

# Weaponising alleged sexual assault on Manus: A gendered timeline of political discourse in the Australian media, 2012–2019

Nayahamui Michelle Rooney

## Abstract

Between 2012 and 2019, two prominent themes in the bilateral relationship between Papua New Guinea (PNG) and Australia were gender equality and the Australian offshore asylum seeker Regional Processing Centre (RPC) on Manus. Australia reopened the Manus Island detention centre under a new arrangement while simultaneously ramping up its support for programs to reduce gender-based violence (GBV) and enhance women's empowerment in PNG. Both issues received substantial Australian aid and were the subject of numerous Australian media articles. Using a variety of analytical concepts to examine media representations of the Manus RPC, this paper finds an analytical synergy between feminist critical discourse analysis and Regis Stella's 'Imagining the Other' approach to studying the PNG subject. Through this lens, the paper examines 277 Australian media reports over this period and analyses how the Australian media reported on these two shifts in Australian development aid and the bilateral relationship between Australia and Papua New Guinea. It finds that the Australian media tells a story of a shift away from framing Australia as a paternalistic helper to redress GBV in PNG towards an increasing weaponisation of alleged sexual assaults of Manus women and girls in Australian political discourse. These findings also raise new important policy and conceptual questions for understanding the implications for media coverage of PNG and Pacific people.

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## **Weaponising alleged sexual assault on Manus: A gendered timeline of political discourse in the Australian media, 2012–2019**

### **1 Introduction**

In relation to the Australia–Papua New Guinea engagement, it has been long standing. We are the closest of friends; we are geographic neighbours; we have historic ties; we have a great and deep affection for each other ... One matter that is very dear to my heart is the empowerment of women. And as Australia’s first female Foreign Minister, I feel that I have a responsibility to highlight some of the challenges that women in our region are facing ... One matter that is raised time and again [is] the issue of violence against women. Sexual and domestic violence is unacceptable in any form, anywhere—whether it is in Australia, in PNG, in Europe and in any other country. I am determined to work with the Papua New Guinea Government to stamp out sexual and domestic violence in Papua New Guinea and other islands in the Pacific. (*The Hon. Julie Bishop MP, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade, Address to Lae Chamber of Commerce, 6 February 2014*)<sup>1</sup>

... have no doubt that this man sitting opposite me is not fit to be the Prime Minister of this country. Let there be no doubt about that at all. He has taken a reckless course of action that will see coming from Manus Island people who have been accused of being in sexual relationships with 14-year-old girls. (*The Hon. Peter Dutton MP, Minister for Home Affairs, response to parliamentary question on national security, 13 February 2019*)<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Julie Bishop, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade, Address to Lae Chamber of Commerce, 6 February 2014, <https://www.foreignminister.gov.au/minister/julie-bishop/speech/address-lae-chamber-commerce>.

<sup>2</sup> Commonwealth of Australia, *Parliamentary Debates*, House of Representatives, 13 February 2019, p. 287 (The Hon. Peter Dutton MP, Minister for Home Affairs), [https://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/download/chamber/hansardr/f45cf053-d00c-473b-88ab-ac7ccd4b00ec/toc\\_pdf/House%20of%20Representatives\\_2019\\_02\\_13\\_6912\\_Official.pdf;fileType=application%2Fpdf](https://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/download/chamber/hansardr/f45cf053-d00c-473b-88ab-ac7ccd4b00ec/toc_pdf/House%20of%20Representatives_2019_02_13_6912_Official.pdf;fileType=application%2Fpdf).

There is no discretion for this government or our minister to stop the transfer of a person who is being investigated for, charged with, on trial for or even awaiting a sentence for a serious criminal offence. This isn't a hypothetical issue. We are well aware of the reporting of a potential transferee on Manus Island who is charged with four counts of sexual penetration of a minor under the PNG summary offences and crimes against children act. (*The Hon. Christian Porter MP, Australian Attorney-General, response to a parliamentary question on national security and the impact on the justice system of weakened border protection, 13 February 2019*)<sup>3</sup>

I begin this article with a trio of quotes by three former members of the Australian parliament — the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade, the Minister for Home Affairs, and the Attorney-General — because they reflect two important themes in the bilateral relationship between Papua New Guinea (PNG) and Australia during the period 2012 to 2019. Australia reopened its offshore asylum seeker detention centre hosted in Manus Province in 2012 while it simultaneously ramped up its aid support to enhance women's empowerment and to redress gender-based violence (GBV)<sup>4</sup> in the Pacific. The Manus Island detention centre and intersecting political discourses about gendered and sexual violence in PNG and Manus provides an important window into the Australian and PNG bilateral relationship during this time. Given the long colonial relationship between PNG and Australia, with PNG only gaining national Independence in 1975, the Manus Island detention centre also provides a lens into understanding some endearing influences of

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<sup>3</sup> Commonwealth of Australia, *Parliamentary Debates*, House of Representatives, 13 February 2019, p. 294 (Christian Porter, Attorney-General), [https://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/download/chamber/hansardr/f45cf053-d00c-473b-88ab-ac7ccd4b00ec/toc\\_pdf/House%20of%20Representatives\\_2019\\_02\\_13\\_6912\\_Official.pdf;fileType=application%2Fpdf](https://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/download/chamber/hansardr/f45cf053-d00c-473b-88ab-ac7ccd4b00ec/toc_pdf/House%20of%20Representatives_2019_02_13_6912_Official.pdf;fileType=application%2Fpdf).

<sup>4</sup> As I will note in Section 3, I used the terms violence against women (VAW), gender-based violence (GBV), and family and sexual violence (FSV) in my methodological approach to identifying and selecting the media reports that form the data for this paper. This methodological approach is outlined later in this paper. These terms are used in the policy arena in PNG and internationally. For the purposes of this paper, I have drawn on them to identify national-level media reports that emphasise national policies. I have also used them with the additional term, 'Manus' to identify news stories that are specific to Manus. For the purposes of consistency, I use the acronym GBV throughout the text for all three terms – VAW, GBV and FSV — unless quoting directly from a media report.

the colonial period, particularly Australia's dominance and control over the bilateral relationship.

The reopening of the Australian offshore detention centre in 2012 is part of a longer pattern in Australia's policies towards asylum seekers and refugees, which have included offshore detention in PNG prior to and after Independence. Debates about asylum seekers, particularly those arriving by boat, have occupied a central position in Australian political debates on border security, immigration control and human rights. Historically, during the colonial period in PNG, Australia employed a permissive residence policy towards West Papuan refugees from Indonesia, including placing a small number on Manus Island in 1968 (Neumann 2002; Neumann & Taylor 2010; see also Glazebrook 2008). In 2001, the 9/11 terrorist attacks in the United States, an imminent federal election, and the 'Tampa affair' — which saw more than 400 asylum seekers who had been rescued by the Norwegian freighter *MV Tampa* denied entry to Australia — led to the establishment of the 'Pacific Solution': Australian offshore detention centres on Nauru and Manus (Blair 2021; Phillips 2012). The 2012 reanimation of the 'Pacific Solution' (after it was disbanded in 2008) was viewed by some as a harsher policy regime towards the Pacific (Fraenkel 2016). It involved an official Manus Regional Processing Centre (RPC) established under a Regional Resettlement Agreement with the government of PNG.

Julie Bishop's speech was presented in Lae, PNG's second-largest urban centre, in 2014. In covering her visit, the Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC) aired a story, 'Shocking violence statistics force PNG response', and reported that, 'Violence has long been a major problem in Papua New Guinea, and unsurprisingly, women and children are most at risk ... Australia's Foreign Minister, Julie Bishop, has spent the past two days in PNG and pledged \$3 million to fund a family and sexual violence case management centre' (Fox 2014). The advocacy and the funds were welcome interventions at the time given that a year earlier a series of high-profile cases involving violence against women in PNG had renewed national and international calls for action. The incidents had drawn condemnation from international organisations, including the Australian Government as the major funder of GBV-related interventions in PNG. Bishop's pledge of support came amid a ramp-up of Australian aid support to PNG women, which included the Pacific

Women Shaping Pacific Development program launched in 2012 (Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade 2012, 2022).

In July 2013 the Australian Government ceased sending female asylum seekers to the Manus RPC (Karlsen 2016). By 6 February 2014, when Bishop gave her speech, the Australian media was regularly reporting on problems within the RPC, which had taken a particularly masculinised form involving tensions between the male asylum seekers and staff of the RPC including locally employed staff. These tensions escalated into a major riot in mid-February, resulting in the murder of an asylum seeker, Reza Berati. The decision to place a relatively large number of culturally different men in offshore detention, and the riots and other events covered in the media stories examined later in this paper, raises questions about gendered dimensions in and surrounding the RPC that may have shaped these events and other impacts locally (Rooney 2014).

Australian media cited matters that relate to gendered issues as factors that fuelled the riots. Numerous Australian media reports had been published detailing the cruel and dehumanised treatment of asylum seekers detained in the Manus RPC. One media report noted that evidence provided in the Australian Senate inquiry into the February 2014 riots included allegations of sexual assault and physical violence within the RPC (Woodley 2014). The Manus RPC was ruled unconstitutional by the PNG Supreme Court in 2016, and detainees were allowed to move freely in the community. In 2017, the RPC facility was decommissioned, and the detainees relocated to Lorengau township. By 2019, amid calls for the men to be moved from Manus due to a growing mental health crisis, and a shifting Australian policy towards emerging geopolitical rivalries between China and the United States, all but a handful of the men were moved out of Manus.

The words of Peter Dutton and Christian Porter quoted at the start of this paper were responses to questions during parliamentary debates about the impact on border security of a medical evacuation bill introduced in Australia, which aimed to improve the process for asylum seekers detained on Manus and Nauru to be brought to Australia for medical treatment. Dutton's and Porter's words raise questions about Bishop's stated 'responsibility' to highlight the challenges faced by women (and girls) in the region and to work with the PNG Government to address sexual and domestic violence, such as the

alleged sexual assault of the unknown, invisible, inaudible girls and women on Manus Island at the centre of their statements.

Yet, these two intersecting themes in the bilateral relationship between PNG and Australia were covered quite separately by the Australian media. There was limited attention given to the local gendered impacts of the Manus RPC (Rooney 2022) nor to the somewhat contradictory relation between the unfolding crisis on Manus and Australia's stated policies towards addressing GBV in PNG. Juxtaposed against each other, these quotes reveal an internal tension in Australia's domestic politics, its foreign aid policies, and its position towards PNG during this time.

This paper focuses on Australian media framings of the Manus RPC in relation to its gendered impacts and alleged sexual assaults and violence against women in PNG. My focus on the media is important because the distance and secrecy surrounding the Manus RPC was intensified by Australia's Operation Sovereign Borders policy, which was introduced in 2013 and included an announcement that the government would not comment on 'on-water' operations carried out under the operation (Spinks 2018). Reinforcing this restriction of public access to information about its border policies, the Australian Parliament introduced controversial whistleblower legislation aimed at criminalising whistleblowers who may speak out about classified information. This legislation attracted public criticism because it further constrained the already limited access to various oversight and accountability institutions such as the media and representatives of the United Nations (Karlsen 2015). Thus, both in Australia and in PNG, including Manus, much of what the public saw, heard and came to 'know' was framed through the textual, graphic and digital media accounts in the two countries.

The focus on media is also important because the Australian media plays a crucial role in shaping public opinion about international issues such as conflict (Evans 2010; Rudolph 2018), public health issues such as the COVID-19 pandemic (Tapsell 2021) and, most relevant to this paper, domestic political debates about asylum seekers (e.g. Lippi et al. 2020). From an Australian international policy perspective, not only is the bilateral relationship between Australia and PNG one of the most important ones between the two countries, but PNG is Australia's largest recipient of development aid.

Manus Island occupies an important site for examining the bilateral relationship between Australia and PNG because of the intersection between the broader national GBV concerns and the local gendered impacts of the RPC. I seek to offer a counterpoint to reading Australian media; away from reportage intended for an Australian audience about Australian politics and towards interpreting them for potential insights into the Australian domestic political dynamics that shape its view and approach to PNG, characterised as ‘long standing’, ‘closest of friends’, involving ‘a great and deep affection for each other’ (Bishop 2014).

In Section 2, I review key conceptual approaches related to media portrayals that I will draw on in this study. Section 3 outlines the methodological approach used in this study and provides a summary of the media articles examined. Section 4 provides a gendered timeline of Australian media coverage of the Manus RPC and GBV in PNG, and discusses some of the key themes that emerge from my coding of the articles examined. Section 5 examines some of key moments of intense reporting that emerged from my gendered timeline. Section 6 concludes with a brief discussion.

## **2 A ‘feminist critical discourse analysis’ and ‘imagining other’ approach to media framings of stories**

Given the historical colonial relationship and the contemporary importance of the bilateral relationship between Australia and PNG, Sean Dorney, long-time journalist in PNG, has highlighted the decline in the Australian public’s understanding of PNG as its nearest and closest neighbour (Dorney 2016; see also Papoutsaki et al. 2008). This is important because media analysts have also highlighted the need to move beyond simplistic colonial tropes in Australian media coverage of PNG (see Ginau & Papoutsaki 2007). This reflects a wider pattern in the decline in Australia’s coverage of Asia and the Pacific as the Australian media is becoming more insular or isolated (see, for example, Tapsell 2021). These Australian-centred critiques have highlighted the importance of having good quality, sustained Australian media coverage to inform the Australian audience; it is argued that quality, sustained Australian media presence and coverage is in the Australian interest.

Contemporary media portrayals of PNG and the wider Pacific can be situated within the colonial history of the region, particularly in the artistic portrayals of the place and people depicted by early European voyagers to the region. Such processes shaped the construction of Pacific people as 'exotic' — foreign others — in relation to the European centre. Conceptually, these early European artistic portrayals of the Pacific and Pacific peoples elucidated 'two sharply contrasting dominant images' (Smith 1960, 1992, p. 188) of the Pacific and Pacific people. In one portrayal the Pacific is shown as a paradise, a desirable place where life is free and peaceful, people are welcoming, women are sensual and available. In the other portrayal, Pacific people are savage, cannibals, violent and hostile to outsiders (Smith 1992, pp. 188–189). Such portrayals are to be understood within the European contexts of the time they were captured, either for the aesthetic pleasure of European audiences or the control over how Pacific Islanders are viewed. Ultimately, the portrayals served to allow Europeans to establish control and colonise the region. Said's (1978) influential concept of Orientalism, which Smith (1992, p. 10) argues is a subset of the kinds of exoticisation processes in which European Western societies internally construct 'Others' and which contributed, along with classical and mannerist imagery (Smith 1992, p. 190), to the antithetical portrayals seen in the Pacific, also provides an important lens because Said demonstrates how Western literary and media portrayals of less powerful non-Western societies as the 'Other' work to diminish, infantilise, erase, or dispossess people of their identities, selves, and rights to self-determination and ultimately to control them (Said 1978).

The historical artistic impressions that intersected into these 'two antithetical and yet mutually supportive images' (Smith, 1992, p. 189) of the Pacific and Pacific people shaped later racialised colonial Western cartographic boundaries dividing the region into the Western and Eastern Pacific. To the west, Melanesia was regarded as hostile, inferior, cannibalistic and inherently violent. To the east were the lighter skinned more welcoming Polynesians (for discussions, see Douglas & Ballard 2008; Jolly 2016; Stella 2007). Within Melanesia, Stella (2007) demonstrates how historical literary discourse shaped the European imagination of the PNG subject as infantilised, violent, sexualised and deviant, and how these imaginations materialised in the colonial discourse and policies aimed at control of the native body. In the Vanuatu context, Jolly (2016) notes how Vanuatu men

were portrayed as highly martial and violent, compared to the relatively more welcoming Polynesians. Such racialised portrayals backgrounded comparable violent aspects of white men from early exploration, and which continue to reverberate through the colonial and more recent militarisation and securitisation of the region. Jolly (2016) argues that in Vanuatu, these processes also worked to redirect Indigenous precolonial values placed on 'men of peace' towards militarised masculine notions of 'men of war'. Women were and are largely invisible in these processes (Jolly 2016; see also Lusby 2017). Dalsgaard and Otto (2020) have highlighted how the dynamics of the Manus RPC combined with media portrayals have reinforced historical portrayals of Manus islanders as hostile to outsider arrivals while neglecting to acknowledge the important Indigenous values placed on hospitality and kinship, which were important in relationships between asylum seekers and local people.

This historical context and its theoretical implications for the present study is important because these colonial tropes and dystopic negative representations of PNG saturate contemporary Australian media representations of PNG (see Duffield 2020; Ginau & Papoutsaki 2007; Papoutsaki et al. 2008). Examining the challenges that Pacific journalists face in reporting the news, Robie's (2013, p. 87) call for a deliberative, critical development journalism approach for Pacific journalists that would focus on issues and would allow for diverse views, could be applied to addressing the negative portrayals of PNG inherent in Australian media and which are based on Western-centric monocultural modes of journalism.

Before proceeding to the main discussion in this paper on the local gendered impacts of the Manus RPC, it is important to note how asylum seekers are portrayed in the Australian media because these extend into the kinds of portrayals that emerge from the Manus RPC. Official secrecy surrounding the Manus RPC has created a dearth of public information, leaving the media to fill the gap. Media analysts have used the notion of 'framing' to examine the ways and choices that journalists and media make in what news to report and how it is reported. Given the public's reliance and trust on the mainstream media as sources of authoritative and trustworthy news, the ways media frame stories can powerfully influence the public's and policymakers' views about

issues (Evans 2010; see also, for example, Rudolf 2019). Other analysts have used critical discourse analysis (Fairclough 2010) to undertake a systematic examination of media texts to reveal the relationships between discourses, such as Australian policy discourse on asylum seekers who arrive by boats, and social processes, such as the contexts in which asylum seekers find themselves and the intended or unintended social outcomes of such policies.

One study found that the Australian print media constructed the subjectivities of asylum seekers and refugees as 'wretched identities', 'suspicious fugitives' and 'cultural usurpers', and that these portrayals work to disempower asylum seekers and refugees (Mayne-Davis et al. 2020, pp. 351–354, 356). Another study of how refugees and asylum seekers were portrayed before and after the 2013 Australian federal elections found that asylum seekers and refugees were presented as threats, justifying military approaches, or as victims who need to be managed (Lippi et al. 2020, p. 1626). Examining the riots in the Manus RPC in 2014, Ellis et al. (2016) found that the Australian media framed asylum seekers as the 'Other' and as threats to Australian society. These portrayals of asylum seekers in the Australian discourses are important for understanding how asylum seekers on Manus are also framed as pitiful, as threats to Australian society, or as threats or troublemakers in relation to Manus women and Manus society, and I discuss this later in the paper.

This discussion paper is delimited in scope by the question: how did the Australian media frame the local gendered impacts and violence against Manus women during the RPC period and what do these media portrayals tell us about the views of Australian policymakers and the public? This question is part of a broader project of seeking to understand the gendered discursive and material dynamics of the Manus RPC at several scales. I argue that there was an official neglect of the gendered impacts of the RPC operations on Manus, which contradicted the Australian Government's own development policies to address gender violence in PNG. This neglect has led to permanent social impacts on Manus (Rooney 2021, 2022).

