



UNIVERSIDADE
LUSÓFONA

CENTRO UNIVERSITÁRIO DE LISBOA

ESCOLA DE COMUNICAÇÃO, ARQUITETURA, ARTES E TECNOLOGIAS DA INFORMAÇÃO

DOUTORAMENTO EM CIÊNCIAS DA COMUNICAÇÃO

**EXPLORING CULTURAL COMPETENCE FOR
NON-INDIGENOUS JOURNALISTS WHO WORK
WITH AND FOR INDIGENOUS PEOPLES**

Tese apresentada a provas públicas para a obtenção do grau de Doutora em Ciências da
Comunicação, orientada pela Professora Doutora Carla Rodrigues Cardoso

Carla Alexandra Marques Bento Guedes/ N° 21405586

2024

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“VERSÃO FINAL”

Tese defendida em provas públicas na Universidade Lusófona, Centro Universitário de Lisboa no dia 20 de junho de 2024, perante o júri nomeado pelo Despacho de Nomeação n.º: 766/2024, de 16 de fevereiro de 2024, com a seguinte composição:

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Carla Alexandra Marques Bento Guedes/ N° 21405586

2024

Epigraph

“To know me is to breath with me. To breath with me is to listen deeply. To listen deeply is to connect. Is the sound of deep calling to deep calling to deep. Dadirri is the deep inner-spirit inside us. We call on to it and it calls us.

We are river people; we cannot hurry the river. We need to move with the current and understand its ways.

My people are used to the struggle, and the long waiting. We still wait for the white people to understand us better. We ourselves had to spend many years learning about the white man’s ways. Some of the learning was forced; but in many cases people tried hard over a long time, to learn the new ways.

We have learned to speak the white man’s language. We have listened to what he had to say. This learning and listening should go both ways. We would like people in Australia to take time to listen to us. We are hoping people will come closer. We keep on longing for the things that we have always hoped for – respect and understanding...”

Miriam-Rose Ungunmerr, 1988

(Dadirri is a word from the Ngangikurungkurr language. Miriam Rose is an Elder from the Nauiyu community, Daly River, Northern Territory.)

Dedication

I dedicate this work to my husband, Carlos Guedes, and my two children, Leonor and Lourenço Guedes. You have always been my 'absolute everything'; everything I do is for you, us, as a family, and this PhD is no exception. Together, we always 'looked up' and 'walked forward ahead', and the 'sky was never a limit' to us if we held each other firmly and found a way to laugh even when things were not that great. I used to say you are my Moon, my Stars, and my Earth, being I the family's Sun. However, after everything I went through in this PhD journey (so much of it only the four of us know entirely and can ever fully comprehend), I must indeed say that you are also my 'lifesaver' when the ocean gets turbulent and unpredictable, my 'first aid box' when I get lost in the darkest and scariest of the forests, and my 'home' where I always return to feel safe and sound from the biggest of the storms outside. So, more than ever before, you are my E-V-E-R-Y-T-H-I-N-G and all that I am and do, including this PhD, is for you.

This thesis is also dedicated to all the First Nations Peoples worldwide, especially those who have only recently had the chance to make their voices heard. As my master's by research thesis, this PhD thesis is my way of giving back to the Australian Indigenous Peoples with whom I live (the Dharawal People, which land's mostly confined to the area south of Botany Bay, extending as far south as the Nowra area, across to the Georges River in Sydney's west) and work (the Gadigal People from the Eora Nation), always being mindful that I am and always will be a non-invited guest to their lands. For that, I will always be grateful and humbly try to show my respect and profound admiration for their cultural heritage, capacity for survival, dignity, strength, and infinite knowledge about the nature of all things.

I particularly extend my acknowledgement and respect to the First Nations People from Brazil (the Wapichana People from Roraima, Cachoeira, in the Amazon) and Canada (the Ojibwe People), with whom I also have the pleasure of sharing this research.

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I thank my husband and two kids for their outstanding support, love, and understanding. Without the encouragement of my family, here in Sydney, but also in Portugal (mainly, my parents and parents-in-law, but also my sister, brothers-in-law and sister-in-law, and lovely nephew, Sebastião, and gorgeous niece, Alice), I would never have finished this research study. These ‘thank you words’ are for you, my beloved family:

Obrigada, família! Conseguimos isto juntos. Não sou nada sem cada um de vós, nem nada do que alcanço me faz feliz se a vocês também não trouxer alguma alegria. O ano de 2023 foi memorável pelas melhores e pelas piores razões. E sabemos que aquilo que de menos positivo nos aconteceu este ano, enquanto família, largamente ultrapassa a importância da submissão desta tese de doutoramento.

Somos ‘unha e carne’, verdade, força e sentido de humor. E é muito graças a isso que aqui estamos, agora, a celebrar esta tese que veio reforçar a minha convicção máxima de que tudo o que há de bom está sempre ao nosso alcance, mesmo que às vezes nos pareça ‘demais para ser possível’ ou que está ‘guardado só para os outros’.

Sobretudo, gostaria que a Leonor, o Lourenço, o Sebastião e a Alice, aprendessem o que eu aprendi com este meu capítulo de vida: que (a) nunca se desiste de um objetivo facilmente, e muito menos por medo de enfrentarmos as nossas limitações ou de ultrapassarmos as barreiras com que ‘alguém’ ou o ‘sistema’ nos desafiam; (b) que a única pessoa no mundo que tem o direito de anular um sonho da nossa ‘bucket-list’ somos nós mesmos, se assim o decidirmos, até para perseguir um novo sonho melhor ainda; e (c) que trabalhar humilde, honesta e apaixonadamente, ao ponto de sairmos da nossa zona de conforto pode, sim, ser uma oportunidade incrível de fazermos do nosso e do mundo dos outros um lugar mais excitante, bonito e, sobretudo, mais justo.

If there is a place and time where I can publicly thank my fantastic PhD supervisor, Dra Carla Rodrigues Cardoso, it is here and now. You are a ‘special one’, and you are also the one who made me believe in myself and my research again enough to finish this thesis and be here today celebrating this fantastic achievement. We did it! This work would not have been possible without your knowledge, kindness, patience, rigour, persistence, and consistency. I

was the luckiest researcher with you by my side throughout my PhD journey. And I will surely miss our long Messenger meetings (always starting around 9 pm in Sydney and 10 am in Lisbon). It was not always easy to keep up with our availability and commitment to this PhD with extra work and the family to attend to. Above all, working long distances and being dependent on technology can sometimes be challenging. But again, we did it! Flexibility, empathy, and discipline was vital. From day one, we kept our promise to one another: 'We go one baby step at a time, and we'll eventually get there'. And, again, we did! Making this PhD possible was meaningful and full-on a learning curve and a transformative journey on many levels. Ultimately, you restored my faith in Academia and my belief that the relationship between a PhD supervisor and their supervisee can potentially be excellent, and that can only lead to excellent work.

The fantastic support of my previous research supervisor and Indigenous Cultural PhD mentor, Dr Sharlene Leroy-Dyer, must be mentioned here. When I was still studying in Australia at UNSW and needed the guidance of an Indigenous Academic designing my research according to the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island ways of knowing and doing, their protocols, and the needs and expectations of their Peoples, Dr Sharlene was kind, patient and generous enough to guide me closely in my work. I will never be able to thank Dr Sharlene sufficiently for everything I learned with her. I have learned more by her side in two years of research work than I would have learned in decades and dozens of books. This knowledge is critical and is embedded here throughout my PhD.

I wish to thank my colleague Dr Trevor Leaman - who kindly first introduced me to Australian Academia; to Associate Professor Duane Hamacher - my forever academic mentor and true inspiration to me, personally and professionally; and to Dr Robert Fuller - whom I respect and admire, and with whom I happily shared most of the rides to our bush camps, talks and seminars. With these three incredible people, I dared to present my Research in Australia for the first time on several occasions. By their side and always being cheered by them, I completed my master's in research. I learned a great deal about the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander perspectives of the night sky in the context of our work in the Australian Indigenous Astronomy Group. I had the best time! Trevor, Duane, and Bob are dear friends who always reassured me that I could do a PhD sometime in my life, even in a second language. They believed in me when no one else believed me, especially me, and that changed my life forever and in so many ways. This PhD is also theirs.

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Moreover, I thank all the researchers and friends (Indigenous and non-Indigenous) who, directly or indirectly, helped me during my studies in Australia and Portugal; all contributed to me feeling more confident, appreciated, and high-spirited in all stages of my research work and life in Australia.

Special thanks to all the Indigenous Elders and First Nations Peoples that participated in this study as knowledge holders/research collaborators, journalists, academics, researchers, my students at UNSW, new friends from all over the world, people I met while participating in bush camps or meetings in the context of the Australian Indigenous Astronomy group or the conferences (on and offline), cultural events I have attended, to all people who have somehow teach me something valuable and inspired me throughout my journey, personally and professionally.

I also want to thank the institutions, societies, libraries and academic departments in Portugal and Australia that allowed me to develop my study and present my research in various talks nationally and internationally.

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me to pursue my academic dreams in Australia in our first bushwalk together. And that was where my journey to this Ph.D. began.

Finally, I want to acknowledge the **Dharawal People**, both past, present and the generations to come, as the Traditional Custodians of the land on which I lived and worked on my PhD in Australia, South Coast, in the lovely Thirroul that I love so much.

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Special note to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Readers: this thesis contains the names of people who might have passed away and touches on events from the past and present that may be discomfiting to go back to as they remind us of all the wrongdoings of the colonialism that should never have happened.

Resumo

**“Explorando a competência cultural para jornalistas não-indígenas
que trabalham com e para os Povos Indígenas”**

Carla Bento Guedes

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Estudos do Jornalismo, Estudos Indígenas, Competência Cultural, Jornalistas Indígenas e não-Indígenas, Pedagogia do Desconforto, *Dadirri*, Metodologias de investigação Indígenas

Nesta investigação-averigua-se de que forma os conhecimentos e os valores Indígenas podem transformar as práticas e as estratégias dos jornalistas não-Indígenas para que estes possam representar melhor todos os povos, especialmente os povos das Primeiras Nações, através de uma abordagem culturalmente mais competente, inclusiva e responsável no âmbito do jornalismo de massas tradicional. Trata-se de uma investigação que proporcionou um ‘diálogo’ transformador e empoderador que une perspectivas, sentimentos, restrições e oportunidades de ‘dois mundos’ no jornalismo dominante ocidental que reporta sobre os Povos das Primeiras Nações. Fê-lo convidando jornalistas não-Indígenas e Indígenas (todos com experiência em reportagem sobre, com e para os Povos das Primeiras Nações na Austrália, no Brasil e no Canadá) a ouvirem profundamente, a refletirem sobre e a compreenderem as suas próprias culturas, opiniões, necessidades e formas de trabalhar bem como as dos outros.

É um caso de Investigação-ação Participativa teoricamente informada pela Construção Social da Realidade com uma intenção construtiva e descolonizadora. Baseia-se nos protocolos Indígenas e no conceito cultural e espiritual Aborígine de *Dadirri* e é enquadrado pela Pedagogia do Desconforto. Metodologias de investigação não-Indígenas e Indígenas foram exploradas e combinadas, incluindo a tradicional entrevista ativa semiestruturada ocidental redefinida aqui como sessões individuais de *Dadirri Yarning* para coleta de dados. Esta metodologia combinada serve de motor a uma investigação sobre o desconforto dentro de uma narrativa emancipatória. Além disso, optou-se pelo método de Análise Narrativa Temática para organizar e apresentar os resultados de investigação.

Este é o primeiro estudo a basear-se na Pedagogia do Desconforto aplicando-a aos Estudos do Jornalismo e aos Estudos Indígenas, envolvendo jornalistas Indígenas e não-Indígenas e combinando paradigmas culturais/teóricos/conceituais e metodologias de pesquisa Indígenas e não-Indígenas, navegando nessas complexidades interculturais em direção à descolonização e enriquecimento da competência cultural. Para além disso, acrescentando a minha própria experiência como investigadora e jornalista não-Indígena a algum material já existente na literatura, desenhei duas novas 'ferramentas' para apoiar os jornalistas não-Indígenas na tarefa árdua de aumentar a sua competência cultural Indígena: o Continuum de Competência Cultural no Jornalismo e a Lista de Estratégias e Práticas para Jornalismo Culturalmente Competente que Envolve Povos Indígenas.

As conclusões desta investigação confirmam a hipótese central desta investigação: os jornalistas não-Indígenas precisam de desenvolver um quadro de competências culturais para trabalhar e reportar sobre os Povos Indígenas. Os resultados deste estudo indicam que a maioria dos jornalistas não-Indígenas são, de facto, culturalmente incompetentes, assim como os meios de comunicação social para os quais trabalham. Por isso mesmo, defendo que a formação em competência cultural deve ser incluída nos planos de estudos de jornalismo do Ensino Superior, desde o grau de licenciatura, assim como nos programas e cursos de formação profissional nesta área.

Abstract

“Exploring cultural competence for non-Indigenous journalists who work with and for Indigenous Peoples”

Carla Bento Guedes

**KEYWORDS: Journalism Studies, Indigenous Studies, Cultural Competence,
Indigenous and non-Indigenous journalists, Pedagogy of Discomfort, *Dadirri*,
Indigenous research methodologies**

This PhD study explores how Indigenous knowledges and values can transform non-Indigenous journalists' practices and strategies to better represent all peoples, particularly First Nations Peoples, by creating a more culturally competent, inclusive, and responsive approach to mass communication. It promoted an empowering and transformative 'dialogue' that bridges two worlds' perspectives, feelings, constraints, and opportunities in western mainstream journalism that reports on First Nations Peoples. It did this by inviting non-Indigenous and Indigenous journalists (all experienced in reporting on First Nations Peoples in Australia, Brazil, and Canada) to listen deeply, reflect and understand their own and each other's cultures, opinions, needs and ways of working.

It is a case of Participatory Action Research theoretically informed by the Social Construction of Reality with a constructive and decolonising intention. It is based on Indigenous protocols and the Aboriginal cultural and spiritual concept of *Dadirri* and is framed by the Pedagogy of Discomfort. Non-Indigenous and Indigenous research methodologies were explored and combined, including the traditional western semi-structured active interviewing redefined here as one-on-one *Dadirri* Yarning sessions for data collection. This research design proposes an inquiry into discomfort within an emancipatory narrative. Furthermore, the method of Thematic Narrative Analysis was chosen to organise and present the research findings.

This is the first study to draw from the Pedagogy of Discomfort and apply it to Journalism and Indigenous Studies, involving Indigenous and non-Indigenous journalists and combining Indigenous and non-Indigenous cultural/theoretical/conceptual paradigms and research methodologies, navigating these intercultural complexities towards decolonising, and

incrementing cultural competence. Furthermore, after complementing the existing material in the literature with my own lived experience as a researcher and journalist, two new 'tools' to support non-Indigenous journalists in overcoming the overwhelming task of increasing their Indigenous cultural competence were introduced in this thesis: the Journalism Continuum of Cultural Competence and the Checklist of Strategies and Practices for Culturally Competent Journalism Involving Indigenous Peoples.

The findings of this research confirm my PhD thesis's core hypothesis: non-Indigenous journalists need to develop a cultural competence framework for working with and reporting on Indigenous Peoples. This study's results indicate that most non-Indigenous journalists are, in fact, culturally incompetent, as well as their mainstream journalism organisations. Therefore, I argue training in cultural competence must be included in journalism academic programs and courses from the university undergraduate level and professional training workshops.

Abbreviations, Acronyms and Symbols

AITSIS: Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies

JCCC: Journalism Continuum of Cultural Competence

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Introduction

Indigenous and non-Indigenous literature shows that overall, despite some exceptions, the dominant ideologies in mainstream mass communication are primarily associated with the privileged position and power of white, middle-class male journalists working within a corporate environment. Poor people, workers, women, black people, immigrants, First Nations Peoples, and all those without access to and control over public discourse are thus largely ignored or misrepresented. And, when they are represented, they are often culturally disrespected or represented negatively, often seen as a 'problem' or a 'threat' to the social mainstream. To sustain existing powers, polarised ('Us' vs. 'Them') ideologies are necessarily aligned along fundamental dimensions of society, such as those of age, sexual orientation, class, gender (issues not dealt with in this work), and race and culture (which are the focus of this research). The elites that control the access to and the contents and structures of public discourse, and that of the mainstream mass media, thus also can control the formation and reproduction of the ideologies that help sustain their power.

Therefore, I found sufficient evidence for the idea of the role of news in the reproduction of racism and cultural misconceptions, as well as for the notion of lack of cultural competence of non-Indigenous journalists in the way they approach Indigenous Peoples and produce content on Indigenous issues. As a non-Indigenous researcher and journalist, myself, living and working in Australia, on the lands of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples, I felt the need to decolonising my ways of being, knowing and doing, and I used this PhD study as part of that personal and urgent, even though necessarily discomforting at times, process.

Moreover, decolonisation through research allows Indigenous Peoples to gather, generate and share knowledge from Indigenous frames of reference. Western researchers have often delegitimised and marginalised Indigenous worldviews. Decolonising research methods were developed to empower Indigenous Peoples through their assumptions and perspectives and towards their needs and interests. By exploring Indigenous research methodologies, Indigenous and non-Indigenous researchers have the power to deconstruct the previous negative labelling and "culturally deficient models that pathologised the colonised Other" (Chilisa, 2012, p. 17).

I wanted this research to acknowledge and incorporate Indigenous ontologies, epistemologies and axiologies, knowing from the beginning that I would necessarily be navigating through the tension that often exists between western research paradigms and Indigenous research paradigms. I worked with these 'tensions' to design and conduct a 'two worlds' study. The main reasons for including Indigenous research protocols and methods in my work are the recognition of the traumatic effects of colonisation on Indigenous Peoples and the imperative to avoid further trauma and disempowerment through the research process. To achieve that very early in the process, I understood that non-Indigenous researchers such as myself must develop trustful relationships, clear protocols for engaging with Indigenous communities, and use Indigenous research methods to prioritise Indigenous voices in a culturally respectful way.

With this context in mind, I embarked on this PhD focused on exploring how Indigenous knowledge and values can transform non-Indigenous journalists' practices and strategies to better represent all peoples by creating a more culturally inclusive, respectful, responsive, and competent approach to mainstream mass communication. This research project promoted an empowering and transformative 'dialogue' that bridges two worlds' perspectives, feelings, constraints, and opportunities in western mainstream journalism that reports on First Nations Peoples. It did this by inviting four non-Indigenous and two Indigenous journalists (all experienced in reporting on First Nations Peoples in Australia, Brazil, and Canada) to listen deeply, reflect and understand their own and each other's cultures, opinions, needs and ways of working. As the primary intention of the whole research experience was to support the development of non-indigenous journalists' increase in cultural competency, the non-indigenous journalists were the research participants, and the Indigenous journalists acted as the knowledge holders/ research collaborators.

The overarching research question that this study sought to address is:

How can Indigenous ways of knowing, doing, thinking, and feeling and the Pedagogy of Discomfort enhance non-Indigenous journalists' cultural competence to develop better content to be used?

The following sub-questions framed the inquiry:

1. What are the structural and systemic enablers and barriers that facilitate and constrain the possibilities for non-Indigenous journalists to understand Indigenous ways of knowing, doing, thinking, and feeling to represent them in the context of their journalistic work properly?
2. How can using an inquiry of Discomfort provide insight into enhancing non-indigenous knowledge of Indigenous Peoples' cultural and identity needs?
3. What do Indigenous journalists feel they need/are entitled to/expect to receive from non-Indigenous journalists and their work that includes Indigenous ways of knowing, doing, thinking, and feeling (both through text and images)?
4. What do Indigenous journalists feel their Peoples need/are entitled to/expect to receive from all journalists (Indigenous and non-Indigenous) to support and protect them and their cultures in the context of journalistic coverage?

This PhD is Participatory Action Research (PAR) theoretically informed by the Social Construction of Reality with a constructive and decolonising intention. It is based on Indigenous protocols and the Aboriginal cultural and spiritual concept of *Dadirri* and is framed by the Pedagogy of Discomfort. Non-Indigenous and Indigenous research methodologies were explored and combined, including the traditional western semi-structured active interviewing redefined here as one-on-one *Dadirri* Yarning sessions for data collection. This research design proposes an inquiry into Discomfort within an emancipatory narrative - it draws on lived experience and knowledge to develop sensitive and ethical ways of discomforting (and decolonising) understandings often shaped by the historically complex relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous perspectives. Furthermore, the method of Thematic Narrative Analysis was chosen to organise and present the research findings.

This thesis is divided into six major sections: Chapter 1 - Research Project Background and Context; Chapter 2 - Literature Review; Chapter 3 - Conceptual and Theoretical Framework; Chapter 4 - Methodology, Research Design and Data Analysis Approach; Chapter 5 - Data Collection, Findings and Discussion; and Conclusions.

In Chapter 1, I present the study's background and Context in two distinct sections: Background of the Study - where I explore topics such as the Australian Black history (from colonisation to decolonisation), decolonising journalism both in the education and professional

environments, the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander journalists' underrepresentation in Australian mainstream journalism and locale in the discourse; and Context of the study – where I elaborate on social and political historical events such as the Uluru Statement, Black Lives Matter, Statues removed, the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic and the Australian referendum 'Voice to Parliament', all crucial events that occur during the time I conducted this research. Furthermore, the researcher's context (how I positioned myself in this study and my main motivations to pursue it) is included here.

In Chapter 2, I present an extensive literature review that draws on the ideas and the work of some of the most relevant academic researchers and authors in non-Indigenous and Indigenous journalism Studies. Most authors, articles, chapters, and books cited here are from 'black literature'. Such a specific literature review is exceptionally pertinent for this thesis because one of the main goals of this research project is to make First Nations Peoples' voices heard, particularly the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples' (as they are the First Nations Peoples of the land where this study is conducted). Also, this thesis' chapter serves to clarify further and, at times, reinforce the First Nations' perspectives, needs, and expectations in the mainstream journalism found in the Literature, in a continuous decolonising effort and as an exercise of cultural competence in action designed to increase the knowledge on what (and how) Indigenous Peoples expect non-Indigenous journalists to transform in their journalistic approach, strategies and practices when working on, with, and for First Nations communities worldwide. This Literature Review chapter is divided into four main sections, some with sub-sections where I discuss some of the topics relevant to this study in greater detail. The four main sections are the following: Journalism and Journalists; What It is Cultural Competence, and Why it is Crucial for All Journalists; Impacts of non-Indigenous Journalism on Indigenous Peoples; and a paradigmatic case: the *National Geographic Magazine*.

Chapter 3 relates to the conceptual and theoretical framework of this study. It is where I explain why I felt inspired by Berger's and Luckmann's Social Construction of Reality and how I complemented this theoretical framework with Boler's and Zembylas' Pedagogy of Discomfort and further enriched this study's framework using the Aboriginal cultural and spiritual concept of *Dadirri*. I also elaborate on 'discomfort' and how this theoretical framework can reflect on its relevance and anticipate ethical violence in unpacking this 'discomfort' throughout the data collection process. This conceptual and theoretical framework bridges 'two worlds', entailing 'troubled conversations' for both dimensions – Indigenous and non-

Indigenous, and it is one of the crucial novelties and innovations that this study contributes to literature.

In Chapter 4, I provide an account of the specific research methods used in this study and explain in detail how this project will combine both Indigenous research protocols and western and Indigenous methodologies, as the complex PAR research design framed by *Dadirri* that this study is. Included is also a detailed section on my positionality as the researcher and details of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Advisory Group members to show how the very early stages of this PhD journey were supported and guided by this group. The last section of this chapter refers to the theory behind the data analysis method chosen to organise and investigate this study's data findings.

Chapter 5 is divided into three main sections: Results and Debate, Implications for Practice and Recommendations, and Limitations and Other Considerations. In the first section, I present the research findings, including the data collection process I utilised, how I applied the Thematic Narrative Analysis method to organise the data collected, and how I further worked on interpreting the research results. Also, detailed information about recruiting Indigenous knowledge holders/research collaborators and non-Indigenous research participants for the study is presented (complementing what was already mentioned in Chapter IV) to help elaborate more in-depth on the data collection process and how specific details reflected on the research results. The last part of this section is the debate of the research findings and the discussion on how the research questions were addressed, showing how I applied the Pedagogy of Discomfort throughout the data collection process and why my contribution is innovative and relevant to the literature. The second part of this chapter introduces this study's implications for practice and offers a take-home message for non-Indigenous journalists who come across this PhD thesis. This take-home message is presented in the form of two new 'tools' - the 'Journalism Continuum of Cultural Competence' (JCCC) and a 'Checklist of Strategies and Practices for Culturally Competent Journalism Involving Indigenous Peoples' - that are meant to support these journalists to firstly, identify where they are in the Cultural Competence continuum, secondly, to increase their Cultural Competence in action when they are reporting on First Nation Peoples and their affairs. This chapter's final part is dedicated to this study's limitations and how these limitations were addressed and transformed into 'opportunities'.

I close this PhD thesis with a Conclusions section where I discuss the core hypothesis of my research, summarise both my research intentions and the significant findings of this

study, respond to its research questions, and reinforce why research such as mine is well placed to make a substantial contribution to the existing body of knowledge with application to current Journalism Studies, Indigenous Studies, *Dadirri*, Cultural Competence and Pedagogy of Discomfort research and development. Furthermore, as a brief sum of the knowledge I gained throughout this research study personally, I end by sharing with my fellow non-Indigenous colleagues who can come across this piece of work some of the most enlighten lessons I learned to accomplish a culturally competent first encounter with Indigenous Peoples, both as non-Indigenous researcher and journalist.

What follows are the Bibliography/References and the Annexes sections. I will present eight Annexes to provide additional, relevant information that helps support and contextualise certain aspects of my research in greater detail, particularly the data collection process. The eight annexes included in this thesis are Annexe 1 - the Miriam Rose Foundation email with the approval and protocol from the Nauiyu community from Daly River, Northern Territory, to use *Dadirri* in my research. The Nauiyu People are the traditional custodians of the word *Dadirri* which belongs to this Aboriginal People's language - *Ngangikurungkurr* language; Annexe 2 – the document all participants in the data collection received with a brief introduction of the concept of *Dadirri*; Annexe 3 – the Indigenous protocol for the data collection sessions; Annexe 4 – the Information Statement for the Research Project (non-Indigenous journalists version); Annexe 5 – the Information Statement for the Research Project (Indigenous journalists version); Annexe 6 – the Participant Information Sheet and Informed Consent Form (PSICF) all participants received and returned signed to me, before the data collection session; Annexe 7 – the semi-structured set of questions for the data collection with the Indigenous journalists; Annexe 8 - the semi-structured set of questions for the data collection with the non-Indigenous journalists.

To complete this Introductory section, I must make three final notes. Firstly, it is essential to mention that even though this study is not exclusively focused on Australian Indigenous and non-Indigenous journalism, the Australian case is the one that requires more attention and serves as a reference throughout this thesis. The main reason for this is because the project is conducted in Australia, in the lands of the Australian First Nations – the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples, where I, as the researcher and journalist, live and work. Therefore, it makes sense that the Australian Context needs to be considered and unpacked more in-depth. Secondly, it is even more crucial to say that diversity is always

essential in all forms and shapes when conducting a work of this nature. All First Nations Peoples are different in every aspect, even though they can have fundamental similarities between them, and that is why I always refer to Indigenous Peoples or First Nations Peoples, or Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples in the plural form – in Australia only, more than 400 distinct Australian Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples have been identified, distinguished by names designating their ancestral dialects, languages, or specific speech patterns. Continuing the topic of my writing choices, I refer to Indigenous Peoples with a capital I and P, as well as First Nations Peoples with capital letters and to western people in lowercase as part of an overarching decolonising intention. Western reality and people are secondary in a decolonising discourse and transformative research. Thirdly, and conversely to most western published academic work, I write in the first person (as the researcher) throughout this thesis. This is because this is a project that represents a shift from "I ask ... You answer" to "We explore" (Wadsworth, 2001, p.78). As a researcher, I will not be "the subject observing an object"; instead, I will be part of "a community of subjects [in this case - non-Indigenous journalists and Indigenous journalists] reflecting on themselves and their experiences" Gonzales (2007, p.78). This research study draws on lived experience and knowledge to develop sensitive and ethical ways of discomfiting; therefore, it intends to transform everyone's (including the researcher's) lives by opening new subjective possibilities.

Personally, and professionally, this PhD study gave me the time and opportunity to reflect deeply on who I am, what my people (the Portuguese people) and I represent in the 'two-worlds' bigger picture of the 'coloniser' vs 'colonised', the 'oppressor' vs 'oppressed', the 'white' vs the 'Other', the non-Indigenous journalist and the Indigenous. Using the Pedagogy of Discomfort took the study participants and me to places of self's and others' reflection and emotions of pain, guilt, and shame. Most importantly, this research approach led me to a learning curve that I was willing to embark on from the beginning of the study. Still, interestingly, it resulted in much more transformative and empowering personal and professional growth than I could have expected. Also, the Aboriginal concept of *Dadirri* was applied here in three dimensions simultaneously and throughout the whole PhD process - as cultural knowledge, Indigenous research methodology, and as a bridge and 'healing tool' for discomfort in a 'two worlds' experience. Incorporating *Dadirri* in my work and other areas of my life allowed me to develop my deep listening, self-reflection, and self-awareness skills further. In fact, the Pedagogy of Discomfort combined with *Dadirri* even showed me that Indigenous and non-Indigenous Peoples can and should work together to heal historically

uncomfortable and tense elements of their relationship and dialogue more often and in a culturally safe environment for all to find beneficial solutions for all.

Looking back, I feel I am today a more culturally competent non-Indigenous journalist than I was when I started this PhD journey. And though I am fully aware that my cultural competency is an ongoing and necessarily continuing painful and life-longing process ahead, this thesis is a sum of what I have learned and, at the same time, an invitation to all my colleagues, researchers and journalists to 'dive' into my research now and take the most out of it to enhance their cultural competence towards a more appropriate, responsive, beneficial to all, and culturally respectful journalistic work.

Chapter 1 – Research project background and context

1.1 – Introduction

In this chapter, I describe the study's background and context in two distinct sections. Even though this study is not exclusively focused on Australian Indigenous and non-Indigenous journalism, the Australian case is the one that requires more attention and serves as a reference throughout this thesis. The main reason for this is because the project is conducted in Australia, in the lands of the Australian First Nations – the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples, where I, as the researcher, live and work. Therefore, it makes sense that the Australian context needs to be considered and unpacked more in-depth. I will explore topics such as the Australian Black history - from colonisation to decolonisation, decolonising journalism, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander journalists' underrepresentation in Australian mainstream journalism and locale in the discourse will be explored in this chapter. Social and political historical events such as the Uluru Statement, Black Lives Matter, Statues removed, the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic and the Australian referendum – 'Voice to Parliament' will serve as well to complement the background of this study. Following this, I provide the context for my research.

1.2 – Background of the study

1.2.1 – Black History

Since British ships arrived in Sydney in 1788, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander and non-Indigenous Australians have been creating shared but contested histories of colonisation that are often understood as separate narratives (Phillips & Lampert, 2012). The experiences of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples are referred to as 'black history', while the experiences of non-Indigenous Peoples are referred to as 'white history' (Patterson, 1971). Australia's white history is often represented through events such as the arrival of the First Fleet in 1788, the Federation in 1901, and settler narratives of 'pioneering' in 'unchartered' lands (Phillips & Lampert, 2012). However, many Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples

interpret these stories, memories, and experiences of the past very differently. Some of the most discomforting but essential elements of black history are not taught in schools, at least not with the detail they deserve. They include massacres of Aboriginal Peoples during frontier wars and the forced removal of Aboriginal children, creating the Stolen Generations (Briskman, 2003). These violent acts and discriminatory policies are often considered only relevant to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples and valuable for understanding their inter-generation trauma. However, there is much more to consider here. Mainstream educational institutions should teach black history, highlighting Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples' rich and diverse cultural, artistic, social, political, and scientific knowledge traditions. The selective telling of white Australian histories, focusing primarily on frontier survival and endurance from settler perspectives, ignores the many contributions of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples to these processes (Martin et al, 2005).

Moreover, stories about white national heroes are constructed and positioned as the most significant for present-day Australia. While white history is taught in schools, 'black history' is not, or at least not to the necessary extent (Jones et al., 2021). Stories of the colonisers and their 'brave' acts and 'decisive' conquests are mobilised into ideology, published in books, and celebrated on national days to reinforce the dominance of white Australian identity. The popularity of Australia Day celebrations amongst mainstream Australian society is a solid contemporary manifestation of Australia's colonising mindset. In contrast, the Invasion Day/Survival Day protests represent a 'black history' perspective and are imbued with mourning, anger, and loss. This is part of the 'truth-telling' that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island Peoples have been calling for (Reynolds, 2021). On the same date, 'white history' celebrates power and conquest, while 'black history' draws attention to genocide and trauma.

A more nuanced understanding of Australia's fractured national identity requires a deep historical examination and critique of how particular forms of language, perspective, behaviours, and belief systems are mobilised to sustain cultural cohesion in the present (Hart, 2003; Nakata, 2002; Phillips, 2003, 2011). History is foundational to how one thinks of what it means to be an Australian in the present "even though at a conscious level it may seem possible to forget, or diminish, the significance of particular events if we are advantaged by this forgetting" (Phillips & Lampert, 2012, p.11). Through this thesis, I interrogate the histories, discourses and belief systems that white Australia has used to construct a nationalistic myth of cohesion and examine their inequitable impacts on First Nations peoples.

Throughout the long process of colonisation in Australia, settlers have constructed images of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples that self-serving reinforce the process of colonisation (Reynolds, 1996). Australia's First Peoples have been labelled 'uniquely peaceful', 'lesser species', 'nomadic', 'inferior', and characterised as passive to colonial invasion and settlement, 'pathetically helpless', 'doomed to extinction', 'brutal' and/or 'noble savages', or beyond redemption from a supposedly inherent barbarism (Phillips & Lampert, 2012; Reynolds, 1996). The literature indicates that European colonisers labelled Indigenous Peoples disrespectfully worldwide. For example, Indigenous women in the United States were referred to by the Spanish as 'savage', 'redskins' or 'squaw' (a synonym for 'prostitute') (Bird, 1999). In Africa, the Portuguese colonisers called Indigenous Peoples negative names and often compared Indigenous Peoples to animals, particularly the more 'slow', 'lazy' animals such as *burro* (donkey). Also, Timorese Indigenous Peoples were brutally offended by the Portuguese, who labelled them as "a damnable colony cursed to perpetual backwardness." (Roque, 2010, p. 3). These highly disrespectful labels helped construct narratives about Indigenous Peoples worldwide that still impact their lives negatively today.

Before and during the colonisation of Australia, anthropological descriptions and concepts about race were used to justify the physical and cultural destruction of Aboriginal Peoples (Reynolds, 1996; Chalmers, 2013; Phillips & Lampert, 2012). Theories such as 'The Great Chain of Being' were employed to situate Aboriginal Peoples as inhuman and, therefore, without rights (Dodson, 1994; Greenop & Memmott, 2013). This hierarchical theological explanation for all the existence situated God on top, angels and demons would come next, then humans (men above women), then the animals, plants and finally minerals would take place in the 'Great Chain of Being'. European scholars asserted that non-white people were lower on the 'Great Chain of Being', sitting somewhere between humans and animals. These theories provided convenient and powerful 'proof' of the supposed intellectual, moral, and social incapacities of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples (Phillips and Lampert, 2012).

This pseudo-scientific theory still circulates, albeit dressed up in other languages. Commonly known as eugenics, this racist belief system has led certain societies to arrange human reproduction to increase the proportion of 'desirable' characteristics across the population. Primarily developed by Francis Galton (1883) as a method of 'improving humans', eugenics was increasingly discredited as unscientific and racially biased during the 20th century, especially after Nazis adopted it to justify their treatment of Jews, disabled people, and

other minority groups, including Indigenous Peoples (Galton, 1904; Levine & Bashford, 2010). The previous US Republican president, Donald Trump, is one of the political figures who revealed, in the Frontline documentary, *The Choice*, that he agreed with the theory that intellect and success are purely genetic qualities. Trump asserted, in his Twitter page, that having "the right genes" gave him his "very good brain." (Trump, 2016). This highlights the ongoing influence of eugenic thinking within some influential policymaking circles across the Western world.

The dehumanisation of Indigenous Peoples was motivated, in part, by the doctrines of international law that dictated that settlement could only legally proceed by three means: conquest, cession or terra nullius (Chalmers, 2020). This is evident in the referendum in 1967, where Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples were first recognised as people in the Australian Constitution (National Archives of Australia, 2019).

The ways that non-Indigenous Australians continue to perceive Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples as inferior illustrate those negative stereotypes and racist viewpoints still powerful in Australian society. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples still carry profound 'scars' in all areas of society, especially education. Universities contribute to how students, both domestic and international, Indigenous and non-Indigenous, see themselves and their connections to others (Philips, Lampert & Healy, 2004). What students experience in the classroom contributes to their understanding of societal roles. The images and perceptions that were used to justify Aboriginal dispossession in the late 18th century continue to pass into the minds of non-Indigenous and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students as they sit in their lectures and tutorials today (Tomlins-Jahnke et al., 2019). In universities, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples are generally represented as remnants of a paralysed past, holders of an exotic, folkloric, traditional culture, or assimilated (Tomlins-Jahnke, et al., 2019). For Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students, their stories are not represented as Australian stories (Tomlins-Jahnke et al., 2019) - the absence of narratives about Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples' dynamic contributions to Australian society is also responsible for reinforcing the colonial agenda of Indigenous disappearance/assimilation (Tomlins-Jahnke et al., 2019).

Alongside the university educators, journalists also have the power to choose to perpetuate the racist and colonial narrative about the First Nations (Australian and worldwide) or help to rectify the true 'Black History'. By bringing a better understanding of cultural

differences and inclusion in the mainstream mass media and increasing their cultural reflexivity and responsiveness for engaging with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples' journalists can achieve two main objectives: Firstly, they will allow non-Indigenous audiences to understand the interconnections more deeply between their histories and cultures and those of the Indigenous Peoples of Australia and other places in the world. For example, through more culturally responsible journalism, non-Indigenous Peoples may gain an appreciation of the country that they share with traditional owners. Secondly, it will enable non-Indigenous journalists to create opportunities for Indigenous Peoples to articulate and build on their cultural worldview rather than assimilate the dominant ideological framework (Tomlins-Jahnke et al., 2019).

Cultural diversity is increasing worldwide; culture is mobile and agile and travels and evolves (Clifford, 1997). The conception of 'culture as a movement' implies that not only do people move, but so do images, ideas, sounds, symbols, and objects. They flow and circulate the globe, transcending arbitrary national borders (Hopper, 2006). As our cultures shift over time, our understanding of previously appropriate and culturally respectful journalistic materials may also change (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997; Tomlins-Jahnke et al., 2019). Mass media, and therefore journalists, have played and will continue to play, an essential role in ensuring that stereotypical representations of Indigenous Peoples are disrupted. This must be done to open more journalistically related choices and opportunities for Indigenous journalists in Australia and worldwide. It is crucial that more Indigenous journalists are invited to bring their understandings, priorities, and cultures into mainstream journalism, and they should feel comfortable doing so (Philips, Lampert & Healy, 2004). Also, university educators' and higher education journalism curriculum designers' critical understandings about who they are as cultural actors and knowledge producers must make them even more accountable for whether their notions of diversity continue to result in educational materials that serve and benefit all students, Indigenous and non-Indigenous (Tomlins-Jahnke et al., 2019). As cultures shift and evolve, journalists must also understand them. Journalists must continually reflect on their cultural positions and those of their diverse audiences to avoid essentialism, delegitimising and reifying Indigenous cultures and viewpoints.

1.2.2 – Decolonisation as a way of remedying Colonisation

In this section, I will focus on the importance of a decolonisation process for remedying the impacts of colonisation on Indigenous Peoples as emphasised in studies by Indigenous authors including those from Australia (e.g. Fredericks & Croft, 2007; Martin, 2003; Moreton-Robinson, 2000), New Zealand (e.g. Bishop & Glynn, 1999; Bishop, 2020; Tuhiwai-Smith, 1999), United States (e.g. Cajete, 2008; Duran, 2006; Grande, 2004; Meyer, 2008; Trask, 2004) and Canada (e.g. Alfred & Corntassel; Baskin, 2018; Battiste, 2004; Graveline, 2012).

Decolonisation is a term mostly associated with the “undoing” of colonisation (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2017). Fanon (1963) positions decolonisation as a necessarily violent phenomenon that seeks to overturn the violent order established by the colonial event. In his book, *Black Skin White Masks*, Fanon portrays the oppressed in the context of skin colour – ‘white’ versus ‘black’, with ‘black’ being the oppressed group (Moeke-Pickering, 2010). Fanon (1967) argues that black people who are subjected to racism are taught that their culture and skin colour are abnormal – and this experience and realisation is traumatising (p. 148) “which often leads to a certain sensitising action” (p. 154). In this sensitised state, Fanon argues, the black person creates a consciousness that disconnects the mind from the body (Moeke-Pickering, 2010). In this regard, Fanon (1967) contributes a way of understanding the psychological damage that can happen to a person when they are ‘marked’ as inferior because of their darker skin. This information is important because it emphasises that colonialism is not just about the acquisition and accumulation of capital resources but also includes psychological constructs that act to constrain the wellbeing of the most oppressed. This psychological harm is, *per se*, enough reason to necessitate a process of decolonisation.

From Fanon’s (1963) work, one can understand that, for a decolonisation project to be successful, a complete and profound change needs to take place. Fanon posits that decolonisation sets out to change the order of things; it aims to show how the coloniser’s world is in disorder and out of control (Moeke-Pickering, 2010), destabilising the coloniser’s power. The coloniser resists all propositions for change (Fanon (1963). In this way, decolonisation is the meeting of two opposing forces: the coloniser against the colonised.

The Brazilian theorist, philosopher and non-Indigenous educator, Paulo Freire (1921-1997) sheds light on ‘oppression’ in the context of colonisation. In 1970, he stated the following:

“Any situation in which ‘A’ objectively exploits ‘B’ or hinders his and her pursuit of self-affirmation as a responsible person is one of oppression (...) And for the oppressors, what is worthwhile is to have more, always more, even at the cost of the oppressed having less or having nothing. For them, to be is to have and to be the class of the ‘haves’.” (p. 40)

To understand the oppressed and their desire for change, Freire (1970) uses the concept of “revolutionary cultural action” (p. 21). He discusses the actions of the oppressed often referring to these actions as a ‘task for radicals’. Freire (1970) asserts that “the more radical the person is, the more fully he or she enters into reality so that, knowing it better, he or she can better transform it” (p. 21). This links to the process of decolonisation which is a deeply transformational journey to both coloniser and colonised.

Freire also draws on the dialectic of humanisation and dehumanisation as centred within a historical reality. He argues that “when a person perceives the extent of dehumanisation, they may realise that humanisation is a viable possibility” (Freire, 1970, p. 25). When thwarted by injustice, exploitation, oppression, and violence by oppressors, the oppressed yearn for freedom and justice. They struggle to recover their lost humanity. The compelling force in this account is the desire to seek humanity. Freire views the true quest of the oppressed as a quest for human completion (Moeke-Pickering, 2010). This quest is central to the emancipatory goals of my research, which seek to understand better the extent of dehumanisation inflicted on the First Nations Peoples in the westernised mainstream Mass Media system. Most importantly, my research focuses on how non-Indigenous journalists can avoid perpetuating dehumanisation, opting for journalism strategies and practices that reinforce more the humanity of Indigenous Peoples.

The Tunisian author, Memmi (1991) similarly centres much of his work on both the colonised and the coloniser. Like Fanon and Freire, Memmi maintains that violence is a consequence of colonialism. He states that the more privileged classes seek to invade other countries, to establish colonies and make “a substantial profit” (Memmi, 1991, p. 4). In the name of that “substantial profit”, materialised as money and power, Memmi (1991) explains

that “the colonisers were not even interested in the prestige of the flag, or cultural expansion, or even governmental supervision” (p. 6), but rather more focused on the creation of ‘privilege’, or the ability to exploit the colonised. Following Memmi’s logic, if the colonisers’ living standards are high, it is because those of the colonised are low; if a coloniser can easily obtain administrative positions, it is because those positions are reserved for the colonisers and the colonised are excluded from them; if the colonisers benefit from servants, plentiful and undemanding labour, it is because the colonised can be exploited and are unprotected by the laws of the colony (Moeke-Pickering, 2010). More emphatically, “the more freely the coloniser breathes, the more the colonized are choked” (Memmi, 1991, p. 8). Memmi (1991) further asserts that certain advantages are reserved for the colonised. Conversely, the colonised will see these advantages “forever be refused to them” (Memmi 1991, p.9).

Crucially, though, these anti-colonial theorists have concluded that the burden of achieving emancipation and decolonisation rests on the shoulders of the oppressed. As Freire argues:

“Although the situation of oppression is a dehumanized and dehumanizing totality affecting both the oppressor and those whom they oppress, it is the latter who must, from their stifled humanity, wage for both the struggle for a fuller humanity; the oppressor, who is himself dehumanized because he dehumanizes others, is unable to lead this struggle.” (Freire, 1970, p.47).

Nevertheless, this research intends to explore the possibility of the 'oppressor', who in this case is conceptualised as the non-Indigenous journalist in a westernised mass media context, transforming into something more humane and beneficial to all. Change, in this scenario, involves utilising a combination of reflection and action. Praxis, as defined by Freire, incorporates the ability to reflect, reason, dialogue, and communicate. Freire (1970) encourages educators to embrace pedagogical praxis when teaching about oppression – and this is particularly pertinent in the higher education journalism courses. He outlines an educational pathway which he calls ‘co-intentional education’. The purpose of a co-intentional education is to encourage a dialogue based on equal representation, and in that sharing and equalisation, he positions critical thinking and discovery as an essential component (Moeke-Pickering, 2010). This PhD thesis also creates a space to reflect and dialogue, where all voices are equal and deserve to be heard.

1.2.3 – Concept of Decivilisation

The concept of decivilisation is also worthy of mention in this study as it is linked to colonisation and decolonisation processes. The noun *décivilisé* was first coined in a colonial novel by Charles Renel named *Le Décivilisé*, published in 1923 in France. Renel was an open-minded humanist who respected Malagasy culture and worked to extend Indigenous opportunities for secondary and higher education. The main protagonist of Renel's novel, Adhémar Foliquet, is a professional teacher who comes to Madagascar to seek his fortune. Gradually, he is absorbed into the life and rhythms of a small village, remote from the centres of French influence. Foliquet then realises that "il s'était décivilisé": he had "decivilised" (Renel, 1923, p. 11) after losing a sense of racial superiority, faith in the beneficent power of western science, and the idea of 'work' (White, 2004). What Foliquet failed was, in fact, his faith in civilisation. However, Renel's character is the republican schoolteacher who sees the Indigenous children of Madagascar the same way he sees the children of any French school. Also, the novel ends with the beginning of the war in Europe and Foliquet receiving his call-up papers, meaning that he returns to his former identity and "(...) in a few hours he had recivilized" (Renel, 1923, p. 93-95). He sets off to defend France and "to take part in the bloody slaughters that had become necessary" (Renel, 1923, p. 238-247) to civilised people. Overall, this was not a classic "going native" story in which a white protagonist 'betrays his race'; there was already a French verb for that at the time: *s'indigéniser* (White, 2004). But the verb Renel coined, *se déciviliser*, questioned the value of western civilisation to Indigenous Peoples. The author wrote this story in the aftermath of World War I, "whose mechanised devastation led many to question their faith in the benefits of progress, a concept that had come to be associated with civilisation itself" (White, 2004, p. 561).

Renel's novel resulted in an anticolonial text. At times, it reads like a contemporary critique of globalisation (White, 2004), representing the very start of the conversation about decivilisation. A renewal of interest in the idea of 'noble savagery' or at least a sense that western civilisation might not hold all the keys to human fulfilment followed in reaction. People started to question the human basis of French colonialism and "where the French stood in relation to non-French or non-white peoples" (White, 2004, p. 562). Therefore, the conception of *se déciviliser* carried with it lasting impressions that further authors and researchers developed.

In 1928, Pierre Mille defined decivilisation as a miscegenation effect. Mille argued that white men's relationships with compliant 'native women' made it more challenging to enjoy

'conjugal peace' later with the more independent and 'civilised' white woman. One can also find that miscegenation was an essential component of decivilisation in Georges Hardy's work (1926 to 1933). Hardy saw decivilisation as something to be avoided at all costs because it undermined a European's dignity and prestige. However, Hardy also claimed that the number of Europeans who decivilised was "decreasing day by day, especially since the European woman made her official entry into colonial life." (Hardy, 1929, p. 78-79).

