

Briefing Paper

The next era of news media

July 2019

Contents

1. Overview	1
2. News media trends.....	2
3. Ownership and media bias	4
4. The impact of digital platforms	5
5. Fake news and public trust.....	7
6. Press freedom and whistleblowers	9
7. Media ethics and digital defamation.....	13
8. Impact on business	14

A good understanding of the future of news in Australia and the world will help organisations manage the media and their narrative. This paper looks at current and emerging news media trends and five of the biggest threats facing the news media. It also includes key commentary from companies, government and public figures, and the impact of the change on business.

1. Overview

Digital disruption of the media, particularly over the last decade, has fundamentally changed the way news is delivered and the type of news we are consuming. News can now be accessed anywhere, anytime and produced by anyone. More than half of Australians now get their news onlineⁱ. This has a profound impact on how we define news and the scrutiny under which we place news publishers, platforms and aggregators.

For consumers of news, disruption has had both advantages and disadvantages. On the positive side, we have greater choice, flexibility and access to a wider variety of voices. On the negative side, we have seen a degradation in the quality, objectivity and accuracy of the news as the commercial strains of the digital market take their toll. We have also seen our data used to filter the news we are receiving. These aspects have resulted in a stark decline in public trustⁱⁱ.

The authors of the *Shattered Mirror* sum up the impact of digital disruption on the news and journalism nicely. "... the digital revolution has made for a more open and diverse news ecosystem – and a meaner and less trustworthy one. It has also upended the model of journalistic boots on the ground backed up by a second platoon in the office upholding such hallowed standards as verification and balance"ⁱⁱⁱ.

Tumultuous times lie ahead for the media, which finds itself under attack from politicians worldwide and under continued financial pressures that will force companies to become even leaner. As a result, we will see changes to news delivery and pay models as well as continued centralisation and concentration of the media. However, we will also see companies reinvest in investigative journalism^{iv} and subeditors^v as they fight for loyal subscribers and their important role in our democracy.

We will also see tighter regulations placed on technology giants Facebook and Google that will aim to even out the playing field for media companies and give consumers more control. According to a House of Commons Committee in the UK, “companies like Facebook should not be allowed to behave like ‘digital gangsters’ in the online world, considering themselves to be ahead of and beyond the law”^{vi}.

2. News media trends

Current

- ▶ **More content, less news:** Most traditional media companies have formed dedicated digital news teams to generate news content quickly and distribute it through online publications, social media, search and paid advertising, email, podcasts etc^{vii}. Although more content is being pushed out, much of it is repackaged for different formats and audiences. More than 3,000 journalist job cuts across Australia in the last decade have reinforced this trend for homogenising news^{viii}.
- ▶ **Bitesize and rolling content:** The speed-driven 24-hour news cycle has seen the emergence of live online reporting, Twitter stories, clickbait, fluid stories and a large increase in opinion pieces. This kind of unfinished and fragmented coverage makes it very difficult for audiences to glean the whole story. It has also led to more factual and grammatical errors as there is less time for subediting and factchecking.
- ▶ **Nichification:** The ease and low cost of publishing on digital platforms has taken away many of the barriers to news production, allowing for more competition. Many independent media outlets, bloggers and corporate media teams are now producing their own news, specialising in a specific topic or catering to a niche audience such as Mumbrella, The Mandarin and Bluenotes. Platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, LinkedIn Pulse and Google have made it easier to target certain groups based on their demographics and interests.
- ▶ **News aggregation:** The increase in competition has also meant a saturation of news content. Many people now rely on news aggregators such as Google News and Feedly, and daily news feeds or email newsletters such as The New Daily Starter and Crikey Worm to gather and summarise news from multiple sources.
- ▶ **Gonzo journalism^{ix}:** This is a popular style of journalism written in the first-person perspective of the author. Although it is not a new style, it has become increasingly popular with journalists who can quickly write about their experience or perspective without having to include a balanced view from multiple sources. It is entertaining for the audience, because it explains an issue through the art of storytelling. The concern with the style is that it is inherently subjective.

Emerging

- ▶ **Owned newsrooms:** The low-cost direct marketing opportunities of digital advertising and content sharing has enabled organisations and individuals to bypass traditional media and publish on social platforms, blogs and websites. In 2019, there was an eight percentage-point increase in global trust in owned media^x, which indicates the strategy is working. Some organisations are now taking it a step further and creating their own digital news platforms dedicated to news and current affairs content that links to the interests of the business and shareholders and is written in an editorial style by trained journalists. This is different to the news sections of company websites that report on the day-to-day of the business. Examples include ANZ's *Bluenotes*, Monash's *Lens* and the South Australian Government's *The Lead SA*. These sites are set up to easily distribute content via social media and other digital channels.
- ▶ **Rise of podcasts:** The podcast industry is expected to grow rapidly in the coming years. By 2021, it's expected to generate more than US\$1 billion in advertising revenue compared to US\$479 million in 2018^{xi}. Spotify recently acquired podcast studio Gimlet and podcast producing app Anchor for US\$340 million. Spotify founder and CEO Daniel Ek said "*with the world focused on trying to reduce screen time, it opens up a massive audio opportunity*"^{xii}. In Australia, Network 10, Network 7, Nova and SCA are partnering to build and distribute podcast content^{xiii}. The ABC has also announced a podcast partnership with the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation^{xiv}.
- ▶ **Renewed focus on quality:** In a move to safeguard the role of journalism and the media as well as attract loyal consumers, many news publishers are choosing to reinvest in investigative journalism. This varies in format from Crikey's new investigative arm called INQ^{xv} to podcasts such as *The Australian's* *The Teacher's Pet*^{xvi}. In Australia, some news media companies are also choosing to reinstate sub-editors and factcheckers after having outsourced or cut jobs a decade ago^{xvii}. Facebook and Google have also announced spending of US\$600 million over three years in the US to increase the number of journalists and newsroom resources.
- ▶ **Automated reporting:** Computer-generated articles have been a reality for a few years and are expected to become more commonplace. One of the early adopters of the natural language generation (NLG) software (also known as robot reporters or newsbots) was Associated Press in the US that signed a deal with Automated Insights in 2014 to use its Wordsmith platform^{xviii}. Associated Press now produces 4,400 automated quarterly earnings stories each quarter, which is 15 times more than it was able to achieve manually^{xix}. *The Guardian* published its first article written by the automated system ReportMate earlier this year^{xx}. Many journalists are welcoming the technology, because it takes away the dry, repetitive articles and alerts that often require mathematical analysis and leaves them more time to focus on more investigative-style stories. The main challenge will be designing the algorithms in a way that the automated content doesn't perpetuate bias or misinformation in its sources^{xxi}.
- ▶ **Subscriptions:** In 2018, adults in developed countries had an average of two online-only media subscriptions. This is expected to double by 2020^{xxii}, equalling 20 million digital-only news subscriptions^{xxiii}. Many news media companies have moved to various paywall models due to the fickle nature of digital advertising as a revenue stream. The most common and successful of these has been the freemium model or a hybrid of the freemium and metered models^{xxiv}, such as used by *The Sydney Morning Herald*. The next trend is expected to be a dynamic model, which is a flexible personalised paywall based on the person's propensity to subscribe, what and how much content they read and where they are in the purchasing funnel^{xxv}.

3. Ownership and media bias

Concentration and centralisation

In Australia, the concentration of media ownership is among the highest in the world, particularly for newspapers^{xxvi}. This was intensified with the Nine-Fairfax deal in 2018^{xxvii}, which followed the repeal of two anti-concentration laws – the ‘75% reach rule’ and the ‘two-out-of-three rule’ - in 2017^{xxviii}. This allowed media companies to own stakes in radio, commercial TV and newspapers, and control commercial television reaching more than 75% of the population. The deal has led to job losses and the sale of 170 regional papers to former Domain CEO, Antony Catalano^{xxix}.

The Australian media landscape is also undergoing a process of centralisation with the gradual closure of regional newsrooms around the country^{xxx}. The most recent is Win News’ announcement to cut four commercial TV newsrooms in Orange, Wagga Wagga, Albury and Bundaberg due to “the commercial viability of funding news in these areas”. This was in addition to its Tasmanian news bulletin, which was cut last August. Sky News will now broadcast across Win TV’s regional network.

