 seconds. The breakdown of the verbal and visual track of the report can be seen in Table 4.2.

Table 4-3 Network Ten Report Tracks

[Running Time: 1:44]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EDITS</th>
<th>VERBAL TRACK</th>
<th>VISUAL TRACK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>E1</td>
<td>Five asylum seekers are on the run tonight, after escaping from a detention centre east of Perth.</td>
<td>Standard mid-shot of Newsreader addressing camera.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E2</td>
<td>The men scaled razor wire fences before fleeing the facility at Northam. Chiara Zaffino reports.</td>
<td>Infographic of map of Australia. Begins as a wide shot of the globe with Australia front and centre, then zooms in over WA until Perth and Northam are represented on the map.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E3</td>
<td>Three meter high electric fences surround the Yongah Hill detention centre, housing up to 600 asylum seekers, but it wasn't enough to contain five detainees, who escaped last night.</td>
<td>Four separate shots of the outside view of the detention centre, all with fences as the prominent feature. In the second shot, the camera pans to the sign displaying ‘Yongah Hill Immigration Detention Centre’, as the reporter states the words.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E4</td>
<td>Guards and the police helicopter searched the area, around 100km east of Perth, but the group hasn't been found.</td>
<td>Two separate aerial shots of the facility, buildings, cars and roads visible, helicopter noise in the background of the footage.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E5</td>
<td>It's got internal fences, external fences and electronic security, we've been advised that that should have been sufficient to hold the people inside the centre, apparently that hasn't been the case.</td>
<td>Direct speech to camera by Local Government ‘authority’. Streetscape</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Television News Discourse: A multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis into how coverage of the 2013 Australian Federal Election shaped narratives about asylum seekers.

| E6 | The immigration department says the men from Vietnam scaled the wire fence, one of them was injured during the break out. Officials maintain they pose no risk to the community. | background, and super\textsuperscript{31} identifying the speaker as ‘Steven Pollard, Northam Shire President’. Four separate shots of the exterior of the facility. First shot features a human figure walking around behind a fence. Prominent features of the footage are fences and a mini bus. |
| E7 | But the centre has always been controversial, this is what locals have said they feared would happen. They're furious they weren’t told about the breakout and that the facility isn't secure. | Reporter piece to camera. On location, the ‘Yongah Hill Immigration Detention Centre’ sign can be seen to the left of the reporter. Fences in the background. |
| E8 | Well a bit shocked, I didn't think it would happen. You know I thought it was a safe place to be. | Vox Pop, elderly woman carrying groceries and a newspaper on the footpath outside shops. |
| E9 | I'm a bit disappointed having the mayor of the town assuring the local community that nothing would happen, that we were safe and for the welfare of our safety, and now five people have escaped. | Vox Pop, middle-aged woman, very little contextual detail in background except for an Energizer battery display, indicating a retail environment. |

\textsuperscript{31} In television news, a ‘super’ refers to words superimposed over a television image giving details about it, often a person’s name, official title if they have one or role in the story e.g. ‘witness’. They can also indicate locations.
E10 | I guess it's like prisons and anything else, if people are sufficiently determined to get out they'll probably find a way. | Steven Pollard direct speech to camera |
E11 | So it'll be interesting to see what the situation was here, whether there was external assistance, or otherwise. | Single long shot of detention centre from outside the fence, grass in the foreground is in focus and the high fence and buildings in the background are blurred. |
E12 | An investigation into the security breach has been launched, | Mid-range shot of a security guard at the facility, walking with his back to the camera. The word ‘SERCO’ can be read on the back of his hi-vis vest. |
E13 | with the Immigration Department demanding a report from Serco, the company that manages the centre, | Panning shot of the exterior of the facility, fences prominent. |
E14 | in Northham, Chiara Zaffino, Ten News. | Long shot of mini bus moving slowly down road, small section of fence visible to the left of screen. |

E1 features the verbal/visual relation of *conjoined text and image*, spoken by the newsreader as she gives a summary of the key story points. In E2, the relation switches to a visual/verbal relation, as the infographic illustration further enhances the contents of the verbal track. The newsreader is still speaking, but the visual track now features a graphic representation of a world globe with Australia in the most prominent position, a close zoom angle emphasises the geographical area of ‘Northam’, referenced in the verbal track. This imagery also relates back to the prior verbal location referent in E1 ‘east of
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Perth’. Perth and Northam are clearly labelled on the visual using both a textual label and a blue and red dot respectively, to indicate where each area is situated on the map.

In E3 the visual/verbal relation again illustrates the verbal track, showing a number of shots in which the verbal referent to “three-meter-high electric fences surrounding the Yongah Hill detention centre” is neatly synchronised with footage showing the exterior of the facility, the composition of the images positioning the tall fencing as the prominent feature. Further synchronisation between the two tracks is achieved when the camera pans to focus on the sign reading ‘Yongah Hill Immigration Detention Centre’ with the Australian coat of arms and ‘Australian Government’ in smaller print at the top, just as the reporter refers to it in the verbal track. The combination of several of the verbal choices and the prominent visual elements in the first three sections sets up a cognitive metaphor of asylum seekers as criminals. The words ‘escaped’, ‘razor-wire fences’, ‘fleeing’, ‘electric fences’, and ‘not enough to contain’ are terms generally associated with prison discourses. The visual track reinforces this construction, as the footage of the detention centre’s exterior with the extensive network of perimeter fencing, renders it visually indistinguishable from a prison facility. This co-referencing could trigger the pragmatic inference that asylum seekers are similar to prisoners, and thus logically are also ‘like criminals’. The second part of the verbal track of E3, however, remains unrepresented in the visual track. Neither the “600 asylum seekers” the facility houses nor the act of them escaping is accounted for visually.

The verbal referents “guards” and “police helicopter” in E4 communicate that law enforcement personnel are participating in the securitising processes of search and surveillance and prominently convey discourses of institutional security. While the visual footage does not show actual guards or the police helicopter searching the area, the track

features footage shot from the inside of a helicopter, likely assumed by audiences to be the “police helicopter” referred to in the verbal track (Montgomery 2007). The position of the camera is indicated by the aerial angle and the background noise of a helicopter’s rotator blades, this omniscient perspective and soundscape positions viewers inside the helicopter, inviting them to observe the ‘surveillance’ of the detention centre (Andrejevic 2011) or more specifically, the search of “the area, around 100ks east of Perth” for the “group” of asylum seekers, referred to in the verbal track.

E5 consists of text and image conjoined in talk, with a statement by a representative of the town of Northam, Steve Pollard, who is identified as having status in the community by the that fact that there is a ‘super’ to identify him as ‘Northam Shire President’. His visual representation is consistent with other examples of ‘community representatives’ across the news data set. Community representatives as a source group, in terms of communicative hierarchy and authority to speak, generally sit above a ‘vox pop’ but below a ‘professional expert’ 32. ‘The special production and reception conditions of news reports as well as their major communicative functions seem to determine their structures at all levels…This may affect not only the overall thematic or schematic organisation of the news report but also the ordering…where important news actors will tend to occupy first positions’ (van Dijk 2013, p.16). Mr Pollard’s super identifies him as having status

32 In this news sequence, the streetscape background and smart-casual attire is similar to features found in vox pops, but Mr Pollard is afforded a higher status through the presence of a super which identifies him by name and role. He also makes a planned statement rather than directly responding to a question posed by the report, as happens in vox pops.
as a local government authority, he holds an institutionally endorsed position of power to speak on local matters.

Mr Pollard’s verbal track, while *conjoined* with the visual track, is also related, by the phrases; “internal fences, external fences and electronic security”, to the preceding visual and verbal tracks, continuing to advance security and containment themes throughout the report.

The verbal track in E6 consists of the reporter’s narration, while the visual track, again, consists of four separate shots of the facility’s exterior. The first shot features the figure of a person walking behind a fence. The visual and verbal relation in this section is, again, one of *illustration*, but on a continuum between a close and a tenuous fit. This section, while still maintaining obvious cognitive continuity through repeated uses of visual scenes identical to those used in earlier edits of this report interestingly, strikes a less direct correlation between E6’s verbal and visual tracks. The *only* element found in both tracks is the reference to ‘fences’. The last statement in this section; “officials maintain they pose no risk to the community” taken literally, seems discordant with the rest of the news report’s ‘breach of security and associated risk’ discourse. Viewers, having watched the news report up to this point, would likely infer that due to the facility’s extensive security measures designed to keep asylum seekers (‘them’) inside the centre and apart from the people outside (‘us), made known through repeated verbal and visual track referents aligning with security and prison discourses, that ‘they’ (whether generally, inside or having ‘escaped’) *must* pose a threat to the community. The pragmatic implication here, which is the opposite of the literal statement, is further reinforced in the report’s next few sections.
E7 is a reporter’s piece to camera, a verbal/visual relation of *conjoined text and image*. The verbal track however, is quite remarkable in its explicit divergence from the reporter’s previous statement, using language which supports the suggestion that the ‘escaped’ asylum seekers *do* in fact put the community at risk. Using phrases such as “what locals have said they feared would happen”, “they’re furious they weren’t told” also heightens the dramatic news narrative of the “breakout” and alludes to a lack of disclosure on the part of government authorities. It is interesting to note that no direct quotes from locals have been included in this edit. The verbal track is formulated in a way which suggests the reporter speaks for the ‘locals’, and in conjunction with the vision of the reporter *on* location - through proximal signification- fits with conceptions of journalists as having more of a capacity (privilege) to access places and information that general members of the public don’t have access to (Lorenzo-Dus 2009). Combined, these verbal and visual constructions have been used to position the reporter as an objective voice according to journalistic principles. The sequencing of this cut adds another layer of complexity however, in that the locals’ comments re-told by reporter Chiara Zaffino convey a micro-narrative that runs contrary to the claims ‘Officials’ had made that the ‘escapees’ presented no threat to ‘the community’.

Sections E8 and E9 pick up and continue with the verbal referents to fear. As vox pops, E8 and E9 are also instances of *conjoined text and image*. The elderly woman in E8 states that she’s “a bit shocked, I didn't think it would happen. You know I thought it was a safe place to be”. Implicit in the statement is her apparent realisation that her close environment is *not* a ‘safe place to be’, further building on conceptions that having asylum seekers around ‘threatens’ local communities. E9 is similar in its sentiment but delivered with what could be argued as more conviction; “I'm a bit disappointed having the mayor of the town assuring the local community that nothing would happen, that we were safe
and [sic] for the welfare of our safety, and now five people have escaped”. These comments reflect broader themes of institutional power, for example, in this case the ordinary person’s ‘trust’ or confidence in local government frameworks and authority (the Mayor) to regulate ‘outsiders’ so ‘insiders’ remain safe, has been breached. Her comments demonstrate significant parallels with dominant ideologies about asylum seekers, while this story has a local focus - Northam Shire and Yongah Hill Detention centre - the language, themes and narrative structure mirror national reports featuring the Australian Federal Government and all asylum seekers, indicating the consistent reiteration of dominant ideological constructions of asylum seekers through micro and macro messages.

The following section, E10, contains an explicit verbal reference to a prison, again reinforcing the conceptual metaphor that ‘asylum seekers are criminals’. In another statement from Steven Pollard, in which the first sentence is conjoined text and image, he speculates, “I guess it’s like prisons and anything else”. The lexical choice made here, ‘anything else’, suggests that while the second clause of this sentence could be linguistically superfluous it has the effect of conflating ideas about prisons and detention centres, i.e. immigration detention centres as incarceration, thereby continuing to subtly de-humanise those held in detention centre conditions.

In E11 the second part of the North Shire President’s statement: “So it'll be interesting to see what the situation was here, whether there was external assistance, or otherwise” relies on E10’s verbal track for coherence. Mr Pollard indicates that “if people are sufficiently determined” they will find a way out. The visual track shows more shots of high fences, illustrating the verbal track by highlighting security features of the detention centre, implying that it would be extremely difficult for the men to escape, and it’s thus likely
that they required help from others outside the centre. Additionally, a critical reading of Mr Pollard’s somewhat blasé commentary could also suggest a certain fatalism, as in a powerlessness to overcome the inevitable- that is, asylum seeker ‘escapes’.

The “security breach” referred to in the verbal track of E12, and the proposed “investigation” to follow are formal expressive terms drawn from law enforcement and security discourses, again, reinforcing the overarching cognitive metaphors (Lakoff and Johnson 2008) of asylum seekers as law-breaking prisoners. The accompanying visual, despite being a relatively straightforward shot, still functions as *illustration* and the corporate security company’s logo seen across the back of the guard’s uniform in E12 visually positions the actual guarding of the detention centre as not being conducted by the Australian Government directly, but by a separate accountable party. Meanings that are further embedded by the verbal content in E13.

In E13 the reporter states that the Immigration Department is “demanding a report from Serco” (the security company that runs the facility). These two sections taken together suggest that the Australian Government is holding Serco responsible for the men breaking out of the facility and revealing power relations through the government’s ability to ‘demand’ that Serco provide a report. The final section of this report E14 contains a standard linguistic sign off from the reporter, however while these types of sign-offs are often filmed as conjoined text and image pieces, in this instance, the visual in this track features a minibus moving past fences through the facility, shot from an aerial advantage, perhaps suggesting to viewers the continuing surveillance of the detention centre and the asylum seekers inside it, visually ‘reassuring’ viewers that the Serco (and the Australian Government by default) maintain control over the detention centre.
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The explicit references to prisons, safety and security in Network Ten’s news report add to narrative constructions common to asylum seeker discourses; the criminality of asylum seekers and thus, be extension the legitimacy of their exclusion. It is worth highlighting again, the impact and concentration of the explicit references (both verbal and visual) to prisons, security and safety, in this report. While many reports in the data set visually or verbally allude to these themes, this particular report makes overt linguistic mention of them. In this fashion, the explicit references to prisons which arguably suggest the criminal nature of people seeking asylum detaining within them, reinforce and are in turn reinforced by other texts within the network of news reports about asylum seekers. The processes of building and strengthening particular narratives through repetition of particular words, images and themes allows audiences to make links between verbal and visual referents which may be highly implicit. Further discussions about asylum seekers and additional news representations of the custodial circumstances and conditions within detention centres are included in Chapter 7.

4.2.4 SBS News Report

The following analysis is of an SBS news report from after the 2013 Australian Federal Election; The new Immigration Minister, Scott Morrison, will restrict information on asylum seeker boat arrivals, to a weekly media briefing aired on Saturday 22nd September.

The Coalition, led by Tony Abbott, had been elected to government and many of the news reports around this time focused on either the announcement of the military led Operation Sovereign Borders and a range of associated policy initiatives, or, the political tensions between Australia and Indonesia as a result of the new government’s ‘turn back the boats’ policy. The SBS report is markedly different from the previous two reports in that it demonstrates especially how ‘policy based’ (that is those discussing policy developments rather than ‘event’) news reports are edited together. The variety of images, use of file

footage and footage of politicians taken from press conferences are common characteristics of this type of data.

The breakdown of the verbal and visual tracks of the reports is as follows:

**Table 4-4 SBS Report Tracks**

[Running Time 2:57]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EDITS</th>
<th>VERBAL TRACK</th>
<th>VISUAL TRACK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>E1</td>
<td>The new Immigration Minister Scott Morrison will restrict information on asylum seeker boat arrivals to a weekly media briefing, rather than announcing each one individually.</td>
<td>Standard mid-shot of newsreader reading directly to camera.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>But the locals on Christmas Island are defying the restrictions reporting the arrival of a boat today.</td>
<td>Superimposed image over newsreader’s left shoulder depicting an Indonesian fishing boat and a southern cross overlaid with a compass icon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Minister’s office won’t comment before the first scheduled briefing tommorow.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E2</td>
<td>Under Operation Sovereign Borders the government’s restricting official information about asylum seeker arrivals.</td>
<td>Two shots of military or Border Patrol personnel who have boarded an ‘asylum seeker boat’ at sea.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E3</td>
<td>We make no apologies for saying clearly, we are embarking upon a military operation to protect lives, to protect our sovereignty, and to protect our borders.</td>
<td>Mid-shot of Greg Hunt (LNP Minister for Environment) making a statement, TV background and Sky News logo in the top left corner.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E4</td>
<td>New Immigration Minister Scott Morrison has confirmed he’ll outline the new rules tommorow, in the first of what will now be weekly briefings.</td>
<td>Two shots of Scott Morrison sitting around a conference table with other military staff and advisors. Second shot pans down to the large map of Australia on the table in front of them.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E5</td>
<td>but the people on Christmas Island have other ideas.</td>
<td>Boat approaching jetty, Border Patrol staff visible standing up in front of asylum seekers who are sitting down in life jackets behind them. Ship visible in the background. Second shot a longer shot of same boat now at the jetty. Bus can be seen on the jetty in the background. Little foreground detail.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources there have told SBS that a boat arrived on Christmas Island this afternoon,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>E6</th>
<th>the first for a week. Carrying about 30 passengers including women and children.</th>
<th>Mid shot of the bus on the same jetty, people boarding the bus.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>E7</td>
<td>The locals are planning to keep revealing boat arrivals in defiance of the government restrictions.</td>
<td>Long range shot of Border patrol staff standing and asylum seekers sitting on foredeck of moving boat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Close range shot of Border Patrol staff moving people off boat onto jetty one by one.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E8</td>
<td>The said that they would stop the boat, then they said they would buy the boats, now they're saying they're going to hide the boats. This is not policy, this is just sloganeering.</td>
<td>Close up shot of Bill Shorten speaking to camera, with large 'Meet the Press' logo on one side of a 'green screen' background, a cityscape of the other side and a 'Ten' and SBS logo at the bottom right of screen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E9</td>
<td>The government says it will ensure figures on detainees and those on bridging visas are updated monthly.</td>
<td>Medium-range shot of asylum seekers inside a detention centre, all faces are blurred out.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Close range shot filmed over a man's (asylum seeker's) shoulder</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

33 At the time of this report Bill Shorten was the ALP Minister for Education, Employment and Workplace Relations. He was also a declared candidate for the upcoming ALP leadership ballot (which he went on to win).
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>E10</th>
<th>There will be a regular, continuous, full disclosure.</th>
<th>as he approaches a number of ‘hi-vis’ vested Border Patrol staff as they check his paper work.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I think it is a disgrace. If people drown at sea, the idea that we won’t tell anyone is, well I can’t imagine.</td>
<td>Close up shot of Bill Shorten speaking to camera, with large ‘Meet the Press’ logo on one side of a ‘green screen’ background, a city scape of the other side and a ‘Ten’ and SBS logo at the bottom right of screen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E12</td>
<td>[Segues to another topic]</td>
<td>Medium range street scape with politicians ‘campaigning’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The candidates for Labor’s leadership are revising their own policy, acknowledging that cutting benefits to sole parents in government was a mistake.

The opening section of this report features the standard introduction by the newsreader. While this is an example of *conjoined* verbal and visual tracks, the visual track does feature the additional cluster of referents in the form of a superimposed image over the newsreader’s left shoulder. This is a common feature of the television news genre and
most viewers will understand that this image is often a symbolic representation of what the news report will be about. In this example, the cluster is made up of three distinct elements; an Indonesian fishing boat, a ‘southern cross’ cluster of stars and a compass rose. All three elements are arguably operating as metonymic references. The fishing boat, given the prominent position within the cluster, is used as a metonym for asylum seekers, the Southern Cross constellation is a popular metonym and semiotic code for Australia or Australian. The compass rose is much less recognisable as a cultural or political metonym, but pragmatically, along with the fishing boat, it is likely representative of a journey across the sea, due to its historical significance as a seafaring tool. These elements combined form a micro narrative, and indicate to the viewer that the upcoming news report will likely be something related to ‘asylum seekers who have travelled by boat to Australia’. Interrelations between these symbols are built up across repetitive uses of similar combinations, forming strong associations between the images in audiences’ understandings of asylum seekers, this cumulative connotative work then allows the use of each of these signs, potentially, to individually evoke a set of primarily negative concepts which relate to all three signs.

While the conjoined text and image is, (according to the PCM) a verbal/visual relation, the image cluster here would have been, based on news report construction frameworks and conventions, selected specifically to illustrate the topic of the story, suggesting in fact, a visual/verbal relation. The visual referents in the cluster may presumably have been selected to correspond to the verbal referent “asylum seeker boat arrivals” in the first sentence, and “the arrival of a boat today” in the second, however the active subjects in E1 and the primary subjects implied by the image cluster are quite different groups. The active subjects of E1 include ‘new Immigration Minister Scott Morrison’ who was ‘announcing’ and ‘locals on Christmas Island’ who were ‘defying’. It is only through
significant inferential work that asylum seekers ‘appear’ in the report, when viewers, based on the metonymic referents in both tracks of E1 make a pragmatic inference that the ‘boat’ reported by Christmas Island locals was carrying people seeking asylum.

Given that the visual track in E2 is exclusively file footage, and applying the Principles of Relevance (Sperber & Wilson 1995) and Intelligibility (Montgomery 2007) which suggest that audiences will assume the optimal level of relevance and correspondence between verbal and visual co-referents in any given news report (even when relevance may be tenuous, or purely symbolic, as in this case), it is possible to classify the relation of the verbal and visual tracks in E2 using the current model, as an instance where the text addresses the image through the representation of circumstances.

As previously pointed out, the linking referents between these verbal and visual tracks are highly implicit. The linking co-referents here are, presumably, the verbal reference to “asylum seeker arrivals”, and the visual footage of ‘asylum seeker boats’ which have ‘arrived’ and been boarded by Border Patrol personnel. While these co-referents don’t appear until the end of the first edited section, their configuration together, crucially, links asylum seekers to ideas of national security and a militarised discourse. It’s very likely, due to audiences’ familiarities with dominant asylum seeker discourses in television news reports that repetition of military-style interventionist file footage over the evolution of

34 It is important to point out here that the two shots of footage in E2 are file footage shots which are very common across the entire data set. Indeed, this file footage can still (at the time of thesis submission in July, 2017) be found in television news reports of asylum seekers. The year this footage was taken and the original event it depicts is unknown, however the frequency of its use and the apparent knee-jerk reactions of editors and journalists to continue pairing it with any news report on asylum seekers is quite significant in terms of journalistic practices as well as the broader effect these repetitive media constructions have on audience’s understandings of people seeking asylum.

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asylum seeker discourses has cumulatively conditioned viewers to make implicit connections between these types of visuals and any news report about asylum seekers, even if the focus of the SBS report was an incoming Australian Government Minister and their new policies. It is unlikely that regular audiences would find the pairing of these tracks cognitively problematic, despite the verbal track and visual track in most of E2 operating relatively independently of each other; as each track forms a thread of meaning which is distinctive yet correlated.

While the verbal track in E2 refers to the plans and intentions of Immigration Minister, Scott Morrison regarding new government policies to: implement OSB - the Australian Government’s much discussed ‘military solution’, and begin restricting information about boats arriving in Australia carrying asylum seekers, in terms of the media’s traditional role in a democratic society as one of the checks and balances to keep governments accountable for their actions, in any other news report, intentions to restrict public access to information of this type may be expected to be reported with some element of concern. In this specific case, the verbal track was a very factual, objective statement, and did not appear to either support or condemn such a move. However, when combined with the visual track, which pictured military personnel who had boarded an asylum seeker boat, viewers would likely infer that since asylum seekers were depicted as a problem requiring a ‘military solution’, the government’s restricted information protocols about their arrivals were thus legitimate under military discourses of ‘national security’. Of course, this is only one possible interpretation of the visual and verbal combination in question, and there is no suggestion here that these images were selected specifically to generate such an impression.
The following section, E3, appears to link closely with the referents in E2. While this is an instance of conjoined text and image, with Minister for the Environment, Greg Hunt speaking directly to camera, the verbal referents do correspond to E2, establishing continuity between edits. His statement is in defence of the new policy developments; “We make no apologies for saying clearly, we are embarking upon a military operation to protect lives, to protect our sovereignty, and to protect our borders”. The verbal referents ‘military operation’, ‘protect our sovereignty’, and ‘protect our borders’, further advance the supposition of requiring a military ‘solution’ to the problem of asylum seekers. References to ‘protecting’ various Australian properties and principles; ‘borders’, ‘sovereignty’ and ‘way of life’ are recurrent throughout the whole data set, and while the threat rhetoric is identified in what remains unsaid, where, according to Fairclough, ideologies are primarily located (1995, p.55), its manifestation is significant in terms of shaping social narratives and understandings about people seeking asylum. ‘Threat rhetoric is in part performative; while it may describe an actual threat to some degree, threat rhetoric also performs the function of identifying the enemy and shaping the conflict’ (Jefferis 2013, p.54)35.

Section, E4, contains the verbal track; “New Immigration Minister Scott Morrison has confirmed he'll outline the new rules tommorrow, in the first of what will now be weekly briefings” and visual footage which shows Mr Morrison seated at a round table with a military representative and one or two other government staff members, with a number of photographers visible in the background. A prominent feature in both shots is a map of Australia spread out on the table in front of the Immigration Minister. The composition

35 Discourses of threat (Croston & Pedersen 2013) and protection have been identified as key rhetorical techniques and themes throughout the data set and as such are discussed extensively in Chapter 6.
of this visual is reminiscent of ‘war room’ images found television news discourses, especially in reports about global and geo-political decision making (as well as popular culture genres such as feature films and television dramas). The technique of intertextuality functions here to connect the visual tableau of a number of *men* in powerful positions gathered around a map on a table to strategise, to similar images in other texts, engaging audiences historical and cultural knowledge to communicate notions of power and control (Mooney 2015). In this case the link between verbal and visual tracks is *illustrative*. By focusing on the strong connotations and implications generated by the visual track it is possible to highlight some of the potential meanings which emerge from the visual footage in conjunction with the verbal content.

The linking referent in each track is the presence of politician Scott Morrison, verbally and visually apparent in each track respectively. Apart from this key linking element, there appear to be few other corresponding elements in the two tracks. The composition of the image: the close-range shot used to encourage the perception of intimacy, the horizontal angle indicating an equal power relationship between subject and viewer and Morrison’s averted gaze, invites audience engagement by visually positioning them ‘at the table’ (Capone & Mey 2015). Additionally, the presence of professional photographers in the frame and the depiction of Scott Morrison speaking while others listen, suggest the ‘meeting’ (which is likely not a meeting, but a staged photo opportunity to generate strategic material for media use), is in some way important and newsworthy, and that Scott Morrison, who, by virtue of having the attention of others in the room is visually marked as a person with a particular privileged role and thus an authoritative voice. Such an interpretation then both supports and is supported by the verbal track which claims that Scott Morrison will “outline the new rules”. This phrase presupposes
that Scott Morrison has the power to make the new rules, a presupposition legitimised through the use of his official governmental title of Immigration Minister.

Further interpretation of this section would draw on the cognitive metaphor of ‘the war against people smugglers’ evoked through elements of the visual footage, particularly the inclusion and positioning of the map which acts as a material signifier of the metaphor by alluding to the strategic nature of the meeting (Bateman & Wildfeuer 2014). Additionally, based on the map’s position at the round table, directly facing Scott Morrison and not in the direct sight-line of others, it performs the additional function of visually fortifying Morrison’s status as a powerful social actor. The visual footage emphasises the strategic context of the ‘official’ situation by symbolising a war-council-like scenario.

E5 and E6 form a particular type of mini narrative within the news package that indicated Christmas Island ‘informants’ considered the Minister’s controls around disclosure problematic, though the narrative told in the verbal track differs markedly from themes represented in the visual. The verbal narrative is quite factual, and features some of the headlining information, that locals planned to reveal boat arrivals at Christmas Island despite the Australian Government’s new information restrictions. It also notes that the boat was the first to arrive at the Island for a week. The locals, the government restrictions and the ‘boat’ are the key components in verbal track, yet the visual tracks include a strong temporal and spatial line of development, similar to a comic strip (Bateman and Wildfeuer 2014, Moya Guijarro 2016) where in each of the subsequent frames, the shot range ‘zooms in’ on a feature of the prior frame, providing the sense of moving forward across time and space. The asylum seekers themselves, while pictured in the footage, are largely backgrounded or obscured by border patrol staff and the forms of transport, which are given prominence in the shot sequence. The focus on transport, movement and queues suggests that the key theme of the visual track is actually the orderly activation of

‘processes’ and the enaction of appropriate procedures, which is at odds with the sentiments expressed in the verbal track, where ‘sources’ challenge political protocols by revealing and disseminating information about boat arrivals.

Furthermore, the superimposed word ‘file’ appears briefly in the top left-hand corner of the screen across the two shots of footage in E5. The graphic label indicates that the video material being shown is ‘file footage’ or archived footage, not footage actually shot on location at the actual time of the boat arrival referred to in the verbal track. Acknowledging the use of file footage not only highlights that there is an element of agency and intention (of network staff) involved in the technical ‘construction’ of a news package (in that a particular piece of file footage is selected by staff to accompany the verbal script), it also reveals the tenuous and symbolic nature of the relationships between these visual and verbal tracks. Since the file footage used has no direct instantiated connection to the event being reported, networks, and indeed viewers, must rely on symbols located in both the verbal and visual tracks to link meanings and create a coherent ‘new’ narrative from combining the two. ‘When file tape is used old footage is given new meanings. These new meanings are a product of the new context which is constructed by the journalist…Ironically, the verbal text is “grounded” by images which have no direct relation to the story at hand’ (Putnis 1994, p.80). File footage use, Putnis argues, can be revealing about the dominant ideologies that underpin journalistic choices and critical attention to the types of file footage used can be a ‘powerful way of deconstructing the ideological framework of news stories’ (ibid.). However, while journalists can select file

36 This is a significant addition to the news visual as explicit acknowledgement of file footage use is inconsistent at best across the range of networks and also, across the range of reports from one specific network.
footage and pair it with a relatively indirect news story, the file footage resources they have to draw from are limited, especially as the Australian Government enforces strict limitations on the media's ability to obtain new footage. The ongoing narrative that the file footage depicts in this section is about militarisation and controlled persons and processes – even though the verbal track indicates that there are Australian voices (Christmas Island locals) that want information about asylum seekers to be more freely available to the public, or they believe that it should be more freely available.

The relation between the verbal and visual track in E7 is also tenuous, while the verbal track states that “locals are planning to keep revealing boat arrivals”, the visual track shows a mid-range shot of an Australian Border Patrol vessel moving through the water with two prominent officers silhouetted and standing at the front of the foredeck, while asylum seekers wearing life vests are seated on the foredeck. The referents linking both tracks are the verbal and visual references to the boat and although the verbal “boat arrival” refers to an asylum-seeker boat, the footage shows a Border Patrol vessel with asylum seekers on-board. While this relation most closely aligns with the category of illustration within the PCM, a direct link between verbal and visual referents is absent, so these combinations, again rely on viewers’ abilities to perform the cumulative inferential work required to interpret the verbal and visual correlates.

Boat referents, either verbal or visual, are potentially the most potent symbol within asylum seeker discourses, and are representative of much more than simply, a transportation device. McCleary’s (2011) work on the boat as a political ‘prop’ during elections argues that; ‘transformed from being a mere mode of transport, the “boat” has become an enabler of invasion, a harbouer of the “other”, and a bearer of the queue-jumping asylum seeker’ (p.1). So while these tracks independently demonstrate a vague

connection to each other, it may be strongly argued that connotations have accrued around the boat as a signifier (Maravillas 2013) to the point where it is ‘loaded with multiple meanings going far beyond what it seems actually to “say”’ (Hartley 2013, p.26), becoming essentially synonymous with asylum seeker and immigration discourses. Here then, the apparently attenuated nature of the literal relation between tracks may actually be considered a very strong symbolic relationship, with viewers, easily able to perform the inferential interpretive work required. The ‘asylum seeker boat’ is a potent symbol operating within the national consciousness (Maravillas 2013) and an extremely powerful ideologically loaded visual which dominates messages about risk (to Australia) and threat.

The next section in the SBS news package, E8, is a piece of conjoined text and image in which Bill Shorten37 is quoted commenting on the new Liberal National Coalition Government’s policy. The symbolic elements included in the visual track here have a number of implications in terms of flagging and reiterating Mr Shorten’s status as a socially powerful political actor. The large ‘Meet the Press’ logo superimposed to one side of the ‘green screen’ Shorten sits in front of, indicates that the comment he makes and the interview it was taken from were originally within the context of ‘Meet the Press’, a Sunday morning talk show broadcast on Network Ten which focuses on the national political agenda. This reappropriation of political statements (originally filmed for a television show on another network) demonstrates the intertextual nature of comments in

37 In June 2013, prior to the announcement of the election date Bill Shorten was appointed Labor Minister for Education after Kevin Rudd was reinstalled as Prime Minister. After the Liberal party won the election in September Kevin Rudd announced he would stand down as leader of the Labor party. Bill Shorten won the party ballot to replace Kevin Rudd as leader of the ALP.
Television News Discourse: A multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis into how coverage of the 2013 Australian Federal Election shaped narratives about asylum seekers.

the media landscape and highlights how they may be recirculated and re-edited to fit within different media formats.\(^{38}\)

Additionally, the logo, along with the Network Ten and SBS watermarks, also communicates that this piece of *conjoined text and image* from SBS’ news presentation is part of a wider network of news production and also pre-establishes Bill Shorten’s status as an individual with a socially powerful position who is thus pre-approved to speak with a privileged, authoritative voice. This position is supported by the super which runs along the bottom of the screen, identifying him by name, and role within the Labor Party. While it is usual for supers to identify a politician by their specific portfolio e.g. Minister for Education, Employment and Workplace Relations (which Mr Shorten was at the time of this news report) in this case the super referred to Bill Shorten’s *potential* future position as a ‘Labor Leadership Candidate’. As the potential Labor Party Leader (which he went on to become the following month), he is afforded a higher status within the political hierarchy than simply Minister.