For Norbert Elias (1939;1982), who wrote extensively on civilising and decivilising processes, the civilising process of modern western societies was not a naturally occurring phenomenon but a social construction based on contingent historical developments (e.g. colonialism) - which at any time could be thrown into a 'decivilising' reverse by such phenomena as war, natural disaster, and economic collapse (Garland, 1990). Furthermore, Elias suggested that civilisation involves transforming human habitus so that violence is gradually subjected to more effective and more sophisticated forms of management and control. In contrast, decivilisation includes processes that increase violence and disrupt the stability and consistency of ongoing social relations. In addition, forces and political strategies that had helped to embed the civilising process were perhaps at their weakest (particularly in the South, particularly in New Zealand) and those making possible this decivilising reversal at their strongest. In sum, and according to Andrew Linklater's work

"(...) the rise of state monopoly powers in early modern Europe promoted internal pacification, but it permitted gross violations of human rights in totalitarian states and the abuse of civil liberties in many democratic societies." (Linklater, 2005, p. 142)

Linklater (2005) concludes that there is no expectation in Elias's writings (1939;1982) that the civilising process could be completed or be free from reversal or collapse. Also, there is no assumption that the civilising process could eradicate the decivilising processes that always attend it. Kelley, Césaire & Pinkham (2000) also reflected on the civilising processes of colonialism, arguing that colonialism is "a disruptive, decivilising, dehumanising, exploitative, racist, violent, brutal, covetous, and 'thinking' system" (p. 32). In other words, Elias (1996) shows that barbarism and civilisation are very much related. In the civilising process, one cannot satisfy individual, or group needs and desires "without reciprocally destroying, frustrating, demeaning or in other ways harming each other time and time again in their search for this satisfaction" (Elias, 1996, p. 31).

Robert van Krieken, in his paper named "The barbarism of civilisation: cultural genocide and the 'Stolen Generations'" (1999), explores the extent to which 'civilising offensives' and the self-conscious attempts to bring about 'civilisation', have revolved around "essentially violent policies and practices particularly on the systematic removal of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children from their families, largely for the social engineering purpose of the gradual and systematic annihilation of Aboriginal cultural identity" (Krieken, 1999, p. 297). The author argued that,

"The civilisation was precisely the 'watchword', the conceptual and ideological banner used consistently to characterise the difference between white people – who possessed civilisation, albeit to varying degrees – and Aboriginal people, who had to achieve it, again with varying degrees of recognised success. The civilisation was colonialism's most central organising concept, quintessentially what imperialism and the colonial project was meant to achieve, and the degree of civilisation spread over the globe the measure of its success or failure." (Krieken, 1999, p. 299)

In more recent years, Cynthia Veiga (2017), a Brazilian researcher interested in Elias' sociological theory of civilisation and decivilisation processes applied to the education area of research and the study of the human body, emotions and behaviours, states that Elias was one of the first authors to show the historical process of change in the patterns that society demands and prohibits in a civilising process. Veiga (2017) argues that, in the nineteenth century, the West declared itself civilised in an environment of new power struggles that were strongly reinforced by the colonialism project:

"In this context, there were stronger demands for the education system that imposed precise behavioural changes on all classes in a particular direction: the need for the self-control of instincts and emotions at the expense of external coercion." (Veiga, 2017, p. 23).

The demand to become civilised was presented as a decisive condition for progress. And, despite local differences, the call for western education as a civilising condition, whether at home or school, was imposed (Veiga, 2017). Western manuals on civility and educational theory were disseminated, as were schools for the education of young people. "In the different early childhood education manuals, self-control of the body and emotions was prescribed" (Veiga, 2017, p. 23).

Veiga's work is particularly relevant to this study because her work focused on researching and understanding how a colonialist educational system designed to 'civilise' Indigenous Peoples works - in Veiga's context towards the Indigenous Peoples in Brazil. Likewise, in Australia and other places in the world with First Nations Peoples, the school became the "best place for the 'civilisation' of children and young people, and it was characteristically marked by disciplinary strictness, expressed in the school's furniture, in the delimitation of space, time, content distribution, and in the submission to adults" (Veiga, 2017, p. 24). Veiga even adds the following:

“Public schools demanded a high level of auto-coercion from children from all origins, particularly First Nations students who were the ones that needed to be 'civilised' the most. Physical, verbal and cultural violence was required to keep the children seated and quiet for long hours to learn how to read, write, and count. (...) The so-called moral discipline, through public embarrassment, became the civilised way to correct undesirable behaviour. (...) However, despite appeals against pedagogical violence, the use of paddles, whips, spanking, food deprivation, etc. (...) was the norm for a significant period. (...) Teaching and learning methods were traditionally linked to some form of violence.” (Veiga, 2017, p. 24).

Veiga also notes that the history of colonial imposed education in the European colonies worldwide was more often linked to fear, punishment, coercion and submission than to the freedom and pleasure of experiencing, questioning, learning, and discussing new knowledge as a group. This shift in education erased many Indigenous languages and the First Nations' learning and teaching strategies and practices. Furthermore, "this was associated with the considerable historical inequality in power relations between adults (employers, teachers, parents) and young people and children (employees, learners, students, and children)" (Veiga, 2017, p. 25). In addition to generational tensions, one finds gender, social, ethnic, and racial conflicts.

According to Veiga's work, from the mid-twentieth century, one sees a progression in what Elias called decivilisation - the loosening of manners and informality in social relations:

“Evidence of this decivilisation is the increasing reduction in the power differential among groups, to a greater or lesser proportion, with emphasis on the relations between men and women, adults and younger generations, and ethnic groups. (...) But the progressive loosening of customs did not happen in the absence of strong tensions.” (Veiga, 2017, p. 29)

Even more so, Tyson Yunkaporta (2021), in a talk for the University of New South Wales named "How Indigenous Thinking Can Save the World", also referred to the substantial tensions that decivilising processes demand necessarily. Yunkaporta stated in this talk that he believes that decivilisation is an even more significant project than decolonisation itself:

“Decolonisation is 'fun' but is a distraction. What we need to do is really to decivilise. And to do that, you need to learn about the full complexity of human nature. We have very complex structures that make sure that we live within our landscape's limits, under the law of the land, and everybody needs to come back to Country and learn.” (Yunkaporta, 2021)

He argues that even though decolonisation is necessary and urgent, it is not as disruptive nor profound enough to significantly improve the lives of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples. Decolonising is just a part of the decivilising process, just as colonialism is part of the civilised western process.

Yunkaporta also believes that colonial oppression is an ongoing issue in Australia, especially in the higher education sector – where the future journalists (Indigenous and non-Indigenous) are learning to communicate to diverse audiences and where Yunkaporta, as an Aboriginal man, feels he needs to do what he does to survive in this 'civilising' educational system:

“I am an academic that is here to domesticate young people by ruining their young minds. That is what I do. I am an educator. That is how I am allowed to, very tentatively and tenuously, clean the bottomland of the middle classes to feed my extended family. I do not like it, but that is what I do - I am ruining peoples' minds for money in this westernised world.” (Yunkaporta, 2021)

In summary, this research study resonates with a broad decivilising project of westernised mass media - a powerful vehicle of the colonial civilising endeavour, by contributing to the decolonisation of non-Indigenous journalists' strategies and practices. As the literature mentions, decivilisation also includes decolonisation, which questions colonisation, perhaps the biggest civilising event. This research also encapsulates a necessary level of tension and 'discomfort' between Indigenous and non-Indigenous journalists through its decolonising research theoretical framework (see Chapter 3) and research methodology (see Chapter 4). This study's tension and 'discomfort' can necessarily be 'violent', as violence is part of any

decolonising exercise. Likewise, violence is always present in any decivilising process, but it reveals itself on a whole different level as decivilising is an ambitious and complex project.

To conclude this section, this investigation can somehow be seen as a study that contributes to the broader project of decivilisation through a particular decolonising research exercise towards journalism in Australia and other countries with First Nations worldwide, where colonial racism is still ongoing. I will explore the persistent racism reflected in journalism in the following section.

1.2.4 – Racism: the need and urgency to stop perpetuating it

Racism continues to pervade western society and is reflected in our mainstream Mass Media system. Thus, understanding racism and its links to colonialism and oppression within non-Indigenous journalism is significant to the background of this study. Moreover, colonial racism is linked to privilege, and this racism is an ongoing force in colonial societies, of which Australia is one (Memmi, 1991). Racism appears not as an incidental but as a consubstantial part of colonialism. This conceptualisation of racism evokes the image of a racialised social pyramid, where the colonised are destined to exist at the very bottom of the hierarchy. This is highly relevant to my study in that it provides a framework for understanding the impact of colonial racism on First Nations, particularly Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples in the case of Australia, and how the muting and obscuration of their knowledges, cultural values and meanings were established within a racialised social hierarchy. It is also essential to reflect on how this dynamic still influences crucial areas of society, such as mainstream Mass Media.

Racial discrimination is a problem in Australia. 34.2% of people from non-English speaking backgrounds reported that they had experienced discrimination recently in Australia (Markus, 2018). Proportionately, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people experience individual and systemic racism at higher levels still. According to the Reconciliation Barometer, 33% of Indigenous respondents reported experiencing verbal racial abuse in the previous six months (Reconciliation Australia, 2018). Even from these statistics alone, a commitment to combatting racism and developing cultural safety in the Australian community, workplace and other social settings is imperative.

Scheurich and Young (1997) highlighted the pervasiveness and malleability of racism in today's world. These authors see racism as something that exists across multiple levels within

contemporary society, with such forms of racism ranging from individual racism (e.g. overt and covert racism), institutional racism (e.g. biases, beliefs and practices that favour one racial group within any given workplace), societal racism (e.g. where broader norms or cultural assumptions exclude other racial groups), and finally civilisational racism where general civilisational beliefs become so deeply embedded within dominant group realities that ‘other’ truths and ways of knowing are rejected entirely (Bodkin-Andrews & Carlson, 2014). Scheurich and Young (1997) also identified the emergence (and ignorance of) epistemological racism and how it continually impacts emerging research and ways of teaching in today’s universities. Epistemological racism is where the academic way of teaching and conducting research, corresponding theories, methodologies, and ways of knowing and doing have emerged from a higher education dominant group - this leads to alienating and very often dismissing the perspectives of minority groups, cultures, and researchers (Bodkin-Andrews & Carlson, 2014; Moreton-Robinson, 2011; Tuhiwai Smith, 2012; Walter & Andersen, 2013).

In a critical shift in the racism-based literature within Australia, Mellor (2003) produced findings highlighting how limited the Eurocentric epistemological lens can enhance understanding of what racism is today. Through a set of semi-structured and open-ended interviews, Mellor (2003) heard the voices of First Nations adults regarding their perceptions of racism within Australia. The results of these interviews, rather than mirroring the perpetrator-based research on racism, such as covert and overt racism, found that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander participants viewed and felt racism as a different and complicated construct. Mellor (2003) found racism to be experienced in forms ranging from verbal racism, including name-calling and jokes, behavioural racism, such as avoidance and assault, macro-discrimination such as media misinformation and selective views on history, to institutional discrimination, including examples such as denial of services and the over-application of punishment. More so, the frequency with which the participants experienced these forms of racism led Mellor (2003) to confirm that racism may be very much alive in Australia:

“The argument that there is a cultural norm against racism ... may thus be misleading, at least in the Australian context. Not only was it the norm for participants in this study to have experienced racism in their daily lives but much of the racism experienced was one-on-one, blatant, old-fashioned racism.” (Mellor, 2003, p. 483)

Racism is a social phenomenon in Australia (Paradies, 2018), but the pain experienced by some Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people who are rejected by their communities is less often acknowledged. Bodkin-Andrews & Carlson (2016) documents a lifetime of contestation in her (and other's) search for informal and official confirmation of Aboriginality. In particular, she "explore[s] what motivates and rationalizes the desire to signal Aboriginality as opposed to just 'knowing' one is Aboriginal or to just 'being' Aboriginal" (Bodkin-Andrews & Carlson 2016, p. 13). The impact of denial of self-identification is also evidenced in Bennett's (2015) PhD on the experiences of fair-skinned Aboriginal people being challenged by community members from whom they would seek acceptance. In Hollinsworth, Raciti & Carter's work, based on three focus groups, with a total of 21 (made up of 6, 4, 11) Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander undergraduate students in two Australian regional universities, students' counter stories "show the visceral and intellectual challenges they face given the common lack of certainty and community acceptance about their own identities that are often compounded by institutional racism within the university context" (Hollinsworth, Raciti & Carter, 2021, p. 123). These students confirmed that current policy and practice regulating Indigenous students act in restrictive and potentially punitive ways that Hirtz (2003) terms 'bureaucratic indigeneity' (Hollinsworth, Raciti & Carter, 2021). Non-disclosure of (self-identified) Aboriginality for those able to 'pass' as white "does offer protection but can also result in serious anxiety and hurt from having to avoid certain topics and family members" (Bennett, 2015, p. 210). Johnson (1993) outlines these complexities and potential for an agency: 'passing' for and masquerading as white can be seen as a way of negotiating plural identities and subject positions. "Many individuals face these challenges because of their fair-skinned appearance and/or their experiences as members or descendants of the Stolen Generations" (Hollinsworth, Raciti & Carter, 2021, p. 123). The Aboriginal ancestry of others was denied or concealed because parents and grandparents received official revocation of their Aboriginality through Certificates of Exemption, requiring their complete cessation of all contact with non-exempt relatives (Hollinsworth, Raciti & Carter, 2021). Others even opted to publicly identify as Australian South Sea Islander, Indian, Filipino, Chinese, or Polynesian (which may have been part of their genealogy) to avoid enduring the racism and threats directed at Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people, especially the removal of children - the Stolen Generations event (Ganter, Martinez & Lee, 2006).

Mainstream Mass Media should not perpetuate any layer of racism and must be mindful of First Nations audiences' highly political trajectories and cultural diversity.

Journalistic institutions must avoid mandating positionalities or imposing further restrictive categorisation and racialisation on their Indigenous audiences. Against the current deficit focus on the needs of Indigenous Peoples, emphasis should instead be placed on the needs of staff (management, journalists, and administrative) for awareness of their privilege (Hollinsworth, Raciti & Carter, 2021) and the limitations of their knowledge of and capacity to serve Indigenous audiences in culturally safe ways (Carter et al., 2021). Therefore, this thesis argues that to overcome a situation of oppression in mainstream Mass Media context, in countries with First Nations populations, particularly in Australia, on a micro-level, given this study is not focused on the macro-institutional level, non-Indigenous journalists must first critically recognise its historical and social causes. Every non-Indigenous journalist who identifies as part of the problem has the power to at least, try to be part of the process of decolonisation. As such, these journalists can benefit significantly from becoming more self-aware of their privilege, as this self-reflection exercise can allow them to identify their possible racism and, most importantly, fight it as an essential part of their professional responsibility. To that end, self-reflection and applying these reflections to personal action can lead them to create new, less oppressive journalistic situations and participate in actively confronting colonial racism despite all the discomfort that may come along with it. This research project will be part of this authentic struggle to transform and decolonise journalism in countries with First Nations Peoples, particularly in Australia, where racism is still very much present, as evidenced by many Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples' mass media experiences. Consequently, in the following section, I argue for the importance of decolonising journalism if we are ever to become increasingly self-aware of our privilege and transform strategies and practices to better support all audiences, particularly Indigenous audiences, including Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples.

1.2.5 – Decolonising journalism starts at the University

Decolonising journalism, particularly in Australia, is a process that uncovers and acts on the culturally destructive assumptions, ideologies and images that have been 'hiding' Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples' ways of being, doing and knowing since 1788. This has occurred through the imposition of western culture, politics, and practices. The debate around decolonising journalism is naturally related to the teaching and learning of journalism at the higher education level. Consequently, the discussion of decolonising university curricula, including journalism courses' curricula, and embedding Indigenous perspectives has been

extensive, rigorous and is ongoing (see Dreise et al., 2021; Hart, 2010; Kirmayer et al., 2011; Philips & Lampert, 2012; Harvey & Russell-Mundine, 2018; Bullen & Flavell, 2022).

Fourteen years ago, Nakata (2007) noted that rigorous international debates were happening within the Indigenous studies field about what defines Indigenous knowledge, Indigenous perspectives, or Indigenous studies (see Agrawal, 2002; Tuhiwai-Smith, 1999, 2012). These debates continue today (see Harvey & Russell-Mundine, 2018; Bullen & Flavell, 2022). Nakata conceptualised the meeting site between Western and Indigenous worldviews as the 'cultural interface', which is:

“The intersection of the Western and Indigenous domains (...) the place where we live and learn, the place that conditions our lives, the place that shapes our futures and, more to the point, the place where we are active agents in our own lives – where we make decisions – our lifeworld.” (Nakata, 2002, p. 285)

As such, it is imperative that universities act as catalysts for decolonisation. They can do this by centring Indigenous knowledge into curricula (MacLaughlin & Whatman, 2011). However, decolonisation of knowledge in western universities usually occurs in tension with traditional western constructions of Indigenous epistemologies and cultures (see Battiste & Youngblood-Henderson, 2000; Tuhiwai Smith, 1999; Thaman, 2008). This study argues that non-Indigenous educators, particularly the ones teaching Communication Sciences and Journalism, should look to decolonisation as a ‘discomforting’, power-shifting, transformational and urgent necessity for professional and personal practice and improvement overall, particularly on educator’s abilities, experiences of the students and the quality of the education (Dreise, 2021; Bullen et al., 2021). The decolonising movement is both political and personal for Indigenous scholars. They live these contestations at the epistemological and cultural interface (Nakata, 2002) and in a never-ending political mission. These scholars are continuously fighting for their voices to be heard and for their culture to be respected and appropriately included in all areas of academia, including Communication Sciences. Most importantly, Indigenous scholars expect a much-needed increase in Indigenous academics, Indigenous staff, and Indigenous students in higher education. If non-Indigenous scholars, educators, and university managers were more supportive of the inclusion of Indigenous knowledge, Indigenous scholars worldwide, particularly in Australia, where Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander scholars are highly under-represented (Bullen et al., 2021), would have

more success in decolonising education, therefore the mainstream Mass Media sector and the journalists' strategies and practices.

Furthermore, Tuhiwai Smith (2005) and many other Indigenous scholars worldwide, including Emeagwali & Dei (2014) from Africa and Zhou, Knoke & Sakamoto (2005) from Canada, have argued that within the western academy, Indigenous knowledge is conceptualised as 'Other'. Being the 'Other' constitutes Indigenous identities as 'colonised' in relation to 'westerners' as 'the colonisers'. However, First Nations and specifically the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples' knowledge systems have existed outside of, as well as within, the coloniser/colonised binary. Therefore, the presence of decolonising knowledge in universities challenges colonial forms of knowledge, pedagogical strategies, and research methodologies (MacLaughlin & Whatman, 2011). Decolonisation also explores avenues for bringing together both the 'oppressed' and the 'oppressors' (Freire, 1970). Decolonising education will involve significant, system-level changes. It will require the concerted and collaborative efforts of Indigenous and non-Indigenous scholars, educators, and professionals such as journalists in the Communication Sciences. I argue that this process is essential and assert that system-level changes are necessary to transform strategies and practices that will better support Communication Sciences students and their audiences when they finally start working as journalists.

1.2.5.1 – Indigenous worldviews, pedagogies, and decolonising framework in higher education

Indigenous worldviews have emerged as a discourse in education since the 1990s (Alfred, 2005; Grande, 2004; Graveline, 2012; Smith, 2003; Wepa, 2005). These worldviews highlight the value and pertinency of the Indigenous histories, perspectives, and knowledges. Indigenous worldviews inspire the application of Indigenous pedagogies (Battiste, 2013; Bishop, 2022; Trask, 1993). Features of Indigenous pedagogies include: drawing from the depth of traditional teachings (Graveline, 1996; Nabigon & Wenger-Nabigon, 2012; Pohatu, 2004); applying understanding of ceremonies and cultural practices (Baskin, 2006; Battiste et al., 2002; Duran, 2006; Pereira, 2014); engagement in discourse and critical analysis (Bishop, 2021; G.H. Smith, 2003) and, assisting Indigenous Peoples to construct perspectives that are empowering (Absolon, 2010; Archibald, 2008; Durie, 2004; Grande, 2004; Sinclair, 2004). Most importantly, Indigenous pedagogies can be used to create social, cultural, and political awareness in education, and, therefore, these pedagogies can inspire social change.

Often, Indigenous worldviews form the foundation for Indigenous-based models and theories, such as the Cree Medicine Wheel Teachings (Nabigon & Mawhiney, 1996); the Whare Tapa Wha (Durie, 1994); the Red Pedagogy (Grande, 2004); the Ecology of Indigenous Education (Cajete, 1994); the Te Wheke (Pere, 1991); the Indigenous Story work (Archibald, 2008); the Decolonizing Methodologies (Tuhiwai-Smith, 1999); or the Eight-ways Framework of Aboriginal Pedagogy (Yunkaporta, 2009). For example, Grande's (2004) Red Pedagogy examines the intersection between social and political and critical theory and Indigenous American social and political thought. Red Pedagogy promotes restorative projects that value Indigenous languages, cultural knowledges, and histories. Grande (2004) shows the possibilities of developing and designing theories pertinent to Indigenous worldviews. Another Indigenous model from Aotearoa/New Zealand is the Whare Tapa Wha model, created by Mason Durie in 1982. This model, founded on Maori philosophy, is based on a holistic health and wellness framework. It can be applied to health education, whether physical, spiritual, cultural, or psychological well-being (Moeke-Pickering, 2010; Durie, 1994). Moreover, the Eight-way Aboriginal Pedagogy (Yunkaporta, 2009) is a communitarian learning model based on eight different Aboriginal pedagogies to support teaching and learning for all learners in a holistic, non-linear, visual, kinaesthetic, social, and contextualised way. The eight interconnected and sophisticated approaches to knowledge are synthesised by Yunkaporta (2009; Yunkaporta & Kirby, 2011) as follows: Story Sharing – 'We are connected through the stories we share'; Learning maps – 'We picture our processes of knowledge'; Non-verbal – 'We see, think, act, make and share without words'; Symbols and Images – 'We keep and share knowledge with art and objects'; Land Links – 'We work with lessons and metaphors from land and nature'; Non-linear – 'We put different ideas together and create new knowledge'; Deconstruct-reconstruct – 'We work from wholes to parts, watching and then doing'; Community links – 'We bring new knowledge home to help our mob'. These eight complementary educational approaches can illustrate Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander ways of being, doing, thinking, teaching, and learning.

Indigenous authors (e.g., Baskin, 2006; Battiste, 2000; Grande, 2004; Moreton-Robinson, 2000; Mutua & Swadener, 2004; Tuhiwai-Smith, 1999; Wepa, 2005) argue that academia exercises Eurocentric domination and control through its structures and processes. They see traditional western academic practices as an impediment to Indigenous education (opinion shared by Alfred, 2005; Battiste, 2000; Bishop & Glynn, 1999; B. Duran & E. Duran, 2000; Graveline, 2012; Smith, 2003). This places the onus on First Nations Peoples to keep

their narratives of colonisation and oppression active and constant – something that seems to be exacerbated by the rise of neoliberalism in higher education (Gyamera & Burke, 2018). This is relevant to my study in that the work of these authors provides a lens with which to examine the layers of oppression in the university system, particularly in Communication courses and Journalism. Importantly, this body of scholarship offers strategies for non-Indigenous educators/professional journalists who teach in a university and are trying to work around them.

Indigenous authors and non-Indigenous ‘allies’ are advocating for a framework that critically analyses colonial and post-colonial contexts and for the prioritising of Indigenous Peoples’ rights over the oppressive colonising paradigms (Moeke-Pickering, 2010). Explicit in a decolonisation framework is the intention of subverting colonial oppression and racism. The critical pattern emerging here is the evident efforts by all the authors mentioned in this thesis section to destabilise western-centric scholars’ stronghold over academia. They pursue this goal mainly by challenging colonial ideals and values and trying to indigenise the educational system - they focus on centring Indigenous knowledges, which has been consistently marginalised in the academy.

1.2.5.2 – The complexity and barriers to decolonising education

Decolonising knowledge in Western universities occurs in tension between traditional western knowledges and Indigenous epistemologies and cultures (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999; Battiste, 2000; Battiste & Youngblood-Henderson, 2000; Battiste 2013; Nakata, 2002; Thaman, 2008). Similar tensions may arise when decolonising non-Indigenous educators' knowledge, attitudes, and teaching practices in Australian higher education, and the same may happen when decolonising non-Indigenous students in courses such as Communication Sciences who then will be the future non-Indigenous journalists in action using the knowledge, attitudes and practices learned in university. As higher education skills are usually the ones one tends to apply in the professional setting, this research project investigates all these tensions and points of friction. Ultimately, it is mainly concerned with understanding the emotional dimensions of non-Indigenous journalists' perceptions and practices towards the implications of the increasing ethnic and cultural diversity in their professional lives (Zembylas & Chubbuck, 2009).

It is becoming clear that attempting to decolonise education and actively resist colonial paradigms is complicated, time-consuming and 'discomforting'. Educators should reject

colonial/racist curricula that offer students a fragmented and distorted picture of Indigenous Peoples worldwide. Instead, they should give students critical perspectives of the historical 'full picture'. To change things for the better, non-Indigenous educators must start by reflecting on their cultural understandings and teaching practices, identify what is in their power to transform and then improve what needs to be improved. By doing that, non-Indigenous educators, particularly the ones in courses of journalism and Communication Sciences, can help all students to "understand Eurocentric assumptions of superiority within the context of history and to recognise the continued dominance of these assumptions in all forms of contemporary knowledge" (Battiste, 2005, p. 225).

Indigenous authors highlight and endorse producing and promoting respectful representations of Indigenous traditions, culture, and knowledge within educational contexts. This suggests that a decolonising framework can empower discourses and knowledge that can be emancipatory for individuals and collectives. Importantly, they emphasise that the source of this knowledge must come from Indigenous Peoples rather than relying on sympathetic non-Indigenous allies who operate from a standpoint of western knowledge (Moeke-Pickering, 2010). Moreover, suggestions have been made that Australia needs to 'invert' its higher education curriculum. This would lead to courses entirely based on 'minority' ways of being, doing and knowing. Only such an inversion of current practices and hierarchies would demonstrate a university's (at an institutional level) real commitment to reflecting on and redressing its history of western centric teaching (Tomlins-Jahnke et al., 2019). While this suggestion appears unlikely to support the current system, it offers a reminder that superficial, even if well-intentioned, attitudes towards Indigenising/decolonising curricula are not enough. It would be beneficial if all the university's Communication Sciences and Journalism educators reflect on this matter to bring the issue to the attention of all students (Indigenous and non-Indigenous) – the future journalists in mainstream Mass Communication.

In the context of the university landscape, and possibly due to a potential lack of cultural awareness and competence or even ignorance regarding Australian 'black' history, particularly the Stolen Generation and its transgenerational trauma, non-Indigenous educators can cause unintentional harm to their Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students. A significant body of academic and grey literature offers advice for non-Indigenous Peoples on following Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander cultural protocols. These materials can guide non-Indigenous educators at any level of education to learn more about how to listen to the

voices of their students, prioritise their needs, and draw on the Indigenous decision-making process. However, putting this advice into action is not straightforward: it demands immense self-awareness, cultural sensitivity and competency, and a profound and genuine willingness to contribute to social change (Freire, 1970, 1973). Non-Indigenous teaching practices and strategies may always lack Indigenous knowledge and cultural appropriateness, as non-Indigenous educators will never be Indigenous Peoples themselves.

By understanding one's cultural position in relation to First Nations Peoples, cultural barriers will start to dissolve, and the 'Othering' process, which has dominated non-Indigenous Australian thought for the last two hundred years, would ideally begin to dissipate (Tomlins-Jahnke et al., 2019). However, when education acts as a social and political construct of cultural identity – particularly in Journalism education, many assumptions can develop on the part of the educator and the curriculum designer about their Indigenous students. However, this can bring destructive consequences to educators and students if 'difficult conversations' are not well addressed. These 'difficult discussions' are identified and discussed in a growing body of literature on pedagogies of discomfort (Foucault, 1994; Boler, 1999; Cochran-Smith, 2004; Kelchtermans et al., 2009; Zembylas, 2015), as explored in detail in Chapter 3 of this thesis.

Moreover, non-Indigenous educators may feel that their presence in a class with Indigenous students brings a western influence that 'contaminates' the room (Goudge, 2003). In her book *Trapped in the Gap*, Emma Kowal (2015) argues that she felt part of the 'assimilation problem' when working with Aboriginal communities in remote areas in the Northern Territory. Kowal (2015) explores this idea of seeing herself as part of the 'assimilation problem' through the concepts of 'white privilege' and 'white fragility' in the western health development sector context. Still, the same idea may apply to privileged non-Indigenous educators in universities and non-Indigenous journalists working within Indigenous communities in the context of their work. In other words, non-Indigenous educators, likewise non-Indigenous journalists, frequently occupy positions of power and have more employment and career progression opportunities than their Indigenous colleagues (Kowal, 2015, p. 14). And so, even when a non-Indigenous educator or journalist is a genuine Indigenous ally, and an anti-racism and Indigenous rights advocate, their 'white privilege or power can always be destabilised by the 'discomforting' yet historically based argument: "Whites don't really love the marginalised; they love being the saviour of the marginalised" (Kowal, 2015, p. 14).

1.2.6 – First Nations students and staff under-represented in Australian higher education: The consequences towards Communication Sciences students

To develop a greater understanding of cultural barriers that deter First Nations, particularly Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples, from enrolling and/or continuing higher education (including in Communication Sciences courses), I discuss findings relating to the under-representation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples in higher education in Australia, including influences, employment, and gender. Furthermore, and as a direct consequence, I also elaborate on the direct impact of the under-representation of Australian Indigenous Peoples in the university environment in the mainstream Mass Media Journalism sector. In the following section, I also reinforce the need for responsibility to exercise self-awareness.

Over the past decade, there is a consistent pattern of significant under-representation and inequitable access for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples in Australian higher education (Trudgett, Page & Sullivan, 2017). Low socioeconomic status (SES), rural and remote, and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students are most prominently disadvantaged regarding access to and participation in Australian higher education (Dang et al., 2016). Thus, these students require the most attention regarding national equity policy. Moreover, the research indicates various influences on access to and enrolment within higher education in Australia. Early school achievement and family background are two of these strong influences on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students' likelihood of accessing higher education beyond compulsory schooling (Harvey & Simpson, 2013; Willis & Joschko, 2012; Gale & Parker, 2013). Furthermore, there is a significant distinction according to gender, with females demonstrating with higher tertiary participation rates than males (Le & Miller, 2005). Another important influence is parental education levels, with many researchers agreeing that the higher the level of education of at least one parent, the more likely a child is to aspire to and access higher education (Birrell et al., 2000; Le & Miller, 2005; Wilks & Wilson, 2012; Chesters & Watson, 2013).

When considering employment, research indicates that few Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people are employed by universities, and of those employed, the majority are confined to Indigenous Centres (Gunstone, 2008; Bunda, Zipin & Brennan, 2012). In 2008,

only 1.1% of the Australian university workforce was First Nations. This figure is similar to the proportion of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students in the overall student cohort – 1.38% in 2011 (Gale & Parker, 2013). It is however significantly lower than the First Nations population's proportion of the national population (2.5%) in the same year (Fredericks et al., 2015). Gunstone (2009) concludes that the commitment from universities to First Nations employment is far from being enough and needs to be addressed by “flexible, alternative, affirmative action employment policies” (p. 105). More recent figures indicate that, despite substantial progress in recent times (Wilks & Wilson, 2015), numbers of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander university students remain significantly below the population parity rate. Overall, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples make up less than 1% of the higher education student population and are one of the most underrepresented minority groups on Australian campuses (Taylor, Lalovic & Thompson, 2019). Also, a recent statistic provided by the Department of Education and Training revealed that from 2009 to 2018, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander full-time and fractional full-time employees at Australian universities were less than 1.2% of the total staff number (Moreton-Robinson et al., 2020). Mostly due to such high levels of under-representation, which is emphasised in the statistics above, academia is acknowledged as an environment “which for Indigenous Peoples, and particularly Indigenous women, is ‘culturally unsafe’” and yet, “despite the barriers and the obstacles of academia, Indigenous women continue to enter and carve out a place for themselves and for other Indigenous women”. (Green et al. 2018, p. 256).

But the inequity in higher education employment continues. According to the Department of Education and Training (2017), while tenured employment of non-Indigenous staff sits at 58.4%, Indigenous academics do not have this level of employment security, with only 51% of Indigenous academics being in tenurable term positions. Overall, 49% of Indigenous academics being on fixed term contracts is of importance, because “job security impacts behaviour, how we [Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples] respond to demands, and voice within the workplace” (Thunig & Jones, 2021, p. 402). Moreover, more recent statistics from the Department of Education (2018), indicate a high rate of intermittent/fixed term contracts for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women in the academic workforce. Finally, the same source reveals that 58.4% of non-Indigenous staffing contracts are tenurial term, with 41.2% being limited term in Australian Higher Education institutions. “Treating unequal Peoples equally merely entrenches existing inequalities. For

significant improvement specific measures will need to be taken to overcome recognised disadvantages” (Fredericks et al., 2015, p. 2).

When considering parity in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander employment targets, one runs into major problems. Many times, one hear that; firstly, there are not that many senior First Nations academics; secondly, it is important to promote non-Indigenous people who have worked in the field for so long. Moodie (2020) argues that whilst the first may be true - there are not that many Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander academics around, and as Amy Thunig (2022) has written about, surviving in ‘these places’ is often a challenge for an Indigenous person. But what is particularly concerning is the difficulty of bringing a rights agenda to Indigenous success in higher education, particularly as it pertains to both students and staff.

While structural and systemic challenges facing Indigenous students within higher education are well established, there is “a dearth of literature which examines how these challenges relate, continue, or dissipate, after graduation, when Indigenous people may return to higher education to engage in roles as academics, researchers, and teachers” (Thunig & Jones, 2021, p. 400). Day et al. (2015) argue that “the boundaries between the personal, environmental and academic factors are porous, and students are likely to continue to experience these tensions as they graduate into professional practice” (p. 504). Suppose such tensions exist within the university for students and arguably carry on into professional roles upon graduation. In that case, this must be reflected when seeking to understand, support, recruit and retain First Nations academics (Thunig & Jones, 2021).

Thunig and Jones (2021) also explored the experiences of Indigenous academic women working within higher education institutions in Australia, through a national study which draws upon seventeen one-on-one interviews, analysed utilising Indigenous research methodology (Wilson, 2008), poetic transcription (Kovach, 2021), and a decolonising lens (Tuhiwai Smith, 2012). Drawing on current employment data and participants contributions, Thunig and Jones’ (2021) study reflects on the “inappropriate and exploitative expectations placed on Indigenous academic women, by non-Indigenous collegiate within Australian higher education institutions” (p. 398). With a growing focus on inclusion in higher education and run for ‘visible’ Indigenous staffing, Thunig and Jones (2021) argue that “the impact such a demand has on Indigenous people arguably results in a dehumanisation of the person and devaluing of their work, in favour of objectifying and using them for institutional branding and individual service by non-Indigenous academics” (p. 398). One critical conclusion of Thunig and Jones’

(2021) work that is extremely informative for my research study is that, when seeking to indigenise curriculums, for the benefit of both Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students and non-Indigenous students, universities call upon academic staff to enact these tasks. And here is when non-Indigenous educators turn to their First Nations colleagues for support, service, and advice (Thunig & Jones, 2021). In this way the responsibility of non-Indigenous educators to engage respectfully with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students and communities, research, knowledges, programs, and histories,

“shifts from a potentially transformative practice to an additional burden placed on Indigenous academics. In this way, the work of delivering the changes as desired and stated by the institution through branding and speech acts adds to the workloads of Indigenous staff in a way that is often spoken of as being invisible.” (Thunig & Jones, 2020, p. 401)

In sum, Thunig and Jones’ (2021) work demonstrates that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples, particularly the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander academics and university staff, are proportionately vastly under-represented in Australian higher education. Furthermore, this study reinforces how critical it is to hear Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students’, academics’, and university staff members’ voices to better understand how non-Indigenous educators can enhance their strategies and practices towards more inclusive and beneficial teaching to all students. Also, these Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander voices are essential for non-Indigenous educators to increase their cultural sensitiveness and cultural responsiveness, which is significant in the process of seeking to make change to better support students, particularly Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students. However, and very importantly, Thunig and Jones (2021) also show that this dialogue must respect these Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students and academics’ time, availability, and ways of being, doing and feeling, above all. It is essential to be mindful that non-Indigenous educators trying to find ‘solutions’ can be the ones who are in the essence of the ‘problem’.

1.2.7 – First Nations students and staff under-represented in Australian higher education: The consequences towards Australian mainstream Mass Media sector

Likewise, or even as a direct consequence of the under-representation of Australian Indigenous Peoples in the university environment – including in the specific Communication

Sciences field of knowledge - there is also a structural under-representation of Australians First Nations in the Media sector. Only 1.8 per cent of journalists identify as being of Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander descent (Hanusch, 2013), and they work mainly in Aboriginal media. Jason Glanville's (2014) opinion piece in *The Sydney Morning Herald* mentions that Australian Indigenous Peoples should and will create media channels to amplify stories of Indigenous excellence: "It remains incumbent on media at every level to ensure that when telling the Indigenous story, they tell the full story to remind all Australians of the good as well as the bad" (Glanville, 2014, para. 21).

According to Marsh (2010), the absence or deficient numbers of Indigenous journalists in newspapers, magazines, radio, and TV work environments contributes to a lack of cultural awareness on the part of non-Indigenous journalists, which may further inhibit accurate media representation. Without understanding First Nations' relationship with heritage, land, sea, sky and people, journalists may be unable to represent First Nations perspectives appropriately. Marsh (2010) suggests cultural awareness training as a possible solution.

Leach et al. (2012) also endorsed the need for such training, where their findings indicate that non-Indigenous journalists' poor cultural awareness resulted in inaccurate reporting on Aboriginal health issues in the Western Australia area. Leach et al. (2012) recommend relationship-building to address this problem and developed a media guide after a collaborative effort between Aboriginal health workers and non-Indigenous journalists to ensure greater accuracy in reporting. The Indigenous participants in this project indicate that, from their perspective, media representations of Aboriginal people are often inaccurate and uninformed, display negative stereotypes and sensationalized issues, and provide limited context to the presented stories, so matters were misrepresented, with detrimental effects. On the other end, the non-Indigenous journalists acknowledged various challenges and a great deal of difficulty facing Australian First Nations in engaging with the media but also had some concerns, including their accessibility to Aboriginal spokespeople, conflicting professional and cultural protocols, sensitivities in the Aboriginal community, and differing understanding about and approaches to deadlines, timeliness, and efficiency (Leach et al. (2012).

Phyllis Sakinofsky, Avril Janks, Treena Clark, and Karina Hawtrey (2019) also reflected on this issue. They made specific recommendations based on the findings of their research on the case study to interrogate the role of public relations and journalists in the power imbalance between a mining company and the Traditional Owners of land in Australia and to

explore how public relations and journalists could be used to strengthen the voices and reputations of disenfranchised communities. Amongst other recommendations, these researchers suggest the enhancement of Indigenous representation in the media of ‘lifeworld organizations’ through training, skills development, and capacity-building, and integrating a culture-centred approach to engagement, more significant support for the development of sustainable pathways to public relations and journalism careers for Aboriginal Australians (Sakinofsky et al., 2019)

1.3 – Context of the study

This chapter section contextualises this research study in the extraordinary historical period in which it was developed. From 2019 to 2023, the world changed dramatically for non-Indigenous and Indigenous Peoples worldwide. People, irrespective of wealth, status, culture, age, or gender, have been pushed out of their ‘comfort zones’. Despite the significant difficulties I went through conducting research in such an uncertain time, I believe a study like this, which intends to work towards a more inclusive and collaborative world – particularly in the journalism sector, could not come at a better time.

Many significant events happened throughout these four years, and Indigenous and non-Indigenous journalists worldwide faced extraordinary challenges to deliver their work the best way they could. However, to contextualise my investigation project, which is mainly focused on the First Nations situation, their needs, and expectations through a decolonising effort from the research team side, I will focus on the matters that most deeply altered life for First Nations worldwide, mainly for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples in Australia – as this PhD is conducted in Australian Indigenous Peoples’ lands, sea, and sky. These events are the Black Lives Matter and Statues ripped from various cities in the world, the COVID-19 pandemic, and in Australia, the Uluru Statement, and the referendum Indigenous Voice to Parliament. Furthermore, this chapter section introduces me as both a white Portuguese woman that grow up in a colonial society and a non-Indigenous researcher and journalist – living and working on the Australian First Nations lands - interested in contributing to a broad decolonising project, as well as the primary motivation that led me to a study such as this.

1.3.1 – Black Lives Matter

The Black Lives Matter movement is a contemporary political and social movement that aims for social justice and a form of truth-telling. In some ways, Black Lives Matter “has never gone away. It has always been around in one form or another” (Leroy-Dyer, 2020, p.1). In 2020, it gained worldwide attention during global protests following the murder of George Floyd by Minneapolis police officer Derek Chauvin. An estimated 15 million to 26 million people participated in the 2020 Black Lives Matter protests in the United States, making it one of the most significant movements in the country's history (Buchanan et al., 2020). The movement comprises many views and a broad array of demands, but they centre on criminal justice reform.

Black Lives Matter began with the hashtag #BlackLivesMatter on social media after the acquittal of George Zimmerman in the shooting death of African American teen Trayvon Martin in February 2012. Black Lives Matter is a decentralised political and social movement protesting police brutality and racially motivated violence against people of colour (Banks, 2018; Rojas, 2020).

“Indigenous Australia's experiences of racism, oppression, and violence from people in power and privileged positions have many parallels to widespread social inequalities in the US. Like George Floyd, David Dungay's last words were 'I cannot breathe'” (Bennett et al., 2021, p.2). Dungay, an Aboriginal man who died in Long Bay Prison Hospital in New South Wales in 2015, was also overpowered and restrained by several prison officers (Martin, 2020). This incident was one of many unexplained Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander deaths in custody in Australia (Bennett et al., 2020). Literature indicates that there have been more than 400 Indigenous deaths in custody between 1991 and 2020 (Mills, 2020). These represent 28% of all deaths in custody during that period (Bennett et al., 2020). The cases of Dungay and Floyd are emblematic of the heightened rates of police brutality inflicted on Indigenous people in Australia and Black people in the US.

Despite the fears of the COVID-19 pandemic and contravening several requests by Australian Prime Minister Scott Morrison asking people to stay home (2020), Black Lives Matter protests exploded throughout Australia. In Australia's major cities, protestors demanded a reduction in Indigenous incarceration rates and the initiation of criminal proceedings against those who caused the deaths of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples. Framing the

issues as matters of human rights, protesters used the occasion to demand apologies, compensation for the victims' families, a halt to the unwarranted removal of Indigenous children from their families, sovereignty for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples and an end to the systemic, ongoing racism in Australian society. (Bennett, 2020; Moore, 2020).

Reflecting on the Black Lives Matter movement, the First Nations academics and social policy educators Bindi Bennett, Jioji J. Ravulo, Jim Ife and Trevor G. Gates – a collective from the University of the Sunshine Coast, University of Wollongong, and Western Sydney University – developed new resources designed to be included as part of universities' strategic visions in Australia and worldwide (Bennett et al., 2020). To increase awareness of the #BlackLivesMatter movement in Australian universities, these scholars provided viewpoints and recommendations on Institutional inclusion, Learning about BIPOC (Black, Indigenous or Other People of Colour) history, culture and other issues, Lifelong learning about BIPOC history, culture, and issues, BIPOC pedagogies and epistemology (Bennett et al., 2020).

In her podcast "Black Witness, White Witness", Darumbal and South Sea Islander journalist Amy McQuire (2020a) refer to an Australian apathy in response to police and prison brutality and deaths in custody. She says Australian journalists do not repeat the name of the person who has died until their name is burned into the national consciousness (like George Floyd's); that, "When Aboriginal people die in custody, there is a national silence". In 2005, investigative journalist and academic Wendy Bacon described the lack of deaths in custody reporting as a journalistic 'ethical failure' (p. 17). On the importance of this, she wrote: "If the mainstream media fails to report on events which discriminate against or disadvantage particular groups, these groups will find it difficult to have their claims recognised, let alone acted upon" (2005, p. 19). For now, journalists and the media have again taken up the story, as some journalists did in the 1980s, in the lead-up to the hard-won establishment of the Royal Commission and the wake of the release of the Royal Commission's 1991 report.

Bacon's 2005 review of the Australian media coverage of deaths in custody concluded that between 1996 and 2005, "Most Australians (...) received almost no information about deaths in custody since the Royal Commission" (Bacon, 2005, p. 31). These are stories about a person who died in custody, were linked to the Royal Commission and the implementation, or not, of its recommendations, but: "They appeared to have little or no impact on the daily news agenda" (Bacon, 2005, p. 32). Australian writer Chloe Hooper won a Walkley award for one of two 2006 stories in *The Monthly* about Mulrunji Doomadgee's death, records something similar

in her 2008 book about 36-year-old Gangalidda-Wanyi man Mulrunji Doomadgee's 2004 death in custody on Palm Island. A senior journalist for *The Australian* Tony Koch's reporting was also crucial in keeping Doomadgee's story in the public eye (Mason, 2020) and in providing an independent perspective on what became a big story when Palm Island locals did something that a predominantly white, mainstream media in Australia and the US refer to as rioting. He protected the independence of his journalism from any attempts at influence or pressure from the police.

1.3.2 – Statues Removed

In April 2015, the bronze statue of Cecil John Rhodes - a powerful mining magnate from the global Anglo-Saxon empire - was removed from its concrete plinth at Cape Town, South Africa. This was a consequence of the #RhodesMustFall (#RMF) movement, that would see statues questioned and vandalised across South Africa (Trippe, 2019, p. 12). Some called this movement the ‘Statue Revolution of 2015’ (The Heritage Portal, 2015). In the following months, dozens of statues around South Africa were vandalised, defaced, or torn apart. Two years later, workers donning bullet proof vests and facial coverings began removing the Battle of Liberty Place monument in New Orleans, Louisiana, under the protection of snipers (Curtis, 2017). Over the following months, statues commemorating Civil War heroes Jefferson Davis, General P.G.T. Beauregard, and General Robert E. Lee would be dismantled across New Orleans “to crowds deeply divided over the issue of removal” (Trippe, 2019, p. 12). The monuments in New Orleans were the first statues to come down in the United States (US), “a practice that stemmed from dissatisfaction with the existence of monuments dedicated to white supremacy, the Confederacy, and opponents of Reconstruction” (Trippe, 2019, p. 12). While New Orleans was the first city to remove its most controversial monuments, it would not be the last. Since June 2015, more than 100 Confederate monuments around the US have fallen (Gunter et al., 2018). These protests came to a terrible end on August 12th, 2017, when violence over the proposed removal of Lee’s monument culminated in the deaths of three people (Trippe, 2019).

The calls for the removal of statues memorialising and celebrating white supremacy can be interpreted as a rejection of colonialist narratives of oppression, dispossession, and inequality (Knudsen et al., 2019). Trippe (2019) goes further into this argument:

“The politics of statue removal is deeply divided and contentious, reflective of larger unresolved social and racial cleavages in the American and South African commemorative landscapes, interpretations of history and social realities, serving to disrupt present day notions of post racial societies.” (Trippe, 2019, p. 12)

Moreover, one cannot ignore the fact that the #RhodesMustFall (#RMF) movement started in one of the most prestigious universities in the world. Although the University of Cape Town is the biggest in the African continent and one of the major universities in the world, “it has historically been a predominantly white university” (Trippe, 2019, p. 12). It was considered an 'open university' only after admitting its first small group of black students in the 1920s (UCT, n.d.b.). This number, however, remained low (Trippe, 2019). Despite the lack of de jure regulations restricting the admission of black students into 'white' universities before 1948, many schools adopted de facto discriminatory stances or policies that effectively blocked black students from studying (Trippe, 2019; Perez & London, 2004; see also Phillips, 1993: 192-195). As historian Howard Phillips recalls in his book on UCT's formative years, UCT's Council stated that "it would not be in the interests of the university to admit natives or coloured students in any numbers, if at all" (Phillips, 1993, p.114). Racist policies such as those expressed by the UCT highlight the importance of movements like #RMF as decolonising initiatives.