Given my focus on the Manus RPC and on the local gendered impacts of the RPC especially on Manus women and girls, I find a useful analytical synergy between Lazar's (2007)

notion of feminist critical discourse analysis and Stella's (2007) incisive historical analysis of the role of literary discourse in 'Othering' the PNG subject. For Lazar (2007), a feminist critical discourse analysis can:

show up the complex, subtle, and sometimes not so subtle, ways in which frequently taken-for-granted gendered assumptions and hegemonic power relations are discursively produced, sustained, negotiated, and challenged in different contexts and communities (Lazar 2007, p. 142).

I argue that the gendered — masculinised — and colonial ideologies that underpin this gendered imbalance evident in the Manus RPC work to reinforce the pre-existing asymmetric power relations that PNG women face. Writing at the same time as Lazar, Stella's (2007) study, titled 'Imagining the Other', traces the ways historical literary discourse imagined the PNG subject and how this in turn materialised in colonial official discourses focused on the control of the PNG subject. Stella, who draws variably on both Smith (1960, 1992) and Said (1978), is particularly forthright in his analysis of the sexualised native body noting that:

The indigenous body was positioned within the European cultural values and belief systems, which constituted their [Europeans] own social narratives and self-representations. Thus, for instance, the native female body became not only a fetish but also a metaphor for the landscape indigenous people inhabited. (Stella 2007, p. 141)

Colonial views of the native body were influenced by Malinowski's (1929) (later critiqued) account of sexuality among the Trobriand Islanders of PNG, and worked to foster the belief that:

Because native women were seen to epitomize sexual deviancy, aberration, and excess, their bodies were represented in European discourse as being impervious to sexual violation. (Stella 2007, p. 144)

This double reading of the sexualised and violent PNG man and the PNG woman as being 'impervious to sexual violation', shaped the coloniser's perceived proclivity of PNG men

to sexual violence and therefore as a threat to white women. This perception and fear of PNG men materialised in the introduction of the White Women's Protection Ordinance in 1926 (Stella 2007, p. 144; Wolfers 1975). Stella notes that even at that time, this ordinance was considered as harsh. Reflecting the colonial view of the PNG woman — invisible, inaudible, lacking chastity, not worthy of protection — the 1926 White Women's Protection Ordinance did not extend to PNG women because of the belief, also shaped by historical literary and artistic discourse, that PNG women placed lesser value on their chastity (Bulbeck cited in Stella 2007, p. 146). Stella (2007, p. 148) draws on wartime fiction writers to demonstrate the ambivalent characterisations of the native PNG female body as strong and masculinised and yet relegated to the background after being deployed towards supporting wartime endeavours. Wartime fiction writers tended to focus on the stories of white soldiers while PNG women were depicted 'essentially as sexual objects but dirty and unclean' (Stella 2007, p. 150). To illustrate how 'cleanliness' epitomises this ambivalence and tension between sexual desire and repulsion, Stella (2007) cites the following example:

'... if you meet up with any [women] you'll need a scrubbing brush and a piece of soap ... It's an old island custom, they reckon. Every planter is supposed to have had that equipment. It was almost on issue. You push her into a river and throw the brush and soap in after her. Then when she's clean—well ...' (Glassop 1963, p. 61 quoted in Stella 2007, pp. 150–151)

Even though PNG women historically played an important role in society and have enacted their agencies within their social context prior to and during the colonial context, there is a tendency for PNG women's positive roles to be elided, disallowed in colonial discourse, a situation that Dickson-Waiko (2013) argues is a making of the colonial apparatus. For Stella, the desirability of the PNG female's body is qualified by the image of soap as a symbol of both cleansing and contamination of the same body (Stella 2007, p. 151).

This historical canvas of colonial imaginations and their subsequent materialisation into colonial processes of control, provides the background for this paper's examination of data gleaned from Australian media discourses that show the endearing racialised,

sexualised entanglements in Australian political discourse that are shaped by fears of 'Others' and corresponding harsh responses to this fear. In this colonial context, the portrayal of the PNG subject and Australian policy responses mirror the past and are mirrored in the official position as captured in the quotes of Australian officials provided at the beginning of this paper.

In this way, the paper explores both the power imbalance between Australia and PNG, and the contradictions in both countries' efforts to address the important development and security issue of violence against PNG women. I am interested in a gendered and specifically feminine perspective on Australia's media and political discourse on the Manus Island RPC at a time when Australia increased support to Pacific women, including programs to redress GBV in PNG. An analysis of these intersecting media and political discourses in the bilateral relationship is important because, as I have briefly discussed above and as Stella's (2007) historicisation of literary and media portrayals of the PNG subject highlights, Western 'representation is never neutral and is always a site of (power) struggle' (Stella 2007, p. 10).

### **3 Data and method**

Using Factiva,<sup>5</sup> a search was conducted of the major national-level media outlets in Australia which provided coverage of PNG and Manus. An initial search of the terms 'Manus' and 'violence' returned well over 1000 media stories between March 2012 and April 2019. To focus more specifically on stories related to gender or women, I further filtered the search to narrow in on terms that are commonly used in relation to violence against women in the PNG context. Search terms included 'gender-based violence (GBV)', 'violence against women (VAW)', and 'family and sexual violence (FSV)'. For the Manus content, a further filtered search included the terms 'sexual assault', 'rape', 'local women/woman' and 'bashed', because following the news over this period, these were prominent terms in many news reports.

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<sup>5</sup> Factiva is an online database of global newspapers: <https://www.dowjones.com/professional/factiva/>.

These media stories, which included print media as well as television news reports and online stories, were divided into two broad categories. One category of media reports was generally focused on PNG at a national level, highlighting violence against women as a serious challenge. The other broad category of articles specifically concerned the Manus RPC. These two types of stories provide a sense of how the media covered the general issue of violence against women in PNG and the gendered issues specific to Manus and how these were framed in terms of the broader development challenges facing women in PNG during the period 2012 to 2019.

Based on these search terms, 277 media articles that were published in Australia's mainstream media outlets were selected for inclusion in this study (see Annex 1). Each article was entered as a case into NVivo<sup>6</sup> and ascribed various attributes such as year and month of publication, media outlet, the search term used, and how it mentioned women or GBV.

I conducted a first round of analysis, which involved reviewing each report to detect emerging themes from the text, and assigning each report to a broad set of codes. Over time, my coding began to focus more on the framing of the articles and the ways different issues were narrated in the stories. These included the policy focus, institutions mentioned, who were the key actors in the article, whether any policies — development or government of PNG — were mentioned in the article, and in broad terms how the article was framed (Table 1). Many stories focused on telling the news as it happened, revealing key events in the local, national and international context around the Manus RPC and around GBV in PNG. This initial analysis highlighted the need to understand the overall timeline of events to see how the reporting unfolded over this period. As noted in footnote 4, for consistency and brevity, unless quoting directly from a media report, I use the acronym GBV throughout the text for all three terms — VAW, GBV and FSV.

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<sup>6</sup> NVivo is a software program used for qualitative research: <https://www.qsrinternational.com/nvivo-qualitative-data-analysis-software/home>.

**Table 1: Summary of gendered media articles on PNG GBV and the Manus RPC by Australian media outlet and type of story mentioned, March 2012 to April 2019 (see Annex 1 for a full list of articles)**

	Australian Broadcasting Corporation	Australian Associated Press	The Age	Daily Telegraph	Australian Financial Review	The Australian	Sydney Morning Herald	SBS	Guardian	Total
National-level story on PNG violence against women as a major problem	34	12	3	2	1	10	4	0	10	76
General story on local issues Manus RPC – Manus women not explicitly mentioned	1	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	1	5
Relationships – local women and asylum seekers or refugees	2	0	2	0	0	0	3	1	2	10
Alleged sexual assault/rape/harassment of Manus woman/girl by asylum seeker or refugee	11	5	5	3	0	3	6	1	8	42
Alleged sexual assault/rape/harassment of Manus woman/girl by RPC staff	14	9	1	0	1	2	0	7	5	39
Children born from relationship between local woman and asylum seekers/refugees	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	3
Allegations incidents/threats of sexual assault/rape against asylum seekers in RPC	16	2	11	0	1	2	11	6	8	57
VAW/GBV is high in PNG, implying that it is not safe for asylum seekers	3	0	3	2	1	1	4	0	1	15
Sexual harassment of RPC Australian female employees	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
General Auspol story about offshore detention centre abuses plus other	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	4	7
Manus RPC and PNG GBV mentioned but no link to local gendered impacts on Manus women or community	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2
Multiple: Allegations of sexual assault by RPC staff on detainees/local women	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Multiple: Relationships/children between local women/asylum seekers or refugees AND alleged sexual assaults/rape	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	2	5
Medical evacuation bill and asylum seekers who have been accused of rape	1	0	0	2	0	7	3	0	1	14
<b>Total</b>	<b>83</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>277</b>

#### **4 A gendered timeline of Australian media stories on the PNG GBV and the Manus RPC**

During the period 2012 to 2019, there were several moments when the Australian media intensified its coverage of issues related to GBV in PNG or of specific incidents or issues with a gendered element related to the Manus RPC (Figure 1). These periods of intensified media coverage signal key issues that caught the Australian media’s attention as important for reporting to an Australian audience.

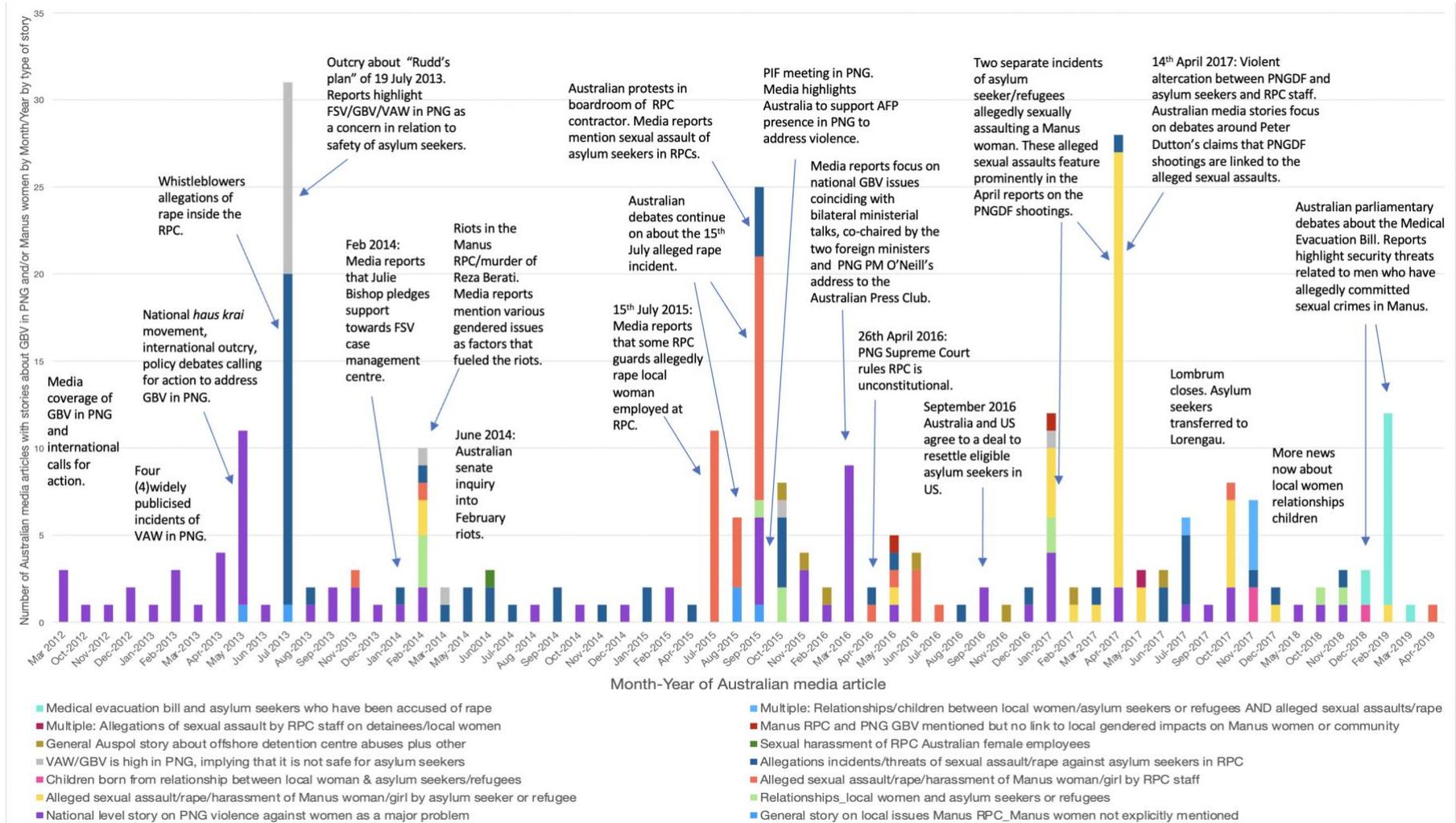
Across this gendered timeline, media reports that mention or are framed within PNG national issues around GBV (purple bars in Figure 1) tended to paint a grim picture for PNG women and tried to explain to the reader the reasons for the violence against women (Figure 2). Here PNG men are portrayed as the main reason for violence and, because of social norms and the lack of policing, are largely not able to be held to account for their actions. PNG culture is portrayed as monolithic and blamed for high levels of violence

against women (see Jolly 2012 for a discussion). Specific incidents of murder, sorcery-related violence and rape receive media attention and are important catalysts to policy debates. Media reports on national-level GBV issues focused on calling for action by the PNG Government or for Australia to 'help' PNG solve the problem. They often highlighted an Australian program, or a visit by an Australian or international official, or a report published by an international organisation. Such media stories centred on the endemic levels of the problem of GBV in PNG and the support needed to eliminate the scourge of violence against women in PNG. The Australian media played an important role in bringing to the Australian audience's attention an important problem in PNG that needs Australian support. In these reports, Australia is framed as the paternalistic 'helper' and a 'funder' responsible for supporting or holding the government of PNG to account. PNG is the 'Other' or the 'child' needing help, or needing steering and guidance to deal with its GBV problem. PNG women are the victims while PNG men and PNG culture are the causes of the violence.

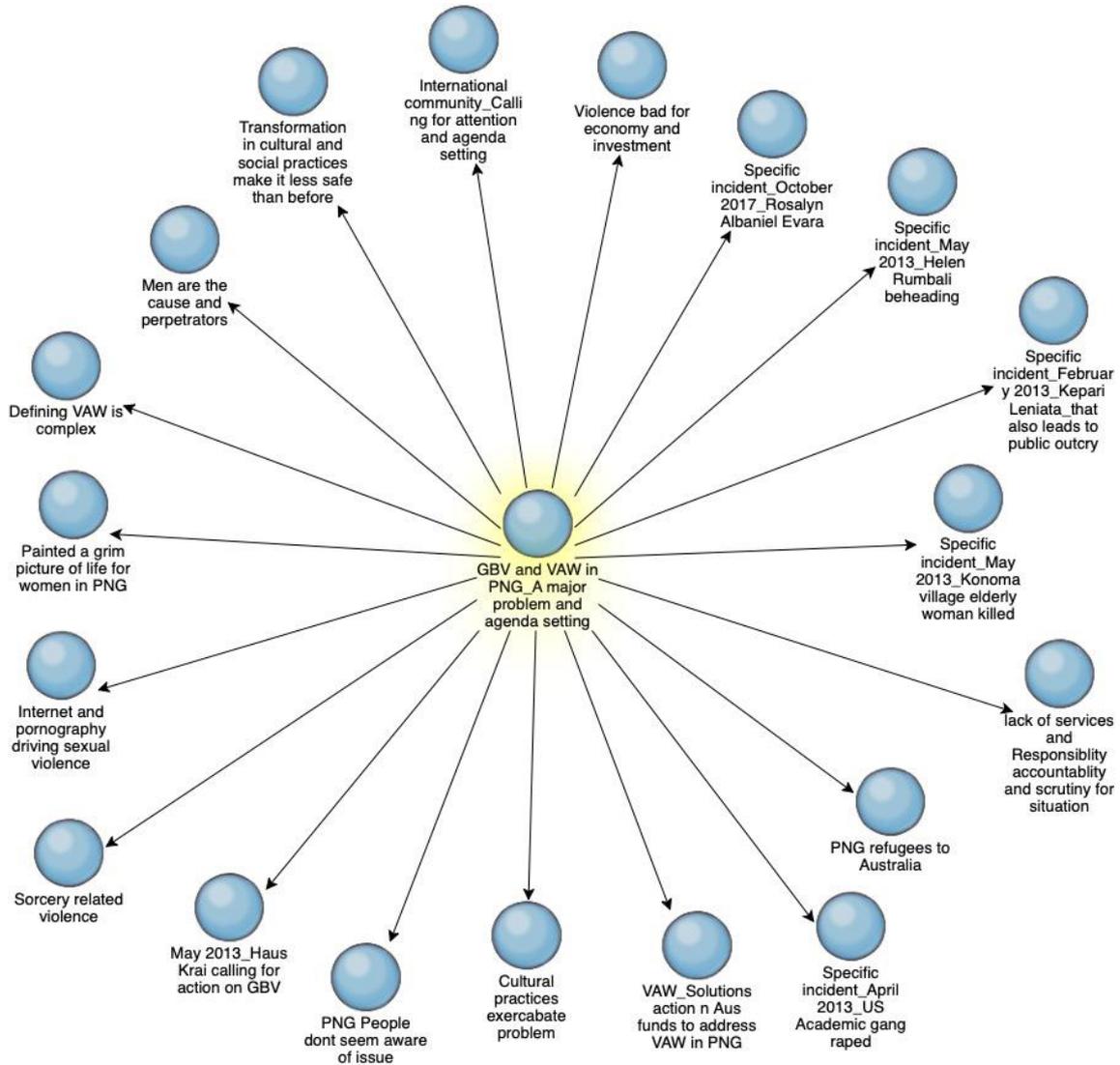
By contrast, Australian media stories focused on the Manus RPC centred on internal Australian politics and reporting specific incidents (Figure 3). Media reports which mentioned gendered issues, including gender-based violence, were more focused on reporting specific incidents and narrating these incidents as reasons that fuelled tensions between Manus people and 'Others' such as asylum seekers on Manus, the RPC contractor and its employees, the Australian Government, local men and local women. Reports were focused on explaining or establishing truths internal to the Australian debates about matters related to the Manus RPC rather than trying to understand the causes for the increasing presence of gendered problems arising as a result of the RPC.