The verbal track in E9 is accompanied by two separate pieces of file footage, while these shots are not explicitly labelled as file footage they do feature repeatedly across the data set. The first constitutes an *illustrative* relation to the verbal track, linked by the co-referents of the verbal “detainees” with the visual representation of asylum seekers inside of a detention centre. The three main characteristics of the footage which are significant in terms of the potential for constructing negative perceptions about people seeking

\(^{38}\) Previous empirical research into the proliferation of comments made by a small number of individuals in positions of power within Australian media and politics has revealed that these recontextualisations can powerfully combine to form an overall ‘problem’ narrative reinforcing the need to exclude asylum seekers from Australia (Stewart 2013).
asylum are: the institutional setting, blurred facial features, and the inclusion of several
persons in the frame. Bleiker, Campbell, Hutchison and Nicholson, in their paper *The
Visual Dehumanisation of Refugees*, argue that these particular ways of visually
representing asylum seekers in media discourses are the very types that restrict the
audience’s ability to feel sympathy or compassion towards people seeking asylum 39.

The second piece of file footage in E9 is another piece of commonly used file footage.
Like the first image in E9, the subject’s facial features are not visible, the angle of the
camera obscuring the man’s face- along with extra visual elements which are very
significant in terms of communicating power relationships. In this instance, the male
asylum seeker is filmed from behind so that viewers cannot see his face. This distinctive
camera angle shows him exiting an aeroplane down the moveable steps where he
approaches a group of four to five Border Patrol staff tightly clustered at the bottom of
the exit, so that they appear as literal gate-keepers through which no one will pass
unchecked or unprocessed. The man offers the officers his documents for inspection as
he approaches them. The documents provide the linking device here between the verbal
and visual tracks, as the verbal track references “bridging visas” as the man in the footage
produces identification documents. The Border Patrol staff members outnumber the
asylum seeker five to one and are identifiable as belonging to the same ‘group’ due to the
‘hi-vis’ vests they wear, along with other markers of authority such as swipe access cards
attached to lanyards and documents in hand. This image has strong implications for

39 The repetition of these types of dehumanising images is a key finding of the preliminary data analysis
and is more fully explored in Chapter 7.
constructing and communicating an asymmetrical balance of power between the asylum seeker and the Border Patrol staff. The asylum seeker is constructed as having no agency to move himself as he chooses, and is instead subject to ‘processing’ by Border Patrol staff, he is immediately intercepted upon exiting the aeroplane and is required to produce identification in order to ‘proceed’ further along the line of transport which constitutes the narrative timeline from interception at sea to off or onshore detention. Showing this man departing an aeroplane adds an extra level of complexity to the socio-political ideological messaging, reinforcing a deterrence message by visually representing the rigorous formal processes people seeking asylum must pass through (Fleay, Cokley, Dodd, Briskman & Schwartz 2016). The Border Patrol staff are charged with the authority to act upon the asylum seeker and mobilise him, according to government imperatives. Fassin (2011) describes the increasingly sophisticated system of sites and technologies utilised by governments for the regulation of ‘unwanted others’ which are made functional by the forced movement of asylum seeker bodies, he claims that:

The network of detention structures has considerably increased during recent decades. It includes waiting zones in airports and detention centres disseminated on the territory, both of which are sites of exception, where regimes of police prevail over regimes of rights. (p.219)

The two pieces of file footage in E9 feature strong referents to the control and movement of unidentified (i.e. dehumanised) people seeking asylum, these visual features are supported by the verbal correlates of “detainees” and “bridging visas”, both institutional terms for different stages of the governmentally defined ‘process’ which people who come to Australia by boat to seek asylum must pass through. The tension between stillness and movement in the life experience of asylum seekers has been highlighted by Gill (2009) who claims that ‘asylum seeker management is characterised by a complex combination of enforced stillness and enforced mobility of asylum seeking bodies’ (p.1).
The combinations of these verbal and visual referents strongly suggest the discursive ‘othering’ (Silverstone 2007) of people seeking asylum, demarcating the social and physical space they occupy as vastly different to the space Australian citizens occupy, simultaneously enforcing and legitimising their physical and symbolic exclusion.

E10 is a relatively conventional audiovisual; consisting of a piece of *conjoined text and image* representing the Coalition’s Environment Minister Greg Hunt. This is the second part of Mr Hunt’s Sky News National interview to be used in this news package. Similarly to Mr Shorten’s *conjoined text and image*, the television ‘green screen’ and ‘Sky News National’ logo in the top left hand corner of the screen flag to viewers that these pieces of footage were originally filmed for other television news programs. Stylistically, these structural elements suggest, and simultaneously reproduce, ideas that as a politician, Mr. Hunt’s statements are considered newsworthy and authoritative, even when he speaks on matters which seem to bear little direct relationship to his portfolio as the Minister for Environment. The verbal track of E10 is much shorter than his direct statements in E3 and despite the theme of transparency that his actual terminology implies, refers to the Australian Government’s *restrictions on information* released about asylum seeker boat arrivals. In his statement Mr Hunt uses language which is both vague and technical; “regular, continuous, full-disclosure”. This technique is evident in many of the comments made by politicians throughout the data set; while various utterances contain no detailed, specific information, the language used is drawn from policy-based jargon and party-line (Priest 2014) performance. Rhetorically and discursively, these strategies display the speakers’ access to specialised knowledge and skills, legitimising their speech through links to institutions, and thus institutionalised bodies of knowledge (Foucault 2000, 1972). More specific uses of rhetorical techniques in strategic political language, such as
obfuscation and euphemism and their impact on shaping Australian socio-political narratives about people seeking asylum, are explored in more detail in Chapter 5.

E11 is the last part of the SBS report that directly addresses asylum seeker issues. The reporter’s/newsreader’s statement “Labor is not convinced” is used as a narrative segue to introduce a second direct comment by Bill Shorten, which highlights the adversarial positions of each political party. Mr Shorten’s comment is the second section of the ‘Meet the Press’ interview used in this news package and while the implications of the visual track have been discussed earlier the verbal track is unusual. This section begins with a strong statement “I think it’s a disgrace”, here, Mr Shorten’s rhetoric would likely serve two functions: first it would suggest to viewers that Labor’s policy has a more humanitarian approach to asylum seeker matters and that politically, the Coalition’s approaches are flawed. The speculative cliché also personalises the politician’s view and presents him as more humane. The final section, E12, follow a more general linear political narrative in so far as they introduce the new topic of government supported welfare payments. contains a segue into another news topic by the reporter and does not relate to asylum seekers.

This particular SBS news report contains many of the key themes, symbols and techniques which have been found to be highly repetitive across the entire data set. As the preceding analysis shows these discursive elements likely had significant impacts on the shaping of dominant asylum seeker narratives communicated in Australian television news media around the timeframe of the 2013 Federal Election. Interestingly, what this news report does not contain is a single humanising image of an asylum seeker, the voice of an asylum seeker, or the voice of an alternative source from outside of the Labor or Coalition parties. A critical view of these factors would consider that there are therefore no alternative discourses offered within this news report to suggest different ways of
speaking about or understanding asylum seekers. Subsequently, the problematised framings used by both Labor and Coalition politicians further construct negative perceptions of asylum seekers as ‘threat’ and entrench this discourse as the ‘common-sense’ way of understanding, thinking about and talking about this ‘out-group’ (Kleinke & Avcu 2017).

4.2.5 Seven News Report

The report selected for analysis from the Seven Network is titled *Australia will give two patrol boats that were destined for the scrap heap to the Sri Lankan Navy* which aired on the 17th of November 2013, two months post-election with the new Coalition Government now well established. This report was selected for analysis partly to achieve an even distribution of dates on which the reports aired, increasing the likelihood of capturing the full range of dominant themes across the sample range, and to identify any different story angles that were still related to asylum seeker discourses. While this particular report is based on the politics of international cooperation, the underlying reason for the cooperation, and ultimately the news story, was the presupposition that (according to Australian politicians) people seeking asylum in Australia were an ongoing *problem* requiring reciprocal political solutions.
Television News Discourse: A multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis into how coverage of the 2013 Australian Federal Election shaped narratives about asylum seekers.

**Table 4-5 Seven News Report Tracks**

[Running Time: 1:46]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EDITS</th>
<th>VERBAL TRACK</th>
<th>VISUAL TRACK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>E1</td>
<td>Australia will give two patrol boats that were destined for the scrap heap to the Sri Lankan Navy in a bid to stop asylum seekers heading to our shores.</td>
<td>Standard mid-shot of newsreader reading to camera.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E2</td>
<td>Prime Minister Abbott made the announcement this morning in Colombo, says the gift is all about saving lives at sea.</td>
<td>Standard mid-shot of newsreader reading to camera.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E3</td>
<td>The local Naval band played a familiar tune.</td>
<td>Two separate shots of Sri Lankan Naval Band playing ‘Bound for Botany Bay’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E4</td>
<td>but Tony Abbott doesn't want any more Sri Lankan asylum seekers to be bound for Australia.</td>
<td>Tony Abbott exiting car and greeting Sri Lankan Navy personnel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E5</td>
<td>There are few more important humanitarian issues in our</td>
<td>Tony Abbott close-range speaking to camera with</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scene</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Analysis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E6</td>
<td>The Prime Minister inspected Sri Lanka's largest patrol boat, and there will be two more boats from next year after we hand over two decommissioned Customs vessels.</td>
<td>Navy vessel taking up entire background of frame.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E7</td>
<td>We are really grateful to the government of Australia.</td>
<td>Mid-range shot of the Sri Lankan Navy Chief and Tony Abbott, Navy vessel in background.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E8</td>
<td>Destined for the scrap heap, the two Bay Class patrol boats will cost taxpayers two million dollars to restore.</td>
<td>Three shots of patrol boats moving through water at speed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E9</td>
<td>I'm not sure what the conditions are and how those vessels can and can't be used.</td>
<td>Close-range shot of Tony Burke (Shadow Finance Minister) speaking to interviewer (off-screen).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E10</td>
<td>Refugee groups and the Greens have slammed this Naval deal, saying it has little to do with</td>
<td>Mid-range shot of reporter speaking to camera, same</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Image Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E11</td>
<td>Saving lives on the high seas and is instead all about turning a blind eye to human rights abuse in Sri Lanka.</td>
<td>Large Navy vessel in background. It is a mid-range shot of several politicians including Tony Abbott sitting in official meeting space, national flags displayed in the background and one woman takes notes. Christine Milne (Australian Greens Leader) speaking to interviewer (off screen) with Larissa Waters (Australian Greens Party member) standing to the side of her, both wearing pink, with an illegible banner in the background which is pink as well.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E12</td>
<td>Tony Abbott is actually collaborating with people who are involved in human rights abuses and torture.</td>
<td>Allegations of human rights abuse by the Sri Lankan Government have dogged what's usually a friendly gathering of Commonwealth leaders. Mid-range shot of several politicians including Tony Abbott sitting in official meeting space, national flags displayed in the background and one woman takes notes.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The first section of this news report, E1, features a standard introduction by the newsreader which is constituent of a conjoined text and image relation between the visual and verbal track. The statement in the verbal track contains the theme of bilateral cooperation to achieve a shared goal, explicitly stated as “to stop asylum seekers heading to our shore”. The pronoun ‘our’ used here to implicitly refer to the national, suggesting ownership of Australia and its boundaries lies squarely with Australian citizens. ‘Analysts of political discourse frequently find that pronouns, and the meanings associated with
them, give a kind of map of the socio-political relationship implicit in a discourse” (van Dijk 2013, p.315). The use of ‘our’ as a linguistic device is foundational to asylum seeker discourses, as it draws on nationalist tropes (Billig, 1995) to define those who may be categorised as ‘us’ and those who may not; the Other (Said, 1979). Consistently positioning asylum seekers as ‘them’ and not ‘us’ amplifies perceived differences between the groups, and amplifies the ideological narrative that the values and characteristics of Australian citizens and asylum seekers are inherently incompatible.

Section, E2, is particularly interesting in that it contains the Australian Government’s ‘official’ justification for the whole panoply of measures, processes and legislation put in place in order to fulfil the political goal to ‘stop the boats’, and rationalises the goal itself. Abbott’s rhetorical terminology of giving Sri Lanka the vessels as a ‘gift’ also indicates an underlying political strategy. Throughout the data, although much more frequently when there have been deaths of asylum seekers at sea, Labor and Liberal representatives repeat the claim that the only way to stop people dying at sea is to ‘stop the boats’. The conditions provided for those who are subject to indefinite, mandatory detention, while fundamentally based on political principles of deterrence, seem incongruent with claims of the Australian Government’s humanitarian concern for the lives of asylum seekers40. The claim that the deterrence policies are installed in the name of ‘saving lives at sea’ may also function, not only to justify the government’s exclusionary policies, but may provide the general public with a morally acceptable platform for supporting them. If audiences, much more likely to uncritically accept media representations of asylum-

40Pickering and Weber (2014) point out that despite Parliamentary analysis revealing no straightforward causal link between punitive deterrence measures and the number of asylum seekers arriving by boat, an ‘inability to think beyond deterrence in one form or another has now become the hallmark of border control policies in Australia’ (p.1007).
seekers if they have never known one personally (Phillips and Smith 2000, Trounson, Critchley et al. 2015), support their continuing exclusion from Australian society on the basis of perceived threats to ‘our way of life’, then deterrence rhetoric functions to support political goals as well as allowing viewers to feel morally justified in supporting such policies.

The visual and verbal tracks of E3 and E4 constitute an interesting section of this report because, not only do they present an *artful conjunction* of verbal and visual modes under the PCM, they also present *added meaning* in which (possibly) unintended irony actually highlights the hypocrisy of contemporary immigration policy. E3 first draws on historic national discourses when the verbal track explicitly references the music being played by the Sri Lankan Naval Band, the news reader stating: “the local Naval band played a familiar tune”. The tune in question, being performed in the visual track (with accompanying audio) is the historically and culturally significant *Bound for Botany Bay*. The song, which most Australian viewers could reasonably be expected to recognise, is about a convict being sent from England to Australia during colonial settlement.41

On its own E3 constitutes a visual/verbal relation of *artful conjunction* according to the PCM, and E4 if considered in isolation, would also be an example of the *artful conjunction* relation, in which the verbal text is engaged in a ‘stylistic relation’ with the visual resulting in metaphor or wordplay (Piazza & Haarman, 2015). This interaction occurs when the reporter alters the lyrics from the song played in the visual footage, within the verbal script. In combination with the E3, the relation between the visual and

41 ‘The “Botany Bay” song…was actually a conscious parody of transportation balladry, a comic song exploiting the hackneyed sentimentality of its ballad precursors for humorous and satiric effect.’ (Garvey 2014, p.33)
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The verbal track is also one of added meaning whereby the content of each track could plausibly result in viewers interpreting extra meanings. When the reporter states that Tony Abbott “doesn’t want any more Sri Lankan asylum seekers to be bound for Australia”, through intertextual reference to the song lyrics, she also alludes to Australia’s historical roots as a penal settlement, indicating that essentially, Australia’s (Anglo-saxon) history has been founded on ‘boat people’. So the prospect of Tony Abbott denying any asylum seekers from coming to Australia by boat, in light of this historical reminder that the English did the same thing, thus could appear somewhat contradictory.

The relation of the visual and verbal track in E5 is quite divergent. Using the PCM, the shot would be classified as a conjoined text and image shot, however this classification fails to capture the significant implications of the large Navy vessel taking up the entire background of the shot of Tony Abbott speaking to camera. While part of Abbott’s speech refers to “humanitarian issues” in “our neighbourhood”, the looming Navy vessel pictured behind him seems to visually contradict any discourses of ‘humanitarianism’, visually framing the ‘issue’ of people seeking asylum as naturalised under a military discourse. Hartley (2013) points out that in news media, the choice of drawing terms from one discourse necessarily precludes the use of other terms from opposing discourses. However, in this instance, where the verbal reference to humanitarianism and the visual referent of the Navy vessel are arguably from contrasting asylum seeker narratives, the combination of the two may not immediately appear problematic to audiences. The recognition of this combination as ‘making sense’ could indicate that military signs and symbols have become so naturalised in asylum seeker discourses to the point where any incongruence is not automatically noticed by audiences, and/or that negative and exclusionary socio-political narratives about asylum seekers have been so thoroughly
realised through news media constructions as to unproblematically conflate military discourses as humanitarian discourse.

Section E5 also has the additional features of two distinct metaphors used by Tony Abbott. The first refers to “our neighbourhood” which is an extension of the common ‘Australia as a house’ metaphor mentioned previously. Additionally, Mr Abbott continues to use the water metaphor to speak about “stopping the flow of boats”. Water metaphors are one of the most prolific and well documented metaphors used for speaking about people seeking asylum (Charteris-Black 2006, Dancygier 2012, El Refaie 2001, Nguyen & McCallum 2015).

A large number of the metaphor themes do not even present the refugees as living beings, but identify them directly with events, objects or dangerous substances, such as a ‘catastrophe’ or an ‘emergency’, as a ‘weight’ or a ‘burden’, in terms of a ‘business commodity’ or, most commonly as ‘water’. (El Refaie 2001, p.358)

As well as functioning to dehumanise the people it refers to, constantly referring to people seeking asylum as arriving in ‘flows’, ‘floods’ or ‘waves’ continually reiterates the ‘common-sense’ association of people seeking asylum with water (movement, instability, danger, threat ‘in numbers’) and limits alternative associations of people seeking asylum with land or homes (stillness, stability, safety).

The visual footage and verbal track in section E6 is classified as an *illustrative* relation. The verbal and visual referents of ‘inspecting’ the Navy vessel (which appears prominently in the visual track of the news report), correspond strongly to each other. The key theme emerging from these visual and verbal track combinations is the bilateral cooperation between Australia and Sri Lanka. While bilateral cooperation as a theme is a prominent feature of the data set, the focus of the cooperation is generally with Indonesia as Australia’s closest neighbouring nation or PNG as an offshore detention facility host.
This report is one of the few which mentions Sri Lanka’s role (or the role the Australian Government hopes Sri Lanka will take) as a nation, in contributing to Prime Minister Abbott’s political objectives in terms of ‘stopping the boats’. The visual footage also shows Tony Abbott stopping repeatedly for photo opportunities with Sri Lankan Navy representatives, communicating the ‘newsworthiness’ or the importance of the relationship between the two nations. The theme of bilateral cooperation between Australia and Sri Lanka continues and is reinforced in the following section, E7, with a section of conjoined text and image in which Tony Abbott and Vice Admiral Jayanath Colombage from the Sri Lankan Navy (dressed in full official military uniform) are visually framed together, the Vice Admiral stating, “we very grateful to the government of Australia”.

Section E8 features the co referents of the verbal “Bay Class patrol boats” and the visual footage of a patrol boat, the result is a relatively straightforward relation of the visual track illustrating the verbal. The other notable feature here is the verbal reference to how much the boat restoration would ‘cost to [Australian] taxpayers’. While asylum seekers are not explicitly present in the report as the reason for the ‘cost to taxpayers’ they are symbolically invoked through the underpinning presupposition that ‘asylum seekers are a regional problem requiring a regional solution’. Thus highlighting the amount of money the Australian Government would be required to spend on ‘solving the problem’ implicitly constructs asylum seekers as a potential economic ‘burden on Australian taxpayers’, reiterating dominant negative discourses regarding their acceptance.

E9, is a segment of footage taken from an ABC news program, *Insiders*[^2], it features Shadow Finance Minister, Tony Burke in an example of *conjoined text and image*, making a vague comment regarding the state and use of the boats in question. This clip displays features which make it immediately recognisable as originating from a live television interview which has been re-edited and recontextualised to appear across a range of media genres and networks (Fitzgerald & McKay 2012). In these scenes Tony Burke appears less formal. His casual attire (deviating from the standard politician’s ‘uniform’ of business suit, white shirt and tie) and positioning, indicate a less formal television setting than a standard political press conference or official occasion. There is a stylised image of a city across the background, a common convention of the ‘morning entertainment’ program genre. The superimposed information across the bottom of the screen includes Tony Burke’s name and official title, and Network Seven logo. These graphics have been superimposed over the top of the original ABC network’s footage as the top right had corner still displays the *Insiders* logo watermarked on the screen. This layering of graphic symbols emphasises the re-contextualisation, recirculation and reappropriation of comments made by politicians on key ‘political issues’ in news media discourse.

Section E10 is a section of *conjoined text and image* with the reporter speaking directly to camera. What is interesting in this frame is that the reporter appears to be standing in front of the same Navy vessel as where Tony Abbott was positioned during his statements (although from a slightly different angle). The continuing presence of this vessel in the

[^2]: *Insiders* is a television program aired on the ABC at 9am on Sundays. It features in-depth accounts of specific political news.
background of multiple shots not only establishes the reporter’s location in Sri Lanka (presumably to cover the CHOGM event\(^{43}\)), it also consistently evokes military, and by extension, national security and war discourses. In his work on banal nationalism in media and political spheres, Billig (1995) speaks about the ‘unwaved flag’ as perpetuating nationalism, here the stationary, docked vessel in the background of footage is not immediately, aggressively suggestive of war discourses as it may be if it was filmed moving or with guns firing, but its repetitive, seemingly benign, use may have significant cumulative effects of naturalisation of war discourses in discussions and understandings of people seeking asylum.

The verbal track in E10 notes the positions of general advocacy groups and the alternative political party identified as “refugee groups and the Greens”, as opposing the actions of the government in gifting patrol boats to Sri Lanka. It is important to note that the reporters statement here communicates strong opposition to the Australian Government’s plans, critically challenging the government’s claim that the gift is about “saving lives of asylum seekers on the high seas” (co-opting terminology common to pirate ‘stories’ for dramatic effect). The verbal statement suggests that Tony Abbott’s motivations are purely political, suggested evidence for this is his willingness to align with Sri Lanka, for the purposes of ‘boat-stopping’ despite that nation’s history of human rights abuses. A track record that Greens Leader Christine Milne alludes to in E11 when she claims that Tony Abbott is “collaborating with people involved in human rights abuses”.

\(^{43}\) ‘CHOGM’ is the common acronym used to refer to the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting held biennially.
While section E11 is essentially another example of *conjoined text and image* similar to other examples of statements made ‘on the run’ by politicians, this particular section visually deviates from those primarily because of the prominence of the colour pink. Greens Leader Christine Milne and Queensland State Greens candidate Larissa Waters are in the frame. Both women wear pink, both standing in front of a banner, (illegible due to others positioned in front of it), one likely interpretation would be (particularly when connected with the preceding verbals of E10) that these visual elements, semiotically convey Milne’s Party’s political ethos as social justice campaigners, as they are pictured on the ground and amongst the community, acting for the benefit of constituents and the wider refugee/asylum seeker communities. So these stylistic choices, as well as the supportive proximal relationship of Larissa Waters within the frame, may actually give Milne’s declaration about Tony Abbott collaborating with a nation guilty of human rights abuses and torture, credence.

In E12 the reporter refers to “allegations of [Sri Lankan] human rights abuses”, reiterating suppositions of strategic political alignment. However, after the brief mention of these allegations in the verbal track, the report then quickly segues into a joke based on one Sri Lankan journalist calling Tony Abbott ‘your excellency’ (E13), whereby Prime Minister Abbott suggested the Australian media could learn something from the man (E14). There are distinctive power relations that have evolved from the colonial history between Australia, England and India here that underpin the contents of these remaining edits. For example, Abbott’s ‘off-the-cuff’ ‘joke’ aimed at Australian media suggests that the Sri Lankans’ deference – (in terms of *his* assumed prestige as a powerful political figure the Australian Prime Minister *deserving* of respect) – that Sri Lankans’ ways of doing things – are acceptable and not questionable (so by implication - any implication of human rights issues should also be dismissed). The remainder of the report (E15) also alludes to the
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colonial past of the Commonwealth states by including a brief mention of the attendance of Prince Charles at the CHOGM meeting, relating the verbal referent ‘your excellency’ in E13 to an actual royal representative. The final section (E15) is a standard news sign off by reporter and correspondent Mia Greaves.

4.3 Conclusion

The above analyses, performed on one news report selected from each of the networks; ABC, Nine, Ten, SBS and Seven, highlights limited and consistent themes and rhetorical strategies drawn on in the construction of asylum seeker identities in Australian television news media during the 2013 Australian Federal Election campaign. Piazza & Haarman’s Pragmatic Cognitive Model (2016) has proved a valuable analytical tool in the analysis of these reports, facilitating the identification, on a micro scale, of how overt and subtle elements of television news reports of the 2013 Federal Election campaign convey predominant narrative themes about people seeking asylum. Having applied the PCM to the data, dominant rhetorical techniques of metaphor, euphemism, obfuscation and metonymy have emerged in concert with discursive themes of problematisation, militarisation and dehumanisation. These techniques and themes demand further explanation in order to develop understandings of how dominant negative perceptions of asylum seekers prevail.
5 Analysis & Discussion – Rhetorical Strategies

5.1 Introduction

Aristotle outlines three types of rhetorical ‘proof’ for establishing the strength of an argument; ethos, pathos and logos (Aristotle 2006). Ethos relates to the character and credibility of the speaker, logos offers ‘proof’ of a particular argument through the logical use of reasoning, and pathos relates to emotional appeals made to the audience. Emotional appeals to an audience are where traditional rhetorical techniques such as metaphor, hyperbole and euphemisms are most often found. While Aristotle advocated ethical and responsible uses of rhetoric as a key function of proper democratic processes, these techniques may be equally effective in evoking strong emotional responses in audiences for speakers who could more readily be classified as demagogues rather than rhetoricians or orators. Demagoguery seeks to persuade or mobilise an audience through reference to popular desires and beliefs of the general public rather than through reasoned, logical or considered argument (Lomas 1961, Roberts-Miller 2005). These notions are also conveyed in Charteris-Black’s discussion of metaphor and political communication, he states:

The Aristotelian view of rhetoric needs to be modified in order to provide a more contemporary view of rhetorical persuasion since ideology needs to be integrated with the other components of the classical model as it is essential to modern political communication. (2009, p.99)
Contemporary understandings of ‘rhetoric’ and the tools and techniques it encompasses have seemingly moved away from classical, Aristotelian theories of ‘the art of rhetoric’ as a crucial part of deliberative democracy and means of ‘addressing and guiding decision and judgement’ (Farrell cited in Price 2007, p. 189), evolving instead, into the conception of political rhetoric as ‘spin’, which, rather than enlighten the public on important civic issues through lively and informed debate (as the former strives to), limits public debate by framing issues in such a way as to obscure alternative views and options. As Hobbs (2016) points out in his article The sociology of spin: An investigation into the uses, practices and consequences of political communication, Former Federal Labor Minister for Finance, Lindsay Tanner has argued that in terms of strategic political communication: ‘spin is intensifying. Its significance is growing. Whereas once it reflected occasional embellishments and evasions, it now lies at the heart of the political process’ (p.372). It seems logical to suggest that negative connotations associated with both the term and the practice of ‘spin’ and a healthy scepticism in the public in regard to the sincerity of political communication may have evolved from one of the persuasive goals of classical ‘good rhetoric’, in which the speaker strives to, through language resources and techniques, make the weaker argument appear the stronger one. So how is it that dominant messages continue to be persuasively communicated despite a public awareness of strategic political communication techniques?

The classic rhetorical techniques used by politicians and news producers in television news coverage of the 2013 Australian Federal Election include prominent examples of metaphor, euphemism, obfuscation, metonymy and personification. Subsequently, these discursive strategies demonstrate how meanings generated and perpetuated through these techniques have the capacity to reinforce particular constructions and perceptions of people seeking asylum.
5.2 Rhetorical Techniques

5.2.1 Metaphors

Metaphors are one of the key rhetorical techniques used in political communication. Lakoff & Johnson’s (2003) seminal Conceptual Metaphor Theory posits that our conceptual systems largely define our everyday experiences of reality, and that these systems may be largely metaphorical, thus metaphors play a crucial role in our constructions, perceptions and understandings of reality. Lakoff and Johnson also explain that ‘the essence of metaphor is that we understand one kind of thing in terms of another’ (2003, p.5). Lakoff and Johnson’s ideas of metaphor and CMT as referential and relational systems that enable us to understand complex processes of meaning-generation and interpretation, allow this original research to reveal some of the likely ways that audiences’ may potentially interpret asylum seekers in terms of other ‘things’ which often carry negative or threatening connotations.

Critical investigations of metaphor have not been confined to its use in hate speech and stigmatising discourse: due to its prominence in public texts and discourses of all kinds, metaphor has been recognised as one of the most important and powerful communication strategies since Aristotle’s (1926) treatment of the concept in his Art of Rhetoric. For as Musolff emphasises:

> From antiquity, onwards through the twentieth century, metaphorical speech has been at the center of rhetorical training and…regarded as a socially powerful but also dangerous ‘trope’ or figure of speech…requir[ing] special attention and critique. (2012, p. 302)

Accordingly, as the multimodal analysis in Chapter 4 has demonstrated, powerful and salient metaphors such as: politics as war; politics as a game; political decision-making as gambling; Australia as a house or person; asylum seeker policy as war; asylum seekers
as water (tides, floods, waves etc.) and immigration processing as a queue – feature prominently in the visual and verbal elements of the television news coverage and demand further examination. The discussion here highlights the potential communicative outcomes resulting from the uses of these metaphors identified in the television news report data. While war metaphors with specific reference to the politically distinctive ‘war against people smugglers’ are dealt with at length in Chapter 6’s account of the *Militarisation of Asylum Seeker Discourses*, the discursive framing of broader political processes, for example the *federal election as war*, is examined first to contextualise the full spectrum of metaphors used in the news report constructions. Game metaphors and gambling metaphors, while sharing similarities, are discussed separately to comprehensively explore the distinct implications and connotations of the two metaphorical structures, and how they may apply to different news actors (Smith & Bell 2007, van Dijk 2013) and social groups.

**War Metaphors**

The most prominent metaphor identified in the data is a war metaphor, with multiple examples apparent throughout the range of coverage. In a general regard, this particular metaphor encourages viewers to understand one thing, the Australian Federal Election for example, in terms of something else, a war. In their discussion of the way metaphors are cognitively processed, Lakoff and Johnson (2003) use the ‘argument as war metaphor’ to demonstrate how considering social actions or situations as parts of a metaphorical war can have serious implications for understanding a situation, and in shaping behaviours and expectations constructed around a new situation (an argument) which are imported from the metaphorical schema of another (a war). For example, they explain that ‘We can
…win or lose an argument. We see the person we are arguing with as an opponent. We attack his position and we defend our own. We gain and lose ground. We plan and use strategies’ (2003, p.4). For Lakoff and Johnson this means that in conceptualising an argument as war, ‘it structures the actions we perform in arguing’ (p.4). In applying these concepts it’s apt to claim that if television news has reported on Australia’s democratic election process as a war using such metaphorical representations, viewers would likely interpret the political rhetoric through a primarily adversarial framework - which applies to a war-like situation. Views imported from this metaphorical schema could include: the belief there is a good ‘side’ and a bad ‘side’; a stance of ‘us’ against ‘them’; or expectations that there would be a ‘winner’ and a ‘loser’ (Smith & Bell 2007). These binary oppositions are useful in understanding political rivals and the competitive electioneering process more broadly, as well as being valuable in regard to persuading the general public to form opinions about asylum-seeker matters. The binary oppositions which constitute war discourses have been identified throughout the data as being used to conceptualise the antagonistic nature of political campaigning and the approach the Australian Government is taking to asylum seeker policy.

War metaphors in the news reports have been primarily invoked through lexical choices. Table 5.1 lists a sample of various newsreaders’ narrations that include words referring to weapons, tactics, opposing factions, support teams and the field of conflict:

**Table 5-1 ‘War’ Metaphor Examples**

| Newsreader: | “Julia Gillard **comes out firing**, determined to sink Tony Abbott’s promise to turn back the boats” (Seven, 19th June). |

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newsreader:</th>
<th>“As the government edged towards claiming mission accomplished in neutralising that [asylum seeker] issue, tax policy became a key election battleground” (Nine, 7th August).</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Newsreader:</td>
<td>“Five thirty Sydney's Flemington markets, Kevin Rudd’s Western front, an all-out assault on a crucial campaign battleground” (Nine, 23rd August)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newsreader:</td>
<td>“An impressive turnout for a politically aware Indian community, that was recently described as the biggest single battleground in ethnic politics.” (SBS, 3rd September).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newsreader:</td>
<td>“The new Prime Minister addressed his troops on the eve of parliamentary battle” (ABC, 11th November).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These excerpts suggest that a war metaphor is a popular choice for news producers to frame electoral campaigning and activities, as well as more general political processes such as policy implementation. One important result of this conceptualisation is that within the simple adversarial framework, there are two predominant ‘sides’ which correspond with the two major parties of Australian politics, the Australian Labor Party (ALP) and the Liberal National Party (LNP). While these two parties dominate the Australian government system, there are other minor parties which Australian citizens

can vote for or align themselves with (politically and/or ideologically). However, by conceptualising the election using war metaphors, the minor parties of Australian politics have been essentially backgrounded or left out of the ‘frame’ (Kitzinger 2007) altogether, leaving the ALP and the LNP at the front and centre of discussions and media representations. The simplification of a complex process (such as a democratic election) is a key feature of the construction of ‘news’ in a contemporary media landscape (Harrington 2013, Hartley 2013, Montgomery 2007, Street 2011) and a tendency which further compounds a false dichotomy, encouraged by the impression of an election as a war. The main consequence of this narrowing of political scope to the two major parties is that the arguments and topics that emerge through news media into the public domain are more likely to be those issues which the ALP or the Coalition prioritise. Subsequently, the platforms, positions and priorities of marginal parties are much less likely to receive as much air or broadcast time, thus limiting the range of alternatives to policy areas and viewpoints making it into the public sphere for public consideration.

Another outcome of the construction of politics as war involves what Lakoff and Johnson (2003) call metaphorical systematicity, the process whereby understanding a concept in terms of one metaphor necessarily obscures other aspects of the concept which are inconsistent with that metaphor. For example, in understanding a political election as a war, (which is an essentially combative activity), other more cooperative approaches to

44 The Australian Greens are a left-wing party who campaign for a range of social and environmental issues. After the ALP and the LNP Coalition, the Greens are the third most prominent party and comments from their SA Senator, Sarah Hanson-Young and Leader at the time of the 2013 Election Christine Milne were often used in news reports. The Palmer United Party was founded by Australian mining magnate Clive Palmer in the months prior to the 2013 Federal Election. Katter’s Australian Party was formed by Independent Member of Parliament Bob Katter. Other parties registered in the 2013 Federal Election included the Christian Democratic Party, the Democratic Labor Party and Family First Party (Australian Electoral Commission, 2013).
politics are sidelined or hidden. In parallel, if asylum seekers are to be imagined, spoken about or represented as maritime invaders (or as similar adversaries), then any strong chance of understanding them in predominantly humanitarian ways is diminished.