In Australia, statues of Captain Cook and Governor Macquarie have been graffitied or had paint thrown at them. Statues have become a symbol of an intensifying call for truth telling and reconciliation to address histories of violence, subjugation, trauma, and racism (Gregory, 2021). Media coverage by journalists, commentators and others has been extensive and, in many cases, has provided careful consideration of the issues. It has focussed on five main options: pull statues down, place them in museums or public parks, make them portals to honest history, build new statues or amend existing statues (Gregory, 2021).

1.3.3 – COVID-19

COVID-19 is a respiratory infection caused by the virus SARSCoV-2 and was discovered following an outbreak in Wuhan, China, in December 2019 (Desai & Patel, 2020). Australia's first case of COVID-19 was recorded on 22 January 2020, and 16,388 deaths where people died with or from COVID-19 that occurred by 28 February 2023 have been registered and received by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS, 2023). Following the lead of other nations, the Australian government enforced shutdowns of economic activity and the

implementation of strict social distancing measures. These policies have been effective in suppressing community transmission of COVID-19 in Australia to relatively low levels compared to many other countries around the world. Consequently, there was a trade-off between health-related risks, which have largely been prioritised, and economic risk, which has dramatically increased (Hedegaard & Hodrick, 2016; Chang & McAleer, 2020; White, 2020; Thatcher et al., 2020). This created severe economic issues for all Australian industries, including the media sector, with economic growth contracting because of government-enforced lockdowns (Thatcher et al., 2020; OECD, 2020).

Regarding the impact of COVID-19 on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples, they recorded far fewer infections per capita than other First Nations, from Alaska to the Amazon. According to Australian government data, they are six times less likely than the broader Australian population to contract COVID-19 (Pannett, 2021) - 274 Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people died from or with COVID-19 since August 2021 (Australian Bureau of Statistics, February 2023).

In 2016, Australia's total Indigenous population was 649,173 people, around 3 per cent of the Australian population. This population comprises 590,062 people who identified as Aboriginal, 320,344 as Torres Strait Islanders, and 260,767 as belonging to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples.

These numbers are conservative. Estimates considering those missed from the 2016 Census count put Indigenous population numbers closer to 800,000 people (ABS, 2017). The colonisation process severely affected the health of these Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities. Introduced drug substances and diseases such as influenza, tuberculosis, measles, leprosy, and many others had a dramatic impact as the colonisers advance, and their affect was compounded by the social consequences of massacre, dispossession, and marginalisation. Nowadays, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples are more likely to be hospitalised for chronic illnesses such as pulmonary disease, diabetes, and epilepsy than other Australians (ABS, 2017). The life expectancy of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander men is nine years fewer than that of non-Aboriginal men (ABS, 2017). These statistics emphasise the vulnerability of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples but also their resilience and survival skills.

The success of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander response to COVID-19 demonstrated "the extent of self-determination by Indigenous organisations; their strategic leadership has mitigated risk and promoted protective measures during the early phases of the outbreak" (Akuhata-Huntington et al., 2020). Aboriginal Land Councils protected communities by granting access permits to only essential travellers. Aboriginal organisations developed vital health and social distancing health messages in local languages, and Aboriginal community-controlled health services designed and implemented local preparedness and response plans (Moodie et al., 2021). Communities themselves have restricted travel to and from other communities and have implemented considerable efforts to protect Elders; they have secured isolation and quarantine facilities where housing stock is limited. This has included facilitating decentralisation to homelands to reduce overcrowding in large townships (Moodie et al., 2021). At the federal level, state and territory levels, the National Aboriginal Community Controlled Health Organisation (NACCHO), the state, territory and regional peak organisations, as well as member organisations from across the country, participated in a national Aboriginal & Torres Strait Islander COVID-19 Advisory Group directly reporting to the Chief Medical Officer and the Australian Health Protection Principal Committee which feeds directly into the National Cabinet (Moodie et al., 2021). Co-chaired by NACCHO and the Commonwealth Department of Health, this group developed the National Management Plan, which specified guidelines and initiatives to prepare remote communities for the pandemic in its first stages (Department of Health 2020b). "Health experts worldwide say Australia's pandemic experience offers a potential model for Indigenous health care — after a history of discrimination, inequality and neglect that typically led to poor health outcomes" (Pannett, 2021, p. 2).

By contrast, and according to the American Public Media Research Lab (APM, 2021) shared exclusively with *The Guardian*, COVID-19 killed American First Nations faster and more than any other group in the United States. Nationwide, one in every 475 Native Americans has died from COVID-19 since the start of the pandemic, compared with one in every 825 white Americans and one in every 645 Black Americans (APM, 2021). Experts are still trying to make sense of the divergent experiences of COVID-19 amongst Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people in Australia compared with Native American experiences in the US. Community involvement in decision-making and policy implementation seems to be a big part of the picture (Pannett, 2021), and this can also be a lesson that universities as institutions and non-Indigenous educators as individuals can learn from the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander response to COVID-19.

Globally, the news about the news is not good (Dawson et al. 2023), and COVID-19 has only made matters worse. In Australia, in March 2020, newswire service the Australian Associated Press announced it would shut down its operations after 85 years. In June, a last-minute consortium of investors and philanthropists saved the day – but salvation was merely partial, with only 85 of the company's 180 journalists, photographers and other staff retained (Wahlquist 2020). Overall, the reported impact of COVID-19 on journalism jobs has been devastating, with widespread closures and job losses, particularly in regional areas (Crerar 2020).

There is a growing body of research into the impacts of COVID-19 on news and its audiences. Literature reveals that the global pandemic outbreak was accompanied by a marked upswing in news consumption in Australia (Park et al., 2020). In 2019, 56 per cent of Australians accessed news more than once a day; by April 2020, three months after the first local case of COVID-19 was confirmed, that figure had jumped to 70 per cent (Park et al. 2020). Among other things, these increases involved audiences returning to television and legacy media in more significant numbers (Park et al. 2020; Kalogeropoulos et al. 2020). Soon, however, many people started avoiding news – especially about the coronavirus - because it made them anxious (Park et al. 2020; Kalogeropoulos et al. 2020). COVID-19 further cruelled advertising, compounding the strain on news media and the journalists they employ (Olsen et al., 2020). In late March, Rupert Murdoch's publishing business, News Corp, warned of 'inevitable' job cuts and the closure of regional titles (Meade 2020c). Soon afterwards, News Corp – Australia's most prominent publisher - suspended the print editions of 60 Australian newspapers, including the *Manly Daily* and *Wentworth Courier* in Sydney, the *Brisbane News*, and the *Mornington Peninsula Leader* in Victoria (Meade 2020c; Dawson et al. 2021). In May, News Corp confirmed that more than 100 local and regional mastheads would switch to digital-only or disappear completely (Meade 2020b). These cuts came after a dramatic drop in advertising from the entertainment, restaurant and real estate industries, the titles' primary revenue sources (Dawson et al. 2021).

1.3.4 – Uluru Statement from the Heart

On 26 May 2017 (less than two years before this research project commenced), more than 250 Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples gathered at the First Nations Constitutional Convention and issued the Uluru Statement from the Heart. This Convention

was the culmination of an Indigenous-designed and led process of regional dialogues across the nations. It was designed to elicit from First Nations what meaningful constitutional recognition would mean to them. The deliberative dialogue process adopted by the Referendum Council sought to build an informed consensus among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities on reform proposals. The Statement called for three key reforms: a voice for Indigenous Peoples enshrined in Australia's constitutional structure (the so-called 'Voice to Parliament'), a Makarrata Commission to supervise a process of agreement or treaty-making, and a process of 'truth-telling about our [Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander] history' (Appleby & Davis, 2018).

The 'truth-telling' referred to in the Uluru Statement is increasingly featured in academic historical accounts, journalism, 'reconciliation literature', films, television series, songs, dance, theatre, and exhibitions in galleries and museums. In academia, Lyndall Ryan and her team are mapping the massacres of Aboriginal people (and some non-Aboriginal people) across the country from 1780 to 1930 (Ryan, 2018). Exhibitions such as 'Unsettled' (2021) at the Australian Museum are uncovering the untold histories that are often overshadowed by Australia's simplified foundation story. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander contemporary artists, including Ryan Presley, Tony Albert, Charlotte Allingham, Jai Darby Walker and Danie Mellor, are drawing attention to historical abuses and injustices. More attention is being paid to the lived experiences of First Nations Elders, including Uncle Waubin Richard Aken-Kaurareg, Aunty Fay Moseley-Wiradjuri, and Uncle Noel Butler-Budawang. Their oral histories are being recorded, and there are also many, and increasing numbers of, locally initiated 'rememberings' in various forms (Edmonds, 2016).

But despite these positive examples of 'truth telling', occurring both before and after the Uluru Statement, many Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander academics argue that there is still a lot to be done, particularly in the journalism sector as one of the most powerful ways to bring 'truth-telling' to the attention of non-Indigenous peoples but also to the less informed Indigenous Peoples. The 'truth-telling' in these 'rememberings' and oral histories remains ad hoc and piecemeal over the decades, and there is little coherency across the federation. There remains a level of disaffection, disinterest, and denial of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander history in Australia, reflected, for instance, in the failure of the Australian educational curriculum to teach this history comprehensively and consistently (Appleby & Davis, 2018, p. 502). Other Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander initiatives are now being explored based on

‘truth-telling’, such as the #LearnOurTruth project led by the National Indigenous Youth Education Coalition in collaboration with ‘In My Blood It Runs’ documentary produced by BE - a global creative collective dedicated to establishing new pathways to champion young people representative of all types of communities to be seen, valued, and heard. The focus of the #LearnOurTruth project is driven by an intergenerational vision to build on the work of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Elders towards an equitable and quality education ecosystem for future generations of both Indigenous and non-Indigenous students. This group of young people is led by Hayley McGuire, a proud Darumbal and South Sea Islander woman from Rockhampton, Central Queensland. McGuire is a passionate advocate for Indigenous social justice and First Nations-led education. She asserts: “This project develops work at the ground level, ensuring that learning is contextualised to the landscape, history, and aspirations of the community while also pulling systemic and structural levers of change that tackle education inequity across sectors, at regional, state and national levels” (McGuire-Adams, 2021, p. 61). Even in the absence of a nationwide truth-telling process, Indigenous and non-Indigenous individuals and organisations are shedding light on the violent and destructive elements of Australia’s past.

1.3.5 – 2023 Australian Indigenous Voice to Parliament referendum

Literature indicates that First Nations Australians do not enjoy the same equality of self-determination and collective rights that many other Australians take for granted (Graham, 2023; Hobbs & Jones, 2022). A keystone moment in the timeline to address this marginalisation occurred when the Australian Government - led by Prime Minister Anthony Albanese - announced the Voice to Parliament referendum on 23rd March 2023.

The origins of the Voice to Parliament trace a trajectory through longstanding advocacy by Indigenous leaders, human rights activists, legal experts, and academics. It all started with the Uluru Statement from the Heart event in 2017, described in the previous section of this chapter. As explained, the Uluru Statement represented a call by the First Nations people of Australia to enshrine a "First Nations Voice" in the Australian Constitution (Referendum Council, 2017).

Reforming the constitution is a critical step towards empowering Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples to have control over their destiny, given a colonial past where they have long been excluded from constitutional recognition and without the ability to directly

advise the Australian Parliament and Executive Government when it is deliberating about policy decisions that impact them directly (Mayo, O'Brien & Wilcox, 2023, p. 9). Moreover, the Voice to Parliament would more fully express Australia's nationhood to reflect the ancient sovereignty of First Nations Australians (Referendum Council, 2017); in other words, to find the nation's Heart (Mayo, O'Brien & Wilcox, 2023).

As with all political events, referendums are shaped by national discourse across the public sphere (Graham, 2023). Firstly, politicians play a critical role, wielding influence through policy decisions, public communication, press conferences, and legislation (Graham, 2023). Their stances often set the tone for the broader public discourse (Mansbridge, 2003). This shapes the partisan logic of public opinion formation, particularly in increasingly polarised political contexts where parties compete with little cross-cutting agreement (Druckman et al., 2013). Yet, the influence of political elites is mediated by the mainstream news media, which acts as a gatekeeper (Vos, 2019) (a concept and an author further explored in greater detail in this thesis), deciding which issues get attention and how they are portrayed. The media's role in shaping the perception of referendums cannot be overstated; they frame narratives, highlight certain viewpoints, and influence public opinion (Entman, 2007).

In the social media age, however, traditional media has reconfigured the public sphere beyond gatekeeping - information flows, and production dynamics are more complex (Graham, 2023). Social media platforms have emerged as powerful spaces for civil discourse online, enabling everyday citizens to share opinions, mobilise support, and challenge dominant narratives (Bennett & Segerberg, 2012). Bruns (2003) argues that traditional gatekeeping has been challenged by 'gatewatching' whereby user-generated content and sources are drawn on as information repositories, often competing with mainstream news media in contested digital spaces and attention economies (Graham, 2023). In sum, social media platforms have decentralised information dissemination, allowing for a more pluralistic and diverse range of voices to be heard (Tufekci, 2017).

Nevertheless, while social media has, in some ways, democratised public discourse, it also poses challenges, such as the spread of misinformation (Smith & Graham, 2019), online incivility (Masullo Chen et al., 2019), and hyperpolarisation (Bruns, 2019). It is also open to intentional exploitation to mislead people through the spread of misleading or outright false content (Graham, 2023), often referred to as online disinformation or, more broadly, media manipulation (Marwick & Lewis, 2017). Media manipulation is a significant issue in political

events such as referendums and elections, where the potential to shape public opinion and divide and confuse citizens is amplified through information warfare (Jankowicz, 2020). Disinformation campaigns are thereby not just a matter of false content and 'fake news' stories but also involve fake online personas engaged in digital astroturfing (Keller et al., 2020), trolling (Kim et al., 2019), and 'coordinated inauthentic behaviour' (Graham et al., 2020) to fabricate support for a stance or political party and try to co-opt and cultivate organic online communities to spread preferred narratives or simply to divide and confuse online audiences. Digital astroturfing of this variety involves various forms of media manipulation, including but not limited to manipulated images, flooding topics and reply threads (Graham, 2023; Linvill and Warren, 2021) and the strategic use of misleading headlines and out-of-context quotations designed to create a distorted impression of events or policies (Grimes & Gorski, 2022).

The 2023 Australian Indigenous Voice to Parliament referendum is thus no exception to the proliferation of misinformation and disinformation from varying actors in the public sphere. Butler and Allam (2023) found that the 'No' campaign drove a digital astroturfing campaign on Facebook, with one lobby group controlling multiple pages with contradictory messages and target demographics. The content pushed by these pages was highly emotive and designed to exploit people's fears and emotions (Butler, 2023). Misleading political messaging around the referendum was used by shady lobby groups and political parties themselves (Graham, 2023). For instance, constitutional expert and Indigenous voice supporter Professor Greg Craven made a complaint to the Australian Electoral Commission (AEC) about a "deeply misleading" quote from him used in the 'No' campaign's official essay outlining why the Coalition opposes the referendum (Butler & Allam, 2023).

Ultimately, the 'No' campaign won the referendum, and the international image of Australia perpetrated by global mass media journalists was not flattering. Hannah Ritchie from *BBC*, for example, described the win for the "no" side as coming after a "fraught and often acrid campaign" (Ritchie, 2023). She added that "the historic vote had exposed uncomfortable fault lines and raised questions over Australia's ability to reckon with its past". Michael E. Miller from the *Washington Post* described it as a "crushing blow" (Miller, 2023) for Australia's Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples, who "saw the referendum as an opportunity for Australia to turn the page on its colonial and racist past". Rod McGuirk from the *Associated Press* referred to the rejection of the 'Voice' as a "major setback to the country's efforts for reconciliation with its First Peoples" (McGuirk, 2023). Following the same idea, Mad Money

from *Reuters* expressed fears that "this result could set back reconciliation efforts by years" (Money, 2023). The journalist elaborated further on this idea, "First Nations people in other former British colonies continue to face marginalisation, but some countries have done better in ensuring their rights" (Money, 2023). Yan Zhuan from the *New York Times* (a publication that had extensive coverage of the campaign) reported the country had become "ensnared in a bitter culture war" (Zhuan, 2023) based on "Trump-style misinformation (...) and (...) election conspiracy theories". Moreover, in the same feature, the journalist wrote, "The referendum had surfaced uncomfortable, unsettled questions about Australia's past, present and future" (Zhuan, 2023). Many international journalistic pieces also compared Australia unfavourably with other settler-colonial nations regarding the legal recognition of First Nations people, including New Zealand and Canada (Strating & Carson, 2023). Furthermore, Rurika Imahashi from the online Japan-based *Nikkei Asia* said: "Australia is the only developed nation with a colonial history that doesn't recognise the existence of its Indigenous people in the constitution" (Imahashi, 2023). International media also discussed the racism topic in the context of the Indigenous Voice to Parliament referendum. *BBC* journalist Hannah Ritchie's headline explicitly linked misinformation to racism: "Voice referendum: Lies fuel racism ahead of Australia's Indigenous vote" (Ritchie, 2023); and a *Reuter's* explainer by Praveen Menon similarly reported on concerns that 'racism and false narratives' had sparked fears the 'Voice' would be a "third chamber of parliament" (Menon, 2023).

1.3.6 – Researcher's context: How I positioned myself in this study and my motivations

Before the summary that closes this thesis' first chapter, I add in this section a personal note to contextualise myself in my research project. Even though positionality is what I can bring to the development of my study, my motivations are what brought me to this area of research in the first place. Researchers should continually ask themselves why they chose their research topics. There is growing recognition that self-reflection, the cultivation of self-awareness and ongoing self-assessment are vital stages in, and the products of, any given research project. Research should always be helpful and transformative and, above all, benefit primarily the researched people.

Many Indigenous and non-Indigenous people have asked me why I chose this topic for my PhD. For me, the response to this question is perhaps the second most urgent goal of my

long, discomfoting, painful, lonely, but also wonderfully transformative PhD journey. My first goal is, without a doubt, to use this work as a form of giving back to the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples who received my family and me in their lands as uninvited guests ten years ago.

Perhaps the most immediate answer is that I like ‘people’ more than ‘things’. It might seem like this answer has little to do with my PhD, but it is the opposite. For better or worse, I was born in Portugal - a beautiful country in many ways but also a place with a prominent colonising history. Portugal’s colonial projects focused on possessing ‘things’, invading places and changing maps and laws to legitimise their possession of those ‘things’ and lands. For Portugal, ‘things’, unforgivably, have always taken priority over the ‘peoples’ that were, and forever will be, the owners of those colonised places and ‘things’. Therefore, ignorance, a lack of cultural awareness and cultural sensitiveness, and, most insidiously, racism are deeply rooted in the minds of many Portuguese people and their institutions, political decisions, education systems, and even in some traditional sayings, folklore images and their sarcastic political sense of humour. Even though the formal process of decolonisation started in my country long after World War II, there is much to improve in the Portuguese mindset and how Portuguese people look at the ‘other’.

More personally, the influence of this colonial culture is still deeply rooted in my grandparents’ and parents’ generations, where their sense of humour, to give a straightforward and day-to-day example, contains so many racist references. As a mother, a researcher, an educator, and an anthropologist – aware of the influence of these cultural forces – I feel the need to alleviate those influences on both a personal and professional level. I see my decolonisation as a lifetime learning process that demands a sustained focus on these issues to identify their origin and to overcome my difficulties, fears, various layers of shame and cultural limitations. But also, to fully embrace my culture, the beauty of my language and the great qualities and historical achievements that are also part of my people and of who I am as a Portuguese woman.

This PhD has been an invaluable experience. I am allowing myself to go into a deep process of self-reflection and self-conscientisation, learning about my place in the world, my cultural heritage, and the responsibility I carry because of it, for better and worse, and for as long as I live no matter in which place in the world. I am learning about who I am and who I

do not want to be, and I am embracing the associated ‘discomfort’, taking it as one of the best things I have ever done for myself and others.

I come from a middle-lower class family spread between the north, the centre, and the south of Portugal. My family is white privileged. Over the last century, in my family and Portugal in general, women with artistic and creative talent have traditionally been often repressed by an overly protective and paternalistic society that did not allow them to ‘fly’ higher in their dreams; Portugal’s colonialist and dictatorial political regime also forced men to participate in the Portuguese Colonial War. This war, known in Portugal as Guerra do Ultramar (the Overseas War) and in the former Portuguese colonies in Asia, North and South America, Africa, and Oceania as Guerra de Libertação (the War of Liberation), was a thirteen-year-long conflict (1961-1974) between Portugal’s military and the emerging nationalist movements in Portugal’s African colonies.

My father was sent to one of the theatres of war in Angola, Africa. Like many other young, healthy Portuguese men at the time, my father left his family of nine brothers and sisters and the farm where he had happily lived his youth to embark on the most terrifying life journey. He lost all his friends from the Angola war and finished his time in the military in a hospital where he almost died from malaria. But what traumatised my father was the atrocities committed by all forces involved. He responded to orders and did what a soldier needed to do to survive in a war zone. My father never fully recovered, and our family suffered from his trauma, directly and indirectly, for many years.

To protect all of us in the family, my father always avoided discussing his experience in Angola. His guilt and shame will never go away. However, he always liked to tell my sister and me stories about the various African Indigenous Peoples he encountered during the war. Even during the devastation and conflict, my father made many African friends, and the concept of friendship gained a unique meaning for him. As a young Portuguese soldier brainwashed by a political dictatorial regime, he did not expect an ‘enemy’ to become a friend or that long-life relationships between black and white people were possible. Coming from remote Portugal directly to remote Angola, my father saw people of colour for the first time, and for many of the people he met there, he was also the first white man they had seen. I cannot even imagine what these encounters represented for both parties in those days.

My father reinforces to this day that he will eventually overcome his many different layers of psychological trauma before he dies. He also believes that what he still feels and suffered in Africa does not matter. He feels that his suffering is insignificant compared to the suffering of the multiple generations of Indigenous Peoples in Angola, who are still trying to find a way to heal from Portuguese colonialism and the war. I have witnessed how trauma has impacted my beloved father and my family, but my father could not be closer to the truth; Africa is still ‘bleeding’ and may not heal soon. This should be a matter to deeply reflect on the Portuguese people involved in the Guerra do Ultramar and their descendants.

I can say that I ‘participated’ in this military coup known as the Carnation Revolution of April 1974. Even though I was just a one-year-old baby, my father decided to carry me in his arms to participate in the first of many protests I would attend in my life. My father took his baby on that day to make a statement: he did not want to be part of this devastating colonialist conflict anymore, and he wanted his baby to grow up in a country with freedom of thought and speech. He wanted me to be better educated than he was to help build a world where everyone counts, matters, and receives respect and an equitable share in our future prosperity.

Nineteen years after my father took me to the Carnation Revolution, I pursued an Honour’s Degree in Cultural Anthropology. I wanted to understand and learn about ‘people’, the differences between ‘peoples’ that make them unique, and the ‘bridges’ of communication and knowledge that allow us to understand each other and peacefully inhabit the same planet. Twenty-nine years later, I am happily married, the mother of two amazing kids, I have travelled the world (including most Portuguese ex-colonies, in Africa in particular), and I have built a successful career in the creative and communication industry. I am here in Australia doing a PhD - as a Portuguese university student, which helps me reflect on my Portuguese heritage and my country, which will always be my safe place in the world, no matter what, in a second language and pushing myself to endure the ‘discomfort’ of reflecting on my position in colonial processes; I am trying to understand what this means for me as a woman, a mother, an educator, an anthropologist, and a researcher. Most importantly, here, I have the privilege of learning about the oldest living cultures on the planet, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander cultures, to the extent they feel appropriate. I am also trying to find ways to benefit Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples through my research, prioritising their protocols and deeply respecting their boundaries, perspectives, and needs.

I know I will never be able to undo the terrible past and ongoing history of colonialism of so many European countries such as Portugal – and that was never my intention. I also know that I will never be capable of changing the unspeakable mistakes made by some of the western anthropologists who dehumanised and delegitimised Indigenous Peoples around the world (Steeves, 2015; Smith, 1999) – and, again, that was never my goal. However, and most importantly, like my father, I do not want to cause any more violence, racism, death, loss, and trauma, but I know, as much as he knows, that we are both part of the ‘problem’ more than the ‘solution’ to it. Still, I prefer to ‘fight’ with myself to ‘put an end’ on what is still left of my colonial mentality.

I want Indigenous voices to speak through and guide this research, highlighting Indigenous objectives and expectations. The only thing I want is for my PhD to contribute to a better world. I want it to be respectful, culturally appropriate in its goals, and culturally safe in its processes and methodologies.

Primarily, I want my PhD to benefit Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples in the context of mainstream Mass Media. If possible, I want to inform non-Indigenous journalists on how to be better in what they do and help me be a better woman, researcher, non-Indigenous educator, and journalist in Australia. Through this research journey, I want to learn how to support, empower and unlock the potential of all journalists working in Indigenous lands worldwide (Indigenous and non-Indigenous). Finally, but very importantly, I see my PhD as my way of giving back to all the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander research collaborators involved in this project. I also see it as a way of supporting the non-Indigenous journalists willing to join me in decolonising our working methods to create more inclusive communication of sensitive and relevant matters involving First Nations in Australia and worldwide. Finally, I see this PhD as an exceptionally ‘discomforting’ journey that I need immensely and urgently to understand better the country and the diversity of peoples where and with whom I chose to live.

1.4 – Summary

In this first Chapter of my thesis, I introduced the reader to the purpose of the thesis and reasons for conducting such a research project. I elaborated on the context and background

of the study from the Australian Black History to Colonialism's transition to Decolonisation and how this process still impacts today's mainstream mass media in university and professional environments for both worlds – Indigenous and non-Indigenous. Furthermore, I used this first Chapter of my thesis to contextualise my PhD research within several events that changed the world as we knew it and, consequentially, had direct and indirect implications with my PhD journey - the COVID19 pandemic came to radically transform everyone's ways of being, knowing and doing in the planet forever. Furthermore, other critical events empowered First Nations Peoples worldwide and helped them make their voices more heard than ever before. Their powerful knowledge, cultural richness, diversity, needs, rights, and expectations echoed significantly in social media during these four years. Movements such as 'Black Lives Matter' and the anti-colonialist movement of 'Statues Removed' reinforced the need to fight against racism worldwide. And, finally, in Australia, the political effort of the 'Uluru Statement from the Heart' followed by the '2023 Referendum for Indigenous Voice to Parliament' clearly showed that First Nations Peoples, notably the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples, are spiritually, physically, emotionally, socially, and culturally alive, united, and strong. Amongst such transformative events, non-Indigenous and Indigenous journalists went through overwhelmingly challenging and, at the same time, exciting years of work. One thing in favour of such a PhD study is that Cultural Competence in journalism is now more needed than ever before, particularly for non-Indigenous journalists reporting on First Nations issues. Also, in this Chapter, and as a non-Indigenous researcher and journalist, I positioned myself and my work in the context of this study. Finally, I explained how my PhD may contribute to decolonising mass media and non-Indigenous journalists' strategies and practices.

Chapter 2 – Literature review

2.1 – Introduction

This chapter will draw on the ideas and the work of some of the most relevant academic researchers and authors in non-Indigenous and Indigenous journalism Studies. Most authors, articles, chapters, and books cited here are from ‘black literature’. Such a specific literature review is exceptionally pertinent for this thesis because one of the main goals of this research project is to make First Nations Peoples’ voices heard, particularly the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples’ (as they are the First Nations Peoples of the land where this study is conducted). Also, this thesis’ chapter serves to clarify further and, at times, reinforce the First Nations’ perspectives, needs, and expectations in the mainstream journalism found in the literature, in a continuous decolonising effort and as an exercise of cultural competence in action designed to increase the knowledge on what (and how) Indigenous Peoples expect non-Indigenous to transform in their journalistic approach, strategies and practices when working on, with, and for First Nations communities worldwide.

This Literature Review is divided into four main sections, some with sub-sections where some of the topics relevant to this study will be discussed in greater detail. The four main sections are the following:

- Part 1: Journalism and Journalists
- Part 2: What is Cultural Competence, and why is it crucial for all journalists?
- Part 3: Impacts of non-Indigenous Journalism on Indigenous Peoples
- Part 4: A paradigmatic case: the *National Geographic Magazine*

2.2 – Journalism and Journalists

The origins of journalism studies are somewhat imprecise (Tumber. 2019). Literature indicates that even though the history of Journalism Studies started in the USA with theories

such as the Mirror, Gatekeeper and Organizational, its pre-history roots come from German social theorists in the mid-19th century (Hardt, 2002). In his work named *The Social Theories of the Press*, Hardt unpacks and compares the early German and American authors on the press. Among 19th and early 20th century German theorists, Hardt emphasises the work of Ferdinand Tönnies, Albert Schäffle, Karl Marx, Karl Knies, Karl Bücher, and Max Weber as the leading thinkers behind the concept of social place of journalism (Hardt, 2002). Following the same idea, Martin Löffelholz (2008) traces the German tradition of journalism studies and concludes that the early stages of contemporary journalism theory started with the work of the German historian and writer Robert Eduard Prutz (1816–1872), as, in 1845, Prutz had already published a historical account of German journalism, long before the establishment of “Zeitungskunde” (the German name for “newspaper studies”) as a field of research.

These early German scholars theorise on journalism from a normative perspective (Löffelholz, 2008) and were more focused on “what journalism *ought to be* in the context of political communication than with the structures, processes, and practices of news production” (Wahl-Jorgensen & Hanitzsch, 2009, p.5). But at the beginning of the 20th century, research on those matters started with the need to think more systematically and urgently about journalism as a social power and journalists as professionals. Not long after, already in the context of journalism training, research – first and mainly in the United States (Singer, 2008; Wahl-Jorgensen & Hanitzsch, 2009) - on strategies, methods and structures of news production began as a way of creating new knowledge about the people and practices involved in this new professional sector of journalism. In 1924, *Journalism Quarterly* (later to become *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* journal) had its first issue, including an essay by Willard Bleyer - an essay that one can say was the starting point of journalism and newspaper research (Singer, 2008).

In the meantime, in Europe, particularly in Denmark and the UK, journalism education took place through skills-based short courses within organizations where journalists were trained through apprenticeships. This model did not focus on developing a more reflective and scholarly approach to journalism as it did not include Academia (Wahl-Jorgensen & Hanitzsch, 2009). However, this industry-led journalism training set a trend that may be one of the critical reasons for the historically interdisciplinary nature of Journalism Studies - most scholarship on journalism here comes from social sciences and humanities disciplines that have taken up journalism as one among many other subjects.

In the United States, on the other hand, early communication and journalism research emerged in the 1940s and 1950s, led by authors like Carl Hovland, Paul Lazarsfeld, and the sociologist Kurt Lewin, who were interested in psychology, sociology, and political science areas of knowledge. According to Wahl-Jorgensen & Hanitzsch (2009), social sciences and their empirical scientific methods (surveys and social experiments) profoundly impacted the production of knowledge about journalism and the workings of news media. The emerging field of journalism studies gradually turned its attention to “news people” and their professional values, as well as to editorial structures and routines (Ekström & Westlund, 2019). Concepts and theories were based on empirical research, such as the professionalization paradigm (McLeod & Hawley, 1964), the theories of news values (Galtung & Ruge, 1965) and agenda setting (McCombs & Shaw, 1972), and the gatekeeper model (White, 1950) that presents itself perhaps the most pertinent of these theories to explore more in-depth in the next section of this thesis chapter.

Overall, in the 1970s and 1980s, journalism research was strongly influenced by sociology and anthropology, leading to what might be called a *sociological turn* in the field (Ekström & Westlund, 2019; Wahl-Jorgensen & Hanitzsch, 2009). In these two decades, the focus was more on concepts related to news texts, such as framing, storytelling, and narrative, as well as on the growing importance of popular culture in the news and journalism’s conventions, professional and occupational ideologies and cultures, interpretive communities, and work routines (Ekström & Westlund, 2019; Wahl-Jorgensen & Hanitzsch, 2009). Sociologists such as Gaye Tuchman, Herbert J. Gans, Philip Schlesinger, and Peter Golding, and cultural studies scholars such as James Carey, Stuart Hall, and Barbie Zelizer were the most predominant figures in the journalism research of this era marked by the increasing attention paid to questions of culture and the use of qualitative methodologies, primarily ethnographic and discourse analytical approaches (Wahl-Jorgensen & Hanitzsch, 2009). These authors and their work brought new knowledge of news production processes and contributed to journalism’s place in constructing and maintaining dominant ideologies (Wahl-Jorgensen & Franklin, 2008).

Looking back on “early” examples of journalism research, Chalaby (1996, p. 303) well summarises: “Journalism is an Anglo-American invention”. The predominant discourse still constructs Journalism Studies’ history based on the work of scholars from the US and UK (Ekström & Westlund, 2019). However, as Wahl-Jorgensen & Hanitzsch (2009) argue,

journalism studies have developed unevenly worldwide, taking different pathways depending on local contexts. Contrary to many historical accounts, journalism research outside the western world is not necessarily novel. In China, journalism studies as an area of inquiry emerged as early as 1918 (Zhengrong, Deqiang, & Lei, 2015).

After the end of the Cold War and with the rise of the internet, the western hegemony somewhat eroded, and scholars from different nations and cultures started to interact more. Increased globalisation and political liberties provided a space for that (Wahl-Jorgensen & Hanitzsch, 2009). New communication technologies allowed more institutionalised global networks of researchers, and it became much easier to acquire funding for collaborative international studies, contributing to an *international-comparative turn* in journalism studies (Wahl-Jorgensen & Hanitzsch, 2009). Finally, scholarship from non-western countries became more visible in the journalism research field's leading journals and international conferences. Journalism is increasingly a global phenomenon; consequently, its study has become more collaborative and international. Studies such as *The News Around the World* (Shoemaker & Cohen, 2006) the *Journalistic Performance Around the Globe* (Mellado, Hellmueller, & Donsbach, 2017), and the *Worlds of Journalism Study* (Hanitzsch, Hanusch, Ramaprasad, & de Beer, 2019) represent a solid new literature in the field.

The rapidly growing diversity within journalism is challenging to capture in a predominant paradigm only. Journalism *as discourse* can be considered one of the most significant strands of research thought. Within this framework, a new generation of scholars, such as Carlson and Lewis (2015), are continuing Zelizer's (1993) legacy of considering journalism as a culture created and recreated by journalists as interpretative communities (Wahl-Jorgensen & Hanitzsch 2009). The work of Carlson Lewis is another strong example of current research that focuses on how journalists negotiate the legitimacy, meaning, and boundaries of journalism through professional and public discourse. The work of C. W. Anderson (2013) and Lucas Graves (2016) also revitalised ethnographic research in the area.

Another research trend in journalism studies is the greater focus on the journalism audience. The audience, which has tended to be neglected in journalism studies research, is now paid extra attention by many local and internacional context studies. These studies are contributing to new insights that, amongst other things, challenge journalists' conceptions of the value of certain forms of news, and scholars like Folker Hanusch and Irene Costera Meijer are particularly interested in this topic. Furthermore, once taken straightforward, vital concepts

such as ‘journalism’ and ‘journalist’ are now subject to constant new challenges and, most importantly, contestation (Wahl-Jorgensen & Hanitzsch, 2009). These challenges will likely continue and even be amplified by further technological, social, economic, and political transformations. These circumstances, naturally, can potentially lead to a future of dynamic inquiry, leading to further diversification and a greater multiplicity and multiculturalism of research traditions (Wahl-Jorgensen & Hanitzsch, 2009).

2.2.1 – The gatekeeper concept

The journalist, as gatekeeper, controls whether information passes through the channel and its outcome (Wahl-Jorgensen & Hanitzsch, 2009). Gatekeepers take many forms, for example, people, professional codes of conduct, company policies, and computer algorithms. All gatekeepers make decisions, but they have different degrees of autonomy. In early gatekeeping studies about news events (e.g., White, 1950; Donohew, 1967; Gieber, 1956; Jones, Troidahl & Hvistendahl, 1961), the gate was understood to be an in/out decision point, with little or no concern for other aspects of the gatekeeping is a more intricate process involving decisions about the amount of time/space allotted to a news event, where within a publication or news program, the story is placed. Also, for Donahue, Tichenor & Olien (1972) the number of stories about the event on one day or across days, and whether the story returns in a cyclical pattern, as well as the use of graphics are also elements of the equation.

Following David Manning White - the founder of the Gatekeeper theory, Tim P. Vos developed extensive work on the concept. Still, in 2015 in his book *Gatekeeping in Transition* written with François Heinderyckx, the authors agree that “some of the earliest conceptions of gatekeeping have indeed fallen out of favour and did so a long time ago” (Vos & Heinderyckx, 2015), mainly because White’s (1950) consideration of the gatekeeper focuses the individualized, rationalized selections by a single journalist (Reese & Ballinger, 2001). On that note, scholars such as Donohew (1967), Gieber (1956) and Pool & Shulman (1959) soon began to show how institutionalized factors are crucial in the decision-making of journalists. Also, Gaye Tuchman (1978) and Herbert Gans (1979) elaborated on the power and impact of socialization and journalistic routines in the process of constructing the news. Other authors argued the gatekeeper concept was only a question of selection (Shoemaker, 1991). “News is a product of a complex process that often starts with tips, hunches, and bits of information” (Vos & Heinderyckx, 2015, p. 4). Therefore, gatekeeping is how these combined elements get turned

into news and how that news is framed, emphasized, placed, and promoted (Shoemaker & Vos, 2009).

“The conceptualizations of gatekeeping as individual judgment and news selection are incomplete at best and misguided at worst” (Vos & Heinderyckx, 2015, p. 4), but gatekeeping as a theoretical construct still is an essential way through which one can explore the question ‘How does news turn out the way it does?’ (Vos & Heinderyckx, 2015, p. 4) which is a relevant question in the context of this PhD thesis where one is trying to unpack the following: ‘How do the non-Indigenous journalists report on First Nations Peoples and their issues turn out the way they do? And how the power and decision-making of the non-Indigenous journalist in the process impact this work and the life of First Nations Peoples?’.

In Africa, Indigenous information disseminators were used for disseminating vital information in the communities before the arrival of mass media (Guanah & Ojo, 2019). Before, Guanah and Ojo (2018) have also noted that man from the outset employed one type of primitive technology (drum beating, usage of signs or symbols) to communicate before the invention of modern communication technologies. Whatever information gets to the public was subjected to the discretion of authority that gives a clearance on the message to take to the public (Guanah & Ojo, 2019). As such, the town criers, drummers and whoever takes message to the public serves as the aid of the gatekeepers (Guanah & Ojo, 2019).

Globalisation has changed the trend of disseminating information (Guanah & Ojo, 2019). Quan-Haase (2013) argues that globalisation is "the move towards the interconnectedness of human affairs - economic, cultural, social, and political - transcending national boundaries, government and laws" (p.236). Information disseminated could contribute to or forestall human and societal progress (Okoro, 2013). We also know that the way the news is spread also interferes with the 'truth' about the 'Other' and helps to construct the 'Other's' reality and identity, particularly in the case of news that has been reported and still reports on First Nations Peoples (Levo-henriksson, 2007).

Before the advent of the new media, professional journalists, through gatekeeping, were able to potentially ensure more credible items that could ideally enable a democratic society and make the people better citizens were released as news. Before the news gets to the public sphere, it would have been subjected to the professional view of the gatekeepers, starting with the reporter who gathered the news (Guanah & Ojo, 2019). Therefore, Singer (2007) states

that “one widely used definition of a journalist revolves around the role of gatekeeper - a person whose judgment determines what information is and is not worthy of passing through a metaphorical gate for dissemination to the public” (p.29).

With the proliferation of Indigenous news published by mainstream mass media, non-Indigenous journalists increasingly find themselves negotiating the uncomfortable territories of race, politics, and power for which current training seems to leave them poorly prepared (Guanah & Ojo, 2019). Mohammed (2019) believes that employing more Indigenous journalists can be an ‘ideal’ solution, though few currently work in the mainstream sector worldwide (Mohammed, 2019). Also, research on non-Indigenous journalists (Galloway, 2017) suggests the need to ‘undertake a learning journey’ during which assumptions, biases, tastes, and preconceptions are examined and cultural competence is raised through the process (Fürsich, 2010). Yet this presents a difficult task within a postcolonial society when, as identified by Fürsich (2010), mainstream mass media represents an entirely Eurocentric construct.

Also, in the context of this PhD thesis, one must reflect upon Indigenous journalists/reviewers as gatekeepers in the non-Indigenous journalism reporting on Indigenous issues and its publishing process, including consequences of activist perspectives in mainstream journalism and journalism institutions’ role as promoters of Indigenous perspectives (Sand, 2023).

Much remains to research regarding the many important questions raised in response to colonial processes. These questions address identity struggles, reconciliation, and the power to define and speak within Indigenous communities and intercultural relations. There is much insecurity regarding how to engage and talk about Indigenous matters (Sand, 2023), let alone regarding how to be a competent gatekeeper on Indigenous issues if you are non-Indigenous or even a person that identifies with both Indigenous and non-Indigenous background – an ‘inbetweener’ (Sand, 2023). Conversely, the Sámi scholar Rauna Kuokkanen, amongst many more Indigenous scholars worldwide, wants us, as non-Indigenous researchers, and journalists, to do our ‘homework’. Inspired by Gayatri Spivak (1990), Kuokkanen criticises academia and journalism institutions for lack of interest in Indigenous perspectives – the knowledge only possible to acquire from what the author called ‘homework’ (2010, p. 67):

“Spivak (1990) urges the holders of hegemonic discourse’ to ‘de-hegemonise their position, and themselves learn how to occupy the subject position of the ‘Other’ rather than simply say, ‘O. K., sorry, we are just very good white people, therefore we do not speak for the other’ (p. 121). Instead of taking a position of the ‘politically correct’ dominant who argue that they can no longer speak, one must examine the historical circumstances and articulate one’s participation in the formation that created this and other forms of silencing (Spivak 1990). One simply has to take a risk since to say ‘I won’t criticise’ is salving your conscience and allowing you not to do any ‘homework’.” (Spivak 1990, pp. 62–63).

This PhD thesis does not expressly focus on the role of non-Indigenous reporting on Indigenous matters as a gatekeeper. However, one can say that much more needs to be researched and published on this form of gatekeeping in contemporary journalism related to First Nations Peoples, as gatekeeping here comes with an extra layer of complexity.

2.2.2 – Journalism as cultural Production and Discourse

Analysing journalism from the perspective of cultural theory leads one to question what is expected from journalism and journalists while at the same time figuring out how journalists view themselves to understand the diversity of journalism and its relation to power, ideology, ethnicity, identity, and so on (Hanusch, 2017). The cultural analysis of journalism is focused on how journalism intersects with everyday life and with real communities and diverse Peoples. Consequently, audiences’ perceptions of and interactions with journalism are crucial to cultural journalism studies. As Hartley (2008, p. 47) says, cultural analysis focuses on the “moment at which media production becomes communication and culture—the moment of the use in the circumstances of everyday life.”

‘Identity’ and ‘culture’ are fundamental concepts within cultural theories, and these cultural perspectives tend to underline the role and significance of, for example, emotions (vs. rationality) and storytelling (vs. reporting) in journalism and connect everyday life with structural and power-related questions (Wahl-Jorgensen & Hanitzsch, 2009).

There is a strong connection between the cultural analysis of journalism and critical theory (Hanusch, 2017), primarily related to neo-Marxism and the Frankfurt school of thought (Kellner, 1993). This implies an ambition to unmask the social and ideological power structures embedded in journalism and to uncover the discrepancies between journalistic self-perception and ‘meta journalistic discourse’ (Carlson, 2016), on one hand, and the actual expressions and

meaning production systems of journalism, on the other (Wahl-Jorgensen & Hanitzsch, 2009). Hence, language-based traditions of studying journalism are closely related to cultural ones (Hanusch, 2017). The field of semiotics (Noth & Bishara, 2007; Mattus, 2018; Harry, 2014), in which text is understood not only as written language but also as still and moving images, body language, and so on, has been essential in recognising journalism as visual culture and discussing the diversity through which journalism produces meaning.

Examples of common frameworks within language-oriented perspectives on journalism are discourse theory (Kelsey, 2015), narrative approach (Johnston & Graham, 2012), and genre theories (Marques de Melo & Assis, 2016). Among these theories, perhaps discourse theory is the most common, and, within the amplitude of the discourse theory, critical discourse analysis (CDA) seems to be the one that is widely used and influential in the field of media and journalism studies. CDA explores the dialectical relationship between discourses and social systems and how language and meaning are used by the powerful to oppress the dominated so that the approach could be said to have an emancipatory trajectory (Pöyhtäri, 2014). On this note, Van Dijk (2009) argues that the ideological nature of news is a significant element in discourse-analytical journalism studies. For Van Dijk (2009), this approach is helpful when examining the reproduction and expression of ideology in news, the taken-for-granted beliefs underlying the social representations shared by a group (Wahl-Jorgensen & Hanitzsch, 2009). Van Dijk (2009) also brings to the attention that the role of discourse in reproducing racism, nationalism, and sexism must be more carefully and further studied.

2.2.3 – Challenges for western journalists

Despite the growing internationalisation of journalism studies, researchers and journalists are still struggling with the fact that most of what is known and taken for granted about journalism, not only in the western world but also in most places worldwide, are theoretical concepts and research evidence generated from within western ideas and experience (Park & Curran, 2000; Papoutsaki, 2007; Hanitzsch et al. 2019). To a certain degree, this western dominance came from a concentration of academic and textbook publishers in the Anglo-Saxon world using English as the lingua franca (de Beer, 2010; Josephi, 2005).

Western authors have conducted most of the studies traditionally considered field-defining or the most innovative (Wahl-Jorgensen & Hanitzsch, 2009). The lack of validation and consideration of non-western (particularly the Indigenous) academic scholars and their

contributed research on journalism studies is apparent in how journalism's scholarly prestige is distributed. Between 2011 and 2018, the Journalism Studies Division of the International Communication Association has given all its 20 book/dissertation/outstanding article awards to academics from western universities, with 11 awards given to scholars based or trained in the US (Hanitzsch, 2019). This western dominance naturally brings consequences and more significant challenges for a broader understanding of global journalism. Furthermore, International journalism research still tends to problematise the object of analysis from a western analytical framework and avoid using non-western research methodologies (e.g., Indigenous research methodologies). Researchers have thus called for a transformation, a de-westernisation, and a decolonisation of the field (Curran & Park, 2000; Wang, 2018). These complex and long-lasting processes of de-westernisation and decolonisation have assumed different forms: as an act of cultural defence, an anti-imperialist strategy to nurture academic sovereignty, an anti-colonialist positionality to promote 'Other's' ways of thinking, doing and researching that needs to be embraced in academia that is more and more internationalised, and a call for embracing an analytical perspective that reflects a de-centred, dynamic contemporary world (Waisbord & Mellado, 2014).

The problem of generalising and exporting the western view to other parts of the world is more evident than ever in academic and professional discourses proclaiming a crisis or collapse of journalism (Wahl-Jorgensen & Hanitzsch, 2009). Responding to unsettling developments in selected western countries, scholars (Alexander, Breese, & Luengo, 2016; Anderson, 2013; Boczkowski & Anderson, 2017; Downie & Schudson, 2009; Peters & Broersma, 2013; Waisbord, 2013) have asked for 'reconsidering', 'rebuilding', 'remaking', 'reconstructing', 'rethinking' and 'reinventing' journalism. The severe growing tone of this discussion is appropriate in many parts of the western 'white privileged' world, particularly in the US. Still, the situation in many other countries may not necessarily call for such a response (Wahl-Jorgensen & Hanitzsch, 2009). While traditional journalism may be contracting in some parts of the world, the industry is still expanding in other regions, such as China and India. In this context, US journalism should not be seen as a benchmark case or model for the world, considering its, if not exceptional, status even among western countries (Curran, 2011).

On another note, journalism academics seem to continue to prefer journalism strategies and practices perceived to be democratic. However, again, going back to the still established generalisation views and interpretations in the field, journalism within democracy is enjoyed

only by a relatively small minority of the world's population (Wahl-Jorgensen & Hanitzsch, 2019) - this means journalism studies should be internationalised not just in quantitative terms (as measured by conference attendance and publication output), but also by recognising a global diversity of journalistic cultures, theories and lines of inquiry that goes further and beyond North America and Western Europe (Wahl-Jorgensen & Hanitzsch, 2019). As George (2007) reinforces, the bravest expressions of journalism's professional values are often in authoritarian settings, primarily non-democratic places.