In Section 5, I examine key moments of intense reporting across this gendered timeline. As the analysis will demonstrate, over time, these reports increasingly began to weaponise specific incidents of alleged sexual assault against Manus women and girls in Australian political and public discourses about border security and human rights, and were used for political point scoring (see also Rooney 2022). Moreover, from this timeline, we can witness how the Australian media played an important part in controlling and moderating the timing and content of news related to the bilateral relationship between Australia and PNG.

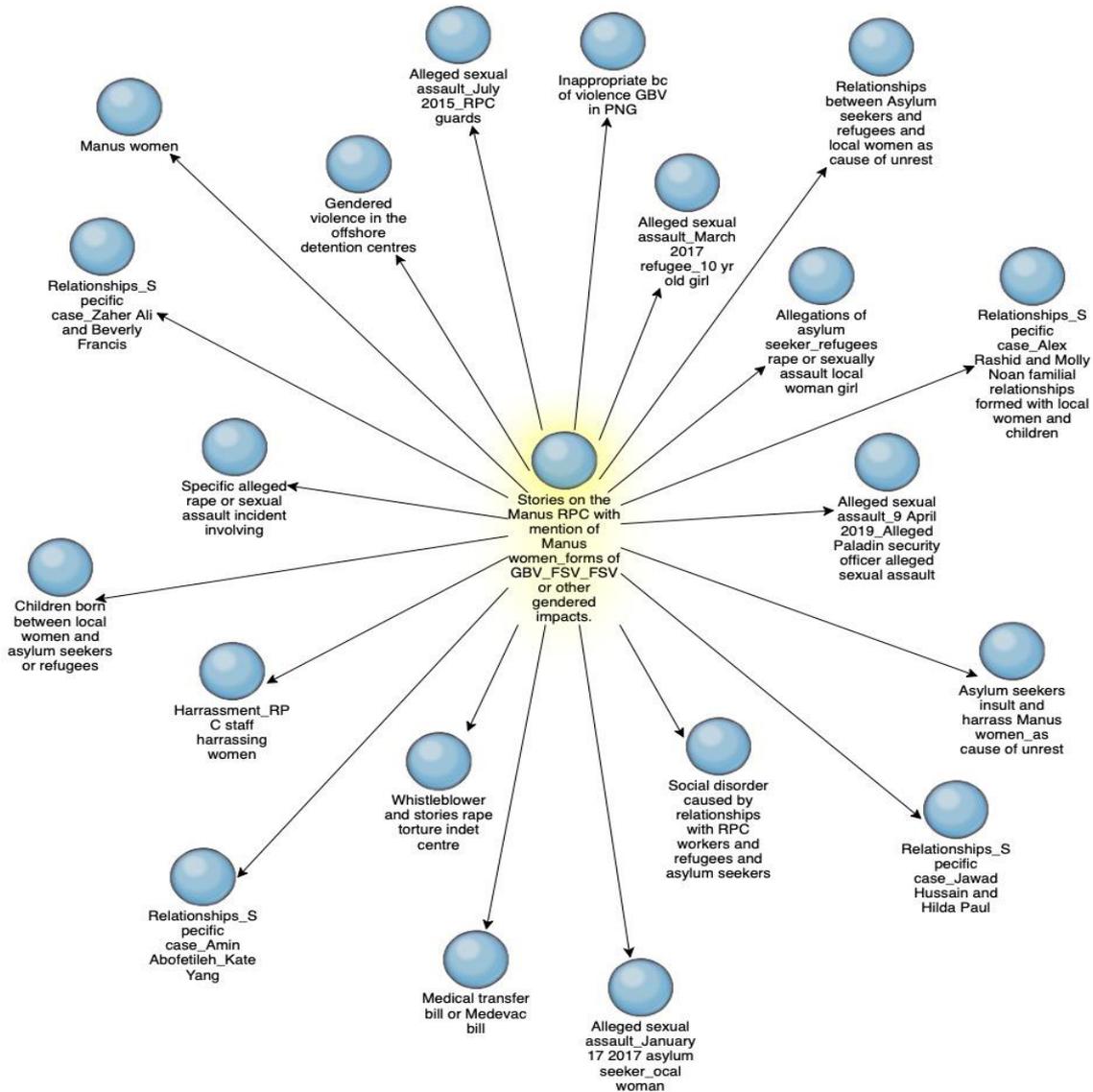
**Figure 1: A gendered timeline of the Manus RPC and PNG GBV coverage based on Australian media articles (n = 277) by type of story mentioned: March 2012 to April 2019**



**Figure 2: Key thematic codes in national PNG stories about GBV/FSV/VAW reported in Australian media, March 2012 to April 2019 (prepared using NVivo explore diagram)**



**Figure 3: Key thematic codes in stories about Manus RPC with mention of Manus women and/or GBV as reported in Australian media, March 2012 to April 2019 (prepared using NVivo explore diagram)**



## **5 Key shifts in reporting in Australian political discourse: from helping PNG women to reliance on PNG to weaponising alleged sexual assaults of Manus girls and women**

### **5.1 Australia is a helper to PNG women: 2012–May 2013**

Beginning around 2012, and later in response to four highly publicised incidents of violence against women in early 2013, there was an intense international outcry to address violence against women in PNG. The reports about violence against women in PNG are focused on the problem and on identifying or setting a development policy agenda. Australian media ran headlines like, 'Violence against women "pervasive" in PNG' (Fox 2012), 'Where women fear to tread' (Chandler 2012), 'Family violence epidemic needs a unified response' (Shah 2013). Stories focused on international organisations and actors calling attention to a PNG problem. Four horrific incidents in PNG received wide publicity in the media (see Figure 1) as did the national *haus krai* (period of mourning) movement calling for action to address violence against women. The Australian media championed the cause of PNG women through their reporting. For example, when Australia's first female prime minister visited PNG, the first such visit by an Australian prime minister since 2008, the media ran a story headlined, 'Gillard has the chance to champion the rights of women in PNG' (Hayward-Jones 2013). The article noted that although PNG had progressed in terms of its economy and development, an unwelcome change had been an increase in violence against women.

The challenges faced by women in our nearest neighbour are unfathomable to the vast majority of Australians. They face severe obstacles in the way of achieving equal opportunities to men and in accessing health and education services and even personal safety and basic survival.

Two-thirds of women in PNG are exposed consistently to domestic violence. Médecins Sans Frontières has estimated that 70 per cent of women will be raped or physically assaulted in their lifetime.

Fortunately, Gillard herself is keenly aware of the problem, informing high school students on ABC TV's Q&A program audience ... of the appalling levels of violence experienced by women in PNG. The Prime Minister announced last year a new Pacific Women Shaping Pacific Development aid strategy to support women's rights in the region ... In managing this broad agenda, Gillard's most important responsibility should be to PNG's women.

She cannot only set a visible example of a strong female leader but can also speak out in support of PNG's women to a wide audience of men who will listen to her because she is the Australian Prime Minister.

This is not an issue that Gillard should take up only in private meetings. Women in PNG need Australian support and Gillard can be a very effective advocate for them. (Hayward-Jones 2013)

These sustained reports highlighting GBV in PNG were published simultaneously with reports about asylum seekers arriving by boat. In 2012 when Prime Minister Julia Gillard announced the Pacific Women Shaping Pacific Development program, she also secured the deal for the reopening of the Nauru and Manus detention centres, with the first asylum seekers transferred to Manus Island in November of that year (Karlsen 2016).

Such framings resonate with other portrayals of Australia's relationship with Pacific Island countries as 'friends' and 'family' and cloak geopolitical inequalities persisting beyond the formal colonial period (see, for example, Kabutaulaka & Teaiwa 2019). These portrayals reinforce the racist paternalism of the Australia-PNG relationship that infantilises Papua New Guineans (Stella 2007), and the gendered paternalism (and maternalism) apropos of 'helping' PNG women, which are also rooted in the early European encounter with the arrival of missionary narratives.

## **5.2 Australian decision to only send male asylum seekers to Manus: July 2013**

From July 2013 the Australian Government stopped sending female asylum seekers to Manus and only sent male asylum seekers, most of whom were of Middle Eastern

background (Karlsen 2016). As will become evident in the following discussion, this policy decision to only send male asylum seekers to Manus moulds the very sharp distinction between the masculinised figure of the refugee and the invisible feminine figure of the Manus woman.

Male asylum seekers, and those who were subsequently granted refugee status, are portrayed by Australian media as both an abject pitiful figure, and as an agonistic threat to Australia and to women and girls on Manus. These divergent portrayals reflect the political persuasion and position of the diverse media outlets under consideration, which range from those concerned with refugee advocacy to those preoccupied, as the government is, with protecting Australia's border security. The analysis of media representation on these issues based on the political persuasion of media outlets is important for understanding the domestic political dynamics but this is beyond the immediate scope of this paper. Rather, in this paper, I wish to draw attention to the ways the often invisible and inaudible feminine figure of the Manus woman or girl is also portrayed in divergent ways, ranging from a hapless invisible and silent victim of male gender and sexual violence, to amenable to casual, consensual dalliances for goodies or even, as in later accounts, willing to partner and parent with an asylum seeker.

These two figures — the asylum seeker and Manus women — are foregrounded in the media reports selected for this study as divergent gendered subjects in relation to other backgrounded subjects such as Australian politicians, Australian asylum seeker rights advocates, PNG leaders, PNG defence force members, PNG police, Australian security guards, and other Manus men and women. What emerges seems to suggest a contemporary rendering of Stella's (2007) analysis of the historical colonial gendered and racialised impressions of violence and sexuality of PNG subjects that I discussed in Section 2. These gendered and racialised impressions, inscribed in Australian media representations of violence and sexuality arising out of the Manus RPC, can be mapped onto these divergent representations of asylum seekers and Manus women, and Manus men. The asylum seekers — pitiful men and threats to Australian society — are depicted in the media as pitched in an antagonistic battle against violent and hostile local Manus men. The violence perpetrated by local men on asylum seekers is represented in the

media in relation to local women; asylum seekers are either threats to local women or the cause of social upheaval and jealousy because they attract Manus women. Manus women are helpless victims, or wanton to promiscuous behaviour and prostitution with asylum seekers, or lovers or marriage partners and mothers.

I now turn to present some of these narratives as they played out along my gendered timeline (see Figure 1).

### **5.3 ‘That’s what friends are for’; ‘wildcard’ PNG in Australia’s game of political poker: July 2013**

In July 2013, there was a shift in the Australian media’s framing of Australia’s championing the cause of PNG women when Kevin Rudd, who had by this time ousted Gillard as leader of the Australian Labor Party, assumed the role of Australian prime minister. On 19 July 2013, Rudd and PNG’s prime minister, Peter O’Neil, appeared together in a press conference after the signing of a new Regional Settlement Agreement, with Rudd announcing that ‘From now on, any asylum seeker who arrives in Australia by boat will have no chance of being settled in Australia as refugees’ (Jones 2013). Reporting that ‘only single adult males will be shipped to PNG’ and ‘[w]omen and children will be kept in Australia and families will not be split up’, Jones (2013) also notes that ‘PNG has a poor record on violence against women and Australia’s Foreign Affairs Department has warned travellers of “high levels of serious crime” [and] “a high incidence of armed robberies, gang rape and car-jackings”’.

Rudd’s announcement sparked a spike in media commentary, which was framed in terms of the levels of violence, including GBV, in PNG making it an unsafe place for its own women, let alone for Australia’s asylum seekers to be detained or resettled. Here we see a distinct shift in the Australian reporting away from a focus on highlighting the problems of GBV in PNG as a development and policy issue in which Australia is a helper, towards now highlighting that since GBV in PNG is such a problem, asylum seekers cannot be resettled there, and that this is important because of Australia’s responsibility and international obligations to protect asylum seekers. The shift from being a helper to being reliant on PNG as a friend is reflected in Jones (2013), which noted that ‘Mr Rudd said the

PNG solution would be expensive but was unable to put a price on the aid and asylum re-settlement packages, saying “that’s what friends are for”.

Media reports led with headlines like, ‘Violence, disease risk for asylum seekers’ (O’Brien 2013), ‘Asylum seekers to receive hostile reception in PNG: local governor’ (ABC 2013), ‘The PNG Solution: as harsh as it is unprecedented’ (O’Sullivan 2013), ‘Real losers of Rudd’s refugee plan — PNG ASYLUM CRISIS’ (Michael 2013).

Another theme in the reports on Rudd’s plan related to political point scoring in the Australian polls. For example, one report noted that Rudd’s ‘PNG solution produces jump in poll’ (Iggulden 2013) highlighting that:

With his policy to take the sugar off the table for asylum seekers, Kevin Rudd looks to have sustained the sugar hit to Labor’s political fortunes since retaking the leadership. Newspoll’s recorded a sizable boost in voters’ trust in the Government on the question of border protection. (Iggulden 2013)

Another report, headlined ‘Stop being cruel to get votes’ (Alberici 2013), reported that the Greens leader ‘says it’s time that Kevin Rudd and Tony Abbott stop attempting to outdo each other with cruelty and barbarism in order to win votes’.

By this time, it was becoming clearer that Australia’s domestic political outcomes were being tied to what happened in PNG as the following report noted:

The wildcard in this game of political poker is Papua New Guinea. For now, the country’s prime minister has delivered Kevin Rudd a huge advantage, but it could come at a cost, as scrutiny of the conditions at secretive Manus Island detention intensifies. A former security contractor at the detention centre has spoken out to SBS, detailing horrific claims concerning detainees. (Iggulden 2013)

This quote also highlights how the issues within the Manus RPC, including gendered violence such as allegations of incidents of rape of asylum seekers by employees of the RPC, were also emerging as reported by an exclusive SBS television news report on 23 July 2013 (SBS 2013).

## **5.4 Riots fuelled by gendered threats and sex with local women: February 2014**

In mid-February 2014, unrest and riots in the Manus RPC led to the murder of a young asylum seeker, Reza Berati, and dozens of men being injured. Among the reasons for the riots reported in the Australian media were relationships between detainees and local women and threats by detainees to rape the mothers and sisters of local guards.

For example, one report cited one of the non-PNG employees at the RPC, noting that:

an expat worker at the Manus detention centre said relationships between local women and asylum seekers had contributed to tension on the island ... PNG female staff working in the kitchen would 'disappear' for up to two hours during night shifts. 'They were running around trying to find friendships'. (Callinan & Whyte 2014)

Another reason for the riots attributed to gendered issues and reported in the media was that:

asylum seekers had intensified their verbal taunts against locally-employed guards, including threats to rape their mothers and sisters ... Workers at the centre have also said there were tensions between the detainees and local guards over supposed sexual relationships between asylum seekers and local women workers. (Wroe & Callinan 2014)

In addition to framing asylum seekers during these riots as threats to Australian society (Ellis et al. 2016), we also see in these reports that these gendered incidents — asylum seekers allegedly threatening to rape the mothers and sisters of local guards and sexual relationships between asylum seekers and PNG women workers in the RPC — separated the masculine asylum seekers from male guards and workers at the centre and apportioned blame to the asylum seekers. PNG women working in the RPC are portrayed as contributing to triggering the tensions because of the 'rumours of dalliances between local women and lonely asylum seekers' (Gordon & Whyte 2014). The use of the word

'dalliance' portrays these local women as being complicit in triggering the riots due to their alleged casual sexual relationships with asylum seekers.

### **5.5 'On a cheerier note' — playing down, deflecting responsibility for alleged sexual assaults and undermining PNG sovereignty: July–September 2015**

In mid-July 2015, news reports emerged about the alleged attempted rape of a Manus woman employed in the RPC by Australian employees of the RPC. The media reported that the men were evacuated from Manus. In the weeks that followed from mid-July to September 2015, the Australian media attention centred around establishing the nature of the alleged sexual assault of a Manus woman. Issues covered included criticising the actions of the RPC contractor, Australia's undermining of PNG sovereignty, the threat of the death sentence for the accused, the story of the victim and her family, and local police perspectives, highlighting that drugs and alcohol were involved. As the weeks unfolded, the media stories reflected a higher-level diplomatic rift, reporting that the 'Papua New Guinea's prime minister Peter O'Neill [would] ask his Australian counterpart Prime Minister Tony Abbott [whose Liberal Party had assumed leadership of the Coalition government in the previous election] for the return of three Australian Manus Island security guards to face questioning over rape allegations' (Cochrane 2015).

The media coverage of this incident culminated in September 2015, coinciding with Tony Abbott's visit to PNG to attend the Pacific Islands Forum meeting in Port Moresby. At this point, it is interesting to see media reports now almost tangibly deflecting their readership's attention away from this alleged rape incident towards other issues (which ironically include Australian support to the PNG police) and highlighting broader bilateral problems playing out at the same time. Reading the articles, it appears that the Australian media played down this incident and reframed the news away from O'Neill's request for the three accused men to be extradited. For example, one report notes that:

Meanwhile, Papua New Guinea Prime Minister Peter O'Neill has flagged he'll seek Mr Abbott's cooperation to extradite three former Australian Manus Island

detention centre guards back to his country to face police questioning over rape claims. Rape convictions in PNG carry the death sentence.

But on a cheerier note, Mr Abbott intends to congratulate PNG ahead of its 40th anniversary of independence from Australia. (Martin 2015)

The change in the tone of this report through the use of the phrase 'cheerier note' immediately following reportage of the PNG PM's request seems to diminish the severity of O'Neill's request about alleged rape. It deflects the reader's attention away from the sensitive topic of an alleged sexual assault involving Australian citizens and redirects it towards a congratulatory festive note on the part of Abbott, exemplifying 'dinner table civility'.

Other articles highlighted that on his visit to PNG, Prime Minister Tony Abbott was in talks with the PNG prime minister to 'embed' the Australian Federal Police within the PNG police. For example, Doherty (2015) reported that the Australian prime minister said that 'Australia would cooperate with any PNG police investigation' into the alleged rape at the RPC, and in the same story goes on to note that the PM 'was seeking to establish an agreement with PNG that would "embed" Australian Federal Police (AFP) officers in the Royal Papua New Guinea Constabulary'. Another article, headlined 'Embedding AFP "will help make PNG safer for business"', reported that 'Tony Abbot has used a trip to Papua New Guinea to push for the Australian Federal Police to play a more hands-on role in law enforcement there and make it a safer place to do business' (Kelly 2015).

Thus, one could argue that the Australian media downplayed the alleged rape incident and the PNG prime minister's official calls for the extradition of the accused men and instead highlighted the Australian prime minister's visit to PNG for a regional meeting. This helped to deflect the Australian readership and public attention away from the incident and towards stories that emphasised Australia's 'help' to PNG and the ever present and chronic problems of GBV in the country.