Partisan political reporting

The most dominant media group in Australia is Rupert Murdoch’s News Corp, which publishes about 200 newspapers and magazines around the country, including *The Australian*, *The Daily Telegraph*, *The Courier Mail* and *The Herald Sun*. It bought Sky News, Punters.com.au and ARM in 2016^{xxxi}. Murdoch’s media empire has been criticised for partisan reporting and influencing politics in Australia, the US and the UK^{xxxii}. The criticism was particularly prominent in the last year during the leadership coup against Malcolm Turnbull^{xxxiii}, the election campaign of Bill Shorten and on the issue of climate change^{xxxiv}. Since NewsCorp’s acquisition of Sky News, programming after 6pm became known as “Sky after dark” to mark the switch from panel-style shows to more right-wing commentary^{xxxv}.

Media bias is currently addressed through self-regulatory codes of conduct administered by the Australian Communications and Media Authority (ACMA) and the Australian Press Council (APC). Following the recent federal election, there have been calls for stricter legal and regulatory measures to prevent further concentration of ownership^{xxxvi}.

▶ Who said what?

The Australian journalist Rick Morton, 10 May 2019^{xxxvii}:

People will tell you going back a decade it used to be a very great paper, and in many ways it still is, but some of the craziness has been dialled up... We know what the empire is, we know what the papers do, but something has changed in the last six months. I don’t know what it is. Death rattles or loss of relevance? And journos pretty much spend all day talking about it.

Former News Corp employee and Walkley Award winner Tony Koch, 9 May 2019^{xxxviii}:

Gone is the requirement for balance. One has only to look at the story selection and headlines on the front pages of the papers each day to see that an anti-Labor angle has been taken, however contorted had been the literary gymnastics required to finally arrive at that particular bit of stupidity... These newspapers are, in my opinion, avoiding their prime responsibility to be a fearless watchdog on government and society, and to work to ensure that wrongs are exposed and fairness is invoked for all. I cannot see that they are anything other than misguided lapdogs – and toothless ones at that.

Former editor of *The Australian* Chris Mitchell, 18 April 2019^{xxix}:

I think that what's happened in the digital age is people are identifying with newspapers that reflect their political position... You have seen this increase in partisanship in the old media.

University of Sydney's Professor Tim Dwyer, 5 June 2019^{xl}:

Australia needs to develop a "thermometer" to measure media pluralism via an initial benchmark study followed by periodic reviews. We also need a robust, independent, public interest test that can be applied in merger environments.

Federal Department of Communications and the Arts, 1 March 2016^{xli}:

These reforms are needed because technology is changing the way we access media. In the digital era, these regulations unfairly restrict Australian-based broadcast or publishing companies from optimising the scale and scope of their operations and from accessing resources, capital and management expertise available to other media operators.

4. The impact of digital platforms

Landmark inquiry

Australia was the first country in the world in 2017 to launch a formal inquiry into digital platforms such as Google and Facebook. Since then, the US, Canada, the UK and Europe have launched inquiries and, in some cases, legal actions. The ACCC has also not ruled out legal action. The findings are globally significant for the media and consumers and are likely to be contested by the digital technology giants.

The Australian Competition and Consumer Commission (ACCC) completed its inquiry and handed its final report to federal Treasurer Josh Frydenberg on 30 June 2019^{xlii}. The inquiry examined the effect digital search engines, social media platforms and other digital content aggregation platforms were having on competition, the supply of news and journalistic content, and the implications of this for media content creators, advertisers and consumers. It also wanted to determine whether these companies were in breach of Australia's Misuse of Market Power Law to block competition^{xliii}.

Throughout the inquiry, the ACCC was critical of Google and Facebook's ability to determine which news content users would see and in what order. These two companies account for over half of referrals to Australian news websites^{xliv}, but the ACCC was clear in distinguishing them as more than distributors of content. The Media Entertainment and Arts Alliance (MEAA) made a submission calling for a range of safeguards for consumers and media companies, including compensation for media companies and content creators for use of their content^{xlv}.

At the time of writing this paper, the Government had not yet commented on the final report or released it to the public. Preliminary recommendations released in December 2018 included^{xlvi}:

- strengthened merger and acquisition law to address the market power of Google and Facebook;
- the formation of a regulatory authority under the ACCC to monitor digital platforms' use of algorithms and other activities that determine the ranking of news, journalistic content and advertisements;
- an independent review to design a platform-neutral regulatory framework for the media, communications and telecommunications industries;

- a mandatory industry standard for digital platforms to ensure copyright-infringing content can be taken down effectively and timely; and
- amendments to the Privacy Act to help consumers make informed decisions and have greater control over privacy and the collection of personal information.

The ACCC also looked into the idea of an ombudsman to deal with complaints and tax incentives and subsidies to improve the financial footing of journalism. In March, the UK review also recommended the creation of a new digital unit, more power to block mergers and an industry code of conduct^{xlvii}.

Facebook and Google under attack

Digital platforms, such as Google and Facebook, are being the blamed for the downfall of many digital and traditional publishers, because of their appropriation of advertising revenue^{xlviii}. Between 2008 and 2017, newsroom jobs in US declined by 23%, including a 45% drop in newspaper jobs^{xlix}. This included significant job cuts at *Buzzfeed*, *Vice*, *Huffington Post* and *Yahoo*. Similar job cuts have been seen across Europe. In Australia, around 3,000 journalism jobs have been lost this decade^l. The ACCC estimated that for every \$100 spent on digital advertising in Australia, \$47 goes to Google, \$21 goes to Facebook and \$32 goes to all other websites^{li}.

In response to criticism over the handling of private data, Facebook CEO Mark Zuckerberg has said they are moving from open sharing towards a “privacy-focused messaging and social networking platform”^{lii}.

► Who said what?

The Digital, Culture, Media and Sport Committee, House of Commons UK, 14 February 2019^{liii}:
Companies like Facebook should not be allowed to behave like ‘digital gangsters’ in the online world, considering themselves to be ahead of and beyond the law.

Facebook, 28 June 2019^{liv}:

Their effect would be to protect selected news publishers from competition while sacrificing benefits enjoyed by millions of Australian users and advertisers — all without evidence that anyone has misused market power... People, not regulators, should decide what they see in their News Feeds. The purpose of News Feed is to connect people to their friends and family and to content they care about, not to deliver specific levels of traffic to third-party sites.

Google, 28 June 2019^{lv}:

The preliminary recommendations to impose regulatory oversight of ranking based on feedback from news publishers could result in Google’s algorithms being modified to better serve incumbent news suppliers’ interests to the detriment of the interests of smaller publishers and consumers.

ACCC chairman Rod Sims, 30 April 2019^{lvi}:

Facebook and Google aren’t neutral players here — they own it, they make a truck-load of money from it and they have a responsibility for the impact they have on society. They have created this machine... I don’t think you can absolve yourself of responsibility for what happens on the platforms... I find that extraordinary and totally unacceptable.

The Australian journalist Adam Creighton, 25 June 2019^{vii}:

News is also what economists call a public good, like national defence. Everyone has an incentive to free ride on its provision. It's even more unusual than defence: we know what defence is. We don't know how important the news is until it has been acquired. One page 4 article can ricochet around the country, enlightening people who didn't pay a cent for it.

George Mason University Senior Research Fellow Christine A McDaniel, 27 February 2019^{viii}:

...any policy changes should not overlook the role of these platforms in helping Australian small businesses sell goods to customers in the global marketplace.

News Corp's Lachlan Murdoch, 20 June 2019^{ix}:

They've taken our content, they've targeted our audience, they have then targeted our advertisers to monetise that audience... What it has led to and certainly in the United States, is bipartisan focus on either how to regulate or do more dramatic steps to pull some of these technology platforms back.

5. Fake news and public trust

Combatting fake news

The media is the least trusted institution on par with government and behind NGOs and business, according to the 2019 Edelman Trust Barometer^{ix}. Australians place slightly more trust in the news (44%) than the global average (42%). However, more Australians are trying to avoid the news than two years ago (57% in 2017 to 62% in 2019)^{xi}.

The prominence of fake news, particularly used as political propaganda, is one of the main drivers of public distrust. The definition of fake news is both contested and evolving^{xii}. However, two inherent characteristics are its inaccuracy or misleading nature, whether partial or complete, and the intent of the author to mislead. It can be hard to classify news as fake, because the selected information and facts might be correct for some or all people but be misleading in isolation.

