

# The Australian Parliament in the Twitterverse

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## *Introduction*

Members of parliament have a strong interest in wide communication with both their electorates and the wider Australian community. Engagement with constituents is important not just for visibility and election but also for debate of policy and parliamentary issues. Social media using web 2.0 technology have emerged over the past few years as the hottest growing spaces for online communication and, perhaps, communication in general. In 2009 many of the applications are showing a maturity in terms of the functionality and consistent use by a large group of engaged users with annual double or triple digit growth.

Early adoption of social networking has now moved to regular use by many, with an increasing pace of change. The number of years to reach 50 million users was 38 for radio, 13 for television, 4 for the Internet, and Facebook added 100 million users in less than 9 months.<sup>1</sup>

Adoption of web 2.0 technologies has been high and perhaps surprisingly not only among those considered Generation X and Y. The fastest growing segment on Facebook is 55–65 year-old females.<sup>2</sup>

Parliaments have slowly emerged as presences in social media in a variety of ways. This paper summarises the visibility of Senators and Members and Australian parliamentary bodies on Twitter together with some analysis of discussion of the parliament and matters relating to the parliamentary parties.

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<sup>1</sup> United Nations Cyberschoolbus Report, Mashable, Apple

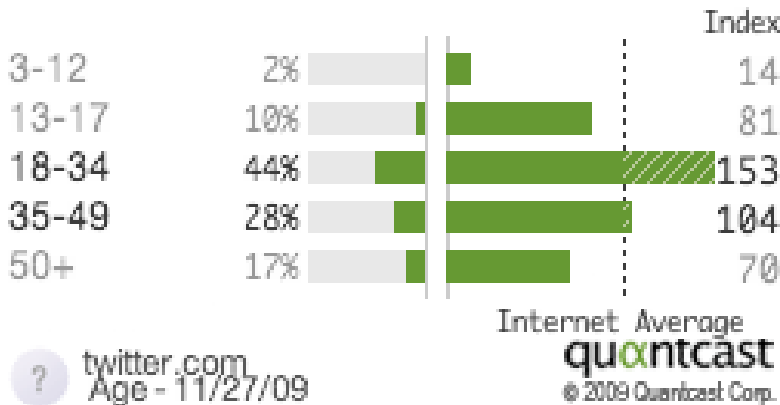
<sup>2</sup> Inside Network (2009) Inside Facebook Blog, <http://www.insidefacebook.com/2009/02/02/fastest-growing-demographic-on-facebook-women-over-55/>

## Twitter

Twitter enables individuals to make short posts online of up to 140 characters including information on ‘what you are doing now’. Developed by Jack Dorsey as a means of knowing what his friends were doing, it was launched to the public in August of 2006.

Twitter<sup>3</sup> has approximately 6 million unique monthly visitors and 55 million monthly visits. It is the third most used social media application. Users are reported to be mostly older adults who might not have used other social sites. According to Jeremiah Owyang, an industry analyst studying social media, ‘Adults are just catching up to what teens have been doing for years’.<sup>4</sup>

Chart 1: Twitter users by age, Quantcast<sup>5</sup>



Nielsen research<sup>6</sup> suggest that Twitter is very important for reaching the ‘power mom’ community, noting that ‘moms’ control 85% of household spending.

Twitter’s audience also contains a large transient population: data from Nielsen Online, which measures Internet traffic, found that more than 60 percent of Twitter users stopped using the free social networking site a month after joining.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Kazeniac, Andy (2009). ‘Social Networks: Facebook Takes Over Top Spot, Twitter Climbs’, Compete.com, <http://blog.compete.com/2009/02/09/facebook-myspace-twitter-social-network/>.

<sup>4</sup> Miller, Claire Cain (2009). ‘Who’s Driving Twitter’s Popularity? Not Teens’, *The New York Times*, 26 August <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/08/26/technology/internet/26twitter.html>.

<sup>5</sup> <http://www.quantcast.com/twitter.com#demographics>

<sup>6</sup> Hogue, Jessica (2009) ‘Connecting with Power Moms’, *Consumer Insight*, May, [http://en-us.nielsen.com/etc/medialib/nielsen\\_dotcom/en\\_us/documents/pdf/consumer\\_insight.Par.37714.File.pdf](http://en-us.nielsen.com/etc/medialib/nielsen_dotcom/en_us/documents/pdf/consumer_insight.Par.37714.File.pdf)