Finally, and without going into detail on the matter as it is not directly related to this PhD thesis's primary focus, it is essential to mention a crucial and still very much growing challenge for all journalists today (Indigenous and non-Indigenous) that perhaps most prominently journalism scholarship will continue to grapple with the implications of what Nielsen (2016, p. 61) called the "unfinished digital media revolution". A 'revolution' that came with the emergence of social media, journalistic digital platforms, and datafication. Plus, complex issues such as personalisation algorithms, automated journalism, big data, and artificial intelligence are alarming and disrupting the concept of journalistic authorship, voice, and authority (Wahl-Jorgensen & Hanitzsch, 2019), raising new questions that most likely will continue to transform the field of Journalism Studies research.

2.2.4 – Main characteristics of and challenges for the Indigenous journalists

A growing number of studies specifically look at journalists' roles beyond the Western world. Arab journalists, for instance, conceive of their mission as that of driving political and social reform, thus acting as “change agents” in the political arena (Pintak, 2014, p. 494). Pakistani journalists found it most important to defend national sovereignty, preserve national unity, and foster societal development (Pintak & Nazir, 2013) - traits that were also noted among Indonesian journalists (Romano, 2003). All these values correspond to the idea of “development journalism” identified in several countries that broadly belong to the Global South (Edeani, 1993). This thesis is focused on the concept of journalism in the context of First Nations Peoples. The definition of Indigenous journalist is used in this research project in a broad way that differs from western/non-Indigenous traditions, which tie it to notions of objectivity.

Objectivity is an ideological construction that has not existed in non-Indigenous journalism for long (Schudson, 2003). Instead, Schudson's definition of journalism as “the

business or practice of producing and disseminating information about contemporary affairs of general public interest and importance” (2003, p. 11) is what this study explores more in-depth. Such interpretation of journalism allows us to avoid value judgments that may entrench journalism within a non-Indigenous epistemology, opening space for Indigenous epistemologies to influence its practice (Waller, 2010). Following Faulker Hanusch’s work, this thesis explores the notion that “journalism is a cultural resource and is culturally contextualised” (2013, p.2). One can define Indigenous journalism as follows:

“The production and dissemination of information about contemporary affairs of general public interest and importance, by Indigenous peoples for the benefit of Indigenous but also non-Indigenous communities. It acknowledges that Indigenous journalism is not necessarily the same in every Indigenous community and will likely differ depending on specific political, economic, and cultural circumstances, offering a multi-faceted view of different types of Indigenous journalism.”
(Hanusch, 2013, p. 3)

From this point of view, Indigenous journalism can be traced back to times far before western colonisation. In New Zealand, Stephens (2004, p.107) argued that the origins of Māori news lie in the storytelling tradition. In pre-European times, the responsibility for delivering news within communities was in the hands of the *kaikōrero* (traditional orators). They were “veritable storehouses of knowledge and information. They interpreted the world they knew and observed for the benefit of their people” (Stephens, 2004, p. 107). Stephens even further says that these traditions continue in Māori media today. Ferreira (2006, p.10) also found practices of Latin American news-making and journalism activities that precede pre-Hispanic times: “Indigenous inscriptions with details of major social and political occurrences proliferated in urban centres of Classic Mesoamerica and beyond”. While pre-colonisation examples have already been presented above, in terms of the modern era, the first tribal newspaper in the United States, the *Cherokee Phoenix*, was established in February 1828 (Littlefield & Parins, 1984). Printed bilingual (in English and the Cherokee language), its primary goal was to serve as a propaganda instrument for the Cherokee Nation and a tool to improve local Indigenous populations’ literacy issues skills (Daniels, 2006). In Australia, the first newspaper produced by an Aboriginal organisation arrived merely ten years later, with the *Aboriginal* publication, or *Flinders Island Chronicle* in 1838. While it only existed for one year, others emerged in the following years (Meadows & Molnar, 2002). In New Zealand, the first Māori-language newspaper, *Ko te Karere o Nui Tireni* (The Messenger of New Zealand) was

printed in 1842. This newspaper, along with its successors over the next 20 years, was used by the colonial government for assimilationist purposes. However (Curnow, 2002), Māori-owned and operated publications did not arrive until the 1860s.

According to Hanusch (2013), the experience of colonisation, marginalisation, racism, and under-representation has been a fundamental element of Indigenous media more broadly, as technologies now offer “possibilities for ‘talking back’ to and through the categories that have been created to contain Indigenous people” (Ginsburg, 2002, p.51). Therefore, these are the main motivations of many Indigenous media, typically seen as “indispensable tools for promoting Indigenous identity, language, culture, self-representation and collective and human rights” (Wilson and Stewart, 2008, p. 18). Most importantly, Indigenous people are now able to practice journalism, for example, within an Indigenous framework inclusive of Indigenous culture, knowledge, and epistemology (Smith, 1999; Waller, 2010). In the Internet age and vastly improved access to information in many corners of the globe, the use and mobilisation of Indigenous media has become central at local, national, and transnational levels (Wilson and Stewart, 2008). “Indigenous Peoples across the globe have, over the past two decades, increasingly taken advantage of recent developments in media technologies, which have allowed them to counter mainstream perceptions and speak to their own urban, regional, and remote communities” (Hanusch, 2013, p.4). This gives Indigenous media producers a much-improved opportunity to make Indigenous voices heard and to tell their own communities’ stories their way and to benefit their people. More and more, Indigenous media organisations are working together to amplify their voices worldwide, for example, by establishing the World Indigenous Television Broadcasters’ Network (WITBN) with member organisations in 11 countries.

One of the crucial features of Indigenous journalism, according to Tavares (2012), is that it is a collective work of thinking and action concept. This idea of ‘collective work’ seems particularly appropriate, as the imagination of Indigenous journalism has grown out of communitarian action in a local context, mediated at meetings, community yarning circles, discussions, and networks at national and continental levels, for example, the two Latin American *Cumbres Continentales de Comunicación Indígena del Abya Yala* (Continental Summits of Indigenous Communicators of Abya Yala) (Krøvel, 2017). Indigenous journalism is also connected to a community of journalists continuously discussing issues such as norms, values, cultural protocols, and processual ethics. It is disseminated through media channels and

is designed for the direct benefit of its specific audience (Krøvel, 2017). Tavares, amongst other scholars, has discussed the possible use of ‘alternative journalism’ or ‘community journalism’ instead of ‘Indigenous journalism’ (Darío Buitrón, 1996; Lamuedra Graván, 2011; Tavares, 2012a). However, what Tavares seeks to ensure with the term ‘Indigenous journalism’ is precisely the differences from the types of journalism labelled ‘alternative journalism’ or ‘community journalism’, which is the many traditions, rituals, institutions, and procedures that integrate individual journalists into Indigenous communities and organizations. From an Indigenous perspective, non-Indigenous journalism is seen and criticized as a phenomenon that has emerged from increasing individualization in the western/colonial world (Krøvel, 2017). Non-Indigenous media are also understood by Indigenous activists as having contributed to accelerating individualization (Mancilla Maldonado, 2010; Muñoz, 2015; Suárez Quiroga, 2014). The core norms and values of Indigenous journalism explicitly oppose individualization and call for journalism and media to not only serve Indigenous communities but also be a part of these communities.

Tavares mentions three aspects of Indigenous journalism that are vital (Tavares, 2012a, p. 23-27): Indigenous journalism must address the needs and expectations of Indigenous Peoples; The communication must be trauma-informed and educate about the western and colonial influence on Indigenous Peoples and revalue the Indigenous knowledge and ways of living as an adequate alternative; The technologies underpinning the media must be placed at the service of indigenous life and culture, also meaning that news should circulate and be available to all.

This understanding of journalism is not reconcilable with norms and the concept of "objectivity" and "balance" held by many in the western mainstream media (Krøvel, 2017). Following Hanitzsch's (2007, p. 369) definition of 'journalism culture' as "a particular set of ideas and practices by which journalists legitimate their role in society and render their work meaningful", Hanusch (2013) also reflects on Indigenous journalism's own unique and complex mix of these dimensions.

The first of Hanusch's five dimensions relates to professional views and practices aimed to contribute to self-determination battles, and are about empowering Indigenous communities. Indigenous news media have often provided a sense of empowerment for their people through "an alternative public space", as Indigenous Sámi journalists have referred to it (Pietikäinen, 2008, p. 173). This space enables the discussion of Indigenous issues on

Indigenous Peoples' terms. Pietikäinen (2008, p. 177) argues that such media can "become symbols of empowerment and means for political mobilization of ethnic communities, mediating their public participation or helping reinterpret the notion and practices of citizenship". For example, Sagai Muittalægje's work, published between 1904 and 1911, was tied to a national movement of the Sámi people in Norway, which led to the Sámi politician Isak Saba being elected to parliament (Jernsletten, 1998). Similarly, early tribal newspapers in North America were essential instruments in the battle for self-determination and aimed to reassert Indigenous rights (Avison & Meadows, 2000). In 1930s Australia, the newspaper *AboCall: The Voice of Aborigines* was part of the 'advancement movement', and later newspapers in the 1950s were also committed to Aboriginal rights (Meadows and Molnar, 2002). Today, the *Koori Mail* refers to itself as the "Voice of Indigenous Australia", strongly focusing on Indigenous issues (Budarick and King, 2008). In New Zealand, *Te Hokioi o Niu Tirenī e Rere atu na* (The Giant Haast Eagle of New Zealand who flies out) was founded by the Waikato tribe in 1862 and used to advocate for the Māori King Movement and the restriction of government influence over Māori (Curnow, 2002: 21). It was followed by many others which would exhibit a fiercely pro-Māori stance and agitate for Māori rights. In Mapuche in Chile, Salazar (2003, 2004) notes how Indigenous media are critical to making politics. Further evidence exists in Taiwan, where the newspaper *Indigenous Voice Post's* primary goal was "for the Aboriginal people to abandon their subaltern role and to learn how to control the presentation of news topics by themselves" (Tsai and Chang, 2012, p. 2).

Hanusch's (2013) second dimension aims to change external perceptions imposed by mainstream journalism and provide a different narrative about Indigenous Peoples. It is where Hanusch (2013) elaborates on how Indigenous Peoples have used media technologies to 'talk back' or even 'shoot back' when referring to visual media (Prins, 2004). In the case of Indigenous journalism, the evidence that mainstream reporting of Indigenous issues across the globe is regularly stereotypical is overwhelming (Abel, 1997; McCallum & Holland, 2010; Pietikäinen, 2003). Alia (2010, p.110) has argued that "throughout history, Indigenous media projects have often begun in 'illegal,' 'outlaw,' 'guerilla,' 'rebel,' or 'pirate' ways". Grixti (2011, p. 343) says that "perhaps the most widespread understanding of Indigenous media productions is that they are the work of activists who use western media technologies to counter dominant media misrepresentations of Indigenous people by documenting Indigenous cultural traditions from an Indigenous perspective, and in the process articulate Indigenous cultural identities and futures". To give an example of this second dimension of Indigenous journalism,

Veteran Māori journalist Derek Fox, who pioneered Māori news on New Zealand television in the 1980s, has argued that mainstream journalism has shown no willingness to report accurately on Indigenous issues, and it is therefore up to Māori to fill the gap in news coverage. Also, Daniels (2006, p. 322) wrote that Native American newspapers have “always existed, in part, to right the wrongs done by mainstream media, who some say were insensitive or downright incorrect in their portrayals of Native Americans”. Perkins’ (2003) interviews with Native American newspaper editors have shown that most see a need for their publications to portray their communities positively. At the same time, Fox (1992, p. 173) is aware of the pitfalls of developing “a false positive image or deliberately stating we broadcast only good news. Something in me rails up against that. But the media don’t have to do that. All they must do is their job. The positive aspects are there waiting to be reported.”

The third Hanusch’s dimension of Indigenous journalism “is the desire to assist in the maintenance of Indigenous languages” (Hanusch, 2013, p.7), serving a function of revitalising languages. Colonial policies have, in many contexts, led to a severe decline in native speakers, and media are seen as vital resources to help arrest this decline (Browne, 2005). In New Zealand, Māori Television screens several television shows aimed at teaching the Māori language, and the entire Māori broadcasting sector owes its existence to a Waitangi Tribunal ruling that the Māori language is a *tāonga* (treasured possession) that needs to be protected by the government (Middleton, 2010). In Australia, where the large variety of Aboriginal languages has made any national approach more complex, some Aboriginal newspapers served as part of language renaissance movements in the late 1970s (Meadows and Molnar, 2002). However, nowadays newspapers like the *Koori Mail* or *National Indigenous Times*, as well as news bulletins on *NITV* and the podcasts channel *SBS Indigenous* are published predominantly in English. Surveys with journalists in 10 European minority language communities (Basque, Catalan, Galician, Corsican, Breton, Frisian, Irish, Welsh, Scottish-Galic, and Sámi) have also found that more than two-thirds of them “understand professional journalism as an activity in which they incorporate a function of language backing, either at the support or advocacy levels” (Zabaleta et al., 2010, p. 204). Following glasnost and perestroika in Russia, many Indigenous groups in Siberia and the Lake Baikal region established their news media to revitalise their languages (Diatchkova, 2008; Graber, 2012).

Furthermore, Hanusch (2013) presents his fourth dimension of Indigenous journalism culture as the desire to practice journalism in a culturally competent, respectful, and appropriate

environment. This dimension encompasses more than just the need to revitalise culture in reporting about culture. That is, of course, an essential component, as demonstrated by Māori Television’s mission statement of wanting to “make a significant contribution to the revitalisation of *Tikanga Māori* (Māori values and customs) and *Reo Māori* (Māori language) by being an independent, secure and successful Māori Television broadcaster” (Māori Television, 2012). In northern Finland, Sámi journalists named four topics of particular importance: Traditional livelihoods, cultural issues, land-owning rights, and issues of Indigenous Peoples (Pietikäinen, 2008). Undoubtedly, the focus on reporting on Indigenous topics will relate to cultural issues, rituals, protocols and practices, which are essential to ensure cultural survival.

The fifth dimension that Hanusch (2013) points out relates to what is in the non-Indigenous world, often seen as one of journalism’s most important roles: the watchdog role (Fox’s 1992; Liebes, 1992; Márquez-Ramírez et al., 2020). As noted in Fox’s (1992) uneasiness about broadcasting only good news, there is an inherent conflict in some of the functions discussed. Often, Indigenous news media’s primary goal has been to advocate for Indigenous causes and provide a counter-narrative. Such role descriptions are seen as problematic by some mainstream non-Indigenous traditional journalists - often those with Anglo-Saxon cultural and professional backgrounds (Hanusch, 2013) - who may see objectivity and watchdog journalism as utmost necessary and reject advocacy or activism. This is despite the notion of objectivity in journalism - also seen as a strategic ritual (Tuchman, 1972) - having emerged only in the late twentieth century (Schudson, 2003) and many other types of journalism in non-Indigenous societies today follow an advocacy function. The sociologist Tuchman defines the concept of ‘strategic ritual’ as follows: “(...) newspapermen invoke ritualistic procedures to deflect potential criticism and to follow routines bounded by the ‘cognitive limits of rationality,’ they are also performance ‘strategies’” (Tuchman, 1972, p. 661).

Nevertheless, many Indigenous journalists believe they have a role to play in watching over their leaders to benefit their wider community. In North America, tribal journalists - those employed by news media owned by tribal authorities – see their first obligation to the people. They regularly experience enormous pressures from the tribal owners but are firmly committed to the truth, and their rhetorical sovereignty is rooted in the people (Hanusch, 2013). “Those who act in the best interests of the people are those who more likely have the authority to represent those people” (Kemper, 2010, p. 36). As Kemper (2010, p. 7) highlights: “native

journalists are native and journalists, regardless of the order in which you put the words. From their writings, it appears it would be unthinkable to most of them to do anything that would undermine the Indigenous people they serve”. Indigenous American journalist Paul DeMain (2001) emphasises that advocating for his people does not mean he cannot also be a watchdog. In fact, he regards himself as both a “guerrilla” and a “legitimate” journalist, a hint that what some non-Indigenous journalists may see as irreconcilable ideas may not be so in First Nations contexts. The same happens in Scandinavia, with the news director at Norwegian Sámi radio explaining it: “Of course, we are independent of *Sámediggi* (Sámi parliament). We maintain a critical point of view. We can’t be the fan club for *Sámediggi*” (Buljo in Alia, 2010, p. 133). Indigenous Maltese journalists have found a way to deal with their conflicting allegiances: They declare any biases to their audiences (Sammut, 2007).

For all the above mentioned, it is not surprising that Indigenous journalists suffer from violence, threats and hate speech related to Indigenous issues and Peoples (Gagliardone, 2015; Krøvel, 2017), which are discussed in the literature dealing with freedom of the press and safety of journalists. UNESCO’s *World Trends in Freedom of Expression and Media Development: Special Digital Focus 2015* mentions one case of hate speech online related to Indigenous Peoples in Australia (p. 48) - however, no instances of journalists identified as Indigenous people are mentioned in the main report. Nonetheless, diversity in media and journalism is underlined as a critical value in several places in the document (Krøvel, 2017). The “UN Secretary-General’s Global Education First Initiative (...) aims to equip learners of all ages with those values, knowledge and skills that are based on, and instil respect for, human rights, social justice, diversity” (Gagliardone, 2015, p. 51). The report also underlines the importance of diversity in media audiences (p. 51), which depends on linguistic diversity (p. 67).

In the meantime, Reporters Without Borders (RWB) has published information on numerous cases involving Indigenous journalists and issues in Latin America over the last ten years (Krøvel, 2017). The online database contains over 80 news items and background articles related to indigenous issues (Krøvel, 2017). In *Officials prevent Indigenous radio station from reopening* issue, RWB is “alarmed by the continuing persecution of community radio stations in Guatemala” (Reporters Without Borders, 2015d). RWB connects the murder of a community radio station director on 14 April 2015 in the south of Mexico to Indigenous struggles in the region (Reporters Without Borders, 2015b). In 2015, RWB reported ten missing journalists to the United Nations, among them the case of Borja Lázaro from Colombia, who had been

missing since 2014 when he was producing reports on Indigenous cultures (Reporters Without Borders, 2015a). In 2012, RWB found a newly adopted law discriminated against Indigenous community media in Guatemala (Reporters Without Borders, 2012). In 2010, RWB welcomed the acquittal of a Chilean filmmaker working with Mapuche Indigenous activists (Reporters Without Borders, 2010b). Most cases, however, are related to Indigenous struggles in Colombia and the Cauca region seems to be a particularly unsafe region for indigenous journalists (Krøvel, 2017). Titles such as “Journalism in Valle del Cauca – terror, economic pressure and Self-censorship” (Reporters Without Borders, 2015c); “Airwaves against Bullets – Indigenous Radios Stations in Cauca” (Reporters Without Borders, 2012 -a); “Cauca’s Indigenous community radios appeal for help” (Reporters Without Borders, 2012 - b); “Paramilitaries threaten 11 journalists and 11 Indigenous radio stations - vice-president asked to intercede” (Reporters Without Borders, 2011); and “ChuzaDAS: Media targeted by intelligence services” (Reporters Without Borders, 2010a) make it clear that violence and threats against Indigenous journalists in Cauca cannot be seen as isolated episodes (Krøvel, 2017). “These attacks against Indigenous leaders and journalists in Latin America seem to come from paramilitaries controlled by elite groups, the state security apparatus and Marxist guerrilla organizations” (Krøvel, 2017, p.4).

2.3 – What is Cultural Competence and why is it crucial to all journalists?

Culture is a vital aspect of identity and shapes who we are and how we see the world. It influences our understanding of the social world and helps us navigate our personal and professional environment. The need for a better understanding about communities and cultures other than our own has taken on a new urgency, given today’s rapidly expanding globalization, increasingly diverse domestic populations, and increased engagement through digital technologies. An important way that people at home and across the globe learn about communities and perspectives other than their own is through the mass media, including the news media (Bennett, 2005; Brennen & Duffy, 2003; Gans, 1979/1980; Lippmann, 1922; The Commission on Freedom of the Press, 1947; Tuchman, 1978).

Our cultural upbringing and the education system we move through may or may not be aligned with our cultural worldview and previous experiences (Krakouer, 2015).

Predominately, this is the case of the First Nations peoples worldwide. This is why non-Indigenous journalists' cultural competence working in journalism sectors reporting on Indigenous issues cannot be underestimated nor overlooked (Whalan and Wood, 2012). However, many journalism' higher education degrees (Craven, Yeung & Han, 2014) and journalism professional institutions worldwide provide little to no teaching training regarding Indigenous cultural competence (Craven, Yeung & Han, 2014). A culturally competent approach to journalism should become a topic of discussion in all journalism courses (at universities or professional training's level) (Garyantes, 2012). Awareness of self and knowledge of the 'Other', not just skills, should be taught and encouraged amongst journalism students.

"With training and education in cultural competence, journalists can learn to become aware of their own social constructions and their individual perceptions related to their own schema and attributions. The result of increased cultural competence is the potentially for more representative news coverage of culturally diverse communities." (Garyantes, 2012, p. 61).

One of the few very much welcomed examples of cultural competence from the university sector in Australia can be seen in the University of South Australia's (UniSA) introduction of Indigenous Content in Undergraduate Programs (ICUP) Policy in 2005 (Krakouer, 2015). As part of the ICUP Policy, UniSA commenced offering stand-alone Indigenous courses for all their undergraduate degrees (including journalism courses), as well as embedding Indigenous perspectives in subjects throughout all undergraduate courses (Quinn et al., 2011). University policy at UniSA ensures that future professionals – across all disciplines, from journalism, teaching, arts, science, engineering, to medicine – will be more culturally competent practitioners upon graduation because of this embedding of Indigenous knowledge. Indigenous perspectives are taught, tested, and prioritised across the curriculum (Krakouer, 2015, Quinn et al., 2011). In all undergraduate courses that taught Indigenous content, UniSA prioritised the importance of ensuring that students analysed their own perceptions and understandings of Aboriginal culture, and 'white privilege', as a part of "developing cultural sensitivity and awareness" (Quinn et al., 2011, p. 146). This approach ensured that increased understanding and relationship building was possible in professional practice with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples (Quinn et al., 2011). However, while there is a few of these cultural competency approaches used in the Australian education space (mostly in primary and high school) - from the intensive cross-cultural awareness courses

whereby teachers live with an Aboriginal community, to a 2-hour course designed to merely introduce teachers to Aboriginal cultural differences – universities still have far fewer examples of how it can be done.

Perhaps the lack of cultural competence knowledge gained in universities is one of the reasons why journalists have long been criticized for their inability to cross cultural boundaries and report about communities and perspectives that may differ from their own (Brennen & Duffy, 2003; Gans, 2012, 1979/1980; Natarajan & Xiaoming, 2003). In response, some scholars have called for a new approach to mass communication, particularly, journalism that includes multiple perspectives to provide more inclusive coverage and promote understanding (Gans, 2011, 1979/1980; Ward, 2005).

The literature mentions different terms such as cultural competence, cultural responsiveness, cultural awareness, cultural relevance, cultural safety, and cultural security. These names are used interchangeably in the Australian context, for example, as "part of a suite of concepts or frameworks proposed as interventions aimed at improving the health, social and educational outcomes for minority group members including Indigenous Peoples" (Dunbar & Scrimgeour, 2009, p. 3). In the higher education teaching space, Perso and Hayward (2015, p. 1) define cultural competency "as the capacity or ability to understand, interact and communicate effectively, with sensitivity, with people from different cultural backgrounds". Cultural responsiveness is defined by Perso and Hayward (2015, p. 1) as "enacted cultural competence". Still, in the teaching context, authors seem to prefer the terms 'culturally responsive' and 'culturally relevant' - this option can reflect "the desire of some non-Indigenous educators to take action to ensure that their teaching adequately demonstrates cultural awareness or cultural competence" (Krakouer, 2015, p.9). Cultural safety differs to that of cultural competency, cultural responsiveness, and cultural awareness. Cultural safety foregrounds power differentials within society, the requirement for professionals – in the case of this research project the non-Indigenous journalists - to reflect on interpersonal power differences (their own and that of the Indigenous Peoples whom they report on mass media), and how the transfer of power within multiple contexts can facilitate appropriate work and support overall for First Nations Peoples and arguably for all journalists (Darroch et al., 2017). More importantly, and in the context of this research, cultural safety seeks to achieve better journalistic strategies and practices through being aware of the 'white privileges', by decolonising, considering power relations, implementing a reflective practice, and allowing the

First Nations Peoples in the news production, gatekeeping and publishing process to determine whether the journalism encounter is safe (Curtis et al., 2019). This study advocates that a combination of cultural competency, cultural responsiveness, cultural awareness, and cultural safety is the more appropriate conceptual frame. All these definitions are slightly different and add a critical element. Therefore, a combination of them all is what better applies to this research and the needs of both non-Indigenous journalist and Indigenous Peoples.

The National Health and Medical Research Council (NHMRC, 2011) also defines cultural competence as a set of congruent behaviours, attitudes, and policies that come together in a system, agency or among professionals and enable that system, agency or those professionals to work effectively in cross-cultural situations. Moreover, cultural competence is often defined as a process that exists on a continuum, with cultural destructiveness existing at one end and cultural proficiency situated at the other end.

Many professionals have already begun to address the issue of inclusiveness and the ability to work effectively with individuals and communities from cultures different from their own by embracing the concept of cultural competence and proper training to achieve it. These professions include social work, psychology, public relations, business, government, education, and health care (Craig, Hull, Haggart, & Perez-Selles, 2000; D’Andrea, Daniels, & Heck, 1991; Doutrich & Story, 2004; Johnston & Herzig, 2006; National Association of Social Workers, 2008; Leiba-O’Sullivan, 1999).

In the journalism field, Georgetown University’s Centre for Child and Human Development features a National Centre for Cultural Competence (National Centre for Cultural Competence, 2012). This study applies the concept of cultural competence to journalism by examining the ways in which reporters portray culturally different ‘Others’ in their work. The theoretical frameworks used in the study include concepts related to social cognition including schema, attribution, and cognitive complexity, which address how individuals construct and perceive the world around them (Fiske & Taylor, 1984; Hamilton, Devine, & Ostrom, 1994) and the social construction of reality (McManus, 2021; Berger & Luchmann, 2023), which addresses how people within social groups interpret the world around them (Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Schutz, 1944). The study concludes the ways in which reporters are influenced by their social groups and personal experiences have the potential to affect the way in which they perceive and report on culturally diverse communities and culturally different

‘Others’. These perceptions can make their way into news content, and audiences could in turn be influenced by these texts.

Dianne M. Garyantes’ (2012) study is a strong example here as well as it is on community journalism, it examines multimedia news coverage of urban communities that is published on a university-based website devoted to hyperlocal coverage of one city’s neighbourhoods. Community journalism is distinct from other kinds of journalism in many ways, including that it emphasises the close relationship between the journalists and members of their audience. Specifically, this study closely examines the multimedia news texts of student reporters covering cultures and communities that are different from their own to identify factors that influence the cultural competence of journalists and to determine whether the students’ texts demonstrate a culturally competent approach to journalism. The study uncovered a new factor that contributes to a culturally competent approach to journalism: negotiation of the complexity of an “insider” or “outsider” status:

“While most of the students reporting in the neighbourhood were “outsiders” to the community, one student only had grown up there and was still living there (...) Because she was aware of her “outsider” status on this issue, she and her fellow group members garnered the assistance of an “insider” guide to show them the nuances – or “micro” knowledge – associated with the community’s culture. The other student group (...) were not able to negotiate their “outsider” status in the community and gain knowledge of the ‘Other’; they and their journalistic texts remained on the fringes of the cultural web.” (Garyantes, 2012, p. 58).

Again, in the Australian Education field, Bullen’s et al.’s (2021) study came to confirm that today, more than ever before, non-Indigenous educators need to improve their level of cultural awareness/cultural competency/cultural responsiveness/cultural safety. And, according to Bullen’s et al. (2021) study, many non-Indigenous educators are very much aware of their needs and are eager to find ways to address them. When questioned about the perceived lack of cultural knowledge and confidence in dealing with their Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students, Bullen’s et al.’s (2021) non-Indigenous educator research participants responded the following: “I feel unprepared”, “I don’t feel qualified”, “I feel a bit of a fraud really” (Bullen et al., 2021, p. 13). Also, when questioned about their own cultural competence and desire for training in cultural competence specifically, these group of non-Indigenous educators responded: “I would not know what my capabilities are or what that means. I may have it. I

don't know", "I have never been given any particular training that I can remember" (Bullen et al., 2021, p. 13).

Bullen et al. (2021) is a critical reference for my study as it is, as far I know from the literature, the few research developed in Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples exploring a 'discomforting' research theoretical approach. My study is like theirs, however, it intends to explore the cultural competence topic differently – applied to journalism.

However, the concept of cultural competence can be contested (Walker et al., 2014). While it is widely accepted that cultural competence means a commitment to interact respectfully with people from diverse cultures, there are concerns that some poorly developed approaches to cultural competence ignore social inequality using multicultural frameworks that can lead to generalisations (Abrams & Moio, 2009; Pon, 2009; Sakamoto, 2007). Some academics even argue that the impartial view of culture and lack of theorising about the power inherent in cultural competency is like 'new racism' (Pon, 2009). However, homogenising people by not acknowledging their differences in ethnicity, culture, or religious affiliation is disrespectfulness (Laird, 2008; Casey, Moss & Wicks, 2022) as it assumes that all peoples should respond to constructs, ideals, programs and interventions developed primarily around Euro or America-centric belief systems. It is well documented that people worldwide hold distinct views, beliefs or attitudes about many issues, particularly communication (Johnson, Lenartowicz & Apud, 2006) and, more specifically, journalism (Garyantes, 2010), and that culture and cultural differences play an essential role in the overall facilitation of communication and journalism strategies and practices (Norris & Inglehart, 2009). It is therefore argued here that not undertaking culturally competent education or culturally competent professional training or development that improves understanding and assists in the evolution of attitudes, beliefs and behaviours related to issues of culture is discriminatory.

In sum, according to literature in many different fields, one can expect that by exploring a combination of cultural awareness/cultural competency/cultural responsiveness/cultural safety as a whole set of different and necessary skills, non-Indigenous journalists may improve their journalism strategies and practices and their relationship with all Indigenous Peoples and colleagues in journalism environment. Furthermore, many non-Indigenous journalists already identify the need to enhance their cultural awareness, cultural competency, cultural responsiveness, or cultural safety as isolated needs or skills to pursue. More importantly, most of them seem to desire training to achieve this goal (Garyantes, 2012).

This study argues that all these cultural skills are different, and all are equally critical and urgent. Therefore, this study suggests a combined framework of cultural awareness/cultural competency/cultural responsiveness/cultural safety that may give a completer and more efficient base to non-Indigenous journalists training.

2.3.1 – The non-Indigenous journalists’ lack of cultural competence

Non-Indigenous journalists' cultural awareness/cultural competency/cultural safety/cultural responsiveness in mass media cannot be underestimated nor overlooked (Whalan and Wood, 2012).

In Waller's (2012) book chapter *Journalists, 'Remote' Indigenous Sources and Cultural Competence*, the scholar explores the journey of journalists working in remote areas of Northern Australia who participated in the Media and Indigenous Policy Project and have identified cultural competence as one of the critical attributes of Indigenous reporting specialists. This case is included in this thesis as an excellent example of this matter in the Australian context, where this research is conducted.

In Waller's research project, Indigenous reporting specialists say cultural competence enables these reporters to find their own Indigenous stories, cultivate and maintain strong contacts in the Indigenous public sphere and negotiate the obstacles in the field to get the story. *ABS Darwin* journalist Katrina Bolton reinforced the issue: "If you do not know how to be culturally aware with traditional people especially, then it does not matter how much you try to make eye contact you are not going any further" (Waller, 2012, p. 51). But this journalist was amongst many other colleagues that participated in the project, all considered specialists (with non-Indigenous cultural background) in Indigenous reporting, particularly in remote Aboriginal communities in Australia, and all of them confessed their various challenges in conducting this type of journalism. Here are some of these journalists' considerations on cultural competence:

Participant A (on lack of cultural awareness)

“The most difficult thing with Indigenous reporting is actually getting their voices. You want their voices but it is so hard to get Indigenous voices – getting people to talk with you and share with you stories, particularly if it is a hip, hip-hooray story because you run into all sort of barriers, the shyness barrier, the ‘is my English good enough’ barrier, the cultural barriers.” (Waller, 2012, p. 51)

Participant B (on lack of cultural competence related to language barriers)

“A huge impediment to cutting through and being able to talk to people...you really on someone who has got a rough understanding of English... or on the rare occasion you actually hire a professional interpreter, or you rely on white people who have worked there long enough that they can speak the language. So that means stuff is necessarily filtered so... you can never really be confident that you’re getting it right all the time.” (Waller, 2012, p. 51)

Participant C (on lack of cultural competence related to cultural safety and clash between non-Indigenous traditional newsgathering rituals and Indigenous practices)

“(Non-Indigenous traditional) newsgathering rituals and Indigenous practices are quite directly opposed often, like your time frames and your budget and the times frames that pushes on you, are really like direct opposite to what is considered polite in Indigenous culture. But sometimes it is also knowing how to ask.” (Waller, 2012, p. 52)

Participant D (on lack of cultural responsiveness related to one of the essential aspects of quality for Indigenous reporting in Indigenous communities - the importance and use of deep listening and returning)

“You cannot just rush in bang, bang and get your interview. You have got to sit down, ‘how you are going’, ‘what is going on’, and finally they might tell you what you want to know.” (Waller, 2012, p. 52)

Participant E (on lack of cultural competence related to the critical qualities of patience, respect and resilience for reporters who are covering remote communities)

“When you go there under your own steam you have just got to have patience because people run their own timetable. It is no use saying ‘I will see you at two o’clock next Wednesday’. It is a matter of rolling up on Wednesday and just sitting around and waiting, and sometimes it never happens, and I have long learnt not to feel any frustration about that.” (Waller, 2012, p. 53)

Participant F (on lack of cultural competence related to Indigenous cultural practices journalists need to negotiate to get their story)

“The number of times I have turned up to a place and just cannot do anything because of the...cannot move around even because of this ‘sorry business’ (Indigenous cultural rituals) going on, or fortunate enough to learn about it before I go and have to cancel the trip. Sorry business prevails, that is the reality.” (Waller, 2012, p. 53)

Participant G (on lack of cultural competence related to unfamiliar cultural practices such as who has the right to speak about certain land, specific business)

“So that whole thing, that whole cultural thing of not speaking out of turn, not speaking when it is not your land, not speaking when you are not senior enough, is really, really, really limiting.” (Waller, 2012, p. 53)

Participant H (on lack of cultural competence/responsiveness related to cultural dynamics to approach community Elders).

“There is no affection towards the media among some of the older people, the Elders. When you blast in there and shove a camera in their face and want them to talk quickly or in brief answers, it is just so culturally clashing. So, you get that problem where the sort of young articulated person gives you a great background briefing and says all the things you need to hear and then says ‘Oh, but I can’t say it’.” (Waller, 2012, p. 54)

This research project (Waller, 2012), extremely rich in sincere testimonies of non-Indigenous journalists specialised in Indigenous reporting, not only exemplifies how cultural competence is still lacking in this space in the Australian context (even though non-Indigenous journalists as such are considered the ‘specialists’ in the area) but also demonstrates that cultural competence learning and training is a life-long commitment that is necessary even though it is also often discomfiting, and even painful at times.

Waller goes further and reinforces that cultural competence has four dimensions: awareness of one's cultural worldview; positive attitude towards cultural differences; knowledge of different cultural practices and worldviews; and cross-cultural skills (Betancourt et al., 2003). Also, from Waller's experience and in the scholar's own words: "Developing cultural competence results in an ability to understand, to communicate and interact with people across cultures" (Waller, 2012, p. 51).

As mentioned at the beginning of this section of the thesis, this is only a case amongst many others worldwide where non-Indigenous journalists need to overcome many urgent and necessary challenges to do culturally competent, responsive, aware, relevant, safe, beneficial to the community, and confident work in their field of journalism as they so well explained in their testimonies.

Surely, non-Indigenous journalists must be willing to increase their cultural skills as part of their 'homework'. This PhD thesis is designed to contribute to raising these journalists' cultural awareness/cultural competency/cultural safety/ cultural responsiveness that already are working in Indigenous reporting and for all journalists, in general, that are exposed to multicultural and communitarian journalism.

All journalists, Indigenous and non-Indigenous, must reflect that news media play a significant role – as they have always done – in framing how we think about issues, especially indigenous issues, as there are virtually no other sources of information for most people. A more culturally aware and competent approach to journalism practice might explore ways of “negotiating with indigenous public spheres in the same way as non-Indigenous journalists learn to move easily within and between more familiar information networks as part of the everyday practice of newsgathering” (Meadows, 2005, p.39). It suggests the need to understand the impact of the invisibility and omission of indigenous people, concepts of identity and stereotyping, and the use of constant imposed and derogatory labelling, the aim being to “enable indigenous speaking positions, and to negotiate conflicts like the ownership of knowledge versus notions of editorial control” (Meadows, 2005, p.39). Sensitivity to such issues might call for more culturally competent reporting strategies, such as using an indirect approach in news interviews (Meadows, 2005), starting with a consultation and negotiation over meaning strategy, acknowledgment of the existence of Indigenous English and local languages, and making use of translators or subtitles where appropriate – in other words, cultural competence open new opportunities in negotiating Indigenous identity through dialogue with Indigenous public spheres (Langton, 1993). The picture that emerges from a long ‘history of indifference’ towards Indigenous people is a continuing media misrepresentation of their identities and lifestyles. Primarily because of this, the frameworks of understanding around Indigenous affairs in nations like Australia and Canada are remarkably enduring. Non-Indigenous journalists are in susceptible but also privileged, and influential positions, and journalism can play a crucial role in exploring cultural storytelling to demystify these frameworks. Some argue that all these

considerations get in the way of a good story – in free and democratic speech (Meadows, 2005). Moreover, deadlines demand quick reaction times by journalists, somehow threatening the validity of a story. But free speech is threatened unless all sides of a story (Indigenous and non-Indigenous) can be heard and debated intelligently and in context (Meadows, 2005).

One must see journalism as part of the broader process of making culture – or ‘imagining’ (Meadows, 2005). If one views journalism as a fundamental cultural practice within the operation of the public sphere – and one begins to explore ways in which dialogue occurs between different public spheres and through a culturally competent process – it enables one to think about how journalism itself might be reconfigured so that it may be again both of and for the public – all publics.

Langton’s (1993) notion of dialogue may be relevant here because it might be interpreted simply as encouraging non-Indigenous journalists to use Indigenous sources for their stories about Indigenous affairs. This alone might enable access to Indigenous public spheres – across lines of cultural diversity (Langton, 1993) – that challenges prevailing frameworks of understanding about Indigenous Peoples and their worldviews.

2.4 – Impact of non-Indigenous journalists reporting on Indigenous issues on Indigenous peoples

Journalism has played – and continues to play – a crucial role in ‘imagining’ Indigenous Peoples and their affairs for most non-Indigenous people, alongside with impacting, directly and indirectly, negatively the life, identity, and sovereignty of First Nation Peoples worldwide (Hanusch, 2013; Lam et al., 2017).

Institutionalised racism is manifested in the systematic omission of indigenous voices in the news media. Indigenous sources make up a fraction – between one fifth to one third – of all sources used by journalists in stories about Indigenous affairs (Meadows, 2005). In the case of Australian journalism, this alarming statistic has remained unchanged for the past 20 years and is a prominent feature of news coverage of First Nations Peoples in the United States and Canada (Healy & Meadows, 2007). Lam et al.’s (2017) investigation on the media coverage of the water crisis for Indigenous communities in Canada reflects this systemic omission of Indigenous voices and even Indigenous issues in the news media very clearly. The scholars

argue that “any combination of media attention, public inquiry, and new legislation can be expected when water security issues emerge, as in the case of the Walkerton, Ontario water crisis; however, the same level and timeliness of response was absent for Indigenous communities, as in the case of Kashechewan, Ontario water crisis” (Lam et al., 2017, p. 12). This research indicates that media coverage of Indigenous water security over the 16-year time appeared to be limited and inequitable. Furthermore, there was also very limited journalistic coverage of water security in Inuit or Métis communities, with coverage focusing mainly on responses to water quality issues rather than prevention and mitigation. In a post-Truth & Reconciliation Commission era, the research team considers this media coverage “inequitable and inadequate, and it is simply not acceptable” (Lam et al., 2017, p. 14). As a take-home message for journalists, the Canadian scholars consider their research results a “call to action for the media to take responsibility to ensure reporting of Indigenous Peoples and issues in Canada is fair, representative, and non-discriminatory, and that journalists are informed and take responsibility for learning about the history of Indigenous Peoples and the issues that affect their lives” (Lam et al., 2017, p. 2). The authors also reinforce that although Indigenous Peoples represent 4.3% of the Canadian population, water issues disproportionately impact Indigenous communities and these issues can be underrepresented in mainstream media (Lam et al., 2017). Indeed, another study on water issues (Journalists for Human Rights, 2016) found that news stories on Indigenous issues in Ontario, Canada amounted to 0.46% of all news stories, and had limited coverage of health or water issues.

Media studies relating to First Nations are an important foundation for understanding discursive policy development, as another way to understand how non-Indigenous journalism directly impacts the life of First Nation Peoples worldwide. The way an issue is framed in news media coverage has been found to influence political agendas, reflect elite agendas, and highlight the public salience of an issue. McCallum (2011) argues that the ways in which Australian Indigenous issues are discussed through public media as ‘intractable’ have concrete policy outcomes that impact on the lives of Indigenous Australians, and on the relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians in urban, rural, and remote settings. McCallum’s (2011) investigated the emergence of policies governing Indigenous populations in specific discursive environments, through the analysis of news reporting, policy outcomes, and the local knowledge of actors involved in the development of health, media, and education policies. The scholar discovered that journalists demonised all Indigenous people regardless of their circumstances (Altman and Hinkson 2007) in the context of his research project. Most

importantly, McCallum (2011) observed a remarkable policy shift in 1995 that saw responsibility for Aboriginal health transferred from themselves and their community back to the Commonwealth, because of how non-Indigenous journalism reports on Indigenous communities in Australia. Such historical shifting of responsibility for Indigenous health between state and federal governments, and the Aboriginal community-controlled health sector, along with the apparent inability to solve the ‘problems’ of poor Indigenous health standards and the life expectancy gap between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians, makes Indigenous health an ideal site for the examination of the relationship between media reporting and policy development in the Indigenous space (Bartlett, 2004; Cunningham and Baeza 2005; Grant et al. 2021). McCallum’s (2011) work maps the features of Indigenous health news in the *Sydney Morning Herald* newspaper and identifies the major topics and sources of news, and the dominant frames through which Indigenous health was represented in the *Sydney Morning Herald*. It finds that news media reporting provided a backdrop for the development of Indigenous health policy by portraying Indigenous Australians as an underlying societal risk, and Indigenous health issues as an intractable policy problem (Brough 1999; McCallum 2007).

Equally, Brough’s (1999) qualitative research found that Indigenous health was portrayed concurrently as the result of individual failure on the part of Indigenous people to manage their own health and as victims of the failure of the Australian welfare state. He discovered that journalists frequently reported stories in terms of ‘Australia’s shame’, questioning how such an intractable problem could endure in such a prosperous country. McCallum’s (2007, 2010) analysis of media coverage from 2000 to 2006 confirmed that the association between Indigenous Australians and violence, and the structuring of stories around periodic crises, contributed to public understanding of those issues as problematic. Both Brough’s (1999) and McCallum’s (2011) findings reinforce that media framing of Indigenous health in news media contributes to representing Indigenous health as a policy problem requiring radical policy action (see also Bacchi 2009), but closer examination of the framing of Indigenous health in specific news texts was required to better understand this relationship (McCallum, 2011).

Goot and Rowse (2007) also examined the relationships between news media, public opinion polling and Indigenous policy, documenting the systematic misuse of polling data by political elites to justify or resist changes to Indigenous policies. But political elites do not have absolute control over the news and policy agenda. Herbst (1998) found that policy actors both

sponsored frames and ‘read’ news framing of policy disputes, suggesting a complex interplay of influence between journalists’ and sources’ framing of policy issues.

Overall, major studies of Indigenous media representation by Jakubowicz (1994), Mickler & McHoul (1998), Meadows (2001), Ginsburg (2011, 2016), found that Australian news media overwhelmingly represented Indigenous Australians negatively, and as problematic to the mainstream. Most commonly, media research has found that the representation of Indigenous issues is a form of racist discourse (Jakubowicz, 1994; Cottle, 2000; Hall, 2006; Hartley & McKee, 1999). Analyses of health news have found that Indigenous health receives little coverage compared with other health stories (Sweet 2009; Lupton, 1995) and with other Indigenous news (Roberts, 2008).

2.5 – A paradigmatic case: The National Geographic Magazine

This section of the thesis refers specifically to the literature review on the *National Geographic Magazine*’s history, wrongdoings in racism and colonialist political agenda, but also its formal and public apology for 130 years of culturally incompetent journalism covering First Nations Peoples’ and other cultural minority communities’ matters. This chapter’s section serves as an example of how non-Indigenous mainstream media has room for improvement around cultural competence, particularly in the magazine area of knowledge.

2.5.1 – A brief note on the concept of magazine and Magazine Studies

"Magazines are printed and bound publications offering in-depth coverage of stories often of timeless nature. Their content may provide opinion and interpretation as well as advocacy. They are geared to a well-defined, specialised audience, and they are published regularly, with a consistent format" (Johnson & Prijatel, 2013, p.11). However, in particular, in this PhD thesis context, magazines go far beyond such short definitions.

Magazines are political influences (Johnson & Prijatel, 2007). The voice magazines give to diverse political causes may be one of the medium's most important influences. The diversity of magazines makes them, in total, a balanced voice that speaks for liberal and conservative viewpoints for groups who seek to change society and those who advocate maintaining the status quo. As political influences, magazines are also agenda-setters and

advocates. Agenda setters influence change, often unintentionally, by calling public attention to an issue. The term agenda setting began to be used by 1960s media scholars who were still searching for a way to isolate and analyse media effects, and it represented a substantial change in approach (McCombs & Shaw, 1972). Until then, theorists had been looking at how the media made us think, with 'brainwashing' being an early concern. The agenda-setting theory focuses on the belief that the media do not tell us how to think. Instead, they are designed to tell us what to think about. Magazines act as agenda setters when they identify and frame the issues on which society focuses. They say to the public, in essence, that something is essential and should be discussed. Magazine journalism's agenda-setting theorists believe magazines do not directly cause social change - they provide information that may motivate others to enact change, which is different. Changes influenced by agenda setters may be direct or indirect, for good or for ill. Magazines were setting the public agenda for long before the term was invented. In the past, agenda setters have been called muckrakers; today, they are likely to be called investigative reporters. In other cases, magazine staffers can be advocates for a cause affecting their audience. Advocates can also be agenda setters. In most cases, agenda-setting is an advocate's goal (Johnson & Prijatel, 2007).

Magazines are also cultural influences (Johnson & Prijatel, 2007). Magazines help us choose what to dress and what food diet to go with, raise our children and our standards as parents and professionals, save our marriages and advise us how and where to spend our money, and 'travel' the world without leaving home and, particularly, how to learn about the 'Other' through the words and images chosen by the magazines' journalists. A magazine can give an experience of the world and the 'unknown'. It helps us build our foundations and our beliefs. And when social conditions reach a specific fever or mass, surely a magazine will come along to either tell us about it or persuade us to follow its morals or ideological stance. Magazines are cultural artifacts (Summer & Miller, 2009; Johnson & Prijatel, 2013). and, as such, are as complex as our society.

Magazines are community builders – communities of taste (Holmes, 2020), and as such, magazines have connected people with shared interests and concerns throughout history and forged a solid bond through shared knowledge. Their vitality is well demonstrated by titles that give voice to groups previously unheard, such as the LGBTQIAPN+ (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, questioning, intersex, asexual/aromantic, pansexual) communities, people with disabilities, CALD (culturally, religiously, and linguistically diverse)

communities, ethnical minority communities or First Nations Peoples. Community building, however, is not limited to narrow social groups. Businesses, trades, and organisations use magazines to rally colleagues and members around causes and issues. Perhaps most importantly, magazines help readers relate to one another, building reader-to-reader relationships. How magazines help readers build communities is as common as letters to the editors, as unusual as the creation of actual face-to-face groups, and as high-tech as the development of online relationships. There are similarities, trust, and empathy in this dynamic (Johnson & Prijatel, 2013).