## 5.6 'Regrettably hollow' bilateral ministerial talks: March to May 2016

Given the controversy of the previous months, one interpretation of the intensification in gendered media reports (see Figure 1) relates to the coverage of the bilateral ministerial talks held in March 2016 in Australia, as a potential opportunity to try to smooth the relationship over. During the bilateral ministerial meetings held in Canberra, the then Australian Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade, Julie Bishop, met with her PNG counterpart, Rimbink Pato. The PNG prime minister, Peter O'Neill, addressed the National Press Club. Julie Bishop also launched a new gender program; the media framing of helping PNG women was again foregrounded. For example, one report titled 'Australia must help protect women in PNG' reports Bishop as saying that Australia has 'put an unrelenting focus on gender equality' (*The Age* 2016). However, reflecting a domestic political swipe at the foreign minister, the report goes on to note that:

We certainly hope she is listening carefully, and taking particular note of the extreme violence many women must regularly confront in Papua New Guinea ... As it happens, Ms Bishop is hosting her PNG counterpart in Canberra ... for a regular ministerial meeting, and this offers the perfect opportunity for her to press what should indeed be an urgent concern about the treatment of women in the country. But Ms Bishop's words will ring regrettably hollow, given the government has hopelessly compromised Australia as a voice of conscience and reason on human rights by relying on PNG as the host of the Manus Island detention centre for asylum seekers. (*The Age* 2016)

The report goes on to highlight how the Manus RPC has emboldened the PNG prime minister to have more say over Australian funds but there is:

no excuse ... that can justify the appalling treatment of women in PNG. That the policy of offshore detention has so diminished Australia's ability to pressure PNG to redress this situation is yet another reason for the Turnbull government to move urgently to close the camps on Manus Island and Nauru. (*The Age* 2016)

This article is interesting in that it plays into the ‘political poker game’, critiquing the Australian Government’s undermining of its own influence in PNG, including on matters such as GBV, and is as close as the Australian media comes to linking these two pillars of Australia’s bilateral relationship — GBV in PNG and the Manus RPC — and its gendered impacts. However, it still falls short of explicitly noting that the gendered issues unravelling in the Manus RPC and in the surrounding local community itself undermines Australia’s help to PNG on GBV. This ‘gender diplomacy’ (Rooney 2018) including the ‘helper’ narrative on GBV was short-lived. On 26 April 2016, the PNG Supreme Court ruled that the Manus RPC was unconstitutional under PNG laws and ordered that it be closed. Media reports began to highlight issues around large numbers of men moving to Lorengau township on Manus.

### **5.7 A system in chaos: Alleged sexual assaults, defence force shootings, and a mental health crisis: 2017**

By 2017, the media began to draw attention to concerns that more violence may occur. In addition to the ongoing and high levels of reporting on violence perpetrated against asylum seekers and refugees, the news also continued to publish stories of a more gendered nature of interactions — coerced or consensual — between these men and local women. One article, titled ‘Fears of more violence on Manus Island’ (Tlozek 2017a), provides a comprehensive report on the now multidimensional issues that fuelled the violence on Manus Island due to the presence of the RPC during this time. It suggested that the community was unable to handle the behaviour of the detainees, that the indefinite and uncertain presence of the men in the small community was leading to tensions and violence against asylum seekers and refugees, and that alcohol and marijuana was fuelling the violence. Moreover it reported on harassment of local girls and women, and suggested there was resentment about children being born to asylum seekers and local women who faced an uncertain future (Tlozek 2017a).

The period January to April 2017 was another intense period of media reports that reflect a sinister turn in the tone of Australia’s immigration policy towards a more explicit weaponisation of the sexual assault of Manus women in Australian political debates. Two

separate alleged incidents of sexual assault on Manus Island occurred — one involving a 19-year-old woman in January 2017 (Tlozek 2017b) and another involving a 10-year-old girl in March 2017 (Doherty & Davidson 2017a). Along with other incidents, these became central in media reportage related to the PNG Defence Force (PNGDF) shootings at the RPC on 14 April.

One of the early media reports on the PNGDF shooting incident, published on 17 April 2017, placed the PNGDF shootings alongside the earlier reports of the alleged sexual assaults. This suggested not only a link between the incidents but also that the asylum seekers in the RPC were to be blamed for the shootings by the PNGDF. The report noted that:

an Australian staff member ... said that it was 'only a matter of time' before an incident such as Friday's occurred, amid tensions between PNG locals, defence personnel and asylum-seeker inmates at Australia's processing centre.

Last month, a 28-year-old Pakistani refugee was charged over the alleged sexual assault of a 10-year-old girl in Lorengau, and in January another asylum-seeker was arrested and charged over the alleged assault of a 19-year-old student.

The witness said tensions were inflamed last week when three refugees from the Pakistani and Afghani communities allegedly led the five-year-old son of a navy member into the centre 'for purposes unknown'. (Baxendale 2017)

In the following days the media focused on the Immigration Minister's statement about the incident. One media report on the minister's statement on a commercial TV network noted that:

Immigration Minister Peter Dutton has revealed a violent incident at the Manus Island immigration centre on Friday may have been prompted by concerns for a child ... Mr Dutton told Sky News today that the mood on the island had been tense following an alleged incident 'where three asylum seekers were alleged to be leading a local five-year-old boy back toward the facility'.

‘There was concern about why the boy was being led or for what purpose he was being led away back in the regional processing centre,’ Mr Dutton said.

‘I think it’s fair to say the mood had elevated quite quickly. I think some of the local residents were quite angry about this particular incident and another alleged sexual assault.’ (Anderson 2017)

Dutton’s comments, published in several media reports, suggested a link between the five-year-old boy ‘being led away’ and alleged sexual assaults reported earlier in the year. Dutton’s statement sparked intense debates in the media and counter statements by the PNG police on the ground. Interestingly, the media reports did not discuss issues related to violence against women and girls on Manus as an issue of importance in and of itself, but instead focused on Dutton’s claims internal to Australian debates. For example, the following report highlighted that:

Peter Dutton has stooped to a new low, even as he seeks to impose higher standards on prospective Australian citizens ... The clear implication of his words is that the behaviour of refugees towards a small boy was the catalyst for the attack that re-traumatised those who witnessed mayhem and murder at the centre in 2014 ... [Dutton’s statement] demonises the detainees and inflames tensions that have been simmering on Manus Island for months ...

One problem with this unsubstantiated allegation, with its implication of an intent to sexually abuse a child, is that police on Manus were unaware of it. Another is that the suggestion of nefarious conduct is rejected by asylum seekers ... Dutton also suggested those who live in the navy base that surrounds the centre were angry about ‘another alleged sexual assault’.

Provincial police commander David Yapu confirmed that two men had been charged with sexual assault since asylum seekers were able to visit the province’s only town, although in both cases those charged insist they are innocent. What about the principle of innocent until proven guilty?

So why would Dutton, a former copper, seek to pre-empt the investigation and apportion blame? Perhaps to deflect attention from the real question: why has Australia been so slow to find durable solutions for those it places in an unsustainable situation and remove a source of tension from a peaceful province in PNG? (Gordon 2017)

Another media report noted that:

Mr Dutton stood by his comments on *Insiders* on Sunday morning, saying he had received ‘succinct and clear’ briefings from officials on the island. ‘The point that I was making and certainly the clear advice I received was that there had been a ramping up in terms of the mood on the ground over a period of time,’ he said.

Mr Dutton confirmed two people had been accused of sexual assault but said the matter would be dealt with by the PNG police. ‘Of course it is true,’ Mr Dutton told *Insiders*. ‘I was asked why the mood was elevated on the ground on Manus Island and these two incidents [including the shooting itself] fed directly into that — that is indisputable.’

‘If you are asking me about why there was an elevation in the angst between those that are living on the naval base on Manus Island, this was part of it, and that was the clear advice to me.’ (Belot 2017)

Some reports, such as Doherty and Davidson (2017b) titled ‘Manus refugees who fed child lodge complaint about Dutton’s “false allegations”’ and Tlozek (2017c), attempted to frame the story more sympathetically towards asylum seekers by highlighting this fact. However, other reports, such as Bolt’s (2017) article headlined ‘Dutton on track with incident at Manus’, referred to asylum seekers as ‘boat people’ reinforcing that:

locals are indeed suspicious. [Australian Border Force] Commissioner Roman Quaadvlieg yesterday said intelligence reports ‘clearly show an increasingly tense dynamic’ between locals and boat people who were showing ‘aggressions and sexualised behaviours’.

‘A recent incident in March where a resident was charged with sexual penetration offences after being detected with a number of underage Manusian girls ... has created an incendiary sentiment.’ So I’d cut Dutton some slack. (Bolt 2017)

Reflecting the ‘political poker game’ in domestic debates, some reports focused on the Shadow Minister for Immigration’s demand for an apology from Dutton for, “irresponsible and outrageous” commentary about the origins of a violent disturbance on Manus Island’, adding that the minister’s comments ‘preempt the findings of a PNG investigation and have been denied by authorities on the ground’ (Murphy 2017).

Despite some of the media reports noting that the police on Manus had refuted Dutton’s claims, Dutton stood by his claims and even demanded an apology from media outlets, including ABC and Fairfax (Hutchens 2017; SBS 2017). Dutton’s demand for an apology from the media was related to his questioning of their reliance on ‘the testimony of Papua New Guinean politician Ronny Knight’, who Dutton claimed ‘was a discredited witness because he had been dismissed from parliament over corruption findings’ (Hutchens 2017).

In addition, comments made during a 2017 Australian Senate estimates hearing highlighted how Australian officials acknowledged the links between the Manus RPC and the gendered dynamics surrounding it. For example, the Australian Border Force Commissioner, Roman Quaedvlieg, noted that:

There were behaviours of RPC residents in and amongst the Lorengau base, particularly towards women on the base, and comments that can be described as sexualised, lewd and generally disrespectful towards the women on the PNG defence force base.

In the Lorengau township more broadly, as we anticipated when the centre moved to an open arrangement, wherever there is an interaction between humans it tends to draw out their proclivities, particularly when we are talking about almost 1,000 single adult men who had been detained for a period of some time then moving freely about a community. We started seeing a rise in incidents, which

were a consequence of interaction between the RPC residents and the Manusians in the Lorengau town centre. There was trade in alcohol, illicit drugs and tobacco. There were goods being smuggled out of both the RPC and the East Lorengau Transit Centre being sold to the locals. There was bartering and exchange of money and goods for sex with the local women by the RPC residents. There was quite an incendiary event that occurred in March [2017] which saw two RPC residents detected in a hotel room in Lorengau with a number of underage Manusian girls. In fact, one of those residents has since been charged with a number of counts of sexual penetration of a child ... It is quite a febrile environment on Manus. It is a small enclave. It has a number of different cohorts ... [who] tend to have different relationship dynamics ... nothing happens in Manus in isolation. Everything has a correlation. (Mr Roman Quaedvlieg, Australian Border Force Commissioner, responding to Senate Committee question on escalated tensions on Manus, 22 May 2017)<sup>7</sup>

Seeming to acknowledge that such a situation would be deemed unacceptable and would receive wide public condemnation, including from the child's parents, if it were to occur in Australia, Quaedvlieg also explained his view of the links between the child in the centre and the defence force shootings.

Irrespective of the intent of the RPC residents in importing that child into the centre—and that remains, as I say, in my view, subject to a referral to the RPNGC—the very fact that a child under the age of 10 is in an environment where there are single adult males after dark and that child is left unattended, even for minutes at a time, is of fundamental and profound concern. Insofar as it relates to tensions on island, what I can say is that that child was related to a PNG Defence Force member. That child's mother, on the day of the incident, had asked for the matter to be referred

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<sup>7</sup> Commonwealth of Australia, Senate Legal and Constitutional Affairs Legislation Committee, Estimates hearing for the Immigration and Border Protection Portfolio, 22 May 2017, pp. 43–44 (Mr Roman Quaedvlieg, Australian Border Force Commissioner), [https://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/download/committees/estimate/3016728a-1732-413a-bdd9-3647f38d88d4/toc\\_pdf/Legal%20and%20Constitutional%20Affairs%20Legislation%20Committee\\_2017\\_05\\_22\\_5100\\_Official.pdf;fileType=application%2Fpdf#search=%22committees/estimate/3016728a-1732-413a-bdd9-3647f38d88d4/0002%22](https://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/download/committees/estimate/3016728a-1732-413a-bdd9-3647f38d88d4/toc_pdf/Legal%20and%20Constitutional%20Affairs%20Legislation%20Committee_2017_05_22_5100_Official.pdf;fileType=application%2Fpdf#search=%22committees/estimate/3016728a-1732-413a-bdd9-3647f38d88d4/0002%22).

to the RPNG Constabulary in the context of her concern around any sexualised behaviour that may have been demonstrated towards the child. (Mr Roman Quaedvlieg, Australian Border Force Commissioner, responding to Senate Committee question on a young boy being in the Manus RPC, 22 May 2017)<sup>8</sup>

In response to a question about whether he was suggesting that residents of the RPC were engaging in 'grooming behaviour' of the child, the Australian Border Force Commissioner, Roman Quaedvlieg, responded inter alia that:

I am not suggesting anything ... When you take that incident I have just described [a child in the centre] and you insert that against the backdrop of the broader environment and landscape I have described, it is, in my operational experience, almost inconceivable to assert there is no correlation between that incident and rising tensions on the island. (Mr Roman Quaedvlieg, Australian Border Force Commissioner, responding to Senate Committee question about potential grooming behaviour by detainees in the Manus RPC, 22 May 2017)<sup>9</sup>

These media reports and the parliamentary debates suggest that both officially and within the media there is an acknowledgement of the link between the Manus RPC and the broader environment insofar as sexual violence and gendered violence are seen as triggering unrest. And yet, there remains a lacuna in a more direct recognition that this situation is a clear result of an Australian government policy and that it also undermines

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<sup>8</sup> Commonwealth of Australia, Senate Legal and Constitutional Affairs Legislation Committee, Estimates hearing for the Immigration and Border Protection Portfolio, 22 May 2017, pp. 44–45 (Mr Roman Quaedvlieg, Australian Border Force Commissioner), [https://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/download/committees/estimate/3016728a-1732-413a-bdd9-3647f38d88d4/toc\\_pdf/Legal%20and%20Constitutional%20Affairs%20Legislation%20Committee\\_2017\\_05\\_22\\_5100\\_Official.pdf;fileType=application%2Fpdf#search=%22committees/estimate/3016728a-1732-413a-bdd9-3647f38d88d4/0002%22](https://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/download/committees/estimate/3016728a-1732-413a-bdd9-3647f38d88d4/toc_pdf/Legal%20and%20Constitutional%20Affairs%20Legislation%20Committee_2017_05_22_5100_Official.pdf;fileType=application%2Fpdf#search=%22committees/estimate/3016728a-1732-413a-bdd9-3647f38d88d4/0002%22).

<sup>9</sup> Commonwealth of Australia, Senate Legal and Constitutional Affairs Legislation Committee, Estimates hearing for the Immigration and Border Protection Portfolio, 22 May 2017, p. 45 (Mr Roman Quaedvlieg, Australian Border Force Commissioner), [https://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/download/committees/estimate/3016728a-1732-413a-bdd9-3647f38d88d4/toc\\_pdf/Legal%20and%20Constitutional%20Affairs%20Legislation%20Committee\\_2017\\_05\\_22\\_5100\\_Official.pdf;fileType=application%2Fpdf#search=%22committees/estimate/3016728a-1732-413a-bdd9-3647f38d88d4/0002%22](https://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/download/committees/estimate/3016728a-1732-413a-bdd9-3647f38d88d4/toc_pdf/Legal%20and%20Constitutional%20Affairs%20Legislation%20Committee_2017_05_22_5100_Official.pdf;fileType=application%2Fpdf#search=%22committees/estimate/3016728a-1732-413a-bdd9-3647f38d88d4/0002%22).

another Australian government policy in its aid support to redress GBV and to enhance security, and law and justice in PNG.

After the April PNGDF shootings the media continued to report on the problems on the island highlighting the 'brutality' experienced by asylum seekers and refugees resulting in self-harm, suicide and assaults (Doherty et al. 2017). The Manus RPC was officially decommissioned on 31 October 2017 and the men were transferred to Lorengau to reside in purposely built facilities in the township. By this time media reports about violent altercations and tensions between asylum seekers or refugees and locals were regularly featuring in the Australian news. The media also highlighted a variety of gendered issues arising from men's increasing interactions with local people. It is evident by now, and as seen in some media reports (for example, Doherty 2017) that the gendered issues arising from the Manus RPC were complex and multidimensional with far-reaching consequences beyond the internal operations of the institutional apparatus of the Manus RPC.

Media reports also began to highlight an emerging mental health crisis among asylum seekers and refugees on Manus. In early October 2017, news emerged about a sixth death among the male asylum seekers and refugees on Manus. A refugee named Rajeev Rajendran had been found dead on the island. One media report titled 'Sixth Manus Island death signals a system in chaos' (Koziol 2017) explained that the death was apparently by suicide, highlighting the mental health crisis emerging among the men, and that:

The case is unpleasant and murky, and highlights several important points of dispute about the plight of refugees on Manus Island and what they face when Australia leaves the island at the end of this month.

Mr Rajendran, who experienced mental illness, was charged with raping a minor earlier this year in the township of Lorengau. He was released on bail and awaiting trial, but it was a charge likely to rule him out of consideration for resettlement in the US.

The rape charge was also at the centre of the escalating unrest between townsfolk and the asylum seekers on Manus Island. In part, it is what Immigration Minister Peter Dutton referred to in April when he said there was an 'elevated mood' on the island and controversially suggested a riot at the processing centre was linked to community fears about the safety of a five-year-old boy. (Koziol 2017)

Simultaneously, as the men continued to resist moving to the Lorengau centre from the now closed Manus RPC, stories such as Kelly (2017a, 2017b) were more pejorative, framed in ways that contrasted or portrayed the asylum seekers and refugees in ways that contradicted other reports of their suffering. For example:

Australian government officials were informed last month that asylum-seekers and refugees at the Manus Island processing centre had regularly travelled into town to allegedly have sex with underage girls and buy or sell drugs.

Several children were born from the alleged sexual relations. Papua New Guinea police and community leaders told the Australian government in mid-October of 161 incidents of various offences involving residents at the centre recorded over four years from October 2013.

The alleged offences referred to the Royal Papua New Guinea Constabulary have included assault, sexual assault, aggressive behaviour, unlawful entry, property damage and contraband.

The Weekend Australian understands that some refugees, who receive \$100 a fortnight, were allegedly using small items such as cigarettes and chocolates bought at the centre to lure underage girls into engaging in sexual acts.

Immigration Minister Peter Dutton yesterday told Melbourne radio 3AW that about 190 men from the centre — some of whom were 'involved' in drugs — would travel into the nearby village of Lorengau by bus each day. Mr Dutton also confirmed some of these men had threatened to rape the wives and children of locals.

'They'll go down, purchase goods from the markets, they stay at the beach, go to the beach, they sell things down there,' he said. 'Obviously, if they're minded to buy drugs or sell drugs, then that's an activity that some are involved in as well.' (Kelly 2017a)

As 2017 drew to a close, and leading into 2018, some media reports sought to highlight more positive developments such as consensual relationships between asylum seekers or refugees, including some that had resulted in children (Armbruster 2017; Baker & McKenzie 2017; Davidson 2018; Togiba & Cheng 2018). But these were not enough to undo the now complex multidimensional tragic stories entangling asylum seekers, refugees, and the lives of locals particularly local women and girls, which had become regular stories in the Australian media. The case of Rajeev Rajendran epitomised the extremely tragic situation created on Manus.