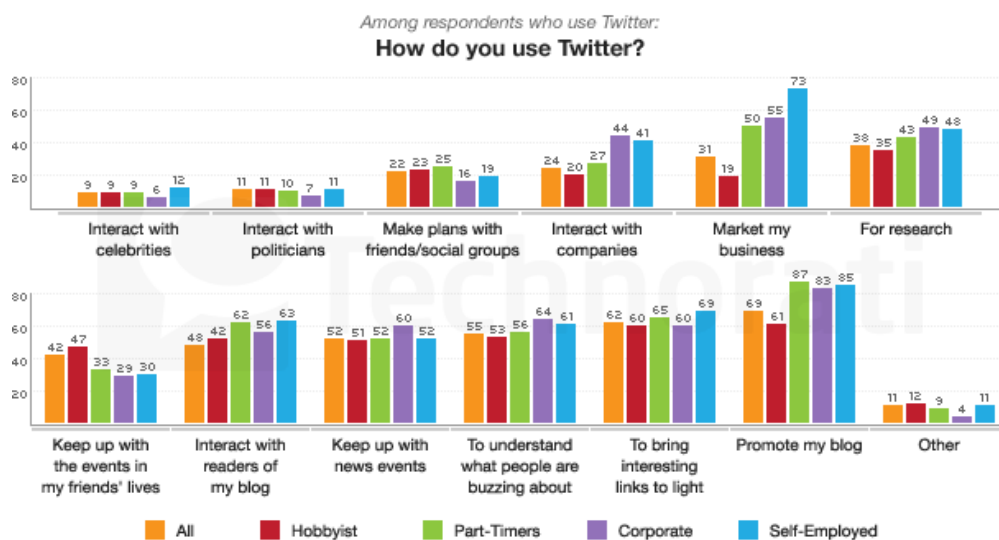
<sup>7</sup> Goldsmith, Belinda (2009). ‘Many Twitters are quick quitters: study’, *Reuters*, April 29 <http://www.reuters.com/article/deborahCohen/idUSTRE53S1A720090429>.

## *Twitter and Politics*

Twitter became significantly more visible as a means of political communication during the 2008 US presidential campaign. Barack Obama and his team were strong users of Twitter through the election period, and he has continued to use Twitter while in office. Analysis of use of online sites on election day found that CNN.com was the most visited Web site on November 4 of TV network Web sites, while traffic on Twitter rose 43% on the day. This suggests that Twitter is a significant technology for communication about major political developments in the US. Much has also been written in the use of Twitter and Blogs during the Iranian protests.<sup>8</sup>

One of the complex issues with Twitter is the setting up of fake accounts. In 2009 the Republican Party in Connecticut set up fake Twitter accounts in the names of 33 Democratic members of the state legislature.<sup>9</sup> While Twitter has worked to develop mechanisms that clearly differentiate fake from real accounts for individuals, this remains a significant issue in establishing a presence on Twitter.

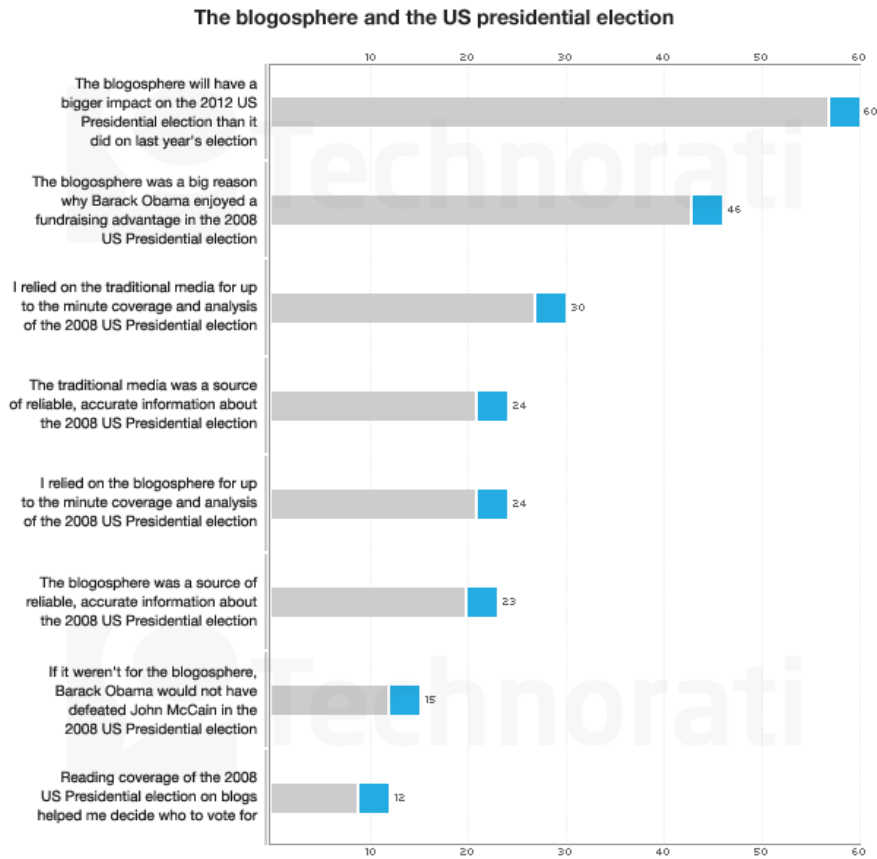
**Chart 2: Twitter User, Technorati<sup>10</sup>**