Gambling Metaphors

Politics as gambling was another common metaphor identified in the data. This metaphor was primarily invoked by two key phrases; ‘upped the ante’ and ‘high stakes’. Both these phrases were used in the reporting of immigration policy developments specifically focusing on people seeking asylum, and drew heavily on themes of risk. The main consequence of their use is the implied potential for and threat of loss, which is fundamental to understandings and experiences of gambling. One Ten news report broadcast on 3rd August claimed that: “Late this afternoon Kevin Rudd upped the ante in his tough new approach to people arriving by boat” (Ten News, 3rd August 2013). ‘Upping the ante’ is a common gambling phrase for ‘raising the stakes’ and taking extra chances and in relation to asylum seeker discourses implies a political action which constitutes a ‘step up’ or intensification of previous policy conditions.

Indeed, both of these metaphors were used in discussions of the ALP’s decision, announced by Prime Minister Kevin Rudd, to implement a policy whereby people who arrived in Australia by boat would be barred from ever settling in Australia. Instead asylum seekers found to be ‘genuine refugees’ would be settled in Papua New Guinea45.

45 The Independent State of Papua New Guinea (PNG) is an Oceanian country located north of Australia. Following around 60 years of Australian administration of the region, PNG became a sovereign state and part of the Commonwealth realms in 1975 (The Commonwealth 2017). PNG is a signatory of the 1951 UN Refugee Convention (UNHCR 2011).
constituting Australia’s first policy to maintain ‘zero tolerance to all boat arrivals’ (Nguyen & McCallum 2016, p.161). The phrase ‘high stakes’, while thematically similar to ‘upping the ante’, has a greater focus on quantifying risk or measuring potential losses. For example, in SBS’s reporting of the new ALP policy developments on 16th August, newsreader Kathy Novak posed the following question to their reporter in the field; “So Karen, high stakes on the asylum issue, how is that [the new policy] going over?” (World News Australia, 16th August 2013). Novak’s use of the gambling metaphor could be understood in multiple ways, however, the potential for, and implications of, losing remain inherent due to the choice of metaphor. One interpretation could be that Kevin Rudd and the ALP had much to lose politically and/or in terms of voters if they indeed failed to implement immigration policies perceived as effective control strategies by the voting public. Another view is that in conceptualising people seeking asylum as a ‘high stakes issue’, viewers’ mental models (van Dijk 2011, van Dijk 2006), their knowledge and experiences of gambling could have led them to conclude that, with regard to immigration policy, there had to be either a ‘winning’ or ‘losing’ outcome. It may be argued therefore that this particular metaphor, (in combination with others) could have encouraged news audiences to consider that a ‘winning’ outcome was indeed one which did aim to ‘stop the boats’, while a ‘losing’ result was one where asylum seekers continued to arrive in Australian waters. War metaphors may be considered blunt and conspicuous in their application and meanings, yet subtle metaphors such as gambling are insidious in their banality. While newsreader Kathy Novak’s use of metaphor may have lent drama to the construction of the news ‘story’, it was nevertheless another powerful example of ‘language in action’, which is both shaped by, and shapes (predominantly negative) narratives about people seeking asylum, particularly in terms
of perpetuating discourses of threat and risk, thereby legitimising claims for punitive immigration policies in the process of ‘securing’ Australia’s borders.

**Australia as a House Metaphor**

Conceptualising Australia as a house was another metaphor identified in the data. While it may be less overt than war metaphors, the conception of a nation as a house communicates extremely powerful meanings. The notion of having a house or ‘family home’ has deep cultural significance within Australian society. Burke points out in her examination of the ‘Australia as a home’ metaphor used in Australian print media that: ‘This notion of Australia as a “home” has simultaneously characterised the struggle for national self-definition and posed questions relating to membership and roles within the “household”’ (2002, p.50). Importantly, these constructions position and legitimise the Anglo-Australian population as the home-owners endowed with the ‘authority of the host’ (Burke 2002, p.61) while migrants and the Indigenous population are denied a place and status within the ‘family home’.

It is useful to note here that the terms ‘house’ and ‘home’ are quite distinct in their connotative value. Where a ‘house’ may refer to the architectural properties of a building as a dwelling built for a family (or families) to live in, a ‘home’ may generally be understood to be a ‘house’ with a family living in it. ‘Home’ is primarily a subjective term and tends to shift depending on a subject’s geographical orientation. A house can be considered a ‘home’, yet so too can a city be thought of as ‘home’, as can a country (especially when a subject is removed or separated from it). For the purposes of clarity, the term ‘house’ is used in this discussion, a linguistic choice made in order to more
directly point at the specific concept as it has been represented in the television news reports.

Connotations such as ‘safety’, ‘family’, ‘comfort’, ‘privacy’ and ‘belonging’ are built up around idealised understandings of housing. Audiences may, through metaphor, understand a geographic space in terms of a house, with various associative meanings of having a house also aligning with deep-seated conceptualisations of Australianness (James 2007). In terms of metaphorical systematicity (Lakoff & Johnson 2003) it would generally follow that if families live in houses, and Australia is a house, then Australians are a family. Additionally, in traditional patriarchal societies the ‘father’ or ‘husband’ figure is the ‘head of the household’ (Lakoff 1995), making decisions about who is and isn’t allowed into the home (Davies 2014). When these metaphorical combinations are applied to Australia, the resulting overarching connotation is that the Federal Government is cast as the ‘head of the household’. One might also expect that as a ‘father figure’, the government would do everything it could to keep the inhabitants of the house, the ‘family’, safe and protected.

Understandings of national citizenship which hinge on the government as the ‘protector’ of the ‘national family’ are powerful ideas used in the construction of oppositional frames (Davies 2013). In *Oppositions in Ideology and News Discourse*, Davies (2013) demonstrates how the use of binary and clustered oppositions in news content can function to consistently privilege one kind of social group over another, potentially aligning audiences with the ‘dominant ideological view expressed in the text’ (p.123) which is essentially indicated through the generation of ‘us’/‘them’ distinctions. According to these principles, the use of the ‘Australia as a house’ metaphor equates the Federal Government with positive connotations; safety, security, protection, inclusion
etc., and asylum seekers with the contrasting, negative concepts of risk, threat, danger and exclusion. The invocation of the ‘nation as a house’ occurs in the television news report data exclusively through the synecdochal reference to a metaphorical ‘door’. For example;

**Table 5-2 Multiple Metaphors: ‘The Door’ in ‘Australia as a House’**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newsreader:</th>
<th>“He doesn’t want an <strong>open-door policy</strong> on asylum seekers” (SBS, 4th July).</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Newsreader:</td>
<td>“These are the first to be sent to PNG, never to be settled in Australia after Kevin Rudd <strong>shut the door</strong> on boat arrivals” (Nine, 20th July).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kim Carr (Federal Labor Minister in Rudd’s Cabinet):</td>
<td>“I can’t see how that’s an excuse for employing people smugglers to try to come in <strong>through the back door</strong>” (Ten, 28th July).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newsreader:</td>
<td>“Tony Burke says the Coalition’s backed off its promise to make a difference from day one, and <strong>open the door</strong> to people smugglers by setting a capacity and not ruling out settling asylum seekers here in Australia” (Nine, 30th July).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newsreader:</td>
<td>“The Coalition’s vowing to <strong>slam the door</strong>, unveiling a plan to deal with the 30 000 asylum seekers already in Australia” (ABC, 16th August).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Tony Abbott (newly-elected Prime Minister):

“They are seeking to enter our country via the back door, it’s wrong, it shouldn’t happen and it won’t happen under this government” (Nine, 11th October).

In these symbolic representations of ‘Australia as a house’, the door device implies a single point of entry and exit (or dual point in Tony Abbott and Kim Carr’s usage, a front and back door) which can be monitored, barred, thrown open or closed. In interpreting these messages, viewers’ understandings of the immigration situation would likely be that while politicians were attempting to ‘close the front door’ (i.e. protect the inhabitants of the house from an outside threat), people smugglers and asylum seekers were trying to surreptitiously ‘sneak in the back door’. Newly-elected Prime Minister Tony Abbott’s comment was particularly telling as it not only contained the metaphorical device “seeking to enter our country via the back door”, but additionally, made a moral claim about the action implied “it’s wrong, it shouldn’t happen”. This conceptualisation draws heavily on themes of deceit and menace and is a powerful rhetorical strategy in reinforcing the claim that asylum seekers attempts to come into Australia are extreme, come at a ‘cost’, and are problematic.

In Nguyen and McCallum’s (2015) empirical study of ‘data collected from both print and online media platforms across three major news outlets nationwide’ (p.4) they similarly found evidence of an Australia as a ‘house/home’ metaphor, which was also evoked through the symbol of a ‘door’. Their primary claim about the use of this particular metaphor was that ‘Australia is private property and Australians are the “residents” who
have the right to determine who should be allowed “in” and who should not’ (p.7). These researchers also emphasised that:

Other than highlighting xenophobic ideologies, such metaphoric construction of ‘Australia as a family home’ arguably evokes a sense of resistance and need for protection of one’s family against external perceived threats. (Nguyen & McCallum 2015, p.7)

Of course, these rhetorical tools are not isolated discursive techniques functioning as standalone statements. As the analysis in Chapter 4 has revealed dominant discourses emerge through the repetition and combination of vast networks of linguistic and visual options selected for inclusion in television news stories. The door metaphor, while functioning in the capacities discussed here, simultaneously supports and reinforces other related ‘common sense’ metaphors in the service of political language about people seeking asylum. The applying for refugee status as ‘taking one’s place in a (systematic) line-up’ metaphor, which is the foundation of the commonly-used phrases such as ‘jumping the queue’ and ‘queue jumpers’, is supported too by the conception of ‘Australia as a house’ with a single point of entry. Social, cultural, and spatial understandings of entering a house may lead Australians to assume that it is only possible for one person at a time to go through a door, meaning there must necessarily, be a queue, that people seeking asylum must wait in before being able or permitted, to enter the house. The ‘single point of entry’ metaphor or the existence of a ‘queue’ system as the only ‘acceptable’ (and equitable) way to enter Australia has been challenged by Gelber (2003). While Gelber’s research into public and parliamentary discourses of immigration focused on the use of the terms ‘queue’ and ‘queue-jumpers’ in the four months immediately following the ‘Tampa crisis’ in August 2001 - when Prime Minister John Howard denied the Norwegian shipping vessel carrying over 400 rescued asylum seekers permission to enter Australian waters - her research imperatives remained relevant and perhaps were even
more salient throughout the 2013 Federal Election campaign. She has argued that Australian immigration policies do not actually provide a ‘queue’ which those who seek resettlement in Australia can join. Gelber further reiterates that even if this hypothetical ‘queue’ system (for asylum seekers to join) had ever actually existed, historical legislative changes to immigration policy now deny non-citizens arriving in Australia by boat any access to legal advice about how to formally lodge applications for Protection Visas. In other words, as Gelber reinforces, asylum seekers have not been ‘given the opportunity to learn the rules of the “queue” which they are attempting to join’ (2003, p.25). The contentious nature of the ‘queue’ metaphor is clearly worth noting as it significantly highlights how powerful and common themes in asylum seeker discourses continue to be emphasised and repeated through networks of strategic politicised rhetoric.

**Asylum Seekers as Water Metaphors**

The use of a water metaphor for referring to people seeking asylum is perhaps one of the most historically enduring and globally consistent metaphors in asylum-seeker discourses. Not just limited to contemporary Australian issues of immigration (Pugh 2004, Nguyen and McCallum 2015, Nguyen and McCallum 2016) references to immigrants or people seeking asylum as ‘floods’, ‘waves’, ‘flows’, and ‘tides’ have been documented in Britain (Baker & McEnery 2005, Charteris-Black 2005, Gabrielatos & Baker 2008, Hart 2010), Europe (Abid, Manan & Rahman 2017, Chilton 1987, El Refaie, 2001) and the United States (Cunningham-Parmeter 2011, Santa Ana 1999, Vila 2000). These studies have found that water metaphors are one of the most common metaphorical
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ways of talking about asylum seeker or refugee issues. Interestingly, Baker & McEnery’s (2005) discourse analysis of linguistics used in the reporting of asylum seeker and refugee issues, A corpus-based approach to discourses of refugees and asylum seekers in UN and newspaper texts, indicated that water metaphors describing asylum seekers and refugees were found, not only in mainstream British print media but in texts published and released by UNHCR in 2003, demonstrating the level to which such constructions of asylum seekers have been ‘naturalised’. While Australian media representations of asylum seekers which draw on water metaphors (such as ‘floods’ or ‘waves’) have been commonly used historically (Burke 2008, Every and Augoustinos 2008, Dancygier 2012) the current research’s television news data suggests that their popularity has waned, in favour of a stronger focus on military and war metaphors. However, as Table 5.3 demonstrates there are still several examples of water metaphors revealed in the data that warrant analytical discussion.

46 Both Charteris-Black (2005) and El Refaie (2001) note that asylum seekers’ modes of transport across the sea have helped to establish a natural cognitive link between the people seeking refuge and the water, further highlights the importance of the sea in the cultural and historical development of the British national identity.
**Table 5-3 ‘Asylum Seekers as Water’ Metaphor Examples**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newsreader</th>
<th>&quot;Sources say the Prime Minister hopes to visit the Indonesian President next week, as the opposition looks to blame Mr Rudd personally for the <strong>flood of recent boats</strong>” (Ten, 28th June).</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Newsreader</td>
<td>“Mothers, babies, young children, darkness <strong>doesn't stop another wave</strong> of asylum seekers arriving on Christmas Island” (Nine, 14th July).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newsreader</td>
<td>“An asylum seekers’ boat has nearly reached the Australian mainland at Broome, just as Labor hints at new measures to stop the <strong>growing wave</strong> of illegal arrivals” (Seven, 15th July).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newsreader</td>
<td>“The arrival of four asylum seekers in the Torres Strait has stirred up the debate over the Government’s PNG solution. The coalition says the <strong>trickle will soon become a flood</strong>, opening up a new people smuggling corridor” (ABC, 12th August).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newsreader</td>
<td>“These two asylum seekers are at the centre of a political storm in the Torres Strait, the coalition says there are bound to be more, but the Government’s PNG solution <strong>opening the flood-gates</strong> through Cape York” (ABC, 12th August).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
These examples feature the terms ‘flood’ or ‘wave’ to represent an influx of people seeking asylum. The third example; “An asylum seekers’ boat has nearly reached the Australian mainland at Broome, just as Labor hints at new measures to stop the growing wave of illegal arrivals” (Seven Nightly News, 15th July 2013) is perhaps the most blatantly negative of all the examples noted, in terms of its construction of people seeking asylum. It is taken from a Network Seven news report on Monday July 15th 2013, and combines a number of thematic elements in the final phrase. Firstly, it references a ‘growing wave’, metaphorically, this terminology may be cognitively linked to a natural disaster such as a ‘tidal wave’ or ‘tsunami’. Viewers would arguably understand, based on the metaphoric schema, that the bigger a wave grows, the higher its potential for large-scale damage. Additionally, this conception could also be interpreted as communicating a sense of powerlessness, as increasing momentum in this context can lead to a loss of control and implicitly, an inability to stop the inevitable (influx). Implicit in this statement too is the suggestion that the higher the number of asylum seekers coming to Australia by boat, the more ‘damage’ they’re likely to do, thus supporting earlier observations of the news media’s tendency to frame people seeking asylum in Australia as an increasing problem requiring a ‘military’ solution. Additionally, not only do the reporters speak of a ‘growing wave of arrivals’, but of ‘illegal arrivals’. While not explicitly identifying people seeking asylum in the news script, viewers already acquainted with the media coverage of the election would have presumably understood that as one of the key election issues, it was people arriving across the water to Australia who were being categorised as ‘illegal arrivals’.

The addition of the adjective ‘illegal’ here is implicitly connected with asylum seekers themselves. Despite the stipulation of the Refugee Convention that it is not illegal for a person to enter a country without legal documents in order to seek asylum (UNHCR
meaning that under these circumstances neither a person or said action can actually be categorised as illegal, it is very interesting to note how these interconnected concepts and labels (Smith & Bell 2007) are conflated, applied and communicated. In her study of metaphors used in Austrian asylum seeker discourses El Refaie (2001) identified similar tropes across her analysis of seven Austrian newspapers, for example, one newspaper reported ‘the [European Union] member countries want[ed] to take fingerprints of all the illegal people entering the country’ (p.363). In this research conducted in a European context almost two decades ago and in the more recent television news coverage of the 2013 Australian Federal Election, significantly, it is the person being defined as illegal, not the action they are taking per se. Importantly, as El Refaie pointed out, in transferring the notion of illegality from an action to a person, ‘refugees [continue to be] regarded as a security threat, they also become legitimate “targets” for law enforcement agencies, be it the police or the army’ (p.364). Findings of this original research identified that metaphors have also been used by various politicians ‘at war’ with each other to convey political strategies between opposing parties. In the following example the message, using a water metaphor, is that Kevin Rudd was risk-taking or acting irresponsibly. This quote from the data is an example of a mixed metaphor spoken by LNP State Leader and Queensland Premier, Campbell Newman; “What Kevin Rudd is doing is creating a launching pad for a wave of additional ongoing immigration” (ABC News, 20th July 2013).

Technically, the idea of a ‘launching pad’ for a wave makes no logical sense, because a wave is generated by the natural movements of the earth, moon, and tides, and a launching pad suggests an area of stability for ‘take-off’. You could neither have a ‘launching pad’ floating in the ocean (discounting those on Naval ships), nor would it be possible to set a wave in motion from a static, grounded position. Despite this nonsensical metaphorical
Television News Discourse: A multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis into how coverage of the 2013 Australian Federal Election shaped narratives about asylum seekers.

construction, given its adversarial standpoint it would be unlikely that viewers would register confusion at its use. El Refaie’s (2001) research which has also exposed combinations of ‘war’ and ‘water’ metaphors, has additionally demonstrated that:

In everyday usage, the description of an utterance as a ‘mixed metaphor’ is usually derogatory, implying a careless use of language…In journalism, however, mixed metaphors seem to indicate that either one or both of the vehicle have become extremely conventionalised and are not expected to be processed actively and consciously. (p.365)

Standard structural conditions (such as time and access to resource limitations) which journalists must work with to produce news packages, may be exacerbated during election campaigns. With tighter deadlines and more material for news producers to edit, linguistically inadequate discourses, such as Campbell Newman’s use of a mixed metaphor, which is naturalised as ‘political speak’, are likely to go unchallenged. Charteris-Black (2001) has noted that the use of liquid metaphors tends to ‘activate both disaster and container scenarios’ (p.569). Australia’s geographical position as an island continent and the country’s potential for extreme weather phenomena means residents and citizens are familiar with occurrences of water-based natural disasters; tsunamis, floods, tropical cyclones, and high, king, and rising tides either via personal experience or through media exposure to such events. Furthermore, as an island with a literal and easily imagined coastal border, Australia is well-situated to be likened to a metaphorical ‘container’ or a bounded space with limited capacity. The level of naturalisation of this particular way of conceptualising the national Australian space is highly problematic because it reiterates notions of Australia as a country being ‘full’ as well as ideas about the number of asylum seekers coming to Australia as an ‘overload’ aligned with (water based) catastrophic events. This construction leads to the ‘threat’ of asylum seekers as dangerous and disastrous for Australia, becoming naturalised and can result in non-
humanitarian policy, their ‘dehumanisation’ acting as a precursor to inhumane and punitive policies affecting people seeking asylum (O’Brien 2003).

Asylum Seekers as ‘Garbage’ and ‘Burden’ Metaphors

While water is the most common metaphor for representing people seeking asylum as some ‘thing’ other than human beings, there are a number of others, which, despite being much less prevalent, are very much worth highlighting. One particularly hostile example is the suggestion that asylum seekers are ‘garbage’ (Van Gorp 2005), visually demonstrated in Figure 5.1 in the protest signage ‘PNG is not a dumping ground’ (ABC News, 22nd July 2013).

Figure 5-1 ‘Asylum Seekers as Garbage’ Metaphor Example

On Friday 19th July, Australian Prime Minster Kevin Rudd and the Papua New Guinea Prime Minister, Peter O’Neill, struck a deal whereby asylum seekers processed in offshore detention and found to be refugees would be resettled in PNG rather than in Australia. News coverage over the following few days focused on the opposition of Papua New Guineans to the plan, primarily based on the claim that PNG did not have the resources, facilities or infrastructure to resettle large numbers of asylum seekers. Implicit
in this agreement between the two countries and in PNG citizens’ responses to it, was the consistent argument that additional refugees would be a social and financial burden on any place of settlement. This reoccurring theme of asylum seekers as a burden was present in both visual symbols and linguistically. The image in Figure 5.1 draws on the ‘asylum seekers as garbage’ metaphor through geosemiotic (Scollon & Wong Scollon 2003) reference to a ‘dumping ground’. The ‘dumping ground’ reference was also echoed in a separate ABC news report on Monday 22nd July, when the reporter stated: “Some people are worried about a potential clash of cultures; others feel their country's being used as a dumping ground, by its former colonial master” (ABC News, 22nd July 2013). These examples are some of the most blatant representations of asylum seekers as some ‘thing’ to be discarded that were found in the research data. In portraying asylum seekers as inanimate objects, as degrading as filth and waste, the implication is clearly communicated that these persons are an unwanted, unproductive ‘substance’ being ‘ditched’ on a population unwilling to ‘deal with the problem’.

Seeking Asylum as ‘Playing a Game’ Metaphor

As well as metaphors conveying derogatory perceptions of what asylum seekers ‘are’ there are others that negatively represent what asylum seekers ‘do’. The majority of such metaphors, in concordance with El Refaie’s (2001) findings, emerge from a very limited range of underlying themes. One of the most common themes for damaging stories about what asylum seekers may be doing is ‘exploitation’. The rhetoric of politicians is replete with language which constructs asylum seekers as exploiting or seeking to exploit: Australians as a population; Australians as having a ‘generous nature’; the Australian Government systems and processes involved in granting refugee status. This theme of

exploitation has been regularly reinforced by the use of the metaphor of ‘playing a game’. Examples of this type of discursive construction are included in Table 5.4.

**Table 5-4 ‘Playing a Game’ Metaphor Examples**

| Newsreader                   | “From now on asylum seekers who destroy their identity documents will be sent to the back of the processing queue.”
|------------------------------| “No one will be advantaged by playing that sort of game” (Seven 7th July). |
| Tony Burke:                 | “We will not be played for mugs; we will not be taken for a ride as a nation and a people” (SBS, 8th July). |
| (Immigration Minister)      | “What we will ensure is that we are not played for mugs” (Ten, 8th July). |
| Tony Abbott:                | “Our courts and our appeals systems are being gamed, and used, and promoted by the people smugglers, to put people on boats” (ABC, 16th August). |
| (Opposition Leader)         | “Tony Abbott's policy is all about hiding the facts and hiding the boats and taking the Australian people for mugs” (SBS, 24th September). |
| Scott Morrison:             |                                             |
| (Shadow Immigration Minister) |                                             |
| Sarah Hanson-Young:         |                                             |
| (South Australian Greens Senator) |                                             |
Television News Discourse: A multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis into how coverage of the 2013 Australian Federal Election shaped narratives about asylum seekers.

These examples show some of the combinations of the ‘playing a game’ metaphor, (linguistically indicated by the use of the word ‘playing’), which, despite their various targets (people, processes and politicians) all operate within the culturally significant discourse of being ‘played for a mug’ or subjugated. This particular metaphorical systematicity draws very heavily on themes of exploitation or abuse in that the Australian colloquial term ‘mug’ is generally understood to mean a fool (Miller 2009). Thus, to be ‘played for a mug’ is to be ridiculed or taken advantage of in some way. This kind of protectionist rhetoric builds on notions of asylum seekers not getting the ‘upper hand’ i.e. they should not ‘win’ a positive outcome because of their ‘gamble’.

In a general regard, the use of pronouns in political and media discourse can be extremely significant indicators of the socio-political landscape and the types of social groups being privileged or marginalised as ‘in’ groups or ‘out’ groups (van Dijk, 2013). They are also of key importance in the construction of ‘national identities’. ‘The use of the personal pronoun “we”-including all its dialect forms and the corresponding possessive pronouns-appears to be of the utmost importance in the discourses about nations and national identities’ (De Cillia, Reisigl & Wodak 1999, p.163). In the news report excerpts above Federal Opposition Leader Tony Abbott’s uses of the pronoun ‘we’, coupled with the additional categories of ‘nation’ and ‘people’, reiterated and reaffirmed presuppositions based on nationhood and national identity. This rhetorical technique simultaneously co-constructed both the ‘in group’ - Australian citizens, and the ‘out group’ - people smugglers and asylum seekers, with the latter group implicitly accused of ‘exploiting’ the Australian in-group. By using the pronoun ‘we’, viewers are arguably more predisposed to align with ‘their’ Australian Government and its objectives.
5.2.2 Euphemism

A euphemism is the replacement of a word or phrase which has unpleasant connotations, with another more neutral word or phrase that is less offensive or unpleasant, it is a rhetorical technique commonly found in discourses of war (Mooney & Evans 2015). Conversely, dysphemisms make something sound more unpleasant or negative than it actually is. Both euphemisms and dysphemisms were identified frequently throughout this research’s data, suggesting that politicians rely heavily on strategic political communication techniques when discussing asylum seeker issues in order to ‘neutralise’ unpleasant aspects of policy outcomes, such as conditions in offshore detention centres.

In his work *Politics and the English Language* (2006), renowned social theorist George Orwell wrote, potentially, his most famous essay on the reliance on euphemisms in political language. Orwell expressed that: ‘Political speech and writing is largely defence of the indefensible…Thus political language has to consist largely of euphemisms, question-begging and sheer cloudy vagueness’ (p. 2468).

Taking a critical standpoint one could argue that the state sanctioned mandatory detention of men, women and children who seek asylum absolutely constitutes an indefensible position, and violates the conditions outlined by the Refugee Convention, of which Australia is a signatory (UNHCR 1951). The conditions of Australian-run offshore detention in Papua New Guinea are not only unconscionable, but also patently illegal under international law.

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47 In 1992, the Australian Government, under Prime Minister Paul Keating, adopted a policy of mandatory detention under the *Migration Reform Act 1992*, whereby all ‘unlawful non-citizens’ (that is, people who are not Australian citizens and do not have a valid visa) were to be detained until their applications for refugee status were processed. Nauru Regional Processing Centre is one of Australia’s two current offshore detention centres, located approximately 3500 kilometres north-east of Australia. Manus Regional Processing Centre is the other, located in Papua New Guinea, approximately 2000 kilometres north of Darwin. Both centres were opened under Howard in 2001, suspended under Rudd in 2008 and re-opened under Gillard in 2011. In April 2016, the Supreme Court of Papua New Guinea found the detention of asylum seekers on Manus Island illegal, claiming it violated the PNG Constitution’s right to personal liberty and announcing the centre’s closure.
detention facilities on Nauru and Manus Island are only visible to the Australian public via government approved footage, as media and public access to such amenities is heavily restricted. Thus, the euphemistic construction of these detention centres is essentially the predominant means the general Australian public has for conceptualising their existence. Indeed, the television news reports explored for this research indicated that euphemisms were most likely to be used in political speeches given at press conferences when the issue of offshore detention and the conditions of such facilities were being raised Orwell also notes that euphemistic phrases are called upon when ‘one wants to name things without calling up mental pictures of them’ (2006 p. 2469). An example of this vague and strategic form of naming is evident in Immigration Minister, Tony Burke’s response to whistle-blower allegations of the sexual assault of detainees within offshore detention centres.

**Table 5-5 Tony Burke Euphemism Example**

| Tony Burke: (Immigration Minister) | “He still hasn't been able to give me names of perpetrators or victims, nor have there been formal reports of those, so in the face of all of that I think the most effective thing that can be done is you try to have a configuration in the system that avoids the possibility of what's been alleged” (ABC, 5th July). |

Here, the key phrase of the euphemism is the Federal Minister’s mention of “what’s been alleged”, which essentially replaces any direct reference to sexual assault or rape. His language just prior to it “the most effective thing that can be done is you try [hedging] to have a configuration in the system that avoids the possibility of what’s been alleged”, is excessively wordy, fulfilling the literal definition of circumlocution, which is speech which circles around the point (Obeng 1997). It is also language which appears to lacks any humanity or sympathy. The phrase ‘a configuration in the system’ is highly technical terminology and would not sound out of place in a technology or engineering context. Here the euphemism is naturalised in terms of political discourse that is required in situations where allegations need to be publicly ‘addressed’, yet remain obscured.

In discussing disingenuous communication strategies Orwell states that ‘the great enemy of clear language is insincerity. When there is a gap between one’s real and one’s declared aims, one turns as it were instinctively to long words and exhausted idioms’ (p.2469). In the ABC news report Tony Burke’s unwillingness to discuss an alleged sexual assault
using plain language may have indicated a desire to downplay or dismiss the claims, with the potential effect of erasing or neutralising the public’s perceptions that an assault on vulnerable persons in detention had taken place. This theory is supported by his opening statement that the whistle-blower had not ‘been able to give names of perpetrators or victims’. His use of the phrase “has not been able” rather than ‘has not yet’, or ‘is yet to’, or simply ‘has not’, implied that the person making the claims was not capable of providing names because there were no names to be given. Burke’s rhetoric here also had the power to communicate that any such sexual abuse claims were therefore unsubstantiated, further perpetuating notions that asylum seekers in detention lack credibility and cannot be trusted.

Other instances where euphemistic language is common, are related to the mandatory detention of asylum seekers, particularly in regard to discussions about asylum seekers being sent back to their country of origin, a process otherwise known as refoulement. The associative meanings of ‘refoulement’ and ‘repatriation’ differ in that the term refoulement, refers specifically to asylum seekers or refugees being forcibly sent back to their country of origin, whereas ‘repatriation’ refers only to the outcome of a person returning or being returned to their country of origin and is often used in the phrase ‘voluntary repatriation’, indicating a choice made by the person seeking asylum (Lambrecht 1995, Hyndman and Mountz 2008). Refoulement of refugees is a violation of the Refugee Convention. As Dechent (2014) explains:

The obligation of non-refoulement, contained in article 33(1), lies at the very heart of the Refugee Convention. In broad terms, article 33(1) proscribes the forcible removal of a refugee to a place where they are at risk of being subjected to serious human rights violations. (p.111)

While there are many references throughout the news reports to the removal or ‘sending back’ of asylum seekers who are not considered as ‘genuine’ refugees, tellingly the word

‘refoulement’ was not used once, and there was only a single instance of the word ‘repatriation’, used in an SBS report on the 19th July. In their interview with a refugee from Iran who had been settled in Australia, reporter Gary Cox asked: “So, does Mr Soltany think the new policy of permanent resettlement and repatriation would deter asylum seekers?” (World News Australia, 19th July 2013). Thus, in the conspicuous absence of this very specific and ideologically charged terminology, it may be argued that euphemistic terms were substituted. These substitutes were used to refer to political actions which had been condemned by the United Nations, yet appeared to be consistently popular (at least in terms of repetitious) policy angles during election campaigning. The phrase ‘removal pathway’ was identified as one such euphemism. Used (post-election) in an SBS report that aired on the 16th August, in his capacity as Immigration Minister, Scott Morrison emphasised: “If they're found not to be a refugee at that point, well, they will be put on a removal pathway” (World News Australia, 16th August 2013). ‘Removal pathway’ was clearly to be understood as a substitute for being deported from Australia and sent 'back home'. Additionally, the metaphorical function of the word ‘pathway’ implies that whoever may be walking on or traversing a ‘pathway’ does so of their own volition, as opposed to being moved along by external forces. The technique of transferring agency or the motivation for relocation back to a country of origin from the Australian Government to the asylum seeker, appeared to be a common strategy for diffusing any suggestions of refoulement. In a report broadcast on Network Seven on 22nd July, in response to policy introduced by Kevin Rudd and the Labor Government whereby no asylum seekers arriving by boat would be settled in Australia regardless of any successful application for refugee status, Christmas Island Detention Centre Regional Manager Steve Karras stated that: “They'll start to contemplate very seriously whether in fact returning home is a better option” (Seven Nightly News, 22nd July 2013). Here the
phrase ‘better option’ was used to suggest that the (inconceivable) *choice* to actually return to one’s homeland should indeed be conceived by asylum seekers should they balk at plans of re-settlement in PNG. In proposing that asylum seekers should consider whether ‘returning home [may be] a better option’, Mr Karras’ language supported the ‘economic migrant’ (Calayag 2016, Every & Augoustinos 2008) narrative that is a populist option for denying the legitimacy of asylum seekers’ claims for protection and thus justifying their exclusion. Within the television news reports Australian Government politicians and bureaucratic representatives appeared to rely heavily on euphemistic language to negate any discomfort viewers might have felt at the exclusion or continued punitive treatment of asylum seekers. Euphemisms such as those identified here allowed these news actors to ‘gloss over’ or minimise unpleasant situations, by re-naming them and communicating with more neutral language that had less potential to evoke provocative and challenging images for viewers.

5.2.3 Obfuscation

Another hallmark of political rhetoric which featured prominently in the data set was the use of obfuscation as a strategic communication tool. To ‘obfuscate’ is defined in the Oxford dictionary, as ‘to make obscure, unclear or unintelligible’. Obfuscation may be intentional or unintentional and may be a result of excessive use or jargon. In his examination of political communication in situations where topics may be considered face-threatening or politically risky, Obeng uses the phrase ‘verbal indirectness’ to refer to a similar technique whereby politicians ‘avoid candid or obvious statements’ (1997, p.49) in favour of indirect speech.