In common vernacular, the term 'fake news' is being used by public figures to refer to news with a political bias that is unfavourable to them. According to Edelman, 73% of people worry about false information or fake news being used as a weapon^{xiii}.

A new frontier of fake news is fake video, also known as deep fakes. In 2017, researchers at the University of Washington were able to turn an audio of President Barack Obama into a realistic video of him giving a speech that did not exist^{xiv}. Tools such as Fake App are making this sophisticated video manipulation widely available. Facebook CEO Mark Zuckerberg believes deep fakes are different to misinformation. "It is likely sensible to have a different policy and to treat this differently than how we just treat normal, false information on the internet," he said^{xv}.

In response to fake news, around 120 news sites have started to display trust indicators on their pages, with links to detailed policies on ethics, factchecking and corrections. It is hoped these will distinguish reputable news sites from unreliable ones^{xvi}. Junk or fake news aggregators are also appearing.

The role of social media

The fake news debate has also become one of censorship, with questions being raised about who should have the responsibility and ability to determine which news is misleading or harmful. So far, the onus for tackling fake news has been put on social media platforms, with governments around the world calling on Facebook to do more to stop interference with elections. In response to the Cambridge Analytica scandal, which saw the company acquire personal data about Facebook users under the pretence of academic research to influence political elections around the world, Facebook CEO Mark Zuckerberg took out an ad in several newspapers in the US and UK to apologise for the data breach^{lxvii}.

Beyond that, Mr Zuckerberg has deflected responsibility for foreign interference in elections to governments, saying Facebook does not have the tools to stop foreign governments. He has also defended free expression and warned against censoring content such as satire that could fall under the definition of “fake”^{lxviii}.

Mr Zuckerberg later refused to appear before a UK parliamentary committee investigating how social media data is being misused for targeted political advertising. The final report recommended^{lxix}:

- a code of ethics be established that defines ‘harmful content’;
- an independent regulator be able to take legal action against technology companies that do not act against harmful and illegal content;
- electoral law be updated to take into account online and microtargeted campaigning;
- more transparency around political advertising; and
- technology companies address shell companies and attempts to hide identity in advert purchasing.

In Germany, law was introduced in October 2017 requiring social media sites to remove hate speech, fake news and illegal posts within 24 hours after being informed about the material or face fines of up to EUR50 million. Facebook has recruited several hundred staff to manage reports of illegal content^{lxx}.

During the Australian election campaign, a multi-agency taskforce was created to monitor for foreign interference and foreign hackers who could circulate fake news. The Australian Electoral Commission launched a social media campaign in 29 languages to warn voters about fake news. Facebook banned foreign advertising leading up to the election and launched a factchecking partnership to vet the accuracy of information. Despite the measures, cases of fake news were reported^{lxxi}.

▶ Who said what?

US President Donald Trump, 19 March 2019^{lxxii}:

The Fake News Media has NEVER been more Dishonest or Corrupt than it is right now. There has never been a time like this in American History. Very exciting but also, very sad! Fake News is the absolute Enemy of the People and our Country itself!

University of British Columbia Assistant Professor Taylor Owen, 25 September 2018^{lxxiii}:

Platform algorithms prioritize entertainment, shock, and radicalization over reliable information. This is embedded in the business model. This is why research shows, for example, that misinformation spreads further and faster than genuine news.

The Digital, Culture, Media and Sport Committee, House of Commons UK, 14 February 2019^{lxxiv}: *Social media companies cannot hide behind the claim of being merely a ‘platform’ and maintain that they have no responsibility themselves in regulating the content of their sites.*

New Knowledge, 18 December 2018^{lxxv}:

Over the past five years, disinformation has evolved from a nuisance into high-stakes information war. Our frameworks for dealing with it, however, remain the same -- we discuss counter-messaging and counter-narratives, falling into the trap of treating this as a problem of false stories.

Edelman president and CEO Richard Edelman, 20 January 2019^{lxxvi}:

...people have lost confidence in the social platforms that fostered peer-to-peer trust. These forces have led people to shift their trust to the relationships within their control, most notably their employers.

New York Times CEO Mark Thompson, 19 June 2019^{lxxvii}:

In the end, calling journalists traitors or calling them enemies of the people is, inevitably, going to increase the risk of violence and hostility towards journalists. It's irresponsible and he [President Donald Trump] shouldn't do it.

Facebook Australia and New Zealand policy director Mia Garlick, 17 April:

Once a story is rated as false, we show it lower in News Feed, reducing its future views by more than 80 per cent on average.

Facebook CEO Mark Zuckerberg, 26 June 2019^{lxxviii}:

We exist in a society where people value and cherish free expression, and the ability to say things including satire. [I don't think anyone would want] a private company to prevent you from saying something that it thinks is factually incorrect. That to me just feels like it's too far and goes away from the tradition of free expression and being able to say what your experience is through satire and other means.

6. Press freedom and whistleblowers

A worldwide trend

Globally, we are witnessing a period of intensified government interference in the media. Rhetoric around fake news, media bias and foreign hackers has given some politicians an avenue for discrediting news media and journalists they disagree with and, in some cases, seeking to weaken or take control of state-run media.

In Poland, for example, the Government passed law in 2016 allowing it to appoint and fire the heads of the public TV and radio stations and has since taken firm control of the broadcasters^{lxxix}. In Russia, 26 journalists have been murdered since Vladimir Putin became president in 2012. President Donald Trump joked with President Putin in their meeting in June 2019, saying “get rid of them [journalists]”^{lxxx}. Worldwide last year, 54 journalists were killed, 250 were imprisoned and 63 are missing^{lxxxi}.

Australia is the only liberal democracy in the world without a Charter of Human Rights that would protect the media through rights for free speech and privacy. Since 2015, the Government has taken a range of measures that have, either intentionally or inadvertently, restricted media freedom and whistleblowing. Under pressure from Labor, which is calling for a parliamentary committee to review national security laws, Prime Minister Scott Morrison is consulting the media about a press freedom inquiry^{lxxxii}.

Raids, rules and reviews

On 4-5 June 2019, Australian Federal Police (AFP) officers conducted raids of News Corp journalist Annika Smethurst's home and the ABC's Sydney headquarters. 2GB presenter Ben Fordham was also notified by the Department of Home Affairs that he was the subject of an investigation. The investigations were in response to the publishing of "information classified as an official secret" relating to Ms Smethurst's 2018 article about moves to empower the Australian Signals Directorate to covertly monitor Australian citizens, Mr Fordham's reporting of intercepted boat arrivals and the ABC's reporting of the 2017 Afghan files^{lxxxiii}.

The warrant used to search the ABC headquarters allowed the AFP to "add, copy, delete or alter" material in the ABC's computers. The aim of the raids was widely considered to be to identify confidential sources and deter other potential whistleblowers^{lxxxiv}.

The raids attracted worldwide media attention and criticism. Prime Minister Scott Morrison distanced the Government from the investigations. "The AFP conduct the investigations that they do on their own initiative and they're the ones that should be commenting on their investigation," he said^{lxxxv}.

The raids follow a series of legislative changes to boost national security that the media claims put journalists and their sources under threat. These include^{lxxxvi}:

- **Metadata retention scheme (2015)** – requires that all metadata be kept for two years and can be covertly accessed by a range of government agencies without a warrant.
- **Journalist Information Warrant (2015)** – government agencies can gain access to a journalist's metadata to identify a confidential source, provided the access has a particular criminal investigation or enforcement purpose and is in the public interest.
- **Telecommunications and Other Legislation Amendment (Assistance and Access) Act 2018** – requires the telecommunications industry to assist government agencies with investigations by installing vulnerabilities into devices, circumventing passwords or allowing encrypted communications to be decrypted.
- **New espionage, foreign interference and secrecy offences (2018)** – these include an offence for Commonwealth whistleblowers, who can be imprisoned for up to 10 years, and a general secrecy offence for communicating classified information obtained from a Commonwealth public servant.

In addition to pressures placed on the media in general, the public broadcasters have come under added scrutiny in relation to public funding. During the 2018/19 federal budget, the ABC received a \$83.7 million funding cut. According to ABC acting managing director David Anderson, it followed a \$250 million drop in the broadcaster's budget since 2014. The ABC is expected to cut some programming as a result^{lxxxvii}.