## **5.8 Medical evacuation bill a threat to Australian border security: January–April 2019**

By 2018 a medical evacuation bill (also known as the medevac/medivac bill) was being debated on the floor of parliament which, if passed, would allow for asylum seekers detained in Manus and Nauru to enter Australia for medical treatment. At the heart of the Australian debates was the point that the bill would compromise Australia's border security because it gave too much control to medical doctors to determine who could enter Australia while removing powers from the Minister responsible for borders. The bill also sparked another intense period of Australian media reports that weaponise sexual assault of Manus girls and women within Australian political debates (see Figure 1). Although some media reports tried to highlight broader issues such as the bill's implications for the growing number of children born between the men and local women (e.g. Packham & Riordan 2019; Whiting 2019), they mainly echoed and mirrored the parliamentary debates. For example:

Major parties are ... at odds over whether Labor's bill would allow the minister to stop a medical transfer of a criminal who had committed murder, rape, domestic violence or child abuse. (Lewis 2018)

Most of the reports during the parliamentary debates on the medevac bill focused again on domestic debates while backgrounding the allegations of sexual assault and other gendered issues. In addition to reports such as Kelly and Griffiths (2019), which focus on statements by Australian politicians (like those by Peter Dutton and Christian Porter quoted at the start of this paper), some media reports added their own sources to highlight the security fears. For example:

The Daily Telegraph has seen four examples of individuals currently held on Manus Island and Nauru who, if signed off by two doctors, the government believes could be transferred to Australia. The first case is a man with a history of violence charged on Manus Island with the assault of a treating psychiatrist and who is suspected of being charged with murder in Iran. The second involves a man arrested in association with a rape of a minor on Manus Island, but who is in custody pending appearance in court. The third case is a man accused of conducting a sexual relationship with a 14-year-old girl on Manus Island and the fourth case is a man charged with an Indecent Act in Relation to a Child under 16 who has not yet appeared in court. (Caldwell et al. 2019)

## **6 Conclusion**

In this paper I have examined how the Australian media portrayed the gendered local impacts of the Manus RPC between 2012 and 2019. This was during a time when a key part of the Australian Government's bilateral relationship with PNG involved supporting PNG women and the PNG government to curtail violence against women in PNG. Based on 277 Australian media stories focused on GBV at the national level in PNG or containing gendered issues related to the Manus RPC, I presented a gendered timeline of the Manus RPC, and identified some of the key frames that the Australian media used to portray these issues to the Australian public. My analysis of the key periods of intensified media coverage reveals how the Australian Government, and the Australian media's coverage of these issues shifted from portraying Australia as a 'helper' to PNG, to being reliant on PNG's friendship to support the Manus RPC, to weaponising alleged sexual assaults of Manus girls and women in Australian political discourse. Elsewhere I have argued that

the RPC transformed the gendered woven social fabric of Manus and that both asylum seeker and PNG women's rights discourses during this period neglected to acknowledge the gendered impacts on Manus (Rooney 2021, 2022).

The findings in this paper show that these gendered impacts of the Manus RPC were evident in the Australian media reportage during this period but remained unacknowledged and subjugated beneath Australian's hegemonic political discourse and the bilateral relation between Australia and PNG. The Manus RPC created a situation that further reinforced Manus women's experiences of violence and this undermines Australia's own policies to not only support PNG and PNG women to address GBV but also its own policies to mitigate risks and harms to women and girls in its development programs (Rooney 2022).

When placed within the colonial history of PNG, these findings can be seen as part of a continuum of Western-centric racialised and gendered portrayals of PNG and the European and Australian dominance over these portrayals which reinforce their control and dominance. These findings are important because, historically, currently, and into the foreseeable future, Manus has attracted and will continue to attract the attention of Australian policymakers and other geopolitical actors given its strategic geographic location for geopolitical dynamics in the region. It is likely that increased securitisation in the region will see more gendered — and masculinised — interventions on Manus which will potentially have local gendered impacts that resonate with those that occurred during the Manus RPC period (see Rooney 2021, 2022 for a discussion). It is important that any future interventions on Manus consider and mitigate against harmful local gendered impacts to be consistent with the broader bilateral focus on addressing GBV in PNG and Australia's own stated development policies to avoid negative gendered impacts of its own policies and programs.

The divergent representations and juxtapositions of Manus women and male asylum seekers and other male actors involved in the Manus RPC during this period highlights the ways historical colonial portrayals enjoy endearing salience in contemporary representations of PNG people. These divergent portrayals reflect the political persuasion and position of the diverse media outlets under consideration — which range

from refugee advocacy to those preoccupied, as the government is, with protecting Australia's border security. A thorough analysis of these media reports by political persuasion, which is beyond the scope of this paper, would reveal further important insights. The feminine figure of the Manus woman or girl (who is often invisible and inaudible) is also portrayed in divergent ways — as a hapless victim of male gender and sexual violence or, as in later accounts, as amenable to casual, consensual dalliances for goodies or even willing to partner and parent with an asylum seeker or refugee. These two figures are foregrounded and a range of other gendered subjects such as PNGDF members, Australian security guards, and other Manus men and women are backgrounded. These findings resonate with Stella's (2007) analysis in that the Australian media positions Manus women within Australian self-narrated cultural and political discourses, represents them in divergent and sexualised ways, deploys them in political discourse, but then relegates them as invisible and silent when alleged sexual assault against them are not taken seriously or not even considered other than for their political instrumentalisation. As metaphors for the Manus landscape, Manus women's invisibility and silence, like Manus and Manus people, were essentially erased from the international discourses on rights and borders.

This study adds a contemporary dimension to our understanding of the processes of 'Othering' in that it brings Manus Islanders, a society in the Pacific, into direct relationship with the predominantly Middle Eastern male asylum seeker. This relationship is forcefully directed by the hegemonic powers of the Australian and PNG states. Analytically, it brings Smith's (1960, 1992) conceptualisation of the exoticisation and the 'Othering' of Pacific people and the resulting dual and antithetical frames of violent, savage, cannibals and desirable place — which in turn shaped the gendered racialised cartographic division of the region (see Stella 2007; Jolly 2016; Douglas and Ballard 2008) — into direct conversation with Said's (1978) notion of Orientalism which shapes portrayals of the predominantly Middle Eastern masculine Other placed on Manus.

As I have noted earlier, the discourses and the material and embodied impacts of the Manus RPC reflects an internal tension in Australia's outward-looking policies of foreign aid to help gender equality on the one hand and border protection on the other. The

media reports analysed here reveals an ‘internal consistency’ that both Smith (1992) and Said (1978) identify, though in different ways. My sense is that a further analysis of the media stories by political affiliations of the media outlets and the aesthetics and discursive character of the stories would reveal insights into these internal, inward ‘Australian predominantly White — Western and European shaped’ processes that worked to ‘other’ both asylum seekers originating from places that are ‘orientalised’ and Manus people in racialised and gendered terms. Australian media dominated by white actors, by and large, speak to an internal predominantly white audience and predominantly white policymakers.

A final comment. Australia’s political discourses on ‘boat people’ and associated border policies are politically highly charged. The period 2012 to 2019 on Manus RPC represents one iteration and aspect of these policies. The high stakes involved in these debates and policies was evident in the 2022 court decision ruling in favour of refugee advocate Shane Bazzi, who won an appeal against a ruling on Dutton’s defamation case against him (McKinnell 2022). Cognisant of this political context, my intent in this paper is to apply an analytical lens to various published publicly available media stories and other materials to highlight an important contradiction in Australian policies on borders on the one hand and support to women in PNG on the other hand during the period that the Australian RPC was hosted on Manus. In doing so, the study reveals the gendered social impacts of Australia’s offshore asylum seeker detention policy regime on Manus people and particularly on Manus women and girls.

# Annex 1: List of media articles examined

List of media articles							
YearMonthDate_Media outlet_Author_Abbreviated search term	Year	YearMonth	Search term used	Media outlet	Headline of story	General frame/type of story on either the Manus RPC and/or PNG GBV coverage based on Australian media articles	
1 20120326_ABC_LIAM FOX_PNGVAW	2012	201203	PNG and VAW	ABC	Violence against women 'pervasive' in PNG	National level story on PNG violence against women as a major problem	
2 20120326_AUS ASSOCIATED PRESS_EOIN BLACKWELL_PNGVAW	2012	201203	Manus and VAW	AUS ASSOCIATED PRESS	UN calls for repeal of PNG Sorcery Act	National level story on PNG violence against women as a major problem	
3 20120327_THE AGE_JO CHANDLER_FSPVNG	2012	201203	PNG and FSV	THE AGE	Where women fear to tread	National level story on PNG violence against women as a major problem	
4 20121004_ABC_ABC_PNGVAW	2012	201210	PNG and VAW	ABC	PNG project targets marketplace violence	National level story on PNG violence against women as a major problem	
5 20121116_ABC_LIAM FOX_FSPVNG	2012	201211	PNG and FSV	ABC	MSF wants more done to tackle PNG violence	National level story on PNG violence against women as a major problem	
6 20121203_ABC_LIAM FOX_FSPVNG	2012	201212	PNG and FSV	ABC	Australian Foreign Minister on first PNG visit	National level story on PNG violence against women as a major problem	
7 20121203_DAILY TELEGRAPH_DAILY TELEGRAPH_FSPVNG	2012	201212	PNG and FSV	DAILY TELEGRAPH	Carr lands in PNG for 4-day visit	National level story on PNG violence against women as a major problem	
8 20130121_AFR_STEPHEN HOWES_GBPVNG	2013	201301	PNG and GBV	AUS FINANCIAL REVIEW	Development a challenging road for PNG	National level story on PNG violence against women as a major problem	
9 20130207_AAP_EOIN BLACKWELL_GBPVNG	2013	201302	PNG and GBV	AUS ASSOCIATED PRESS	PNG woman burned alive for being 'witch'	National level story on PNG violence against women as a major problem	
10 20130208_AUS ASSOCIATED PRESS_EOIN BLACKWELL_PNGVAW	2013	201302	PNG and VAW	AUS ASSOCIATED PRESS	Suspect flees in sorcery murder	National level story on PNG violence against women as a major problem	
11 20130208_THE AUSTRALIAN_THE AUSTRALIAN_GBPVNG	2013	201302	PNG and GBV	AUSTRALIAN	Witch' burned alive in PNG	National level story on PNG violence against women as a major problem	
12 20130306_ABC_ABC_PNGVAW	2013	201303	PNG and VAW	ABC	Russian photographer documents PNG abuse	National level story on PNG violence against women as a major problem	
13 20130402_AAP_EOIN BLACKWELL_FSPVNG	2013	201304	PNG and FSV	AUS ASSOCIATED PRESS	PNG gov't backs domestic violence law	National level story on PNG violence against women as a major problem	
14 20130421_DAILY TELEGRAPH_UNSURE AAP_PNGVAW	2013	201304	PNG and VAW	DAILY TELEGRAPH	US academic gang-raped in PNG	National level story on PNG violence against women as a major problem	
15 20130422_ABC_LIAM FOX_PNGVAW	2013	201304	PNG and VAW	ABC	Australian governor-general visits PNG	National level story on PNG violence against women as a major problem	
16 20130423_AUS ASSOCIATED PRESS_EOIN BLACKWELL_PNGVAW	2013	201304	PNG and VAW	AUS ASSOCIATED PRESS	GG Bryce pays tribute to diggers in PNG	National level story on PNG violence against women as a major problem	
17 20130501_AUSTRALIAN ASSOCIATED PRESS_AAP_MASRAPE	2013	201305	Manus and rape	AUS ASSOCIATED PRESS	Highlights of the AAP National Wire	National level story on PNG violence against women as a major problem	
18 20130509_THE AUSTRALIAN_JENNY HAYWARD-JONES_PNGVAW	2013	201305	PNG and rape	AUSTRALIAN	Gillard has chance to champion rights of women in PNG	National level story on PNG violence against women as a major problem	
19 20130510_ABC_LIAMFOX	2013	201305	MAS AND VIOLENCE/BASHED	ABC	PNG PM calls for easier Australian visa access	National level story on PNG violence against women as a major problem	
20 20130511_AUSTRALIAN_AUSTRALIAN	2013	201305	MAS AND VIOLENCE/BASHED	AUSTRALIAN	The PM in Port Moresby	National level story on PNG violence against women as a major problem	
21 20130514_ABC_ABC_GBPVNG	2013	201305	PNG and GBV	ABC	National mourning for PNG victims of violence	National level story on PNG violence against women as a major problem	
22 20130515_ABC_ABC_GBPVNG	2013	201305	PNG and GBV	ABC	Thousands attend anti-violence protest in PNG	National level story on PNG violence against women as a major problem	
23 20130515_THE AUSTRALIAN_AAP_PNGVAW	2013	201305	PNG and VAW	AUSTRALIAN	PNG says sorry for violence against women	National level story on PNG violence against women as a major problem	
24 20130525_THE AUSTRALIAN_ROWAN CALLICK_MASRAPE	2013	201305	Manus and rape	AUSTRALIAN	Manus 'Alcatraz' part of PNG crime assault	General story on local issues Manus RPC, Manus women not explicitly mentioned	
25 20130528_THE AUSTRALIAN_AAP_PNGVAW	2013	201305	PNG and VAW	AUSTRALIAN	PNG parliament passes use of death penalty	National level story on PNG violence against women as a major problem	
26 20130529_ABC_LIAM FOX_MASRAPE	2013	201305	Manus and rape	ABC	Rights group condemns PNG death penalty as 'barbaric'	National level story on PNG violence against women as a major problem	
27 20130531_ABC_ABC_PNGVAW	2013	201305	PNG and VAW	ABC	Rights group petitions to stop PNG death penalty plans	National level story on PNG violence against women as a major problem	
28 20130607_ABC_ABC_GBPVNG	2013	201306	PNG and GBV	ABC	PNG, Malaysian countries 'failing' to protect women from sorcery-related violence: UN	National level story on PNG violence against women as a major problem	
29 20130720_THE DAILY TELEGRAPH_GEMMA JONES_MASVAW	2013	201307	Manus and rape	DAILY TELEGRAPH	DOING IT TOUGH PM plan to send refugees to PNG will cost billions	VAW/GBV is high in PNG, implying that it is not safe for asylum seekers	
30 20130721_SYDNEY MORNING HERALD_NATALIE OBRIEN_MASRAPE	2013	201307	Manus and rape	SYDNEY MORNING HERALD	Violence, disease risk for asylum seekers	VAW/GBV is high in PNG, implying that it is not safe for asylum seekers	
31 20130722_ABC_ABC_MASRAPE	2013	201307	Manus and rape	ABC	Asylum seekers to receive hostile reception in PNG: local governor	VAW/GBV is high in PNG, implying that it is not safe for asylum seekers	
32 20130722_AGE_MARIAOSULLIVAN	2013	201307	MAS AND VIOLENCE/BASHED	THE AGE	The PNG solution: as harsh as it is unprecedented	VAW/GBV is high in PNG, implying that it is not safe for asylum seekers	
33 20130722_SYDNEY MORNING HERALD_DANIEL HURST DAN HARRISON_MASRAPE	2013	201307	Manus and rape	SYDNEY MORNING HERALD	It's crunch time for Rudd	VAW/GBV is high in PNG, implying that it is not safe for asylum seekers	
34 20130722_THE DAILY TELEGRAPH_PETER MICHAEL_MASRAPE	2013	201307	Manus and rape	DAILY TELEGRAPH	Real loser's of Rudd's refugee plan - PNG ASYLUM CRISIS	VAW/GBV is high in PNG, implying that it is not safe for asylum seekers	
35 20130723_ABC_ABC_MASRAPE	2013	201307	Manus and rape	ABC	Whistleblower claims asylum seekers in Manus Island centre have been raped and abused with full knowledge of staff	Allegations incidents/threats of sexual assault/rape against asylum seekers in RPC	
36 20130723_ABC_TOM IGGULDEN_MASRAPE	2013	201307	Manus and rape	ABC	PNG solution produces jump in polls	Allegations incidents/threats of sexual assault/rape against asylum seekers in RPC	
37 20130723_SBS_SBS_SBS	2013	201307	Manus and sexual assault	SBS	Manus whistleblower	Allegations incidents/threats of sexual assault/rape against asylum seekers in RPC	
38 20130723_THE AUSTRALIAN_JARED OWENS_FSPVNG	2013	201307	PNG and FSV	AUSTRALIAN	Scores flee here from rape, religious violence - PNG SOLUTION	VAW/GBV is high in PNG, implying that it is not safe for asylum seekers	
39 20130724_ABC_ABC_MASRAPE	2013	201307	Manus and rape	ABC	Former detention centre nurse 'not surprised' by rape claims	Allegations incidents/threats of sexual assault/rape against asylum seekers in RPC	
40 20130724_ABC_LEIGH SALES_MASRAPE	2013	201307	Manus and rape	ABC	Former asylum advisor 'horrified' at detention centre	Allegations incidents/threats of sexual assault/rape against asylum seekers in RPC	
41 20130724_ABC_TOM IGGULDEN_MASRAPE	2013	201307	Manus and rape	ABC	PNG Prime Minister accuses Abbott of misrepresenting him	Allegations incidents/threats of sexual assault/rape against asylum seekers in RPC	
42 20130724_SBS_SBS_SBS	2013	201307	Manus and sexual assault	SBS	Asylum seekers flown off Manus Island	Allegations incidents/threats of sexual assault/rape against asylum seekers in RPC	
43 20130724_SYDNEY MORNING HERALD_ABDUL KARIM HEKMAT_PNGVAW	2013	201307	PNG and VAW	SYDNEY MORNING HERALD	Four reasons that Rudd's cruel PNG policy violates the rights of refugees	VAW/GBV is high in PNG, implying that it is not safe for asylum seekers	
44 20130724b_SBS_SBS_SBS	2013	201307	Manus and rape	SBS	Burke to visit Manus after rape, abuse allegations	Allegations incidents/threats of sexual assault/rape against asylum seekers in RPC	
45 20130724c_SBS_SBS_SBS	2013	201307	Manus and rape	SBS	Manus management 'needs improvement': PNG	Allegations incidents/threats of sexual assault/rape against asylum seekers in RPC	
46 20130725_ABC_TOM IGGULDEN_MASRAPE	2013	201307	Manus and rape	ABC	Abbott to call in the big brass	Allegations incidents/threats of sexual assault/rape against asylum seekers in RPC	
47 20130725_AFR_JOHN KERIN AND PHILLIP COOREY_MASRAPE	2013	201307	Manus and rape	AUS FINANCIAL REVIEW	Abbott draws PNG fire on boat deal	Allegations incidents/threats of sexual assault/rape against asylum seekers in RPC	
48 20130725_SYDNEY MORNING HERALD_BIANCA HALL MICHAEL GORDON_MASRAPE	2013	201307	Manus and rape	SYDNEY MORNING HERALD	Rudd plan in letters as camps labelled 'gulags'	Allegations incidents/threats of sexual assault/rape against asylum seekers in RPC	
49 20130725_SYDNEY MORNING HERALD_DAVID WROE_MASRAPE	2013	201307	Manus and rape	SYDNEY MORNING HERALD	Rape and torture inquiries put in jeopardy by island transfers	Allegations incidents/threats of sexual assault/rape against asylum seekers in RPC	
50 20130725_THE AGE_AGE_MASRAPE	2013	201307	Manus and rape	THE AGE	A matter that should weigh on our conscience	Allegations incidents/threats of sexual assault/rape against asylum seekers in RPC	
51 20130725_THE AGE_DAVID WROE_MASRAPE	2013	201307	Manus and rape	THE AGE	Manus probe hindered by mainland transfers	Allegations incidents/threats of sexual assault/rape against asylum seekers in RPC	
52 20130726_ABC_STEVE CANNANE_MASRAPE	2013	201307	Manus and rape	ABC	Immigration Department alerted to Manus Island rape claims months ago, say refugee advocates	Allegations incidents/threats of sexual assault/rape against asylum seekers in RPC	
53 20130726_SYDNEY MORNING HERALD_RORY CALLINAN MICHAEL GORDON	2013	201307	MAS AND VIOLENCE/BASHED	SYDNEY MORNING HERALD	Guard reveals more rapes of Manus Island detainees	Allegations incidents/threats of sexual assault/rape against asylum seekers in RPC	
54 20130727_ABC_ABC_MASGBV	2013	201307	Manus and GBV	ABC	Government confident Manus Island detention centre will meet demand	VAW/GBV is high in PNG, implying that it is not safe for asylum seekers	
55 20130727_AFR_GEOFF WINESTOCK	2013	201307	MAS AND VIOLENCE/BASHED	AUS FINANCIAL REVIEW	PNG through different eyes	VAW/GBV is high in PNG, implying that it is not safe for asylum seekers	
56 20130727_SBS_SBS_SBS	2013	201307	Manus and rape	SBS	Minister Burke vows to act on abuse claims at Manus	Allegations incidents/threats of sexual assault/rape against asylum seekers in RPC	
57 20130727_SYDNEY MORNING HERALD_RORY CALLINAN DEBORAH SNOW_MASRAPE	2013	201307	Manus and rape	SYDNEY MORNING HERALD	Their island home: refugees may not find safe haven on Manus	Allegations incidents/threats of sexual assault/rape against asylum seekers in RPC	
58 20130730_ABC_Emma Alberici_MASRAPE	2013	201307	Manus and rape	ABC	Stop being cruel to get votes	VAW/GBV is high in PNG, implying that it is not safe for asylum seekers	
59 20130730_THE AGE_RORY CALLINAN MASLOOOWOM	2013	201307	Manus and local women	THE AGE	Divisions flare on island over detention centre	General story on local issues Manus RPC, Manus women not explicitly mentioned	
60 20130801_ABC_TONY JONES_MASRAPE	2013	201308	Manus and rape	ABC	Labor party angry about ICAC findings	Allegations incidents/threats of sexual assault/rape against asylum seekers in RPC	
61 20130813_ABC_ABC_PNGVAW	2013	201308	PNG and VAW	ABC	New report reveals severe gender violence in PNG	National level story on PNG violence against women as a major problem	
62 20130910_THE GUARDIAN_KATE HODAL_PNGVAW	2013	201309	PNG and VAW	GUARDIAN	Nearly quarter of men in Asia-Pacific 'rapists': Survey shows extent of sexual violence in region; 70% of men report facing	National level story on PNG violence against women as a major problem	