For example, the use of military jargon, such as the term operational (as discussed previously), combines with the excessive wordiness of circumlocutionary language,
particularly hedging terms such as ‘alleged’, ‘potentially’ and ‘attempting’, to construct political statements and discourses that sound ‘official’, but make deciphering the specific meaning of what has been stated difficult to interpret or confusing. One of the most overt examples of these techniques was demonstrated in a statement made by Immigration Minister Scott Morrison at his first ‘weekly briefing’ after the Coalition had won the election. Under the newly installed *Operation Sovereign Borders*\(^{48}\) (*OSB*), the Minister would only comment on the movements of asylum seeker boats or any events that had happened involving asylum seeker boats once a week. At the first of these briefings Scott Morrison made the following statement;

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scott Morrison: (Immigration Minister)</th>
<th>“We're in the process of implementing and planning for the implementation of the <strong>regional deterrence framework</strong> measures and other related measures <strong>including maritime operations</strong>, that’s my statement on that today, and that’s what I'll be saying today.” (ABC, 23(^{rd}) September).</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Institutional phrases such as ‘regional deterrence framework’, and ‘maritime operations’ account for the use of jargon in rhetorical obfuscation. These discursive elements act as umbrella terms for a whole range of unspecified, interconnected procedures. In his

\(^{48}\) *OSB* was developed and introduced by the Coalition during the 2013 Federal Election Campaign as their immigration policy platform, possibly in response to Labor’s ‘PNG Solution’. A military led operation, the features and implications of *OSB* feature prominently in the analytical discussion in Chapter 6.
publication *Fear of security: Australia’s invasion anxiety* (2008), Burke speaks of these kinds of expressions as belonging to a network of practices tightly bound up in a ‘complex deployment of metaphor, knowledge and rhetoric with systems of social, administrative economic and geopolitical power’ (p.10). In the example given here from the ABC news report, both phrases could be considered obfuscations designed to mitigate any negative reactions to policy commitments. For example, ‘regional deterrence framework’ could have referred to mandatory detention, the denial of protection visas, or the reintroduction of Temporary Protection Visas and permanent resettlement in under-resourced countries such as PNG. Similarly, ‘maritime operations’ could have referred to the recovery of bodies drowned at sea, or military actions to turn boats back to Indonesia, the unlawful military boarding of asylum boats and/or the decision to disregard calls for assistance originating from vessels carrying asylum seekers.

The hedging terms found in this example; ‘in the process’, ‘implementing’ and ‘planning’ also fulfil the criteria to be identified as circumlocution. Interestingly, all of these terms *imply* movement or progress on a particular policy outcome or initiative, but do not explicitly confirm any action or advancement. The combinations of these techniques resulted in an ‘official’ statement which contained no solid information about any of the decisions or actions that the government was actually taking under the new ‘Operation’. Combinations of the same or similar hedging terms and institutionally aligned phrases appear in a range of configurations throughout the news report data. The following example from a Network Ten, broadcast on Saturday 21st September was in regard to the Coalition Government’s plans to restrict access to ‘operational’ information under *OSB*, one MP claimed;
From empirical observations made of this data, findings suggest it may be useful to distinguish between two types of obfuscation. One type may be productively referred to as ‘semantic obfuscation’ (Fairclough 2003) whereby the meaning or important information of a sentence or utterance is present within the text despite jargon and circumlocution, and can thus be understandable with some additional interpretative work by the audience. The second type, which both examples taken from the data could arguably be classified as, is ‘strategic obfuscation’ (Fairclough 2003), whereby any specific information or significant communicative meaning is lacking from a sentence or utterance altogether, in favour of strategic language, such as the jargon and circumlocution in the excerpts quoted above. Instances of this type of obfuscation may suggest or give the impression of being meaningful by drawing on political discourses of progress and institutional protocols, but vague, hedging (Buitkienè & Laurinaitytè 2014) and broad institutional naming categories (e.g. ‘maritime operations’ or ‘operational arrangements’), are merely imitations of meaningful communication, designed to fulfil a desired political outcome while avoiding the disclosure of any information.
5.2.4 Personification & Metonymy

The rhetorical techniques of personification and metonymy were also identified throughout the news reports as occurring in very particular ways. Frequently occurring together, their combined use achieved a very specific conceptualisation of ‘Australia’ which was deployed repeatedly in the service of obscuring or redirecting political responsibility. Personification in classic rhetorical terms is the attribution of human characteristics to something non-human. In the case of this research data, the frequent personification of ‘Australia the Nation’ was achieved through a number of common claims, primarily that ‘Australia has a right to defend itself’. ‘Australia’, is fundamentally a geographic land mass, possessing no such inherent justifiable claim. The ‘right to defend oneself’ is a moral claim expected and enacted by human beings, not by countries or nations. Therefore, references to ‘Australia’s right to defend itself’, constructs Australia, metaphorically, as a person or a human being, who may legitimately claim a ‘right to defend oneself’. O’Doherty & Augoustinos (2008) also found evidence of this discursive construct in their empirical research which explored the use of nationalist discourses in Australian print media during the 2001 ‘Tampa Crisis’. These authors have argued that:

By referring to the ‘right of Australia’, Australia is constructed as an entity with entitlements that are ensured by the ‘government’. The ‘Prime Minister’, as head of the government, is portrayed as speaking for ‘Australia’, and therefore the national interest. Agency is thereby located with ‘Australia’, rather than with the ‘Prime Minister’, and statements made by the ‘Prime Minister’ are imbued with ‘national’ authority. (2008, p.581)

The resultant perception of Australia as a protected, powerful and resourceful political agent is significant, yet, the nation’s personification is only one half of these particular constructions. Metonymic devices, or the replacement of the name of a thing (for example ‘Australia’) with something closely associated with the thing (the nation’s capital and seat of parliament, Canberra) constitute the remaining half. For example, in a Ten News report
aired on 16th July, the story was introduced by the newsreader who stated that: “Canberra is trying to force Jakarta’s hand on asylum seekers” (Ten News, 16th July 2013). In this example, the Australian and Indonesian Governments were being referred to metonymically by the symbolic use of ‘their’ capital cities’ names.

The following examples show how metonymic language makes a strong construction of a personified Australia even more useful in political discourses.

**Table 5-8 Personification of ‘Australia’ Examples**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kevin Rudd: (Prime Minister)</th>
<th>“This tragedy underlines the absolute importance for <strong>Australia</strong> to continue to adjust its policies to meet changing circumstances in the region and in the world when it comes to border security” (ABC, 13th July).</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tony Abbott: (Opposition Leader)</td>
<td>“<strong>Australia was entitled to do</strong> what was in Australia’s national interest and that’s my position, always has been, always will be” (SBS 16th July).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newsreader:</td>
<td>“Iranians have emerged as a new pressure point on <strong>Australia’s ability</strong> to control its borders” (SBS, 19th July).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

By using the term ‘Australia’ as a substitute for ‘The Australian Government’, politicians at once constructed and reinforced the perception that the nation is an independent entity, innately responsible for itself, and not only capable but compelled to act on its own behalf, in its own interests, that is for its own protection. In these examples, representing
Australia as a personified entity, presumably entitled to ‘protect itself’, created a strong rhetorical combination, that initially endowed ‘Australia’ with a seemingly naturalised agency. Additionally, using the term ‘Australia’ metonymically to mean ‘the Australian Government’ appeared to shift the responsibility for political actions and decisions away from politicians. These techniques are very effective in establishing the common-sense nature of border patrol and/or protectionist strategies.

The argument that the nation Australia, is an entity with rights is presented as a commonplace and used to justify military action against asylum seekers. These constructions effectively portray asylum seekers as enemies of the nation and, positioned in this way, their extreme marginalisation becomes conceivable, even desirable. (O’Doherty & Augoustinos, 2008, p.583)

The assertion that ‘Australia’ must protect or defend itself draws on the most fundamentally politicised theme of asylum seeker discourses; protecting the safety of the internal from the threat of the external. Furthermore, this construction functions in much the same way as the ‘Australia as a house’ metaphor, drawing on discourses of risk and menace to justify ‘border protection policies’ which are constituted by increasingly more punitive measures.

5.3 Conclusion

It may be argued that each rhetorical technique presented in this chapter had distinct implications for shaping narratives about asylum seekers during the television news reports aired during the 2013 Australian Federal Election. Broadly speaking, these strategies served to delegitimise, criminalise or dehumanise people seeking asylum, while simultaneously legitimising the powerful positions and actions of the sitting and the newly-elected Australian Government. Euphemisms were popular for describing conditions and incidents occurring in offshore detention centres. While metaphor use was
prolific throughout the entire data set, the meanings metaphors generated were limited to unwanted or threatening things or events, continuing to reinforce negative asylum seeker narratives. Obfuscation was consistently found throughout the data, identified in the comments made by a range of politicians from both the ALP and the Coalition and particularly in the specific speech of Scott Morrison, or in comments made by Coalition politicians around the introduction of *Operation Sovereign Borders*. This particular rhetorical technique seemed to be more often found in the actual ‘politics’ of securing public support for policies or processes, or for creating the *impression* of action or progress in policy implementation rather than reporting actual progress. One of the key characteristics of post-election obfuscation was the use of military jargon to achieve an obscured or unintelligible meaning, securing the ‘issue’ of asylum seekers more firmly within a discourse of militarism and encouraging the ‘common-sense’ understanding of asylum seekers as a problem requiring a ‘military solution’. The combination of personification and metonymy was typically located as a way of removing responsibility from the Australian Government, suggesting instead that ‘Australia’ can (and should) act in its own self-interest, lending support to arguments made around ‘border protection’ themes, and thus encouraging the pragmatic inference that people seeking asylum must then constitute a ‘threat’ to Australian borders. While separately each technique may be more closely associated with a particular area or policy, or may be more supportive of a particular narrative, the holistic strength of them arguably emerges from their position, in Foucauldian terms, as a ‘node within a network’ in which a single text relies on and interacts with other texts, words, phrases, ideas and images within a discourse to create dominant meanings that are also constitutive of social conditions and structures (Foucault 1972). No doubt some of the social conditions influenced by the techniques and instances of language use documented in this chapter include the introduction of ever-harsher
immigration policies regarding people arriving in Australia by boat to seek asylum, and public support for them. The detailed discussion of militarisation discourses in Chapter 6 provides further evidence of these concerns with defending the country through securitisation tropes.
6 MILITARISATION OF ASYLUM SEEKER DISCOURSES

6.1 Introduction

The militarisation of discourses pertaining to people seeking asylum has become an area of increasing concern for scholars in fields including media, communication, politics, sociology and law (Graham 2012, Head 2007, Jefferis 2013, Michalowski 2007 & Wilson 2014). The world is currently experiencing unprecedented mass migration. In June 2016 The UN Refugee Agency (UNHCR) reported that globally, over 65 million people have been forcibly displaced from their homes as a result of conflict and persecution (UNHCR 2016). Accordingly, the UN has stressed that all nations have a responsibility to provide asylum to those who seek it. Despite the legality of seeking asylum and the responsibility of Australia, as a signatory of the UN convention, to provide asylum to those facing persecution, policies regarding the treatment and processing of people seeking asylum in Australia have become increasingly punitive. This chapter illuminates some of the ways the militarisation of media presentations of asylum seekers legitimises the government’s immigration policy position.

Overwhelmingly, free-to-air, evening television news reports during the lead up to the 2013 Australian Federal Election framed asylum seeker and immigration issues in terms of a problem requiring a military solution. The problematised framing has a dual implication for shaping dominant socio-political narratives regarding people seeking asylum. Not only does a militarist frame naturalise military involvement in the treatment of civilians trying to seek asylum in Australia, but it obscures alternative framings such
as humanitarian, legal, or simply a more inclusive approach to processing people seeking asylum.

While still an under-researched area, militarisation of socio-political discourses is becoming a prominent feature of media representations, particularly in regard to evolving legislation. Human rights and liberties are being curtailed and nation-states are claiming increasing power to discipline subjects in areas of security (both domestic and international) and immigration (Chambers 2015, Chambers 2012, Graham 2012, Graham 2008, Head 2007, Jefferis 2013) This chapter closely analyses the language and images used throughout the data to frame the ‘asylum seeker issue’ as, primarily, a problem requiring a military solution, while simultaneously normalising and justifying a military response to a civilian situation bearing no inherent war-like or aggressive qualities.

The analysis of both language and image, first separately and then in combination, makes an important contribution to the interdisciplinary fields of media, political and immigration research. Significant discursive elements of a primarily linguistic nature include war metaphors, the widespread use of the terms ‘operation’ and ‘operational’ and discussions regarding the implementation of Operation Sovereign Borders. Key visual elements include file footage images of Australian Navy vessels and the use and implications of a ‘military gaze’ in the file footage. Two salient issues; OSB, and tensions between Australia and Indonesia over the Abbott Government’s ‘turn back the boats’ policy are then discussed in close detail. Considering language and image simultaneously in the process of the co-construction of meaning is crucial to a better understanding of how the militarisation of asylum seeker discourses in television news media may contribute to Australian viewers developing negative opinions about people seeking asylum.
6.2 Militarisation Defined

A number of definitions of militarisation exist amongst a wide range of disciplinary approaches to the phenomenon. Graham (2010) offers a succinct foundational definition for the concept of militarisation as the:

> Normalisation of military paradigms of thought, action and policy combined with efforts at the aggressive disciplining of bodies, places and identities deemed not to befit…nation, citizenship or body; and the deployment of wide ranges of propagandist material which romanticises or sanitises violence. (p.60)

Graham’s recent work on the ‘new military urbanism’ (2012), while focusing on security and military doctrine in the USA’s waging of the ‘war on terror’, can be readily applied to the marked militarisation of Australian immigration policies and practices. The key notion of new military urbanism is that military and security presence and technologies are no longer restricted to the battle field, but increasingly occupy a newly imagined ‘battlespace’ which encompasses ‘the spaces of everyday urban life’ (Graham 2012, p.138), in what is constructed as a ‘permanent and boundless war’ (p.136). Graham further notes that military theorists are now referring to a fourth generation of warfare ‘in which nothing is ever outside the battlespace’ (p.138). This analysis of the militarisation of asylum seeker discourses throughout the 2013 Federal Election relies primarily on the ways new military urbanism is ‘performed and consumed overwhelmingly as visual, discursive and urban spectacles through the spaces of electronic imagery’ (Graham 2012, p.143), i.e. television news reports.

While the parameters of military discourses are indistinct, often overlapping with political and institutional discourses, the following analysis and discussion attempts to define, as clearly as possible, features of ‘military discourse’ elements within the news reports. The first feature assigned as constituent of military discourse is terminology within news
Television News Discourse: A multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis into how coverage of the 2013 Australian Federal Election shaped narratives about asylum seekers.

reporting that has been directly appropriated from military use e.g. combat, attack, enemy, surveillance and operation. The second feature is the inclusion of video and images (often in the form of file footage) which display military equipment and personnel e.g. weapons, transport, uniforms. The third feature is the inter-discursive construction of the interplay between asylum seekers/people smugglers and border patrol officials as ‘war’. For example, while discussing the need for a regional response to ‘people smugglers’ in an ABC report aired on 15th July 2013, Prime Minister Kevin Rudd stated: “PNG is an important part of an effective regional response against our common enemy, people smugglers” (ABC News, 15th July 2013). Hodge (2015) discusses this war framing extensively in specific regard to the implementation of OSB, arguing that:

The war footing validates the transfer of illegitimacy in the starkest of ways. Asylum seekers, having been recast as enemies and denied human rights as legitimate seekers of asylum, instead become war combatants and threats to our borders. (p. 127)

As the analyses in Chapters 4 and 5 have already shown, free-to-air television news reports throughout the 2013 Australian Federal Election routinely featured language and images that framed asylum seeker issues in terms of a metaphorical war. Military and war discourses imbricate ideas of risk, nationalism and sovereignty, not only constructing asylum seekers as threatening, but legitimising (and naturalising) increasingly punitive military responses to asylum seeker boats in Australian waters.

6.3 Linguistic Features

6.3.1 War Metaphors

The prolific use of metaphorical speech throughout the data set has been a key finding of this empirical research; significantly, the most common type of metaphor identified in the

language of newsreaders, reporters and politicians was the ‘war’ metaphor. In his 2012 study *Fever and Fervor: The Seductions, Dynamics, and Travails of War Discourse*, LaMothe has argued that ‘most wars, real or imagined, rarely begin without discourse that inflames the fever or fervor of the body politic’ (p.320). LaMothe’s definition of war discourses foregrounds a conception of the world as firmly divided into ‘us’ and ‘them’, providing a useful basis for understanding how war discourses identified in the news reports aired during the 2013 Federal Election contributed to narratives of exclusion and Otherness (Staszak 2008).

Throughout the data, war metaphors were frequently used by the newsreader in order to introduce and simultaneously frame the upcoming report or news package. Horner (2011) suggests that the types of metaphors used in political communication and in news media offer insights into the ways viewers are being invited to understand the world around them, stating that ‘metaphors link ideology with political discourse by providing models for making sense of the world’ (p.32). Thus, if viewers are repeatedly invited to understand the ‘asylum seeker issue’ through a war or adversarial ideological framework, it is logical to suggest that audiences’ broader understandings of people seeking asylum would be shaped by this framework, encouraging the perception of two opposing ‘sides’, with Australians on one ‘side’ and asylum seekers on the other. This type of metaphorical construction is systematically loaded with the implication that the two ‘sides’ are mutually exclusive, necessarily foregrounding difference over similarities, negating the possibility for finding ‘middle ground’, or an alternative, mutually beneficial approach. Throughout analysis the following war metaphors emerged from the data.
Television News Discourse: A multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis into how coverage of the 2013 Australian Federal Election shaped narratives about asylum seekers.

### Table 6-1 War Metaphor Examples

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Quote</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reporter:</td>
<td>“Julia Gillard <strong>comes out firing</strong>, determined to sink Tony Abbott’s promise to turn back the boats” (Seven, 19th June).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newsreader:</td>
<td>“Prime Minister Kevin Rudd has thrown a <strong>giant-sized grenade</strong> into the debate about asylum seekers” (Ten, 28th June).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scott Morrison:</td>
<td>“The people smugglers would not just have <strong>won the battle</strong>, they would have <strong>won the war</strong>, because he has given up” (Seven, 3rd July).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reporter:</td>
<td>“With an election looming the big parties are locked in an asylum seeker policy <strong>arms race</strong>” (ABC, 30th July).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newsreader:</td>
<td>“The Rudd Government claims that it’s <strong>winning the battle</strong> against people smugglers” (Ten, 7th August).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reporter:</td>
<td>“...all-out assault on a <strong>crucial campaign battleground</strong>” (Nine, 23rd August).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reporter:</td>
<td>“...biggest single <strong>battleground</strong> in ethnic politics” (SBS, 3rd September).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Within these examples, there are two key metaphoric ‘wars’ being referred to. The first is the political campaign as ‘war’ between the ALP and Liberal party leaders, Kevin Rudd and Tony Abbott respectively. The second is the ‘war’ against people smugglers. The first ‘war’ is concerning in terms of its bipartisan consistency in the use of militarised language, from Kevin Rudd throwing “a giant-sized grenade” into a debate, “Julia Gillard comes out firing”, a political “arms race”, an “all-out assault”, on the “biggest single battleground”. The ALP and the Coalition, while politically opposed, are ideologically united in their political goals to exclude asylum seekers. While viewing a political election as a war may not be an ideal way to represent a democratic process, the positioning of the ALP and the Coalition as more or less equal opponents in ‘competition’ with each other is not particularly problematic, and is more likely a result of news conventions shaping events into dramatic form to simplify and sensationalise the election coverage. ‘The real media biases favor [sic] simplicity over complexity, persons over institutional process, emotions over facts, and most important, game over substance’ (Entman, 1996, p.78). The tendency to favour simplistic positions and personalities over considered policy analysis and discussion is embodied in the repetitive use of war metaphors, reducing a complex democratic process into a basic binary narrative.

It is, however, the second type of ‘war’ identified in the above examples that is of particular interest here. This is the ‘war against people smugglers’ which is constructed
as being waged by both the ALP and the Coalition, and often in the name of and on behalf of, the Australian people.

It is an interesting juxtaposition to note that military visuals in this study were most frequently accompanied by the words ‘asylum’ (102) ‘boat’ (93) and ‘seekers’ (77), yet the verbal war metaphors were used most often when discussing people smugglers. Using these pairings of words and images to construct meaning relies on implicit understandings and avoids explicitly positioning people seeking asylum as the adversary of the Australian Government, whereas ‘people smugglers’, a phrase paired only six times with military visuals, are overtly positioned in opposition to the Australian Government. This communicative strategy may be employed for a number of reasons. Firstly, in a pragmatic sense, there may be little political benefit to be gained by strategically positioning the government and the Australian Defence Force against people seeking asylum in a combative war-like situation. Recent developments in the fields of social science and humanities have produced the concept of ‘human security’ (Gasper 2005) which highlights the distinction between the ‘security of states and security of persons’ (p.222). People seeking asylum lack many basic resources, rendering their personal security vulnerable. Additionally, their motivation, to find safety for themselves and their families, is a basic human need (Maslow 1943, Maslow, Frager & Fadiman 1970). So in terms of dramatic narrative, the vulnerability of people seeking asylum makes it extremely difficult for the Australian Government to explicitly position itself against these persons. Conversely, the connotations assigned to the lexical phrase ‘people smuggler’ have, through the attribution of blame for asylum seeker deaths at sea, become naturalised as negative. In asylum seeker discourses, ‘people smugglers’ are pointed to as the evil presence trading in asylum seeker misery and desperation e.g. “PNG is an important part of our common enemy, people smugglers” (ABC

News, 15th July 2013), and “These folk are merchants in death” (Ten News, 22nd July 2013). In constructing people smugglers as exploiting asylum seekers, the Australian Government has sought to refocus concerns of Australians who were protesting the new hard-line approach of the Rudd Government, away from the victims (the asylum seekers) and onto the perpetrators of ‘evil’ (the people smugglers).

Another communicative function of the ‘war’ metaphor is to linguistically align the ‘war on people smugglers’ with historically well-known, morally legitimised ‘wars’. Through intertextual functions, this phrase evokes associations with the ‘war on drugs’ or the ‘war on terror’ for example (Gleeson 2014). Although these are only two key examples of the many instances when a government has declared a ‘war on’ (what it considers) a morally unacceptable social issue or group through mass media channels, they are extraordinarily powerful rhetorical tropes. By invoking the audience’s knowledge of past campaigns against already discursively established ‘evil’ forces of ‘drugs’ and ‘terror’, the phrase sets up a relational equivalence (Davies 2013). This rhetorical technique fits with how Street (2011) describes the media’s construction of particular groups as ‘enemies of the state [which] tend to be demonised in ways that reinforce their illegitimacy’ (p.79). The result is an exclusively layered set of negative meanings being discursively applied to the phrase ‘people smugglers’, positioning them as a legitimate opponent in ‘war’.

Concurrent use of military visuals and war metaphors perform another important function in the ideological representation of people seeking asylum. As Machin and Mayr (2012) point out: ‘visual communication, by its nature, tends to be more open to interpretation, which gives the author some degree of manoeuvre not permitted in language use’ (p.31). This means that while linguistically it may not be protocol for politicians and government officials to state outright that ‘people seeking asylum are our enemies’, it is possible for
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them to use verbal war metaphors which, when combined with strategic vision, show images of asylum seekers aligning with these themes. Evidence of these constructions can be seen in Table 6.2.

Table 6-2 War Metaphor Visual and Verbal Combinations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VERBAL</th>
<th>VISUAL</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“The Rudd Government claims that it's winning the battle against people smugglers, despite the arrival of another boat. The latest arrival is the fifth this week, but the Federal Government insists its recent crackdown is working” (Ten, 7th August).</td>
<td>![Images of boats carrying people]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this report aired on Network Ten on 7th August (Ten News, 7th August 2013), a war metaphor is used explicitly positioning the Australian Government against people smugglers, while simultaneously, different file footage runs of visuals of a boat carrying
asylum seekers being boarded by military personnel (Still 1, 2 and 3). Still 4 shows a number of asylum seekers wearing life jackets, all sitting in rows on the front of an Australian Navy vessel being watched over by authorities, clearly powerless and in their custody. While the linguistic cues point to ‘people smugglers’ being the enemy, the visual communication, arranged in a war-like narrative timeline, can be read as pointing to people seeking asylum as ‘the enemy’. In their study of Australian attitudes towards asylum seekers, one of the ways Trounson, Critchley and Pfeifer (2015) argue that dehumanisation of asylum seekers can occur is through constructions of people seeking asylum which demonstrate a ‘willingness to violate procedures or cheat the system’ (2015, p.1646). In this example, the image sequence used visually encourages the perception of asylum seekers as having committed procedural violations thus demanding military control by those in command.

6.3.2 An ‘Operational’ Strategy
The prolific use of the word ‘operation’ and its variant ‘operational’ by politicians as a rhetorical strategy was a key observation during the news report transcription process. As a rhetorical technique, the term appears to be used primarily as a euphemistic or formulating device. Phrases such as ‘operational decision’, ‘operational safety’ and ‘operational information’ have the potential to compress complex processes into simplistic terms and disguise the agency of decision makers. Furthermore, the description of something, a decision for example, as ‘operational’, reveals nothing about the nature of the decision. The use of these statements can be understood through the framework provided by Foucault’s (1972, 2000) theories on institutionalised bodies of knowledge which are drawn on by powerful social actors in order to encourage and maintain the naturalisation of viewpoints and ideas. Using terms belonging to the established
Television News Discourse: A multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis into how coverage of the 2013 Australian Federal Election shaped narratives about asylum seekers.

government institution of the Australian Defence Force has two main implications for the shaping of social narratives regarding asylum seekers.

According to Foucault’s (1972) theories political actors gain authority and validation of their positions through their deployment of language taken from institutionalised bodies of knowledge, in this case the institution of the Australian military. Thus, power is continually established through access to specialised knowledge. Institutionalised knowledge is called on to categorise and evaluate practices; based on these knowledges, power is legitimised and certain dominant roles, values, ideas and narratives become naturalised (Foucault 1972, Foucault 2000). By choosing to name its immigration policy initiative ‘Operation Sovereign Borders’, the government drew on institutionalised bodies of military knowledge, expertise and historical legitimacy to (in concert with the Australian Defence Force) ‘protect’ its national subjects.

The word ‘operation’ is directly appropriated from military and war discourses, while ‘sovereign borders’ indexes the nation-state of Australia and the institutionally justified right the Australian Government of a nation-state has to ‘protect its borders’ (Dickson 2015). By framing the policy as a legitimate military led operation, any further claims or statements made by those political actors involved in its organisation or implementation functioned to justify their actions or utterances through the military sanctioned framework. Additionally, these justifications also extended to refusals to provide detailed statements on the basis of ‘restricted information’.

In the television news data wherever the term ‘operational’ has been used, the language surrounding the term exclusively features words associated with governmental or other institutional procedures and policies: ‘arrangements’, ‘aspects’, ‘considerations’, ‘costs’, ‘decisions’, ‘details’, ‘difficulties’, ‘information’, ‘integrity’, ‘reasons’, ‘security’ and
‘updates’. These linguistic pairings fortify the speakers’ claims of truth and authority by implying that the speaker has access to specialised or restricted information. Drawing on institutional language in such a way not only aids in the validation of their own standpoint and interests, in line with Foucault’s (1972) conceptions of institutionalised bodies of knowledge and authoritative claims, but in cases where information is relatively mundane or easily accessible, the re-branding of it as ‘operational’ increases the perceived gravitas of the message and the expert status of the speaker. ‘Prior discourses, coalesced into ‘discursive formations,’’ function as the ‘‘truth-statements’’ governing who is empowered within a given historical time to speak, on what subjects, in what voice, and with what impact’ (McKerrow 2011, p.257).

Another example of truth claims can be identified in news reports containing ‘fact checks’, a salient feature of reports during the lead up to the election which was premised on determining the veracity of particular claims made by politicians during the campaign. One ABC report aired on 15th August challenged the legitimacy of opposing claims made by Prime Minster Kevin Rudd and Opposition Leader Tony Abbott, to pose questions for viewers about who was most likely to be ‘telling the truth’ (ABC News, 15th August 2013). The reporter’s voice identified a conflict for viewers and voters because of discrepancies in the statistical information referred to by Kevin Rudd and Tony Abbott.

Table 6-3 ‘Fact Check’, Truth Claim Example

| Reporter | “So, what are those facts? Did 70% or 40% settle in Australia? 1637 people were detained on Nauru and Manus island between 2001 and 2007. 705 of them were permanently resettled in Australia. That’s |
Interestingly, this example contains two levels of truth claims, the first by political speakers, the second, by the news media, which has appropriated the comments to conduct its own (albeit brief) ‘analysis’. Both the politicians and reporter John Baron used statistics to claim they ‘knew the truth’; the reporter’s mentioning of extra (presumably fact-checked) figures eventually supported Tony Abbott’s statement as more likely to be ‘true’ and posed Kevin Rudd’s as inaccurate and/or questionable⁴⁹.

Statistical information is a powerful tool in games of truth, functioning to legitimise claims as well as power roles. ‘Statistical knowledge has continued to be a fundamental aspect of effective governance of nation-states throughout modern history… closely bound up with the operations and maintenance of political power’ (Schirato, Danaher & Webb 2012 p.58). The implicit assumption, which both claims of truth appear to be resting on, is that the information comes from records accumulated by the Department of Immigration. Also, the collation and representation of this knowledge in various infographic (Barnes 2016) forms is also legitimised by its (implied) institutional origins. These visual techniques underpin attempts to authenticate, in the first instance, both politicians’ claims of truth, and in the second instance, the news reporter’s and Tony Abbott’s statements, thereby ‘exposing’ Kevin Rudd’s proclamations as technically inaccurate.

⁴⁹ While the reporter asked the rhetorical question: “where does that come from?” to challenge the source of Kevin Rudd’s statistical information, any reference to the source of ABC’s figures was absent. News and journalism discourses, encoded by considering viewers’ expectations about objective and accurate reporting, mean the truthfulness of the ABC’s statistics were assumed within the television news format.
Another implication of invoking a military frame is that military tropes such as secrecy and confidentiality allow unsubstantiated, vague or euphemistic statements to be made in media situations without any onus on the speaker for either clarification or further explanation. For example, in a news report aired on Network Ten on 11th June 2013, Australian Prime Minister Julia Gillard described the resolution for the Australian Navy to call off the search for bodies of asylum seekers as an “operational decision” (Ten News, 11th June 2013). This speech act revealed very little information about the nature of the decision. There was no evidence or argument given concerning who had made the decision, what factors had been taken into account, or what (if any) alternatives had been considered. The strategic use of the term ‘operational’ demarcated the decision as being outside of routine political decision-making and placed it into the jurisdiction of military control. This resulted in an outcome where hierarchies of responsibility, established protocols and the agency of the eventual decision maker (the Australian Prime Minister) were obscured, formulated simply as ‘operational’. This formulation both concealed and legitimised the processes involved in reaching such a decision.

Other terms drawn from military procedural discourse were effectively combined with more banal institutional jargon to achieve a high level of obfuscation in political statements. For example, in a report aired on one of his first official weekly briefings under OSB, Immigration Minister Scott Morrison remarked:

Table 6-4 Scott Morrison Military Jargon Example

| Scott Morrison | “We’re in the process of implementing and planning for the implementation of the **regional deterrence framework**” |
measures and other related measures including **maritime operations**, that’s my statement on that today, and that’s what I’ll be saying today” (ABC, 23rd September).

The institutional phrases ‘regional deterrence framework’, and ‘maritime operations’ which have also been used in a euphemistic capacity (as explained in Chapter 5), combined with prevaricating terms such as ‘in the process’, ‘implementing’ and ‘planning’, result in an identifiably ‘official’ statement which contains no actual solid information about decisions or actions taken under the new ‘Operation’. In this example, and many others found throughout the data set, the militarist language performs multiple functions; obfuscating meaning, negating the need for the speaker to make any more specific or binding comments and simultaneously justifying power roles by displaying speakers’ links to Australian Government institutions and ‘expert’ knowledges.

### 6.4 Visual Frames

#### 6.4.1 File Footage Use

There are two types of footage used to construct television news packages, actuality footage and file footage. Actuality footage refers to video or images of a specific event which have been filmed at that event. In the news reports analysed for this research actuality footage was often used in stories about election campaign events, as well as diplomatic events such as Kevin Rudd or Tony Abbot’s visits to neighbouring nations. File footage, or archival footage, refers to video recordings or images which are sourced/accessed by television networks (Bock 2005, Machin & Jaworski 2006) and used
to construct news packages about ongoing issues, or added to reports covering unexpected events which have not been directly video-captured. Throughout the television news data collected for this research, file footage was used extensively in the news broadcasts. All five of the free-to-air networks demonstrated a haphazard approach to indicating when file footage was being used. Such an approach ensures that establishing an accurate count of file footage clips is problematic. However, qualitative evaluation of the total data set of (recognisable and assumed) file footage, found that videos featuring asylum seeker boats and Australian Navy vessels demonstrating processes of ‘border protection’ were the dominant representations. Across 336 news reports analysed, 337 separate instances of an asylum boat image and 542 instances of Australian Navy vessel images were identified.

In light of Wilson’s (2014) argument that militarisation often involves the ‘highly visible presence of military personnel and artefacts at the borderline or the adoption of overtly military tactics’ (p.142), the frequent presence of Australian Navy vessels and military personnel in footage used in the news reports provides strong evidence indeed of the militarisation of asylum seeker discourses.

While the file footage identified in this study’s data is extensive in volume, it is limited in range. Limited combinations of file footage images: of Australian Navy vessels, asylum seeker boats, asylum seekers in custody, and detention centre scenes, are a prime example of how the repeated use of file footage constructs and reinforces stereotypes.

50 Putnis (1994) examined the use of file footage in a number of television news case studies in order to better understand the ‘role of a key process in the construction of television news – the use of library file footage as a source of visual illustration’ (p.74). His analysis of television news representations of Aboriginal people found that the use of file footage in television news reports can be indicative of
Out of the total of 336 news reports analysed, 210 featured at least one image of an Australian Navy vessel or an asylum boat.