A few months later, the Government commissioned an independent review into the ABC and SBS to determine whether they were enjoying an advantage against competitors in the private sector due to their taxpayer funding. The review was part of a deal made with One Nation to support media ownership

reforms. The expert panel ultimately rejected the claims, finding that the ABC and SBS compete fairly with their rivals and do not overstep their charters^{lxxxviii}. At the same time, ABC managing director Michelle Guthrie was sacked by chairman Justin Milne, who later stepped down amid allegations he had bowed to government pressure to remove certain journalists. Ita Buttrose was appointed as chair^{lxxxix}.

Media response

The Australian media has begun a coordinated effort to fight for press freedom. Both the ABC and News Corp are taking legal action against the AFP following the raids based on protections offered under the Constitution^{xc}. Kerry O'Brien addressed the attacks on the ABC in his Logies speech, calling on the nation to protect "one of the most precious institutions we have". Media outlets are running a joint *Journalism Is Not A Crime* campaign, publishing an open letter to the Government in several newspapers on 13 June 2019. It called for action from Parliament to "recognise and enshrine a positive public interest protection for whistleblowers and for journalists"^{xc}.

► Who said what?

ABC acting manager director David Anderson, 9 April 2019^{xcii}:

I do not believe that we'll be able to find that \$84 million without it somehow affecting our services to the Australian people. I do not believe it can be found through straight efficiency alone.

Former Labor leader Bill Shorten, 9 May 2019^{xciii}:

Because the ABC occasionally asks questions of the government they're going to wind back \$83 million. This government manages to find tens of millions of dollars for other media outlets.

News Corp Australia group executive for corporate affairs, policy and government relations

Campbell Reid, 12 June 2019^{xciv}: *Rather than an inquiry, a better solution would be a working group of senior politicians, media representatives and legal experts to work together to reframe legislation so it strikes the right balance between national security and the nation's right to know.*

Inquiry into the Competitive Neutrality of the National Broadcasters, September 2018^{xcv}:

Given their market shares, and other factors, this inquiry considers the National Broadcasters are not causing significant competitive distortions beyond the public interest.

Former Prime Minister Malcolm Turnbull, 27 September 2018^{xcvi}:

I want to be very clear, I have not complained and do not complain about left/right bias. My concern has been purely about the accuracy and impartiality of news and current affairs reporting on the ABC. I do believe it has deteriorated over recent years. Everybody is entitled to express their views about the ABC and ministers do and prime ministers have done always, and that's very important... In an era of social media and in an era of fake news... the ABC is more important than ever. But that is why it's vital that it has high standards of journalism, that its reporting is accurate and impartial.

The ABC's Ita Buttrose, 7 June 2019^{xcvii}:

It is impossible to ignore the seismic nature of this week's events: raids on two separate media outfits on consecutive days is a blunt signal of adverse consequences for news organisations who

make life uncomfortable for policy makers and regulators by shining lights in dark corners and holding the powerful to account.

Amnesty International's Claire O'Rourke, 28 June 2018^{xcviii}:

By making it a crime to hold the Australian government to account on human rights, this bill will help shield government from accountability. These draconian laws proposed will make Australia more like the authoritarian countries this bill is supposed to protect us from.

Journalist Kerry O'Brien, 30 June 2019^{xcix}:

There have been the tough times – the budget cuts to the ABC, again and again and again. Driven more by a desire to punish and by an ideological obsession than because the public broadcaster was inefficient. The ABC is still forging its way through strong headwinds, probably never threatened more than it is today.

Journalism Is Not A Crime campaign, 13 June 2019^c:

A healthy democracy cannot function without its media being free to bring to light uncomfortable truths, to scrutinise the powerful and inform our communities. Investigative journalism cannot survive without the courage of whistleblowers, motivated by concern for their fellow citizens, who seek to bring to light instances of wrongdoing, illegal activities, fraud, corruption and threats to public health and safety.

New York Times journalist Damian Cave, 5 June 2019^{ci}:

No other developed democracy holds as tight to its secrets, experts say, and the raids are just the latest example of how far the country's conservative government will go to scare officials and reporters into submission.

BBC News Press Team, 5 June 2019^{cii}:

This police raid against our partners at ABC is an attack on press freedom which we at the BBC find deeply troubling. At a time when the media is becoming less free across the world, it is highly worrying if a public broadcaster is being targeted for doing its job of reporting in the public interest.

Prime Minister Scott Morrison, 6 June 2019^{ciii}:

These are matters that were being pursued by the AFP operationally, at complete arm's length from the Government, not with the knowledge of the Government, not at the instigation of government ministers. These were matters that had been referred to the federal police some time ago, last year, preceding even my time as coming to be Prime Minister.

Shadow Minister for Home Affairs Kristina Keneally, 12 June 2019^{civ}:

The perception of bias is a real risk now. Not only is there media apprehension about an attempt to intimidate reporting, there is also a concern that only leaks embarrassing the government merit investigation while those that benefit the government do not. The decision by the AFP to drop its investigation of a leak of classified ASIO information during the medevac debate has shocked many.

7. Media ethics and digital defamation

Rise in digital defamation

Defamation refers to published material seen by more than one person that has lowered the reputation of an individual in the eyes of the public. Defamation can be defended by proving the claims were true^{cv}.

Social media platforms have made it easier and more common for defamatory comments to be published to a wide audience. However, there is a lack of clarity around media ethics and defamation law in the digital era. Australia's defamation law was last updated in 2005 and was not designed for social media^{cvi}.

There were 609 defamation cases in Australia between 2013 and 2017. Of these, 16 involved Facebook posts, 20 involved emails, four involved Tweets and two involved SMSs. Over the five years, there was an increase from 17% to 53% of cases brought on digital publications. Media companies represented one in four of defamation cases^{cvi}.

A recent example was the case brought by former Treasurer Joe Hockey against Fairfax media. Mr Hockey was awarded \$120,000 for a poster and \$80,000 for two Tweets promoting an article in *The Sydney Morning Herald*^{cvi}. Another example was the costly case against BuzzFeed for allegedly 'slut shaming' a federal MP^{cix}. The University of Technology Sydney's Centre for Media Transition is calling for debate and legislative reform to deal with the growing trend^{cx}.

Social media publishers and hate speech

A recent case in the Supreme Court of NSW ruled that media outlets were responsible for "publishing" defamatory comments made by readers on their Facebook pages. The decision was in relation to defamatory comments made about former Northern Territory youth detainee Dylan Voller by members of the public on 10 Facebook posts published by *The Sydney Morning Herald*, *The Australian*, the *Centralian Advocate*, *Sky News Australia* and *The Bolt Report*^{cx}.

The ruling will mean media outlets that encourage engagement, particularly those that give fuel to hate speech, will need to dedicate more resources to moderating comments on social media. It could also have ramifications for the corporate sector. NewsCorp and others plan to appeal the decision^{cxii}. If it is upheld, news media might begin to move away from Facebook as a publishing tool. Alternatively, they will need to work with social platforms to improve moderation tools. However, the cost of hiring community managers could be prohibitive for some businesses and stymie conversations.

The United Nations released its *Strategy and Plan of Action on Hate Speech* on 18 June 2019^{cxiii}. It recommended digital technology to be used to monitor activity and build support for counter-narratives. It also called for new forms of self-policing by social media platforms. Additionally, the UN supported the Christchurch Call for "governments and tech companies to eliminate terrorist and violent extremist content online", which included a commitment to "encourage media outlets to apply ethical standards when depicting terrorist events online, to avoid amplifying terrorist and violent extremist content"^{cxiv}.

▶ Who said what?

University of Sydney Professor David Rolph, 22 October 2018^{cxv}:

People are only entitled to the reputation they deserve, not the reputation they have.

Maurice Blackburn Associate Lawyer Patrick Turner, 22 October 2018^{cxvi}:

The temptation can often be to vent on these platforms. But we are seeing an increase in defamation against ordinary citizens rather than big media players... Be careful of what you say, share or tweet, particularly when someone can save a screenshot of what you've posted. Deleting the post might not absolve you.