Magazines also give symbolic meaning to our world through images they present in pictures and words. Studying these suggestive messages, or semiotics, is as old as western civilisation, with origins in Plato and St. Augustine and more recent popularisation by Sigmund Freud and Claude Lévi-Strauss. The premise of semiotic theory is that all communication is symbolic, and these symbols are brimming with cultural meaning. Semioticians believe any culture can be defined and understood by studying symbols (Silverman, 1983). Therefore, a study of magazines is a study of our culture. We often buy magazines to enter that world and use those images to learn, understand and feel that we live or know about it more in-depth. But do these images affect us? Yes, they do (Collier, 2009). Do these images affect the people represented in them? Yes, undoubtedly (Collier, 2009). In the context of my research, I approach media representations as a "site of contestation" where symbolic meaning-making is always a struggle "through which ideologies and status are negotiated" (Collier, 2009, p. 281). I conceptualise media representations as a meaning-making process that is historically specific and contingent. In this sense, verbal and visual representations are not reflections of a pre-existing reality but a series of signs and symbols that pretend to stand for the so-called reality (Gill & Gill, 2007). Media representation thus refers to the complex process of "representing," a process by which members of a particular culture use systems of signs to produce meaning about self and other cultures (Hall, 1997). Consequently, meaning is never single, univocal, or total but somewhat fluid, slippery, ambiguous, and contradictory. Hence, this thesis subscribes to the argument about the "crisis of representation" in western culture and does not seek to find the objective meaning of the text (Conquergood, 1991; Marcus & Fisher, 1986). Instead, it supports and recognises the multiplicity of meanings a text can have according to the historical, political, and economic context of its production and the context of reception (Hall, 1981).

Journalist Walter Lippman coined the term 'pseudoworld' (1992) to refer to a world of the media's creation, which has little connection to reality (Johnson & Prijatel, 2013, p. 120). The world portrayed in many magazines does not represent the 'truth' of many people, particularly the 'truth' of the First Nations peoples represented in magazines such as the *National Geographic Magazine*, as it will be further explored in the next section of this thesis chapter. Images can be carefully selected and post-produced, and words can hide a political agenda, for example, when a magazine creates a 'pseudoworld'. Consequently, and still on the First Nations represented in the *National Geographic Magazine*, these 'pseudoworlds' can impact the education one gains of a specific historical event, cultural identity, or Peoples' ways of being, doing and living. Magazine's 'pseudoworlds' can lead to minor prejudice in the audience. Still, it can also offer traumatic, devastating consequences for others. Furthermore, it can manipulate audiences' accurate understanding of the subject covered in the published magazine's issue. In other words, media representations can have solid and material effects on the world (Pérez-Marín, 2016). These representations can influence our perceptions of issues, experiences, ideas, and groups. However, texts circulating in media are often perceived as neutral or natural, as portraying 'true' events or reflecting one 'objective reality' whereas power structures, domination, and oppression are rendered invisible. This tends to be the case, particularly in magazines that disseminate information about science, nature, and technology, such as *National Geographic Magazine*. On this topic, Kitch (2006) alerts that 'amnesia' may occur as magazines retell and retool certain events and stories. Although journalists may 'redraft' stories, media memory does not have to be the antithesis of history. "Through magazines, we share a memory and a history of how we were, the way we are, and the way we were likely to become" (Johnson & Prijatel, 2013, p.86). In the context of this PhD study, one can go even further and say that magazines should focus on the consequences of creating certain pseudoworlds' and pseudoevents' imagery and wording so as not to be vehicles for "false memories, biased history and manipulative or traumatic words and images through magazines.

Magazines can be collectable (Cardoso, 2022) and, again, serve as memory aids (Kitch, 2005). Magazines operate on two levels: as newsstands marketing tools that attract readers to reach for the latest issue because they are drawn by the image or words on the cover, and as cultural artifacts that reflect societal norms and demographic trends, mirroring, for example, ethnic concerns. On both levels, magazines serve as memory aids with artistic and widespread implications. They show us how we are and how we were, pinpointing where

individuals and groups are in terms of power and influence at a particular point in time. Magazine scholar Carolyn Kitch of Temple University argues that magazines interpret the past and actively construct America's historical memory. She points out that, for many readers, magazines are "both an encyclopedia (for instance, think how many homes contain shelves of *National Geographic Magazines*) and an identity statement" (Kitch, 2005). Kitch goes further in her point to discuss her concept of 'counter memory', arguing that it is the key to understanding the role of magazines for African Americans as an under-represented topic. Kitch focuses on the historical content in *Ebony* and *American Legacy* magazines, examining "the activist claim that African Americans can thrive in the present only with an understanding of the past" (Kitch, 2005, p. 92). She argues that both magazines often documented the past while changing what the public remembers about it. This dual process highlights unique black experiences while simultaneously showing the reality of race and place in America for much of the 19th and 20th centuries. Furthermore, as collectable devices, magazines have the power to not only create and store memory but also to offer the possibility of sharing them for generations and within multiple communities: "The concept of a magazine is closely related to the pleasure of the touch of paper, with its finiteness and portability that makes it collectible" (Cardoso, 2022, p. 44). While this is an excellent advantage of the magazines towards other mass media devices, it also reinforces the need for more accuracy, increased cultural competence and a sense of social responsibility in the process of producing, editing and publishing certain content, namely the First Nations Peoples' culture, that can influence audiences but also have a direct impact in the reported people's history truth-telling, identity, sovereignty and trauma healing.

2.5.2 – *Nacional Geographic Magazine's* history of power, racism, and politicised representation of the 'Other'

I selected *National Geographic Magazine* as a particularly relevant paradigmatic case for investigating cultural awareness/cultural competency/cultural safety/ cultural responsiveness in mass media that reports on First Nations peoples for two reasons. First, because *National Geographic Magazine* is among one of the most popular, respected, influential, collectable, community builder and memory repository of the magazines in the United States and has a significant international circulation, it "sits near the top of the hierarchy of taste or status" in the United States - and arguably other countries – mainly because its "subscribers are wealthier and better educated than the average American" (Lutz & Collins,

1993, p. 7,8). Second, because *National Geographic Magazine* was produced by one of the most influential cultural institutions in the United States, the National Geographic Society, which is located in Washington D.C., has, through the decades, cultivated “ties to government officials and corporate interests that influenced editorial policies while retaining a reputation as an objective source that popularise scientific, cultural, and geographical facts and knowledge” (Lutz & Collins, 1993, p. 5). These characteristics make *National Geographic Magazine* one of the crucial 'cultural artifacts' by which a particular elite institutionalised, built, and released what Foucault (1972) defined as a "regime of truth" about the natural and anthropological worlds around the globe. As *National Geographic Magazine's* first full-time editor, Gilbert H. Grosvenor, stated in 1899, the magazine sought to become "a vehicle for carrying the living, breathing, human interest *truth* about this great world of *ours*. [Emphasis added]" (*Evolution of National Geographic Magazine*, n.d.). As mentioned, *National Geographic Magazine* was created by the National Geographic Society in 1888. The first issue was published nine months after the Society was founded. Four historical developments at the end of the 19th century contributed to the foundation of the magazine as follows: the awakening of Americans' interest in foreign lands; the emergence of mass journalism; the emergence of distinct academic disciplines; and the development of photoengraving technology (Pauly, 1979). The primary intention of *National Geographic Magazine* was to provide “geographical information, broadly construed to include commercial, botanical, geological and anthropological angles, among others, with emphasis on knowledge about derived from exploration” (Rothenberg, 2007, p. 26).

The National Geographic Society and *National Geographic Magazine* became two powerful institutions that were intended to create, disclose, and institutionalize the “official” discourse of the new sciences while claiming to provide impartial, accurate, and sophisticated information (Ross, 1938; Hellman, 1943; Buckley, 1970; Abramson, 1987; Bryan, 1987; Lutz & Collins, 1993). Since its foundation, the Society has been concerned with the official discourse circulating in the public sphere, and it emphasized the need to close gaps between specialized knowledge – sciences - and shared knowledge. The main concerns at that time were the professionalization of science and its popularization among a wider audience. The strategy developed started with the cultivation of “ties to government officials and corporate interests” (Lutz & Collins, 1993, p. 5), such as societies for economics, entomology, chemistry, physiology, geology, mathematics, physics, astronomy, and psychology (Rothenberg, 2007).

In 1914, an announcement to solicit advertising in the magazine, titled “Advertising in the Geographic Magazine in an Exact Science,” provided the characteristics of the audience. Only advertising of the highest character is solicited or accepted, and this fact is known and appreciated in the 300,000 well-to-do, cultured homes throughout America into which the publication goes each month. It is relevant to note that “80 per cent of the circulation goes into the homes of the foremost business and professional men of America, and every one of the households reads it - for instance, 18,000 Presidents and Vice-presidents of Banks; 15,000 Civil, Electrical, and Mining Engineers, 40,000 Lawyers and Physicians; 75,000 Manufacturers and Directors of Corporations” (Pérez-Marín, 2016, p. 10); in short, “a class of people distinctly in the higher walks of life”. (Pauly, 1979, p. 529)

The magazine’s primary goals in the early 20th century were: 1) advocate for the “new science” – positivism - which rejected the search for ultimate causes as a remnant of religion or metaphysics, embracing instead attempts to discover regularities and ‘laws’ (Pérez-Marín, 2016); 2) combine scholarship and entertaining content to attract the general public; 3) create and reproduce accurate, balanced, and fair information through photographer and reports following the values of the new science; and 4) provide “photographs as evidence and spectacle in ways that they undermined a rigid boundary between science and pleasure” (Lutz & Collins, 1993, pp. 19-33). *National Geographic Magazine* consolidated an editorial policy that was announced in March 1915. Editors framed these policies as seven ‘principles’:

“1) Absolute accuracy. Nothing must be printed, which is not strictly according to fact; 2) Abundance of beautiful, instructive, and artistic illustrations; 3) Everything printed in the Magazine must have permanent value; 4) All personalities and notes of a trivial character are avoided; 5) Nothing of a partisan or controversial character is printed; 6) Only what is of kindly nature is printed about any country or people, everything unpleasant or unduly critical being avoided; 7) The content of each number is planned to be timely.” (Bryan, 1987, p. 90)

Until 2016, the magazine has maintained a trajectory of growth and popularity. The number of copies published per monthly issue was 1,200 copies in 1896; in 1905, more than 10,000 (beginning with the April issue); more than 285,000 copies in 1914; and in 1925, more than 990,000 copies (Lutz & Collins, 1993). In 1945, the subscriptions were approximately 1,300,000 (Lutz & Collins, 1993, p. 37), and the decade of 1950 was characterized by an

audience growth that went from 2 million subscribers in 1957 to 5.6 million in 1967 in the U.S. (Lutz & Collins, 1993, p. 36).

To expand its brand, *National Geographic Magazine* has launched over the past twenty years several foreign language editions where “the majority of content (especially the features) is translated from the U.S. edition” (Darling-Wolf & Mendelson, 2008, p. 293). Its circulation in the United States was around 5 million monthly issues in 2016 (Pérez-Marín, 2016). In 1995, *National Geographic Magazine* began publishing an edition in Japanese, and in 1997, the magazine started two editions in Spanish, one for Spain and the other for Latin America. In Portugal, the first issue published of the National Geographic was in April 2001. Its international circulation is estimated at 6.8 million per month in 40 local language editions (National Geographic Magazine Devotes 125th Anniversary to Celebrating Power of Photography; Continues Evolution on Web and Beyond, September 16, 2013).

The first full-time editor was Gilbert H. Grosvenor. He guided the magazine for over half a century, from February 1903 to May 1954. In the July 2014 issue of *National Geographic Magazine*, editors announced the promotion of Susan Goldberg, former executive editor for news and features, to editor-in-chief. Goldberg is described as the 10th editor-in-chief in the history of the 126-year-old magazine and the first woman to hold that position (“Meet Our,” 2014, July, p. 4).

However, in June 2023, the magazine announced officially that will no longer be for sale on newsstands starting next year (2024). *National Geographic Magazine* is migrating from print to digital format, and it will offer special editions on newsstands. Subscribers will still get a printed copy each month though (The Guardian, 2023). “Newsstand sales account for a small percentage of the magazine’s monthly circulation of just below 1.8 million copies” (Associate Press, 2023).

But the challenges and decline in popularity of *National Geographic Magazine* started before. In April 2018, 130 years after the publication of its first issue, *National Geographic* released a special issue focused on race, promising to follow that issue with articles addressing race in its subsequent issues for the next year (Spencer, 2021). Editor-in-chief Susan Goldberg (2018b) opened the issue with an editorial entitled “To Rise Above the Racism of the Past, We Must Acknowledge It,” in which she offered concrete examples of racist and highly culturally incompetent articles and images from the history of the magazine (Spencer, 2021) – a *National*

Geographic Magazine's issue to be further discussed in the next section of this thesis. Finally, in 2019, control of *National Geographic Magazine* changed for the second time in the past decade, first in a sale to 20th Century Fox before being acquired by the Walt Disney Corp. Finally, in 2023, after the economic crisis driven by COVID-19 and the subsequent war conflict in Ukraine, the magazine has been hit by a series of layoffs.

Most of the scholarly research conducted on *National Geographic Magazine* has focused attention on the media representation of specific countries such as Brazil (Vasconcellos & Goldchmit, 2019), Puerto Rico (Perivolaris, 2007), Canada (Beaudreau, 2002), Philippines (Tatel, Jr., 2011), and specific continents such as Australia (Bilous, 2013; Lutz & Collins, 2014; Rolls, 2009) and Africa (Moseley, 2005; Graanstra, 2022). The magazine has also been used as a platform to explore media representations related to science (Boguski, 2010), the tropical forest (Nygren, 2006), women's bodies (Neuhaus, 1997), and environmental advocacy (Bortree, Ahern, Dou & Smith, 2012).

One of the predominant characteristics of the above mentioned research work on *National Geographic Magazine* is the investigation of photographs and texts using an approach that sets a dichotomous framework of the western and non-western world, and the non-Indigenous and Indigenous Peoples which can be, at times, problematic because it can lead to the study of media representations as homogeneous, immobile, and rigid essences (Lutz & Collins, 1993; Rothenberg, 2007). Also, when a magazine as international and influential as the *National Geographic* reinforces the power imbalanced forces between the non-Indigenous and Indigenous Peoples, coloniser and colonised societies, western and non-western societies, it is perpetuating the racism and the inequities, in another words, acting as mass media that continues to be part of the 'problem' instead of the 'solution', in line with what Van Dijk (2009, p.199) states. Said (1998) also argues that we are not living in a clash of civilisations but in a conflict of definitions, meaning those with the power to define the world and its rules are always in a better position to maintain control. For Said, defining something or someone always implies "desire, repressions, investments and projections" (Said, 2003, p. 8). All acts of classification and labelling are always of power, control, and domination. In this sense, "creating an objective or neutral discourse is impossible because all discourses are fabricated and produced 'in situ' with a specific context and background" (Pérez-Marín, 2016, p. 4). Consequently, knowledge, power, and discourse are intertwined (Pérez-Marín, 2016). Discourse is more than a linguistic

expression that reproduces truth as objective external reality. And in the case of *National Geographic Magazine*' discourse it creates knowledge or regimes of truth by ruling power:

"Truth is a thing of this world: it is produced only under multiple forms of constraint. And it induces regular effects of power. Each society has its regime of truth, its 'general politics' of truth: that is, the types of discourse that it accepts and makes function as accurate, the mechanisms and instances that enable one to distinguish true and false statements, how each is sanctioned; the techniques and procedures accorded value in the acquisition of truth; the status of those who are charged with saying what counts as accurate." (Foucault, 1980, p. 131).

Following Foucault's idea of discourse (1972) as a systematic discipline, Said (2003) proposed the concept of "Orientalism" to unmask the relationship between the production of Eurocentric knowledge about Middle Eastern cultures and the colonial power structures and inequities that it sustained. This concept informed the development of studies of postcoloniality that incorporate the analysis of the production of knowledge, power, and inequalities addressing different historical contexts and orders of discourse about western and non-western societies.

2.5.3 – *National Geographic Magazine* apologises for 130 years of wrongdoings

In April 2018, 130 years after its first issue, *National Geographic Magazine* released a special issue focused on race, promising to follow that issue with articles addressing race in its subsequent issues for the following year. This *National Geographic Magazine* issue, mainly its cover, was a surprise for many as it seems the magazine cover came to finally take the discomforting, still urgent and much-needed step forward to a new positionality of the *National Geographic Magazine* towards increasing cultural awareness/cultural competency/cultural safety/cultural responsiveness on behalf of mass media as powerful, influential, highly disseminated worldwide such as the National Geographic Magazine.

Figure 1 April 2018's National Geographic Magazine cover



Journalist Mairead McArdle (2018) claimed that the magazine "repents of past" racism in the issue. Francis Mao (2018), writing for the BBC, also considered the editorial an apology,

and even the *New York Times's* Daniel Victor (2018) covered the issue favourably, saying that "the magazine's self-reflection was among the most direct admissions of past sins from media organisations, which have occasionally wrestled with their complicity in injustices". Some Australian Indigenous preeminent academics and community leaders showed their apology acceptance in their social media profiles. For example, Karen Mundine, director of Reconciliation Australia, commented: "It's positive that National Geographic has recognised there are problems with their previous depictions, and they are starting to address how they've spoken about people of colour" (2018). Breanna Edwards of the African American-focused news and culture website *The Root* called the move "the first step to righting a long-overlooked and perhaps even taken-for-granted wrong" (2018).

Finally, *National Geographic Magazine* seemed to have what looked like a reconciliation-oriented attitude to acknowledge, take responsibility and act to help alleviate the trauma caused to many First Nations Peoples worldwide by 130 years of colonialist and racist discourse through words and photos.

National Geographic Magazine's editor-in-chief, Susan Goldberg (2018b), opened the issue with an editorial entitled "To Rise Above the Racism of the Past, We Must Acknowledge It" (see the full text in Annexe 9), as well as the issue cover above) in which she offered concrete examples of racist articles and images from the history of the magazine. However, according to Spencer (2021, p.2), the editorial "stops short of making an explicit apology" even though the overall public reception of the issue seemed to interpret the editorial, the magazine cover, and the race-focused issue, as apologies for the *National Geographic Magazine's* past racism and cultural incompetence. The author sees value in the magazine's "self-reflection and the acknowledgment of past wrongs" (Spencer, 2021, p. 2). However, the scholar does not accept framing racism as 'of the past' because that "threatens to obscure how racism persists in the present and future, including by the organisation ostensibly apologising" (Spencer, 2021, p. 2). Spencer goes more profound in the analysis of Goldberg's editorial, adding the following: "Goldberg's version of U.S. history in the editorial quietly erases Native Americans, who once accounted for well more than half of the children in what we now call the United States. By doing so, Goldberg sidesteps messy, genocidal historical truths in favour of a digestible nugget of demographic trivia".

The English word *apology* comes from the Greek concept of *Apologia*, yet apologies and *Apologia* differ in important ways (Hatch, 2006). *Apologia* traditionally refers to the

rhetoric of self-defence typified by politicians' speeches that deny wrongdoing, attempt to transcend problems or bolster achievements to downplay controversies (Spencer, 2021). Lazare (2007) suggested that a genuine apology must "acknowledge the offence adequately, or express genuine remorse, or offer appropriate reparations, including a commitment to make changes in the future" (pp. 9–10). Benoit (2014) refers to politicised apologetic behaviours as attempts at image repair. In a sense, Apologia absolves the offending party, renews consumers' willingness to patronise a business, or restores the public's trust in a political candidate. While apologies relate to Apologia in that they tend to address some wrongdoing or problem, apologies Endeavor to heal relationships, whether interpersonal or public (Hatch, 2014). Apologia may function to restore certain relationships, but its goals are closer to public relations than maintaining relationships or righting wrongs in a moral sense. In the end, the literature indicates that Apologia focuses on the party who offended, whereas Apology focuses on the target of the harm and the relationship.

In the case of the *National Geographic Magazine*, such a powerful, influential, and political media, one can compare its racial apology with the kind of racial apologies often examined in research on apologies made by national leaders for racial sins of past decades. For example, Bill Clinton's speech addressing the Tuskegee Syphilis Experiments, apologies for slavery, or even the Australian Prime Minister Kevin Rudd's apology to Australia's Indigenous Peoples for the laws and policies of successive governments that have inflicted grief, suffering and loss on them in 2008 (Gordon & Crenshaw, 2004; Hatch, 2014). Such apologies raise several challenges and questions for rhetorical critics, such as who has the right to speak for a large group, particularly a racial group, or how can a statement in one voice convey an effective apology and speak as representative of a group (Hatch, 2006; Lazare, 2007). Furthermore, the literature demonstrates racial apologies often fail because they do not interrogate white privilege and may work to recenter whiteness. Racial apologies cannot succeed when "whiteness and White material privilege are never made transparent in the discourse" of the apology (Gordon & Crenshaw, 2004, p. 252).

However, literature also shows that some racial apologies were positive and successful (Hatch, 2006; Rothman, 2020). This specific *National Geographic Magazine's* issue on race, acknowledgment, and apology demonstrates that this event may as well be the beginning of something more significant within the mainstream mass media and serve as an example to others to start reflecting on their racism and lack of cultural competence. After all, as this

research tries to prove, discomfort through reflection on the wrongdoings can be one of the first things one must go through to act towards real change. The *National Geographic Magazine's* editor-in-chief, Susan Goldberg's editorial of the April 2018 issue can be found in Annexe A in this document as a practical example of an exercise that one can arguably say, in the context of this PhD thesis, is informed (consciously or unconsciously) by the theory of Discomfort in action in the context of contemporary journalism.

2.6 – Summary

In this second Chapter of the thesis, I presented a literature review on Journalists and Journalism Studies (Indigenous and non-Indigenous fields), followed by a review of the concept of cultural competence, mainly applied to non-Indigenous journalists' strategies and practises when reporting on First Nations issues. I then focused on the impacts of mainstream non-Indigenous journalism on Indigenous Peoples, mainly through 'black' academic references, as this is intended to be a decolonising literature review exercise and contribute. Moreover, I presented a brief historical note about the concept of a magazine. I then elaborated on the paradigmatic case of the *National Geographic Magazine* as an example of acknowledgment of a century of lack of cultural competence in an elite and reputed media. I explored the essence of this publication, went through its history, reflected on its contribution to general anthropological knowledge and how this content has shaped its audiences' opinion about the 'Other' for generations. *National Geographic Magazine's* apology in recognising its record of power, colonialism, and racism in representing Indigenous Peoples worldwide was also explored.

Chapter 3 – Conceptual and Theoretical Framework

3.1 – Introduction

In this chapter, I will explain why I feel inspired by Berger's and Luckmann's Social Construction of Reality (2003), and how this theoretical framework can be complemented with the Pedagogy of Discomfort (Boler & Zembylas 2003) and further enriched by the Aboriginal cultural and spiritual concept of *Dadirri*.

I will also elaborate on 'discomfort' and on how this theoretical framework can both reflect on its relevance and anticipates ethical violence in the process of unpacking this 'discomfort' throughout the data collection process.

This conceptual and theoretical framework bridges 'two worlds', entailing 'troubled conversations' for both dimensions – Indigenous and non-Indigenous. Ultimately, this research framework can help the research project to be a transformative and somehow healing experience for both non-Indigenous research participants (non-Indigenous journalists working with Indigenous Peoples) and Indigenous journalists working in 'white' media publications that will have the role of research collaborators in the context of this investigation.

A conceptual and theoretical research framework such as this is original and innovative in many ways. As far as I know from the literature, this is the first study exploring the Pedagogy of Discomfort focused on journalists, particularly non-Indigenous journalists. Discomfort has been typically entailed in students as Pedagogy of Discomfort is usually used in the classroom environment to educate students about social justice. Rarely are teachers challenged with 'uncomfortable discussions' unless in the context of studies in teaching pre-service (in the case of the studies I came across, teachers assume students' position), let alone journalists.

This is also a first for the Pedagogy of Discomfort in the Indigenous context. The concept/word of 'discomfort' has been used many times by various scholars who developed Education, Indigenous Studies, Social Justice, Human Rights, or other related areas of

knowledge. Where emotions, affect, trauma, social inequity, justice, and decolonisation are the topic, the concept of 'discomfort' is naturally used as part of the narrative. However, the Pedagogy of Discomfort is more than just a concept or a word. In this thesis, I elaborate on the theory, not just on the word 'discomfort', and apply it directly to the research design process.

Moreover, I did not identify any study inspired by Social Construction of Reality combined with the Pedagogy of Discomfort (all non-Indigenous theories and concepts) complemented by an Indigenous cultural and spiritual concept such as the Aboriginal *Dadirri*. Many scholars connected the Pedagogy of Discomfort with social justice theories; however, I did not come across any author who used Indigenous philosophies or Indigenous cultural concepts with the Pedagogy of Discomfort, particularly not in Journalism Studies. I find this intriguing as Zembylas is the first to argue that "more exploration is needed about the practical consequences of 'pedagogy of discomfort' in different cultural and political settings. For example, this pedagogy may mean something totally different in South Africa than in Cyprus or elsewhere" (Zembylas 2010, p.710).

As a non-Indigenous, white privileged journalist and researcher working on Indigenous affairs with both Indigenous collaborators and non-Indigenous participants, I am aware of the difficulties this literature gap brings to my work while navigating such worldwide Indigenous' troubled discussions' (Zembylas 2017) on Journalism Studies. Nevertheless, I embrace all the nuances of my positionality (this thesis will have a dedicated section on this topic), especially my own 'white fragility' and vulnerability as part of this research process, which can be very 'discomforting' for me as a woman, research student and Portuguese journalist in Australia. However, I consciously chose to go through this personal pain and uncertainty as a much-needed and urgent transformation to understand self and others, to improve both as an educator and researcher as well as a journalist working on Indigenous affairs. As Davis and Steyn (2012) pointed out, when people do not allow themselves to go outside their comfort zone, room for growing and improving tends to be scarce.

3.2 – Inspired by the Social Construction of Reality

Journalism is much more than just the dissemination of straightforward information. Above all, journalism contributes greatly to transmitting values, social rules, cultural concepts

and assumptions of the 'Other', political understandings and behaviours that, in the end, are what constitutes a certain vision of reality that impact us all directly or indirectly. Therefore, non-Indigenous journalists that work on Indigenous affairs and with Indigenous Peoples are often challenged with a great deal of responsibility regarding the content they produce on the representation of the 'Other' and differences.

The role of the mass media and the work of the journalists in the process of the social construction of reality holds an important place in Communication research, particularly when a study involves the 'Other'. For that reason, it is a topic that deserves more investigation. We live in an era that demands more from Journalists: the construction of the reality they 'hold in their hands demands more and more social and cultural knowledge, sensibility, respect, and competency (a separate section on the cultural competence concept will be included further ahead in the literature review of this thesis).

Some authors, mainly from the European tradition of research, focus on the social construction of reality as a vital aspect of the relationship between society and culture (Adoni and Mane, 1984). Others – from the American Academia - concentrate more on the social construction of reality as one form of media effect (Turner, 1998). As mentioned in the work of Adoni and Mane (1984), both approaches are interested in essential cognitive processes of social life. Schutz (1967) and Berger and Luckmann (2003) argue that a common theoretical framework can be derived from the theories on the process of the social construction of reality.

Some of the fundamental concepts of Berger and Luckmann, and even Schutz's, are relevant to the study of mass media, as well as to the role of journalism and the social construction of reality (Adoni and Mane, 1984). Reality construction is a social construction as it can only be carried out through social interaction, either symbolic or real (Berger and Luckmann, 2003). Adoni and Mane also defend that the social construction of reality is a "dialectical process in which human beings act both as the creators and as products of their social world. This is the consequence of a special human faculty of externalisation and objectivation of one's own internalised and subjective meanings, experiences, and actions" (Adoni and Mane 1984, p. 325).

Therefore, one can then define three types of reality in this process: the first one is the 'objective', which is the social reality that “is experienced as the objective world existing outside the individuals and confronting them as facts” (Adoni & Mane, 1984, p. 325) that are

apprehended as common sense, that does not need any further verification besides its existence (Berger and Luckmann, 2003). The second form of reality is 'symbolic social reality', which encompasses all forms of expression that can symbolise an 'objective reality': media contents, literature, or all forms of art (Adoni and Mane 1984, p. 325). Finally, the third type of reality is the 'subjective reality', where both the 'symbolic' and the 'objective' forms of realities inform the construction of one's own subjective reality – the individual consciousness (Berger and Luckmann, 2003).

Several researchers are interested in the social construction of reality explored the interaction between 'symbolic reality' and 'objective reality' by placing three essential questions: a) who is responsible for, and what determines the modes of reality portrayal in media content? (Hawkins and Pingree, 1981); b) to what extent do mass media contribute to the individual's perceptions of social reality? (Chaffee et al., 1987); c) To what extent does the agenda of the press contribute to the agenda of issues considered important by the public and the political elites? (McCombs & Shaw, 1972; Weaver et al., 1981). My study proposes a new and very specific topic to reflect on: To what extent do journalists, particularly the non-Indigenous journalists working on Indigenous issues and with Indigenous communities, can mix 'objective reality' and 'symbolic reality' and, most importantly, create and offer the audience an inaccurate version of the Indigenous Peoples' reality?

Furthermore, the concept of hegemony within the social construction of reality theory (Gramsci, 1977) refers to the ability of the wealthy and powerful (in the case of this study, considered the non-Indigenous, 'white privileged' peoples) to dominate other groups (here, considered the Indigenous Peoples worldwide) by having their ideas and assumptions internalised by the subordinate groups (Gramsci, 1977). Ideally, the subordinate group do not recognise these assumptions as being in the best interests of the dominant group (Gramsci, 1977), but they believe that the ideas are generated by common sense (Gitlin, 2017). Supporters of this vision argue that there is a very thin line between hegemony and coercion (Gitlin, 1980). Gramsci also believes that the concept of hegemony is linked with the monopoly control over the media to prove the power of an elite to produce journalist content that supports the interests of the dominant class (Gramsci, 1975). Van Dijk also adds that media serves as an ideal source for hegemonic control and allows the powerful ones to manipulate the powerless through an almost undetectable but determinant definition of some aspects of knowledge, discourse and, above all, education (Van Dijk, 1997). Such an idea can be linked with the assumption that non-

Indigenous journalists can, directly or indirectly, purposely, or not, instigated by institutions or not, highlight events or produce content on Indigenous Peoples that features negative, inaccurate, stereotypical, pejorative, and paternalistic portrayals of First Nations Peoples as subordinates.

Most importantly, Gitlin believes that a hegemonic reality “seeps into popular common sense and gets reproduced there; it may even appear to be generated by that common sense.” (Gitlin 1980, p. 254). Meaning that when hegemony works well, it should be almost invisible (Skea, 1993) in the way it coerces people to do, of their own free will, what the elite want and has in their agenda (van Dijk, 1997).

This study then raises the issue of poor media portrayal of Indigenous Peoples can be used to help to construct and disseminate a socially negative and derogatory image of First Nations Peoples. By being part of the 'controlling hegemonic machine' that media represents, non-Indigenous journalists, can help to 'feed' this ideology by focusing more on the negatives of the Indigenous Peoples rather than on the positives of their culture or, even more important, on the historical truth of colonialism and the consequent intergenerational trauma suffered by most of the Indigenous Peoples worldwide.

Following this idea, hegemony is also strongly linked to coercion. So much so that, according to Gitlin (1980), it is difficult to see precisely where hegemony begins, and coercion ends. Clement believes that the more media uses hegemony to get conformity and influence socially, the less is the need for more coercive forms of social control (Clement, 1975). Porter (2015) also says that when hegemony is strategically used with success, it can lead to creating and reinforcing a specific way of thinking in society. Having said this, one can argue that non-Indigenous journalists' poor work on Indigenous Peoples' affairs is a potent source for hegemonic control and serves the elite's manipulation of some aspects of the ways of being, doing and knowing of the First Nation Peoples.

And the ideas explored so far in this chapter may be enough 'food for thought' for non-Indigenous journalists to reflect on their cultural competence, strategies, and processes of work towards Indigenous Peoples, knowing that the power of 'creating' and dissemination of the reality of First Nations Peoples are, somehow, in their hands. This reflexivity process does not come as an easy and 'comfortable' one, though. Non-Indigenous journalists working with

Indigenous Peoples can face many challenges, as will be discussed in the next section of this chapter.

3.3 – Exploring the Pedagogy of Discomfort

The notion of discomfort entails a particular ethic and a complex ground to critique deeply held assumptions about us and others (Zembylas, 2015). Furthermore, "when applied to teaching, particularly in higher education, discomfort encourages students to move outside their 'comfort zone' and question their 'cherished beliefs and assumptions'" (Boler, 1999, p.179). Many authors and research on 'discomfort' and Pedagogy of Discomfort (Boler, 1999, 2004a; Berlak, 2004; Boler and Zembylas, 2003; Faulkner and Crowhurst, 2014; Mintz, 2013; Kishimoto and Mwangi, 2009; Zembylas and McGlynn, 2012) agree with this approach being based on the understanding that discomfoting emotions and feelings are essential to challenge beliefs, assumptions, practices, strategies and habits that create, reinforce and maintain misinformation and social inequities (Zembylas, 2015).

Furthermore, discomfort is believed to open space and time for reflexivity and, consequently, individual, and social transformation (Zembylas, 2015, 2017). And, even if the Pedagogy of Discomfort cannot be assumed as automatically transformative and beyond ethical concerns (Zembylas, 2017), this approach can be considered necessary and urgent in many ways but unavoidable for individual and social transformation (Berlak 2004).

In my project, 'discomfort' is not used in the classroom context, not even in the Education research area. In my study, 'discomfort' is used as a theoretical and investigation method to unpack non-Indigenous journalists' difficulties, opportunities and constraints when working with Indigenous Peoples. In my work, non-Indigenous journalists (as research participants) are the ones who entail uncomfortable discussions. Furthermore, Indigenous journalists (here, contributing as research collaborators) will be helping me create the necessary and appropriate content to ignite this 'discomfort' towards non-Indigenous journalists. Therefore, what seems innovative here is non-Indigenous journalists navigating 'outside their comfort zone' to learn with Indigenous colleagues the Indigenous Peoples' ways of being, thinking, and feelings and how to conduct journalism with these communities. Non-Indigenous journalists can then reflect, rethink, and improve their understandings, communication

strategies, and practices to create more inclusive, culturally competent/sensitive/accurate, therefore, more respectful journalistic content.

In this sense, this research project reverses non-Indigenous journalism's traditional power relational dynamics. Journalists, mainly 'white' non-Indigenous journalists, are not used to relating with 'discomfort' in the powerless' position. In this study, non-Indigenous journalists, including myself (as a researcher and journalist), are vulnerable. Therefore, according to the Pedagogy of Discomfort, this leads us all to a necessary 'crisis' that can result in self-reflexivity when troubling topics such as racism, white privilege, cultural competence, and many others are addressed in the research experiment. This research intends to identify and unpack preconceived assumptions about non-Indigenous journalists' reflexivity and understanding of their place, social and cultural responsibility, and ways to improve power dynamics within their work and towards Indigenous Peoples as their journalistic talents.

Indigenous Peoples' cultural safety and accurate and respectful representation in mainstream non-Indigenous journalism often include 'discomforting' content that can consist of racism and 'white privilege' (Kennedy, 2020; Alemán, 2014; Alamo-Pastrana et al., 2020) and understanding the emotional responses of non-Indigenous journalists deserves to be further investigated. Furthermore, these emotional responses are vital to transforming non-Indigenous journalists' work. What non-Indigenous journalists feel, think, and do in the context of their work involving First Nations Peoples can directly impact these First Nations Peoples' well-being and overall experience in journalism for both non-Indigenous journalists, their Indigenous colleagues, and Indigenous Peoples in general.

I can contribute to the topic by combining the Pedagogy of Discomfort as a theoretical framework (Boler and Zembylas, 2003) and Indigenous cultural/conceptual research method – see further in this chapter how and why this study is inspired by the cultural and spiritual concept of *Dadirri* for the First Nation Peoples of the land I live and work - the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples. The more we hear the Indigenous journalists' voices, the better we make the non-journalists listen and feel the discomfort needed for a responsible act of self-transformation. In other words, this research uses emancipatory epistemologies (Rigney 1999), where emotions that are often powerfully excluded and voices that are usually silenced in the retelling of history in dominant narratives (Mills and Creedy, 2021) are represented.

As it is well documented in the *Stolen Generations Report - Bringing Them Home* (1997), to give an example amongst many others in Australia, where this research is conducted, the Australian First Nations – the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples' testimony on colonial violence and ongoing injustice (Slater 2017), most significantly profoundly disturbed non-Indigenous Australians' "sense of belonging and legitimacy" (Slater 2017, p. 8). It turned this idea of an Australia that seems like a 'home' into something else, something less settled and not familiar at all (Gelder and Jacobs 1998). Gelder and Jacobs even refer to the effects of this 'new' knowledge as 'postcolonial anxiety: uncanny Australia' (Gelder and Jacobs 1998). Nowadays, though, as Slater reinforces, "many Australians have become comfortable with, if not desiring of, the Aboriginal 'sacred' and 'culture', and too familiar with Indigenous suffering. Nevertheless, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander political will and agency provokes anxiety" (Slater, 2017, p.338). However, this non-Indigenous people's anxiety is positive, leading them to a necessary and hopefully transformative existential crisis. Slater calls this discomfoting process the 'deep fear of being a body out of place' (Slater, 2017, p. 11). Moreover, Bignall (2014) argues that a social transformation is the only way to achieve social justice. Following Bignall's thoughts and Slater's words, one must learn to live in and with multiple sovereignties to decolonise (Bignall 2014).

"This notion of anxiety can be highly 'discomfoting' as it is often perceived as an undesirable emotion, a sign of a lack of cultivation and self-control" (Pedwell, 2014, p. 56) but also, as argued by Slater (2017) and agreed by many authors (Ahmed 2004, 2014; Gregg & Seigworth 2010), discomfort and anxiety are emotions that change perception and helps one to reflect on values, identity, and belonging.

Moreover, what interests me the most in using an approach based on 'discomfoting' emotions such as anxiety, fear, guilt, or shame is that "emotional states are not private or personal but rather are shared cultural experiences" (Stephens, 2015, p. 274). Therefore, 'discomfoting' emotions are impossible to maintain secretly indefinitely and are necessary to share and discuss as a community that shares the same territory (geographically and emotionally speaking).

Good white non-Indigenous journalists can be impassioned by ongoing inequality in journalism, colonial injustice overall and marginalisation that affects many Indigenous lives and communication experiences between the 'two worlds'. Most act as 'allies' with good intentions and genuinely want to be part of the solution (Slater, 2017). However, as mentioned

by Waitt, emotions are neither neutral nor depoliticised (Waitt, 2014, p. 669). “Emotions are a performance of the cultural politics of inhabitation or 'world making'” as described by Slater (2018, p. 9) revisiting Ahmed (2004, p. 12) - and for me, 'discomforting' emotions are even more so. One of the reasons I chose to explore Boler's and Zembylas's Pedagogy of Discomfort in the context of this study is that even the non-Indigenous journalists feel 'comfortable' due to their genuine good intentions, which makes them consider themselves 'allies' of every First Nation person, still have something to learn about themselves and the 'Other'. We all have something to learn through 'discomfort' if we allow ourselves to embark on the inevitable 'personal crisis' of built-in 'discomfort', deep listening, and deep self-awareness.

In sum, non-Indigenous journalists working with Indigenous Peoples need to pursue an “uncomfortable truth that must be faced by navigating effective pathways out of ignorance and learning how to perceive and respond differently” (Rice et al., 2020, p.17) to Indigenous Peoples' needs, desires, and expectations. A Pedagogy of Discomfort can help this process considerably.

3.3.1 – What do we know about the Pedagogy of Discomfort?

Many scholars in many different areas of knowledge (early, secondary and tertiary education, decolonising pedagogies, caring teaching, health, geography, social justice and many more) reinforce 'discomfort' as relevant and in urgent need (Boler 1999; Boler & Zembylas, 2003; Berlak, 2004; Kishimoto & Mwangi, 2009; Dion, 2009; Tupper, 2011; Zembylas & McGlynn, 2012; Aveling, 2013; Mintz, 2013; Faulkner & Crowhurst, 2014; Rice et al., 2020) all of them defending the transformative potential of Zembylas' and Boler's Pedagogy of Discomfort as a way towards an understanding, dismantling and disrupting colonial structures (Rice et al. 2020). Moreover, McGloin (2015) elaborates on a particular 'political listening' that accepts risk conflict. Rice et al. (2020) believe such a way of 'listening' is crucial to understand the dominant group better, but, most importantly, it allows us to "reflect critically on one's complicity with colonial structures" (Rice et al., 2020, p. 21). Furthermore, most scholars reflect on recurrent themes when using the Pedagogy of Discomfort: complicity and anti-complicity, white fragility and white guilt, and ethical violence and non-ethical violence.

Applebaum (2010) suggests that Young's conception of a Social Connection Model of Responsibility (2006), which helps articulate a notion of moral responsibility that recognises

all people as socially linked and interconnected, can help non-journalists engage Indigenous Peoples in recognising their complicity while distinguishing responsibility from shame and other negative emotions such as guilt, fault, or blame.

According to Zembylas (2020), in his Public lecture presented at Nelson Mandela University about decolonising higher education, one of the challenges identified in recent work on complicity in the social sciences is "the resistance of individuals and groups to acknowledging their contribution to wrongdoing" (Zembylas 2018), especially in the context of uncomfortable histories of experiences of suffering and events of trauma or violent oppression such as racism, colonialism, apartheid and the like (Peck & Epstein, 2017). Applebaum's (2010) work on white complicity in social justice shows the pedagogical challenge of dealing with white people's denial and resistance, particularly white students in the classroom. Crucial to discussions on complicity and moral responsibility in the social justice area is the concept of affect (Zembylas 2017a, 2017b, 2018). Zembylas advocates the cultivation of anti-complicity praxes, which should go beyond the classroom. After Zembylas, what I want to explore in this thesis is that the cultivation of anti-complicity is urgent, and it should start as an individual exercise of deep self-reflection and deep self-awareness by each journalist, Indigenous and non-Indigenous.

When scholars who develop work in the context of the Pedagogy of Discomfort refer to the concept of 'white fragility' or 'white guilt' or even 'white discomfort', they usually advocate that if white fragility is not taken into consideration and discussed to the point of neutralisation, academic spaces (at all levels, particularly in university, in journalism courses) cannot provide future journalists with the correct knowledge to bring about racial justices (Norris 2019). Journalism Education spaces should be an interface for complex discussions on colourblind racism, white fragility and white guilty, but also to interrogate whiteness and white supremacy and how such dynamics worked to strengthen white supremacy itself - which tend to be very 'discomforting' dialogues with the self and the 'Other'. There is a growing interest in research focused on the emotional 'discomfort' related to the essence of white fragility, racism and stereotypes (Boler 1999; Burke 2017; Collins 2013; Ladner 1971; Nadan and Stark 2016; Zajicek 2002).

Ethical violence is another concept that is recurrent in work on the Pedagogy of Discomfort. Is there any possibility of formulating nonviolent ethics in the Pedagogy of Discomfort? - Many scholars have this concern, and Judith Butler's norms and ideas on ethical

violence are important to reflect on this major question. In Butler's (2005) work "Giving an Account of Oneself", the author elaborates on the ethical implications of the Pedagogy of Discomfort and establishes a concept of ethical violence and ethical responsibility based on an understanding of the self as vulnerable, non-sovereign and dependent on others (Butler 2005; Mills 2007). As she explains: "If no living appropriation is possible, then it would seem to follow that the precept can be undergone only as a deathly thing, a suffering imposed from an indifferent outside at the expense of freedom and particularity" (Butler 2005, p.7). Zembylas explains Butler's idea and takes it even further:

"(...) if an ethical norm cannot be appropriated in a living way and it is imposed on someone, then this norm becomes violent and causes harm. For example, forcing students to accept a collective ethos about what is considered 'right' and 'wrong' when they are not ready to understand the complexity and ambiguity of existing conditions constitutes a form of ethical violence." (Zembylas 2015, p.167).

According to Zembylas' interpretation, Butler (2005) believes that each one of us needs to recognise one's own boundaries and limits of understanding: "if we forget that we are related to those we condemn, then we lose the chance to be ethically educated" (Zembylas 2015, p. 45). She goes more in-depth and says: "we are limited and unable to apprehend the other; this should create a sense of 'humility about one's constitutive limitations and generosity 'towards the limits of others" (Zembylas 2015, p. 80). Still following Zembylas, in sum, Butler argues that our social relationality exposes our vulnerability to violence and provides the conditions for ethical responsibility (Zembylas 2015, p. 169). Most importantly, for both authors, despite our limited understanding, our vulnerability can help us to recognise and navigate our relationality which then can give us the ability to lead an ethical life, thereby allowing others to do the same (Zembylas 2015, Butler, 2005). In other words, critique of the self is a vital tool towards nonviolent ethics. But the thing is, if we assume our vulnerability and deeply reflect on ourselves, we necessarily need to critique the complexities and vulnerabilities in which we live. That is why, Zembylas (2015) believes that a "Pedagogy of Discomfort might always entail some sort of ethical violence" (Zembylas 2015, p. 170) and suggests that nonviolent ethics might become possible when, in the case of this research work, non-Indigenous journalists become critical and strategic about ethical violence (Zembylas 2015).

Following this idea, one can conclude that individual and social transformation may be impossible to achieve without accepting and overcoming some sort of ethical violence (Zembylas 2015, 2016), and thus, causing non-Indigenous journalists discomfort and pain in the context of this investigation may be unavoidable. However, minimising ethical violence toward any journalist (Indigenous and non-Indigenous) is important, and therefore, journalists and researchers engaging in a Pedagogy of Discomfort must always ask themselves if, when asking research participants to challenge their knowledge, personal experiences and beliefs, there is a way to minimise the ethical violence exerted on them. Also, it is crucial to make sure that the cost of causing research participants pain and discomfort is worthwhile pedagogically, politically, and ethically (Zembylas, 2015).

To conclude, inevitably, one must accept that the Pedagogy of Discomfort is entangled in some form of ethical violence, but what is important is whether one makes sure to explore 'tools' to minimise violence critically and strategically while using this approach to 'discomfort' (Zembylas, 2012, 2015, 2017). In the context of my work, I made sure to find those 'tools' that I will present later in this chapter.

3.3.2 – Has the Pedagogy of Discomfort been used in the Indigenous context?

Besides Bullen's et al. (2021), which refers to 'discomfort' but seems not to have explored the Pedagogy of Discomfort in its plenitude; I identified only one research study (Mills & Creedy, 2019) in the Australian higher education, Indigenous context-based, that used the Pedagogy of Discomfort.

This project was developed by Kyle Mills and Debra Creedy (2019) that used the Pedagogy of Discomfort combined with a qualitative design that used a deductive, latent thematic analysis of students' written work to explore non-Indigenous student learning in an Indigenous health course. Important to say that all members of the teaching team of this health course are Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander academics and health professionals, consolidating clinical, cultural, and lived knowledges within the classroom space. Moreover, this course includes Indigenous' pedagogies and strategies such as story sharing, deconstruction, and reconstruction of information - all non-linear approaches based on community links central to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander learning and teaching (Mills & Creedy, 2019; Yunkaporta and McGinty, 2009).

This study is extremely important as it is focused on non-Indigenous students' emotions in a course where 'white fragility' is naturally exposed. This research team found that non-Indigenous students' descriptions of 'discomfort' reflected feeling challenged, confronted, confused, disappointed, hopeless, ignorant, overwhelmed, ashamed, shocked, upset, worried and/or sick (Mills & Creedy, 2019). These 'uncomfortable' emotions were associated with students' lack of knowledge of Black history in Australia. Students reported being both shocked and angry at not being taught about this history or having a biased understanding of Australian history (Mills & Creedy, 2019).

Lastly, as far as I know, this PhD thesis is the first one exploring the Pedagogy of discomfort in Journalism Studies.

3.4 – Using the Aboriginal spiritual and cultural concept of *Dadirri* as a 'tool'

Along with the Social Construction of Reality theory and the Pedagogy of Discomfort (both discussed in detail in the previous sections of this chapter), this research project is informed by the Aboriginal spiritual and cultural concept of *Dadirri*. Before elaborating on what *Dadirri* is and its value to this study, I will briefly contextualise Indigenous spirituality in Australia - above all, *Dadirri* is a significant part of the Aboriginal Peoples' spirituality.