Interestingly, a key point of difference in the representation of the two types of sea transport was that the Australian Navy vessel was almost exclusively pictured as moving through the water, at speed, while asylum boats were generally shown as stationary, in distress, or in the process of being boarded by authorities. Crucially, as television news packages certainly constitute a highly stylised type of narrative, the action of a Navy ship on its way to do something, which, depending on the verbal accompaniment, may be either a ‘search and rescue’ or a ‘border protection’ narrative, frames the military vessel as the active protagonist. In contrast, a stationary boat carrying asylum seekers visually positions the people in the asylum seeker boat as passive participants in the situation, being acted upon. Such contrast constructs an asymmetrical power relationship, in which the Australian Navy vessel is clearly represented as having the authority, the capability, and the military endorsed power to take action against those seeking asylum.

6.4.2 Military Gaze

Data analysis revealed that out of 336 news reports, 91 of them featured footage of an asylum seeker boat filmed as ‘through the eyes’ of military personnel. This formal scrutiny was represented in three identifiable ways. Firstly, via vision of a surveillance screen on an Australian Navy vessel from which an asylum seeker boat was being monitored. Secondly, via footage of military personnel observing an asylum seeker boat through binoculars, and thirdly, via file footage of an asylum boat filmed from the ideological ‘ways of seeing’, and tends to, through the repetition of particular stock footage, reinforce stereotypes of minority groups as ‘them’ and therefore, as problematic.

perspective of an Australian Navy vessel, or from a military helicopter. Providing television news viewers with a direct perspective of the asylum seeker boat through a lens that simultaneously captures parts of an Australian Navy vessel (or vessels) in the foreground, effectively guides them to witness events from the privileged position of military operations. These military-regulated camera angles function as semiotic resources along ‘empowerment-disempowerment dimensions’ (Koga-Browes 2015, p.63) so that such positionings could encourage the audience to identify and align with (at least metaphorically), the Australian Navy, and thus the Australian Government’s policies on asylum seekers.

The gaze framing device also invites the television news audience to participate in the military surveillance of ‘the border’, and functions as a ‘recruitment’ device, according to Butler (2009), who asserts that ‘those of us who watch the wars our governments wage at a distance, are solicited and recruited into war through images and narratives’ (p.127). By showing viewers images from the omniscient perspective (Fiske 2011) of military personnel, they may unwittingly participate in visually patrolling Australia’s borders. Such identification can also result in audiences engaging with the Australian Government’s project of security. The gaze device operates, in the context of television news, similarly to the emerging television genre of ‘securitainment’, a genre which Andrejevic (2011) argues ‘invites viewers to adopt the framing and imperatives of state authorities while simultaneously enlisting them to participate in the project of securing themselves and their homeland’ (p.165). Hughes (2010) has also made similar points about these types of audience positionings but in the context of the ‘docusoap’ genre. In examining the television program Border Security: Australia’s Front Line, Hughes suggested the ‘travelling citizen’ is recruited to the Australian Government’s goal of ‘border protection and risk management’ (2010, p.439). It is here that Hughes sees the
reality television program acting as an agent of governmentality. The positioning of television audiences through the technical and ideological use of the ‘gaze’ in television news report coverage of the 2013 Federal Election may arguably have achieved similar functions, reinforcing the discursive positioning of people seeking asylum as the symbolic ‘enemy’.

6.5 Operation Sovereign Borders

In terms of the shift in emphasis in the militarisation of asylum seeker discourses identified in the news report data, the introduction and implementation of OSB by the Coalition Government was a strategic manifestation of the previously symbolic militarisation processes. As a discursive construct and a political policy, OSB drew together the various threads of security, sovereignty, militarisation and the ‘threat’ posed by asylum seeker boats, into a cohesive, overarching set of practices, ultimately justified by the language and visual representation of the constitutive discourses. Television news reportage of the introduction of OSB and continued coverage of its implementation and consequences in the months following the election featured: continuing diplomatic negotiations between Australia and Indonesia; a revised commitment to the timing and nature of providing information about asylum seeker boat arrivals; the release of a ministerial directive specifying the language Scott Morrison’s staff must use when referring to people seeking asylum. There were also reports that contained more general commentary from the ALP and the Greens criticising various aspects of the Coalition’s policy and the Coalition’s defence of its increasingly militarised OSB. The post-election reports contained high concentrations of both verbal and visual military symbols combined in clusters that drew on pre-existing institutional symbols of authority (the

Australian national coat of arms, military uniforms, and institutional jargon) to legitimise and naturalise a militarised response to people arriving in Australian waters by boat to seek asylum.

The lexical rendering of *Operation Sovereign Borders* reveals the key political components of the policy, and simultaneously strips it of any reference to humanitarian obligations (or indeed the violation of Australia’s responsibilities to UN conventions to which Australia is a signatory) of such a policy. ‘Operation’, can be widely understood to refer to a ‘mission’ or undertaking of a military manoeuvre, enmeshing both government and military discourses into one institutionally powerful and legitimate political goal. The use of ‘sovereign’ and ‘borders’ is also significant in that separately, both terms carry substantial weight in regard to connotations of military involvement, protection, threat, belonging and exclusion (Agamben 1998, Agnew 2008). Additionally, when the words are combined, ‘sovereign borders’ becomes an example of the frequently used rhetorical technique of removing or realigning agency (the responsibility for a particular political decision) through an intransitive lexical construction (Hansen & Machin 2013). While the technique is best observed in the alteration of verbs (processes) into nouns (things), in this case the implication is that the sovereignty ‘belongs’ to the borders (arguably used here as a metonym for ‘Australia’ or ‘nation’), rather than existing as a set of concepts and practices enacted through the application of government policy.

The combination of all three words into *OSB* marries military procedure with political goals, potentially justifying the implementation of the punitive policy, based on the already established ‘common sense’ ideas of political sovereignty and border security.

A report aired 23rd September on Network Ten regarding the implementation of *OSB* is an interesting example to look at in more detail, because it demonstrates how the news
media’s discourse took a position by drawing attention to the overall regulatory control that OSB meant in terms of the Australian public’s access to information about asylum seekers. Statements made by Network Ten’s political correspondent Hugh Riminton, set this report apart from the bulk of the data, by presenting information about the introduction of OSB within a framework of critical appraisal, openly and repeatedly naming the new policy as ‘militarisation’, acknowledging the Abbott Government’s shift in approach to immigration policy. Riminton’s initial statement is made as the newsreader, Sandra Sully, asks him how OSB will work:

**Table 6-5 Network Ten Report on Operation Sovereign Borders**

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sandra Sully</th>
<th>Political editor Hugh Rimington joins us from Canberra now and Hugh, exactly how's this going to work?</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hugh Riminton</td>
<td>Well Sandra, the new government has quiet deliberately militarised the whole issue of asylum seeker arrivals. There is no suprise there, that is what they said they would do, but by putting a General in charge it means the government can shape the whole discussion around military ideas of operational security, and that means we are going to learn a lot less about what's going on in the seas to our north than we had previously. Immigration Minister Scott Morrison is in overall charge of all of this, he makes no apologies, he says it's a return to what John Howard used to do (Ten, 23rd September).</td>
</tr>
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</table>
While most news reports about the implementation of OSB presented the policy in a way generally devoid of critical appraisals, the initiative of limiting information about asylum seeker boat arrivals to a weekly media briefing attracted more direct criticism from Network Nine and Ten as demonstrated by references to a ‘culture of secrecy’ (National Nine News, 22nd September 2013, Ten News, 21st September 2013). Television news attention to the strategic aspect of the weekly briefings as part of OSB had the effect of refocusing concerns about asylum seeker issues towards domestic and international political manoeuvres. After the initial media announcement of OSB, free-to-air television news reports primarily approached stories about immigration policy from the angle of the continuing tension OSB procedures were causing between the Australian and Indonesian Governments.

6.6 The Australian and Indonesian relationship

While the news coverage in the months prior to the 2013 Federal Election focused primarily on Australian domestic policy and events, in the months following the September 7th Federal Election, the focus of television news reports shifted to the relationship between Australia and Indonesia, particularly in regard to immigration and foreign policy. The ‘important relationship’ between the two nations was repeatedly referred to in statements made by the newly elected Prime Minister Tony Abbott and his ministers. The shift de-emphasised the arrival of people seeking asylum in favour of the newly introduced Australian immigration policy OSB and its implications for the delicate diplomatic relationship between Australia and Indonesia. ‘Bilateral (or regional) cooperation’ was consistently praised, while ‘unilateral action’ was regularly condemned.
Disagreements over whose ‘sovereignty’ was being violated were voiced by both Australian and Indonesian Ministers, and the ongoing embracement and use of military language and visuals remained an important contribution to maintaining the militarised discourse established by the Australian Government as the dominant way of understanding asylum seekers.

The Indonesian Government were strongly opposed to the Coalition’s ‘tow back’ policy\(^{51}\) on the grounds that it would violate their sovereignty. This sentiment was a prominent feature of the television news reports just prior to and immediately following the Coalition’s success in the election. Finding ‘regional solutions’ was promoted as crucial to the healthy functioning of the relationship, further extending the construction of ‘people smugglers’ or ‘people smuggling’ as the common enemy. Grewcock (2014) agrees, noting that: ‘the policing of people smuggling has become emblematic of cooperation and ‘capacity building’ with the Indonesian National Police and an important component of the developing political relationship between the two states’ (p.74). The language used in reports of diplomatic talks between Australian and Indonesia draws mainly from a problematised narrative, readily framing people seeking asylum as a problem.

While the ‘problem’ narrative is consistent, the subject of whose ‘problem’ people seeking asylum are, changes. Tony Abbott and Scott Morrison make a number of varying claims throughout the time period examined. Pre-election, when it was likely in his

\(^{51}\) The ‘tow back’ or ‘turn back the boats’ policy, initiated under OSB, meant that asylum seeker boats from Indonesia which were intercepted by Border Patrol in Australian waters would be towed back into Indonesian waters ‘where safe to do so’ (UNSW 2017).
political interests to do so, Tony Abbott as Opposition leader claimed that the ‘problem’ is the responsibility of Australia (and by default Kevin Rudd’s as Prime Minister). Post-election though, Tony Abbott redefined the scope of the ‘problem’, re-framing it as a regional issue.

Table 6-6 Responsibility for the ‘Asylum Seeker Problem’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tony Abbott: (Opposition Leader)</th>
<th>“Mr Rudd is always trying to <strong>internationalise problems</strong>, and that's an excuse for inaction here in Australia” (Nine, 18th July).</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tony Abbott</td>
<td>“Mr Rudd is always trying to internationalise problems, and that’s an excuse for inaction here in Australia. Stop trying to say this is the world's problem, <strong>it's not, it's our problem</strong>” (SBS, 18th July).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tony Abbott</td>
<td>“You're the Prime Minister Mr Rudd, <strong>it's your problem</strong>, you've got to fix it” (SBS, 24th July).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tony Abbott</td>
<td>“Well it's not a question of forcing anyone; it's a question of <strong>working very cooperatively and constructively</strong> with our neighbours” (SBS, 26th September).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tony Abbott: (Prime Minister)</td>
<td>“Well we’re going to stop the boats, it's as simple as that and we’re going to <strong>work together with the Indonesian's</strong>” (SBS, 27th September).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This framing may be explained as the result of strategic campaigning techniques, however it highlights the underpinning values and beliefs fundamental to both positions. Firstly, people seeking asylum in Australian (and Indonesian waters) are a serious problem, and secondly, the Australian Government consider it important to resolve, or deal with the ‘problem’ in a way that protects the diplomatic relationship between Australia and Indonesia.

6.7 Conclusion

Militarisation themes in asylum-seeker discourse surrounding the 2013 Australian Federal Election are repetitive and consistent. While military discourses are constituted by a set of inextricably linked words, phrases, images, ideas and concepts, this chapter has attempted to isolate some of the most prominent and significant themes in order to examine them in further detail and demonstrate their indisputable connection to the central ideas underpinning the thesis. Images of asylum seeker boats and Australian Navy vessels, war metaphors, military terms, Australia and Indonesia constructed as allies in the ‘war against people smugglers’, and the implementation of OSB arguably function in television news reports to naturalise and legitimise a military response to people seeking asylum in Australia. While the representation of asylum seekers as a ‘problem’ and a ‘threat’ is consistent with a large body of prior research into this field, the focus on the need for a military solution constitutes an elevation or extension of previous constructions of people seeking asylum as a ‘problem’ to them as a problem that is best addressed via a military response.
7 DEHUMANISING REPRESENTATIONS OF ASYLUM SEEKERS

7.1 Introduction
As Chapters 4, 5 and 6 have demonstrated complex news media discourses have communicated in a range of ways, narratives about asylum seekers in television news coverage of the 2013 Australian Federal Election. While many of those representations refer to asylum seekers as absent or implied subjects, actual vision of people seeking asylum is nonetheless strategically apparent. Following the ‘Tampa incident’ in 2001, file footage and actuality footage of people seeking asylum in Australia has been tightly regulated by the government agencies that process refugees. A Senate Inquiry into the Australian Government’s response to the Tampa was undertaken in 2002 (Senate 2002), and this parliamentary process brought to light specific actions government officials took to place restrictions on images of asylum seekers who were caught up in the event. The removal of media officers, as well as implicit and explicit instructions to Australian Defence Force personnel and Border Patrol officers to avoid taking ‘humanising’ images of the rescued asylum seekers, showed an increasing institutional awareness of the power of images to generate particular responses in audiences. The Senate Inquiry document exposed that:

We were then given instructions in regard to photographing SUNCs [suspected unauthorised non-citizens] – or whatever the latest term is. We were certainly aware that Immigration had concerns about identifying potential asylum seekers, so we got
some guidance on ensuring that there were no personalising or humanising images taken of SUNCs. (Senate 2002, p.24)

The legacy of such directives is immediately obvious on initial analysis of the visual data in this original study, with a very limited set of file footage and images used repeatedly throughout the television news reports. Such strict control exerted by the Federal Government on the types of images of asylum seekers available for media to use, suggests a clear and strategic awareness of the types of emotional responses that different images may elicit from audiences. In regard to immigration issues pertaining to people seeking asylum, limiting material from being used in news media reports that could conceivably garner sympathy, highlights the power the government has to shape asylum seeker narratives through privileged access to selective discursive resources. Not only are these ideological image framings worth mentioning in terms of their bearings on viewers’ perceptions, this ‘resource’ control also functions as a strategic attempt by the Australian Government to shape public debate about asylum seekers and immigration. As Bleiker, Campbell, Hutchison and Nicholson (2013) point out, the public’s knowledge of political issues is ‘unavoidably and inherently mediated’ (p.399), so that in many ways restricting what can be seen, also restricts what can be thought (Bleiker, Campbell, Hutchison and Nicholson 2013), which in this case leads to highly problematised and negative socio-political narratives about people seeking asylum.

The significance of actual bodily images of people seeking asylum and the implications for viewers’ perceptions in reaction to them should not be underestimated. In her work on the representation of distant suffering in television news media, Chouliaraki (2006) points out that mediated representations of sufferers are a function of media power in that they systematically privilege some sufferers over others.
Media discourse on distant suffering, for instance, operates as a strategy of power in so far as it selectively offers the option of emotional and practical engagement with certain sufferers and leaves others outside the scope of such engagement, thereby reproducing hierarchies of place and human life. (p.157)

The suffering of asylum seekers in this study’s data is overwhelmingly obscured through the use of dehumanising images to represent them. Chouliaraki argues that audiences’ abilities to engage with or feel sympathy for a sufferer are dependent on the representation of a humanised sufferer, in other words ‘a sufferer who acts’ (2006, p.169 [emphasis added]). The types of dehumanising images occurring throughout this research’s data depict people seeking asylum as primarily lacking individuality, personal agency or voice. It may be argued therefore, that this style of imagery limits capacities for compassionate viewer responses by emphasising difference and casting asylum seekers as distant and un-relatable ‘Others’ (Hartley & Pederson 2007, Staszak 2008).

The dehumanisation of asylum seekers in media representations is a well-documented area of media and immigration research. While some scholars have developed quite detailed and specific theories for the constituent parts of humanness denial, others have been much broader in their chosen definitions. For example, Haslam and Loughnan (2014) outline three distinct dimensions of humanness denial: the type of denial, whether it is subtle or blatant, and whether the humanness is denied in relation to an in-group or is asserted independently of an in-group. Michalowski (2007) offers a useful foundational understanding of humanness denial in the rhetorical service of identity construction in the socio-political arena. He argues that:

Dehumanising projects are group solidarity exercises based on claims that some targeted ‘other’ lacks the shared humanity and same suite of rights as the group doing the targeting. This denial of rights then justifies both rhetorical and material brutalization of the enemy ‘other’. (p.68)
Evidence of ‘dehumanising projects’ towards asylum seekers has been found in the types of visual representations of them that have been used in the television news reports, as well as in the multi-layered rhetorical techniques that have been explored in Chapter 5.

The discussion here draws also on the work of Bleiker et al. (2013), whose empirical analysis of the visual dehumanisation of refugees offers distinctive categories for examining how asylum seekers are presented in news media, particularly the settings they are shown in, the size of the group pictured, and whether or not the images display discernible facial features. The researchers argue that:

…visual framing, and in particular, the relative absence of images that depict individual asylum seekers with recognisable facial features, associates refugees not with a humanitarian challenge, but with threats to sovereignty and security. These dehumanising visual patterns reinforce a politics of fear that explains why refugees are publicly framed as people whose plight, dire as it is, nevertheless does not generate a compassionate political response. (p.398)

This original research finds that asylum seekers are overwhelmingly represented in ways which visually obscure their humanity, concurring with Bleiker et al.’s (2013) argument that de-individuating asylum seeker identities through particular, politicised framings, can have significant effects too on dehumanising the socio-political debate, and in turn, the actual conditions and lived experiences of asylum seekers.

### 7.2 2013 Australian Federal Election Television News Images

Following is a detailed account of the particular ways people seeking asylum were visually represented in the news broadcasts with particular reference to the categories set out by Bleiker et al. (2013): setting, group size and the presence/absence of recognisable facial features. Implied meanings that different types of repetitive images may generate
are also discussed in terms of their contributions to and shaping of dominant asylum seeker narratives.

7.2.1 Settings

The bodies of people seeking asylum are represented in limited and specific ways in the television news reports. A comprehensive content analysis of all images of asylum seekers located within the data reveals that discursive constructions including the bodies of asylum seeker ‘subjects’ depict them in four key settings: in custody (50%), in detention (17%), on boats (17%) and in a domestic setting (15%). Images of people seeking asylum ‘on boats’ include those images in which there are no conspicuous figures aligned with Australian Government institutions such as Australian Defence Force personnel and Border Patrol staff, and ‘domestic settings’ refers to footage where asylum seekers are pictured in residential homes or home-like environments.

Each of the four predominant settings has its own nuanced set of implications for shaping socio-political narratives about people seeking asylum, just as each particular representational image highlights different aspects of an asymmetrical power relationship between asylum seekers, the Australian Government and its institutions. In two of the four image categories: ‘in custody’ and ‘in detention’ the power relationship between the asylum seekers and the Australian Government officials (Australian Defence Force personnel and Border Patrol staff) is clearly prominent, and indicated by the bodily

52 1464 separate images featuring people seeking asylum were identified across the 336 television news reports.
53 An additional category of ‘miscellaneous’ (court settings, some non-residential street settings etc.), makes up only 1% of all images, and thus is disregarded in terms of the likely impact of key image settings.
54 Footage of asylum seekers ‘in custody’ refers to any footage in which asylum seekers are subject to direction or supervision of visibly present Border Patrol or ADF personnel.
representation of the two groups. Most frequently this type of video footage depicts asylum seekers who have been intercepted at sea on various types of transport being ‘escorted’ to a detention facility. Footage taken of people seeking asylum ‘in detention’ is proximally confined to within detention centre walls. These specific categories essentially relate to different stages of the same formal process. However, it’s interesting to note that the two types of footage display surprisingly distinctive sets of discursive elements which could also contribute to paradoxical or contrasting narratives about people seeking asylum.

**In Custody**

Images of people seeking asylum ‘in custody’ are the most common visual representations of asylum seekers in the data. Across the 336 television news reports, 725 separate pieces of footage fall into this image category. The frequency of these types of images in the news packages ranged from between 1-11 separate shots in 188 of the news packages overall. A critical analysis of the images sharply highlights their implications for communicating dominant and salient ideological meanings about people seeking asylum. These implications relate especially to three key themes: power relationships revealed through the bodily orientations of people seeking asylum and Australian authority figures; the constant representation of movement within these images; and the sanitisation of suffering (particularly in relation to sea rescue missions). The asymmetrical power relationship between subjects is one of the most consistently obvious features of these images. The following example is a still taken from a typical ‘in custody’ piece of footage and was screened in a news report that was broadcast on Network Ten on 27th September 2013.
Television News Discourse: A multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis into how coverage of the 2013 Australian Federal Election shaped narratives about asylum seekers.

Figure 7-1 Asylum seekers ‘in custody’

This image reveals a wide discrepancy in the power positions held by the two types of social identities. The Australian authority figures are all standing, there are fewer of them, they appear relatively relaxed (un-threatened), and they are wearing uniforms, which indicates their formal association with government institutions and authenticates an authoritative position. Conversely, the people seeking asylum are all sitting, they are being ‘watched over’ or ‘supervised’ by the Australian authorities, they are all wearing life jackets which gives the group the appearance of uniformity or ‘sameness’, but clearly without any of the power symbolically inherent in the Border Patrol Staff uniforms. While it is difficult to see in this particular image, in others, the fact that the asylum seekers are sitting in straight rows is more obvious. Schubert (2005), a researcher in the field of social psychology, points out that language used around hierarchies of power often incorporates vertical metaphors, with those in power positioned as high, while people with less or no power are positioned as lower on a vertical spectrum. ‘When a picture of a hierarchy is drawn, the most powerful person is usually at the top, and the subordinates are drawn below’ (Schubert 2005, p.1). These spatial metaphors of power manifest in images as well and although ‘news visuals’ as ‘factual television’ are ‘imbued with an ideology that includes objectivity as an ideal’ when subjects are observed from a high angle they are
‘generally understood as being in a position of relative powerlessness’ (Koga-Browes 2015, pp.60-61). In this still from network Ten the distinct vertical positions of the Border Patrol staff relative to the asylum seekers, clearly communicates a narrative of dominance and power over the latter.

For viewers seeing this image, it is also significant that the type of boat they are on is uncovered. While the faces of the Australian authority figures are protected with hats and sunglasses, the faces of asylum seekers are exposed. Not only are they afforded no basic protection from the discomfort of intense direct sunlight after days (potentially weeks) of being exposed to the elements, these camera angles offer up their faces for the general scrutiny of news viewers, inviting judgement of those who are already pictured as being under restraint by the Australian border authorities.

One of the other key features of the television footage of asylum seekers in custody is the constant theme of movement. Asylum seekers are shown being moved on and off boats, planes, minibuses and other forms of transport, being escorted along piers, being moved up or down or into a queue. With very few exceptions, file footage of asylum seekers that depicts locations outside of detention centres emphasises guarded mobility and official supervision as the main discursive elements. The Australian Government exercises its power to limit access to alternative narratives through the restriction of visual material available to the media for inclusion in television news reports (DIAC 2013). The visually communicated constant movement of people rescued from asylum boats implies that the government’s mandate is to ‘move them along’, ‘take action’ or ‘take control of the situation’. These meanings achieve two outcomes for the government; it is seen to be effectively dealing with ‘the problem’, by controlling momentum, plus, these officially framed ‘movements’ further differentiate and demarcate asylum seekers from Australian
Television News Discourse: A multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis into how coverage of the 2013 Australian Federal Election shaped narratives about asylum seekers.

citizens by way of obscuring any sense of ‘ordinariness’ or ‘humanness’ that may derive from them being represented in less forceful ways.

Other examples of ‘in custody’ footage feature asylum seekers being ‘patted down’ or ‘frisked’ by Border Control Staff. The televisual exposure of this formal procedure may lead audiences to associate asylum seekers with many negative connotations these types of visual symbols evoke. The following examples are stills taken from news reports broadcast on Network Nine on 18th July (1) and 19th October (2).

**Figure 7-2 Asylum seekers undergoing security checks**

Still 1 Still 2

In discourses of law enforcement, ‘pat-downs’ of suspects are a procedural requirement. However, as a routine action, a ‘pat-down’ can also function as a visual signal, indicating the suspected wrongdoing of the asylum seekers subject to the procedure, further conflating discourses of seeking asylum with discourses of criminality (Yamamoto 2007). ‘A vision of collective offenderhood naturalises social inequalities and rhetorically legitimises further marginalisation of the marginalised’ (Yamamoto 2007, p.1). In using footage of asylum seekers being patted down in news coverage of boat rescues, discourses of criminality and risk are evoked through implying that people seeking asylum might be

carrying weapons, are thus dangerous, and Australian society should be protected from them. Additionally, the use of latex gloves (presumably a standard operational protocol), provides a strong visual link to contemporary medical discourses such as infection control and professional hygiene, as well as socio-culturally motivated discourses of people seeking asylum as being ‘diseased’ or considered ‘a disease’.

In examining some of the relationships between media and asylum seeker discourses, Pickering (2001) has identified the routine construction of people seeking asylum as a ‘deviant’ population. Although her research was focused on Australian print media articles and conducted over 15 years ago, the results of her study equally apply to what’s been observed in the television news data at the core of this project, specifically the highly problematised nature of constructions of people seeking asylum, often based on notions of threat or risk.

Disease sees asylum seekers constructed as not only problems, but deadly problems. In becoming linked to the transmission of disease an analogy is created- asylum seekers threaten the life of the host society, a society that is repeatedly represented as the healthy and the robust and the asylum seeker as the foreign. (Pickering 2001, p.182)

The latex gloves in the images are subtle visual elements which nevertheless function evocatively to convey notions about ‘infection control’. Furthermore, the bodily posture of the asylum seekers undergoing the frisking procedure - the arms outstretched ‘surrender’ gesture - functions to validate notions that they should be thoroughly inspected. These examples also provide an interesting point of comparison between the treatment of the female asylum seekers in Still 1 and the male asylum seekers in Still 2. The people in both images appear to be subject to the same treatment, not defined and treated as male or female, but equally afforded ‘outsider’ status due to the powerful official actions displayed.
Television News Discourse: A multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis into how coverage of the 2013 Australian Federal Election shaped narratives about asylum seekers.

**In Detention**

Footage featuring asylum seekers in a detention facility was the next most frequent type of visual representation found in the data. Across the 336 news reports, there were 448 pieces of ‘in detention’ footage identified in 104 of them. Comparatively this amount is much lower than instances of footage featuring asylum seekers ‘in custody’. However, it is crucially important in that the types of environments people seeking asylum are presented in, seen as occupying, or appear to ‘belong to’, have very strong implications for shaping socio-political narratives or understandings about them. In almost all images of detention centres, the main identifying feature and the foregrounded symbol was that of the fence; high, wire, razor. The following stills were taken from news reports aired on ABC on the 16th July and Network Ten on 18th August.

**Figure 7-3 Fences as Symbolic Boundaries**

Still 1 Still 2

The fence is arguably symbolic of the social boundaries separating asylum seekers and refugees from the broader Australian population. Such a separation of subject statuses; non-citizen from citizen constitutes efforts to 'distinguish between members and unacceptable residents of the territory – through regulation of the internal boundaries'

(Waldinger & Fitzgerald 2004, p.1179). In some instances where the aesthetics of detention facilities are barely distinguishable from other types of buildings which are a regular part of unrestricted community life such as schools or office buildings, the prominence of fences ‘flags’ the bounded premises as something separate and indeed removed, from regular society. These marked perimeters identify the space as a place of monitored exclusion, and for those de-identified figures inhabiting the space; they are also symbolically ‘marked’ as illegitimate, illegal or simply unwelcome.

The representation of asylum seekers within the institutional setting of a detention facility could be viewed as a function of the militarised paradigm used to frame asylum seeker issues in news media reports throughout the 2013 Federal Election. Footage taken inside these detention facilities typically represent asylum seekers as idle or waiting, doing little else but sitting in different areas of the facility.

**Figure 7-4 Asylum Seekers in Detention Facilities**

These stills taken from reports aired on Network Seven on 20th July (1) and Nine on 30th July (2), may further encourage perceptions of difference, framing the asylum seeker person not as an individual using agency to make decisions and move their life trajectory forward (as Australian citizens are allowed to do), but as a body in ‘limbo’, in stasis. Paul
Television News Discourse: A multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis into how coverage of the 2013 Australian Federal Election shaped narratives about asylum seekers.

Hodge (2015), in his analysis of the ‘violent frames’ of Operation Sovereign Borders and their impacts in ‘securing’ asylum seeker bodies, agrees that through militarised framings (including narratives and imagery) these persons are constructed as ‘non-citizens, illegitimate and unrecognisable as a life that matters’ (p.129).

Asylum seekers, having been recast as enemies and denied human rights as legitimate seekers of asylum, instead become war combatants and threats to our borders. Evoking a war footing renders asylum seekers further removed from the prospect of asylum as their bodies are reconstituted in the security domain. (p.127)

As such, punitive immigration policy measures and the denial of human rights continue to be legitimised in political and media discourses through repeated implied meanings that an asylum seeker’s life is not as equally valued as the life of an Australian citizen. Michalowski (2007) emphatically posits that these violations of human rights should actually be regarded as legitimate crimes, rather than ‘immigration policy’. With a focus on the militarised response to irregular migration along the US-Mexico border and underpinned by the theoretical framework of an Analogous Social Injury (ASI) Michalowski’s research has also considered that:

Legally permissible acts or social conditions that result in (1) bodily harms such as violent or untimely death, injury, illness, or disease, (2) significant deprivations of food, clothing, shelter, medical care, or education, and/or (3) intentional or structural limitations on political and/or social participation are the sociological equivalents of crime and should be studied as such. (2007, p.63)

Television news images representing people seeking asylum within detention facilities, do so in ways which both dehumanise and institutionalise the subjects of the footage. The de-emphasis of asylum seekers’ humanness qualities as well as strong visual indicators (idleness, living in tents, within the confines of detention centre boundaries restricted by security fencing) that social, structural and psychological needs of asylum seekers are not
being sufficiently met, also indicate that conditions (2) and (3) of the ASI framework are apparent in the Australian Government’s commitment to mandatory detention.

One television news report which aired on SBS on Monday 25th November claimed that the company managing onshore Australian immigration detention facilities had issued a directive that it would no longer record births of children or incidents of clinical depression within the detention centre, and that self-harm and assault records had also been downgraded. It may be argued that these revised conditions surely constituted Michalowski’s schema for Analogous Social Injury in that a lack of official birth and mental health documentation, and declining responses to incidents of harm (self or otherwise) communicated a blatant disregard for the official responsibility of the Australian Government to ensure the safety of people under their duty of care.

Researchers from the Border Crossing Observatory at Monash University in Victoria maintain an Australian Border Deaths Database detailing all known deaths related to Australia’s borders since 1st January 2000. Their records show that between January 2000 and September 2013, 33 people died in on and off-shore immigration detention centres, two were suspected suicides and four were confirmed suicides (Monash 2017). The highly controlled environments of the actual detention centres, in terms of how their systems and processes function to dehumanise those in detention (e.g. by not even acknowledging or documenting births/deaths/mental health/serious medical conditions/violent acts) is actually in parallel with the highly controlled amount and types of visual messages portraying those in detention, with the effect too that government power, mediated through news discourses, impacts how much the viewing public is able to understand about asylum seekers.
In Boats

This category specifically refers to images or footage of people seeking asylum that picture them on/in the boats they’ve boarded in other countries to travel to Australia i.e. ‘asylum boats’. The visual representation of asylum seekers on or in boats makes up 17 per cent of the entire footage which includes asylum seekers. This finding is significant due to the key symbolic role these vessels play as signifiers in immigration discourses. Common labels such as ‘boat-people’, common phrases in reporting such as ‘a boat-load of asylum seekers’ and the tendency for television networks to use a superimposed image of a boat to indicate a news story about asylum seekers, highlight how much discursive and symbolic weight ‘asylum boats’ carry. The following examples, aired on SBS on 19th July (1) and Ten on 27th September (2) demonstrate two of the ways the symbol of the asylum seeker boats was used in television news images.

Figure 7-5 Asylum Seeker Boats

Refugees arriving by boat are arguably one of the few categories of immigrants to Australia who are represented as problematic (Tazreiter 2015). It is the presence of a particular kind of boat, predominantly fishing vessels, generally run down, and most
importantly, carrying asylum seekers, that mark this particular mode of transport, and more importantly, the people who choose such an option in order to seek asylum, as a problem, or as Opposition Leader, Tony Abbott was reported as stating by both Network Nine and Network Ten on 25th July 2013 “a national emergency” (National Nine News 25th July 2013, Ten News 25th July 2013).

The representation of asylum boats as problematic draws together themes of security, sovereignty, threat and risk to national borders, dominant discursive categories which have emerged as particular areas of interest to many scholars in fields of Australian nationalist enquiry (Chambers 2015, Chambers 2012, Dechent 2014, Hodge 2015, Lueck, Due & Augoustinos 2015). By consistently framing asylum seeker boats (and the people on them) as endangering Australia’s borders and sovereignty, the ‘at risk’ boats and their human cargo are predominantly incorporated into a militarised discourse and visually established as ‘illegal’, and controversial.

**Domestic Settings**

Overall the least common setting for the visual representation of asylum seekers was a domestic context. For instance, scenes may have included a residential street, but most frequently shown was the inside, the garden, or the backyard of a residential dwelling. The significance of representing asylum seekers in a domestic setting relates to viewers’ abilities to identify with them and their family members, encouraging perceptions of sameness rather than difference. Footage of small family groups inside houses rather than large groups inside institutional facilities are much more likely to evoke an emotional or sympathetic response in audiences, allowing them to reflect on the situation asylum seekers are in and perhaps adopt a more compassionate and humanitarian view of how asylum seekers should be treated in Australia. While the ‘domestic setting’ footage only
Television News Discourse: A multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis into how coverage of the 2013 Australian Federal Election shaped narratives about asylum seekers.

accounts for 15% of the entire footage that shows asylum seekers (whereas a comparable statistic - 17% - depicted them in ‘asylum boats’), it’s pertinent to examine the qualitative aspects of this finding to attain a more comprehensive understanding of its symbolic dimensions.