University of Technology Sydney Professor Peter Fray, 6 November 2018^{cxvii}:

Now is the time we start talking about this. It seems to me that people are becoming a bit addicted to defamation as a way of taking out your enemies. And that isn't, necessarily, what defamation is about.

News Corp spokesperson, 20 June 2019^{cxviii}:

It defies belief that media organisations are held responsible for comments made by other people on social media pages. It is ridiculous that the media company- is held responsible while Facebook, which gives us no ability to turn off comments on its platform, bears no responsibility at all.

The Christchurch Call, 15 May 2019:

The events of Christchurch highlighted once again the urgent need for action and enhanced cooperation among the wide range of actors with influence over this issue, including governments, civil society, and online service providers, such as social media companies, to eliminate terrorist and violent extremist content online.

United National Secretary-General António Guterres, 18 June 2019^{cxix}:

Around the world, we see a groundswell of xenophobia, racism and intolerance, violent misogyny, and also anti-Semitism and anti-Muslim hatred... Hate speech is in itself an attack on tolerance, inclusion, diversity and the very essence of our human rights norms and principles. More broadly, it undermines social cohesion, erodes shared values, and can lay the foundation for violence, setting back the cause of peace, stability, sustainable development and the fulfillment of human rights for all.

8. Impact on business

Potential challenges

As the world starts to comprehend the implications of digital disruption on news media, we will begin to see tighter restrictions placed on digital publishers and platforms to address fake news, hate speech and censorship, data privacy and algorithms that determine the news we see and don't see. These could start to impact how and where organisations share information and engage audiences.

For example, we might start to see news content published by reputable media organisations gain prominence over news content produced by organisations in searches and feeds. We might also see accuracy and objectivity ratings impact the ranking of corporate news content.

Organisations will also need to be aware of defamation law, censorship rules and their responsibilities when fostering community engagement on social platforms. It might be necessary to hire dedicated community managers to moderate discussions and keep the organisation aligned with regulations.

Digital platforms like Facebook will also move away from open sharing platforms to towards more privacy-focused messaging platforms. Facebook has also flagged the possibility of exiting countries in which the regulatory environment prohibits their quest for user privacy. These developments will most likely present some barriers to distributing and promoting content.

Finally, the impact of press censorship in Australia could start to have an impact on business confidence. Former political adviser Innes Willcox said, “The raids on the media have set back Australia's reputation internationally... That raises alarm bells for business as well about the sort of country that Australia is to do business with and what could happen here”^{cxx}.

Recommendations

When developing communication, marketing and community engagement strategies, organisations will need to understand the complexities and evolving nature of the news, the media and digital platforms. Organisations should consider changes in news consumption, the ownership and audiences of the media they engage with, their rights and responsibilities around engagement on digital platforms, and upholding the integrity of their owned media.

Potential measures to stay on top of the changing news environment include:

- **Owned newsrooms** – Digital newsrooms owned by organisations and managed by professional journalists are a way to distribute engaging, newsworthy and timely content to journalists and stakeholders without relying on social media and search engines.
- **Leaders on social** – Strategic consideration should be given to the social media presence and profiles of company executives and spokespeople to ensure they contribute to the organisation’s overall business strategy.
- **New media training** – It is important that the scope of corporate media training be extended to include communicating in public forums such as social media.
- **Community managers** – Organisations will need to consider hiring community managers to build and moderate online groups. This is in light of the recent defamation case that puts the onus on content publishers to delete defamatory comments from their social pages as well as the call for governments, publishers and technology companies to act to reduce hate speech online.
- **Crisis management** – Corporate crisis management plans should take into account risks associated with social media, such as the social media history of executives, as well as the way social media can and should be used when responding to a crisis.

Prepared by Sarah Parkes sarah.parkes@daymark.com.au

ⁱ ACCC 2018, ‘Digital Platforms Inquiry: Issues Paper’, p. 16, 26 February, accessed 27 June 2019, <https://www.accc.gov.au/system/files/DPI%20-%20Issues%20Paper%20-%20Vers%20for%20Release%20-%2025%20F..%20%28006%29.pdf>

ⁱⁱ Edelman 2019, ‘2019 Edelman Trust Barometer: Global Report’, p. 5, 20 January, accessed 26 June 2019, https://www.edelman.com/sites/g/files/aatuss191/files/2019-03/2019_Edelman_Trust_Barometer_Global_Report.pdf?utm_source=website&utm_medium=global_report&utm_campaign=downloads

ⁱⁱⁱ Public Policy Forum 2017, ‘The Shattered Mirror: News, Democracy and Trust in the Digital Age’, p. 4, January, accessed 19 June 2019, <https://shatteredmirror.ca/wp-content/uploads/theShatteredMirror.pdf>

^{iv} Molan, L 2019, ‘A message from the editor of INQ’, *Crikey*, 14 June, accessed 26 June 2019, <https://www.crikey.com.au/2019/06/14/crikey-inq-letter/>

- ^v Duke, J 2019, 'Nine cancels Pagemasters deal to bring sub-editors in house', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 10 May, accessed 26 June 2019, <https://www.smh.com.au/business/companies/nine-cancels-pagemasters-deal-to-bring-sub-editors-in-house-20190510-p51lzx.html>
- ^{vi} The Digital, Culture, Media and Sport Committee 2019, 'Disinformation and 'fake news': Final Report', p. 42, The House of Commons, 14 February, accessed 2 July 2019, <https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201719/cmselect/cmcomeds/1791/1791.pdf>
- ^{vii} Umari, S 2016, 'Mobile Reporting and Journalism for Media Trends, News Transmission and its Authenticity', *Journal of Mass Communication & Journalism*, 21 December, accessed 12 June 2019, <https://www.omicsonline.org/open-access/mobile-reporting-and-journalism-for-media-trends-news-transmissionand-its-authenticity-2165-7912-1000323.php?aid=83266#33>
- ^{viii} MEAA 2018, 'MEAA submission to the ACCC inquiry into digital platforms', p. 4, MEAA Media room, 10 April, accessed 27 June 2019, <https://www.meaa.org/mediaroom/meaa-submission-to-the-accc-inquiry-into-digital-platforms/>
- ^{ix} Alexander, R and Isager, I 2018, 'Fear and Loathing Worldwide: Gonzo Journalism Beyond Hunter S. Thompson', *Bloomsbury Academic*, 26 June.
- ^x Edelman 2019, '2019 Edelman Trust Barometer: Global Report', p. 49.
- ^{xi} Austin, P L 2019, 'Big Money Is Pouring Into Podcasting. Some Podcasters Love It — But Others Are Freaked Out', *Time*, June 17, accessed 26 June 2019, <https://time.com/5587542/big-money-is-pouring-into-podcasting-some-podcasters-love-it-but-others-are-freaked-out/>
- ^{xii} Ek, D 2019, 'Audio-First', *Spotify For the Record*, 6 February 2019, accessed 26 June 2019, <https://newsroom.spotify.com/2019-02-06/audio-first/>
- ^{xiii} Isaksson, H 2019, 'Is Australia Entering The Golden Age Of Podcasting?', *B&T*, 4 June, accessed 26 June 2019, <https://www.bandt.com.au/media/australia-entering-golden-age-podcasting>
- ^{xiv} Blackbox 2019, 'ABC signs new content production deal with Canadian Broadcasting Corporation', 17 June, accessed 26 June 2019, <https://tvblackbox.com.au/page/2019/6/17/abc-signs-new-content-production-deal-with-canadian-broadcasting-corporation>
- ^{xv} Molan 2019, 'A message from the editor of INQ'.
- ^{xvi} Thomas, H 2018, 'The Teacher's Pet', *The Australian*, accessed 26 June 2019, <https://www.theaustralian.com.au/the-teachers-pet>
- ^{xvii} Duke 2019, 'Nine cancels Pagemasters deal to bring sub-editors in house'.
- ^{xviii} Automated Insights 2018, 'The Ultimate Guide to Natural Language Generation', 31 January, accessed 27 June 2019, <https://medium.com/@AutomatedInsights/the-ultimate-guide-to-natural-language-generation-bdcb457423d6>
- ^{xix} Automated Insights 2019, *Customer Stories: Associated Press*, accessed 27 June 2019, <https://automatedinsights.com/customer-stories/associated-press/>
- ^{xx} Evershed, N 2019, 'Why I created a robot to write news stories', *The Guardian*, 1 February, accessed 27 June 2019, <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2019/feb/01/why-i-created-a-robot-to-write-news-stories>
- ^{xxi} Castellano, O 2018, 'The Future of Journalism: Will Robots Get it Right?', *Medium*, 9 May, accessed 27 June 2019, <https://medium.com/@orge/this-is-the-future-of-journalism-will-a-machine-get-it-right-d3e747f16751>
- ^{xxii} Deloitte 2017, 'Digital media: the subscription prescription', p. 1, The Creative Studio at Deloitte, accessed on 27 June 2019, <https://www2.deloitte.com/content/dam/Deloitte/global/Images/infographics/technologymediatelecommunications/gx-deloitte-tmt-2018-digital-media-report.pdf>
- ^{xxiii} Lee, P 2018, 'Digital Media Subscriptions on the Rise', Deloitte Touche Tohmatsu Limited, 24 May, accessed 27 June 2019, <https://deloitte.wsj.com/cmo/2018/05/24/digital-media-subscriptions-continue-to-rise/>
- ^{xxiv} Seale, S 2018, '7 key global trends in news media subscriptions', INMA, 9 May, accessed 27 June 2019, <https://www.inma.org/blogs/conference/post.cfm/7-key-global-trends-in-news-media-subscriptions>
- ^{xxv} Moses, L 2018, 'To goose subscriber growth, The New York Times plans to try a flexible meter', *Digiday UK*, 8 November, accessed 27 June 2019, <https://digiday.com/media/looking-for-the-next-tier-of-subscribers-the-ny-times-plans-to-try-a-flexible-meter/>
- ^{xxvi} Dwyer, T and Muller, D 2016, 'FactCheck: is Australia's level of media ownership concentration one of the highest in the world?', *The Conversation*, 12 December, accessed 27 June 2019, <https://theconversation.com/factcheck-is-australias-level-of-media-ownership-concentration-one-of-the-highest-in-the-world-68437>
- ^{xxvii} Barker, A 2018, 'Fairfax and Nine are merging. Here's what the deal involves and what it will mean for you', *ABC News Online*, 26 July, accessed 27 June 2019, <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2018-07-26/what-the-fairfax-and-nine-merger-means-for-you/10039236>
- ^{xxviii} Grattan, M 2017, 'Government set to win Senate support for media deregulation', *The Conversation*, 14 September, accessed 27 June 2019, <https://theconversation.com/government-set-to-win-senate-support-for-media-deregulation-84017>