List of media articles							
YearMonthDate_Media outlet_Author_Abbreviated search term	Year	YearMonth	Search term used	Media outlet	Headline of story	General frame/type of story on either the Manus RPC and/or PNG GBV coverage based on Australian media articles	
63 20130911_ABC_KAREN PERCY_PNGVAW	2013	201309	PNG and VAW	ABC	One in four men admit to rape	National level story on PNG violence against women as a major problem	
64 20131120_ABC_ABC_MASLOCWOM	2013	201311	Manus and local women	ABC	Manus Island detention centre security firm G4S to investigate claims drunk staff harassing local women	Alleged sexual assault/rape/harassment of Manus woman/girl by RPC staff	
65 20131121_SYDNEY MORNING HERALD_SAYEED A. SHAH_FSPVNG	2013	201311	PNG and FSV	SYDNEY MORNING HERALD	Family violence epidemic needs a unified response	National level story on PNG violence against women as a major problem	
66 20131125_ABC_ABC_FSPVNG	2013	201311	PNG and FSV	ABC	White Ribbon Day highlights violence against women	National level story on PNG violence against women as a major problem	
67 20131224_AAP_EOINBLACKWELL	2013	201312	MAS AND VIOLENCE/BASHED	AUS ASSOCIATED PRESS	PNG set to boom in 2014	National level story on PNG violence against women as a major problem	
68 20140122_ABC_JEMIMA GARRETT_MASRAPE	2014	201401	Manus and rape	ABC	PNG police brutality under the spotlight in annual Human Rights Watch report	National level story on PNG violence against women as a major problem	
69 20140124_THE AGE_SOPHIE RIGNEY_MASRAPE	2014	201401	Manus and rape	THE AGE	Asylum-seeker policy could amount to crime	Allegations incidents/threats of sexual assault/rape against asylum seekers in RPC	
70 20140206_ABC_LIAM FOX_FSPVNG	2014	201402	PNG and FSV	ABC	Shocking violence statistics force PNG response	National level story on PNG violence against women as a major problem	
71 20140206_AUS ASSOCIATED PRESS_AAP_GBPVNG	2014	201402	PNG and GBV	AUS ASSOCIATED PRESS	Funding to Support Families Experiencing Domestic Violence in PNG	National level story on PNG violence against women as a major problem	
72 20140218_ABC_JANE NORMAN_MASRAPE	2014	201402	Manus and rape	ABC	Government facing calls to shut down Manus Island detention centre	Allegations incidents/threats of sexual assault/rape against asylum seekers in RPC	
73 20140221_SYDNEY MORNING HERALD_RORY CALLINAN_SARAH WHYTE_MASLOCWOM	2014	201402	Manus and local women	SYDNEY MORNING HERALD	Security firm guarding Manus body	Relationships, local women and asylum seekers or refugees	
74 20140221_THE AUSTRALIAN_ROWAN CALLICK_PAUL TOOHEY_MASRAPE	2014	201402	Manus and rape	AUSTRALIAN	PMs hold line as Manus blame row flares	Alleged sexual assault/rape/harassment of Manus woman/girl by RPC staff	
75 20140221B_SYDNEY MORNING HERALD_RORY CALLINAN_SARAH WHYTE_MASLOCWOM	2014	201402	Manus and local women	SYDNEY MORNING HERALD	Suspects in death of man keep watch over his body	Relationships, local women and asylum seekers or refugees	
76 20140222_SYDNEY MORNING HERALD_MICHAEL GORDON_SARAH WHYTE_MASLOCWOM	2014	201402	Manus and local women	SYDNEY MORNING HERALD	NO RETREAT	Relationships, local women and asylum seekers or refugees	
77 20140224_SYDNEY MORNING HERALD_DAVID WROE_RORY CALLINAN_MASRAPE	2014	201402	Manus and rape	SYDNEY MORNING HERALD	Tension at centre brewing for weeks, says Manus MP	Alleged sexual assault/rape/harassment of Manus woman/girl by asylum seeker or refugee	
78 20140224_THE AGE_DAVID WROE_RORY CALLINAN_MASRAPE	2014	201402	Manus and rape	THE AGE	Island MP says unrest avoidable	Alleged sexual assault/rape/harassment of Manus woman/girl by asylum seeker or refugee	
79 20140227_THE AGE_AGE_MASRAPE	2014	201402	Manus and rape	THE AGE	DEATH IN DETENTION	VAW/GBV is high in PNG, implying that it is not safe for asylum seekers	
80 20140301_SYDNEY MORNING HERALD_SARAH WHYTE_MASRAPE	2014	201403	Manus and rape	SYDNEY MORNING HERALD	Chain of responsibility; PNG has key to asylum seekers' future	VAW/GBV is high in PNG, implying that it is not safe for asylum seekers	
81 20140330_SYDNEY MORNING HERALD_SARAH WHYTE_MASRAPE	2014	201403	Manus and rape	SYDNEY MORNING HERALD	Manus : Salvos 'simplistic'	Allegations incidents/threats of sexual assault/rape against asylum seekers in RPC	
82 20140506_SYDNEY MORNING HERALD_SARAH WHYTE_MICHAEL GORDON_MASRAPE	2014	201405	Manus and rape	SYDNEY MORNING HERALD	Former Manus workers report beatings, rapes	Allegations incidents/threats of sexual assault/rape against asylum seekers in RPC	
83 20140506_THE AGE_SARAH WHYTE MICHAEL GORDON_MASRAPE	2014	201405	Manus and rape	THE AGE	Former Manus worker tells of bashing and a 'rape dungeon'	Allegations incidents/threats of sexual assault/rape against asylum seekers in RPC	
84 20140613_SYDNEY MORNING HERALD_SARAH WHYTE_MASRAPE	2014	201406	Manus and rape	SYDNEY MORNING HERALD	Salvation Army helper tells inquiry of 'rape dungeon'	Allegations incidents/threats of sexual assault/rape against asylum seekers in RPC	
85 20140614_ABC_NAOMI WOODLEY_MASRAPE	2014	201406	Manus and rape	ABC	Manus Island inquiry: Staff, contractors lift lid on 'death trap' conditions inside immigration detention centre	Allegations incidents/threats of sexual assault/rape against asylum seekers in RPC	
86 20140614_THE AGE_SARAH WHYTE_MASRAPE	2014	201406	Manus and rape	THE AGE	Manus inquiry follows a Yes Minister script	Sexual harassment of RPC Australian female employees	
87 20140722_THE AGE_MICHAEL GORDON_MASRAPE	2014	201407	Manus and rape	THE AGE	Manus witnesses 'threatened'	Allegations incidents/threats of sexual assault/rape against asylum seekers in RPC	
88 20140830_THE AUSTRALIAN_ROWAN CALLICK_FSPVNG	2014	201408	PNG and FSV	AUSTRALIAN	Investors balk as crime runs rampant in PNG	National level story on PNG violence against women as a major problem	
89 20140904_SYDNEY MORNING HERALD_MICHAEL GORDON_MASRAPE	2014	201409	Manus and rape	SYDNEY MORNING HERALD	Secret isolation unit on Manus Island used to 'modify behaviour'	Allegations incidents/threats of sexual assault/rape against asylum seekers in RPC	
90 20140904_THE AGE_MICHAEL GORDON_MASRAPE	2014	201409	Manus and rape	THE AGE	Manus' grim, sad secrets	Allegations incidents/threats of sexual assault/rape against asylum seekers in RPC	
91 20141016_ABC_BRUCE HILL_GBPVNG	2014	201410	PNG and GBV	ABC	Papua New Guinea and Australian policewomen swap countries to learn about domestic violence prevention	National level story on PNG violence against women as a major problem	
92 20141103_ABC_MANDIE SAMI_MASRAPE	2014	201411	Manus and rape	ABC	Manus Island asylum seekers allegedly tortured, threatened with rape	Allegations incidents/threats of sexual assault/rape against asylum seekers in RPC	
93 20141211_ABC_ABC_GBPVNG	2014	201412	PNG and GBV	ABC	The AIDS problem in Papua New Guinea	National level story on PNG violence against women as a major problem	
94 20150115_ABC_LIAM COCHRANE_MASRAPE	2015	201501	Manus and rape	ABC	Federal Government confirms hunger strike, self-harm protests on Manus Island; sister fears for brother who	Allegations incidents/threats of sexual assault/rape against asylum seekers in RPC	
95 20150130_SBS_SBS_SBS	2015	201501	Manus and sexual assault	SBS	Australia's asylum seeker policies 'draconian': HRW	Allegations incidents/threats of sexual assault/rape against asylum seekers in RPC	
96 20150219_ABC_LIAM COCHRANE_GBPVNG	2015	201502	PNG and GBV	ABC	PNG struggles with domestic violence	National level story on PNG violence against women as a major problem	
97 20150225_ABC_LIAM COCHRANE_PNGVAW	2015	201502	PNG and VAW	ABC	PNG tops porn searches on Google, experts divided over link between pornography and violence	National level story on PNG violence against women as a major problem	
98 20150409_THE AGE_AGE_MASRAPE	2015	201504	Manus and rape	THE AGE	A full inquiry is needed into detention regime	Allegations incidents/threats of sexual assault/rape against asylum seekers in RPC	
99 20150727_ABC_LIAM COCHRANE_MASRAPE	2015	201507	Manus and rape	ABC	Australian Manus Island guards found naked with local woman sent home before drug investigation, PNG police say	Alleged sexual assault/rape/harassment of Manus woman/girl by RPC staff	
100 20150727_SBS_SBS_SBS	2015	201507	Manus and rape	SBS	PNG police investigate alleged Manus rape by expats	Alleged sexual assault/rape/harassment of Manus woman/girl by RPC staff	
101 20150728_SBS_SBS_SBS	2015	201507	Manus and rape	SBS	PNG MP withdraws Manus rape claim	Alleged sexual assault/rape/harassment of Manus woman/girl by RPC staff	
102 20150729_ABC_LIAM COCHRANE_MASRAPE	2015	201507	Manus and rape	ABC	Manus detention centre managers threatened with arrest unless they return rape suspects	Alleged sexual assault/rape/harassment of Manus woman/girl by RPC staff	
103 20150729_ABC_LIAM COCHRANE_WESLEY MANUAI_MASRAPE	2015	201507	Manus and rape	ABC	PNG police confirm Manus Island attempted rape allegations, demand return of accused Australians	Alleged sexual assault/rape/harassment of Manus woman/girl by RPC staff	
104 20150730_ABC_LIAM COCHRANE_MASRAPE	2015	201507	Manus and rape	ABC	Rape investigation deadline passes as tensions rise on Manus Island	Alleged sexual assault/rape/harassment of Manus woman/girl by RPC staff	
105 20150730_SBS_SBS_SBS	2015	201507	Manus and rape	SBS	Government denies Manus rape 'cover-up'	Alleged sexual assault/rape/harassment of Manus woman/girl by RPC staff	
106 20150730_THE GUARDIAN_CALLA WAHLQUIST_MASRAPE	2015	201507	Manus and rape	GUARDIAN	PNG police hold off on threat to storm Manus Island detention centre	Alleged sexual assault/rape/harassment of Manus woman/girl by RPC staff	
107 20150731_ABC_ASHLEY HALL_MASRAPE	2015	201507	Manus and rape	ABC	PNG ban on foreign advisors could have 'major impact' on aid delivery	Alleged sexual assault/rape/harassment of Manus woman/girl by RPC staff	
108 20150731_AUSTRALIAN ASSOCIATED PRESS_AAP_MASRAPE	2015	201507	Manus and rape	AUS ASSOCIATED PRESS	Highlights of the AAP National Wire	Alleged sexual assault/rape/harassment of Manus woman/girl by RPC staff	
109 20150731_THE AGE_NICOLE HASHAM_MASRAPE	2015	201507	Manus and rape	THE AGE	Deadline passes on threat to arrest Manus managers	Alleged sexual assault/rape/harassment of Manus woman/girl by RPC staff	
110 20150805_ABC_LIAM COCHRANE_MASRAPE	2015	201508	Manus and rape	ABC	Detainee threatened with acid attack after refugee drug trade shut down on Manus Island	Alleged sexual assault/rape/harassment of Manus woman/girl by RPC staff	
111 20150805_SBS_SBS_SBS	2015	201508	Manus and sexual assault	SBS	PNG PM orders Manus staff drug crackdown	Alleged sexual assault/rape/harassment of Manus woman/girl by RPC staff	
112 20150807_ABC_LIAM COCHRANE_MASRAPE	2015	201508	Manus and rape	ABC	Australia considers five-year offshore immigration contracts amid sexual assault allegations and 'fight club' claims	Alleged sexual assault/rape/harassment of Manus woman/girl by RPC staff	
113 20150814_ABC_LIAM COCHRANE_MASRAPE	2015	201508	Manus and rape	ABC	Manus Island: Rejected asylum seekers told they will be deported; stateless face possible transfer to 'correctional custody in new prison'	General story on local issues Manus RPC, Manus women not explicitly mentioned	
114 20150814_THE GUARDIAN_RICHARD ACKLAND_MASRAPE	2015	201508	Manus and rape	GUARDIAN	Refugees forced to choose between PNG resettlement or 'custody in new prison'	General story on local issues Manus RPC, Manus women not explicitly mentioned	
115 20150827_THE GUARDIAN_BEN DOHERTY_MASRAPE	2015	201508	Manus and rape	GUARDIAN	Exclusive: woman allegedly raped in Manus detention centre accused: Transferred of cover-up	Alleged sexual assault/rape/harassment of Manus woman/girl by RPC staff	
116 20150902_SBS_SBS_SBS	2015	201509	Manus and rape	SBS	Expatriate Manus staff 'to return from Australia' over rape allegations	Alleged sexual assault/rape/harassment of Manus woman/girl by RPC staff	
117 20150903_SBS_SBS_SBS	2015	201509	Manus and rape	SBS	Australian, PNG police in talks on rape case	Alleged sexual assault/rape/harassment of Manus woman/girl by RPC staff	
118 20150906_AUS ASSOCIATED PRESS_LISA MARTIN_MASRAPE	2015	201509	Manus and rape	AUS ASSOCIATED PRESS	Climate change to dominate Pacific island talks	Alleged sexual assault/rape/harassment of Manus woman/girl by RPC staff	
119 20150907_THE GUARDIAN_BEN DOHERTY AND AGENCIES_MASRAPE	2015	201509	Manus and rape	GUARDIAN	Victim's family says it was told guards accused of rape will be returned to Manus	Alleged sexual assault/rape/harassment of Manus woman/girl by RPC staff	
120 20150909_ABC_LIAM COCHRANE_MASRAPE	2015	201509	Manus and rape	ABC	Papua New Guinea PM Peter O'Neill to ask Tony Abbott to return guards accused of Manus Island rape	Alleged sexual assault/rape/harassment of Manus woman/girl by RPC staff	
121 20150909_AUSTRALIAN ASSOCIATED PRESS_AAP_MASRAPE	2015	201509	Manus and rape	AUS ASSOCIATED PRESS	PNG to seek return of Manus guards	Alleged sexual assault/rape/harassment of Manus woman/girl by RPC staff	
122 20150909_AUSTRALIAN ASSOCIATED PRESS_AAP_MASRAPE (2)	2015	201509	Manus and rape	AUS ASSOCIATED PRESS	Highlights of the AAP National Wire	Alleged sexual assault/rape/harassment of Manus woman/girl by RPC staff	
123 20150909_THE AUSTRALIAN_AUSTOL_MASRAPE	2015	201509	Manus and rape	AUSTRALIAN	Ex- Manus guards face extradition	Alleged sexual assault/rape/harassment of Manus woman/girl by RPC staff	
124 20150910_AUSTRALIAN ASSOCIATED PRESS_LISA MARTIN_MASRAPE	2015	201509	Manus and rape	AUS ASSOCIATED PRESS	Crime is crime: PM on Manus rape case	Alleged sexual assault/rape/harassment of Manus woman/girl by RPC staff	