<sup>8</sup> Grossman, Lev (2009) 'Iran protests: Twitter, the medium of the year', *Time*, <http://www.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,1905125,00.html>

<sup>9</sup> Hladky, Gregory B. (2009), 'Republicans Overtweet: Twitter shuts down 33 fake accounts created by state Republicans in an attempt to lambast Dems', *The Hartford Advocate*, <http://hartfordadvocate.com/article.cfm?aid=15188>,

<sup>10</sup> Technorati (2009) State of the blogosphere, <http://technorati.com/blogging/feature/state-of-the-blogosphere-2009/>

**Chart 3: The Blogosphere and the US presidential election, Technorati<sup>11</sup>**

A poll conducted by Penn, Schoen & Berland Associates in May 2009 found just 14% of the general population used Twitter — but 73% of respondents to the survey did.<sup>12</sup> Twitter users promoted their blogs, bring interesting links to light, and seek to understand current topics of discussion. Other uses such as interacting with companies (24%), politicians (11%), and celebrities (9%), were much less popular.

The recent assessment found that more people relied upon the traditional media (30%) for coverage and analysis of the 2008 United States presidential campaign than relied on the blogosphere (24%). However 60% consider that the blogosphere will have a greater impact on the election in 2012. Respondents also think that the blogosphere was as accurate as traditional media during the election. Importantly 46% believe that blogs significantly contributed to Barack Obama's fundraising advantage during the election. Only 15% agree that the blogosphere was the deciding factor in his defeat of John McCain.

<sup>11</sup> Technorati (2009) State of the blogosphere, <http://technorati.com/blogging/feature/state-of-the-blogosphere-2009/>

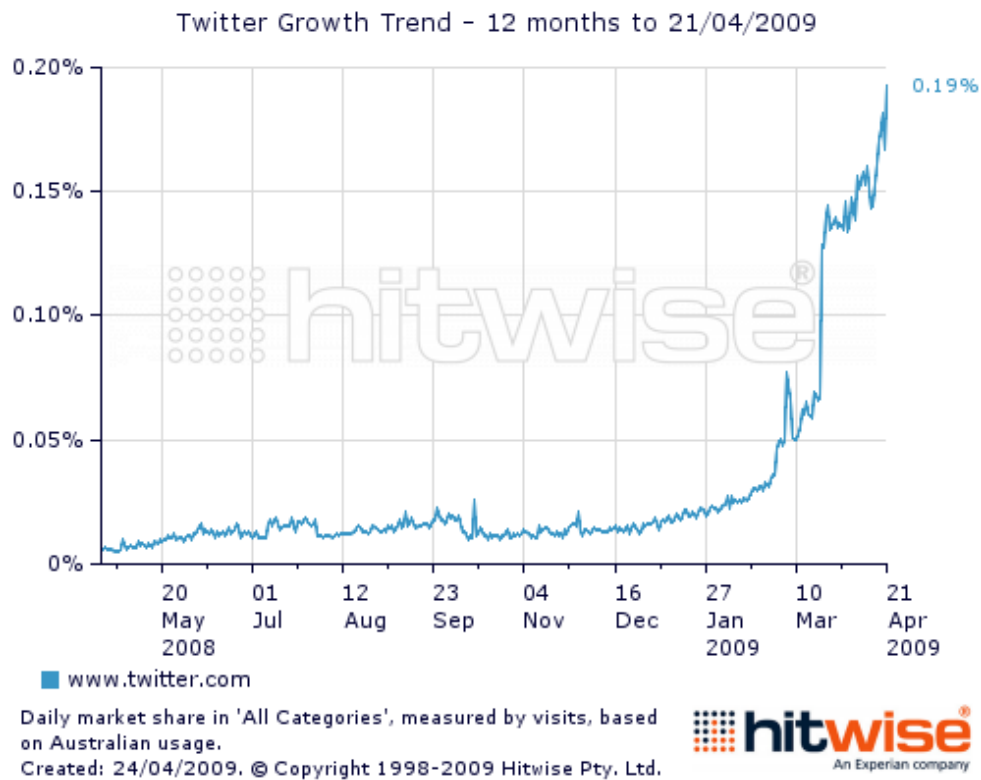
<sup>12</sup> Penn, Schoen & Berland Associates (2009) The Wall Street Journal's 'All Things D' conference

### *Australia on Twitter*

Australia has not been a strong early adopter of Twitter. As at April 2009 there were approximately 679,000 Australians using Twitter<sup>13</sup> indicating that approximately 1 in 30 Australians are users.