- ^{xxix} Duke, J 2019, 'Antony Catalano buys Nine's regional newspapers for \$125m', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 April, accessed 27 June 2019, <https://www.smh.com.au/business/companies/antony-catalano-buys-nine-s-regional-newspapers-for-115m-20190430-p51ih0.html>
- ^{xxx} King, R, Ferguson, K and Thackray, L 2019, 'WIN News to cut four commercial TV newsrooms in Orange, Wagga Wagga, Albury and Bundaberg', *ABC News*, 20 June, accessed 1 July 2019, <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2019-06-20/win-news-job-cuts-in-regional-nsw-and-queensland/11226820>
- ^{xxxi} Battersby, L 2017, 'News Corp and the Murdochs starting 2017 with more news and influence than before', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 13 January, accessed 27 June 2019, <https://www.smh.com.au/business/companies/news-corp-and-the-murdochs-starting-2017-with-more-news-and-influence-than-before-20170110-gtoo2a.html>
- ^{xxxii} Muller, D 2019, 'Mounting evidence the tide is turning on News Corp, and its owner', *The Conversation*, 13 May, accessed 27 June 2019, <https://theconversation.com/mounting-evidence-the-tide-is-turning-on-news-corp-and-its-owner-116892>
- ^{xxxiii} Davies, A 2018, 'A very Australian coup: Murdoch, Turnbull and the power of News Corp', *The Guardian*, 20 September, accessed 27 June 2019, <https://www.theguardian.com/media/2018/sep/20/very-australian-coup-murdoch-turnbull-political-death-news-corps>
- ^{xxxiv} Lidberg, J 2019, 'New low for journalism? Why News Corp's partisan campaign coverage is harmful to democracy', *The Conversation*, 9 May, accessed 27 June 2019, <https://theconversation.com/new-low-for-journalism-why-news-corps-partisan-campaign-coverage-is-harmful-to-democracy-116796>
- ^{xxxv} Stapleton, J 2019, 'Dark side of Sky at night: Analysis of Murdoch TV network reveals extent of anti-Labor comments', *The New Daily*, 14 May, accessed 1 July 2019, <https://thenewdaily.com.au/news/election-2019/2019/05/14/andrew-bolt-sky-news-labor/>
- ^{xxxvi} Dwyer, T and Koskie, T 2019, 'Press, platforms and power: mapping out a stronger Australian media landscape', *The Conversation*, 5 June, accessed 27 June 2019, <https://theconversation.com/press-platforms-and-power-mapping-out-a-stronger-australian-media-landscape-117987>
- ^{xxxvii} Meade, A 2019, 'Craziness has been dialled up: News Corp journalist unloads on his own paper', *The Guardian*, 10 May, accessed 27 June 2019, <https://www.theguardian.com/media/2019/may/10/news-corp-rick-morton-australian>
- ^{xxxviii} Koch, T 2019, 'For 30 years I worked for News Corp papers. Now all I see is shameful bias', *The Guardian*, 9 May, accessed 27 June 2019, <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2019/may/09/for-30-years-i-worked-for-news-corp-papers-now-all-i-see-is-shameful-bias>
- ^{xxxix} Hunter, F 2019, 'Scare campaigns' and 'propaganda': Why a fed-up Bill Shorten has turned on News Corp', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 18 April, accessed 1 July 2019, <https://www.smh.com.au/federal-election-2019/scare-campaigns-and-propaganda-why-a-fed-up-bill-shorten-has-turned-on-news-corp-20190418-p51fe6.html>
- ^{xl} Dwyer, T and Koskie, T 2019, 'Press, platforms and power: mapping out a stronger Australian media landscape'.
- ^{xli} Department of Communications and the Arts 2016, 'Modernising Australian media laws', Australian Government, 1 March, accessed 2 July 2019, <https://www.minister.communications.gov.au/minister/mitch-fifield/news/modernising-australian-media-laws>
- ^{xlii} ACCC 2019, 'Digital platforms inquiry', ACCC, accessed 27 June 2019, <https://www.accc.gov.au/focus-areas/inquiries/digital-platforms-inquiry>
- ^{xliii} Kemp, K 2017, 'Australia's New Misuse of Market Power Law: In Brief', Centre for Law and Markets Regulation, August, accessed 8 July 2019, <https://clmr.unsw.edu.au/australia-misuse-of-market-power-law>
- ^{xliv} ACCC 2018, 'Digital Platforms Inquiry: Preliminary Report', p. 31, December, accessed 27 June 2019, <https://www.accc.gov.au/system/files/ACCC%20Digital%20Platforms%20Inquiry%20-%20Preliminary%20Report.pdf>
- ^{xlv} MEAA 2018, 'MEAA submission to the ACCC inquiry into digital platforms'.
- ^{xlvi} ACCC 2018, 'Digital Platforms Inquiry: Preliminary Report', pp. 9-14.
- ^{xlvii} HM Treasury 2019, 'Unlocking digital competition, Report of the Digital Competition Expert Panel', Gov.uk, 13 March, accessed 8 July 2019, <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/unlocking-digital-competition-report-of-the-digital-competition-expert-panel>
- ^{xlviii} Bell, E 2019, 'What 2,000 job cuts tell us: the free market kills digital journalism', *The Guardian*, 3 February, accessed 1 July 2019, <https://www.theguardian.com/media/2019/feb/02/what-2000-job-cuts-tell-us-the-free-market-kills-digital-journalism>
- ^{xlix} Grieco, E 2018, 'Newsroom employment dropped nearly a quarter in less than 10 years, with greatest decline at newspapers', Pew Research, 30 July, accessed 1 July 2019, <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2018/07/30/newsroom-employment-dropped-nearly-a-quarter-in-less-than-10-years-with-greatest-decline-at-newspapers/>
- ⁱ MEAA 2018, 'MEAA submission to the ACCC's digital platforms inquiry'.
- ⁱⁱ ACCC 2018, 'Digital Platforms Inquiry: Preliminary Report', p. 68.