Indigenous spirituality has survived in Australia. Despite the impact of white colonial settlement since 1788, a strong and vibrant Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander spirituality is still present (Sutherland, 2011). "It is an ethos based on connection to ancestral country as imbued in the stories, songs, visual art, rites, and other traditional practices which can be linked back to the Ancestors" (Sutherland 2012, p. 115) but also to country and land. These connections are traced back to ancestral beings who formed the land through their deeds in the *Dreaming*. The sixty-thousand-year-old spirituality could not be suppressed by two hundred years of colonialism (Sutherland, 2012, Yunkaporta, 2020). "This spirituality survives in the work of Indigenous activism, particularly of the land rights movement, to reclaim the country and possesses an elective affinity with the politico-economics of the movement" (Sutherland 2012, p. 94). Spirituality is tied up with intangible cultural heritage and identity, particularly with well-being (Grieves 2009; Sutherland, 2011). It attempts to reverse the effects of

oppressive and devastating practices such as the Stolen Generation. (Sutherland, 2011). Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander identities have remained “intact and are imbued with spiritual significance” (Sutherland, 2011, p. 113). Moreover, it seems to be re-emerged with even more strength through political movements and the decline of colonial missionary influence (Grieves 2009).

Today, as it was in the past, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander spirituality is defined by an inner feeling of wholeness and is tied to these communities' identities throughout Australia (Grieves, 2009; Sutherland, 2012). First Nations Peoples in Australia tend to feel the power of their spirituality, especially when around family and country, where the relationships with the community, cultural heritage and land are naturally stronger. "It involves accepting oneself and others, as well as respecting the elders and traditional Law. It gives the Indigenous participants a sense of belonging to their country and community" (Sutherland 2011, p. 103).

Vicki Grieves draws on spirituality to describe Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander conceptions of well-being (Powell, 2017). She describes spirituality as a way of being and feeling and as the most crucial factor for well-being:

“[...] a feeling, with a base in connectedness to the past, ancestors, and the values that they represent, for example, respect for elders, a moral/ethical path. It is about being in an Aboriginal cultural space, experiencing community and connectedness with land and nature, including proper nutrition and shelter. Feeling good about oneself and proud of being an Aboriginal person. It is a state of being that includes knowledge, calmness, acceptance and tolerance, balance and focus, inner strength, cleansing, and inner peace, feeling whole, understanding cultural roots, and 'deep well-being.’” (Grieves 2009, p. 52)

Knowing how relevant and powerful, culturally, and politically speaking, Indigenous spirituality is for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples – the custodians of the land where this study is being developed and where I, as the researcher, live and work - it is only appropriate to include this Indigenous Australian dimension in this study. I will use the concept of *Dadirri* – a vibrant element of Aboriginal spirituality - which I will present in the following sections of this chapter in its conceptual and cultural elements.

The owners of the word *Dadirri* are the *Ngangikurungkurr* language group of the Daly River, specifically from *the Nauiyu* remote community situated approximately 250km south of

Darwin in the Northern Territory. From the 19th Century onwards, the Daly River communities have undergone multiple colonisation waves, suffered multiple massacres, the negative influence of the missionary, Stolen Generation, and many more devastating impacts (Morris, 2019). Despite remarkable resilience, these impacts have manifested in a range of social, economic, and cultural consequences, leading to the experience of trauma and intergenerational trauma (Morris, 2019). *Naiyu* people were able to survive and maintain their culture, and their spirituality was vibrantly celebrated and lived through *Dadirri* (Morris, 2019).

Through creating a power balance, *Dadirri* emancipates Indigenous people from oppression, acknowledging that revolutionary change comes from within communities and not from the outsider oppressors (Morris, 2019; West et al., 2012). *Dadirri* listens, witnesses, has embedded, and empathises with the pain of the Indigenous experience of trauma (Morris, 2019; Atkinson, 2002; Atkinson, 2008). *Dadirri* is informed by the concept of community, collectively – all people matter, and all people belong (Atkinson, 2002; Ungunmerr, 2002).

Dr Miriam- Rose Ungunmerr-Baumann, a distinguished educator, artist, critical Elder of the *Naiyu* community and 2021 Senior Australian of the Year 2022, first brought *Dadirri* to the national attention in 1988. When first addressing a conference in Tasmania, Ungunmerr-Baumann described the value of *Dadirri*:

“What I want to talk about is another special quality of my people. I believe it is the most important. It is perhaps the greatest gift we can give to our fellow Australians. In our language, it is called Dadirri. It is an inner, deep listening and quiet, still awareness. Dadirri recognises the deep spring inside us. We call on it, and it calls on us. This is the gift Australia is thirsting for... and I believe that the spirit of Dadirri that we have to offer will blossom and grow, not just within ourselves but in our whole nation.” (Ungunmerr-Baumann, 1988)

At its deepest level, *Dadirri* is the search for understanding and meaning, a cyclical process of deep listening, observing feelings and actions, and reflecting and learning through deep listening, deep self-awareness, and self-reflection (Morris, 2019). The principles of *Dadirri* are based on what is learned from listening; it provides a purposeful plan to act, informed by wisdom, and embraces the responsibility that comes with that knowledge (Atkinson, 2002; Morris, 2019). Moreover, this cyclic process of re-listening at increasingly deeper levels promoted a richer understanding and knowledge building on self, the other and self and the other together as a community (Morris, 2019; Atkinson, 2002; Ungunmerr-

Baumann, 2002). Finally, and most notably in the context of this research project, the great strength of *Dadirri* is that it encourages collaborative relationships built on trust and respect, providing an opportunity to create the co-directional sharing of new knowledge (Morris, 2019). *Dadirri* also privileges Indigenous voices to be heard towards healing and positive social transformation, which is highly significant for the purpose of this study.

3.4.1 – What research contexts has *Dadirri* been used in?

Following Atkinson (Atkinson, 2000, 2002; Atkinson, 2008) and her vast work on Indigenous mental health and intergenerational trauma, many other researchers developed their work inspired and empowered by *Dadirri*: see Morris, 2019 - an investigation into trauma and the traditional healing practices of a remote Aboriginal community; Brett et al., 2017 – a study on Aboriginal spirituality and western religion; Burrows, 2004 – a project on communication with parents of children and young people with learning disabilities; Tanner et al., 2004 – a study on paediatric hospitalisation experiences of Indigenous families in remote Australia; West et al., 2012 – an essay on Indigenist research and *Dadirri* as an Aboriginal method; Stronach et al. 2014 – work on research methodologies to build trust between a non-Indigenous researcher and Indigenous participants; Stronach et al. 2016 – a study on Indigenous women and sport; and many more, and in diverse areas of the knowledge.

Megan Stronach' and Daryl Adair' (2014) work is a very significant example of how *Dadirri* can be explored very successfully and meaningfully in Journalism and academic research-related studies, which is an area of knowledge that interests me the most in the context of my research. This project set out to investigate the sports career transition (SCT) experiences of elite Australian athletes. The research team focused on their own experiences as non-Indigenous researchers with Indigenous research participants.

Dadirri was mainly explored as an Indigenous research methodology. However, as Atkinson (2002) argues, *Dadirri* is much more than a research methodology; it is a way of life for Aboriginal Peoples. In the research context, I argue that *Dadirri* must be a way of life for the researcher and overall research experience. Particularly for researchers in the same position as I am, the use of *Dadirri* comes with extra responsibility: "For non-Indigenous researchers, an Indigenous methodology allows the researcher to enter into the world alongside Indigenous experience rather than framing the Indigenous worldview from a distance" (Lavallée 2009, p. 35). By utilising an Indigenous method and conceptual framework such as *Dadirri*, researchers

(both Indigenous and non-Indigenous) aim to incorporate Indigenous knowledge, history, protocol, and experiences in their work as much as possible (Russell-Mundine, 2007).

3.4.2 – Has *Dadirri* been used with non-Indigenous participants by non-Indigenous researchers?

Like many traditional research methodologies, *Dadirri* is informed by various approaches; however, its basis in Indigenous culture and successful prior use in research involving Indigenous and non-Indigenous people (Tanner, Agius & Darbyshire, 2004) made it particularly appropriate for this study.

Dadirri - both as a cultural and spiritual concept and Indigenous research methodology – has been more utilised in research studies with and for Indigenous Peoples. This only makes sense as Indigenous research methodologies and Indigenous conceptual and theoretical frameworks are designed to make Indigenous voices primarily heard. They also serve to get Indigenous cultural and political agenda respected and addressed towards transformative action and social justice that can benefit them the way they need, want, and deserve. Moreover, Historically, non-Indigenous researchers carried out most research on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples. As a result, research on this area rarely directly benefited the Indigenous communities and often resulted in harm (Smith 1999). Therefore, there is still a sense of apprehension and mistrust among Indigenous communities (worldwide, not only in Australia) towards research conducted by non-Indigenous researchers (Smith 1999).

For these reasons, the use of *Dadirri*, likewise other Indigenous methodologies, have not been sufficiently explored by non-Indigenous researchers so far and rarely has been used in studies with non-Indigenous participants.

I identified one study only that uses *Dadirri* as an Indigenous cultural concept, and it is led by a non-indigenous researcher with non-Indigenous participants. Leigh Burrows (2009) conducted the project named "Compassionate communication with parents of children and young people with learning disabilities," which works with non-Indigenous parents of children with learning disabilities such as profound dyslexia. Burrows (2009) was interested in person-centred counselling, personal and emotional intelligence, educational, emotional awareness, nonviolent communication, and how these elements and processes work in teacher-student and parent-teacher communication. Burrows (2009) used *Dadirri* as a technique of listening to one

another, and she concluded that in the context of her work, "*Dadirri* means valuing everyone's stories, no matter how painful, as part of the healing journey" (Burrows 2009, p. 15). This Burrows' work resulted in introducing the concept and practice of Compassionate Communication as a valuable framework for teachers to underpin communicating with parents of children with learning disabilities (Burrows, 2004).

3.5 – Bringing *Dadirri* and Pedagogy of Discomfort together: a new conceptual framework

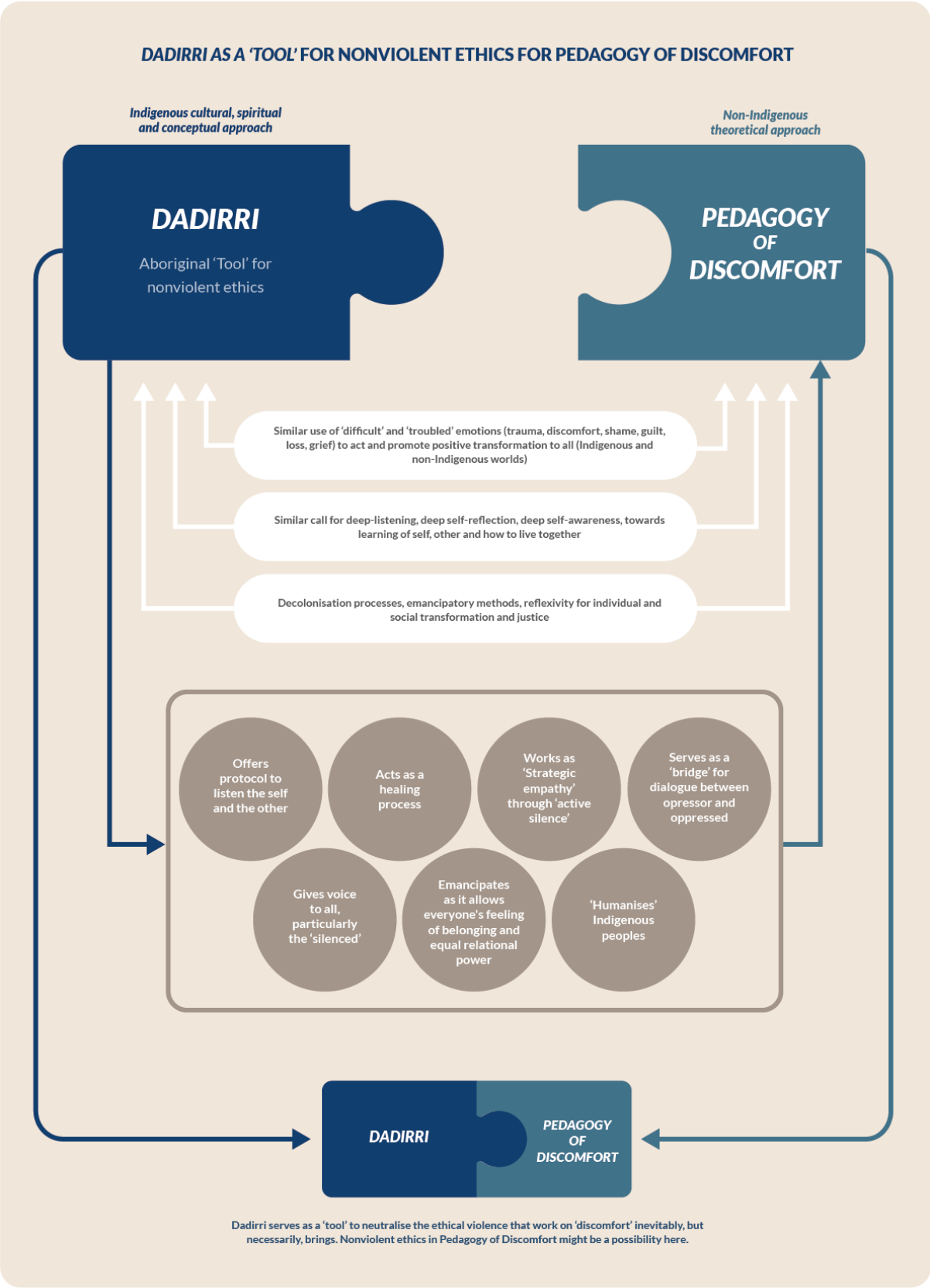
Earlier Indigenous scholars (e.g., Ungunmerr-Baumann, 2002) based Indigenous research on the concept of *Dadirri*, connecting it to elements of critical theory, specifically to Freire's (1972) transformative education process and Habermas's (1984) theory of communicative action, to promote it as an independent Indigenous research methodology. Maybe influenced by the oppressive regimes where both Freire and Habermas lived and worked, their philosophies emerged from their experiences in colonised Brazil and the reign of Nazi Germany, which parallel the experiences of the Indigenous Australian Peoples during the colonisation of Australia (West et al. 2012). Freire's (1972) principles and Habermas' (1984) work apply to *Dadirri*. Freire's philosophy was concerned with adult education or andragogy, and he firmly believes that the knowledge and wisdom of oppressed groups provide the most appropriate solutions to issues affecting their lives (West et al. 2012). Therefore, the voices of the oppressed groups are the ones who must be heard. Moreover, Freire's (1972) "concern for humanisation leads at once to the recognition of dehumanisation, not only as an ontological possibility but as a historical reality" (p. 20). *Dadirri* resonates easily with Freire's ideas. In its research methodology element, *Dadirri* serves as a 'bridge for two worlds, promoting a dialogue between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Peoples, giving voice to all. Especially to Indigenous Peoples that have been historically silenced for many years, and they still are at times. *Dadirri* also 'humanises' Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples, whose continued struggle against losing humanity because of colonisation and oppression might be thwarted by 'dehumanising' western research methodologies (West et al. 2012). For Freire (1972) and Ungunmerr-Baumann (2002), deep listening and genuine and positive dialogue are at the heart of communication and occur based on an equal relationship where everyone counts. Everyone's

voices must be heard with the same level of respect. Like Freire, Ungunmerr-Baumann believes that people can free themselves and their communities from oppression through education.

On the other end, there are several synergies between *Dadirri* as an Indigenous research methodology and critical theory through Habermas's (1984) notion of a system colonising a lifeworld and the resulting alienation (West et al. 2012). *Dadirri* is, in its essence, a profound search for meaning and understanding. It is deep learning and deep listening - more than just listening by the ear, but listening from the heart (Atkinson, 2002). Fundamental to *Dadirri* is the necessity for personal and communitarian interaction and relation and a deep connection to the past, present, future, country, and spirituality. One can find in *Dadirri* essential similarities with the Habermas' 'psychopathologies' (as cited in Outhwaite 1994) – described as the concept of a lifeworld based on the social integration of peoples, the maintenance and continuity of tradition, and the transmission of competencies for action from generation to generation (Outhwaite 1994). From an Indigenous perspective, one can conclude that when these lifeworld elements are lost through colonisation, loss of meaning and associated 'psychopathologies' result, therefore – visible through harm, pain and intergenerational trauma. In sum, it makes sense that many scholars still argue that the principles of *Dadirri* are consistent with Habermas's view - "a critical social theory must acknowledge that a genuinely emancipated society is one in which individuals actively control their own lives, through an enhanced understanding of their material and psychosocial circumstances" (Scambler, 1995, p.166).

However, for this research project, I am bringing a new theoretical framework by combining *Dadirri* with Boler's and Zembylas' (2003) Pedagogy of Discomfort. I see *Dadirri* as the 'tool' Zembylas (2015) argues to be necessary for the constitution of nonviolent ethics in the exercise of discomfort. The "*Dadirri* as a 'Tool' for Nonviolent Ethics for Pedagogy of Discomfort" diagram is presented in Figure 2:

Figure 2 Dadirri as a 'Tool' for Nonviolent Ethics for Pedagogy of Discomfort



Pedagogy of Discomfort entails ethical violence through the imposition of a particular code of ethics on Other who is unable to appropriate these ethics in a living way (Zembylas 2015). But it is possible to formulate nonviolent ethics in Pedagogy of Discomfort – Boler (1999) believes that one of the basic tenets of a Pedagogy of Discomfort is that it promotes 'active' rather than 'passive' empathy, that does not prevent discomfort or suffering and pain, all necessary emotions to promote not only knowledge but also action for change (Boler 1999), but can be evoked "as an action that retains a productive quality" (Zembylas 2015, p. 172). Lindquist (2004) also refers to 'strategic empathy' that means, in the context of the classroom, the willingness of the teacher to make her/himself strategically sceptic to empathise with troubled knowledge that students carry with them even when it is disturbing to others (fellow students or teacher) (Zembylas 2012). This concept of 'strategic empathy' resonates with *Dadirri* as empathy is embedded in *Dadirri* at its deepest level. *Dadirri* requires being quietly aware, listening and watching, with all people recognised as being unique, diverse, complex, and interconnected - part of a community where all people matter, and all people belong. Accordingly, it is a way of learning and building knowledge together 'empathically' (Ungunmerr- Baumann, 2002).

Furthermore, I see *Dadirri* as a 'bridge' for communication and understanding between two voices in uncomfortable, troubled, and painful conversations. Through a dialogue promoted under *Dadirri* values and protocol, there is also the opportunity to engage with an individual's troubled knowledges and discomfoting emotions critically. I mean that *Dadirri* is a space for 'strategic empathy' (as a constructive point of departure to navigate discomfort) and space for positive and constructive dialogue to transform these troubled knowledges and painful emotions. Through *Dadirri*, "we learnt by watching and listening, waiting and acting" (Ungunmerr- Baumann, 2002). Therefore, and in the context of my study, I also see the potential in *Dadirri* for bringing non-Indigenous and Indigenous journalists together in a dialogue conducted in cultural safeness - the 'strategically' designed set of separate interviews circles in my study - Indigenous and non-Indigenous journalists will be interviewed in separate groups, but the data will be shared with all, creating the necessary dialogue between groups so all can learn from the experience - serve to prevent any form of 'violent ethic' amongst research participants. *Dadirri* then serves as a 'tool' to not only hear everyone's voices but also to 'neutralise' the necessary ethical violence resulting from the discomfort entailed upon the "subject engaged in an ongoing struggle between a critical relation to the truth regime in which one life and giving a 'truthful' account of the self" (Zembylas 2015, p. 169). *Dadirri* 'pacifies'

this ethically violent process through a protocol, mutual respect, deep listening, deep self-awareness, and deep self-reflection to action. Ultimately, *Dadirri* allows an opportunity for the use of discomforting feelings to "challenging dominant beliefs, social habits and normative practices that sustain social inequities, and they create openings for individual and social transformation" (Zembylas 2015, p. 163).

Combining *Dadirri* with the Pedagogy of Discomfort seems both original and relevant. However, most importantly, it is a new conceptual, theoretical, and practical framework that can be used as a transformative strategy for non-Indigenous journalists' feelings and practices and a healing strategy for the difficult emotions, great suffering, and intergenerational trauma of Indigenous journalists.

Dadirri, as a research methodology, was first explored by Judy Atkinson (2002), where she established the strengths of *Dadirri*, which resulted in the designing of practical models of community healing and empowerment in response to trauma (Morris, 2019). Atkinson (2002) argues that *Dadirri* is a powerful research tool as it provides the principles and functions that privilege the Indigenous voice through culturally informed and sensitive research (Morris, 2019). In her study (2002), Atkinson worked with Aboriginal populations in regional and remote communities in Central Queensland. Atkinson (2002) conducted qualitative research and developed the We Al-li program, a series of 55 workshops incorporating a range of traditional healing practices to support the healing of trauma of 600 participants. Through this well-known research project, Atkinson (2002) found that the trauma and its manifestations can be transmitted across generations – using geno-histograms, she was able to trace trauma experiences in seven Aboriginal families across six generations, revealing an extraordinary escalation of violence, substance abuse, sexual assault, and suicide (Morris, 2019). The research findings of this more important work have shown evidence that the unresolved trauma that runs in the family for generations is a scientific indicator of future dysfunction and repeat trauma in subsequent generations of an extended family (Atkinson 2002). Essential to add here another result of Atkinson's (2002) research: the study provided evidence that past colonial practices (massacres, removal from traditional land, destruction of culture, Stolen Generation) are linked with the traumatisation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples in the present, and that is the main reason for increased self-destruction behaviours across generations (Atkinson 2002). Too many Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities are suffering and grieving to this day due to government policies, successive colonial waves of oppression, violence, and

denigration of human rights (Atkinson, 2002; Morris, 2020). To investigate and unpack such turbulent emotions and recommend a framework of healing treatment appropriate for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples, Atkinson (2002) recreated 'ceremonies of circle', comprising *Dadirri* and the Smoking Ceremony as a traditional healing practice. These two spiritual practices made participants feel safe and 'comfortable' enough and associate healing with feeling connected and having a sense of belonging, therefore having the appropriate time and space to share highly discomfiting and traumatic personal stories (Morris, 2019). Atkinson (2002) also used cultural tools for healing, such as storytelling, art, music, dance, and theatre. In the "speaking, singing, painting, dancing, and enacting of stories, people in the present are following the patterns of speech, designs, symbols, rhythms, and steps that ancestors have created in the continuity of ceremonial processes" (Atkinson 2002, p. 40).

3.6 – Summary

In conclusion, I understand that the values, protocol, bridge for communication, and healing process in *Dadirri* are all elements of this Aboriginal cultural and spiritual concept that resonate with the concerns of the Social Construction of Reality and the basic principles and overall purpose of the social justice of the Pedagogy of Discomfort.

Dadirri is a 'dialogue' where everyone's voice is heard; its protocol is fundamentally based on cultural safeness, and it is designed for deep conversations between self and the 'Other' as equals; its process can lead, in fact, to the healing of pain, suffering and trauma (Atkinson 2000).

These elements of *Dadirri* can serve to not only reinforce but also complement the Pedagogy of Discomfort in-action. More importantly, *the Dadirri* healing element, in conjunction with *Dadirri* culturally safe protocol, can 'neutralise' the ethical violence (Butler, 2005) that needs to be addressed when entailing 'discomfort' in the Communication/Journalism and research environments. In other words, I use *Dadirri* in my work as a 'tool' to achieve the appropriate level of safety for all research participants (non-Indigenous journalists) when experiencing the necessary and inevitable 'discomfort' (Zembylas 2015) in the process of self-reflexivity and self-awareness.

Dadirri complements the Pedagogy of Discomfort, and 'discomfort' is an essential part of the natural process of *Dadirri*. By combining both approaches to social justice, healing of individual and social trauma and transformation for self/other and community, one can achieve a decolonising, emancipatory and innovative study. A study that can genuinely benefit all parties involved - in this case, the non-Indigenous and Indigenous journalists and myself as a non-Indigenous researcher and Portuguese journalist working in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders lands.

Chapter 4 – Methodology, Research Design and Data Analysis Approach

4.1 – Introduction

This study explores how Australian Indigenous knowledges and values can transform non-Indigenous journalists' practices towards the goal of better represent all peoples by creating a more culturally inclusive and respectful approach to Mass Communication.

By inviting non-Indigenous and Indigenous journalists to listen deeply, reflect and understand each other's cultures and needs, this study creates a dialogue that bridges two-worlds' perspectives and feelings in 'two-worlds' journalism. This dialogue acknowledges worldwide Indigenous Peoples' ways, expectations, interests, and diversity overall. However, as this research project is developed in Australia, it is mostly centred on the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples' cultures, beliefs, values, and ways of being, doing and knowing that are part of the ethical, epistemological, and logistical complexities of research involving Australian Indigenous Peoples. To achieve this, I drew on both research data collection and on the knowledge of contemporary critical Indigenous researchers and scholars who have developed a diverse range of Australian Indigenous methodological approaches. Their work forms part of and contributes to the work of international Indigenous methodological scholars referenced throughout this chapter. This apparently simple and fluid, but somehow complex in its core, research design is intended to allow a positive and transformative dialogue between Indigenous and non-Indigenous journalists, with the overarching objective of facilitating in-depth and culturally respectful research process, data collection and data analysis.

This study is shaped by the tension that often exists between western research paradigms and Indigenous research paradigms. I worked with these 'tensions' to design and conduct a 'two worlds' research project that utilises methods drawn from non-Indigenous research paradigms (traditional semi-structured interviews) but somehow conducted drawn from Indigenous ways of communicating (yarning under *Dadirri's* protocol).

Following sections in the chapter provide an account of the specific research methods used in this study and explain in detail how this project will combine both Indigenous research

protocols and western methods. Included is also a detailed section on my positionality, as well as details of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Advisory Group members to show how the very early stages of this PhD journey were supported and guided by this group.

The last section of this chapter refers to the data analysis method chosen to organise and investigate this study's data findings. The data collection process, the *Dadirri* yarning sessions' format, the data management model, and the remaining details of the data analysis will be presented in the next chapter of this thesis so that the research findings can be understood in context.

4.2 – Indigenous research: Resisting dominance of the western paradigms

The main reasons for including Indigenous research protocols and methods in this project is the recognition of the traumatic effects of colonisation on Indigenous Peoples and the imperative to avoid further trauma and disempowerment through the research process (Nicholls 2009; West et al., 2012; Braun et al., 2014; Doyle et al., 2017). To achieve that, non-Indigenous researchers such as myself must develop trustful relationships, clear protocols for engaging with Indigenous communities and use Indigenous research methods to preference Indigenous voices in a culturally respectful way.

The history of research for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples is tied to colonisation. History has been manipulated by 'white' authors and told through the eyes of the colonisers (Smith, 1999). Norms and cultural practices were distorted and described in ways that reflected the non-Indigenous researchers' prejudices, beliefs, and values (Laycock et al., 2011). Martin (2003) characterises the negative effects of past research as: "mistreatment of ourselves [Indigenous Peoples] and our land, marginalisation from structures and governance and development of misguided policy and programs resulting in feelings of distrust, caution, fear of exploitation and misrepresentation" (p. 2). In addition, according to the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS), while Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples are considered to be the most researched Indigenous Peoples in the world, they were rarely given a voice in the research projects and were treated as 'dehumanised' objects (Leroy-Dyer, 2016).

Indigenous methodological approaches can be described as “a movement towards a more inclusive and the culturally acceptable way of researching Indigenous Peoples” (Russell-Mundine, 2012, p. 3). Indigenous methodologies can be understood as culturally competent and ethical ways of acquiring and disseminating knowledge about Indigenous Peoples, with Indigenous Peoples from around the world, applying their own perspectives and understandings to social research and methodologies (Moreton-Robinson & Walter, 2010). By using Indigenous methodologies and allowing them to develop independently, the inadvertent ‘colonisation’ that occurs when combining them with western methodologies can be avoided (West et al., 2012; Smith et al., 2020).

There is a growing recognition among both Indigenous and non-Indigenous researchers that “western science has worked first to subjugate and then discredit Indigenous knowledge systems and the people themselves ... without an appreciation for Indigenous ways of knowing, Indigenous people were excluded from knowledge construction as defined by western thought” (Kovach, 2010, pp. 77–78). Furthermore, in the Australian higher education context, which includes the Communication and Journalism courses, Foley reinforces a related point, referring to the challenges felt by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander postgraduate students that:

“(...) can become frustrated by being forced to accept western, ethnocentric research methodology that is culturally remote and often unacceptable to the Indigenous epistemological approach to knowledge. (...) The racial oppression of Indigenous Australian pedagogy and research methodologies within higher education need to be acknowledged.” (Foley, 2003, p. 44).

Even though the academic world has not been particularly welcoming to Indigenous ways of thinking, understanding, and approaching knowledge (Leroy-Dyer, 2016), in part because such an approach has been considered not to belong to any existing theory (Porsanger, 2006), Indigenous methodologies are now emerging as a transformative and vibrant field of knowledge production (Moreton-Robinson & Walter, 2010).

Indigenous methodologies lead researchers into the intersections between Indigenous philosophical positionings and epistemologies, involving interplay between the method and the paradigm which require researchers to consider the extent to which the method is consistent within an Indigenous worldview (Leroy-Dyer, 2016) that “sees people as integral to the world,

with humans having a seamless relationship with nature which includes seas, land, rivers, mountains, flora and fauna” (Cunningham & Stanley, 2003, p. 403).

Indigenous methodologies aim to pay due respect to communities, their Elders and teachings, so their knowledge can be translated into research in an appropriate way (Kovach, 2010) that makes a positive difference. Indigenous research methodologies also align with Indigenous political aspirations. They advocate for, Indigenous self-determination in and leadership of all stages of the research process (Braun et al., 2014). Indigenous methodologies are based on Indigenous ethics and knowledges that determine how to access knowledge, the tools to gain that knowledge and the theoretical approaches for conducting research (Porsanger, 2006). Data collected using traditional colonising methods tends to negate or dismiss Indigenous knowledge and Indigenous ways of being, knowing and doing.

Self-determination in the Australian research context is a response to the struggles felt by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander researchers marginalised by the hegemonic and colonising effects of western research (Smith, 1999). Indigenous approaches offer a way for Indigenous Peoples to seek legitimacy for methodologies embedded in Indigenous histories, life experiences, value systems and ways of understanding and describing the world. The Indigenous approach is as relevant to western researchers as it is to Indigenous researchers, according to Linda Smith (1999). Theories in all their forms are important to Indigenous Peoples, insofar as they help Indigenous Peoples to understand the world around them, as well as to prioritise and legitimise what they see and do (Smith, 1999), however, ‘Indigenous knowledges comprise specific ways of knowing based upon oral traditions of sharing knowledge’ (Kovach, 2010, p. 40). This can pose a problem: Indigenous Peoples’ ‘conversational method’ of gathering knowledge through storytelling in an Indigenous paradigm’ (Kovach, 2010, p. 40) is very different from western research approaches, that are based on “giving the most value to empirical theories of knowledge that is, the knowledge that is directly observed and tested” (Laycock et al., 2011, p. 10). Consequently, the terms ‘contested space’ or ‘contested knowledges’ are used to describe where Indigenous and western approaches to research are brought together (Laycock et al., 2011). From an Indigenous standpoint, Nakata clarifies that within this ‘cultural interface’, things are not clearly ‘black or white’, Indigenous or western:

“The intersection of the Western and Indigenous domains ... the place where we live and learn, the place that conditions our lives, the place that shapes our futures and more to the point the place where we are active agents in our own lives –where we make decisions – our life world.” (Nakata, 2002, p. 285).

Bringing this idea of ‘cultural interface’ to Indigenous research approaches, it can be said that research for Indigenous Peoples only makes sense if it can make a positive difference and informs how Indigenous Peoples come to understand both their cultural knowledge and everyday life in a ‘two-world’ reality. In other words, research needs to inform their standpoint and vice versa (Leroy-Dyer, 2016). In this sense, “Indigenous Peoples can draw on distinct forms of analysis that are both discursive constructs and intellectual devices to persuade others and elevate Indigenous perspectives and knowledge” (Nakata, 2007, p. 214).

Decolonisation through research allows Indigenous Peoples to gather, generate and share knowledge from a place inside Indigenous frames of reference. Western researchers have often delegitimised and marginalised Indigenous world views. Decolonising research methods were developed so that Indigenous Peoples could, “empower themselves through their own assumptions and perspectives.” (Chilisa, 2012, p. 13). By exploring Indigenous research methodologies, researchers have the power to deconstruct the previous negative labelling and “culturally deficient models that pathologized the colonised Other” (Chilisa, 2012, p. 17).

The literature on Indigenous methodologies articulates an urgent need to decolonise research and this thesis intends to contribute to this decolonising process. Cultural differences between Indigenous Peoples across Australia imply that each nation has its own ways of knowing, being and doing, which will inform their preferred research methods and methodologies (Smith et al., 2020). Consultation, participation and ‘data sovereignty’ (Kukutai and Taylor, 2016) - meaning Indigenous participant’s ownership of data as a research collaborator and new knowledge generator, are fundamental ethical principles to Indigenous research processes (AIATSIS, 2016) and will be explored in greater detail throughout this chapter.

Most importantly, the research needs to be for the benefit of the Indigenous Peoples, so it is vital to conduct culturally appropriate research. Acknowledgement and incorporation of Indigenous ontologies, epistemologies, and axiologies are essential to the research process, as is explained in detail below.

4.3 – Indigenous methodological considerations

This research it acknowledges and incorporates Indigenous ontologies, epistemologies and axiologies. Indigenous ontologies can be defined as Indigenous ways of *being* (something that a non-Indigenous researcher such as myself can only describe based on Indigenous literature and yarning with Indigenous Peoples). Only Indigenous Peoples themselves can experience, know, and talk about Indigenous ways of being with authority. Indigenous epistemologies are Indigenous ways of *knowing*. Indigenous axiologies are Indigenous ways of *doing*. In the context of this research project, I am, as a researcher, particularly focused on the Indigenous epistemologies and axiologies (even though the three concepts are deeply interconnected), where I can include the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander ways of communicating and their journalistic strategies and practices that can appropriately represent them as Australian Indigenous Peoples.

4.4 – Indigenous research paradigm

In an Indigenous research paradigm, Indigenous ways of being, knowing, doing, and belonging are what constitutes knowledge (Rigney, 1999; Martin, 2003; Leroy-Dyer, 2016). This paradigm is embedded in Indigenous value systems such as connection to country; reverence and respect for the land, water, the sky, and oral traditions; and sense of belonging to their family, extended family and community; and spirituality as an integral part of knowledge production. Furthermore, in this study, Indigenous voices were listened to most closely, to generate new knowledge, in a way that their voices could be deeply heard, and their needs, expectations and opinions valued and disseminated. In addition, decolonising qualitative research methods were used as well as Indigenous methodologies such as Aboriginal yarning informed by the cultural and spiritual concept of *Dadirri*, to allow Indigenous voices to be heard under Indigenous protocols and sharing knowledge made possible in a culturally safe space.

However, to include both Indigenous research collaborators' (particularly, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander journalists) and non-Indigenous research participants' (non-Indigenous journalists) ways of being, doing, knowing, communicating, and doing journalism, this study also addressed an empowerment-oriented and collaborative change-oriented research approach that is linked to the participative research paradigm.

Indigenous methodologies sit in contrast to western methodologies in many ways, but one should hope it is possible to combine both paradigms. From a western quantitative research paradigm, knowledge usually means data, i.e., facts that can be measured, verified, and replicated, and the researcher is a passive observer. In this sense, the western research paradigm somehow assumes that science can objectively measure the world (Grimstad, 2013). However, the western advocacy/participative paradigm is focused on empowerment and political transformative change, and often includes action-oriented qualitative methods with a practical, collaborative, and emancipatory inquiry. In this case, researchers and research participants are actively involved in creating awareness and implementing alternatives. In the participative paradigm, knowledge produced serves to uncover injustice and suggests actions that would lead to social empowerment. It is often focused on feminist, racial, queer and disability areas of research.

After revisiting very briefly the western epistemologies mentioned above, and from a non-Indigenous qualitative researcher's point of view who is interested in working with Indigenous Peoples, all these research paradigms (when isolated) seemed incomplete and not appropriately aligned with the Indigenous, particularly the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander ways of doing and knowing. For that reason, this research is framed on a 'two worlds' paradigm combining an Indigenous research paradigm and a western interpretative/participative research paradigm.

4.4.1 – Indigenous ontologies

Indigenous ontologies refer to Indigenous ways of viewing the world, connection to country and feeling of belonging (Moreton-Robinson & Walter, 2010), this is an area of the knowledge that only Indigenous Peoples can fully understand. According to Moreton-Robinson and Walter (2010), Indigenous Peoples see and understand reality in a more holistic way compared to some of the western paradigms, where humans see themselves as separate from other life and from the earth. Furthermore, Indigenous ontologies frame Indigenous research in the sense that these concepts of connectedness and community are then translated into clear research goals that are centred around social justice, community engagement, and action to improve the health and well-being of Indigenous communities and Peoples (Moreton-Robinson & Walter, 2010).

4.4.2 – Indigenous epistemologies

Indigenous epistemologies acknowledge the “interconnectedness of physical, mental, emotional, and spiritual aspects of individuals with all living things and with the earth, the star world, and the universe” (Lavellée, 2009, p. 23). In this study, Indigenous epistemologies were utilised by the Indigenous, particularly the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander journalists that participate in the project as research collaborators. The new knowledge, focused on the ways of communicating and journalism methods used by these Indigenous research collaborators, is what this study explores, as a way of preferencing these Indigenous journalists’ voices.

Indigenous epistemologies are ways of knowing that include those of thinking, feeling and willing (Martin, 2003, p. 97) and they are based on three sources of Indigenous knowledge: empirical, traditional, and revealed. *Empirical* knowledge is gained through observations; *traditional* knowledge has been passed from generation after generation; and *revealed* knowledge is acquired through dreams, visions and intuitions based in Aboriginal spirituality (Castellano, 2004; Leroy-Dyer, 2016). Most importantly in the context of research, “connection to country is an integral part of knowledge production... knowledge cannot exist outside of social relations and knowledge is revealed and belongs to a group. It can be used and shared, but never owned” (Leroy-Dyer, 2016, p. 37).

Throughout the research process, Martin’s (2003) theoretical framework was utilised. This framework incorporates different epistemological traditions that frame the way Indigenous, particularly Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples, see the world, the way they organise themselves in it, the questions they ask, the solutions they seek regarding communicating and doing journalism will be acknowledged and respected using Indigenous research methods – interviews in the form of yarning. Therefore, the Indigenous epistemologies embedded in this research project were linked to the “unique life experiences, personal history of embeddedness in one’s community and one’s connection to country” (Rigney, 1997, p. 117), of each one of the research collaborators.

4.4.3 – Indigenous axiologies

Axiology refers to the nature of values and value judgements and norms (Smith et al., 2020). Indigenous axiologies refers to the examination of Indigenous Peoples’ values to better comprehend their meanings, origins, purpose, characteristics, acceptance, true knowledge, and

their impacts on people (Chilisa, 2012), knowing that different Indigenous Peoples have different values and norms (hence the use of axiologies - plural). Moreton-Robinson also refers to Indigenous axiologies as “the disputation contours of right and wrong or moral values” (2013, p. 337) that contribute to “self-determination and liberation struggles as defined and controlled by [Indigenous Peoples] communities” (Rigney, 1999, p. 110).

The Indigenous research method of yarning, utilised in this research project, explored in detail later in this chapter, acknowledges, respects, and follows Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples’ protocols and values including those of reciprocity (Bessarab & Ng’andu, 2010), respect (Bessarab, 2016), ethical interactions (Gower, 2012), participatory interactions (Kendall et al., 2011), and emancipatory designs (Zavala, 2013).

Yarning reflects a “formal process of sharing knowledge that is reliant upon relationships, expected outcomes, responsibility and accountability between the participants, country and culture” (Dean, 2010, p. 6). Therefore, and being this research conducted in Australia, this Indigenous method was utilised with the consent and guidance of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander scholars who were consulted during the course of the research to advice on particular norms and protocols. Through yarning, I was able to identify Indigenous core values and belief structures within both the Indigenous journalists, as well as western values and beliefs within the non-Indigenous journalists.

4.5 – Dadirri

“Dadirri recognises the deep spring that is inside us. We call on it and it calls to us. This is the gift that Australia is thirsting for. It is something like what you call ‘contemplation’.” (Ungunmerr-Baumann, 2002).

As discussed in the Conceptual and Theoretical Framework chapter of this thesis, *Dadirri* is the conceptual and cultural framing of this research project. Moreover, *Dadirri* was used to a certain extent, as primary Indigenous research methodology. As an Indigenous research methodology, *Dadirri* was explored through a series of one-on-one, participatory, yarns/unstructured, and ‘conversational’ interviews.

Dadirri offers a ‘gift for two worlds’ (a ‘bridge’ between Indigenous and non-Indigenous worlds) and signifies deep listening, deep reflection, and deep self-awareness for Aboriginal Peoples (Ungunmerr-Baumann, 2002). The conceptual use of *Dadirri* here is intended to contribute to the ‘healing’ process of communication and relationship between Indigenous Peoples and journalists and non-Indigenous journalists. A certain level of ‘discomfort’ seems to exist between both parties, due to the historical, political, social tensions caused by the inequity of opportunity and proper representation that may inhibit communication between non-Indigenous journalists, and Indigenous journalists, particularly Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander journalists. *Dadirri* was also utilised as a way of bridging the gap between the knowledge and practice in higher education Journalism and Communication curricula design courses.

4.5.1 – The owners of the word *Dadirri*

“NGANGIKURUNGKURR means 'Deep Water Sounds'. Ngangikurungkurr is the name of my tribe. The word can be broken up into three parts: Ngangi means word or sound, Kuri means water, and kurr means deep. So, the name of my people means 'the Deep Water Sounds' or 'Sounds of the Deep'.” (Ungunmerr-Baumann, 2002).

This study covers the concept of *Dadirri* as it is interpreted by the owners of the word — the *Ngangikurungkurr* language group of the Daly River, more specifically from *Nauiyu* remote community situated approximately 250km south of Darwin in the Northern Territory, Australia. However, this research also investigated the concept of *Dadirri* for other communities and language groups, through the knowledge of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander journalists that have participated in this study as research collaborators. Deep listening is a cultural concept that is embedded in many Aboriginal cultures under many different names and different interpretations (see Table.1 below).

Table 1 Indigenous Philosophies

Indigenous Philosophies		
Theme	People/region	Meaning
Alcheringa	Central Australia	A religious philosophy, embracing mythic ancestral heroes, their pastimes and everything associated with

		them. In English language the philosophy is known as ‘The Dreaming’.
Totemic groups	Central Australia	Special or sacred places which mark the resting place or activity of the supreme beings. The concept connects Aboriginal people inextricably to the land and all of creation and into a set of obligations and cultural practices. All Aboriginal people are related to the species and to the landscape as kin, through the process of being born from a totemic site. In English language the closest meaning is the word ‘kindredness’.
Ganma	Arnhem Land	A powerful metaphor relating to the meeting and mixing of two streams, a stream of salt water from the sea and a stream of fresh water from the land. The metaphor has meanings at surface and deep levels, and inside and outside meanings.
Yerin	Gurringgai	As Ganma.
Tjibari	Balgo	Garma happens when people with different ideas and values come together and negotiate knowledge in a respectful learning environment.
Ngara	Eora	The word of the people of the Eora nation for ‘listening’.
Kulini or Pulgkara kulin tjugku	Pitjantjatjara	Really deep listening, and wanting to listen.
Gan’na	Bundjalung	Hearing, listening, feeling, thinking, and understanding.
Winangargurri	Gamilaraay	Deep listening (similar to <i>Dadirri</i>).
Yimbanyiara	Central Queensland	Listening to elders (similar meaning and responsibilities to <i>Dadirri</i>).
Dadirri	Ngangikurungkurr	Deep listening and learning more than just ‘listening by ear’ but ‘listening from the heart’. Listening that happens in contemplative-reciprocal relationships.

For the owners of the land where this research project was conducted — the Bidjigal/Gadigal Peoples — the concept of Listening deeply is *Ngara*, meaning 'Listen, Hear, Think' (Stronach and Adair, 2014). Unpacking *Ngara*, one can see how it resonates with *Dadirri*: 'deep listening 'equal to' listen'; 'deep reflection 'similar to' hear'; 'deep self-awareness 'translated into' think '. However, *Dadirri* and *Ngara* cannot be reflected upon as 'synonyms' as these ways of being and knowing are unique to each Aboriginal Nation, and concepts from Ngan'gikurunggurr and Ngen'giwumirri are not interchangeable to those from Bidjigal /Gadigal or other nations. *Dadirri* was used instead of *Ngara* as *Dadirri* is the concept already explored by other authors, as both a cultural concept and an Indigenous research methodology.

Therefore, this thesis will follow the same logic. *Dadirri* was investigated through the lens of the research collaborators, meaning that this study will be inclusive of diverse interpretations of *Dadirri*, including the ones from the Indigenous research collaborators from Brazil and the USA that may have unique names to describe a concept similar to *Dadirri* in their own cultures. For that reason, this research was an exercise in cultural awareness and cultural knowledge sharing in a cultural safety environment. It reflected *Dadirri* nuances across different Aboriginal and other Indigenous cultures. Doing so, acknowledged the uniqueness and richness of each community and language group included in this thesis.

4.5.2 – *Dadirri* as research methodology

“We have learned to speak the white man's language. We have listened to what he had to say. This learning and listening should go both ways. We would like people in Australia to take time to listen to us. We are hoping people will come closer. We keep on longing for the things that we have always hoped for - respect and understanding.” (Ungunmerr-Baumann, 2002).

Dadirri as a research methodology was first articulated by Atkinson (2002) where the strengths of *Dadirri* were established, resulting in the designing of practical models of community healing and empowerment in response to trauma (Morris, 2019). Atkinson (2002) argues that *Dadirri* is an extraordinary research resource as it provides the principles and functions that privileges Indigenous voices through culturally informed and sensitive research. While Atkinson (2002) explains the importance of *Dadirri* as an Indigenous research methodology that privileges Indigenous worldviews, she also acknowledges *Dadirri*'s connection to particular western methodologies and models such as:

- Consciousness-raising: where a raised consciousness between the researcher and the researched gives value to community processes;
- Participatory action: recognition of the valuable contribution people makes in their activities of relating, defining, and narrating their life experiences;
- Reciprocity: ethical research from within an Indigenous worldview and critical pedagogy must be embedded with reciprocity—receiving something and giving something;
- Phenomenology: utilising a narrative approach enables the understanding between the inner world of an individual and the outer world (Atkinson, 2002, p.19).

Following Atkinson, many other researchers also consider *Dadirri* a powerful Indigenous research methodology (Morris, 2019; Brett et al., 2017; Geia et al., 2013; Leaver, 2006; Tanner et al., 2004). West et al., (2012) presents *Dadirri* as a robust research framework, thus connecting it to other research approaches such as Friere’s (1972) transformative critical pedagogy, where the best solutions for oppressed groups come from the knowledge and wisdom of the group members themselves. Adding to Freire’s ideas, West et al. (2012) believes that integrating *Dadirri* in the research process has the potential to promote meaningful dialogue based on relationships where researchers and research participants and collaborators are engaged in transformational change together that can benefit all parts. In addition, O’Donnell & Kelly (2011) found that *Dadirri* impacts on research positively as it allows self-awareness of researcher’s beliefs, assumptions, influences, feelings, and decisions, with the potential to release a ‘field of emergence’ that embodies the potential to change (Stronach & Adair, 2014). In this sense, *Dadirri* can complement and even reinforce the notion of reflexivity in this work, as explained in the next sub-section of this chapter.

From a practical research perspective, Atkinson describes *Dadirri* as

“a process of listening, reflecting, observing the feelings and actions, reflecting and learning, and in the cyclic process, re-listening at deeper and deeper levels of understanding and knowledge-building.” (Atkinson, 2002, p. 19).

In the context of research, *Dadirri* is a method that enables work with Indigenous people and allows their voices to be heard. The *Dadirri* protocol was applied to one-on-one

yarning/unstructured interviews as this research study requires sophisticated levels of communication, explained further later in this chapter Atkinson (2002) argues out that for the researcher, *Dadirri* encompasses practices that recognise the crucial role of the community – all people matter, all people belong (Atkinson, 2002; Ungunmerr, 2002); reciprocity - both the researcher and the participants share something of themselves; and the trust of the people in the other person (West et al., 2012, Morris, 2019). Furthermore, *Dadirri* listens and knows, witnesses, feels, empathises in the pain of the Indigenous experience of trauma (Atkinson, 2002; Atkinson & Woods, 2008).