Growth in usage and users in 2009, however, has been remarkable, Hitwise announced Twitter.com had 1000% growth since January 2009 (market share of daily visits):

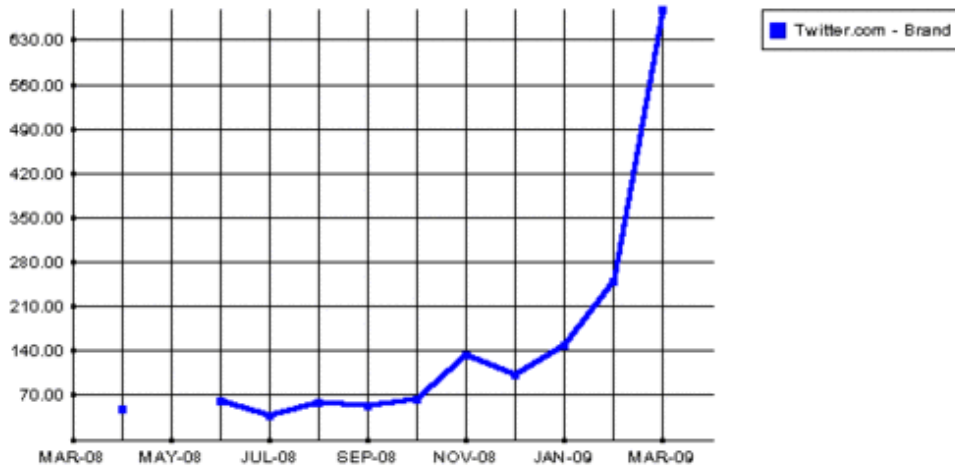
**Chart 4: Twitter Growth, Hitwise<sup>14</sup>**



Nielsen has recorded a similar trend in awareness:

<sup>13</sup> Ng, Lucas (2009) How Many Australian Twitter Users Are There? And What Clients Do They Use?', <http://lucasng.com.au/post/100531679/how-many-australian-twitter-users-are-there-and-what-use?>

<sup>14</sup> Long, Alan (2009) 'Oprah may be America's Tweet-heart, but she doesn't make the earth move Downunder!', [http://weblogs.hitwise.com/alan-long/2009/04/oprah\\_may\\_be\\_americas\\_tweeth\\_1.html](http://weblogs.hitwise.com/alan-long/2009/04/oprah_may_be_americas_tweeth_1.html)

**Chart 5: Twitter awareness, Nielsen Netratings<sup>15</sup>**

### ***The Australian Parliament and Twitter***

The Australian Parliament has become visible on Twitter through participation of Senators and Members (and their staff), the media writing about parliament and politics, political parties and parliamentary organisations. The majority of users engaging in discussion on parliament and politics joined and began actively tweeting this year.

### ***Engagement by Senators and Members***

Senators and Members of the Parliament of Australia have begun to use Twitter. They use the gamut of social media including facebook and myspace with increasing frequency. Twitter accounts exist for members of the federal parliament as at 2 December 2009 with the following breakdown by party:

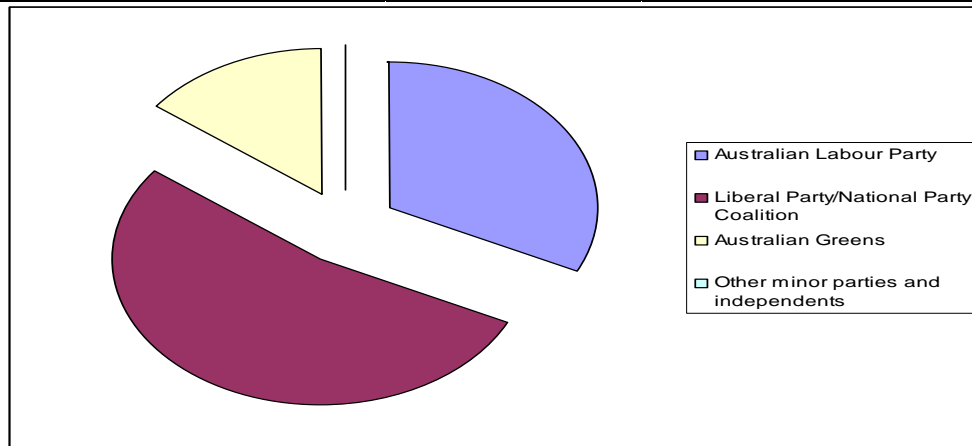
Australian members of parliament on Twitter can (mostly) be found through tweetMP. This group seeks to 'documents all Federal Australian Members of Parliament on Twitter and encourages all MPs to join in order to make government more transparent'<sup>16</sup>. While it only lists about two thirds of the Senators and Members who have Twitter accounts, it provides analysis of use of Twitter.