- lii Zuckerberg, M 2019, 'A Privacy-Focused Vision for Social Networking', Facebook, 6 March, accessed 3 July 2019, <https://www.facebook.com/notes/mark-zuckerberg/a-privacy-focused-vision-for-social-networking/10156700570096634/>
- liii The Digital, Culture, Media and Sport Committee 2019, 'Disinformation and 'fake news': Final Report', p. 42.
- liv Taylor, J 2019, 'Facebook and Google likely to face new regulators for news and ads,' *The Guardian*, 28 June, accessed 8 July 2019, <https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2019/jun/28/facebook-and-google-likely-to-face-new-regulators-for-news-and-ads>
- lv Taylor, J 2019, 'Facebook and Google likely to face new regulators for news and ads,'.
- lvi Durkin, P 2019, 'Facebook and Google have no excuse, warns ACCC', *Australian Financial Review*, 30 April, accessed 1 July 2019, <https://www.afr.com/technology/technology-companies/facebook-and-google-have-no-excuse-warns-acc-20190430-p51ihl>
- lvii Creighton, A 2019, 'It may be news to Google, but democracy is at stake', *The Australian*, 25 June, accessed 26 June 2019, <https://www.theaustralian.com.au/commentary/it-may-be-news-to-google-but-democracy-is-at-stake/news-story/e47a5458727e3ce35a42ef74d1ea73ae>
- lviii McDaniel, C A 2019, 'Regulating Facebook could hinder small businesses with overseas customers', *The Conversation*, 27 February, accessed 2 July 2019, <https://theconversation.com/regulating-facebook-could-hinder-small-businesses-with-overseas-customers-111822>
- lix Drill, S 2019, 'Lachlan Murdoch lauds growth of company's business in Australia, says tech giants should face more scrutiny', *Herald Sun*, 20 June, accessed 27 June 2019, <https://www.heraldsun.com.au/business/companies/lachlan-murdoch-lauds-growth-of-companys-business-in-australia-says-tech-giants-should-face-more-scrutiny/news-story/e5ab19e6c3d89b0252ed4dfa11269723>
- lx Edelman 2019, '2019 Edelman Trust Barometer: Global Report', p. 5.
- lxi Fisher, C, Park, S, Young Lee, J, Fuller, G and Sang, Y 2019, 'Digital News Report: Australia 2019', p. 8, News & Media Research Centre and University of Canberra, 17 June, accessed 27 June 2019, <https://apo.org.au/sites/default/files/resource-files/2019/06/apo-nid240786-1366986.pdf>
- lxii ABC Media Literacy 2018, 'How journalists define fake news', *ABC News*, 15 August, accessed 26 June 2019, <https://www.abc.net.au/education/media-literacy/how-journalists-define-fake-news/10122248>
- lxiii Edelman 2019, '2019 Edelman Trust Barometer: Global Report', p. 20.
- lxiv Langston, J 2017, 'Lip-syncing Obama: New tools turn audio clips into realistic video', *UW News*, 11 July, accessed 27 June 2019, <https://www.washington.edu/news/2017/07/11/lip-syncing-obama-new-tools-turn-audio-clips-into-realistic-video/>
- lxv Schiffer, Z 2019, 'Facebook might start treating deep fakes differently than fake news, Zuckerberg says', *Business Insider US*, 27 June, accessed 3 July 2019, <https://www.businessinsider.sg/mark-zuckerberg-facebook-special-policy-deep-fake-videos-2019-6/>
- lxvi Newman, N 2019, 'Journalism, Media, and Technology Trends and Predictions 2019', p. 15, Reuters Institute and University of Oxford, accessed 27 June 2019, https://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/sites/default/files/2019-01/Newman_Predictions_2019_FINAL_2.pdf
- lxvii Crook, J 2018, 'Zuck apologizes for Cambridge Analytica scandal with full-page print ad', *Tech Crunch*, 26 March, accessed 2 July 2019, <https://techcrunch.com/story/facebook-responds-to-data-misuse/>
- lxviii Thompsen, N 2019, 'Zuckerberg defends free speech, even when the speech is false', *Wired*, 26 June, <https://www.wired.com/story/zuckerberg-defends-free-speech-even-when-speech-false/>
- lxix The Digital, Culture, Media and Sport Committee 2019, 'Disinformation and 'fake news': Final Report', p. 89-97.
- lxx BBC 2018, 'Germany starts enforcing hate speech law', *BBC News*, 1 January, accessed 2 July 2019, <https://www.bbc.com/news/technology-42510868>
- lxxi Jenson, M 2019, 'Fake news' is already spreading online in the election campaign – it's up to us to stop it', *The Conversation*, 24 April, accessed 2 July 2019, <https://theconversation.com/fake-news-is-already-spreading-online-in-the-election-campaign-its-up-to-us-to-stop-it-115455>
- lxxii @realDonaldTrump 2019, Twitter post, 11:24pm 19 March, accessed 2 July 2019, available at <https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/1107981131012628481?lang=en>
- lxxiii Standing Committee on Access to Information, Privacy and Ethics 2018, 'Democracy under threat: Risks and solutions in the era of disinformation and data monopoly', p 31, House of Commons Canada, December, accessed 2 July 2019, <https://www.ourcommons.ca/Content/Committee/421/ETHI/Reports/RP10242267/ethirp17/ethirp17-e.pdf>
- lxxiv The Digital, Culture, Media and Sport Committee 2019, 'Disinformation and 'fake news': Final Report', p. 10.
- lxxv New Knowledge 2018, 'Tactics and Tropes of the Internet Research Agency', p. 99, 18 December, accessed 2 July 2019, <https://disinformationreport.blob.core.windows.net/disinformation-report/NewKnowledge-Disinformation-Report-Whitepaper.pdf>
- lxxvi Edelman R 2019, 'Return to largest-ever inequality of trust driven by spike among informed public,' Edelman, 20 January, accessed 2 July 2019, <https://www.edelman.com/news-awards/2019-edelman-trust-barometer-reveals-my-employer-most-trusted-institution>