In this study, Indigenous research collaborators and non-Indigenous participants engaged in a rich and meaningful ‘dialogue’ with each other (after this thesis is published) and with the researcher (during the data collection process) - even though the interviews are conducted one-on-one, all participants will have access to the data collection results in the end, and this is how and when the ‘dialogue’ occurs. This deep level of communication enabled all of us in the process to better understand ourselves, our differences, our similarities, our expectations, and interests (West et al., 2012) and work together for the benefit of us all.

4.5.3 – *Dadirri* and reflexivity in the context of research

“We cannot hurry the river. We have to move with its current and understand its ways.” (Ungunmerr-Baumann, 2002).

Reflexivity (a concept further explored in the Conceptual and Theoretical Framework Chapter of this thesis) is vital when *Dadirri* is utilised in a research study, as “*Dadirri* means listening to and observing the self as well as, and in a relationship with, others” (Atkinson, 2002, p. 19). Even though reflexivity is a goal-oriented action that aims to improve the researchers’ investigation practice overall; one can see reflexivity as the continual process of engaging with and articulating researcher’s place (in this case, as a Portuguese researcher, a ‘daughter’ of such a colonialist country) and the context of the research (a project where Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples work together towards decolonisation). Having said that, one can see reflexivity not only as an individual process but one that needs to be considered as a group exercise within a research team – especially in the case of this PhD project where the researcher worked with a Portuguese supervision team, as well as with participants and research collaborators from Indigenous and non-Indigenous cultural heritage. Nicholls (2009)

asserts that to critically evaluate empowerment and participation in a counter-colonial context, the researcher is essentially required to engage in political and relational layers of reflexivity; where reflexivity is an essential process in reshaping research methodologies to address the elements of the Indigenous research agenda (West et al., 2012).

Through reflexivity “researchers critically examine their actions through each stage of the research process” (Usher et al., 2008, p. 284). Here, as a researcher, I practiced reflexivity throughout this PhD journey by using a research diary to keep track of my experiences, actions, and emotions as a non-Indigenous researcher and journalist.

4.5.4 – *Dadirri* and Aboriginal spirituality in the context of research

“In our language this quality is called Dadirri. It is inner, deep listening and quiet, still awareness.” (Ungunmerr-Baumann, 2002).

Dadirri encompasses the role of spirituality in Aboriginal culture (Tse et al., 2005). Fundamental to its understanding is the notion that truly listening to others is at the core of spirituality in general, particularly for Aboriginal Peoples (West et al., 2012). However, it is not always possible to truly listening to the research participants at a deeper level, as to take the time to do it properly contradicts contemporary behaviour, where the pace of life results in less-than-effective dialogue (Morris, 2019). People tend to focus on cognitively preparing their own responses rather than truly understanding the questions and the feelings of the person with whom they are communicating (West et al., 2012). However, by using *Dadirri* in the research project, and making the effort to really take the time to listen to every person involved in the study, paying attention to all (research collaborators, research participants, supervisors) on a deeper level, provided richer data than if *Dadirri* was not used.

4.6 – Participatory Action Research (PAR)

Participatory Action Research (PAR) opens a methodological space for researchers to critique the ongoing impact of colonisation, neo-colonialism, and the force of marginalisation (Smith et al., 2020; Castellano, 2000; Davis & Reid, 1999; Severtson, Bauman, & Will, 2002). Also, PAR is recommended as an appropriate method of research with Indigenous communities

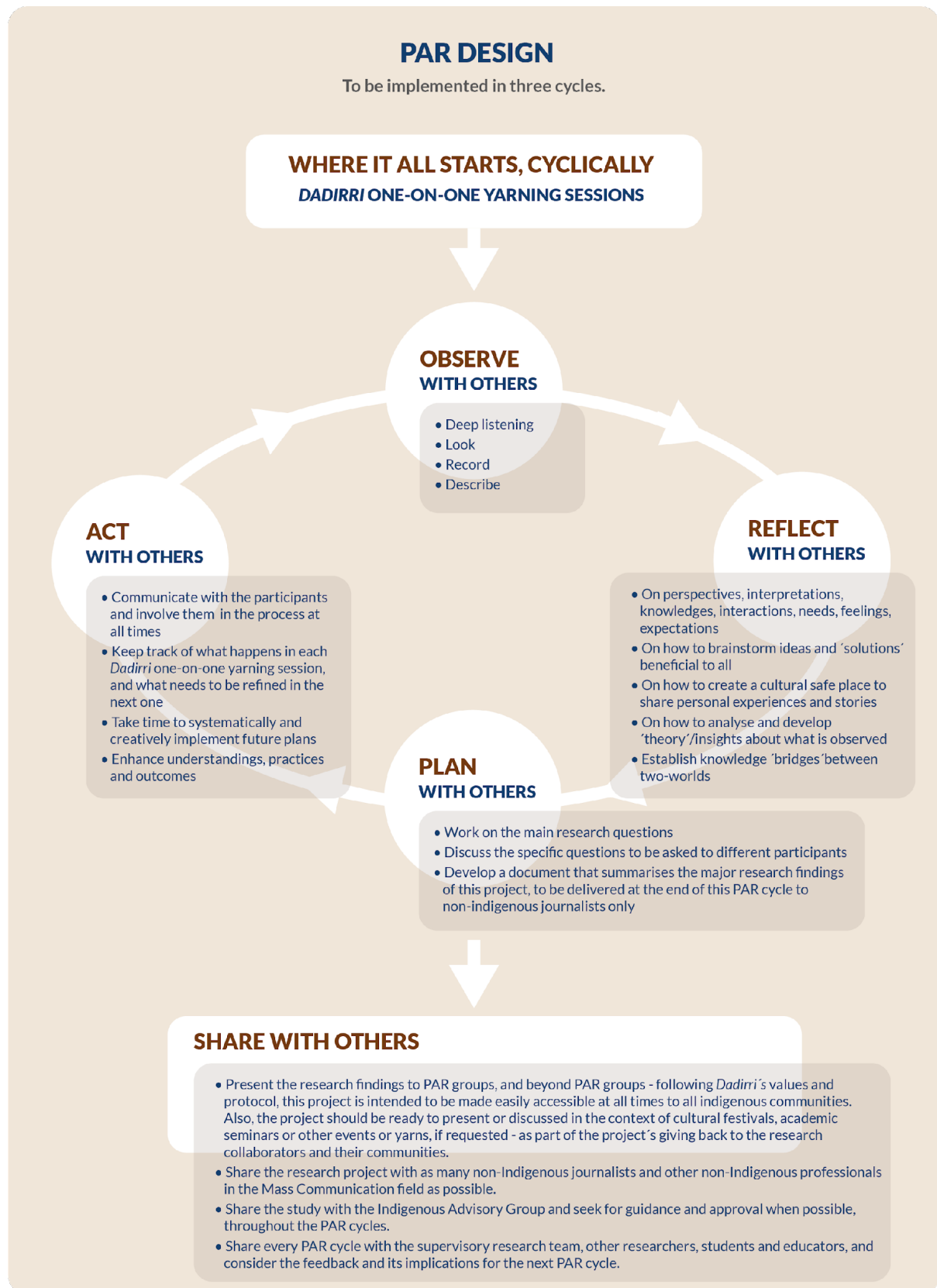
worldwide (Braun et al., 2014; Doyle et al., 2017) as its approaches tend to be culturally appropriate and aim to improve the lives of the people being researched (Braun et al., 2014).

Importantly, PAR serves to disrupt on many levels the western positivist research paradigm that is considered antithetical to Indigenous ways of coming to knowledge - theoretically, cognitively, practically, and spiritually (Lockhart & McCaskill, 1986; Smith et al., 2020). This approach captures and incorporates the perspective(s) of the communities that are part of the research and, as such, positions them as experts in their own knowledges, spiritual experiences, and ways of living (Doyle et al., 2017). For that, PAR prioritises collaboration and sharing. Within the framework of PAR, social justice-oriented processes and models are well situated to bring about positive change for individuals, organisations, and communities (Fredericks et al., 2013).

Furthermore, PAR is an empowerment method whereby participants are also co-researchers and can collaboratively define the research problem, gather, and analyse data, and assist in generating policy recommendations (Smith, 2020; Macaulay et al., 1998, 1999; Day, Blue, & Peake Raymond, 1998). PAR projects make explicit the utility of, and benefits generated by the research to the communities involved (Smith, 2020; Levin & Riffel, 2000; Ivanitz, 1999), and ensures the research is culturally relevant (Smith, 2020; Steinhauer, 2002; Weber-Pillwax, 2001; Hudson & Taylor-Henley, 2001).

In this project, PAR provided opportunities for Indigenous journalists to be actively involved in the research process as research collaborators, with their lived knowledge facilitating the development of richer understandings of non-Indigenous journalists to ensure the communication and representation in journalism needs of Indigenous Peoples are better met. These Indigenous research collaborators were involved in the design of the one-on-one yarning/unstructured interviews conducted with the non-Indigenous journalists. This PAR inquiry will be conducted as indicated in Figure 3:

Figure 3 PAR Design diagram



4.7 – Researcher positioning

My identity informs the methodology as a non-Indigenous woman/educator/journalist/researcher who is conscious of the mistakes committed in the past by many western researchers. I position myself as a researcher who resists the western paradigm and actively contributes to decolonising both journalism and research, as explained previously in the Research Project Background and Context chapter of this thesis. Moreover, I believe that individual decolonising processes should be the starting point for the indigenisation of systems, institutions, and organisations. One must gain self-awareness through a necessary personal 'discomfort' and reflect on how to improve one's understandings, strategies, and practices, before contributing towards a wider transformational change.

As a non-Indigenous Portuguese woman in Sydney, a researcher, and a journalist at SBS – Special Broadcasting Service, that operates six TV channels and seven radio networks as the Australian national multilingual, multicultural and Indigenous media organisation for all Australians, I live and work in a 'two-world' space. Consequently, there are many times where I feel I am outside of my comfort zone (outside the 'bubble' where I was born and raised in) entirely. And as much as this 'discomfort' may be painful and challenging, I accept it as part of my learning process and necessary change to do better, both personally and professionally. I fully embrace the responsibility of decolonising myself.

As a European immigrant in Aboriginal lands, I occupy a space without being invited by the traditional custodians of this land. Therefore, I see my research project as a way to acknowledge this and benefit Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples, particularly Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander journalists who are my colleagues. My work is my way of giving back to the community with whom I now live and work with. For that, I explored research methods that are both considered rigorous by the academy and, most importantly, are seen by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples as culturally appropriate and respectful. By using these methods, I hope that the research process and its outcomes can contribute to social justice and benefit the Indigenous research collaborators involved in this study.

As a researcher, I am aligned with the idea that "... no longer is research 'on' or 'about' Indigenous Peoples rather there is a shift towards research 'for' and 'with' Indigenous Peoples" (Bunda, 2017, p. 2). On the other end, as a Portuguese woman, I know that my cultural, historical, political, and personal heritage can be seen as a limitation to this research, as my life

experience is linked to European colonialism and even my PhD is being conducted in a Portuguese higher education institution – Lusófona University (Lisbon).

To mitigate the impact of my positionality, I tried to maintain myself consciously aware of the potential power imbalances between the researcher and participants as much as possible, and at all times. I did this by reflecting on my practices in a research journal and by deeply listening to my PhD supervisor's necessary instructions, as well as the critical and transformative advice I am privileged to have received throughout almost three years from my mentor and cultural and career advisor from a previous research project I conducted at the University of New South Wales (UNSW Sydney) - this mentor is a proud Guringai / Gadigal / Darug / Wiradjuri Woman. Also, in the early stages of my research journey that later led to this PhD project, I had the invaluable support of an Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Advisory Group, which I will introduce in detail later in this chapter.

The literature shows strong evidence of how non-Indigenous researchers can oppress and marginalise, just as much as they can simultaneously emancipate and empower (Smith, 1999; Fejo-King 2006). I need to remain cognisant of these inescapable political dimensions throughout the project, knowing that there is a history of previous research work that has been conducted in a way that is “inappropriate, irrelevant and irreverent” (Smith, 2003, p. 437).

I am researching in Australia where British invasion had an effect described as an ‘almost unrelieved tragedy’, with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples remaining victims of ‘entrenched prejudices’ (Stronach, 2014; Hallinan, 1991; Tatz, 2011). This is why the term ‘research’ is heard, seen, and experienced by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples as a ‘dirty’ word (Smith, 2003; Fejo-King 2006), as it has historically been a way of perpetuating the disempowerment of these peoples (Briskman, 2003; Porsanger 2004; Turnbull 2003).

Researchers such as Moreton-Robinson (2000), Smith (2003), Stronach & Adair (2014) and many others have illustrated how Indigenous Peoples have been treated patronisingly, paternalistically, disrespected, and treated as subjects to be ‘observed’ in the research context (Stronach & Adair, 2014). It is within this context as a non-Indigenous scholar, conducting research with “one of the most researched populations in the world” (Fejo-King, 2006, p.4), I did my very best to avoid these extensively documented mistakes made in the past.

4.8 – Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Advisory Group

Three years before this PAR project, I had the privilege to invite an Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Advisory Group from whom I respectfully sought support to work in the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander field of Education, Indigenous Studies and cultural knowledge as a non-Indigenous academic researcher, which I ended up getting it.

This Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Advisory Group then guided me (as a non-Indigenous researcher) in culturally appropriate protocols, behaviours, language, and interpretation of data. Wain et al. (2016) believes including all Indigenous Peoples involved in the research process provides an interface between the epistemological differences (from Indigenous participants from different communities/cultures and the researcher vs the research participant, especially in the context of a 'two-worlds' research).

This Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Advisory Group strengthened the validity and meaning of the research process and findings of my previous research projects, and the invaluable knowledge and advice they gave me still are the basis for this current PhD, and I believe they will continue being for all my future research endeavours in the Indigenous studies area.

Having said that, and even though this specific study was not directly guided by this Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Advisory Group, it still is relevant to mention two members of this group of people whose knowledge remains my biggest referential for research work that involves Indigenous Peoples, particularly Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples:

- Emeritus Professor Judy Atkinson (Honorary) - a Jiman (Central West Queensland) and Bundjalung (Northern New South Wales) woman, with Anglo-Celtic and German heritage, and AM Patron / Elder Advisor. Professor Atkinson is also a member of the Harvard Global Mental Health Scientific Research Alliance, Chair of the Australian Childhood Foundations Cultural Governance Group and the founder and Patron of We Al-li. Her research includes the use of *Dadirri* as Indigenous research methodology. Professor Judy Atkinson was consulted in the context of a previous research study, on matters related to the use of *Dadirri* as Indigenous research methodology. She has an extremely valuable

expertise in this area after many years of including *Dadirri* as both cultural concept and research methodology in her work;

- Dr Tyson Yunkaporta – is from the Apalech clan (west cape) with ties in the south, his born country is Melbourne and adoptive and community/cultural ties are from Western NSW to Perth. Dr Yunkaporta is the author of “Eight Aboriginal Ways of learning”, is an academic and Senior Lecturer Indigenous Knowledges (Deakin University), educator, Indigenous thinker, maker (traditional wood carving), arts critic, researcher, and poet. A large part of Dr Yunkaporta’s research centres around Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples’ ways of being, doing, knowing, and so his works impacts this research study greatly.

The members of this Indigenous Advisory Group were invited three years before this PhD study when the research team was still figuring out the more appropriate way to approach the Indigenous studies area as non-Indigenous scholars. Their inputs are invaluable in the research team's decolonisation process. They were invited because of their specific cultural and academic knowledge and their research interests that still meet the needs of my research study. These two members of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Advisory Group are well-known Indigenous academics, much respected members of their communities and very generous people that helped me in many ways throughout this PhD journey and its many research topic adaptations through time, research methodology revision and overall necessary improvements towards the most respectful, beneficial and culturally competent research project possible, under these 'two worlds' work circumstances/limitations.

4.9 – Research design

As mentioned before in this chapter, this study is a Participatory Action Research (PAR) seeking to involve “all relevant parties in actively examining together current action (which they may experience as problematic) to change and improve it” (Wadsworth, 1998, p.13). For this, I worked with two different research groups – the research participants (non-Indigenous journalists) and the research collaborators of the study (Indigenous journalists). These research collaborators – Indigenous journalists- guided me in refining the research

questions for the *Dadirri* yarning/unstructured interviews with the non-Indigenous journalists (by crafting with me the topics of relevance to discuss in these yarning/interviews).

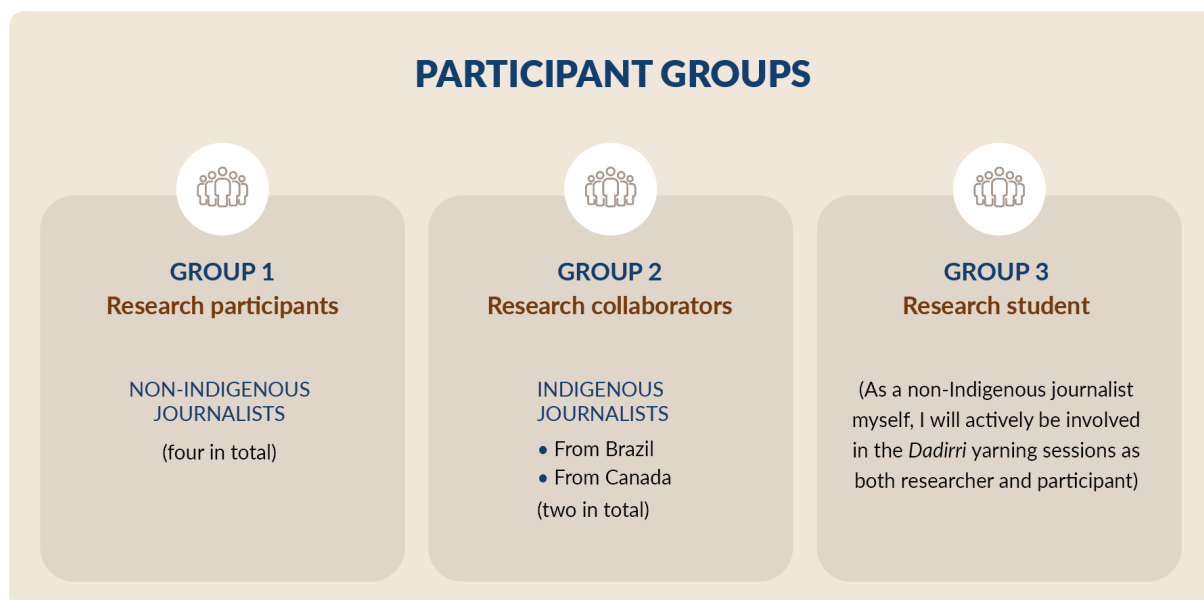
Additionally, this is a project that represents a shift from “I ask ... You answer” to “We explore” (Wadsworth, 2001, p.78). As a researcher, I refused to position myself as “the subject observing an object”; instead, I was part of “a community of subjects reflecting on themselves and their experiences” (Gonzales 2007, p.78).

Through the combination of Indigenous research methods (*Dadirri* and *yarning*) and western research methods (semi-structured interviews), this project was designed as a way of working together to make things better (Frazer et al., 2003). Most importantly, this research study drew on lived experience and knowledge to develop sensitive and ethical ways of discomforting (and decolonising) understandings.

4.9.1 – Participant groups

The total sample size for the project is 6 participants. Specifically, this sample size comprises the following samples from each participant group, as indicated in Figure 4.

Figure 4 Participants Groups diagram



This sample size was chosen to meet the research aims and answer the research questions. This study is not designed to generalise broad populations such as Indigenous Peoples or Indigenous or non-Indigenous journalists, but rather gain an in-depth understanding

of the topic, even if a proposedly ‘tip of the iceberg’ kind of understanding from deep engagement with critical stakeholders.

A sample of this size intends to allow a sufficiently multicultural representation of perspectives on the topic rather than an experience that involves more participants, but less time and attention are given to each one of the participants.

4.9.1.1 – Recruitment of participants

Participants for this project were identified through purposive sampling, seeking assistance from a) relevant organisations and b) individuals with access to the target participant group who can recruit participants on the researcher’s behalf. Strategies that were used included:

- seeking guidance from Indigenous journalists who are mainly colleagues of the researcher, who will act as the ‘gatekeeper’ for the Indigenous participants via the SBS – Special Broadcasting Service and other journalism organisations in Australia, Brazil, and Canada;
- seeking support and guidance from the supervisory team, their journalism networks, and the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Advisory Group;
- seeking assistance to access the contact details of Indigenous and non-Indigenous journalists working with Indigenous Peoples, directly from journalism organisations and journalists, in Australia, Brazil, and USA.

Initial contact was made with potential participants by requesting a meeting online through Zoom to introduce the research project and identify the potential interest of the prospective participant. Journalists (Indigenous and non-Indigenous) interested in participating in this study were then directly contacted via email with a recruitment invitation to participate in the research and asking them to circulate a recruitment invitation to other potential participants from their network on the research team’s behalf. This initial contact did not involve any coercion or pressure to participate.

In the absence of a response to the initial contact, reminder/follow-up contact with potential participants was undertaken by email - two reminders were provided to all potential

participants. The recruitment letters included a copy of the Participant Information Statement and Consent Form (PISCF) for respective participant groups to sign and return to the researcher.

Participants were also recruited via snowball sampling to attain a sufficient sample size for the study (Johnson & Christensen, 2014). Current participants were asked whether they knew any other individuals who would meet the criteria for the study. The recruitment materials were provided to participants, who then decided they wanted to participate in the study. The recruitment process was random selection to avoid selection bias in recruiting non-Indigenous educators. No screening process was required to determine whether a participant was eligible to participate in the study, as the inclusion and exclusion criteria allowed participants to assess their eligibility to participate.

Potential participants were able to indicate their interest in participating by contacting me, as the researcher, and Chief Investigator, Dr Carla Rodrigues Cardoso, using the contact details available on the recruitment invitation - this was because this study was designed to be an open dialogue between journalists and the research team, and between non-Indigenous and Indigenous Peoples in a culturally and emotionally safe environment.

Once a potential participant indicated their interest in the study, the researcher undertook the consent process and scheduled/organised the data collection process.

Inclusion criteria for the research participants varied according to the participant group, as outlined below in Table 2:

Table 2 Inclusion & Exclusion Criteria diagram

Inclusion criteria table		
	Inclusion criteria:	Exclusion criteria:
Non-Indigenous journalists	• Ongoing journalists at the time of the data collection • Or at least 6 months of journalism experience, and reporting on Indigenous Peoples	Indigenous background (worldwide)

Indigenous journalists	• Ongoing journalists at the time of the data collection • At least 6 months of experience in current position • First Nations Peoples	Non-Indigenous background

Further detailed information about the research participants and their characteristics and recruitment, as well as the agreements between them and me (as the researcher) on identity confidentiality, data management, and give-back for their time and knowledge, will be provided in the next chapter of the thesis. This will facilitate the contextualization of the *Dadirri* yarning sessions, where the data collection will be conducted, and will also help to interpret the research data findings.

4.9.2 – *Dadirri* yarning sessions/unstructured interviews: method and protocol

Yarning is the most appropriate method of engagement with Indigenous Peoples, as they permit the fostering of a level of trust and reciprocity in a relaxed manner (Gorman & Toombs, 2009; Bessarab & Ng'andu, 2010; Walter et al., 2014; Lambert, 2011; Geia et al., 2013; Leeson et al., 2016; Wain et al., 2016; Doyle et al., 2017; Ober 2017). Yarning is a conversation method used by Indigenous Peoples, that is a culturally appropriate data collection technique, and that has been used in research with Indigenous populations worldwide, including Botswana (Bessarab & Ng'andu, 2010), Canada (Lavallée et al., 2009) and North (Kovach, 2010), Central (Iseke, 2013), South (Summers, 2013) and Latin America (Caxaj, 2015).

Yarning usually entails talking in sharing circles. In the case of this study, the yarning was conducted individually for confidentiality purposes (the study is framed on the Pedagogy of Discomfort, and participants need privacy and discretion in the process of interview) and logistical limitations as we collected data from different Indigenous Peoples in other places of the world that speak other languages.

While yarning circle (as a group) protocols are similar for Indigenous Peoples worldwide, they can still vary according to the specific characteristics of each culture. For this

research project, the following '*Dadirri* One-on-one Yarning Guide' was adapted from the one developed by Janine Dunleavy (2019) at Southern Cross University, Australia:

1. Researcher and research participant/collaborator respect each other's views;
2. No voice is of greater importance than another;
3. The researcher and research participant/collaborator speak from their strengths;
4. Participants of the yarning talk in turn, without interrupting each other and respecting each other's silence moments;
5. In a collaborative way and trust-building effort, the research participant/collaborator can also question the researcher;
6. Sometimes research participants/collaborators may wish to pass their turn, and the researcher needs to respect their right not to respond to a specific question;
7. Confidentiality is key – what is said in the yarning stays in the yarning. Meaning that 'off the record' material is not included in the research data collection if requested by the research participant/collaborator. The researcher expects the same confidentiality protocol from the research participant/collaborator;
8. Data collected from this yarning was de-identified (when previously agreed by both researcher and the research participant/collaborator) and used for research purposes that are shared;
9. Culturally restricted information may arise from this yarning and must be respected;
10. The duration of the yarning is unpredictable, and it only depends on the research participant/collaborator's availability.

Indigenous Peoples' principal method of communication is grounded in oral traditions, with cultural knowledge, including history and social values, mostly passed on orally through the generations. Yarning, as a research method, not only allows for reciprocal relationships between participant and researcher that can elicit in-depth information on the research question/s (Smith et al., 2020) but can also be utilised as a research method for Aboriginal and

Torres Strait Islander Peoples living in urban, rural, and remote communities (Lambert, 2011; Braun et al., (2014). Geia et al. (2013) reinforce the cultural significance of yarning as a research method, and methodological research practice is “a very practical way to ‘close the gap’ on an individual level between the researcher and participant” (p. 14).

Given its fluidity and focus on relationships, yarning demands researcher reciprocity, making it impossible for the researcher, as an objective observer, to sit outside of the data (Leeson et al., 2016; Smith et al., 2020). Furthermore, using yarning (in circles or, in the case of this PhD study, one-on-one yarning) assists in decolonising, repositioning, and supporting Indigenous knowledges and research methods (Fredericks et al., 2011). In addition, this method provides the opportunity to prioritise Indigenous ontologies, epistemologies, and axiologies in the research process (Leeson et al., 2016).

Bessarab & Ng’andu (2010, pp. 40-41) identify four types of yarning: social, collaborative, research topic, and therapeutic. Social yarning is an informal, unstructured conversation in which trust usually develops, and the researcher is accountable to the participant; Collaborative yarning can involve sharing similar ideas, as well as sharing research findings that can lead to discoveries and understandings; Research Topic yarning occurs in un/semi-structured interviews to gather information usually relating to the research question; finally, the Therapeutic yarning occurs when the participant discloses traumatic, intensely personal or emotional information where the researcher’s role is to listen empathically - this can empower and support the participant to re-think their understanding of their experience in new and different ways (Bessarab & Ng’andu, 2010). In the context of this research study, social and research topic yarning are the most relevant, as data that refers to the project research questions needs to be gathered, and the yarning included people (researcher and the research participants/collaborators) who did not know each other and needed to be appropriately introduced and socialised before the sessions start.

Further detailed information about the study’s *Dadirri* yarning sessions will be provided in the next chapter of this thesis to facilitate the interpretation of the research data findings.

4.9.2.1 – Yarning method – limitations and other considerations

One of the principles defined by AIATSIS (2020) states that researchers need to recognise that Indigenous individuals or communities may have more pressing priorities that

may influence the research time frames. Wain et al. (2016) also found that it may be necessary for researchers to accommodate potential delays; specifically, the research timetable needs to include time for acknowledgements of the country to open ceremonies, informal introductions between the researcher and the research participant/collaborator, and other matters that are part of the yarning protocol.

Therefore, a fundamental limitation of yarning is the amount of time and involvement needed. Indeed, both Bessarab & Ng'andu (2010) and Wain et al. (2016) describe how using yarning required more time for the research process. Data collection and transcription from recordings can also be more extensive, as the Indigenous Peoples' discourse usually contains dense cultural metaphors that need to be unpacked with sufficient time (Smith et al., 2020).

Another factor that may impact the research process that must be considered is gender issues. Bessarab & Ng'andu (2010) found that gender is an issue that can emerge during the yarning, which can place the researcher in a challenging situation. This research study avoided gender issues by conducting each session individually. Also, situations, where sensitive 'women businesses' or 'men business' topics may have occurred in the conversation, were avoided too. Moreover, the focus of the study was never on sacred knowledge - an area the researcher knows is too sensitive and not to explore unless the research participant/collaborator chose to bring the matter to the yarning session, which is very unlikely to happen, mainly because, in this case, the researcher is a non-Indigenous person.

4.9.2.2 – Yarning and cultural safeness

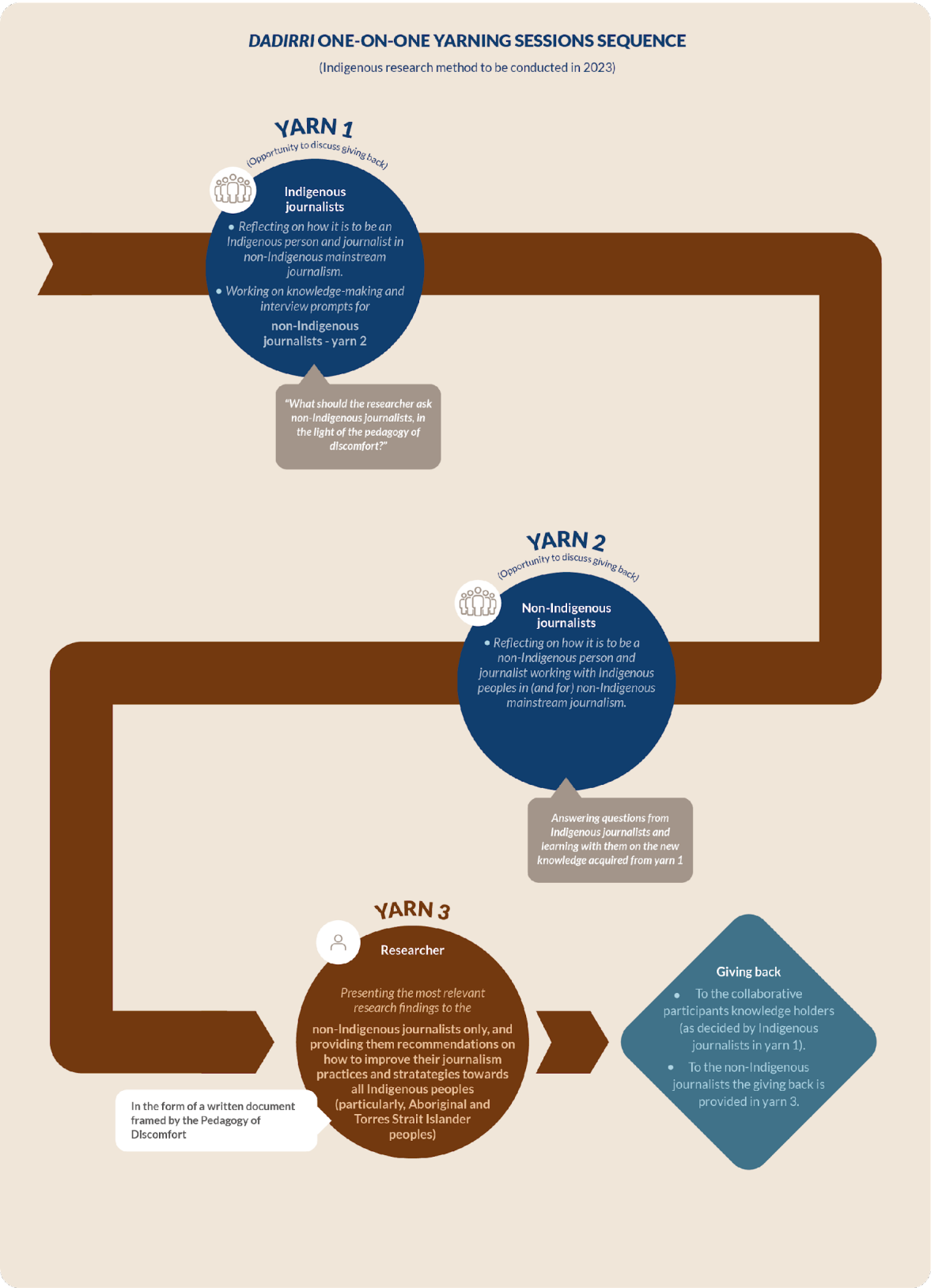
Ensuring the research was conducted in a culturally safe way for all participants was always crucial. Therefore, Indigenous voices were preferred, avoiding any power imbalance to occur. Ensuring this, non-Indigenous participants and Indigenous research collaborators did not share the same yarning. Each yarning was a one-on-one experience between the researcher and the research participant/collaborator instead of the traditional yarning circle conducted as a group.

As a non-Indigenous person conducting a yarning session, the researcher also had to create a controlled and safe environment for all (herself included), where the researcher could ensure the yarning protocol was followed and respected and where everyone felt safe and comfortable enough to share and participate openly (Wepa, 2006; Taylor & Guerrin, 2010; Heckenberg, 2016).

As mentioned, all participants in the yarning received the yarning protocol before each one-on-one session was conducted, so they were always fully aware of the values and rules of this method. The yarning commenced with social yarning to ensure cultural protocols were adhered to. Before beginning, the researcher sent the research collaborators and participants literature on *Dadirri*, both as a cultural concept and research methodology, so that everyone could learn more about *Dadirri* before data collection.

A visualisation of the set of one-on-one yarning conducted is depicted in Figure 5:

Figure 5 Dadirri One-on-one Yarning Sessions Sequence diagram



4.10 – Data Analysis Approach

This study includes the Thematic Narrative Analysis to interrogate and analyse the stories of Indigenous and non-Indigenous journalists working with Indigenous Peoples and reporting on Indigenous Peoples issues.

As Riessman (2008a) points out, Thematic Narrative Analysis only appears straightforward and intuitive. The analysis of the narratives is organised, focused, and detailed while retaining a sense of the ‘whole’ story. However, some focus on the ‘telling’ of the story – an attendance to sequencing, specific language, pauses and emotion (particularly relevant in the case of the non-Indigenous journalists to whom I proposedly will put the questions in a more personal, even invasive, and repetitive way, as to allow extra layers of detail and depth expected from the exploration of the Theory of Discomfort – which strengths the analysis of each case.

A Thematic Narrative Analysis approach is appropriate to this kind of data; “it can generate studies of individuals and groups, and typologies” (Riessman, 2008a, p.74). Combining approaches in a way that makes sense of what the researcher wants to elicit from the data means that I have, in this study, carefully examined the themes of the journalists’ stories and how the stories were told.

The pauses, silences, points of rupture, affect, language, metaphors, and cultural protocol, among other aspects, enabled the whole story to be explored. However, the focus is on content and themes within each journalist’s narrative rather than a detailed discourse analysis. Narrative research provides rich, complex, and nuanced data that is difficult to analyse. When thinking about the types of analysis that are most useful, one needs to think about what we want to extract from the information that has been collected and how it will be utilised.

In this study, the main intention is to identify common elements shared by non-Indigenous and Indigenous research participants and their reported feelings, events and actions and use this data to theorise across cases, which is an established tradition in qualitative research (Riessman, 2008a). Other qualitative approaches, such as remarkably grounded theory, are similar in several ways. Thematic Narrative Analysis is most often confused with grounded theory. However, there are significant methodological differences (Riessman, 2008a). In

grounded theory, prior concepts have no place in the analytic process; segments of data are taken apart and named, and little attention is given to sequencing. The main "objective is to generalise inductively a set of stable concepts that can be used to theorise across cases" (Riessman, 2008a, p.74).

Conversely, prior theory and research guide the inquiry process in Thematic Narrative Analysis. In this study, for example, the literature (especially the 'black' literature) on journalism that includes reporting on First Nations Peoples is examined for issues that influence a journalist's (particularly a non-Indigenous journalist reporting on Indigenous Peoples and/or working with Indigenous in the same newsroom) experience. These include self-reflection on one's journalistic strategies and practices, cultural/personal/professional discomfort, cultural knowledge of 'self' and the 'other', cultural and geographical distance, cultural concept of time and its impact on one's journalist strategies and practices, the concept of trust and how it means in one's and other's culture both on a personal and professional contexts, racism in mainstream 'white' Media, and Cultural Competence (or lack of it) in non-Indigenous journalism worldwide, particularly in countries with First Nations Peoples, and others.

Most importantly, Thematic Narrative Analysis preserves the sequencing, keeping the story intact while interpreting it. Riessman (2008a) notes that Narrative Analysis seeks to maintain the "wealth of detail contained in long sequences" (p.74). In this study, Thematic Narrative Analysis will be used to help preserve the sense of the 'whole story' of the journalists, particularly the non-Indigenous journalists, as they are the primary research focus of this study. One of the proposed outcomes of this study is to provide information that will be useful to help non-Indigenous journalists increase their Cultural Competence and, therefore, improve their overall work on reporting Indigenous communities. This may require comparing, for example, the different strategies and practices used by non-Indigenous journalists to approach the Indigenous communities to ask for permission for an interview.

Riessman argues that even though Thematic Narrative Analysis is fundamentally case-centred, there is scope to develop a typology of strategies used (Riessman, 2007). While these journalists' stories are examples set in specific contexts of space and time (non-Indigenous journalists' stories are from the past and current time and happen in different countries with First Nations, respectively Australia and Brazil; Indigenous journalists' stories are from the past and present time and happen in Brazil and Canada amongst diverse Indigenous cultures and

languages) we may expect to get a sense that they are not idiosyncratic; instead, they may illustrate more general and widespread concerns (Hatchell & Aveling, 2008).

Riessman (2008a, 2008b) notes that research varies in the extent to which it attends to context, audience, reflexivity, and the researcher's role in constructing the narratives that are subsequently analysed. Attention will be paid in the subsequent analyses to situating the narratives in the relevant context of time and place, both for the research (21st century, western academic structures in Australia and Portugal, in a time where First Nations Peoples are demanding a decolonisation of both journalism and Academia) and for the non-Indigenous and Indigenous journalists in terms of their cultural background, place where they work and their approximate age (as their actual age needs to stay confidential) at the time of the interview/*Dadirri* yarning session. I will also pay attention to the idea of the audience – for example, to whom are the knowledge holders/research collaborators (Indigenous journalists) talking when they tell their story? In this group's *Dadirri* yarning sessions, the Indigenous journalists specifically will refer to information they want the non-Indigenous journalists to know because part of their narrative, in the context of this data collection event, is intended to criticise them and their work positively and, secondly, to advise them on better journalistic strategies and practices. Most importantly, this research study creates the time and space for Indigenous journalists to share their opinions and feelings on the areas they think non-Indigenous journalists should improve. But the opposite also happened – the non-Indigenous journalists are expected to use the time and space to share emotions, personal difficulties, areas they acknowledged have room for improvement, and institutional obstacles they face that they wanted Indigenous journalists to hear and understand from their perspective. My main goal with this research study is to establish this 'dialogue' between both groups. So, the audience in these instances is beyond me, as the researcher (even though I am also a journalist and consider myself simultaneously a researcher and research participant), to all journalists more generally.

Chapter 5 – Data Collection, Findings and Discussion

5.1 – Introduction

This chapter begins by presenting the research findings, including the data collection process I utilised, how I applied the Thematic Narrative Analysis method to organise the data collected, and how I further worked on interpreting the research results. Also, further detailed information about recruiting Indigenous knowledge holders/research collaborators and non-Indigenous research participants for the study will be presented (as a complement to what was already mentioned in the previous chapter of the thesis) to help elaborate more in-depth on the data collection process and on how specific details reflected on the research results. The last part of this section is the debate of the research findings and the discussion on how the research questions were addressed, showing how I applied the Pedagogy of Discomfort throughout the data collection process and why my contribution is innovative and relevant to the literature.

The second part of this chapter introduces this study's implications for practice and offers a take-home message for non-Indigenous journalists who come across this PhD thesis. This take-home message is presented in the form of two new 'tools' - the 'Journalism Continuum of Cultural Competence' and a 'Checklist of Strategies and Practices for Culturally Competent journalism involving Indigenous Peoples' - that are meant to support these journalists to firstly, identify where they are in the Cultural Competence continuum, secondly, to increase their Cultural Competence in action when they are reporting on First Nation Peoples and their affairs.

This chapter's final part is dedicated to this study's limitations and how these limitations were addressed and transformed into 'opportunities'. I also used this part of the chapter to introduce relevant considerations on, for example, ethics to conduct research on, with and for vulnerable communities, particularly the First Nations Peoples.

5.2 – Data Collection

5.2.1 – Data collection Process

The data collection process used qualitative interpretive research that utilises the Indigenous research methodology of *Dadirri* in conjunction with semi-structured interviewing inspired by the traditional Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Yarning Circles' process and protocol (see Chapter 4 of this thesis). Essentially, this study is a Participatory Action Research (PAR) project, where I worked with two different research groups – the research participants (non-Indigenous journalists) and the knowledge holders/research collaborators of the study (Indigenous journalists). The knowledge holders/research collaborators guided me directly on refining the research recommendations to the non-Indigenous journalists working with First Nations Peoples and reporting on their matters. This project draws on lived experience and knowledge to develop sensitive and ethical ways of discomforting (and decolonising) understandings through the combination of Indigenous and western research methods, as explained in depth in this thesis's Methodology and Research Design Chapter.

Indigenous and non-Indigenous journalists who participated in this study were invited to discuss questions related to their work experience and emotions in journalism involving work with Indigenous Peoples. Both in the case of the research participants group and the knowledge holders/research collaborators group, the yarning sessions occurred individually and following the *Dadirri* yarning circle protocol, utilizing open-ended, semi-structured interview questions to prompt conversation where participant and researcher co-create knowledge. The symbiotic relationship between the Indigenous epistemology, method, and interpretation qualifies this interview style as an Indigenous methodology (Kovach, 2009).

Congruent with yarning epistemology, relational accountability, and respect for local protocol, this method involved an agreed form of giving back to participants to show acknowledgement of the relationship and respect for the insights being offered. This signified a commitment by the researcher that the research will be used purposefully (Kovach, 2009). Therefore, these individual sessions were conducted in the safest cultural and professional environment possible, with the identity protection and confidentiality of everyone involved always in mind. Before the *Dadirri* yarning, all participants received literature on *Dadirri* and

the *Yarning* protocol to be informed before participating in the session. As the researcher, I went through the protocol again on the day of the data collection session.

In the case of the knowledge holders/research collaborators group (Indigenous journalists), they were asked to discuss questions related to their opinion and their emotions, expectations and needs regarding the non-Indigenous journalists' work when reporting on First Nations issues. These interviews were conducted, as mentioned above, in the safest cultural environment possible, and participants were ensured that, although I am a non-Indigenous person, I would do whatever I could to overcome my Cultural Competence limitations and humbly and respectfully analyse the data collection process as part of my decolonising process.

In the case of the research participants (non-Indigenous journalists), who are the focus of this research study, they were invited to discuss questions related to their work experience (barriers and opportunities to develop appropriate strategies and practices) and emotions in journalism involving work with Indigenous Peoples. The individual sessions of this group were equally conducted in the safest cultural and professional environment possible, with the identity protection and confidentiality of everyone involved always in mind. I went through the *Dadirri* yarning protocol again on the day of the data collection session. I reinforced that the data collection would be framed by the Theory of Discomfort, which is particularly relevant to these research participants as they are expected to use this thesis's insights to better transform their journalistic strategies and practices. For that, they agreed to go through a certain level of discomfort with how I put the questions and lead the conversation.

All *Dadirri* yarning sessions happened online through Zoom and WhatsApp, depending on the preferred digital platform for each participant. Each *Dadirri* yarning circle session had its dynamic, not only in the way the conversation flowed but also in its variation in time. All *Dadirri* yarning sessions were recorded via video, audio, and handwritten notes. All participants consented to be videoed and audio recorded during the session. Data was converted into an electronic format. Participants were questioned if they wanted this electronic data to be shared with them for collaboration and final verification in the data transcription and analysis process, following the Indigenous *Dadirri* protocol and the non-Indigenous PAR processes. In the end, all participants opted to receive a digital copy of the PhD thesis, which I will send them as soon as it is completed and published online. One of the Indigenous participants chose to receive the audio recording of the yarning immediately after the session was conducted instead

of receiving a copy of the thesis, as this thesis is written in English, a language the participant is unfamiliar with.

This research was never intended to explore or include any sensitive information that may be considered sacred or inappropriate for me to access as a non-Indigenous person/woman/researcher/journalist. So, I tried to be as culturally respectful and as responsible as possible by avoiding specific topics that could potentially re-traumatise or culturally or ritualistically offend any of my Indigenous knowledge holders/research collaborators. I followed the Indigenous knowledge holders/research collaborators' guidance to achieve this. I always asked for advice and approval from Indigenous friends, colleagues, and academics to ensure the most respectful research practice and an extra layer of cultural competency. These friends, colleagues and scholars confirmed their willingness and availability to support this research project before its commencement.

I discussed a form of payment (e.g., design services, research assistance, co-authored publications resulting from this study, or others) for participation in this research project directly with each participant so all of them could have the opportunity to let me know about their interests and expectations. However, according to the traditional rules of European higher education institutions such as Lusófona University, the researcher cannot compensate research participants with a monetary payment. This process of giving back to participants, where the researcher thanks them for the valuable knowledge they contributed to the research and the time they gave towards the study, is part of the research protocol when working with Indigenous Peoples in Australia. Still part of the Indigenous protocol, and despite being gifted a token of appreciation for their time and participation, I reassured the participants that they would never be pressured or expected to give answers they did not feel comfortable sharing. Ultimately, all participants agreed that receiving a digital version of this PhD thesis and possible future co-authored academic papers and/or digital copies of future study presentations (in English or translated) was the giving back they preferred. I intend to follow the agreement respectfully.

Before data collection, I also ensure all participants that the information we shared during the *Dadirri* yarning sessions and the communication we exchanged before and after the sessions through phone calls, emails, and WhatsApp texting would be used exclusively to create relevant knowledge to be included in the context of this PhD thesis and future research materials related with this study.

Any information obtained in connection with this research project that can be identified with the participants will remain confidential unless otherwise permitted by them in the future or as required by law. The procedures for ensuring the confidentiality of participants' information during the collection phase and the later publication of results are the following:

- As the participants did not permit their names or images to be included in this study, people will not know who they are from reading the thesis or watching the videos from the *Dadirri* yarning if I have them in research presentations for conferences or similar events. If this is the case, I will use blinding strategies to ensure that participants' identity remains anonymous. Furthermore, I will not include the *Dadirri* yarning sessions transcripts in this thesis as appendixes and will exclude all examples of journalistic features, names of people and institutions and events mentioned in the context of our one-on-one conversations that may lead to research participants' and knowledge holders/research collaborators' identity;
- To protect participants confidentiality in the collection of electronic data (including paper recording notes), as well as the audio and video recorded *Dadirri* yarning sessions, individual identifiers were removed from the data using the following method: E.g., Direct (e.g., name, address, photograph) and indirect (e.g., exact date of birth, gender – all participants will be refer as 'they' to ensure gender neutrality, professional institutions) identifiers were removed during the transcription process. All participants' potential identification and identities were protected by assigning respective codes to the data collected, such as 'Indigenous Journalist _1' (IJ_1) or 'Non-Indigenous Journalist_1' (NIJ_1). The master list for the de-identification was stored separately from the de-identified data. As the researcher, I transcribed the audio and video recordings and uploaded them to DropBox and OneDrive for further data analysis;
- Data may be used for future research purposes or shared with other researchers or members of non-Indigenous or First Nations communities or non-Indigenous or First Nations organizations. All data will be de-identified before sharing to ensure that participants' identity remains anonymous (using the process mentioned above); I will ask others who wish to access the data for a copy of their ethics

approval (in the case of this happens under the Australian research with First Nations Peoples policies, for example) to do so before the data is shared for secondary research purposes (I will also try to consult my former Indigenous Advisory Group in the process of transferring data with others for secondary research purposes);

- I will maintain a copy of other researchers' ethics approval for my records as the researcher; finally, I will transfer the data to other researchers by sharing a link to a secure OneDrive or DropBox folders;
- Furthermore, the research data will always be stored in an online secure location; only the researcher, the PhD supervisor, and the participants involved in the study will have access to transcription confidential information.

All participants were informed that as a PhD student, I would own the copyright of the material produced during my research study. However, non-Indigenous and Indigenous journalists who are part of this research will be recognised for their invaluable contribution to this study in a particular area of this thesis dedicated to the acknowledgements. Most importantly, the former Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Advisory Group will also be acknowledged for their invaluable support, knowledge sharing, and time dedicated to my project in its early stages. Finally, participants were ensured that, in the future, I intend to publish co-authored material on this PhD journey with everyone in this research journey who is interested in it, as another way of giving back to everyone's contributions and as a way of closing this Participatory Action Research (PAR) cycle collaboratively.