<sup>15</sup> From Ng, Lucas op cit

<sup>16</sup> tweetMP (2009) About, <http://tweetmp.org.au/about>

**Chart 5: Twitter membership of Senators and Members of the Australian Parliament by party**

	Number of MPs on Twitter	Percentage of MPs on Twitter
Australian Labour Party	11	9.57%
Liberal Party/National Party Coalition	18	18.45%
Australian Greens	5	100%
Other minor parties and independents	0	0%
Total	34	15.04%



tweetMP reports use as follows:

<i>Most Followed</i>	<i>Most Active</i>
1. Kevin Rudd (796,202) <b>ALP</b>	1. Sarah Hanson-Young (844) <b>GRN</b>
2. Malcolm Turnbull (18,418) <b>LIB</b>	2. Scott Morrison (739) <b>LIB</b>
3. Joe Hockey (7,826) <b>LIB</b>	3. Malcolm Turnbull (732) <b>LIB</b>
4. Bob Brown (3,026) <b>GRN</b>	4. Kate Lundy (505) <b>ALP</b>
5. Kate Ellis (2,375) <b>ALP</b>	5. Stuart Robert (488) <b>LIB</b>
6. Kate Lundy (1,495) <b>ALP</b>	6. Scott Ludlam (484) <b>GRN</b>
7. Sarah Hanson-Young (1,226) <b>GRN</b>	7. Kevin Rudd (414) <b>ALP</b>
8. Scott Ludlam (1,032) <b>GRN</b>	8. Mathias Cormann (398) <b>LIB</b>
9. Alex Hawke (844) <b>LIB</b>	9. Jamie Briggs (376) <b>LIB</b>
10. Tony Burke (746) <b>ALP</b>	10. Rachel Siewert (367) <b>GRN</b> <sup>17</sup>

<sup>17</sup> tweetMP (2009) Statistics, 3 December 2009 <http://tweetmp.org.au/statistics>

One of the earliest adopters was Senator Kate Lundy. She is a very active parliamentarian on Twitter with 504 tweets. Not all Senators and Members are active in the twitterverse. As at 2 December 2009 the leaders of the three largest parties in the Parliament were active users:

	Tweets	Following	Followers	Listed
The Hon Kevin Rudd (Prime Minister)	414	119,726	794,919	1,344
The Hon. Malcolm Turnbull (Leader of the Opposition)	732	17,362	18,415	385
Senator Bob Brown (Leader of the Australian Greens)	227	2,919	3,015	201

(Note Mr Turnbull ceased to be opposition leader on 1 December 2009).

The opposition leader had the greatest number of tweets; however the Prime Minister has a much greater number of followers and is following many more twitter users.

The number of tweets does not however give a great deal of information about the impact of participation on the Australian community as whole or in individual electorates. The quality of tweets by parliamentarians has been criticized. Ben Packham has commented of the Australian Prime Minister 'If you thought the real Kevin Rudd was boring, wait until you meet the cyber version. The Prime Minister has entered the world of Twitter, but critics say his online persona could be even duller than the real thing.'<sup>18</sup>

The previous Prime Minister was criticized for a stilted Youtube presentation. Communication through social media requires a different approach to media interviews and newsletter articles. Developing skills in this are will take experience and time.

Tweets have been the subject of discussion in the Parliament. In November 2009, 'Lower House speaker Harry Jenkins took umbrage at a tweet from Opposition health spokesman Peter Dutton'.<sup>19</sup> 'I would doubt very much (that Twitter is covered by parliamentary privilege) ... because it is not part of the proceedings of Parliament' said the speaker, Harry Jenkins.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Packham, Ben (2009) 'Critics say Kevin Rudd's Twitter posts proving to be dull reading', *Herald Sun*, <http://www.news.com.au/critics-say-kevin-rudds-twitter-posts-proving-to-be-dull-reading/story-0-1225702263841>

<sup>19</sup> Drape, Julian (2009) 'MP warned for tweeting', *Herald Sun*, 27-11-2009 <http://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/search/display/display.w3p;query=Id%3A%22media%2Fpressclp%2FWKBV6%22>

<sup>20</sup> *ibid*



During 2009, media comments have been made about use of Twitter by members of parliament. Shadow Treasurer, the Hon Joe Hockey, received comments in the media<sup>21</sup> during the debate of the Carbon Pollution Reduction Scheme legislation (Emission Trading Scheme) when he posted the following: 'Hey team re The ETS. Give me your views please on the policy and political debate. I really want your feedback' (2:43 PM Nov 26th from web).