List of media articles								
Year	Month	Date	Media outlet	Search term used	Year	Month	Headline of story	General frame/type of story on either the Manus RPC and/or PNG GBV coverage based on Australian media articles
125	2015	09	AUS ASSOCIATED PRESS	Manus and rape	2015	09	Highlights of the AAP National Wire	Alleged sexual assault/rape/harassment of Manus woman/girl by RPC staff
126	2015	09	THE AUSTRALIAN	Manus and rape	2015	09	Australia will cooperate with PNG over Manus guards accused of rape, says Tony Abbott	Alleged sexual assault/rape/harassment of Manus woman/girl by RPC staff
127	2015	09	AUS ASSOCIATED PRESS	Manus and rape	2015	09	PM's climate clash with Pacific leaders	Alleged sexual assault/rape/harassment of Manus woman/girl by RPC staff
128	2015	09	AUSTRALIAN	PNG and VAW	2015	09	Embedding AFP 'will help make PNG safer for business'	National level story on PNG violence against women as a major problem
129	2015	09	ABC	PNG and FSV	2015	09	Papua New Guinea's 40th Anniversary of Independence	National level story on PNG violence against women as a major problem
130	2015	09	ABC	Manus and rape	2015	09	Timeline of key events: Papua New Guinea's road to independence	National level story on PNG violence against women as a major problem
131	2015	09	AUS ASSOCIATED PRESS	Manus and rape	2015	09	PNG death penalty for rape talk 'too soon'	Alleged sexual assault/rape/harassment of Manus woman/girl by RPC staff
132	2015	09	SYDNEY MORNING HERALD	Manus and rape	2015	09	Investor campaign has Transfield edgy	Allegations incidents/threats of sexual assault/rape against asylum seekers in RPC
133	2015	09	THE AGE	Manus and rape	2015	09	Activist brings refugee abuse into boardrooms	Allegations incidents/threats of sexual assault/rape against asylum seekers in RPC
134	2015	09	ABC	Manus and rape	2015	09	Transfield Services: Refugee advocates urge investors to divest shares in company operating Nauru, Manus Island	Allegations incidents/threats of sexual assault/rape against asylum seekers in RPC
135	2015	09	SBS	Manus and rape	2015	09	PNG police want expats back over Manus murder trial	Alleged sexual assault/rape/harassment of Manus woman/girl by RPC staff
136	2015	09	SYDNEY MORNING HERALD	Manus and rape	2015	09	Asylum seeker changes will be 'considered', says PM	Allegations incidents/threats of sexual assault/rape against asylum seekers in RPC
137	2015	09	THE AGE	Manus and local women	2015	09	Despair reigns over forgotten people	Relationships, local women and asylum seekers or refugees
138	2015	09	GUARDIAN	PNG and FSV	2015	09	Papua New Guinea helpline flourishes as country deals with endemic violence	National level story on PNG violence against women as a major problem
139	2015	09	THE AGE	Manus and rape	2015	09	Walk in these people's shoes, Mr Turnbull	General story on local issues Manus RPC, Manus women not explicitly mentioned
140	2015	09	ABC	PNG and FSV	2015	09	Almost half the callers to Papua New Guinea's new domestic violence hotline men, operators say	National level story on PNG violence against women as a major problem
141	2015	10	ABC	Manus and local women	2015	10	Resettlement delay putting Manus Island asylum seekers at risk, causing social problems, officials say	Relationships, local women and asylum seekers or refugees
142	2015	10	ABC	Manus and rape	2015	10	Rosie Batty among 1,200 people to call on Malcolm Turnbull to shut down offshore detention centres	Allegations incidents/threats of sexual assault/rape against asylum seekers in RPC
143	2015	10	THE AGE	Manus and VAW	2015	10	Batty says shut 'dangerous' island detention centres	Allegations incidents/threats of sexual assault/rape against asylum seekers in RPC
144	2015	10	AUS FINANCIAL REVIEW	Manus and rape	2015	10	STANDING FIRM	General Auspol story about offshore detention centre abuses plus other
145	2015	10	ABC	Manus and rape	2015	10	The company that runs offshore detention centres has been the target of a sustained campaign aimed at	Allegations incidents/threats of sexual assault/rape against asylum seekers in RPC
146	2015	10	SBS	Manus and local women	2015	10	Alcohol, sex fuel Manus tensions over refugee processing	Relationships, local women and asylum seekers or refugees
147	2015	10	ABC	Manus and rape	2015	10	Raza Barati murder: Australia has questions to answer over failure to protect witness, UN official says	Allegations incidents/threats of sexual assault/rape against asylum seekers in RPC
148	2015	10	THE AGE	Manus and rape	2015	10	PNG to shift Manus Island detainees	VAW/GBV is high in PNG, implying that it is not safe for asylum seekers
149	2015	11	GUARDIAN	PNG and GBV	2015	11	Papua New Guinea urged to fund domestic and sexual violence services	National level story on PNG violence against women as a major problem
150	2015	11	ABC	PNG and VAW	2015	11	New report finds PNG authorities failing to respond to high rates of domestic violence	National level story on PNG violence against women as a major problem
151	2015	11	AUSTRALIAN	PNG and FSV	2015	11	PNG is failing to confront scourge of domestic violence	National level story on PNG violence against women as a major problem
152	2015	11	ABC	Manus and rape	2015	11	Turnbull Government accused of ignoring PNG human rights abuses to preserve Manus Island detention centre deal	General Auspol story about offshore detention centre abuses plus other
153	2016	02	SYDNEY MORNING HERALD	Manus and rape	2016	02	Bipartisan cruelty blasted by High Court	General Auspol story about offshore detention centre abuses plus other
154	2016	02	GUARDIAN	PNG and GBV	2016	02	Market day in Papua New Guinea brings steady flow of harassment for women	National level story on PNG violence against women as a major problem
155	2016	03	ABC	PNG and FSV	2016	03	PNG domestic violence victims lacking safe houses, legal protection, Medecins Sans Frontieres says	National level story on PNG violence against women as a major problem
156	2016	03	ABC	PNG and FSV	2016	03	MSF warns women and children are not being protected from family and sexual violence in PNG	National level story on PNG violence against women as a major problem
157	2016	03	GUARDIAN	PNG and GBV	2016	03	Women seek islands of refuge in Papua New Guinea's sea of violence	National level story on PNG violence against women as a major problem
158	2016	03	GUARDIAN	PNG and GBV	2016	03	Papua New Guinea risking lives with inaction on sexual violence, says MSF	National level story on PNG violence against women as a major problem
159	2016	03	THE AGE	PNG and FSV	2016	03	Where violence is a fact of life for many women	National level story on PNG violence against women as a major problem
160	2016	03	AUS ASSOCIATED PRESS	PNG and FSV	2016	03	PNG takes Australia to task on trade	National level story on PNG violence against women as a major problem
161	2016	03	THE AGE	Manus and FSV	2016	03	Australia must help protect women in PNG	National level story on PNG violence against women as a major problem
162	2016	03	GUARDIAN	PNG and FSV	2016	03	Peter O'Neill 'surprised to hear' PNG child welfare law remains unenforced	National level story on PNG violence against women as a major problem
163	2016	03	MAS AND VIOLENCE/BASHED	Manus and rape	2016	03	Domestic cruelty: the violent scourge of Papua New Guinea	National level story on PNG violence against women as a major problem
164	2016	04	ABC	Manus and rape	2016	04	PNG Supreme Court finds the detention of asylum seekers on Manus Island is illegal	Alleged sexual assault/rape/harassment of Manus woman/girl by RPC staff
165	2016	04	SYDNEY MORNING HERALD	Manus and rape	2016	04	The only option for the men on Manus is to return to Australia	Allegations incidents/threats of sexual assault/rape against asylum seekers in RPC
166	2016	05	GUARDIAN	Manus and GBV	2016	05	Papua New Guinea tells UN it accepts court decision on Manus Island illegally	Allegations incidents/threats of sexual assault/rape against asylum seekers in RPC
167	2016	05	ABC	Manus and local women	2016	05	Manus Island: Asylum seekers and refugees no longer in detention, PNG authorities say	Alleged sexual assault/rape/harassment of Manus woman/girl by asylum seeker or refugee
168	2016	05	GUARDIAN	Manus and rape	2016	05	Papua New Guinea lacks resources to resettle all Manus Island refugees, warns PM	Alleged sexual assault/rape/harassment of Manus woman/girl by RPC staff
169	2016	05	GUARDIAN	Manus and VAW	2016	05	Papua New Guinea 'must tell UN its plan' for closing Manus detention centre	Manus RPC and PNG GBV mentioned but no link to local gendered impacts on Manus women or community
170	2016	05	ABC	PNG and GBV	2016	05	Programs making a difference to PNG's high rates of family violence	National level story on PNG violence against women as a major problem
171	2016	06	ABC	Manus and rape	2016	06	Manus Island rape claims: Censored report shows Immigration Department 'hiding something', MP says	Alleged sexual assault/rape/harassment of Manus woman/girl by RPC staff
172	2016	06	ABC	Manus and rape	2016	06	Interview: Ron Knight, MP for Manus Island	Alleged sexual assault/rape/harassment of Manus woman/girl by RPC staff
173	2016	06	ABC	Manus and rape	2016	06	What the Department of Immigration wouldn't tell us about the alleged rape case involving a female d	Alleged sexual assault/rape/harassment of Manus woman/girl by RPC staff
174	2016	06	GUARDIAN	Manus and rape	2016	06	In PNG and Nauru, Australia's immigration policy comes at the expense of democracy	General Auspol story about offshore detention centre abuses plus other
175	2016	07	ABC	Manus and sexual assault	2016	07	Wilson Security paid guard to keep quiet about alleged sexual assault on Manus Island	Alleged sexual assault/rape/harassment of Manus woman/girl by RPC staff
176	2016	08	AUS ASSOCIATED PRESS	Manus and rape	2016	08	History of Manus Island detention centre	Allegations incidents/threats of sexual assault/rape against asylum seekers in RPC
177	2016	09	ABC	PNG and FSV	2016	09	PNG domestic violence helpline reports surprising client base	National level story on PNG violence against women as a major problem
178	2016	09	ABC	PNG and FSV	2016	09	Papua New Guinea children suffer abuse and violence at alarming rates, report finds	National level story on PNG violence against women as a major problem
179	2016	11	GUARDIAN	Manus and sexual assault	2016	11	Offshore detention: Australia's immigration history a 'human rights catastrophe'	General Auspol story about offshore detention centre abuses plus other
180	2016	12	SYDNEY MORNING HERALD	PNG and VAW	2016	12	Shaken, inspired by close encounters	National level story on PNG violence against women as a major problem
181	2016	12	GUARDIAN	Manus and sexual assault	2016	12	Eaten Fish: Iranian asylum seeker and cartoonist's refugee claim rejected	Allegations incidents/threats of sexual assault/rape against asylum seekers in RPC
182	2017	01	ABC	MAS AND VIOLENCE/BASHED	2017	01	Fears of more violence on Manus Island	Relationships, local women and asylum seekers or refugees
183	2017	01	THE AGE	MAS AND VIOLENCE/BASHED	2017	01	Manus our dirty secret	Relationships, local women and asylum seekers or refugees
184	2017	01	GUARDIAN	MAS AND VIOLENCE/BASHED	2017	01	Human Rights Watch report card gives Australia a fail for offshore detention	VAW/GBV is high in PNG, implying that it is not safe for asylum seekers
185	2017	01	GUARDIAN	MAS AND VIOLENCE/BASHED	2017	01	Human Rights Watch says Papua New Guinea has failed to protect women and children	National level story on PNG violence against women as a major problem
186	2017	01	AUS ASSOCIATED PRESS	Manus and VAW	2017	01	PNG blasted for police brutality	Manus RPC and PNG GBV mentioned but no link to local gendered impacts on Manus women or community