Throughout the data, reports which included footage of asylum seekers in domestic settings tended to be part of stories with a more positive or altruistic angle, usually less focused on a political event and more focused on a ‘human-interest’ narrative. Examples included an ABC report broadcast during Refugee Week55, and a Network Seven report about an asylum seeker, a young girl, who was thriving at a Sydney school.

**Figure 7-6 Asylum Seekers in Domestic Settings**

Still 1

[Image of asylum seekers in domestic settings]

Still 2

[Image of asylum seekers in domestic settings]

Still 1 is taken from an ABC news report about Refugee Week which aired on 16th of June features asylum seekers who had been released into community detention in Darwin.

Still 1 features a rare example from the data in which asylum seekers are smiling and demonstrating a relaxed demeanour. The way they have been pictured, in somewhat of a semi-circle invites the audience into the scene and the camera angle further encourages viewers to feel included. ‘The horizontal angle from which social actors are portrayed are seen as depicting the degree to which the portrayer considers them to be “involved” with “us”’ (Koga-Browes 2015, p.62). The team occupies the whole frame, with the trophy located near the centre of the composition, visually signifying their victory. ‘The frontal angle says… “What you see here is part of our world, something we are involved with”’ (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006, p.136). The visual of a sporting team in Still 1 further reiterates themes of inclusivity and support, principles which align with both Refugee Week event and viewers understandings of community sporting teams and leagues in Australia.

The second still is taken from a Network Seven news report aired 23rd July in which reporter, Paul Kadak interviewed a family who had applied for UNCHR refugee status in Indonesia and were living in the community without work rights or access to support services while awaiting a determination of their refugee status. Any interviews with asylum seekers were filmed either in a domestic setting in Indonesia, where the media has access to speak to asylum seekers and refugees (Briskman & Fiske 2016) or in a community setting in Australia. This meant that footage filmed in domestic settings appeared in a much smaller number of news reports. Out of the entire data set of 336 television news reports, 226 images of asylum seekers in a domestic setting were condensed to a total of only 37 news reports. The symbolic quality of this concentrated lack translates to limited opportunities for television news viewers to ‘observe’ asylum seekers in domestic settings, which, it may be argued, could indeed have a negative bearing on humanitarian perspectives.
7.2.2 Facial Features

It has been argued that a crucial step in the ‘dehumanisation’ of asylum seekers is a conspicuous lack of images showing people seeking asylum with recognisable facial features or in a state of obvious distress. Bleiker et al. (2013) have examined, with reference to socio-psychological studies, the impact that ‘figures’ with no discernible facial features, can have on audience responses to people seeking asylum. Their study of print media representations identified an example where a photo published on page 1 of The Australian newspaper (24th October, 2001) did feature a woman whose clear facial expressions communicated distress:\(^{56}\):

> Her facial features make it possible for others to imagine her struggle and suffering; all the more since the headline ‘I lost everything’ invites readers to do so. This image and its frontpage textual setting have all the classical preconditions to generate empathy in viewers. (p.406)

While Bleiker et al.’s research emphasised the communicative power that this kind of visual has in terms of generating humanitarian reactions, interestingly, and importantly, their study also revealed a large discrepancy between the number of images with this type of personified content and those without it. Similarly, this original research has identified a significant lack of images within the television news report data depicting asylum seekers with visible facial features, depriving television viewers of the types of discursive resources most likely to produce emotional or sympathetic responses. Instead, the majority of images predominantly communicate narratives of Otherness, difference and deviance. The following (somewhat innocuous) Still 1 from an ABC report aired on the

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56 The caption accompanying this image, published on the front page of the Australian newspaper on 24th October 2001 reads: ‘Utter despair: Shipwreck survivor Sondos Ismail in Bogor, West Java, mourns the deaths of her three children’ (see Appendix 5).

23rd July, is one example where facial expressions were noticeable. In this scene (taken from footage shot in Indonesia) the ‘responsive’ facial expressions of asylum seekers are contextualised through the lens of an interview process. Still 2 from footage used in a Network Ten report aired on the 27th July, displays an image where the faces of asylum seekers have been deliberately blurred out.

**Figure 7-7 Images of Asylum Seekers: Visible/Blurred Facial Features**

While the ABC news image does depict asylum seekers with unobscured faces, their facial expressions are quite neutral and free from any visible distress. Similarly, no signs of visible distress, or indeed any identifiable *individual* characteristics are communicated through the technically ‘altered’ faces of the persons in Still 2. Overall, across the entire data set only 10 per cent of the images of people seeking asylum show them with discernible facial features, and an even smaller proportion of those images depict them in an obvious state of anguish.

It may be argued therefore, that the less visually identifiable the misery of asylum seekers was, the more nebulous the effects may have been on television news audiences throughout coverage of the 2013 Federal Election.
7.2.3 Group Size

Whether it is a stand-alone factor or is addressed in combination with the earlier setting (‘in custody’; ‘in detention’; ‘on boats’; ‘in domestic settings’) and ‘facial features’ categories, the group sizes pictured in an image also have significant implications for the way an audience reads or may relate to the image subjects. CDA scholars note the importance of images in media discourses, pointing to choices made by journalists or media practitioners in the construction of media products as revealing underlying ideological positions (Fairclough 2013, Fairclough 2001, Fairclough 1995, Hansen & Machin 2013, van Dijk 2013). For example, Hansen and Machin (2013) argue that decisions made by media producers about the types of images included in media discourses can be indicative of strategic attempts to encourage preferred interpretations by audiences. People are often individualised when the authors want to present them as ‘human’, usually in order to align the readers alongside these people, inversely a variety of ‘enemies’ may be collectivised in order to obscure their humanity and reduce reader sympathy or recognition (Hansen & Machin 2012).

Images of individual persons are more likely to evoke a sympathetic or emotional response in viewers while images of large or even medium groups may potentially have the opposite effect: ‘a crowd of people in danger is “faceless” and can actually numb viewers, rather than evoke a compassionate emotional reaction’ (Bleiker et al. 2013, p.404). Continual representation of people seeking asylum in groups may also act to communicate a sense of collectiveness, whereby individuals are incorporated into a homogenous social ‘group’ and assigned social characteristics. In Yamamoto’s study of discursive constructs of asylum seekers in Japan, he cites the promotion of a concept of ‘collective offenderhood’ attributed to groups of asylum seekers, founded on conflating discourses of crime and foreignness (Yamamoto 2007). This type of collective

construction is similarly found in television news discourses of asylum seekers during the 2013 Australian Federal Election, although their ‘criminality’ is established through procedural violations rather than ‘foreignness’.

The following examples, depicting large groups of asylum seekers have been taken from a Seven Network report which aired on the 7th of July, and a Nine Network report aired on the 13th July.

**Figure 7-8 Images of Large Groups of Asylum Seekers**

![Still 1](image1)

![Still 2](image2)

Of all the video footage of asylum seekers used in news packages throughout the 2013 Federal Election 13 per cent featured a large group of 15 or more people, 45 per cent showed a medium group of between four and 14 people, 25 per cent of images showed a small group of two or three people, and 17 per cent pictured a single individual. Images of large groups of asylum seekers pictured them in asylum seeker boats, in detention centres or ‘in custody’. In accordance with Hansen & Machin’s critical views, these findings demonstrate that the particular style of images which were least likely to evoke sympathetic responses from viewing audiences were the very images most likely to be used in news packages during the 2013 election. These images also visually promoted the
common narrative that ‘too many’ asylum seekers are coming to Australia, again contributing to the legitimisation of government calls for their exclusion. Images of medium and large groups of asylum seekers also reinforced ‘container’ metaphors constructing Australia as being ‘at capacity’, implying that large numbers of asylum seekers would ‘overfill’ the container, and increasingly justifying their continued detention in off-shore facilities.

7.3 Contrasting Images of Interception: ‘Humanitarian’ Rescues

The television news reports aired during the six-month data collection period include reports of asylum seeker boats which may have been intercepted, required assistance or sank, leading to a rescue operation. Out of the 82 reports of this type, 62 reported on incidents of asylum seeker boats rescued or intercepted in Australian waters, 13 in European waters, and seven in Indonesian waters. Comparing the Indonesian footage of rescue operations to Australian footage of rescue operations especially reveals how tightly restricted and sanitised the Australian imagery is compared to visuals filmed in Indonesia where no such restrictions exist.

The following stills are taken from reports of an Australian search and rescue operation and an Indonesian rescue. The Indonesian footage featured in a report of a rescue operation that occurred after an asylum boat carrying up to 200 people sank close to the coast of Java on 24th July. This report aired on the Nine Network on the 25th July and at

57 The news reports on European asylum boats tended to be very brief and factual. Despite the boats in European waters not posing a ‘threat’ to Australian borders (because of geography/proximity), the newsworthy values of the sinking/rescue incidents meant these asylum seeker ‘events’ were covered in Australian news reports.
the time of broadcast 189 people had been rescued and nine were confirmed dead. The Australian operation took place on the 20\textsuperscript{th} August after an asylum boat carrying over 100 asylum seekers capsized north of Christmas Island on 19\textsuperscript{th} August. 106 asylum seekers had been rescued at the time the SBS report was broadcast on 20\textsuperscript{th} August and no deaths had been reported.

**Table 7-1 Australian & Indonesian Rescue Footage**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Australian Footage</th>
<th>Indonesian Footage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><img src="image1" alt="Australian Footage" /></td>
<td><img src="image2" alt="Indonesian Footage" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><img src="image3" alt="Australian Footage" /></td>
<td><img src="image4" alt="Indonesian Footage" /></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Australian footage is highly sanitised and the story begins only once the ‘messiness’, the real-life experience of the rescue has already taken place. It uses file footage of military vessels, equipment, weaponry and personnel to illustrate the search and rescue mission narrative, rather than footage of the actual ‘saving’. There is no evidence of trauma, pain or suffering in the Australian footage, there are no images of people actually being pulled from the water. Tellingly, the only image of actual asylum seekers in this sequence is the final still in which the six asylum seekers are pictured on a Navy lifeboat vessel in what appear to be military-issued overalls and life jackets with none of their facial features recognisable. Chouliaraki (2006) discusses media representations of distant suffering through visual languages. She argues that media discourses can function to diminish suffering, thus restricting the likelihood of compassionate audience engagement:
The reason is that the very technological form of the medium [television] ‘sanitises’ reality; that is to say, it cuts real life off from its raw sensations, depriving mediated suffering of its compelling physicality and shifting the fact of suffering into pixel form. (p.155)

The Australian footage of the asylum seeker rescue is not only sanitised by the nature of its medium of representation, it is conspicuously and strategically sanitised in terms of its stylistic and discursive construction. This sanitisation of suffering and the lack of images which depict any interaction between Border Protection officers and asylum seekers during the Australian ‘rescue’ becomes highly conspicuous when compared to the Indonesian footage. In direct contrast, the footage of the rescue of asylum seekers taken in Indonesia shows highly emotional facial expressions, it shows people carrying injuries and in distress, it shows persons providing direct physical assistance and it demonstrates support rather than securitisation. Dauphinee’s (2007) work on the ethics of imagery and bodily representation asserts that: ‘images of the body in pain are the primary way through which we come to know war, torture and other pain producing activities’ (p. 139). Restrictions put in place by the Australian Government about the type of footage able to be filmed of asylum seekers, i.e. neither ‘personalising’ or ‘humanising’ images have significant implications for their representation as dehumanised subjects. In the Indonesian footage asylum seekers are human beings, in the Australian footage they are simply bodies.

7.4 Conclusion

Images and footage used in the news report data to depict people seeking asylum overwhelmingly demonstrated visual communication techniques which resulted in the symbolic dehumanisation of the asylum seeker subjects. Locating asylum seekers
repetitively within settings which foreground geo-spatial limitations and enforced surveillance and movement, rather than within domestic or community settings, visually demarcates asylum seekers as ‘outsiders’ or unacceptable members of the community, establishing grounds for their continued exclusion from Australian life.

The blurring or obscuring of asylum seekers’ facial features in images throughout the data has serious ramifications in terms of reducing audiences’ cognitive abilities to recognise and respond to trauma and suffering experienced by the subjects of the images. Instead of showing viewers the facial cues likely to produce an emotional response, the use of altered images, enforced by legislative restrictions, communicates a narrative of Otherness and difference. Additionally, images of large and medium groups rather than small groups or single subjects, encourages the viewer’s perception that there are ‘too many’ asylum seekers coming to Australia by boat, thus legitimising exclusionary government policies and replacing a sense of individualism with notions of a collective, homogenous group, inherently incompatible with the Australian community.

Furthermore, the ubiquitous combination of settings, facial obscurity and group sizes in footage of asylum seekers within the data, amplifies dehumanised constructions of people seeking asylum by inviting audiences to understand people seeking asylum through repetitive frames which de-emphasises their plight and positions them as ‘less than’ Australian citizens.
8 CONCLUSION

8.1 Research Findings

This doctoral research has applied a multimodal CDA methodology to the analysis of television news reports about people seeking asylum that aired during the 2013 Australian Federal Election, in order to answer the research question: *How did coverage of the 2013 Australian Federal Election shape narratives about asylum seekers?* A detailed micro examination of verbal language and image styles packaged in news report constructions revealed that rhetorical techniques were prolific, and also that dominant themes of militarisation and dehumanisation were consistently embedded in political stories about people seeking asylum. Furthermore, these findings indicated that persistent media and political discourses about asylum seekers, which especially prevailed during the 2013 election campaign, primarily represented ‘them’ in terms of repetitive and problematizing narratives of exclusion.

Rhetorical techniques enacted by politicians, news editing choices which enhanced ideological framings, along with the types of visuals used in news packages, both maintained and contributed to the naturalisation of socio-political narratives about people seeking asylum. Importantly, these repetitive constructions were shaped by overarching assumptions that people seeking asylum are a *problem* and present ongoing risks for Australians. Abundant and dominant discourses of ineligibility, illegality, militarisation, and dehumanisation were underpinned by the organising principle of problematisation.
Television News Discourse: A multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis into how coverage of the 2013 Australian Federal Election shaped narratives about asylum seekers.

The Literature Review in Chapter 2 provided a comprehensive account of the existing research and published works concentrating on Australian political discourse and television news reporting to contextualise this original project within the fields of media studies and political communication. Evolving communicative theories of media bias and effects were outlined, with the central role of narrative accounted for and particular attention paid to the function of rhetoric in shaping ideological narratives about asylum seekers which in turn, become naturalised within Australian discourses of immigration and operate to legitimise harmful treatment of people seeking asylum. Socio-historical constructions of an Australian national identity, especially regarding conceptions of what constitutes ‘fairness’ were also discussed at length, in order to fully establish the impacts perceptions of a national identity may have in shaping narratives about asylum seekers, which position them as ‘deviant’ and ‘illegal’. These categories of distinction not only justified increasing military-style government interventions and immigration policies, they also resulted in diminished transitional conditions for asylum seekers, ensuring their exclusion, both physically and symbolically, from the Australian national space.

A rigorous application of the Pragmatic Cognitive Model of interpretation to the visual and verbal tracks of one news report from each of the five free-to-air Australian television networks yielded extremely valuable information in terms of understanding how news story components and ideological threads combine to communicate dominant asylum seeker discourses. Repetitive macro narratives of illegality, militarisation and dehumanisation were found to contribute to the news media construction of asylum seekers as inherently deviant and threatening.

A close examination of the rhetorical strategies used by politicians (and to a lesser extent newsreaders and reporters), revealed a set of prominent language techniques occurring across the data. Repetitive metaphoric and euphemistic constructions, as well as strategic
uses of obfuscation, metonymy and personification were identified as having significant communicative power in terms of shaping dominant, negative asylum seeker narratives. These narratives demonstrated remarkably consistent implicit and explicit claims about the illegitimate and threatening nature of asylum seekers, and were, again, built on the assumption that asylum seekers constitute a ‘problem’ to be ‘dealt with’ by the Australian Government.

Representations of asylum seekers as an increasing problem were also reinforced by the prolific presence of military discourses in news reports about people seeking asylum during the 2013 Australian Federal Election. Images of asylum seeker boats, Australian Navy vessels, war metaphors, the visual presence of Border Patrol and Navy personnel as well as the implementation of the Coalition’s military-led policy *Operation Sovereign Borders* provided evidence of strategic politically motivated attempts to justify the increasingly militarised Government response to people seeking asylum in Australia. Politicians advocating the necessity of a military solution to the asylum seeker ‘problem’, constituted a substantial elevation of previous discourses of immigration, further obscuring any alternative, perhaps more compassionate, ways of understanding or speaking about people seeking asylum.

Governmental restrictions in terms of journalistic access to and interaction with people seeking asylum, as well as the maintenance of regulatory controls, were found to be a vital factor in the production and acquisition of images of asylum seekers for media use. As a result of tightly regulated access to visual resources, footage used to depict people seeking asylum overwhelmingly showed asylum seekers in ways which de-emphasised their humanity, potentially encouraging viewers’ perceptions of asylum seekers as ‘outsiders’ lacking in uniquely human qualities. Images of asylum seekers in institutional
settings rather than domestic contexts, in medium to large groups, and in footage which obscured their facial features in various ways, were the most common styles of representation. These particular compositions were established as the kinds of images least likely to evoke a sympathetic or emotional response from audiences, reinforcing the symbolic divisions between the Australian citizens and asylum seekers, thereby justifying their continued exclusion from Australian communities and culture.

8.2 Directions for future research
Directions for future research into this important area of inquiry include additional multimodal analyses at the nexus of media and political discourses. While this original research makes an important contribution to the field of multimodal discourse studies, there is still significant ground to make up in order to meaningfully reduce the discrepancy between studies based on print media data and those which analyse television reports. While television news reports are dynamic and complex, posing analytical challenges, neglecting to address such challenges leaves the field of critical discourse studies under-developed. Future research in the field could lead to further development of the theoretical foundations and analytical frameworks used to examine television data. This is particularly important for the examination of political discourses in television news media due to the role television plays in establishing dominant socio-cultural, ideologically motivated narratives.

A comparative analysis of the distinctive techniques each of the five free-to-air Australian networks; ABC, SBS, Ten, Nine and Seven used to construct news reports about people seeking asylum during the 2013 Federal Election, would provide additional insights into Australian television news structures in regard to how they contribute to and maintain dominant discourses. A cross-network analysis could also aid in identifying areas of
Television news reporting, such as file footage use, framing devices and the inclusion of news sources which offer a wider range of perspectives, which, if appropriately addressed, could present opportunities to challenge dominant news discourses about people seeking asylum.

Despite having data set of 336 news reports overall to draw on for analysis, due to the level of complexity in performing multimodal analyses and the detail required to comprehensively analyse each report, only five were selected for the application of the Pragmatic Cognitive Model of Interpretation in this project. A suitable future research project might involve the application of the model to several reports from the same network across the dataset timeframe, to conduct a longitudinal comparison of a single network’s reports before, during and post-election.

Additionally, while this study analyses a case study of the 2013 Australian Federal Election, it may be enlightening to examine asylum seeker discourses in television news media during a six-month period where no election occurred to determine what, if any, differences were demonstrated in the ways people seeking asylum were represented.

8.3 Industry Practice Implications

This original research leads to the strong recommendation for Australian free-to-air television networks to implement file footage use policies which address not only the consistent labelling of file footage included in news packages, but the processes of selecting file footage for news packages. Furthermore, acknowledging the importance of file footage use in news reports about people seeking asylum, and indeed a range of marginalised social groups, is crucial in regard to the socially responsible use of such
Television News Discourse: A multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis into how coverage of the 2013 Australian Federal Election shaped narratives about asylum seekers.

footage to avoid drawing on and consistently reinforcing stereotypes and negative perceptions about minority groups.
9 REFERENCES

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“A fresh shot has been fired in the tit-for-tat battle over how to deal with asylum seekers.” National Nine News. Nine Network. 30 July 2013. Television.


Television News Discourse: A multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis into how coverage of the 2013 Australian Federal Election shaped narratives about asylum seekers.


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“A search and rescue mission is still underway after a vessel carrying more than one hundred suspected asylum seekers capsized.” World News Australia. SBS. 20 August 2013. Television.


“A search and rescue mission is still underway after a vessel carrying more than one hundred suspected asylum seekers capsized.” World News Australia. SBS. 20 August 2013. Television.

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“It's the crisis generating bold ideas and today Tony Abbott said he'd call in the military as part of his attack to stop the asylum boats.” National Nine News. Nine Network. 25 July 2013. Television.


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“Kevin Rudd is turning to the United Nations to try and stem the flow of boat arrivals.” World News Australia. SBS. 18 July 2013. Television.


“Knife's edge, an asylum seekers boat has nearly reached the Australian mainland at Broome just as Labor hints at new measures to stop the growing wave of illegal arrivals.” Seven Nightly News. Network Seven. 15 July 2013. Television.


Television News Discourse: A multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis into how coverage of the 2013 Australian Federal Election shaped narratives about asylum seekers.


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Television News Discourse: A multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis into how coverage of the 2013 Australian Federal Election shaped narratives about asylum seekers.


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“Troubled waters In Indonesian waters in early today an Australian Navy frigate was involved in a dramatic rescue.” *Ten News*. Network Ten. 27 September 2013. Television.


Leicha Stewart – January 2018


Television News Discourse: A multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis into how coverage of the 2013 Australian Federal Election shaped narratives about asylum seekers.


Television News Discourse: A multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis into how coverage of the 2013 Australian Federal Election shaped narratives about asylum seekers.

APPENDIX 1. PROCLAMATION DISSOLVING PARLIAMENT

[Image of the proclamation]

I, QUENTIN ALICE LOUISE BRYCE, Governor-General of the Commonwealth of Australia, acting under section 5 of the Constitution,

- prorogue the Parliament from 6.20 pm on Monday, 5 August 2013, until Saturday, 7 September 2013; and
- dissolve the House of Representatives at 5.30 pm on Monday, 5 August 2013.

Signed and sealed with the Great Seal of Australia on 7 August 2013

Governor-General

By Her Excellency’s Command

Prime Minister

Government Notices Gazette C2013G01196 05/08/2013
## APPENDIX 2. TELEVISION NEWS REPORTS IN DATA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TITLE</th>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>NETWORK</th>
<th>NETWORK STATUS</th>
<th>ELECTION PERIOD</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 : An investigation is under way into how 27 asylum seekers made it</td>
<td>6/12/2013</td>
<td>ABC</td>
<td>Public Broadcasting</td>
<td>Post-Election</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to Christmas Island without being detected. ABC News Victoria, NSW,</td>
<td></td>
<td>ABC1</td>
<td>Public Broadcasting</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SA, QLD, WA ABC1 Melbourne, Broadcast Date Friday, 6th</td>
<td></td>
<td>Melbourne, Broadcast Date Friday, 6th</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2 : An asylum seeker boat has made it to shore undetected on Christmas</td>
<td>5/12/2013</td>
<td>ABC</td>
<td>Public Broadcasting</td>
<td>Post-Election</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Island. ABC News Victoria, SA, ABC1 Melbourne, Time 1900; Broadcast</td>
<td></td>
<td>ABC1</td>
<td>Public Broadcasting</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date Thursday, 5th December 2013</td>
<td></td>
<td>Melbourne, Broadcast Date Thursday, 5th December 2013</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 : An asylum seeker family will stay in Brisbane for now to access</td>
<td>29/11/2013</td>
<td>ABC</td>
<td>Public Broadcasting</td>
<td>Post-Election</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>medical care for their sick newborn baby. ABC News QLD ABC1 Brisbane</td>
<td></td>
<td>ABC1</td>
<td>Public Broadcasting</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time 1900; Broadcast Date Friday, 29th November</td>
<td></td>
<td>Brisbane, Broadcast Date Friday, 29th November</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 : Detention rally A former President of the Australian Medical</td>
<td>18/11/2013</td>
<td>ABC</td>
<td>Public Broadcasting</td>
<td>Post-Election</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Association's Territory branch wants the Immigration Minister to be</td>
<td></td>
<td>ABC</td>
<td>Public Broadcasting</td>
<td></td>
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<td>reported, ABC NT, 6pm 18.11</td>
<td></td>
<td>NT</td>
<td>Public Broadcasting</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>5 : The PM is donating boats to regional neighbours in hope they'll</td>
<td>17/11/2013</td>
<td>ABC</td>
<td>Public Broadcasting</td>
<td>Post-Election</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>help enforce his policy to stop the boats. ABC News WA, VIC, ABC1</td>
<td></td>
<td>ABC</td>
<td>Public Broadcasting</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perth, 17.11.13</td>
<td></td>
<td>Perth, 17.11.13</td>
<td>Public Broadcasting</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 : Commonwealth talks Human rights and the wrongs of people smuggling</td>
<td>15/11/2013</td>
<td>ABC</td>
<td>Public Broadcasting</td>
<td>Post-Election</td>
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<tr>
<td>are dominating the Prime Minister's visit to Sri Lanka. ABC News</td>
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<td>ABC</td>
<td>Public Broadcasting</td>
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<td>NSW, NT, QLD, SA, VIC, 7pm, 15.11</td>
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<td>NSW, NT, QLD, SA, VIC, 7pm, 15.11</td>
<td>Public Broadcasting</td>
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<td>7 : Asylum policy Indonesia has released details of secret negotiations</td>
<td>12/11/2013</td>
<td>ABC</td>
<td>Public Broadcasting</td>
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<td>for a new asylum seeker deal with Australia. ABC News NSW ABC1 Sydney,</td>
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<td>ABC</td>
<td>Public Broadcasting</td>
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<tr>
<td>Time 1900; Broadcast Date Tuesday, 12th Nov</td>
<td></td>
<td>ABC1</td>
<td>Public Broadcasting</td>
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<td>8 : The immigration department is refusing to confirm that a boat</td>
<td>12/11/2013</td>
<td>ABC</td>
<td>Public Broadcasting</td>
<td>Post-Election</td>
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<td>carrying asylum seekers arrived in Darwin last night. ABC News WA</td>
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<td>ABC</td>
<td>Public Broadcasting</td>
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<tr>
<td>ABC1 Perth Time 1900; Broadcast Date Tuesday, 12th Nov</td>
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<td>ABC1</td>
<td>Public Broadcasting</td>
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<td>9 : New parliament The Immigration Minister has acknowledged he is</td>
<td>11/11/2013</td>
<td>ABC</td>
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<td>frustrated with Indonesia over asylum</td>
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<td>Public Broadcasting</td>
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Television News Discourse: A multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis into how coverage of the 2013 Australian Federal Election shaped narratives about asylum seekers.

| 10 | The new Federal Parliament begins this week with old issues set to dominate. ABC News WA ABC1 Perth Time 1900 Broadcast Date Sunday, 10th November | 10/11/2013 | ABC | Public Broadcasting | Post-Election |
| 11 | News of the leaks sent the heads of the nation's top spy agencies to Parliament House to brief the Government. ABC News QLD ABC1 Brisbane Time 1900 Broadcast Date Monday, 18th Nov | 8/11/2013 | ABC | Public Broadcasting | Post-Election |
| 12 | The government has vowed not to bow to what it calls politically correct language for describing asylum seekers, ABC NSW, VIC, NT, QLD, SA, WA, 7pm, 21st Oct | 21/10/2013 | ABC | Public Broadcasting | Post-Election |
| 13 | Boat tragedy The UN is urging the international community to do more to prevent asylum seeker boat tragedies. ABC News NT, WA, NSW ABC1 Darwin, Time 1900, Broadcast Date Sunday, 13th October | 13/10/2013 | ABC | Public Broadcasting | Post-Election |
| 14 | Boat tragedy There has been another boat tragedy in the Mediterranean Sea. ABC News QLD, SA (ABC1 Brisbane); Time 1900; Broadcast Date Saturday, 12th October 2013; | 12/10/2013 | ABC | Public Broadcasting | Post-Election |
| 15 | Territory borders The PM says he hopes Darwin's four detention centres will soon be redundant boats. ABC News NT ABC1 Darwin Time 1900, Broadcast Date Friday, 11th October 2 (2) | 11/10/2013 | ABC | Public Broadcasting | Post-Election |
| 16 | Turning back The Federal Government says joint police operations in Indonesia have stopped more than 550 asylum, ABC News Victoria, QLD, WA, SA, 7pm, Fri 11th Oct (2) | 11/10/2013 | ABC | Public Broadcasting | Post-Election |
| 17 | The European Union has promised $40 million of extra funding to help Italy deal with the influx of is asylum seekers from Africa. ABC News WA, Time 1900; Broadcast Date 10th Oct | 10/10/2013 | ABC | Public Broadcasting | Post-Election |
| 18 | Military sources in Colombo say there were 70 people on board including 13 children, and that all are in good health. ABC News NSW ABC1 Sydney Time 1900 Broadcast Date Saturday, 5th Oct (2) | 5/10/2013 | ABC | Public Broadcasting | Post-Election |

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<tr>
<td>5/10/2013</td>
<td>ABC Public Broadcasting</td>
<td>1900</td>
<td>Saturday, 5th October</td>
<td>The Sri Lankan Navy has intercepted a boat full of asylum seekers who were reportedly heading to Australia. ABC News QLD, VIC, WA, NT, Time 1900; Broadcast Date Saturday, 5th October</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30/09/2013</td>
<td>ABC Public Broadcasting</td>
<td>1900</td>
<td>Sunday, 5th October</td>
<td>Troubled waters The Prime Minister's efforts to get Indonesia on board with its asylum seeker policies appear. ABC News NSW, NT QLD, VIC, SA, WA, ABC1 Sydney, Time 1900, Date Monday, 30th Sep</td>
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<tr>
<td>30/09/2013</td>
<td>ABC Public Broadcasting</td>
<td>1900</td>
<td>Monday, 30th September</td>
<td>Australia's moves to deter asylum seekers haven't discouraged Tamils in northern Sri ABC News NSW, NT, QLD, SA, VIC, ABC1 Sydney Time 1900 Broadcast Date Monday, 30th Sep</td>
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<tr>
<td>29/09/2013</td>
<td>ABC Public Broadcasting</td>
<td>1900</td>
<td>Tuesday, 29th September</td>
<td>Boat tragedy Indonesian soldiers have been accused of driving asylum seekers to a boat which later sank off the Java coast ABC News QLD ABC1 Brisbane Time 1900 Broadcast Date 29th Sep</td>
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<tr>
<td>29/09/2013</td>
<td>ABC Public Broadcasting</td>
<td>1900</td>
<td>Wednesday, 29th September</td>
<td>Boat tragedy The latest boat tragedy has cast another shadow over PM Tony Abbott's first overseas trip to Indonesia tomorrow. ABC News QLD, NT, VIC, WA, SA 29th Sep</td>
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<tr>
<td>28/09/2013</td>
<td>ABC Public Broadcasting</td>
<td>1900</td>
<td>Thursday, 28th September</td>
<td>Boat tragedy Survivors of another asylum seeker boat tragedy have accused Australian authorities of not responding to. ABC News VIC, QLD, WA, SA 28th September</td>
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<tr>
<td>27/09/2013</td>
<td>ABC Public Broadcasting</td>
<td>1900</td>
<td>Friday, 27th September</td>
<td>A group of West Papuan asylum seekers say they've been duped by the Australian Government ABC News SA, QLD, NSW, NT, WA, VIC, ABC1 Adelaide Time 1900 Broadcast Date Friday, 27th September</td>
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<tr>
<td>27/09/2013</td>
<td>ABC Public Broadcasting</td>
<td>1900</td>
<td>Saturday, 27th September</td>
<td>Asylum policy Asylum seekers on their way to Australia have felt the first consequences of the Government's stop the boats policy. ABC News QLD, NT, WA VIC ABC1 Brisbane Time 1900 27th Sep</td>
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<tr>
<td>27/09/2013</td>
<td>ABC Public Broadcasting</td>
<td>1900</td>
<td>Tuesday, 27th September</td>
<td>Factcheck Just a week into government, the new asylum seeker policy has caused diplomatic tensions ABC News NT ABC1 Darwin Time 1900 Broadcast Date Friday, 27th Sept</td>
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<th>Date</th>
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<tr>
<td>25/09/2013</td>
<td>ABC</td>
<td>Public Broadcasting</td>
<td>Asylum policy The Indonesian Government has told Australia's Foreign Minister it won't accept any policy that violates its sovereignty, ABC News NSW, NT, WA 25th Sep</td>
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<tr>
<td>23/09/2013</td>
<td>ABC</td>
<td>Public Broadcasting</td>
<td>Boats briefing Australians might never know if the government succeeds in turning back asylum seeker boats from Indonesia ABC News NSW, NT, QLD SA, WA, ABC1 1900 Monday 23rd Sep</td>
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<td>22/09/2013</td>
<td>ABC</td>
<td>Public Broadcasting</td>
<td>Comfort food Asylum seekers living in community detention Australia can be a strong and unfamiliar place ABC News NSW, NT, VIC, QLD, WA, ABC1 1900 Broadcast Date Sunday, 22nd September</td>
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<tr>
<td>19/09/2013</td>
<td>ABC</td>
<td>Public Broadcasting</td>
<td>The Federal Government has launched its Operation Sovereign Borders designed to stop the arrival of asylum seeker boats, ABC News WA ABC1 Perth Time 1900 Broadcast Date Thursday, 19th Sep</td>
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<tr>
<td>09/09/2013</td>
<td>ABC</td>
<td>Public Broadcasting</td>
<td>China has welcomed Tony Abbott's election but has expressed immediate concern about his plans for tougher scrutiny of foreign investment ABC News WA, NT, QLD, ABC1 Perth Time 1900, 9th Sep</td>
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<td>04/08/2013</td>
<td>ABC</td>
<td>Public Broadcasting</td>
<td>Australia Votes, The economy and what to do with asylum seekers, ABC News NT, VIC, SA, QLD, NSW, WA, 4th August, 7pm</td>
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<tr>
<td>03/08/2013</td>
<td>ABC</td>
<td>Public Broadcasting</td>
<td>Residents in the Hunter Valley town of Singleton say they were not consulted about plans to build a detention center at the town's army base, ABC News NSW,ABC1 Sydney, Time 1900, 3rd August</td>
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<td>02/08/2013</td>
<td>ABC</td>
<td>Public Broadcasting</td>
<td>The Federal Government's economic update includes how the PNG asylum seeker deal will be funded, ABC News QLD, Time 1900 Broadcast Date Friday, 2nd August 2013</td>
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<td>01/08/2013</td>
<td>ABC</td>
<td>Public Broadcasting</td>
<td>An asylum-seeker's being held behind bars accused of stalking a blind woman across Sydney and groping her, ABC News NSW (ABC1 Sydney, Time 1900 Broadcast Date Thursday, 1st August 20</td>
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<td>37</td>
<td>The Federal Government's offshore resettlement plan for Manus Island is facing a new hurdle, ABC News NSW, QLD, SA, VIC, WA. Time 1900, Broadcast Date Thursday, 1st August</td>
<td>1/08/2013</td>
<td>ABC</td>
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<td>38</td>
<td>That was Professor Brian Dollery speaking to our Indonesian authorities saying they need to improve communication when responding distress, ABC News WA, 31st July</td>
<td>31/07/2013</td>
<td>ABC</td>
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<td>39</td>
<td>Migration trends The recent surge in asylum seeker boats has diverted attention from a big shift in broader immigration trends, ABC News WA, Time 1900 Broadcast Date Tues 30th July</td>
<td>30/07/2013</td>
<td>ABC</td>
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<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>The first asylum seekers covered by Kevin Rudd's Papua New Guinea pact are tonight preparing to take the flight ABC News WA, Time 1900 Broadcast Date Tuesday, 30th July</td>
<td>30/07/2013</td>
<td>ABC</td>
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<td>41</td>
<td>Analysts say approval of Labor's new asylum seeker policy is delivering a boost in the polls but Opposition is growing with national protests today reaching ABC News NSW, 28th July</td>
<td>28/07/2013</td>
<td>ABC</td>
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<td>42</td>
<td>The coalition has confirmed it is prepare to adopt the entire Papua New Guinea asylum seeker policy, ABC News NSW, VIC, QLD, NT, SA,WA ABC1 Sydney Time 1900, 28th July</td>
<td>28/07/2013</td>
<td>ABC</td>
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<td>43</td>
<td>Asylum influx The Immigration Minister is staring down people-smugglers, declaring his Papua New Guinea Asylum seeker processing centre ABC News, SA, VIC, NSW, WA, NT,QLD, 27th July</td>
<td>27/07/2013</td>
<td>ABC</td>
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<td>44</td>
<td>As Papua New Guinea pushes ahead with the plan to house and process asylum seekers, questions ABC News VIC, NT,QLD, SA, ABC1, Time 1900, 26th July</td>
<td>26/07/2013</td>
<td>ABC</td>
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<td>45</td>
<td>The PM of the Solomon Islands is leaving the door open to the possibility of his country hosting an asylum seeker processing centre ABC News SA ABC1 Adelaide, Time 1900, 25th July</td>
<td>25/07/2013</td>
<td>ABC</td>
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<td>46</td>
<td>Asylum claims The Immigration Minister has made his first visit to Manus Island after the deal struck with Papua</td>
<td>25/07/2013</td>
<td>ABC</td>
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Television News Discourse: A multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis into how coverage of the 2013 Australian Federal Election shaped narratives about asylum seekers.