*The Age* reported on the reaction as follows:

Cyberspace lit up yesterday after federal shadow treasurer Joe Hockey used social networking site Twitter to appeal for help on the emissions trading scheme debate... They responded with hundreds of messages as democracy tweeted into action. A quick count of 150 messages showed that a slight majority supported the scheme... The deluge propelled Mr Hockey to the top spot of most popular Australians on the Twitter website.<sup>22</sup>

Twitter offers the opportunity to follow discussions on issues by different tweeters through hashtags. Both Members of Parliament and the media have used hashtags for question time (#qt) and the change in leadership of the coalition in the Parliament (#spill). At this stage the tags are not used comprehensively and it is difficult to follow an issue just using this function.

Fake accounts for prominent politicians abound. The Treasurer, the Hon Wayne Swan, has four fake Twitter accounts. There are more than 20 fake accounts for the Prime Minister, Kevin Rudd. There is a proliferation of fake accounts, some clearly labeled as fakes and some not so clearly identifiable. What is remarkable about the fakes is that, although Twitter now takes steps to identify the 'real' twitterers, there has been no outcry against those tweeting who are masquerading as prominent politicians, in fact there seems a degree of bemusement about it all.

The issue of whether tweets are from the members of parliament themselves or from staff has been raised by the media. Some, such as the Prime Minister, had stated that staff posting tweets will identify this in the messages.<sup>23</sup>

Twitter has enabled Senators and Members to have a presence at events which they are not physically able to attend. Public Sphere #2 – Government 2.0: Policy and Practice<sup>24</sup> was an event run by Senator Kate Lundy at Parliament House in the Main Committee Room. As Parliament was sitting, many were not able to physically attend more than part of the event. During the day the proceedings were streamed

<sup>21</sup> Peake, Ross (2009) 'Opinion: Lost weekend at home a time of tough choices', *Canberra Times*, 28 November

<http://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/search/display/display.w3p;query=Id%3A%22media%2Fpressclp%2FHHRBV6%22>

<sup>22</sup> Sexton, Reid (2009) 'deluged with tweet nothings', *The Age*,

<http://www.theage.com.au/national/joe-deluged-with-tweet-nothings-20091128-jy0k.html>

<sup>23</sup> Hills, Brenden (2009) 'Obama, Swanny and T; life is tweet for Rudd', *Sunday Telegraph*, 19 July, p. 30

<sup>24</sup> <http://www.katelundy.com.au/2009/05/29/public-sphere-2-open-government-policy-and-practice/>

through the Internet so many could follow. Tweets were projected to the audience in the committee room as they were published in Twitter. Members of parliament and the community were able to participate in this new use of Twitter and follow presentations through streaming video.

Senators and Members tweeting at present seem to have the following characteristics. They are generally individuals who are enthusiastic about new technology and have been early adapters of technologies such as web sites and email. They comment on a wide range of issues and events. The tweets are written in an authentic 'voice' of each individual, albeit it sometimes not reflecting the common tone or language of the medium. They seek to engage not particularly with youth or first time voters through Twitter, but a broad range of Australians. They are keen to receive comments and feedback, rather than communicate one way to others. The use of Twitter varies from high users to very low users, with a general trend of increasing in the number of participants and tweets.

Parliament is also visible in Twitter through tweets from the Parliamentary Library and the Department of the House of Representatives magazine 'About the House'. Both of these are relatively new. As at 2 December 2009 About the House<sup>25</sup> has 9 followers and the Parliamentary Library<sup>26</sup> had 237 followers and was on 22 lists. The Library streams news to Twitter through its RSS feed covering new publications and events. Both ventures are designed to inform the public about parliament and parliamentary issues. It will be interesting to see how audiences are engaged through this medium and whether new or existing audiences are the primary users.

### ***The Media***

Many media commentators and writers can now be found on Twitter. There is a significant question about whether social media are replacing print media for significant parts of the community as a communications and information channel.

Readership of traditional media is decreasing as recent studies show.

Recent research found that three quarters of US adults have read a newspaper in the past week,<sup>27</sup> with a particular readership group: 79% of adults employed in white collar positions read a newspaper in print or online; 82% of adults with household incomes of \$100,000 or more read a printed newspaper in print or online; 84% of adults who are college graduates or who have advanced degrees read a printed newspaper in print or online.