List of media articles							
Year	YearMonthDate_Media outlet_Author_Abbreviated search term	Year	YearMonth	Search term used	Media outlet	Headline of media article	General frame/type of story on either the Manus RPC and/or PNG GBV coverage based on Australian media articles
187	20170120_ABC_BRUCE HILL_FSPVNG	2017	201701	PNG and FSV	ABC	Domestic violence bush knife attack inspires Papua New Guinean man to tackle the 'pandemic' issue	National level story on PNG violence against women as a major problem
188	20170123_ABC_ERIC TLOZEK_MASRAPE	2017	201701	Manus and rape	ABC	Manus Island asylum seeker charged with raping local woman	Alleged sexual assault/rape/harassment of Manus woman/girl by asylum seeker or refugee
189	20170125_SYDNEY MORNING HERALD_MICHAEL KOZIQIOL_MASRAPE	2017	201701	Manus and rape	SYDNEY MORNING HERALD	Manus asylum seeker charged with rape	Alleged sexual assault/rape/harassment of Manus woman/girl by asylum seeker or refugee
190	20170125_THE AGE_AGEE_MASRAPE	2017	201701	Manus and rape	THE AGE	Manus detainee's rape charge	Alleged sexual assault/rape/harassment of Manus woman/girl by asylum seeker or refugee
191	20170131_AAP_LISA MARTIN_FSPVNG	2017	201701	PNG and FSV	AUS ASSOCIATED PRESS	Aust police help PNG plan for APEC 2018	National level story on PNG violence against women as a major problem
192	20170131_THE AUSTRALIAN_PHILLIP HUDSON_FSPVNG	2017	201701	PNG and FSV	AUSTRALIAN	AFP gets extra two years in PNG	National level story on PNG violence against women as a major problem
193	20170202_GUARDIAN CHRISTOPHER KNAUS_BEN DOHERTY_MASRAPE	2017	201702	Manus and rape	GUARDIAN	Q&A: what is the Australian refugee deal and why has it angered Trump?	General Auspol story about offshore detention centre abuses plus other
194	20170206_ABC_ERIC TLOZEK_MASRAPE	2017	201702	Manus and rape	ABC	Manus police want more officers on island as tension over refugee deal mounts	Alleged sexual assault/rape/harassment of Manus woman/girl by asylum seeker or refugee
195	20170307_GUARDIAN BEN DOHERTY_HELEN DAVIDSON_MASSEKASULT	2017	201703	Manus and sexual assault	GUARDIAN	Manus Island refugee arrested for alleged sexual assault of 10-year-old girl	Alleged sexual assault/rape/harassment of Manus woman/girl by asylum seeker or refugee
196	20170328_THE AUSTRALIAN PAUL FARRELL_MASSEKASULT	2017	201703	Manus and sexual assault	GUARDIAN	Immigration department suppressed detention contractor's name due to boycotts	Allegations incidents/threats of sexual assault/rape against asylum seekers in RPC
197	20170402_SYDNEY MORNING HERALD_MICHAEL KOZIQIOL_FSPVNG	2017	201704	PNG and FSV	SYDNEY MORNING HERALD	The conundrum of foreign aid	National level story on PNG violence against women as a major problem
198	20170405_GUARDIAN BEN DOHERTY_MASRAPE	2017	201704	Manus and rape	GUARDIAN	Amnesty warns any company taking over Manus and Nauru camps complicit in 'torture'	Allegations incidents/threats of sexual assault/rape against asylum seekers in RPC
199	20170417_THE AUSTRALIAN_RACHEL BAXENDALE_MASSEKASULT	2017	201704	Manus and sexual assault	AUSTRALIAN	Trespass 'sparked Manus melee'	Alleged sexual assault/rape/harassment of Manus woman/girl by asylum seeker or refugee
200	20170420_ABC_STEPHANIE ANDERSON_MASSEKASULT	2017	201704	Manus and sexual assault	ABC	Manus Island shooting may be related to alleged incident involving local boy	Alleged sexual assault/rape/harassment of Manus woman/girl by asylum seeker or refugee
201	20170420_AUS ASSOCIATED PRESS_DAN MCCULLOCH_MASSEKASULT	2017	201704	Manus and sexual assault	AUS ASSOCIATED PRESS	Dutton weighs in on Manus Island shooting	Alleged sexual assault/rape/harassment of Manus woman/girl by asylum seeker or refugee
202	20170420_GUARDIAN BEN DOHERTY_HELEN DAVIDSON_MASSEKASULT	2017	201704	Manus and sexual assault	GUARDIAN	Peter Dutton alleges Manus shooting rampage sparked after refugees seen with boy	Alleged sexual assault/rape/harassment of Manus woman/girl by asylum seeker or refugee
203	20170420_THE AUSTRALIAN_KYM SMITH_MASSEKASULT	2017	201704	Manus and sexual assault	AUSTRALIAN	Asylum-seekers 'led boy to camp'	Alleged sexual assault/rape/harassment of Manus woman/girl by asylum seeker or refugee
204	20170421_SBS_SBS_SBS	2017	201704	Manus and sexual assault	SBS	PK6 police dismisses Dutton's explanation of Manus Island unrest	Alleged sexual assault/rape/harassment of Manus woman/girl by asylum seeker or refugee
205	20170421_THE AGE_MICHAEL KOZIQIOL_MASSEKASULT	2017	201704	Manus and sexual assault	THE AGE	Manus gunfire 'sparked by fears over boy': Dutton	Alleged sexual assault/rape/harassment of Manus woman/girl by asylum seeker or refugee
206	20170421_THE AUSTRALIAN_RACHEL BAXENDALE_MASSEKASULT	2017	201704	Manus and sexual assault	AUSTRALIAN	Shots fired after boy, 5, 'led' to Manus centre	Alleged sexual assault/rape/harassment of Manus woman/girl by asylum seeker or refugee
207	20170421_GUARDIAN HELEN DAVIDSON_MASSEKASULT	2017	201704	Manus and sexual assault	GUARDIAN	PK6 police flatly reject Peter Dutton's account of Manus shooting	Alleged sexual assault/rape/harassment of Manus woman/girl by asylum seeker or refugee
208	20170422_SYDNEY MORNING HERALD_MICHAEL GORDON_MASSEKASULT	2017	201704	Manus and sexual assault	SYDNEY MORNING HERALD	Dutton innuendo weak on fact	Alleged sexual assault/rape/harassment of Manus woman/girl by asylum seeker or refugee
209	20170422_SYDNEY MORNING HERALD_MICHAEL KOZIQIOL_MASSEKASULT	2017	201704	Manus and sexual assault	SYDNEY MORNING HERALD	Officials reject Dutton version of violence at detention centre	Alleged sexual assault/rape/harassment of Manus woman/girl by asylum seeker or refugee
210	20170423_ABC_HENRY BELOT_MASSEKASULT	2017	201704	Manus and sexual assault	ABC	Peter Dutton defends comments over 'five-year-old' boy and Manus shooting incident	Alleged sexual assault/rape/harassment of Manus woman/girl by asylum seeker or refugee
211	20170423_AUS ASSOCIATED PRESS_AAP_MASSEKASULT	2017	201704	Manus and sexual assault	AUS ASSOCIATED PRESS	Dutton sticks to his story on Manus shots	Alleged sexual assault/rape/harassment of Manus woman/girl by asylum seeker or refugee
212	20170423_GUARDIAN KATHARINE MURPHY_MASSEKASULT	2017	201704	Manus and sexual assault	GUARDIAN	Labor demands Peter Dutton apologise for 'outrageous' comments on Manus violence	Alleged sexual assault/rape/harassment of Manus woman/girl by asylum seeker or refugee
213	20170423B_THE AUSTRALIAN KATHARINE MURPHY_MASSEKASULT	2017	201704	Manus and sexual assault	GUARDIAN	Peter Dutton sticks to account of Manus Island trouble despite fresh evidence	Alleged sexual assault/rape/harassment of Manus woman/girl by asylum seeker or refugee
214	20170424_THE AGE_ADAM GARRRELL_MASSEKASULT	2017	201704	Manus and sexual assault	THE AGE	Dutton rejects 'twit version' of Manus fracas	Alleged sexual assault/rape/harassment of Manus woman/girl by asylum seeker or refugee
215	20170424_GUARDIAN GARETH HUTCHENS_MASSEKASULT	2017	201704	Manus and sexual assault	GUARDIAN	Peter Dutton demands apology from media over Manus controversy	Alleged sexual assault/rape/harassment of Manus woman/girl by asylum seeker or refugee
216	20170425_ABC_ABC_MASSEKASULT	2017	201704	Manus and sexual assault	ABC	Peter Dutton wants apology from ABC over reporting of Manus detention shooting	Alleged sexual assault/rape/harassment of Manus woman/girl by asylum seeker or refugee
217	20170425_AUS ASSOCIATED PRESS_AAP_MASSEKASULT	2017	201704	Manus and sexual assault	AUS ASSOCIATED PRESS	Dutton wants apology for shooting reports	Alleged sexual assault/rape/harassment of Manus woman/girl by asylum seeker or refugee
218	20170425_SYDNEY MORNING HERALD_MICHAEL KOZIQIOL_MASSEKASULT	2017	201704	Manus and sexual assault	SYDNEY MORNING HERALD	Dutton contradicted for third time over Manus brawl details	Alleged sexual assault/rape/harassment of Manus woman/girl by asylum seeker or refugee
219	20170426_ABC_HENRY BELOT_STEPHEN DZIEDZIC_MASSEKASULT	2017	201704	Manus and sexual assault	ABC	Greens senator Nick McKim to investigate detention centre shooting during Manus Island visit	Alleged sexual assault/rape/harassment of Manus woman/girl by asylum seeker or refugee
220	20170427_AAP_LISA MARTIN_FSPVNG	2017	201704	PNG and FSV	AUS ASSOCIATED PRESS	Rose Eatty talks domestic violence in PNG	National level story on PNG violence against women as a major problem
221	20170427_GUARDIAN BEN DOHERTY_HELEN DAVIDSON_MASSEKASULT	2017	201704	Manus and sexual assault	GUARDIAN	Manus refugees who fed child lodge complaint about Dutton's 'false allegations'	Alleged sexual assault/rape/harassment of Manus woman/girl by asylum seeker or refugee
222	20170427_THE DAILY TELEGRAPH_ANDREW BOLT_MASSEKASULT	2017	201704	Manus and sexual assault	DAILY TELEGRAPH	Dutton on track with incident at Manus	Alleged sexual assault/rape/harassment of Manus woman/girl by asylum seeker or refugee
223	20170428_ABC_ERIC TLOZEK_MASSEKASULT	2017	201704	Manus and sexual assault	ABC	Manus Island detainee who brought young boy into detention centre says he only gave him food	Alleged sexual assault/rape/harassment of Manus woman/girl by asylum seeker or refugee
224	20170429_THE AGE_MICHAEL GORDON_MASSEKASULT	2017	201704	Manus and sexual assault	THE AGE	This kind of thing can trigger escalation. That's my fear	Alleged sexual assault/rape/harassment of Manus woman/girl by asylum seeker or refugee
225	20170517_GUARDIAN BEN DOHERTY_NICK EVERSHED_BEHRUOZ BOOCIHANI_MASFSV	2017	201705	Manus and sexual assault	GUARDIAN	Self-harm, suicide and assaults: brutality on Manus revealed	Multiple: Allegations of sexual assault by RPC staff on detainees/local women
226	20170516_ABC_DAVID LIPSON_MASSEKASULT	2017	201705	Manus and sexual assault	ABC	Manus Island: Leaked security report says M16, shotgun fired into detention centre	Alleged sexual assault/rape/harassment of Manus woman/girl by asylum seeker or refugee
227	20170522_ABC_LOUISE YAXLEY_MASSEKASULT	2017	201705	Manus and sexual assault	ABC	Manus Island: Nine people injured in shooting, Immigration Department says	Alleged sexual assault/rape/harassment of Manus woman/girl by asylum seeker or refugee
228	20170612_GUARDIAN BEN DOHERTY_MASRAPE	2017	201706	Manus and rape	GUARDIAN	UK official says Australia responsible for 'inhuman' treatment of asylum seekers	General Auspol story about offshore detention centre abuses plus other
229	20170614_GUARDIAN BEN DOHERTY_MASSEKASULT	2017	201706	Manus and sexual assault	GUARDIAN	Brutal truth of Australia's detention regime can't be written off. Not even for \$70m	Allegations incidents/threats of sexual assault/rape against asylum seekers in RPC
230	20170614b_THE AUSTRALIAN BEN DOHERTY_MASSEKASULT	2017	201706	Manus and sexual assault	GUARDIAN	Tony Abbott and Peter Dutton condemn payout to refugees detained on Manus Island	Allegations incidents/threats of sexual assault/rape against asylum seekers in RPC
231	20170712_THE AUSTRALIAN ROWAN CALLICK_GBPVNG	2017	201707	PNG and GBV	AUSTRALIAN	PK6'S DAYS OF INDECISION	National level story on PNG violence against women as a major problem
232	20170724_AUS ASSOCIATED PRESS_AAP_DROUE ADAMY_MASFSV	2017	201707	Manus and FSV	AUS ASSOCIATED PRESS	Aust agreed to settle some refugees: UNHCR	Allegations incidents/threats of sexual assault/rape against asylum seekers in RPC
233	20170724_THE AUSTRALIAN DARREN ENGLAND_MASFSV	2017	201707	Manus and FSV	AUSTRALIAN	Minister for Immigration and Border Protection, Peter Dutton speaks at a press conference in Brisbane.	Allegations incidents/threats of sexual assault/rape against asylum seekers in RPC
234	20170724_THE AUSTRALIAN BEN DOHERTY_MASFSV	2017	201707	Manus and FSV	GUARDIAN	UNHCR says Australia must end offshore detention and stop dividing families	Allegations incidents/threats of sexual assault/rape against asylum seekers in RPC
235	20170725_THE AUSTRALIAN JOE KELLY_MASFSV	2017	201707	Manus and FSV	AUSTRALIAN	Detainees 'deaf' puts Coalition under fire	Allegations incidents/threats of sexual assault/rape against asylum seekers in RPC
236	20170731_GUARDIAN BEN DOHERTY_MASVIOLENCE	2017	201707	MAS AND VIOLENCE/BASHED	GUARDIAN	Manus Island refugees seriously injured in machete attacks	Multiple: Relationships/children between local women/asylum seekers or refugees AND alleged sexual assaults/rape
237	20170927_AAP_LISA MARTIN_FSPVNG	2017	201709	PNG and FSV	AUS ASSOCIATED PRESS	PK6 hotline tackles family violence crisis	National level story on PNG violence against women as a major problem
238	20171002_AUSTRALIAN ASSOCIATED PRESS_LISA MARTIN_MASRAPE	2017	201710	Manus and rape	AUS ASSOCIATED PRESS	Dead refugee in PNG was facing rape charge	Alleged sexual assault/rape/harassment of Manus woman/girl by asylum seeker or refugee
239	20171002_GUARDIAN BEN DOHERTY_MASRAPE	2017	201710	Manus and rape	GUARDIAN	Sri Lankan Tamil refugee found dead on Manus Island	Alleged sexual assault/rape/harassment of Manus woman/girl by asylum seeker or refugee
240	20171003_ABC_ERIC TLOZEK_MASSEKASULT	2017	201710	Manus and sexual assault	ABC	Refugee who died on Manus Island was due to face court on sexual assault charge	Alleged sexual assault/rape/harassment of Manus woman/girl by asylum seeker or refugee
241	20171003_AUSTRALIAN ASSOCIATED PRESS_AAP_MASRAPE	2017	201710	Manus and rape	AUS ASSOCIATED PRESS	Anger over refugee death on Manus Island	Alleged sexual assault/rape/harassment of Manus woman/girl by asylum seeker or refugee
242	20171008_SYDNEY MORNING HERALD_MICHAEL KOZIQIOL_MASRAPE	2017	201710	Manus and rape	SYDNEY MORNING HERALD	Sixth Manus Island death signals a system in chaos	Alleged sexual assault/rape/harassment of Manus woman/girl by asylum seeker or refugee
243	20171024_GUARDIAN HELEN DAVIDSON_GBPVNG	2017	201710	PNG and GBV	GUARDIAN	Death of Papua New Guinea journalist sparks national debate about domestic violence	National level story on PNG violence against women as a major problem
244	20171026_ABC_ABC_GBPVNG	2017	201710	PNG and GBV	ABC	Domestic violence: PNG journalist Rosalyn Albanai Evara's death sparks outrage, investigation	National level story on PNG violence against women as a major problem
245	20171030_AUSTRALIAN ASSOCIATED PRESS_DAN MCCULLOCH_MASRAPE	2017	201710	Manus and rape	AUS ASSOCIATED PRESS	Timeline of Manus Island detention centre	Alleged sexual assault/rape/harassment of Manus woman/girl by RPC staff
246	20171102_GUARDIAN HELEN DAVIDSON_MASLOCWOM	2017	201711	Manus and local women	GUARDIAN	Manus navy will remove detainees by force if necessary, base commander says	Multiple: Relationships/children between local women/asylum seekers or refugees AND alleged sexual assaults/rape
247	20171104_THE DAILY TELEGRAPH_RORY CALLINAN_MASLOCWOM	2017	201711	Manus and local women	DAILY TELEGRAPH	'WE WON'T BE SAFE' SAY BARRICADED MANUS MEN	Multiple: Relationships/children between local women/asylum seekers or refugees AND alleged sexual assaults/rape
248	20171110_SYDNEY MORNING HERALD_RICHARD BAKER_NICK MCKENZIE_MASRAPE	2017	201711	Manus and rape	SYDNEY MORNING HERALD	Family life on island ensures refugee does not want to leave	Children born from relationship between local woman & asylum seekers/refugees

List of media articles							
YearMonthDate_Media outlet_Author_Abbreviated search term	Year	YearMonth	Search term used	Media outlet	Headline of story	General frame/type of story on either the Manus RPC and/or PNG GBV coverage based on Australian media articles	
249 20171111 THE AUSTRALIAN JOE KELLY MASRAPE	2017	201711	Manus and rape	AUSTRALIAN	Sex and drugs at Manus village	Multiple: Relationships/children between local women/asylum seekers or refugees AND alleged sexual assaults/rape	
250 20171113 THE AUSTRALIAN JOE KELLY MASSEXASULT	2017	201711	Manus and sexual assault	AUSTRALIAN	400 still refusing to leave Manus	Multiple: Relationships/children between local women/asylum seekers or refugees AND alleged sexual assaults/rape	
251 20171117 SBS STEFAN ARMBRUSTER MasSBS	2017	201711	Manus and local women	SBS	Love at first sight: Refugee who met his wife on Manus pleading to stay	Children born from relationship between local woman & asylum seekers/refugees	
252 20171125 THE AGE WENDY SQUIRES MASRAPE	2017	201711	Manus and rape	THE AGE	The cruel crime of complicity	Allegations incidents/threats of sexual assault/rape against asylum seekers in RPC	
253 20171214 THE GUARDIAN STEPH HARMON MASSEXASULT	2017	201712	Manus and sexual assault	GUARDIAN	International artists join protests against NGV use of Wilson Security	Allegations incidents/threats of sexual assault/rape against asylum seekers in RPC	
254 20171227 THE DAILY TELEGRAPH MIRANDA DEVINE MASRAPE	2017	201712	Manus and rape	DAILY TELEGRAPH	The real Manus story	Alleged sexual assault/rape/harassment of Manus woman/girl by asylum seeker or refugee	
255 20180529 SYDNEY MORNING HERALD MATT WADE GBVPNG	2018	201805	PNG and GBV	SYDNEY MORNING HERALD	Unrecognised crisis: PNG a dangerous place for pregnant women	National level story on PNG violence against women as a major problem	
256 20181017 THE GUARDIAN HELEN DAVIDSON PNGVAW	2018	201810	PNG and VAW	GUARDIAN	Papua New Guinea imports 40 Maseratis to transport Apec delegates	National level story on PNG violence against women as a major problem	
257 20181021 THE GUARDIAN HELEN DAVIDSON MASLOCWOM	2018	201810	Manus and local women	GUARDIAN	Iranian refugees on Manus Island violently assaulted	Relationships_local women and asylum seekers or refugees	
258 20181109 THE AGE NICOLE HASHAM MASSEXASULT	2018	201811	Manus and sexual assault	THE AGE	Scott Morrison: 'I dropped to my knees in tears' over refugees	Allegations incidents/threats of sexual assault/rape against asylum seekers in RPC	
259 20181117 THE GUARDIAN HELEN DAVIDSON MASLOCWOM	2018	201811	Manus and local women	GUARDIAN	Nothing has changed: the men who remain in limbo on Manus Island	Relationships_local women and asylum seekers or refugees	
260 20181130 ABC NATALIE WHITING BETHANIE HARRIMAN PNGVAW	2018	201811	PNG and VAW	ABC	The murder of a PNG woman sparks national outcry over domestic violence	National level story on PNG violence against women as a major problem	
261 20181212 THE AUSTRALIAN ROSIE LEWIS MASRAPE	2018	201812	Manus and rape	AUSTRALIAN	Labor silent on future asylum-seekers	Medical evacuation bill and asylum seekers who have been accused of rape	
262 20181212 THE AUSTRALIAN ROSIE LEWIS MASSEXASULT	2018	201812	Manus and sexual assault	AUSTRALIAN	Warning over medical transfers	Medical evacuation bill and asylum seekers who have been accused of rape	
263 20181213 THE GUARDIAN LYANNE TOGIBA MICHELLE CHENG MASLOCWOM	2018	201812	Manus and local women	GUARDIAN	Life in limbo: the Manus babies who face a stateless future	Children born from relationship between local woman & asylum seekers/refugees	
264 20190205 SYDNEY MORNING HERALD DANA MCCOAULEY MASRAPE	2019	201902	Manus and rape	SYDNEY MORNING HERALD	PM issues refugees warning if bill passes	Medical evacuation bill and asylum seekers who have been accused of rape	
265 20190206 SYDNEY MORNING HERALD DAVID CROWE MASRAPE	2019	201902	Manus and rape	SYDNEY MORNING HERALD	Labor releases legal advice to counter government claims that refugee bill threatens national security	Medical evacuation bill and asylum seekers who have been accused of rape	
266 20190207 THE AUSTRALIAN JOE KELLY LUKE GRIFFITHS MASRAPE	2019	201902	Manus and rape	AUSTRALIAN	Mediva: bill 'hands control over to doctors'	Medical evacuation bill and asylum seekers who have been accused of rape	
267 20190207 THE AUSTRALIAN SIMON BENSON MASRAPE	2019	201902	Manus and rape	AUSTRALIAN	Phelps bill a security risk: ASIO	Medical evacuation bill and asylum seekers who have been accused of rape	
268 20190213 THE DAILY TELEGRAPH ANNA CALDWELL SHERADYN HOLDERHEAD MIRANDA	2019	201902	Manus and rape	DAILY TELEGRAPH	SENTENCING SAGAS LOOM	Medical evacuation bill and asylum seekers who have been accused of rape	
269 20190214 THE DAILY TELEGRAPH ANDREW BOLT MASRAPE	2019	201902	Manus and rape	DAILY TELEGRAPH	Prescription misery	Alleged sexual assault/rape/harassment of Manus woman/girl by asylum seeker or refugee	
270 20190215 THE AUSTRALIAN JOE KELLY MASRAPE	2019	201902	Manus and rape	AUSTRALIAN	Mediva: could divert ASIO resources	Medical evacuation bill and asylum seekers who have been accused of rape	
271 20190216 THE AUSTRALIAN PAUL KELLY MASSEXASULT	2019	201902	Manus and sexual assault	AUSTRALIAN	SHORTEN CANNOT PLEASE EVERYONE	Medical evacuation bill and asylum seekers who have been accused of rape	
272 20190218 SYDNEY MORNING HERALD MAX KOSLOWSKI MASRAPE	2019	201902	Manus and rape	SYDNEY MORNING HERALD	Labor reaches into Asia to warn people smugglers	Medical evacuation bill and asylum seekers who have been accused of rape	
273 20190218 THE DAILY TELEGRAPH SHERADYN HOLDERHEAD MASSEXASULT	2019	201902	Manus and sexual assault	DAILY TELEGRAPH	Mystery men of Manus a concern	Medical evacuation bill and asylum seekers who have been accused of rape	
274 20190218 THE GUARDIAN AMY REMEIKIS MASRAPE	2019	201902	Manus and rape	GUARDIAN	Palestin won Manus contract after PNG changed its mind on services - as it happened	Medical evacuation bill and asylum seekers who have been accused of rape	
275 20190223 THE AUSTRALIAN BEN PAKHAM PRIMROSE RIORDAN MASLOCWOM	2019	201902	Manus and local women	AUSTRALIAN	Mediva: loophole for refugees' kids	Medical evacuation bill and asylum seekers who have been accused of rape	
276 20190309 ABC NATALIE WHITING MASLOCAL WOMEN	2019	201903	Manus and local women	ABC	Babies of refugees on Manus Island eligible for transfer under medeva: bill, but confusion reigns	Medical evacuation bill and asylum seekers who have been accused of rape	
277 20190409 AUSTRALIAN FINANCIAL REVIEW JONATHAN SHAPIRO LISA MURRAY ANGUS GRIGG	2019	201904	Manus and sexual assault	AUS FINANCIAL REVIEW	Palestin security officer charged with sexual assault	Alleged sexual assault/rape/harassment of Manus woman/girl by RPC staff	

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