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<th>New Guinea to send all asylum seekers there, ABC News QLD SA, 25th July</th>
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<td>47: Sinking inquest Two asylum seekers who survived the capsizing of their boat have told a Coronal inquest it took just ABC News, WA, 25th Jul</td>
<td>25/07/2013</td>
<td>ABC</td>
<td>Public Broadcasting</td>
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<td>48: On Manus Island today, 70 detainees were put on a plane back to Australia, ABC News Victoria ABC1 Melbourne Time 1900; Broadcast Date Wednesday, 24th July</td>
<td>25/07/2013</td>
<td>ABC</td>
<td>Public Broadcasting</td>
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<td>49: In the wake of the asylum seeker riot on Nauru, the acting President has spoken out about why he suspended the country's Australian Police Commissioner, ABC News QLD, 23rd</td>
<td>23/07/2013</td>
<td>ABC</td>
<td>Public Broadcasting</td>
<td>Pre-Election</td>
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<td>50: No deterrent Some asylum seekers in Indonesia are still considering taking a boat to Australia in spite of Kevin Rudd's tough message they will not be allowed to stay, ABC WA, 23rd July</td>
<td>23/07/2013</td>
<td>ABC</td>
<td>Public Broadcasting</td>
<td>Pre-Election</td>
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<td>51: Darwin protest Asylum-seeker advocate are worried refugees already living in the Darwin community won't be able to bring their family members to Australia, ABC News NT, 22nd July</td>
<td>22/07/2013</td>
<td>ABC</td>
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<td>52: PNG plan Papua New Guinea's Prime Minister has assured his people that Kevin Rudd's resettlement keel is not new, ABC News NSW, SA, VIC, QLD Time 1900; Broadcast Date Monday, 22nd July</td>
<td>22/07/2013</td>
<td>ABC</td>
<td>Public Broadcasting</td>
<td>Pre-Election</td>
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<td>53: The ABC has learned that thousands of Indian students and workers have arrived in Australia on dodgy travel and work documents, ABC News NSW, NT, VIC, SA, WA, 22nd July</td>
<td>22/07/2013</td>
<td>ABC</td>
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<td>54: The Australian Federal Police officer working as Nauru's commissioner was suspended on the day of the island's asylum-seeker riot NT, SA, VIC, QLD, WA, ABC1 22nd July</td>
<td>22/07/2013</td>
<td>ABC</td>
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<td>55: PNG solution In PNG, Kevin Rudd's asylum seeker solution is causing fresh problems, ABC News NSW, VIC, QLD, SA, ABC1 Sydney, Time 1900; Broadcast Date Sunday, 21st July</td>
<td>21/07/2013</td>
<td>ABC</td>
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<td>56</td>
<td>PNG solution</td>
<td>Tony Abbott that's trying to demolish the credibility of the Prime Minister's asylum seeker deal with Papua New Guinea, ABC News NSW, QLD,WA, SA,NT, Broadcast, 21st July</td>
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<td>ABC</td>
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<td>57</td>
<td>Border security</td>
<td>The premier says the new asylum seeker policy means Queensland's northern borders need better protection, ABC News QLD, ABC1 Brisbane Time 1900; Broadcast Date 20th July</td>
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<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>Last boats</td>
<td>The last group of asylum seekers to be exempt from the new changes has been brought ashore to WA and flown to Christmas Island, ABC News WA, Time 1900; Broadcast 20th July</td>
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<td>ABC</td>
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<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>Nauru riot</td>
<td>Now to the other asylum seeker issue of the past 24 hours, the riot on Nauru, ABC News Victoria (ABC1 Melbourne, Time 1900 Broadcast Date Saturday, 20th July</td>
<td>20/07/2013</td>
<td>ABC</td>
<td>Public Broadcasting</td>
<td>Pre-Election</td>
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<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>PNG solution</td>
<td>The first asylum seekers to arrive under the Papua New Guinea deal have been told they will never be allowed to settle in Australia, ABC News QLD, 20th July</td>
<td>20/07/2013</td>
<td>ABC</td>
<td>Public Broadcasting</td>
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<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>PNG solution</td>
<td>Well both people smugglers and their potential customers have told the ABC the Government's tough new policy on asylum seekers will affect, ABC News NSW, SA, QLD, VIC, 20th July</td>
<td>20/07/2013</td>
<td>ABC</td>
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<td>62</td>
<td>By the numbers</td>
<td>Today's policy announcement is a response to a dramatic increase in the number of asylum seekers attempting to enter Australia by boat, ABC NT, SA, QLD, WA 19th July</td>
<td>19/07/2013</td>
<td>ABC</td>
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<td>63</td>
<td>Just hours before</td>
<td>the policy was announced, an asylum seeker boat was intercepted off the north-west coast of WA, ABC News WA 19th July</td>
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<td>ABC</td>
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<td>64</td>
<td>Nauru riots</td>
<td>News from Nauru where police have been called in to deal with a major disturbance at the asylum seeker detention centre there ABC News WA Time 1900; 19th July</td>
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<td>ABC</td>
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<td>65</td>
<td>Now to Indonesia</td>
<td>which has just toughened its visa laws to stop Iranians using the country as a gateway to</td>
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<td>66 : Overseas fix refugee advocates have reacted angrily to the policy change ABC News Vic, SA, NSW, QLD, WA, ABC1 Melbourne Time 1900, Broadcast Date Friday, 19th July</td>
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<td>Public Broadcasting</td>
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<td>67 : Refugee policy A known people smuggler says asylum seeker boats will keep coming to Australia despite Government efforts to stop them, ABC News QLD, VIC, SA, NSW, 18th July</td>
<td>18/07/2013</td>
<td>Public Broadcasting</td>
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<td>68 : Detention distress The national children's commissioner says teenagers in detention in Tasmania have been attempting suicide, ABC News WA, NSW, 16th July</td>
<td>16/07/2013</td>
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<td>69 : A boat carrying 84 asylum seekers has been intercepted off the coast of the 'Western Australia' town of Broome ABC News QLD, 15th Jul</td>
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<td>Public Broadcasting</td>
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<td>70 : Broome arrivals Even as Kevin Rudd was talking up a regional response in PNG, another boat carrying nearly 90 asylum, ABC News, WA, 15th July</td>
<td>15/07/2013</td>
<td>Public Broadcasting</td>
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<td>71 : Election fixes The Prime Minister is back from his second overseas trip to put the final touches to his overhaul of policies ABC News NSW , NT, SA, 15th July</td>
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<td>72 : Two more Vietnamese asylum seekers have absconded from immigration detention in Darwin in the fourth such escape in four months, ABC News NT, 14th July</td>
<td>14/07/2013</td>
<td>Public Broadcasting</td>
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<td>73 : Under fire Australia's Maritime Safety Authority has rejected claims it's lost its moral compass and no longer takes distress calls, ABC NSW, NT, QLD, VIC, SA, WA,14th July</td>
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<td>Public Broadcasting</td>
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<td>74 : Final item The Federal Government has revealed authorities waited five hours to send help to a stricken asylum-seeker boat off Christmas Island, ABC News WA, 13th July</td>
<td>13/07/2013</td>
<td>Public Broadcasting</td>
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<td>75 : Rescue operation A baby boy has died and eight people still missing after an asylum-seeker boat sank off</td>
<td>13/07/2013</td>
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<td>6/07/2013</td>
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<td>Presidential visits East Timor's President has signalled interest in the regional approach to dealing with asylum seekers being put, ABC News QLD, VIC, SA 6th July</td>
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<td>6/07/2013</td>
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<td>Asylum policy The Federal Government is trumpeting the progress on asylum seeker policy after yesterday's talks with Indonesia ABC News QLD, 6th July</td>
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<td>Bilateral talks The Indonesian President has come to Kevin Rudd's aid on asylum seeker boats ABC News NSW, VIC, SA, NT, WA QLD, 5th July</td>
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<td>4/07/2013</td>
<td>ABC Public Broadcasting</td>
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<td>Kevin Rudd has made his first move in a sweeping overhaul of the Labor Party, ABC News Victoria, NT, SA, Time 1900, Thursday, 4th July</td>
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<td>4/07/2013</td>
<td>ABC Public Broadcasting</td>
<td>Pre-Election</td>
<td>The PM is playing down the chances of a breakthrough on asylum seekers policy during his visit to Indonesia ABC News WA ABC1 Perth Thursday, 4th July</td>
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<td>4/07/2013</td>
<td>ABC Public Broadcasting</td>
<td>Pre-Election</td>
<td>A people smuggler who was released from jail in Australia four years ago appears to be back in business in Indonesia ABC News Victoria, NT, SA, WA, NSW 4th July</td>
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<td>3/07/2013</td>
<td>ABC Public Broadcasting</td>
<td>Pre-Election</td>
<td>Asylum seeker policy is one issue which Kevin Rudd is calling on Tony Abbott to debate with him on television ABC News SA, 3rd July</td>
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<td>3/07/2013</td>
<td>ABC Public Broadcasting</td>
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<td>Drone defence A senior border security official has cast doubt over the billion dollar military plane at the centre of the opposition's promise to stop, ABC NSW, SA, WA NT, 3rd July</td>
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<td>Asylum inquest: The fatal asylum seeker journey organised by the man in that report is the subject of an inquest under way in Perth, VIC, ABC News NSW, NT, WA, 25th June</td>
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<td>Work ban: An Anglican Church leader says he's hearing first-hand accounts from asylum seekers being forced to consider, ABC News QLD, NSW, VIC, NT 23rd June</td>
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<td>Darwin asylum seeker advocates have marked World Refugee Day with a rally calling for an end to immigration detention ABC News NT Thursday, 20th June</td>
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<td>Pontville tension: There are reports that up to 80 teenagers were involved in a clash at the Pontville detention centre at the weekend, ABC News TAS, 17th June</td>
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<td>Pontville clash: A police investigation is under way after six teenagers were injured in what's understood to be a fight at Tasmania's Pontville, ABC News NT, VIC, 16th June</td>
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<td>Refugee week: Dozens of asylum seekers released into the community in Darwin celebrated World Refugee Day at the water gardens today, ABC News NT, 16th June</td>
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<td>Lawyers working for the release of asylum seekers held on Nauru say they've heard the detention centre there is about to be opened up ABC News Victoria, SA, 10th June</td>
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<td>An extra 1,000 asylum seekers could be housed at a new detention facility for families and children near Darwin, ABC News NT Monday, 10th June</td>
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<td>104</td>
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106: While a search and rescue mission for asylum seekers was under way off Christmas Island, another boat arrived on the island, ABC News WA, Broadcast, 08.06.13

107: Court Challenge, Darwin lawyers are seeking to force Immigration Dept., ABC News, NT, NSW, SA, WA 6th September, 7pm

108: One man is dead and another is seriously injured after a stabbing in Sydney's West, ABC News, 5th September, 7pm

109: Australia Votes, The latest polls suggest Mr Abbott is on track for a comfortable win, ABC News, SA, 31st August, 7pm

110: Australia Votes, Tony Abbott's come up with a multi-million dollar proposal, ABC News VIC, WA, NT, 23rd August, 7pm

111: Australia Votes, Kevin Rudd and Tony Abbott Face off, ABC News WA, 21st August, 7pm

112: Vote Compass, ABC news SA, 21st August, 7pm

113: Indonesia's special conference on people smuggling, ABC news WA, NSW, SA, NT, 20th August, 7pm

114: Australia Votes, An opinion poll released this evening suggests Kevin Rudd's comeback has stalled spectacularly, ABC News, VIC, WA, NT, QLD, SA, 16th August, 7pm

115: Fact Check, A major issues for voters this federal election is asylum seekers, ABC News, 15th August, 7pm

116: The arrival of four asylum seekers in the Torres Strait, ABC News NSW, QLD, SA, NT, 12th August, 7pm

117: 6 Asylum seekers have drowned after their boat ran aground near a popular Sicilian beach, ABC News NT, SA, 11th August, 7pm

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<td>The Defence Force has raised concerns that turning asylum seeker boats around at sea may be illegal, with implications for its personnel. World News Australia, SBS TELEVISION</td>
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<td>Asylum boat incident There are reports of an asylum seeker boat which has run aground at Christmas Island. World News Australia SBS TELEVISION</td>
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<td>The UNHCR has raised serious concerns about the living conditions for asylum seekers in the Nauru and Manus Island detention centres. World News Australia SBS TELEVISION</td>
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<td>132: The true death toll from last month’s asylum seeker both sinking off Indonesia may never be known. World News Australia (SBS TELEVISION); Time 1830; Broadcast Date Monday, 7th October</td>
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<p>| 166 | The Immigration Department has released pictures showing distressed asylum seekers on Christmas Island after they were told they won't be resettled in Australia, WNA, SBS, 22nd July | 22/07/2013 | SBS | Public Broadcasting | Pre-Election |
| 167 | The Federal opposition has accused the government of misleading the Australian people over the new asylum seeker deal with Papua New Guinea, WNA, SBS, 21st July | 21/07/2013 | SBS | Public Broadcasting | Pre-Election |
| 168 | Disturbance among asylum seekers. The Department of Immigration has confirmed to SBS that there is a disturbance among asylum seeker on Nauru, SBS WNA, 19th July | 19/07/2013 | SBS | Public Broadcasting | Pre-Election |
| 169 | Major news on changes to the Government's asylum seeker policy, and the Prime Minister is now trying to sell the new policy to the nation, WNA, SBS 19th July | 19/07/2013 | SBS | Public Broadcasting | Pre-Election |
| 170 | Passport. With asylum seekers shaping up as a major election issue, some Iranians living here believe they have become political pawns World News Australia (SBS TELEVISION), 19th July | 19/07/2013 | SBS | Public Broadcasting | Pre-Election |
| 171 | The Prime Minister, Kevin Rudd, has announced a major new policy that dashes any hopes that asylum seekers have for a new life in Australia, WNA, SBS 19th July | 19/07/2013 | SBS | Public Broadcasting | Pre-Election |
| 172 | Back now to our main story tonight and a very personal perspective on the asylum issue, World News Australia, Time 1830; Broadcast Thursday, 18th July | 18/07/2013 | SBS | Public Broadcasting | Pre-Election |
| 173 | Kevin Rudd is turning to the United Nations to try and stem the flow of boat arrivals, World News Australia, Time 1830; Broadcast Date Thursday, 18th July | 18/07/2013 | SBS | Public Broadcasting | Pre-Election |
| 174 | Another boat is in trouble near Christmas Island tonight, just a short distance from last night's sinking tragedy WNA, SBS Time 1830; 17th July | 17/07/2013 | SBS | Public Broadcasting | Pre-Election |
| 175 | The Coalition says that the Government is handing over domestic powers to Indonesia by giving it a veto | 16/07/2013 | SBS | Public Broadcasting | Pre-Election |</p>
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<td>As we saw earlier, Labor has resumed its processing of asylum seekers claims after an 11-month hiatus, World News Australia SBS Thursday, 4th July</td>
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<td>Perth coroner' court has heard that calls for help by asylum seekers to Australian search-and-rescue authorities were not, WNA SBS, 26th June</td>
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<td>189</td>
<td>A coronial inquest has begun into the drowning of more than 100 asylum seekers off Christmas Island last year, World News Australia SBS, 25th June</td>
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<td>190</td>
<td>The first group of Sudanese and Lebanese asylum seekers have been transferred to Nauru, World News Australia SBS, 15th June</td>
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<td>191</td>
<td>Boat claims from a Darwin fishermen that his vessel was ordered not to assist an asylum-seeker boat with children on board , SBS WNA, 15th June</td>
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<td>Interpol Authorities are investigating whether Interpol wrongly reported the convictions of the Egyptian asylum seeker at the centre of an Australian, WNA SBS 13th June</td>
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<td>193</td>
<td>The bodies of dozens of asylum seekers who died off Christmas Island last week may never be recovered, SBS, WNA , Tuesday, 11th June</td>
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<td>194</td>
<td>Rescue vessels are on their way to another asylum seeker boat believed in trouble off Christmas Island [online]. World News Australia (SBS TELEVISION), 10th June</td>
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<td>News in brief The federal government is to open a low- security detention facility in Darwin to house asylum seeker families [online]. World News Australia SBS TELEVISION, 9th June</td>
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<td>The federal government is to open a low- security detention facility in Darwin to house asylum seeker families,</td>
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<td>Election 2013, The polls show the Government's new asylum seeker deal, World news Australia, SBS, 10th August, 6.30</td>
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<td>You Won't be settled in Australia, the Federal government has been accused of breaching, World News Australia, SBS, 9th August, 6.30</td>
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<td>214</td>
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<td>215</td>
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<td>216</td>
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<td>Asylum seeker row The Federal Government's controversial border protection plan is likely to dominate question time, Seven Nightly News, 6pm 10.11.13</td>
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<td>217</td>
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<td>50 feared drowned in asylum seeker tragedy At least 50 people are feared drowned after another asylum seeker boat sank Seven Nightly News, 6pm, 12th Oct</td>
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<td>218</td>
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<td>Asylum seekers drown after boat fire At least 130 people have been killed and 200 more are missing, SEVEN News, 6pm, Fri 4th Oct</td>
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<td>219</td>
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<td>Sydney protesters have lashed out at Tony Abbott's asylum seekers policy Seven Nightly News SEVEN</td>
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220 : Row brewing Indonesia has tried to take the heat out of a row that's brewing with Australia over asylum seekers Seven Nightly News SEVEN NETWORK Time 1800 Broadcast Date Friday, 27/09/2013

221 : A man accused of indecently groping a blind woman on a Sydney train is an asylum seeker from Bangladesh who arrived here a month ago Seven Nightly News, 1st August 1/08/2013

222 : The Rudd Government will reveal the true cost of its PNG Solution when it releases its budget update tomorrow Seven News Time 1800 Broadcast Date Thursday, 1st August 1/08/2013

223 : The Rudd Government claims Tony Abbott's plan to increase the asylum seeker processing centre on Nauru is full of mistakes, Seven Nightly News Time 1800, Broadcast Date 30th July 30/07/2013

224 : The Nauru Government is asking Australia for more resources and better training of its police force to help deal with asylum seekers Seven News SEVEN NETWORK Time 1800, 29th July 29/07/2013

225 : Kevin Rudd wasn't able to escape the asylum seeker crisis while overseas, admitting his PNG plan could take many months to work Seven News SEVEN NETWORK, Time 1800, 28th July 28/07/2013

226 : Immigration Minister Tony Burke has returned from inspecting Australia's offshore detention facilities, declaring PNG's Manus Island is ready to go, Seven Nightly News, 27th July 27/07/2013

227 : Asylum secrecy The first asylum seeker boat has been intercepted since the Abbott Government was sworn in Seven Nightly News SEVEN NETWORK Time 1800 Broadcast Date Sunday, 22nd Sep 27/07/2013

228 : Honeymoon over Tony Abbott has intensified his attack on Kevin Rudd's PNG solution after a poll showed Labor's 23/07/2013
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<td>new asylum seeker policy resonating with voters, Seven News, 23rd July</td>
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<td>229 : News of Kevin Rudd's plan to send asylum seekers to Papua New Guinea has reached those already on their way, Seven Nightly News SEVEN NETWORK, Time 1800, 23rd July</td>
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<td>230 : Kevin Rudd has more issues to tackle Kevin Rudd has been confronted by protesters after he took his Government to the streets of Balmain, Seven News 22nd July</td>
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<td>231 : Dozens of asylum seekers have been charged after causing tens of millions dollars damage during a riot on Nauru Seven News SEVEN NETWORK, Time 1800; Broadcast Date Sunday, 21st July</td>
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<td>232 : The first boatload of asylum seekers to be processed under Kevin Rudd's new PNG deal has arrived at Christmas Island, Seven News, 20th July</td>
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<td>233 : All asylum seekers trying to reach Australia by boat from now on will be sent to Papua New Guinea, Seven Nightly News 19th July</td>
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<td>234 : Deadly voyage The Navy is tonight answering from an asylum seeker boat north-east of Christmas Island, Seven Nightly News 17th Jul</td>
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<td>235 : Knife's edge An asylum seekers boat has nearly reached the Australian mainland at Broome just as Labor hints at new, Seven News, 15th July</td>
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<td>236 : A new start A Sydney school has reported great success in helping asylum seeker children to a fresh start in Australia Seven Nightly News, 14th July</td>
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<td>237 : Search suspended A search has been called off for eight people missing in the latest asylum seeker tragedy Seven Nightly News, Time 1800; Sunday, 14th July</td>
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<td>238 : A baby boy is dead and eight other people are missing, Seven Nightly News, 13th July</td>
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<td>240 : Asylum row The Rudd Government claims there's confusion in Coalition ranks over its controversial plan to turn back asylum seeker boats, Seven News, 7th July</td>
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<td>241 : Returning fire The Liberal Party says turning back asylum seeker boats can and will be done under a Coalition Government, Seven News 6th July</td>
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<td>242 : A new asylum seeker crisis is unfolding tonight with a boatload of people sending a distress signal just as Kevin Rudd meets with Indonesia's President, SEVEN News 5th July</td>
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<td>243 : The Federal Opposition has accused Kevin Rudd of giving up on stopping asylum seekers ahead of his trip to Indonesia Seven News Time 1800, Broadcast Date Wednesday, 3rd July</td>
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<td>244 : Restoring authority Julia Gillard is seeking to restore her authority as Prime Minister, tackling the asylum seeker crisis with new vigour, SEVEN News, 19th June</td>
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<td>245 : Fishermen told to abandon vessel A fisherman has told how he was ordered to abandon a stranded asylum seeker vessel which had children on board, SEVEN News 15th June</td>
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<td>Prime Minister Tony Abbott has shifted the focus of his asylum seeker policy from Indonesia to Sri Lanka, TEN, 5pm, 17.11.13</td>
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<td>Tony Abbott has shifted the focus of asylum seekers from Indonesia to Sri Lanka announcing he’ll give the country two naval boats, TEN, 5pm, 17.11</td>
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| 261 | Boat rescue | The Italian coast guard has rescued another asylum seeker vessel just three days after a boat carrying 700 migrants sank off Italy, Ten 5pm News TEN NETWORK Time 1700, 6th Oct |
| 262 | Adam Todd | is in Bali, and has spoken exclusively with two people smugglers who have been given paltry 7-month sentences, Ten 5pm News TEN NETWORK Time 1700 Broadcast Date Friday, 4th Oct (2) |
| 263 | Final item | The government has denied delaying its response to a sinking boat in a tragedy that has claimed the lives of nearly 60 asylum seekers Ten 5pm News, 29th Sep |
| 264 | Survivor's torment | The Abbott Government has denied claims it delayed responding to distress calls from an asylum seeker boat, that sank off Indonesia Ten 5pm News 29th Sep |
| 265 | Boat tragedy | The death toll keeps rising after a boat carrying around 100 asylum seeker sank on route to Australia Ten 5pm News TEN NETWORK Time 1700 Broadcast Date Saturday, 28th |
| 266 | Troubled waters | In Indonesian waters in early today an Australian Navy frigate was involved in a dramatic rescue Ten 5pm News TEN NETWORK Time 1700 Broadcast Date Friday, 27th Sep |
| 267 | Asylum policy | The new Tony Abbott Government has announced a new and more secretive approach to stopping asylum seeker boats Ten 5pm News Time 1700 Broadcast Date 23rd Sep |
| 268 | Labor has savaged the government's new weekly asylum seeker boat arrival briefings as a disgrace | Ten 5pm News TEN NETWORK Time 1700 Broadcast Date Sunday, 22nd September |
| 269 | Alleged 'secrecy' | The Opposition has warned the Government against a culture of secrecy against asylum seekers Ten 5pm News TEN NETWORK Time 1700, Broadcast Date Saturday, 21st Sep |
| 270 | Meanwhile, the Greens have defied the odds and retained the seat of Melbourne | Ten 5pm News TEN 8/09/2013 |
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Election 2013 Asylum seekers who come to Australia by boat can now be processed in Nauru</td>
<td>3/08/2013</td>
<td>TEN</td>
<td>1700</td>
<td>Pre-Election</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ten 5pm News, TEN NETWORK Time 1700, Broadcast Date Saturday, 3rd August</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Federal Government's set aside $43 million to house up to 1000 asylum seekers at a defence base in Singleton, in regional NSW, TEN News, 3rd August 2013</td>
<td>3/08/2013</td>
<td>TEN</td>
<td>1700</td>
<td>Pre-Election</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kevin Rudd is now being rated as better than Tony Abbott at handling the asylum seeker issue Ten 5pm TEN NETWORK Time, 17.00,Sunday, 28th Jul</td>
<td>28/07/2013</td>
<td>TEN</td>
<td>1700</td>
<td>Pre-Election</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The government says it will start transferring asylum seekers to PNG next week Ten 5pm News, TEN NETWORK Time 1700 Broadcast Date Saturday, 27th July</td>
<td>27/07/2013</td>
<td>TEN</td>
<td>1700</td>
<td>Pre-Election</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People smugglers are reportedly lying to asylum seekers about Kevin Rudd's tough new laws Ten 5pm News TEN NETWORK Time 1700 Broadcast Date Friday, 26th</td>
<td>26/07/2013</td>
<td>TEN</td>
<td>1700</td>
<td>Pre-Election</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Federal Government has just confirmed that two more boat owe loads of asylum seekers have been intercepted off our north coast, Ten 5pm News (TEN NETWORK, Time 1700, 25th July</td>
<td>25/07/2013</td>
<td>TEN</td>
<td>1700</td>
<td>Pre-Election</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boat tragedy Dozens of asylum seekers, many of them children, are feared dead after yet another boat struck trouble on the way here to Australia, Ten 5pm News, Time 1700, 24th July</td>
<td>24/07/2013</td>
<td>TEN</td>
<td>1700</td>
<td>Pre-Election</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asylum struggle As we go to air tonight, another boat crammed with up to 30 asylum seekers is missing, feared lost, off our north coast, Ten News, 22nd July</td>
<td>22/07/2013</td>
<td>TEN</td>
<td>1700</td>
<td>Pre-Election</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missing asylum seeker boat that Hugh Riminton mentioned just a little earlier has just been found, but there is still no word on what state it is in, Ten News 22nd July</td>
<td>22/07/2013</td>
<td>TEN</td>
<td>1700</td>
<td>Pre-Election</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kevin Rudd has just wound up his news conference after telling us his plan to send all asylum seekers who arrive</td>
<td>20/07/2013</td>
<td>TEN</td>
<td>1700</td>
<td>Pre-Election</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>News Event</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Channel</th>
<th>Election Phase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>It could be his most important policy of the election, and now we know how Kevin Rudd plans to stop the illegal smuggling of refugees into Australia.</td>
<td>19/07/2013</td>
<td>TEN</td>
<td>Pre-Election</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An Australian military aircraft is scrambling towards yet another asylum seeker boat that's sinking as we speak off Christmas Island.</td>
<td>17/07/2013</td>
<td>TEN</td>
<td>Pre-Election</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An interview on our Late News last night with Foreign Minister Bob Carr and the Indonesian President set the cat among the pigeons in Canberra today.</td>
<td>16/07/2013</td>
<td>TEN</td>
<td>Pre-Election</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The search for eight asylum seekers lost at sea after their boat capsized off Christmas Island has been called off.</td>
<td>14/07/2013</td>
<td>TEN</td>
<td>Pre-Election</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Checking tonight's top stories: a baby boy has died and eight asylum seekers are missing after their boat sank off Christmas Island.</td>
<td>13/07/2013</td>
<td>TEN</td>
<td>Pre-Election</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Another tragedy at sea for a group of asylum seekers headed for Australia.</td>
<td>13/07/2013</td>
<td>TEN</td>
<td>Pre-Election</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The political dogfight over border protection ramped up a notch today with the Opposition insisting our elite Special Forces.</td>
<td>8/07/2013</td>
<td>TEN</td>
<td>Pre-Election</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kevin Rudd will unveil his positive pitch for votes tonight in a national advertising blitz.</td>
<td>7/07/2013</td>
<td>TEN</td>
<td>Pre-Election</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kevin Rudd has dumped Julia Gillard's Malaysia people swap deal as the asylum seeker debate continues to heat up.</td>
<td>6/07/2013</td>
<td>TEN</td>
<td>Pre-Election</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asylum talks: Another asylum seeker boat issued a distress call off our north late today just as Kevin Rudd met with Indonesia's.</td>
<td>5/07/2013</td>
<td>TEN</td>
<td>Pre-Election</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Television News Discourse: A multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis into how coverage of the 2013 Australian Federal Election shaped narratives about asylum seekers.