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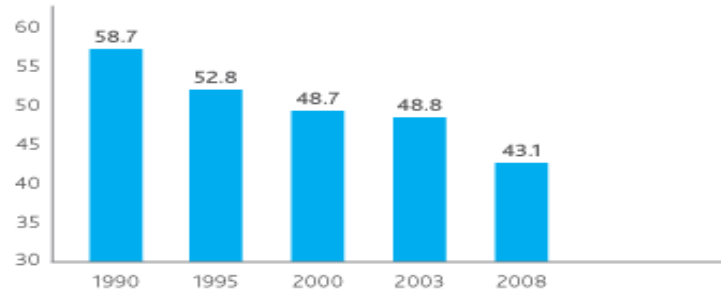
<sup>25</sup> [AboutTheHouse](#)

<sup>26</sup> [ParLibrary](#)

<sup>27</sup> Scarborough Research (2009) 'Scarborough Writes a Refreshing Headline for the Newspaper Industry: Three-Quarters of Adults are Reading Newspapers, in Print or Online', [http://www.scarborough.com/press\\_releases/Scarborough%20Newspaper%20Audience%20Readership%20NAA%20November%202009%20A.pdf](http://www.scarborough.com/press_releases/Scarborough%20Newspaper%20Audience%20Readership%20NAA%20November%202009%20A.pdf)

**Chart 6: Newspaper Audience, Mediamark<sup>28</sup>**

### Average Daily Newspaper Audience Declining Readership



Source: Mediamark Research & Intelligence, LLC

To reach voters who do not fall into this group social media may be important.

Individual members of the media, newspapers and radio and television stations are very active participants on Twitter<sup>29</sup>. The journalists are particularly active when question time occurs in the House of Representatives and during major events, such as the recent change of leadership in the Liberal Party/National Party Coalition. Question time can be followed effectively, with some different insights, through Twitter. The recent leadership change was one which journalists, Senators and Members and the leadership contenders participated in quite publicly through Twitter. Tweets provide a direct blow by blow description which gave a strong sense of engagement and knowledge of the events taking place in Canberra. The many hundreds of tweets were widely read and promoted through media stories.

For members of parliament communication with constituents (voters) is an essential part of their role in the Australian democracy.<sup>30</sup> The importance of communication by members of all parliaments is recognised by the National Democratic Institute

<sup>28</sup> Anderson, Doug (2009) 'Below the topline: is the great American newspaper dead?', Consumer Insight, [http://enus.nielsen.com/etc/medialib/nielsen\\_dotcom/en\\_us/documents/pdf/consumer\\_insight.Par.27887.File.pdf](http://enus.nielsen.com/etc/medialib/nielsen_dotcom/en_us/documents/pdf/consumer_insight.Par.27887.File.pdf)

<sup>29</sup> For example *The Canberra Times*, Pollytics, CrabbTwitsard, abcmarscott, tonyowright, KarenMMiddleton, julie\_posetti and ABC AM World Today

<sup>30</sup> National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (2005) Towards the Development of International Minimum Standards for Democratic Legislatures, <http://sdnhq.undp.org/governance/parls/docs/NDI-FINAL%20DRAFT%20-%20International%20Minimum%20Standards%20for%20Democratic%20Legislatures.doc>

for International Affairs in prosing open access to information about the parliament and the need for citizen participation:

The legislature shall legally recognize the right of citizens to participate in the oversight and legislative functions of the legislature.

Information shall be provided to the public in a timely manner regarding matters under consideration by the legislature, sufficient to allow the public and civil society to provide their views on draft legislation.

While the print media, direct submissions to the parliament and letters and emails to Senators and Members have provided the 'voice of the people' many have been excluded from such discussions because of knowledge, language ability and other barriers. The 'problem of the silent' has been with us throughout time, and enthusiasts for social media have suggested that these barriers will be overcome if the Internet substitutes for the press with a move to two way, interactive communication using web 2.0 technology. It is hard to see how language and education barriers are completely eliminated by these technologies. Research demonstrating that these barriers have been overcome for political engagement is not yet evident.

The changing role and use of traditional print, radio and television media leave politicians in a quandary. Social media are quite different to traditional media including: participation in social media, as noted above, tend to be by older, not younger individuals, with higher education and resources; only 1 in 30 Australians is using Twitter, and many solely for personal rather than political purposes; Senators and Members, because of the nature of their representational role, focus on their constituents. On the whole, communication through social media, such as Twitter is to a community that generally is outside an individual electorate or state, without the ability to limit communication to only those who are constituents; and, with limited time and resources issues exist for politicians as to how extensively they can engage in this new environment

For the media and parliamentarians Twitter and other social media is not a full substitute for traditional media. It is, however, increasingly being used for not only communication but also by the traditional media for quotes for news stories.