- lxxvii Thompson, M 2019, 'New York Times CEO Mark Thompson on growing newspaper company by billions during Trump's 'fake news' era', CNBC video, 19 June, accessed 2 July 2019, <https://www.cnbc.com/2019/06/19/new-york-times-ceo-on-how-newspaper-grew-300percent-amid-fake-news-bashing.html>
- lxxviii Thompson, N 2019, 'Zuckerberg defends free speech, even when the speech is false'.
- lxxix BBC 2016, 'Polish media laws: Government takes control of state media', *BBC News*, 7 January, accessed 3 July 2019, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-35257105>
- lxxx Borger, J 2019, 'Trump jokes to Putin they should 'get rid' of journalists', *The Guardian*, 28 June, accessed 3 July 2019, <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2019/jun/28/smirking-trump-jokes-to-putin-dont-meddle-in-us-election-g20>
- lxxxi Committee to Protect Journalists 2019, 'Journalists killed since 1992', Data & Research, accessed 3 July 2019, <https://cpj.org/>
- lxxxii Lewis, R 2019, 'Media demands legal shake-up, not an inquiry', *The Australian*, 12 June, accessed 8 July 2019, <https://www.theaustralian.com.au/nation/politics/media-demands-legal-shakeup-not-an-inquiry/news-story/56928b4d3a05e6c4bfb79908f32211cc>
- lxxxiii Ananian-Welsh R 2019, 'Why the raids on Australian media present a clear threat to democracy', *The Conversation*, 5 June, accessed 3 July 2019, <https://theconversation.com/why-the-raids-on-australian-media-present-a-clear-threat-to-democracy-118334>
- lxxxiv Ananian-Welsh R 2019, 'Why the raids on Australian media present a clear threat to democracy'.
- lxxxv Molloy, S 2019, 'Radio star Ben Fordham targeted after Australian Federal Police raid political editor Annika Smethurst's home over spy story', *news.com.au*, 4 June, accessed 3 July 2019, <https://www.news.com.au/national/politics/australian-federal-police-raid-political-editor-annika-smethursts-home-over-spy-story/news-story/135c27ced2becde0333c0ef61d901007>
- lxxxvi Ananian-Welsh R 2019, 'Why the raids on Australian media present a clear threat to democracy'.
- lxxxvii AAP 2019, 'ABC unsure how to deal with cuts', *SBS News*, 9 April, accessed 3 July 2019, <https://www.sbs.com.au/news/abc-unsure-how-to-deal-with-cuts>
- lxxxviii Koziol, M and Duke, J 2018, 'ABC and SBS cleared by review into claims they compete unfairly with commercial rivals', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 12 December, accessed 27 June 2019, <https://www.smh.com.au/politics/federal/review-clears-abc-and-sbs-over-claims-they-compete-unfairly-with-commercial-rivals-20181212-p50lpi.html>
- lxxxix Duke, J, Carmody, B and Koziol, M 2018, 'Michelle Guthrie: The inside story behind her sacking', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 24 September, accessed 27 June 2019, <https://www.smh.com.au/business/companies/michelle-guthrie-the-inside-story-behind-her-sacking-20180924-p505ok.html>
- xc Mason, M 2019, 'ABC and News Corp are taking legal action to cancel warrants the Australia Federal Police used to raid the national broadcaster', *Business Insider*, 25 June, accessed 3 July 2019, <https://www.businessinsider.com.au/abc-news-corp-legal-action-cancel-warrants-used-by-afp-2019-6>
- xc Blackiston, H 2019, "'Journalism is not a crime': Media owners and journalists unite in press freedom campaign", *Mumbrella*, 14 June, accessed 3 July 2019, <https://mumbrella.com.au/journalism-is-not-a-crime-media-owners-and-journalists-unite-in-press-freedom-campaign-584214>
- xcii AAP 2019, 'ABC unsure how to deal with cuts'.
- xciii AAP 2019, 'Government defends ABC budget cuts', *SBS News*, 9 May 2018, accessed 3 July 2019, <https://www.sbs.com.au/news/government-defends-abc-budget-cuts>
- xciv Lewis, R 2019, 'Media demands legal shake-up, not an inquiry'.
- xcv Expert Panel 2018, 'Inquiry into the Competitive Neutrality of the National Broadcasters—report by the Expert Panel', p. 11, Department of Communications and the Arts, September, accessed 3 July 2019, <https://www.communications.gov.au/documents/inquiry-competitive-neutrality-national-broadcasters-report-expert-panel>
- xcvi Smith, R, Khalil, S and Molloy, S 2018, 'Embattled ABC chairman Justin Milne quits after days of chaos and damaging revelations', *news.com.au*, 27 September, accessed 3 July 2019, <https://www.news.com.au/finance/business/media/abc-crisis-continues-as-email-reveals-turnbull-asked-journalist-to-be-sacked-because-he-hated-him/news-story/9e1b0a18d602ffea145b215373f2a49a>
- xcvii Ita Buttrose 2019, 'ABC Chair Ita Buttrose's statement in full', *ABC News*, 7 June, accessed 3 July 2019, <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2019-06-07/ita-buttrose-statement-in-full-on-afp-raids-on-abc/11189266>
- xcviii AAP 2018, 'Sweeping changes to espionage, treason and secrecy laws as foreign interference bills pass', *SBS News*, 28 June, accessed 3 July 2019, <https://www.sbs.com.au/news/sweeping-changes-to-espionage-treason-and-secrecy-laws-as-foreign-interference-bills-pass>
- xcix O'Brien, K 2019, 'Kerry O'Brien defends the ABC and calls out media 'failures' in impassioned Logies speech', *ABC News*, 30 June, accessed 3 July 2019, <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2019-07-01/kerry-obrien-logies-hall-of-fame-speech-defends-abc/11266172>
- c Blackiston, H 2019, "'Journalism is not a crime': Media owners and journalists unite in press freedom campaign'.

- ^{ci} Cave, D 2019, 'Australia May Well Be the World's Most Secretive Democracy', *New York Times*, 5 June, accessed 3 July 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/06/05/world/australia/journalist-raids.html>
- ^{cii} BBC 2019, 'ABC raid: Outcry as Australian police search public broadcaster', *BBC News*, 5 June, accessed 3 July 2019, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-australia-48522729>
- ^{ciii} ABC 2019, 'Scott Morrison grilled on press freedom after AFP raids on ABC, journalist Annika Smethurst', *ABC News*, 6 June, accessed 3 July 2019, <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2019-06-06/scott-morrison-questioned-on-press-freedom-after-afp-raids/11184058>
- ^{civ} Keneally, K 2019, 'Those in power must be held to account when police raid reporters', *The Australian*, 12 June, accessed 8 July 2019, <https://www.theaustralian.com.au/commentary/those-in-power-must-be-held-to-account-when-police-raid-reporters/news-story/a84006511b952f82a7de7807eed395a2>
- ^{cv} Young, E 2018, 'What is defamation and where do we draw the line in Australia?', *SBS News*, 22 October, accessed 3 July 2019, <https://www.sbs.com.au/news/what-is-defamation-and-where-do-we-draw-the-line-in-australia>
- ^{cvi} Smiley, S and Lavoipierre, A 2018, 'Why dozens of Australians are suing over emails and posts on Facebook or Twitter', *ABC News*, 7 November, accessed 3 July 2019, <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2018-11-07/social-media-defamation-cases-costly-and-time-consuming/10470924>
- ^{cvi} Young, E 2018, 'What is defamation and where do we draw the line in Australia?'
- ^{cvi} The Centre for Media Transition 2018, 'Trends in digital defamation: defendants, plaintiffs, platforms', p. 68, UTS, March, accessed 3 July 2019, https://www.uts.edu.au/sites/default/files/article/downloads/Trends%20in%20Digital%20Defamation_0.pdf
- ^{cix} Cornwall, D 2019, 'Husar and BuzzFeed to enter mediation', *The Australian*, 5 April, accessed 27 June 2019, <https://www.theaustralian.com.au/business/media/husar-and-buzzfeed-to-enter-mediation-talks/news-story/2877c37ec9d320ffd6cf43e7b0533e69>
- ^{cx} The Centre for Media Transition 2018, 'Trends in digital defamation: defendants, plaintiffs, platforms', p. 81.
- ^{cx} Douglas M 2019, 'Can you be liable for defamation for what other people write on your Facebook page? Australian court says: maybe', *The Conversation*, 25 June, accessed 26 June 2019, <https://theconversation.com/can-you-be-liable-for-defamation-for-what-other-people-write-on-your-facebook-page-australian-court-says-maybe-119352>
- ^{cxii} Editorial 2019, 'Overhaul defamation laws after odd Facebook ruling', *The Australian*, 26 June, accessed 3 July 2019, <https://www.theaustralian.com.au/commentary/editorials/overhaul-defamation-laws-after-odd-facebook-ruling/news-story/4714efdb00ed94090aa4f183bb4f3280>
- ^{cxiii} Guterres, G 2019, 'Remarks at the launch of the United Nations Strategy and Plan of Action on Hate Speech', United National Secretary-General, 18 June, accessed 3 July 2019, <https://www.un.org/sg/en/content/sg/speeches/2019-06-18/un-strategy-and-plan-of-action-hate-speech-remarks>
- ^{cxiv} Christchurch Call 2019, 'Christchurch Call: to eliminate terrorist & violent extremist content online', New Zealand Ministry for Foreign Affairs and Trade, 15 May, accessed 3 July 2019, <https://www.christchurchcall.com/>
- ^{cxv} Young, E 2018, 'What is defamation and where do we draw the line in Australia?'
- ^{cxvi} Young, E 2018, 'What is defamation and where do we draw the line in Australia?'
- ^{cxvii} Smiley, S and Lavoipierre, A 2018, 'Why dozens of Australians are suing over emails and posts on Facebook or Twitter'.
- ^{cxviii} Editorial 2019, 'Overhaul defamation laws after odd Facebook ruling'.
- ^{cxix} Guterres, G 2019, 'Remarks at the launch of the United Nations Strategy and Plan of Action on Hate Speech'.
- ^{cxx} Ryan, P 2019, 'AFP's media raids risk eroding business sector's confidence in Australia', *ABC News*, 8 June, accessed 3 July 2019, <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2019-06-08/afp-raids-may-erode-business-investor-confidence/11192210>