| 291 | Policy shift How best to tackle asylum seekers has placed the Federal Government for years, Ten 5pm News, 4th July | 4/07/2013 | TEN | Commercial | Pre-Election |
| 292 | Fighting words After appealing for gentler politics yesterday, Prime Minister Kevin Rudd threw a giant-sized grenade into the, TEN News, 28th June | 28/06/2013 | TEN | Commercial | Pre-Election |
| 293 | A search is under way for another asylum seeker boat which has gone missing in waters off Christmas Island Ten 5pm News, Tuesday, 11th June | 11/06/2013 | TEN | Commercial | Pre-Election |
| 294 | As many as 60 asylum seekers are now feared dead after their vehicle, or rather vessel, capsized off Christmas Island [online]. Ten 5pm News Monday, 10th June | 10/06/2013 | TEN | Commercial | Pre-Election |
| 295 | At least 13 people confirmed dead and it is feared that number will only rise, Ten 5pm News, Time 1700 Broadcast Date Sunday, 9th June 2013 | 9/06/2013 | TEN | Commercial | Pre-Election |
| 296 | Navy ships are searching for an asylum seeker boat which is believed to have sunk about 65 nautical miles north-west of Christmas Island Ten 5pm News, 8/06/2013 | 8/06/2013 | TEN | Commercial | Pre-Election |
| 297 | A vicious stabbing frenzy has ended with one man dead, Ten 5pm News, 5th September, 5pm | 5/09/2013 | TEN | Commercial | Media Blackout Period |
| 298 | Five alleged people-smuggling kingpins have been arrested in the biggest bust, TEN, 29th August, 5pm | 29/08/2013 | TEN | Commercial | Election Period |
| 299 | Labor Party has mocked Tony Abbott latest offering to stop the boats, Ten News, 23rd August, 5pm | 23/08/2013 | TEN | Commercial | Election Period |
| 300 | Five Asylum seekers were on the run tonight after escaping, Ten 5pm News, 18th August, 5pm | 18/08/2013 | TEN | Commercial | Election Period |
| 301 | Election 2013, there is rotten news for Kevin Rudd, Ten 5pm News, 16th August, 5pm | 16/08/2013 | TEN | Commercial | Election Period |
| 302 | The Rudd Government claims this it is winning the battle against people smugglers, TEN 5pm News, 7th August, 5pm | 7/08/2013 | TEN | Commercial | Election Period |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Article Number</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Channel</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Election Period</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>303</td>
<td>Our interview last night with the Liberal candidate in Blacktown, Ten, 6th August, 5pm</td>
<td>6/08/2013</td>
<td>TEN</td>
<td>Commercial</td>
<td>Election Period</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>304</td>
<td>There are reports a boat carrying three Lankan asylum seekers has crashed into Christmas Island. National Nine News NINE NETWORK, Time 1800 Broadcast Date Thursday, 5th December 2013</td>
<td>5/12/2013</td>
<td>NINE</td>
<td>Commercial</td>
<td>Post-Election</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>305</td>
<td>It is one of Tony Abbott's key policies but the plan to turn back the boats looks destined to fail, NINE News, 6pm, 10.11.13</td>
<td>10/11/2013</td>
<td>NINE</td>
<td>Commercial</td>
<td>Pre-Election</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>306</td>
<td>A war of words has broken out between the Government and the Opposition over the word used to describe boat arrivals, NINE, 6pm, 21st Oct</td>
<td>21/10/2013</td>
<td>NINE</td>
<td>Commercial</td>
<td>Post-Election</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>307</td>
<td>Tony Abbott has boasted that asylum seeker boat arrivals have fallen dramatically since he became PM. National Nine News NINE NETWORK, Time 1800 Broadcast Date Saturday, 19th October</td>
<td>19/10/2013</td>
<td>NINE</td>
<td>Commercial</td>
<td>Post-Election</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>308</td>
<td>It seems both sides of politics are playing a waiting game. National Nine News (NINE NETWORK); Time 1800; Broadcast Date Saturday, 12th October 2013 (2)</td>
<td>12/10/2013</td>
<td>NINE</td>
<td>Commercial</td>
<td>Post-Election</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>309</td>
<td>Asylum boat tragedy Dozens of asylum seekers travelling from Africa to Europe have died after their boat sank off the coast of Malta. National Nine News, 6pm 12th Oct</td>
<td>12/10/2013</td>
<td>NINE</td>
<td>Commercial</td>
<td>Post-Election</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>310</td>
<td>Prime Minister Tony Abbott is back from his international summits, turning his attention straight to stopping asylum seeker boats. Nine News (NINE, Time 1800; Broadcast Date Fri 11th Oct</td>
<td>11/10/2013</td>
<td>NINE</td>
<td>Commercial</td>
<td>Post-Election</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>311</td>
<td>It's now feared up to 200 asylum seekers have died after their boat sank off the Italian island of Lampedusa. National Nine News (NINE NETWORK); Time 1800; Broadcast Date Saturday, 5th Oct</td>
<td>5/10/2013</td>
<td>NINE</td>
<td>Commercial</td>
<td>Post-Election</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>312</td>
<td>Tony Abbott is on his way home from Indonesia tonight, but his first overseas trip prime minister has been</td>
<td>1/10/2013</td>
<td>NINE</td>
<td>Commercial</td>
<td>Post-Election</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>313</td>
<td>Tony Abbott is spending his first night in Jakarta as Prime Minister, ahead of high-level talks with the Indonesian President, National Nine News (NINE NETWORK); Time 1800; 30th Sep (2)</td>
<td>30/09/2013</td>
<td>NINE</td>
<td>Commercial</td>
<td>Post-Election</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>314</td>
<td>Tony Abbott is being criticized for refusing to comment on the latest asylum seeker boat tragedy Nine News Time 1800 Broadcast Date Saturday, 28th September</td>
<td>28/09/2013</td>
<td>NINE</td>
<td>Commercial</td>
<td>Post-Election</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>315</td>
<td>Tony Abbott's mission to Jakarta has become more sensitive after former foreign minister Alexander Downer hit out at Indonesia over the asylum seeker, NINE Network, 27th Sep</td>
<td>27/09/2013</td>
<td>NINE</td>
<td>Commercial</td>
<td>Post-Election</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>316</td>
<td>After weeks of silence, Julia Gillard has spoken publicly today, revealing plans to write her memoir Nine News NINE NETWORK Time 1800 Broadcast Date Wednesday, 25th Sep</td>
<td>25/09/2013</td>
<td>NINE</td>
<td>Commercial</td>
<td>Post-Election</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>317</td>
<td>The public won't be told when asylum seeker boats have been turned around under a new policy to control the release of information Nine News NINE NETWORK Time 1800 Broadcast Date 23rd Sep</td>
<td>23/09/2013</td>
<td>NINE</td>
<td>Commercial</td>
<td>Post-Election</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>318</td>
<td>A boatload of asylum seekers has arrived at Christmas Island, believed to be the first under the Coalition's watch National Nine News NINE Time 1800 broadcast Date Sunday, 22nd Sep</td>
<td>22/09/2013</td>
<td>NINE</td>
<td>Commercial</td>
<td>Post-Election</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>319</td>
<td>The Government has dismissed as hysterical accusations it's creating a culture of secrecy over asylum seekers National Nine News NINE NETWORK Time 1800 Broadcast Date Saturday, 21st Sep</td>
<td>21/09/2013</td>
<td>NINE</td>
<td>Commercial</td>
<td>Post-Election</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>320</td>
<td>No decision on date Kevin Rudd has all but ruled-out a seven September election, despite frenzied speculation the date would be set this weekend National Nine News, 6pm, 3rd August</td>
<td>3/08/2013</td>
<td>NINE</td>
<td>Commercial</td>
<td>Pre-Election</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>321</td>
<td>An asylum seeker from Bangladesh is refused bail after being charged with indecently assaulting a blind woman at</td>
<td>1/08/2013</td>
<td>NINE</td>
<td>Commercial</td>
<td>Pre-Election</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ashfield station National Nine News, Time 1800, Broadcast 1st August</td>
<td>30/07/2013</td>
<td>NINE</td>
<td>Commercial</td>
<td>Pre-Election</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>322 : A fresh shot has been fired in the tit-for-tat battle over how to deal with asylum seekers, National Nine News, NINE NETWORK, Time 1800 Broadcast Date Tuesday, 30th July</td>
<td>28/07/2013</td>
<td>NINE</td>
<td>Commercial</td>
<td>Pre-Election</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>323 : During Mr Rudd's visit, the focus here was on his Papua New Guinea solution for asylum seekers, National Nine News, NINE NETWORK, Time 1800 Broadcast Date Sunday, 28th July</td>
<td>26/07/2013</td>
<td>NINE</td>
<td>Commercial</td>
<td>Pre-Election</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>324 : There's no sign of a slow-down in boat arrivals a week after Kevin Rudd unveiled his new asylum seeker policy National Nine News NINE NETWORK Time 1800, Broadcast Date Friday, 26th July</td>
<td>25/07/2013</td>
<td>NINE</td>
<td>Commercial</td>
<td>Pre-Election</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>325 : It's the crisis generating bold ideas and today Tony Abbott said he'd call in the military as part of his attack to stop the asylum boats, Nine News, NINE NETWORK, Time 1800, 25th July</td>
<td>25/07/2013</td>
<td>NINE</td>
<td>Commercial</td>
<td>Pre-Election</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>326 : Asylum seeker boat picked up In the last 15 minutes we have had news of another boat has been picked up near Christmas Island with 67 passengers and 2, Nine News, 25th July</td>
<td>21/07/2013</td>
<td>NINE</td>
<td>Commercial</td>
<td>Pre-Election</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>327 : Kevin Rudd's new hard-line asylum seeker policy is tougher, with a $200,000 reward to catch people smugglers Nine News, Time 1800, Sunday, 21st July</td>
<td>20/07/2013</td>
<td>NINE</td>
<td>Commercial</td>
<td>Pre-Election</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>328 : The first boatload of asylum seekers to be sent to Papua New Guinea under the Government's new policy has a right in Christmas Island, National Nine News NINE NETWORK Time 1800,20th July</td>
<td>19/07/2013</td>
<td>NINE</td>
<td>Commercial</td>
<td>Pre-Election</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>329 : As of tonight, any asylum seekers arriving in Australia by boat will be banned from ever living here, National Nine News, NINE NETWORK Time 1800; Broadcast Date Friday, 19th July</td>
<td>18/07/2013</td>
<td>NINE</td>
<td>Commercial</td>
<td>Unassigned</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Television News Discourse: A multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis into how coverage of the 2013 Australian Federal Election shaped narratives about asylum seekers.

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>331 : More than 330 asylum seekers have been picked up by Australian authorities in the past 24 hours as the search for 8 missing people is called off, National Nine News 14th July</td>
<td>14/07/2013</td>
<td>NINE</td>
<td>Commercial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>332 : Asylum seeker tragedy A baby boy has drowned and a search is tonight under way freight people missing after an asylum seeker tragedy of Christmas Island, Nine News, 13th July</td>
<td>13/07/2013</td>
<td>NINE</td>
<td>Commercial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>333 : The Prime Minister has wasted no time in getting back on the campaign trail, just hours after his whirlwind visit to Indonesia, Nine News, Broadcast Date Sat 6th July</td>
<td>6/07/2013</td>
<td>NINE</td>
<td>Commercial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>334 : Kevin Rudd's lightning visit to Indonesia has paid off, with an agreement to hold regional summit on the asylum seeker issue, Nine News, 5th July</td>
<td>5/07/2013</td>
<td>NINE</td>
<td>Commercial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>335 : The government has accused Tony Abbott of missing a crucial vote because he was drunk and not caring if asylum seekers died at sea, Nation NINE news, 25th June</td>
<td>25/06/2013</td>
<td>NINE</td>
<td>Commercial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>336 : Asylum boat arrival A young mother has died after making the dangerous journey to Australia on board an asylum seeker, Nation Nine News, 16th June</td>
<td>16/06/2013</td>
<td>NINE</td>
<td>Commercial</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX 3. IMAGE TYPE CODING CATEGORIES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CATEGORY</th>
<th>CODE</th>
<th>DESCRIPTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Navy Ships</td>
<td>NS</td>
<td>Images featuring a Navy or customs vessel as the predominant feature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asylum Seekers in Custody</td>
<td>ASC</td>
<td>Asylum seeker subjects who have been taken into custody by authorities, usually after they have boarded a vessel carrying asylum seekers, bodily control, surveillance and movement tend to be the main themes of these images</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asylum Seekers in Detention</td>
<td>ASD</td>
<td>Asylum seeker subjects who have been moved into a detention centre, fences are almost always feature in these images, the general atmosphere in these images is one of waiting and idleness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asylum Seeker Boat</td>
<td>ASB</td>
<td>Footage where a vessel carrying asylum seekers is the prominent feature in the foreground.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australian Authorities-Military Personnel</td>
<td>AA-MP</td>
<td>Footage featuring Military personnel, usually in these images authorities are doing little more than 'being there'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newsreader/Desk</td>
<td>NR</td>
<td>The live footage of the newsreader reading from the desk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reporter PTC</td>
<td>RPTC</td>
<td>Reporter speaking a piece to camera with a variety of backgrounds.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australian Authorities-Police Presence</td>
<td>AA-PP</td>
<td>Footage featuring Police as the main feature, they may be engaging in police work activities or merely being present.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australian Authorities-Paramedics</td>
<td>AA-Para</td>
<td>Footage of paramedics and ambulances.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Witness-Event Interview</td>
<td>W-EI</td>
<td>A witness/member of the public being 'interviewed' about a specific event.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interview/Statement-Expert</td>
<td>IS-E</td>
<td>A statement made by an expert.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interview/Statement-Police</td>
<td>IS-P</td>
<td>A statement made by an made by a police officer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interview/Statement-Politician</td>
<td>IS-Pol</td>
<td>A statement made by a politician.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interview/Statement-Military</td>
<td>IS-M</td>
<td>A statement made by a member of the military.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environmental/Scene</td>
<td>ES</td>
<td>Footage of the environment, neighbourhoods, buildings.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campaign Trail</td>
<td>CT</td>
<td>Footage of politicians campaigning in the community.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infographic</td>
<td>InfoG</td>
<td>Infographic used to represent information.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Television News Discourse: A multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis into how coverage of the 2013 Australian Federal Election shaped narratives about asylum seekers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Publication or media</th>
<th>PM</th>
<th>Footage of headlines, pamphlets, newspapers etc.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Protest Scene</td>
<td>PMR</td>
<td>Protest, march, rally footage.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group-Ethnicity</td>
<td>GE</td>
<td>Footage in which the ethnicity of the people in the frame is the linking element to the verbal track, generally particular community events.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Scene</td>
<td>PS</td>
<td>Scenes featuring politicians seen to be 'doing politics'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diplomatic Scene</td>
<td>DS</td>
<td>A scene in which politicians from two Governments are performing 'cooperation'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service/Agency</td>
<td>SA</td>
<td>Footage shot relating to asylum seeker and refugee services or advocacy agencies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refugee Camp</td>
<td>RG</td>
<td>Images of overseas refugee camps.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Detention Centre</td>
<td>DC</td>
<td>Footage or images taken of or inside an Australian detention centre.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asylum Seeker Rescue Footage</td>
<td>ASR</td>
<td>Footage in which asylum seekers are being rescued/ pulled from the water.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

APPENDIX 4. DEED OF AGREEMENT

Deed of agreement

Media access

The Commonwealth of Australia represented by the Department of Immigration and Citizenship (DIAC)
Television News Discourse: A multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis into how coverage of the 2013 Australian Federal Election shaped narratives about asylum seekers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Details</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Execution Date</td>
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<tr>
<td>Parties</td>
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<td>Name</td>
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<tr>
<td>Short form name</td>
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**Background**

A. The Department of Immigration and Citizenship (DIAC) has the responsibility for detaining people without the authority to be in Australia (these people are known as unlawful non-citizens). They are accommodated in administrative detention arrangements while their removal from Australia is arranged or while they await the outcome of a visa application process or the regularization of their status.

B. The Media Entity wishes to learn more about the administrative detention arrangements.

C. DIAC is willing to grant the Media Entity access to immigration detention facilities in a manner that respects the privacy of the detainees and permits the identities of both the detainees and other third parties.

D. The purpose of this Deed is to create a formal legal relationship, based on mutual trust, between DIAC and the Media Entity concerning the Media Entity’s visit to the immigration detention facilities.

E. This Deed sets out the arrangements for the Media Entity’s visit to an immigration detention centre or immigration detention facility and sets out the access rules, visitation procedures, media content restrictions, and subsequent editing requirements.
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1.2 No exclusive relationship
Nothing in this Deed prevents DIAC from facilitating media access to any immigration detention centre or immigration detention facility for other media organizations.

2. Acknowledgements
The Media Entity acknowledges:
(a) that the Commonwealth has a responsibility to protect the privacy of the Detainee Clients and the Protected Parties;
(b) that the Australian Government considers that it is not in its interests that the Media Entity’s participation in a Visit facilitates a refugee/as place claim;
(c) public identification of people in immigration detention may lead to adverse attention from the authorities in the Detainee Client’s country of origin (also potentially leading to refugees/as place claims);
(d) public identification of people in immigration detention may jeopardise the safety of the Detainee Client’s family overseas; and
(e) that the Commonwealth considers that the protection of the privacy and identity of the Detainee Clients is paramount and prevails over any interest (of the Media Entity, the public or otherwise) that might arise from the disclosure of the identity of the Detainee Client.

3. Control of the Media Representative
If, under this Deed, the Media Entity is under any obligation to ensure that the Media Representative fulfills certain obligations, then the Media Entity is so obliged to do so to the extent that the Media Entity employs, contracts or otherwise controls the Media Representative.

4. Protection of privacy
(a) The Media Entity acknowledges that standard DIAC policy prohibits visits from photographing, filming, audio recording or in any other way recording the Detainee Clients or Protected Parties in the IDF.
(b) The Media Entity will, in respect of Media Content obtained during the Visit, (i) at all times use its best efforts to protect the privacy of all Detainee Clients and Protected Parties; and (ii) ensure the Media Representative uses best efforts to protect the privacy of all Detainee Clients and Protected Parties.

5. Rules of access
5.1 Restricted activities
(a) The Media Entity must not, and must ensure that the Media Representative does not:
(i) interview or otherwise engage in any substantive communication with any Detainee Clients during the Visit;
(ii) with the exception of the DIAC Representative, interview or otherwise engage in any substantive communication with any Protected Parties during the Visit.

5.2 Equipment Requirements
The Media Entity must ensure that all Media Representatives comply with the Equipment Requirements.

5.3 Access Procedures
The Media Entity must comply with the Access Procedures.

6. Pool Media Arrangement
6.1 Pool Media Visits
(a) From time to time, DIAC may facilitate a Pool Media Visit for media organisations that have entered into a Pool Media Arrangement.
(b) The Media Entity must ensure that at least one Media Representative attends the Pool Media Visit to participate as a member of the Pool Media Team.

6.2 Pool Media Content
(a) To the extent that the Media Entity will be responsible for the editing, storage and distribution of the Pool Media Content, when distributing the Pool Media Content (in whole or in part) to media organisations who are members of the Pool Media Arrangement, the Media Entity will...

only provide a copy of the Pooled Media Content to the media organisations:
(i) who have applied at least one Media Representative pursuant to clause 6.1(b); and
(ii) who have executed a Deed of Agreement with the Commonwealth.
(b) If the Media Entity is in receipt of Pooled Media Content, the Media Entity must:
(i) review the related Media Content Review Form, and
(ii) not use, disseminate, publish or broadcast any portion of such Pooled Media Content that does not comply with the editing requirements set out in the applicable Media Content Review Form.
(c) Subject to clause 6.2(c), the Media Entity must:
(i) provide a copy the Pooled Media Content (in whole or in part) to any media organisation that is not a party to the Pooled Media Arrangement; or
(ii) permit a media organisation that is not a party to the Pooled Media Arrangement to access the Pooled Media Content (in whole or in part);
without the prior approval of DIAC, which will not be unreasonably withheld.
(d) Clause 6.2(c) does not apply to the Media Entity’s typical distribution and display arrangements with affiliates located within Australia.

7. Visit procedures
7.1 Arrival briefing
(a) At the commencement of the Visit, each Media Representative must attend a short orientation briefing with the DIAC Representative. This briefing may include a review of the security and privacy requirements, an overview of the IDF procedures, and an explanation of the immigration processing operation.
(b) If the Media Representative has any of the Restricted Items, such items may be given to the DIAC Representative at this time, and collected prior to departure.
(c) The Media Entity must ensure that the Media Representative designated at the video camera operator will film a short written privacy statement prior to shooting any footage at the IDF. This privacy statement will stress the importance of not identifying any Detainee Clients or Protected Parties. The Media Entity agrees to preserve the privacy statement on the footage, such that all edited and archived versions of the footage contain the privacy statement.

7.2 Escort tour
(a) The Media Representative will be escorted through the IDF and must at all times maintain a reasonably close proximity to the DIAC Representative.
(b) The DIAC Representative will be available to answer questions and provide off-camera background information.
(c) Throughout the Visit, the Media Representative will follow the reasonable instructions of the DIAC Representative, and the Media Entity acknowledges and agrees that the directions of the DIAC Representative may include a direction for the Media Representative to cease collecting or recording Media Content on a temporary or permanent basis.

7.3 Restrictions on Media Content
(a) Media Content must not prejudice the Commonwealth’s national interests.
(b) Without limiting clause 7.3(a), Media Content must not:
(i) disclose the identity of any Detainee Client or Protected Party;
(ii) be inconsistent with DIAC’s statutory functions or responsibilities;
(iii) breach the privacy of Detainee Clients or the Protected Parties;
(iv) disclose facts relating to operational security; or
(v) cause DIAC to breach the privacy of Detainee Clients or the Protected Parties.

7.4 Review of Media Content
(a) At the completion of the escorted tour, the DIAC Representative will request all Media.
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8. Editing Media Content

8.1 Compliance with Media Content Review Form

(a) Prior to any use of the Media Content, the Media Entity must edit the Media Content as directed on the applicable completed Media Content Review Form, and delete such Media Content as directed by DIAC.

(b) The Media Entity must not use any Media Content that has not been edited in accordance with the applicable Media Content Review Form.

8.2 Permitted uses

Media Content correctly edited in accordance with the applicable Media Content Review Form, may be used by the Media Entity for any of the following purposes:

(b) publishing;

(c) subject to clause 6.2(b), publicly or selectively disseminating or releasing;

(d) making available online or electronically transmitting; or

(e) making of public comment in relation to the Media Content.

8.3 Compliance with Privacy Act

To the extent that the Media Content deals with personal information, the Media Entity agrees that it will be bound by, and will comply with, all relevant provisions of the Privacy Act 1988 (Cth).

9. Security considerations

(a) All Visits are subject to security considerations on the Visit Date. The Media Entity acknowledges that security conditions may change during a Visit, and the DIAC Representative may terminate a Visit in the event of a threat of violence and imminent danger, or in the event of operational security requirements.

(b) The DIAC Representative has the only authority to terminate a Visit for security reasons and any such determination is non-negotiable.

(c) In the event a Visit is terminated for security reasons, all Media Representatives must immediately follow the directions of the DIAC Representative.

10. Intellectual property

All ownership rights, including intellectual property and moral rights, associated with the Media Content will remain with the Media Entity that created such Media Content. Nothing in this Deed transfers ownership of, or grants a licence to use, the Media Content. Media organisations party to the Pooled Media Arrangement will determine any ownership and licensing rights associated with any Pooled Media Content.

11. Failure to comply

(a) If during a Visit, the Media Representative fails to comply with the requirements set out in this Deed and/or the Media Representative Deed, the DIAC Representative may immediately terminate the Visit for the Media Representative. The Media Representative must
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Business Day means a day that is not a Saturday, Sunday, public holiday or bank holiday where the applicable IDF is located.

Business Hours means from 9:00am to 5:00pm on a Business Day.

Commonwealth means the Commonwealth of Australia.

Detained Client means a person who is detained at the IDF under the Immigration Act 1958 (Cth).

DIAC means the Department of Immigration and Citizenship as set out in item 2 of Part A.

DIAC Representative means the DIAC officer or staff member, set out in item 5 of Part A, responsible for escorting the Media Representative and/or reviewing the Media Content.

Documentation Delivery Date means the date set out in item 8 of Part A.

Equipment Requirements means the audio and visual equipment requirements set out in Schedule 4 (Equipment Requirements).

Exclusion Date means the date set out in item 1 of Part A.

IDF means the immigration detention facility or immigration detention centre set out in item 7 of Part A.

Media Content means any audio, or visual content (whether in digital or other forms) captured, recorded or obtained during a Visit, including without limitation, video footage, audio recordings, and photographs.

Media Content Review Form means the form to be completed at the end of each Visit, in the format set out in Schedule 2 (Media Content Review Form).

Media Entity means the media organisation party to this Deed as set out in item 5 of Part A.

Media Representative means the individual(s) attending the IDF on behalf of the Media Entity, as set out in item 6 of Part A.

Media Representative Deed means the media representative deed of agreement to be entered into by each Media Representative prior to the Visit Date, in the format set out in Schedule 3 (Media Representative Deed).

Part A means Part A – Agreement details of this Deed.

Part B means Part B – Standard terms and conditions of this Deed.

Pooled Media Arrangement means the pooled media arrangement entered into by the Media Entity, prior to the Visit Date.

Pooled Media Content means the Media Content gathered by the Pooled Media Team.

Pooled Media Team means the Media Representatives, together with media representatives from other media organisations, that will collect all media content (written, audio or visual) pursuant to the Pooled Media Arrangement.

Pooled Media Visit means an executed visit to the IDF by a Pooled Media Team.

Protected Parties means third parties present at the IDF during the Visit, including without limitation, visitors from the general public, DIAC staff and officers, DIAC contractors and their personnel, officers and personnel of the services providers to DIAC, or representatives from other Commonwealth agencies.

Restricted Items means the items listed in section 3 of Schedule 1 (Access Procedures).

Visit means the access visit to the IDF, commencing on the Media Representative’s entrance to the IDF and continuing to the Media Representative’s exit from the IDF and includes a Pooled Media Visit.

Visit Date means the day on which the Visit occurs as set out in item 4 of Part A.

15.2 Interpretation

In this Deed, except where the context otherwise requires:

(a) the singular includes the plural and vice versa, and a gender includes other genders;

(b) another grammatical form of a defined word or expression has a corresponding meaning;

(c) a reference to a clause, paragraph, schedule or annexe is to the clause, paragraph, schedule or annexe to this agreement, and a reference to this agreement includes any schedule or annexe;

(d) a reference to a document or instrument includes the document or instrument as annexed, altered, supplemented or replaced from time to time;

(e) a reference to a person includes a natural person, partnership, body corporate, association, governmental or local authority or agency or other entity;
Schedule 1 – Access Procedures

1. Schedule of Access Procedures

1.1 For the purposes of this schedule, unless otherwise indicated, all defined terms have the same meaning as set out in the Department of Immigration and Citizenship (DIAC) deed of agreement regarding media access (Deed).

1.2 To the extent of any inconsistency between the Deed and this schedule, the terms and conditions of the Deed will prevail.

2. Documentation

2.1 The Media Entity must deliver to DIAC a duly executed copy of this Deed, together with a duly executed copy of the Media Representative Deed for each Media Representative engaged by the media Entity to attend the Visit. The Media Entity must return the necessary documentation to DIAC by the Documentation Delivery Date.

2.2 Unless approved otherwise by DIAC, the Media Entity must ensure that each Media Representative:
   (a) completes and signs an IDC Visitor Application Form for each visit; and
   (b) as a condition of entry, completes and signs the IDC Visitor Conditions of Entry Form and brings the form to the IDF on the visit.


2.3 DIAC reserves the right to deny IDF access to any Media Representative that has not completed and delivered to DIAC the necessary documentation as set out in this section 2.

3. Restricted Items

3.1 The Media Entity must ensure that the Media Representative does not carry into the IDF any mobile phones, cameras, video/audio recorders, and other restricted items, without prior approval of the DIAC Representative.

3.2 Only those Media Representatives identified as video camera operators and photographers are permitted to bring cameras, visual recording, or photographic equipment into the IDF.
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### Schedule 2 - Media Content Review Form

**Media Content Review Form**

Note: This form must be completed and signed by the DIAC Representative and the Media Representative on the Visit Date. The DIAC Representative will review the Media Content collected by the Media Representative, and record the required edits on this form, including the specific time codes. If the Media Content is to be distributed pursuant to the Broadcast Media Arrangement, each media entity that intends to use the Media Content must be issued with a copy of the completed Media Content Review Form. For the purpose of this form, unless otherwise indicated, all defined terms have the same meaning as set out in the Department of Immigration and Citizenship (DIAC) deed of agreement regarding media access (Deed).

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Media Access Deed | page 10

Leicha Stewart – January 2018 325

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Television News Discourse: A multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis into how coverage of the 2013 Australian Federal Election shaped narratives about asylum seekers.

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The shots, imagery and/or audio identified herein has been listed, in accordance with the terms of the Deed, for further action as listed: pixelate, mute or delete.

By signing this, the Media Representative (the signatory) binds the Media Entity to the terms and conditions of the Deed. Failure to comply with the instructions/signed action may constitute a breach of the Deed.

**DIAC REPRESENTATIVE**

Signed: ____________________

Name: ____________________

Date: ____________________

**MEDIA REPRESENTATIVE**

Signed: ____________________

Name: ____________________

Date: ____________________

Schedule 3 - Media Representative Deed

DIAC Media Representative Deed

Note: For the purposes of this form, unless otherwise indicated, all defined terms have the same meaning as set out in the Department of Immigration and Citizenship (DIAC) deed of agreement regarding media access (Media Access Deed). Each Media Representative endorsing the IDF must complete this form.

Deed of agreement - Media Representative

1. I, ____________________________ [name], of ____________________________ [address], representative of ____________________________ (Media Entity), have read and understood the terms and conditions of DIAC’s deed of agreement regarding media access, dated ____________________________ [date], as entered into by the Media Entity (Media Access Deed).

2. I acknowledge the importance of using responsible media recording techniques to respect the privacy of the Detained Client(s) and to protect the identities of both the Detained Clients and any Protected Parties present during the Visit.

3. I agree to:
   (a) comply with the Equipment Restrictions;
   (b) follow the direction of the DIAC Representative at all times during the Visit;
   (c) immediately cease collecting or recording any Media Content as instructed by the DIAC Representative.

4. I will not, at any time during a Visit:
   (a) communicate (verbal, written or other) with a Detained Client; or
   (b) photograph, take video footage or audio recording of a Detained Client’s attempts to communicate with any members of the media.

5. When capturing Media Content, I agree to use best efforts to utilise recording techniques that protect the identities of the Detained Clients and Protected Parties, including using best efforts to capture video footage and photographs from behind, such that individual faces, profiles or any view revealing the identity of a Detained Client or Protected Party, are not captured in the Media Content.

6. I acknowledge that if during a Visit I fail to comply with the Media Representative requirements set out in the Media Access Deed and/or this deed, the DIAC Representative may immediately terminate the Visit.

7. If the Visit is terminated, I agree to immediately follow the directions of the DIAC Representative.

8. At the conclusion of my Visit, I agree to immediately make available to DIAC, for review, all Media Content recorded or collected during my Visit.

9. I will be attending the IDF on behalf of the Media Entity to perform my role as a ____________________________ [position – journalist, camera operator, photographer, other].

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10. I acknowledge that if I breach the terms of this deed, DIAC may suspend or prohibit me, and/or the Media Entity, from future visits of any immigration detention centre or immigration detention facility for any period of time (including permanent expulsion).

11. I have entered into this deed on ____________________________ [date of signature].

EXECUTED as a deed.

Signed sealed and delivered by

Name of Media Representative (print)

in the presence of

Signature of witness

in the presence of

Signature of Media Representative

Name of witness (print)

Name and Position of Media Representative (print)

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Schedule 4 - Equipment Requirements

1. Schedule of Equipment Requirements

1.1 For the purposes of this schedule, unless otherwise indicated, all defined terms have the same meaning as set out in the Department of Immigration and Citizenship (DIAC) deed of agreement regarding media access (Deed). Each Media Representative must comply with the Equipment Requirements throughout each visit.

1.2 To the extent of any inconsistency between the Deed and this schedule, the terms and conditions of the Deed will prevail.

2. Television Camera

2.1 Television camera equipment (camera) approved for entry into the detention environment must:

(a) Not be connected to microwave transmitter equipment or be in a mode that enables video/audio to be transmitted;

(b) Not be connected to -- send/receive -- radio frequency (RF) audio signal eg. radio microphone;

(c) Have the on-camera tally lights activated when in 'record mode' -- front and rear (eg. on the viewfinder and rear of camera);

(d) Have the ability to distribute video output with embedded time code (TC) via B&C connector built in to the camera;

(e) Have in-built 3.5mm (TRS) audio jack for audio monitoring; and

(f) Have the ability to playback -- controlled from the camera -- material recorded/stored within the camera.

3. Television Options

3.1 Option-A

(a) Approved television camera equipment and operator will be accompanied by a DIAC Representative.

(b) The camera will not be connected to any video/audio transmitter.

(c) At the completion of the tour, the contents recorded/stored on camera media will be reviewed by the accompanying DIAC Representative. The camera will be connected to an external audio/video monitor via the camera’s in-built video output -- connected by B&C -- with time code (TC) embedded in the output.

(d) Video and audio product contained on the camera media requiring post production alteration, including: pixelation, muting or deletion, will be noted on the applicable Media Content Review Form and matched to the time code.

(e) At all times the television camera equipment will remain in the possession and control of the media representative.

3.2 Option-B

(a) DIAC will provide a video camera and media (XD) for the pool operator to use. An approved camera operator will have access to this camera while accompanied by the DIAC Representative.
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4. Stills cameras:
4.1 Stills camera equipment (stills camera) approved for entry in to the detention environment must:
(a) Not be connected to microwave transmitter equipment or be in a mode that enables video/audio to be transmitted;
(b) Not be connected to send/receive – radio frequency (RF) audio signal, e.g. radio microphone;
(c) Have the ability to replay video output with embedded time code (TC), and
(d) Have the ability to playback – controlled from the camera – material recorded/stored within the camera.

4.2 Approved stills camera equipment and operator will be accompanied by the DIAC Representative.

4.3 For still images, file numbering will be set to zero (0) at commencement of the visit.

4.4 At the conclusion of the tour, video and audio product and still images will be reviewed by the accompanying DIAC Representative. The camera will be connected to an external audio/video monitor via the camera’s in-built video output – connected by SdB – with time code embedded in the output.

4.5 Video and audio product contained on the camera media requiring post production alteration, including: pixellation, muting or deletion, will be noted on the applicable Media Content Review Form and matched to the time code.

4.6 All still images requiring post production alteration, including: pixellation or deletion, will be noted on the applicable Media Content Review Form and matched to the file number stored on the meta data.

4.7 At all times the still camera will remain in the possession and control of the media representative.

5. Digital audio recording devices
5.1 Digital audio recording devices approved for entry in to the detention environment must:
(a) Not be connected to microwave transmitter equipment or be in a mode that enables audio to be transmitted;
(b) Not be connected to send/receive – radio frequency (RF) audio signal, e.g. radio microphone;
(c) Not record video; and
(d) Have the ability to playback – controlled from the device – material recorded/stored within the device with embedded time code (TC).

5.2 A Media Representative with an approved digital audio recording device will be accompanied by the DIAC Representative.

5.3 At all times the digital audio recording device will remain in the possession and control of the media representative.

6. Media Content Review - Audio Visual and Still Imagery
6.1 As agreed in the Deed, at the completion of the tour, the contents recorded/stored on camera media will be reviewed by the DIAC Representative. The camera (video, still or other) will be connected to an external audio/video monitor via the camera’s in-built video output – connected by B/C – with time code (TC) embedded in the output.

6.2 Video and audio product contained on the camera media requiring post production alteration, including pinellation, mixing or deletion, will be noted on the applicable Media Content Review Form and matched to the time code.

6.3 Still images requiring post production alteration, including pinellation or deletion, will be noted on the applicable Media Content Review Form and matched to the file number stored on the meta-data. This Media Content Review Form provides the meta-data identification for each still image requiring editing with details of the pinellation or deletion required.

7. Media Content Review – Digital audio recordings
7.1 As agreed in the Deed, at the completion of the tour, the contents recorded/stored on digital audio recording device media will be reviewed by the DIAC Representative. The digital audio recording device will be connected to an external audio monitor with time code (TC) embedded in the output.

7.2 Audio product contained on the device media requiring post production alteration, including mixing or deletion, will be noted on the applicable Media Content Review Form and matched to the time code.
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APPENDIX 5. HUMANISING IMAGE EXAMPLE