### ***Concluding Comments***

Informed participation by all elements of society, men and women, in a country's economic and political life, including by persons belonging to minority groups is fundamental to a vibrant and durable democracy.<sup>31</sup>

A key concept for all twenty first century democracies is citizen participation. Many Senators and Members are seeking to use new technologies to engage both with

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<sup>31</sup> Community of Democracies (2000) Final Warsaw Declaration: Toward a Community of Democracies. Warsaw, Poland. June 27, [www.demcoalition.org/pdf/warsaw\\_english.pdf](http://www.demcoalition.org/pdf/warsaw_english.pdf)

constituents and the broader community. Twitter has emerged in the past 12 months as a new web2.0 technology to be tested. Is it a substitute for traditional media and direct communication with constituents? While the answer so far is probably no, its use to increase presence through events such as Public Sphere #2, to promote views directly to the community without reinterpretations through the tradition press and, perhaps surprisingly, the ability to generate stories in the traditional press, suggest that further development will occur with the next federal election that may have new impacts.

There is a sense of enthusiasm and possibly hype about Twitter. Retired High Court Judge Michael Kirby last month said:<sup>32</sup>

traditional media operates as the source of information ... and can make you sympathise' whilst Twitter can 'involve you and make you empathise' ... Tweeters are 'adding to the goal that ... freedom fighters are always looking for - that goal is an individual awareness that the outside world is paying attention. That people care. That people are engaged. Engagement gives hope which is often the most precious ingredient of encouragement in the human struggle for freedom.

Members of the Parliament of Australia are exploring the use of Twitter. It is proving to be quite unlike traditional media and established social media such as blogs. Getting a message in 140 characters required a new approach that will be learnt over time. Understanding how it can be successfully used to engage with the media and relevant communities will take longer.

Compared to the UK parliament<sup>33</sup> a roughly similar percentage of members of parliament use Twitter. There are similar issues to consider, for example whether it truly gives a group who have been without voice greater access to politicians and how to sort the wheat from the chaff (pointless babble). Another important issue is the extent to which two way engagement occurs with the public.

Twitter has emerged as an important space for promotion of products and brands.<sup>34</sup> How much do politicians have in common with commercial products? While not a 'brand' in the traditional sense of the word, they undoubtedly seek votes and support for their position on issues. If social media allow politicians to know what is being said about their 'brand' or positions, albeit from as yet a small community, can this result in changes? Advocates of online lobbying such as Get up<sup>35</sup> claim major changes to policies as a result of their online campaigns. Some policy analyses suggest that policy should not be a knee jerk reaction to whatever group

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<sup>32</sup> Sarah Christian, Sarah (2009) 'Michael Kirby: Twitter is 'the voice of freedom'', <http://datasearch.uts.edu.au/law/news-events/news-detail.cfm?ItemId=17349>

<sup>33</sup> Hansard Society (2009) Twitter: Communication tool or pointless vanity? <http://www.hansardsociety.org.uk/blogs/edemocracy/archive/2009/10/23/digital-paper-twitter-communication-tool-or-pointless-vanity.aspx>

<sup>34</sup> Jansen, B.J. et al (2009) 'Twitter power: tweets as electronic words of mouth', *Journal of the American Society for Information Science and Technology*, 60 (11)L 2169-88

<sup>35</sup> <http://www.getup.org/>

can produce the greatest number of emails, blogs or tweets but should be developed on the basis of thoughtful analysis. There appears to be potential for changing community engagement.

The future will undoubtedly offer more changes. Will Twitter replace facebook as been suggested has occurred for the Prime Minister? Will it be the place where news breaks?<sup>36</sup> Will politicians use social rather than traditional media?<sup>37</sup> Will it be a major arena for political discourse?<sup>38</sup> Will social media create a new activist group, or will the 'problem of the silent' remain? ▲

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<sup>36</sup> Posetti, Julie (2009) 'How Journalists Are Using Twitter in Australia', <http://www.pbs.org/mediashift/2009/05/how-journalists-are-using-twitter-in-australia147.html>

<sup>37</sup> Kerr, Christian (2009) 'Opinion: No tweetheart deals as PM sees old media as sheer blitz', Australian, 5 November p. 4

<sup>38</sup> Davy, Steven (2009) 'How the Shift to an Online, On-Demand World of Content Could Impact Political Discourse', <http://www.pbs.org/mediashift/2009/09/how-the-shift-to-an-online-on-demand-world-of-content-could-impact-political-discourse246.html>