- The research team did not anticipate any harm experienced by Indigenous or non-Indigenous peoples, even though the non-Indigenous participants went through an agreed process of discomfort in the context of the conducted one-on-one yarns of this study. However, because I (as the researcher) live and work in the lands of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples and feel the responsibility and ethical obligation of following the Australian research ethics rules when collecting data with Australian First Nations Peoples, I adopted the following process to anticipate or minimise any level of harm:

- To minimise the possibility of psychological harm to participants, sensitive or triggering topics related to their personal experiences were monitored under strict values and protocol of *Dadirri*: a) practice of deep listening; b) silent moments highly respected; c) discourse interruptions were avoided; d) respect for other's ideas and feelings were taken into consideration at all times; e) time for several breaks during the session were provided when needed;
- To minimise anxiety related to a sense of obligation to provide answers, I reassured participants that their refusal to answer any questions or their withdrawal of participation from the study would not have any negative repercussions;
- To minimise feelings of anger, fear, or any development of defensive or attack psychological mechanisms towards any participant of the study (especially in future presentations of the study to a broader audience shared by non-Indigenous and Indigenous Peoples), I will open each the session with a friendly reminder of anticipated discomfort to those more susceptible in the audience. During these sessions, I will diligently ensured that all follow common-sense rules of respect within a 'dialogue' of this nature. The session will would have been terminated if any disrespectful act or situation happened.

In the end, no participants were shown to have experienced distress because of participation in this study (except the natural discomfort purposely applied with the Theory of Discomfort used in the case of the non-Indigenous journalists *Dadirri* yarns). Still, they were informed ahead of the data collection sessions that they could contact me directly. I would arrange for access to support and counselling services through the Australian Counselling and Psychological Services available for all participants. Also, all participants were provided with my contacts (phone number and email address) and my PhD supervisor's email address in case they need to make any complaints at any stage of the data collection process. No complaints or any other distress issues resulted from this data collection process.

This data collection process involved six sessions of on-on-one *Dadirri* yarning in total, and each one took from 1 hour 10 minutes to 2 hours and 20 minutes in duration. All *Dadirri* yarning sessions started consistently the same way to ensure the Indigenous protocols were respectfully followed: sessions began with a welcome statement followed by

the acknowledgment of the country and the description of the research study as a friendly reminder but also to learn if the participants still had questions before the session started; the *Dadirri* yarning rules and guidelines were then reminded one last time before the session beginnings; then, the first question was introduced which ended up being a different one for each *Dadirri* yarning session depending on the story of the participant and the way they started the yarn and then led the conversation – each session flowed distinctively. However, the primary data collection questions were all included but with different words and order of entrance (see a sample of the yarn questions in Annexes 7 and 8).

All sessions were conducted with each participant individually to ensure personal, cultural, and professional safeness and confidentiality, but also to allow better communication between researcher and participant, as people from different parts of the world (Australia, Canada, and Brazil) and languages (Portuguese from Brazil and English) were interviewed. All information for this study was collected between October and November 2023 through online digital platforms – Zoom (data collection from knowledge holders/research collaborators and research participants living in Australia and Canada) and WhatsApp (data collection from knowledge holders/research collaborators and research participants living in Brazil).

All Indigenous knowledge holders/research collaborators and non-Indigenous research participants were recruited as previously described in the Methodology and Research Design Chapter of this thesis, and all aligned with the inclusion criteria of being ongoing journalists at the time of the data collection with at least six months of experience in current position. The non-Indigenous participants who are not currently full-time journalists have extensive experience in the position and are currently working with Indigenous journalists as colleagues and/or in Academia, teaching and researching Communication, Journalism and Media Studies mainly related to First Nations Peoples. Also, the non-Indigenous journalists participating in this study all have sufficient (from low to high) experience reporting on First Nations issues and/or teaching Indigenous Communication and Journalism students in higher education and/or journalism professional training. The two First Nations journalists who participated as knowledge holders/research collaborators represented diverse Indigenous Peoples and are both current journalists, being one of them also a current master's degree student.

The Indigenous journalist - IJ_1 - identifies as an Ojibwe (also Ojibwa and Ojibway) person from Canada. The Ojibwe people are part of a larger cultural and ethnic group known

as the Anishinaabeg, including the Chippewa and Saulteaux Peoples. The second Indigenous journalist - IJ_2 - identifies as a member of the Wapichana people from Roraima, Cachoeira, in the Amazon, Brazil. Cachoeira is a remote area deep in the Amazonian Forest divided into nine small communities. IJ_2 is originally from one of these communities called Urupu.

The non-Indigenous journalists that act as research participants in this study were four and are identified here as, respectively, NIJ_1 (originally from Czech Republic, former Czechoslovakia, living and working in Sydney, Australia), NIJ_2 (originally from Brazil, living and working in Melbourne, Australia), NIJ_3 (originally from Brazil, working and living in Londrina, Brazil) and NIJ_4 (originally from Brazil, working and living in São Paulo, Brazil). See Table of Indigenous and Non-Indigenous Journalists' details below for further information.

Table 3 Table of Indigenous and Non-Indigenous Journalists' details

Indigenous and Non-Indigenous journalists' details						
Research Collaborators/ Knowledge Holders	Age	Education in Journalism	Country of Birth/ Indigenous People	Years in Journalism	Country of Work/ Indigenous Lands	Experience Reporting Indigenous Issues in Non-Indigenous Mainstream Journalism
IJ-1	30-40	Bachelor	Canada/ Ojibwe	15	Canada/ Ojibwe	High
IJ-2	20-30	Master	Brazil/ Wapichona	5	Brazil/ Wapichona people	Low
Research Participants	Age	Education in Journalism	Country of Birth	Years in Journalism	Country of Work/ Indigenous Lands	Experience Reporting on Indigenous Issues
NIJ-1	30-40	Master	Czech Republic	15	Australia/ Eora Nation	Medium
NIJ-2	50-60	PhD	Brazil	34	Australia/ Kulin Nation	Low
NIJ-3	50-60	PhD	Brazil	31	Brazil/	Medium

					Tupi Guarani	
NIJ-4	30-40	Master	Brazil	15	Amazonia Brazil/ Across several Indigenous languages	High

Several informative materials, all in two different versions (for Indigenous and non-Indigenous participants, separately), were designed and produced digitally to support the yarns and ensure that the research intentions and positionality, research design, methodology, theoretical frame and both ethics and consent process were shared and discussed with and approved by all participants prior data *collection*. The Information Statement for the Research Project flyers (distinct versions for Indigenous and non-Indigenous participants); Participant Information Sheet and Informed Consent Forms (PISICF) (again, in two versions - Indigenous and non-Indigenous); one PDF document with information on *Dadirri* Yarning Circle Protocol; and one PDF document with details on *Dadirri* as Aboriginal cultural and spiritual concept (see Annexes 5, 6, 4, 3 and 2 respectively) were sent to all participants prior the one-on-one *Dadirri* yarning sessions. All materials were provided in English, but each was explained in-depth in Portuguese to the participants that have Portuguese as their first language.

5.2.2 – Interviews/*Dadirri* yarning sessions process

The semi-structured, conversational, not limited in time length *Dadirri* yarns allowed the journalists' stories to unfold in their own words, with little prompting from me (as the researcher) and, most importantly, with their emphases, pauses and inflections as well as content. How the participant conveys information can be as important as what is said (Riessman, 2008a). At appropriate times, I would ask questions to elicit elaboration on critical points. I made notes during the interviews; however, there were usually prompts to remind me of a point they made to which I wanted to return. I tried not to interrupt the flow of the story for a point made in passing but would follow this up later in the *Dadirri* yarning session.

The six journalists (two Indigenous and four non-Indigenous) were asked a set of unstructured questions (see Annexes 7 and 8). The aim of asking four main questions designed to elicit narratives of their journey is to allow the journalists to express their stories – the issues, events, feelings, and examples that they consider as most relevant – in their own words and

with their emphases and structure. While I was disciplined in asking minimal questions – rarely adding my own comments but doing it punctually as part of the *Dadirri* yarning protocol of everyone's shared lived experiences to build relationship and trust – the non-verbal cues and the interviewee knowing that I was also a non-Indigenous journalist living and working on Indigenous lands and reporting on their matters established a particular context for the interview. For example, there was a bit of openly shared discomfort in a few yarns with non-Indigenous journalists and genuine humility in all of yarns with Indigenous journalists. One interpretation is that many of these shared emotions (not as many ideas or personal opinions) come from mutual understanding and experience of issues and events between the researcher and research participant.

There are several points where I repeated what the participant was saying or rephrased it to elicit further information. Occasionally, I asked a question to further follow up on an issue or probe more deeply. I tried to do this unobtrusively – to elicit further information but not interrupt the flow of the story.

Following Riessman's (2008a) criticism that the researcher's role in constructing the narratives which are subsequently analysed is often obscure, I detail below, and in Appendix X, the specific steps taken in the interview process, transcription and subsequent "cleaning up" of the transcripts. As noted earlier in this chapter, this is not a detailed discourse analysis; therefore, some 'cleaning up' of the text was undertaken. This attention to detail will help the reader better understand both the data being analysed and my role in the construction of the narratives and the following analyses.

5.2.3 – Data management -Transcripts Process

The first transcript was verbatim, including all utterances by the participants and me as the researcher. Most of these were non-lexical utterances such as "uh huh", "mmm", "yeah", etc., to encourage the participants to continue with their story and indicate that the listener was following what they were saying (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992). Places where the research participant sighed or paused were also noted. Narrative analysis involves immersion in the transcripts. I considered that this would be aided by undertaking the transcript myself, mainly because the stories were told in two languages - English and Portuguese. I felt like listening and understanding each sound, word, and phrase. Thus, I undertook all transcription of

the *Dadirri* yarning sessions. Although a lengthy process, this enabled me to understand the journalists' stories and how they were told more in depth.

Consequently, this method of verbatim transcription also resulted in lengthy transcripts. The initial transcript was sent back to two participants for verification so they could correct mistakes such as names of places and things of that nature. None of them asked for anything to be removed or amended from the transcript's content. In this stage of the transcript management process, I removed all possible identifying information for confidentiality, such as the names of the participants, the journalistic institutions, and academic universities with which they were affiliated, some examples of features they worked on and places and events that, directly or indirectly, can identify them. Also, and most importantly, the initial section of the *Dadirri* yarning session was removed from all transcripts, as part of the Indigenous yarning protocol is to start the session with a detailed presentation of everyone's cultural, personal, academic, and professional context, not only to establish a relation but also to do the Indigenous 'acknowledgment of country' and, finally, to 'break the ice' and finally start the conversation.

A revised transcript was then developed from the first version, including the ones reviewed by the two participants mentioned above. In the second version, I removed many of my non-verbal or simple affirmative utterances such as "yeah", "uh huh", "mmm", etc., as these did not add anything to the story being told. Where I made a comment or statement or asked a question, this remained in the revised transcript, as it is part of the co-construction of the interview/yarn. Again, I looked for and deleted the remaining identifying information and created a pseudonym for each participant, as explained before in previous section of this chapter. When a person was referred to by name in the participants' story, I also removed the name and inserted [XPTO] in its place. The text was left in blocks relating to the event or theme about which they were talking unless there was a significant pause – and pauses happen, especially in the non-Indigenous *Dadirri* yarns where the Theory of Discomfort was applied (through several questions designed to lead participants to deeper self-reflection) or topics that made the participants hesitate for some reason, take more time to respond to gain more time to think, or even to take deep breaths while remembering certain moments, people or emotions that were not positive before and still were not easy to manage in the day of the yarn. The sequence of the conversation was preserved.

Each block of text from each transcript's final version was then thematically analysed, individually per participant, and in a second stage of the process, comparatively between

Indigenous and non-Indigenous journalists. In the visual presentation of the results stage, and for a quick and more accurate representation, the data was shown not as blocks of text but rather as the collective number of characters (no spaces) of each one of the blocks of text. The number of characters was found using Microsoft Word's Word Count tool for each thematical text block. This process gave me sufficient quantitative information to support my qualitative findings - see *Dadirri* yarning sessions' transcripts total calculations below in Table 4. This table's information will be explored in detail further ahead in this chapter of the thesis.

It is important to note that what I refer to as the '100% of the text of the transcript thematically analysed for this research study' does not represent the whole text in the original version of the transcripts' – meaning that I isolated the text to be analysed and all my statistics refer to it. As briefly mentioned before (see also Table 4 below), the total amount of the transcripts' text blocks that I thematically analysed excludes those related to the *Dadirri* yarning session's cultural protocol and the confidential details, all to ensure identity protection for all participants.

Table 4 Table of *Dadirri* Yarning Sessions' transcripts Total Calculations

		Indigenous			Non-Indigenous				
		II-1	II-2	TOTAL	NIU-1	NIU-2	NIU-3	NIU-4	TOTAL
Self-Reflection	Char	2,110	1,104	3,214	3,235	3,036	1,345	1,608	9,224
	(%)	14.8%	5.1%	9.9%	25.3%	22.9%	7.3%	22.2%	19.4%
Discomfort	Char	5,070	4,584	9,654	2,837	3,737	4,764	249	11,587
	(%)	35.5%	21.2%	28.3%	22.2%	28.2%	26.0%	3.4%	19.9%
Cultural Knowledge	Char	953	630	1,583	1,772	0	272	517	2,561
	(%)	6.7%	2.9%	4.8%	13.8%	0.0%	1.5%	7.2%	5.6%
Distance	Char	0	975	975	351	0	672	85	1,108
	(%)	0.0%	4.5%	2.3%	2.7%	0.0%	3.7%	1.2%	1.9%
Time	Char	0	975	975	1,187	669	1,128	0	2,984
	(%)	0.0%	4.5%	2.3%	9.3%	5.0%	6.1%	0.0%	5.1%
Trust	Char	2,259	1,768	4,027	0	163	2,454	1,376	3,993
	(%)	15.8%	8.2%	12.0%	0.0%	1.2%	13.4%	19.0%	8.4%
Racism	Char	517	2,478	2,995	1,988	1,276	7,177	1,683	12,124
	(%)	3.6%	11.5%	7.5%	15.5%	9.6%	39.1%	23.3%	21.9%
Cultural Competence	Char	3,392	9,120	12,512	1,428	4,389	541	1,710	8,068
	(%)	23.7%	42.2%	32.9%	11.2%	33.1%	2.9%	23.7%	17.7%
TOTAL PER THEME	Char	14,301	21,634	35,935	12,798	13,270	18,353	7,228	51,649
	(%)	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Total character per interview including <i>Dadirri</i> yarning sessions' protocol and confidential details									
	Char	15,752	25,018	40,770	14,203	21,716	44,075	21,534	101,528

As represented in detail in the table below (see Table 5), Two final transcripts resulted from the *Dadirri* yarning sessions with the knowledge holders/research collaborators (Indigenous journalists). IJ_1's and IJ_2's final versions of the transcripts represent 35,935 characters (no spaces) of data thematically analysed. The four final transcripts collected from the non-Indigenous journalists (respectively from NIJ_1's, NIJ_2's, NIJ_3's and NIJ_4's stories) are, in total, 51,649 characters of blocks of text that were analysed in the lens of the eight themes chosen for this study.

Table 5 Table of *Dadirri* yarning sessions' transcripts details

DADIRRI YARNING SESSIONS TRANSCRIPTS' TOTAL CHARACTERS RELATED TO THE ANALYSED THEMES (Excluding all blocks of the transcripts' text related to protocol and confidential details)			
Indigenous Journalists		Non-Indigenous Journalists	
Participants	(n) characters	Participants	(n) characters
IJ-1	14,301	NIJ-1	12,798
IJ-2	21,634	NIJ-2	13,270
	—	NIJ-3	18,353
	—	NIJ-4	7,228
Total (2)	35,935	Total (4)	51,649

5.2.4 – Data analysis - Thematic Narrative Analysis Process

I utilised the Thematic Narrative Analysis method (see Chapter 4 for in-depth detail) to interrogate and analyse the stories of Indigenous and non-Indigenous journalists working with Indigenous Peoples and reporting on Indigenous Peoples issues. The focus was on what content the narratives communicated during the one-on-one *Dadirri* yarning sessions with these journalists, being the sessions conducted with the non-Indigenous journalists framed by the Theory of Discomfort, which allowed a particular reflexive and emotional openness and richness from these research participants.

As my main aim was to interrogate non-Indigenous journalists' Cultural Competence when working on, for and with Indigenous Peoples, eight topics were identified as overarching themes before analysis was undertaken, as follows: self-reflection, Discomfort, cultural awareness, distance, time, trust, racism, Cultural Competence (see in Table 6 below how the themes were coloured to facilitate the analysis process further). These eight themes were collected from the blocks of text from the *Dadirri* yarning sessions transcripts containing words, phrases, opinions, feelings, examples, and metaphors related directly or indirectly to each research overarching topic.

Table 6 Colours Applied to the Analysed Themes

Table of Colours Applied to the Analysed Themes <i>(For blocks of text from the Dadirri yarning sessions transcripts, containing words, phrases, opinions, feelings, examples, and metaphors related directly or indirectly to the specific theme)</i>
Self-reflection
Discomfort
Cultural Knowledge
Distance
Time
Trust
Racism
Cultural Competence

In the process of analysing the data of both research participant groups (Indigenous and non-Indigenous journalists) to understand what barriers and opportunities can influence non-Indigenous journalists' improvement of their strategies and practices towards more culturally aware/competent/safe/responsive and inclusive work when reporting on all peoples, further sub-themes were identified in the narratives of the Indigenous journalists: under-representation, tokenism, extraction, activism, education and pieces of advice. These sub-themes will be explored later in this chapter.

Regarding the Thematic Narrative Analysis process itself, when the second version of each transcript was completed, I read it closely. Some sections of the narratives relating to eight themes of self-reflection, discomfort, cultural awareness, distance, time, trust, racism, and Cultural Competence were apparent during the yarn and/or during the transcription process. Inductive analysis was used, which incorporated immersion in the details and specifics of the data to discover the crucial categories, dimensions, and interrelationships. This first analysis stage resulted in blocks of text from each case related to the eight themes.

The second analysis stage involved deeper immersion in the excerpts or blocks of text relating to each theme. Excerpts were shortened where necessary to exclude unnecessary discussion, repetition, digressions, and examples shared by participants. However, the sequencing of events by the participants was preserved. This second stage also involved noting where the participants returned to a theme within their story. The page numbers for each excerpt were included to show where an excerpt was located within each story and as further verification when a participant returned to their narrative to pick up an earlier point on a theme.

The third stage of analysis involved looking for commonalities and differences. A table was designed for each theme, and each story was listed and classified according to the way each journalist represented the theme in their words.

I investigated these commonalities and differences between all the participants' stories. I then conducted a second layer of analysis to look for commonalities and differences between Indigenous and non-Indigenous journalists about each theme. This second data approach served to establish the 'dialogue' between the two groups as I see this as an opportunity for non-Indigenous journalists to show the systematic barriers they face and need to overcome (personally and institutionally) and the opportunities they are willing to pursue to increase their Cultural Competence and, consequently, possibly improve their strategies and practices when reporting on Indigenous Peoples issues. Regarding the Indigenous journalists, the research intention was to hear their voices on what it is like to be an Indigenous person represented in the non-Indigenous mainstream Media, what it is like to be an Indigenous journalist in the non-Indigenous mainstream newsrooms, and, above all, what advice can an Indigenous journalist give to non-Indigenous journalists so they can do their work on reporting all peoples, particularly, Indigenous Peoples in a more culturally competent and inclusive way.

In the following section, I will present the research findings of the analysed themes, one by one.

5.3 – Findings

In this section, I will start by presenting the research findings related to the eight narrative themes analysed from the data collected from the transcripts I got from recording each participant's narrative in the one-on-one *Dadirri* yarning sessions.

The sequence of the themes analysed will not be randomly presented here. The logic behind the themes sequence has to do with the way I conducted the *Dadirri* yarning sessions and the sequence of the questions throughout the interviews, which are according with the gradual continuum of Cultural Competence: the first set of questions 'invited' the participants to start the session with a self-reflection exercise; As the 'ice was slowly broken' between the participants and I, they were asked questions that somehow caused them discomfort and pushed them to reveal their level of Indigenous cultural knowledge; then more practical and logistical questions related to journalism, newsroom environment and journalistic interview process, came along in the *Dadirri* yarning session, such as distance, time and trust; finally, after participants and me have reach a closer connection and trust have been established, the most uncomfortable questions were brought to the conversation, touching in more complex themes such as racism and Cultural Competence (the two opposite extremes of the continuum of Cultural Competence that goes from Cultural Destructiveness to Cultural Competence/proficiency (see section Implications for Practice and Recommendations, for more information on the continuum of Cultural Competence)).

In every theme, I will start by contextualising and theoretically defining the theme. Then, I will present the findings included in the narratives of each data collection participant who directly or indirectly mentioned the theme in the one-on-one *Dadirri* yarning sessions. I will finish each theme with the respective theme's findings diagram and the results conclusions organised by non-Indigenous and Indigenous journalists' narratives. Also, as mentioned before, I will use 'they/their/them' instead of 'she/her/he/his' for participants' confidentiality purposes.

5.3.1 – Self-reflection theme

Self-reflection can be defined as a temporary phenomenological experience in which the self becomes an object to oneself. According to theorists like Mead and Vygotsky, self-reflection is a defining feature of humans and fundamental to higher mental functions. Central to a socio-cultural perspective is the idea that this distancing from the self and the immediate situation occurs through semiotic mediators (Valsiner, 1998). Naming (i.e., using a semiotic mediator to pick out) an affective experience or a situation distances the individual from that experience or situation. Furthermore, such distance enables the self to learn and act upon the self and the situation.

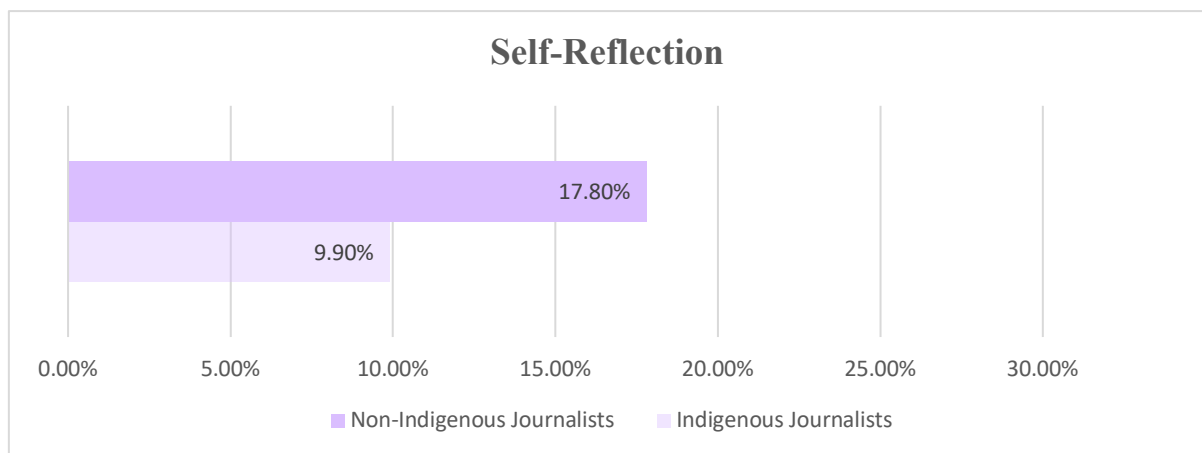
At the level of representation, Bauer and Gaskell (1999) argue that people become aware of social representations at the points at which they overlap or contradict each other. “It is through the contrast of divergent perspectives that we become aware of representations, particularly when the contrast challenges our presumed reality” (Bauer & Gaskell, 1999, p.169). Divergent representations, sustained by different groups and cultures in other domains of practice (including journalism), can come together and clash in the public sphere (Jovchelovitch, 1995). When this occurs, individuals and groups may come to participate in conflicting representations. According to Bauer and Gaskell, this conflict produces awareness of representations. This co-existence of multiple forms of knowledge in society, and consequently, in the individual minds of members of society, becomes then a state of cognitive polyphasia (e.g., Wagner et al., 1999), which can, but does not necessarily lead to self-reflection.

Theoretically, the proximal reasons for self-reflection are diverse. Humans can be led to self-reflection by ruptures (problems with the subject-object relation) – here, the roots of expansive learning of self are to be found in “disturbances, ruptures and expansions” which arise in communication within an activity system (Engeström, 2004); social feedback (where the other acts as a mirror) – here, mirror theories assume that the other provides feedback to self in the same way that a mirror includes feedback about appearance that we cannot perceive unaided (Bakhtin, 1923/1990; Gillespie, 2003); and social conflict (in the struggle for recognition) and internal dialogues (through internalizing the perspective of the other on self) – here “it is through the contrast of divergent perspectives that we become aware of representations, particularly when the contrast challenges our presumed reality” (Bauer & Gaskell, 1999, p.169). Moreover, there is a cultural level to the analysis; the complex semiotic

systems in which people are embedded contain contradictions that can make self-reflection immanent.

The theme of self-reflection appeared in all research participants' yarns, which can indicate that self-reflection is noted and highly present in the minds of all journalists who participated in this data collection.

Figure 6 Comparative thematic analysis between non-Indigenous and Indigenous journalists' transcripts, specifically for self-reflection theme



(Percentage based on the number of characters per block of the text related to the specific theme)

The four non-Indigenous research participants used more than 17% of their total narrative thematically analysed in the *Dadirri* yarning sessions' transcripts with words, phrases, opinions, feelings, examples, and metaphors related directly or indirectly to various levels of self-reflection.

NIJ_1 participant is a young immigrant from the Czech Republic living and working as a journalist in Australia, in the Aboriginal lands of the Eora nation. With sufficient experience in working with First Nations Peoples in both Australia and Africa, NIJ_1 started by reflecting on the positives of being an immigrant journalist working on Indigenous lands in Australia:

“I think we [immigrants in Australia] bring this... like... open-mind and no prejudice, so we can like discover how our audiences are. On the contrary, if you are a non-Indigenous journalist born and raised in Australia, you can have a lot of

prejudice, like I maybe would have towards some cultural minorities in my own country (...) Being a non-Indigenous person coming from another country it was 'fresh eyes' on the Indigenous topic for me, and in my case, that helped me on my work as a journalist."

NIJ_1 elaborated further on the topic, indicating that, on the other end, living and working in colonised Indigenous territory as a non-Indigenous European person poses challenges that demand an extra effort in reflecting on both 'self's' and 'other's' culture and history:

"Because I'm from a country that wasn't a colonising one... I mean is not like I'm British... I was able to be more open and empathise with Australian Indigenous. Most importantly, I accept that there are a lot of things I don't understand and that I'll never be able to fully comprehend – like the trauma they have, it's something I can't understand as I don't have the experience of it... I have a little bit of parallel back in my country when we were occupied by the Soviet Union, but it wasn't as hush, you know..."

Despite the difficulties of being 'unfamiliar' with the situation of growing up as an Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples in Australia and having to experience all the historical, political, and social main challenges they go through daily, NIJ_1 believes that, as a non-Indigenous journalist, one must be humble and respectfully ask all the difficult questions:

"It's vital that you assume that you don't know what you don't know, and try to ask as many questions, and ask them from many different perspectives and angles as you can, until you feel you got the full story."

Reflecting on what a non-Indigenous necessarily needs to do to develop better informed reporting on Indigenous Peoples, NIJ_1 added the following:

"The thing is we, as non-Indigenous journalists, must do an extra layer of 'homework' before we go and conduct interviews, even though there is never enough 'homework' to do as you'll never know enough simply because you're not an Indigenous person. (...) I once interview this Caribbean lady about an event she was organising, and I didn't really do the research I should have done before I talked with her. The thing is my intention wasn't to go to much in-depth about the topic. (...) Anyway, the lesson I learnt on that day is that I should have done my homework better, I should have known better. She was not happy, and she was right."

Faced with the discomfoting question of ‘should a non-Indigenous journalist like NIJ_1 report on Indigenous issues in the non-Indigenous mainstream Media’, they responded assertively, and without much hesitation:

“I guess, it depends. It depends on the types of work and on the team, and not on how we identify ourselves as Indigenous journalists or non-Indigenous journalists. I believe we always should integrate everybody. It shouldn’t be “them” versus “us”. The solution should be we all should work together.”

NIJ_1 even added one example to reinforce their idea:

“I worked a lot in Africa before, and I had to kind of “unlearn” everything about the western traditional journalism, to be honest. (...) I hated it and loved it at the same time, and I felt that simultaneously maybe ten times per day. (...) It was all very challenging but at the same time, you know, the people were just amazing, and I’ve learned so, so, so much. (...) This period opened so many eyes and views to me. It was a complete learning curve and I still look back to it.”

NIJ_2 participant began the yarn reflecting on how an excellent non-Indigenous journalist reporting on Indigenous issues should look like. It is important to note here that NIJ_2 is less experienced in working with First Nations communities in the field than the rest of this group's non-Indigenous journalists. Still, NIJ_2 tried to put themselves in a competent non-journalist’s ‘shoes’ and mentioned the following:

“I would use the common sense of classical journalism practice, which seems to me to be universal. I’m always very impartial in interviews and transparent; I always say: “Look, I’m going to ask you this... I’ll record the interview after your consent... You can redo your answer because I edit my podcasts afterwards... I need photos of you... etc.”. This is how I would start an interview with any Indigenous person.”

Interestingly, and to prove the transformative effect of the use of the Theory of Discomfort in a research study such as this, NIJ_2 confessed to having understood that their idea of western format of interviewing is not necessarily the most appropriate when reporting on Indigenous matters:

“I now (after the Dadirri yarning session) see that my normal journalistic strategies would not be sufficient for good reporting with Indigenous Peoples. Even so, I would love a briefing like this as it would require me to increase my skills.”

On the other hand, NIJ_2 works daily with several Indigenous journalists as colleagues in the newsroom – a not common situation as Indigenous journalists are often under-represented in the mainstream media newsrooms. NIJ_2 enjoys working surrounded by people with different approaches to journalism and feels that Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples are not treated differently in their newsroom environment:

“I don't feel particularly different or strange or scared when I work with Indigenous colleagues. However, I feel a bit insecure when I don't have enough Indigenous cultural knowledge in certain situations or work assignments.”

Continuing their self-reflection exercise, NIJ_2 confessed that only now, after 23 years of living and working (always in the Communication and Journalism areas) in Australia, are they finally starting to understand what it means to be a non-Indigenous person, even as an immigrant coming from a country with First Nation Peoples such as Brazil, experiencing life in Australian Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander lands:

“As I have been in Australia for more than 23 years, I am only now beginning to have my own vision of the cultural reality of this place. Now, my vision is no longer so shaped by the western Australian vision and Media and what ‘white’ Australians tell me. I am finally developing my own vision as a person and as a journalist.”

Reflecting also if a non-Indigenous should report on Indigenous issues or not, NIJ_2 did not show any doubt about their opinion on the matter:

“No, I don't think Indigenous issues can only be reported on by Indigenous journalists. No, what you need to be is a good, competent professional. For me, this is as bad as if one would say: ‘She's going to do this specific job because she's a woman’, or ‘he's going to do this specific job because he's a black man’. In Brazil, for example, we have a ‘cota’ policy [like the Indigenous-identified university scholarships or job opportunities in Australia] that implies that in universities, for example, an annual percentage of 20% of ‘black’ students is mandatory as a stimulus for their access to higher education. This system is super controversial. So, coming from Brazil, I'm going to be a little dubious now: this ‘cota’ policy is important, but, on the other hand, it's also unfair that these students are approved because they are ‘black’ and not because they managed to pass the university access exam, right? So, for me, a journalist who covers indigenous news must be competent much more than being indigenous.”

NIJ_3 participant lives and works in Brazil and has medium-level experience as a non-Indigenous journalist reporting on Indigenous issues in mainstream non-Indigenous Media; however, they have extensive experience as a university educator who teaches and supports Brazilian First Nations students' journey in higher education and develops work on Journalism Studies (specifically in the Indigenous area of knowledge) as an academic researcher.

For NIJ_3, the question of whether a non-Indigenous should or should not report on Indigenous issues is a profoundly challenging one in the Brazilian journalism context:

“At the moment, unfortunately, I don't see the possibility of having more Indigenous journalists in the mainstream journalism newsrooms, replacing the non-Indigenous journalists that are working on the Indigenous Peoples' matters. The truth is that there are not enough Indigenous communication professionals in Brazil to do this work. Compared to the reality in other countries with Indigenous populations, Brazil is in its early stages regarding Indigenous journalists' inclusion and support. So, the ideal situation for now would be better training for non-indigenous journalists. To be honest, I don't know if indigenous people would like to occupy these spaces in the greater non-Indigenous Media. I think they want to expand their spaces and explore the internet through the very means of communication they are already developing and operating and produce journalism more meaningful for them.”

Reflecting also on the overall journalism situation in Brazil, NIJ_3 believes that there is a long way to go and a lot to improve in all areas of the work of non-Indigenous reporting on Indigenous issues; however, NIJ_3 is hopeful for a better future ahead for all in this area in Brazil:

“I think a lot has changed in recent years. In fact, we are amid change right now. We are in a moment of great transformation.”

NIJ_4 participant is the most experienced non-Indigenous journalist in reporting Indigenous Peoples' issues, particularly the Amazon Indigenous Peoples – called in Portuguese from Brazil language, ‘Povos da Floresta’ (‘People of the forest’), amongst this research group of participants. NIJ_4 developed academic research on the Indigenous Peoples' ways of communicating digitally and on developing a communicators network doing Indigenous journalism digitally - various podcast series produced by Indigenous young journalists about Indigenous matters from, and to, multiple communities and language groups shared through

WhatsApp across several Indigenous territories in the Amazon region. NIJ_4 is also involved in journalism workshops training Indigenous journalists on a professional level.

Self-reflecting on their area of practice in Indigenous journalism as non-Indigenous journalists, NIJ_4 said that they want to be part of the ‘solution’ instead of the ‘problem’ and that supporting Indigenous journalism means supporting all journalists:

“I want to transform Brazilian non-Indigenous journalism into something more diverse. We will advance in society if we have diverse and inclusive journalism. This kind of journalism is better for everyone, including me as a ‘white’ person and journalist.”

Furthermore, NIJ_4 strongly believe that when Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples get together and share a ‘two-world’ experience, only good things can result from that kind of encounter:

“When we sit together, non-Indigenous and Indigenous people, in these moments of workshop and co-creation of new journalistic projects in Indigenous territory, it is just wonderful.”

However, NIJ_4 assumes that there was a time when this journalist was also part of the ‘systemic problem’, using their ‘white privilege’ in a way that nowadays, after many years of working collaboratively with the Brazilian First Nations, would not see themselves doing it again:

“We see information programs, on large Brazilian non-Indigenous mainstream media, somehow having a very paternalistic logic behind their structure. Indigenous people are hired to be mere employees. They will be there just providing services, being mere service providers without any leadership position. And I assume this paternalistic logic to be familiar to me initially - I opened an audio production company to set up Indigenous teams, some years ago. But I no longer believe in this structure, where I [as the non-Indigenous person in the business] hire indigenous teams. Today, I only feel comfortable when developing partnerships and collaborative projects with the First Nations.”

Reinforcing the problems that come along with this colonialist attitude so present still in today’s non-Indigenous journalism, NIJ_4 elaborates further into the topic:

“Today's non-Indigenous academic researchers and journalists in Brazil are more aware of colonization and the need to decolonize. Indigenous people are often reading what is said about them in the newspapers, off and online. So, we should think, 'I'm writing for these people'. So, when I interview someone who gives me a word, they are the first person I will think of when I write or speak. It's that person's family and that person's people, reading and checking that my material is correct, that I must think about. When I publish something about Indigenous Peoples, the first thing I do, as soon as I have the opportunity, is show the Indigenous leaders, for example, the podcast I recorded. I think my biggest reward in journalism is being able to do this and hear their opinions. So, those would be my two main pieces of advice for any young non-Indigenous journalist wanting to work in Indigenous territory. I think that if we listen to everything that Indigenous people teach us, we can summarize everything in two words: community and affection. When we work for a community with affection and respect, there's no way to go wrong.”

As shown in Figure 6 above, this research study's two Indigenous knowledge holders/research collaborators used around 10% of their total narrative thematically analysed in the *Dadirri* yarning sessions' transcripts with words, phrases, opinions, feelings, examples, and metaphors related directly or indirectly to self-reflection.

IJ_1 participant is an Ojibwe journalist from the First Nations of Canada who specialises in stories about nature, environmentalism, and Indigenous-led conservation. As a relatively young Indigenous journalist compared with some non-Indigenous journalists in this study, IJ_1 already has 15 years of experience as a professional journalist freelancer for Indigenous and non-Indigenous journalism institutions.

After taking a moment to reflect, from their point of view as an Indigenous journalist, IJ_1 confessed that in Canada there is not enough Indigenous journalists to cover all the First Nations Peoples' stories that, according to IJ_1 need to be “brought to light”:

“My personal believe is that, yeah, sure, non-Indigenous journalists can be reporting on Indigenous stories. We need to be sure though they're doing it in a good way. It's important how they're doing this and if the practices are good. There is not enough of us out there still. I mean, our stories have been starfield basically until the last couple of decades really. Even the last decade our stories started to come to the fourth front, right? And so, you know, there's not enough Indigenous journalists out there. So, absolutely, non-Indigenous journalists are needed in reporting Indigenous issues, they and their work are very much appreciated – there

are some journalists out there doing such an incredible job in this area already, but this just needs to happen all across.”

Besides, IJ_1 believes that not all Indigenous journalists are necessarily exclusively interested in covering Indigenous stories or news. IJ_2 advocate this idea that “Indigenous journalism and journalists are as diverse as the Indigenous Peoples themselves”:

“Maybe not all Indigenous journalists want to cover exclusively Indigenous stories either, you know? I feel lucky I have a lot of co-workers’ non-Indigenous journalists who can pick up some of those really important and tough stories that need to be told. It seems to me that it is both unfair and unrealistic that we expect only Indigenous journalists to do all that work. Also, it is equally unfair to us, Indigenous journalists, to be only expected to cover the stories of our people when non-Indigenous journalists cover stories related to all peoples.”

IJ_1 also reflected on how and when it is “okay” for Indigenous journalists to help their non-Indigenous colleagues to work on Indigenous stories:

“I am always open to helping non-Indigenous colleagues who want to ask and learn more. However, even though there have to be boundaries, you have to be able to see that the non-Indigenous colleagues are doing their work and putting the effort to go and learn from themselves, to do their ‘homework’ autonomously. As an Indigenous person myself, I take this as only natural. Ultimately, as a journalist, I think you should do this with every community, not only the Indigenous communities.”

At this point of the *Dadirri* yarning session's narrative sequence, IJ_1 changed the direction of their story to explore another topic that seemed to them worthy of some reflexivity – the awards that some non-Indigenous journalists are winning with Indigenous stories (through text and image) and the polarised discussion that it is happening within the Indigenous journalist community in Canada on this:

“Some of the non-Indigenous journalists that I know that won those awards [on Indigenous issues features] so far are genuine and did incredible work where needed, right? And so, why not? It all depends on the non-Indigenous journalist, what are their intentions, and how they work.”

The second Indigenous journalist of this research study is named IJ_2. Even though IJ_2 is the youngest journalist of all participants, they combine their Indigenous communitarian

and activism journalistic professional practice with a master's research study in the same area. Therefore, IJ_2's contribution for the Self-reflection theme combines Education and professional practice in journalism focused on Indigenous Peoples and their issues.

Reflecting on IJ_2 journalism practice, the Wapichona journalist from Amazon region in Brazil, started by explaining why it is so important for Indigenous Peoples to use journalism as a way of advocating for their rights, needs and expectations:

“It is fundamental that we use Communication and the Media (both Indigenous and non-Indigenous) as a tool to defend our human rights and protect our territories, culture, and Peoples. We, as Indigenous Peoples, are simultaneously journalists and activists. We must be journalists like this, at least for now, that we still need to feel respected and be truly accepted as equals by non-Indigenous society, politicians, and journalists.”

But IJ_2 thinks that things are improving, too slowly but still surely, and that this is mainly because of social media and the opportunities that they brought to Indigenous Peoples in terms of visibility and tools to use to produce Indigenous content directly from the Indigenous communities and territories in Brazil:

“I believe Brazilian mainstream journalism is more open to Indigenous journalism better and more than before. We have come a long way to where we are today. Access to social media and being able to have visibility and develop content on these networks has been critical for us Indigenous Peoples.”

However, the newsrooms lack of cultural diversity is an issue that still is very much present in mainstream ‘white’ media, which makes Indigenous journalists’ lives and work extremely difficult and limitative, as IJ_2 mentioned:

“We still see Brazilian media outlets that do not have any participation from Indigenous journalists whatsoever. But even these are beginning to recognize the importance of including the voice of Indigenous people in these communication spaces - this is fundamental. Also important is that Indigenous journalism is diverse, just like and as much as Indigenous Peoples. There are several ramifications and several ways of seeing Indigenous journalism. Each occupies a space, and they all do important work. We don't even have to report only on Indigenous Peoples and aspects of Indigenous lives. Just because we are Indigenous, we don't just have to talk about our culture and our people. For example, we can talk about culture and

music, not exclusively Indigenous. Depending on the region and where they come from, each Indigenous journalist has different professional paths, needs and ways of seeing. Indigenous Journalism is diverse; it is plural and has several flags, whether fighting flags or other types of flags.”

Self-reflection thematic narrative analysis summary

In the self-reflection theme narrative analysis, non-Indigenous journalists indicated the need to go through self-examination to come to terms with the racism suggested by recurring negative narratives in mainstream non-Indigenous Media. Two of the four research participants in this group are immigrants living and working in Australia on Indigenous lands. These two non-Indigenous journalists suggested that their cultural heritage helps them, to a certain degree, to avoid being "contaminated" by the 'white' Australian prejudice towards Indigenous Peoples. They also mentioned that coming from an 'outsider' perspective is a positive factor as they start working as journalists with 'fresh eyes' and 'all ears open' towards their audiences, particularly the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples – Australian First Nations Peoples that both participants confessed to know little about, even though they are in Australia for many years now. Both participants reflected on how they still know little about Australian Indigenous, and one of them believes that the answer to that is simple: "To understand Indigenous people's culture and ways of being and doing, one needs to be Indigenous. Also, all the trauma and loss they experienced throughout the process of the British colonisation is something that you cannot fully understand unless you go through what they did."

On the other end, after deep self-reflecting on the topic and going through the discomfort applied to the research questions and how they were introduced in the narrative process, one of the participants realised that their traditional western journalistic strategies and practices are inappropriate when working with First Nations Peoples.

The two non-Indigenous research participants living and working (in Academia and the mainstream media) in Brazil, with the Amazon Forest's First Nations Peoples reflected more on the impact of colonialism in their personal experiences as both 'white privileged' people and, most importantly, in the Brazilian mainstream journalism sector. They indicated that from their perspectives and lived experiences, working collaboratively and respectfully with First Nations Peoples (giving them leadership and decision-making opportunities) is part of a broader decolonising journey that both participants believe is the only way to a "better society for all".

The four non-Indigenous participants seem to be divided regarding the answer to the question – should non-Indigenous journalists be the ones covering the Indigenous Peoples' matters? - Two participants believe that "being a competent journalist is more important than being an Indigenous or non-Indigenous journalist", and for that reason, they are more inclined to suggest that any journalist can report on Indigenous issues if they are "good journalists." – the question to follow is "what 'good journalist' means in this context?" – the answer to this questions, or at least an attempt to do so, will be explored further ahead in this thesis.

The Brazilian participants reflected more on the fact that even though they agreed that "Brazilian non-Indigenous journalism is improving, in part thanks to social media and the digital presence of Indigenous communicators that make their culture and Peoples more 'visible' by producing Indigenous content that is opening the Indigenous discussion more", there is a long way to go before Indigenous Peoples are represented in mainstream media in sufficient number to start being them reporting on Indigenous, and not the non-Indigenous journalists.

The knowledge holders/research collaborators participants in this study reflected on how important it is to have non-Indigenous as allies in mainstream journalism and how welcomed they are to report on Indigenous matters "as long as they do their 'homework' properly". The two Indigenous journalists also agreed that Indigenous journalism is "communitarian and activist" and serves "as a tool to protect Indigenous human rights, as well as their people and territories", but it also is diverse and that not all Indigenous journalists must cover Indigenous features only – "Indigenous Journalism is diverse; it is plural and has several flags, whether fighting flags or other types of flags".

The two Indigenous journalists also reflected on how, both in Canada and Brazil, Indigenous journalists are highly under-represented in 'white' journalism. Finally, one of the First Nations journalists elaborated on the "typical" situation in every non-Indigenous newsroom covering Indigenous topics: non-Indigenous journalists constantly ask for help from "the only Indigenous colleague in the newsroom". The Ojibwe participant added the following to this reflection sub-theme: "It's okay to ask for help, but boundaries are needed there. Non-Indigenous journalists must do their 'homework'".

5.3.2 – Discomfort theme

The Theory of Discomfort framed this data collection (see Chapter 3 of this thesis). So, the discomfort was a theme that I, as the researcher, explored in many ways, particularly in the *Dadirri* yarns with the non-Indigenous journalists. In the Indigenous journalists' narratives, even though they had elaborated on the theme of discomfort, they led the *Dadirri* yarning sessions in that direction.

The Indigenous journalists discussed discomfort differently, and for other reasons, I will elaborate on later throughout the section of the chapter. To explore discomfort means acknowledging that research, journalism, writing, and interpretive practices are charged with socio-material and emotional flows, (dis)connections and intensities (Hemmings, 2012; Ahmed, 2014, 2017); this also requires acknowledging that I am (as a researchers and a journalist) am feeling, sensing, responding, intersectional, embodied, emplaced, and conflicted subjects and that my encounters with others affect me (Chadwick, 2021).

One does not engage in research or journalism praxis from disembodied, omnipresent, disengaged, disinterested or decontextualised positions (Haraway, 1989). Furthermore, my feelings and sensory or gut responses are not extraneous noise or individual matters but need to be recognised as part of decolonising methodological and affective praxis, as critical folds for thinking about the interpenetrations of socio-materiality, ethics, and emotions in knowledge production processes. "This means working with discomfort instead of trying to smooth over or 'iron out' that which does not make easy or comfortable sense" (Chadwick, 2021, p. 14).

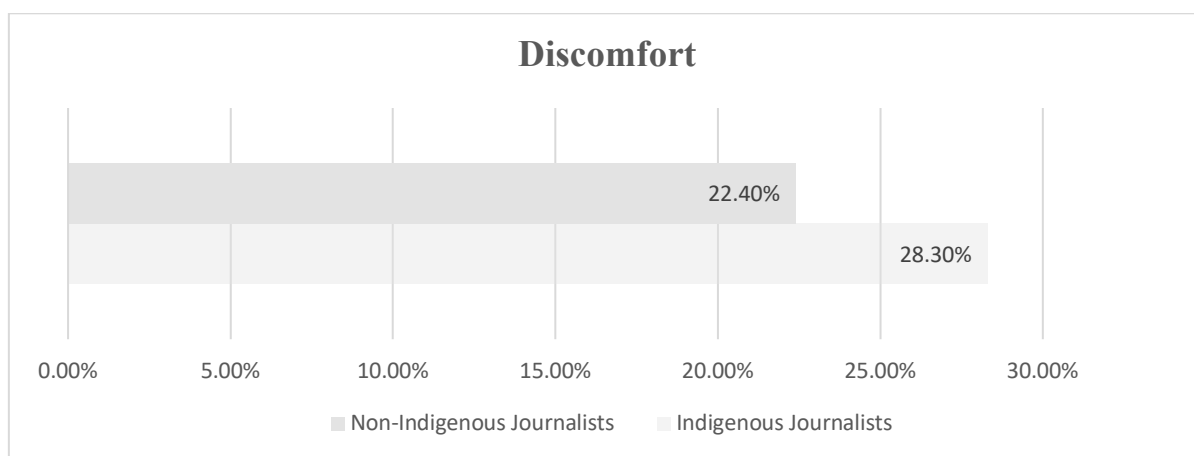
Building on the work of Clare Hemmings and Sara Ahmed, I see discomfort as an affective intensity that opens us up to resistant and anti-colonial research practices and modes of knowledge production, particularly in Indigenous Studies and Journalism Studies. The discomfort applied to this data collection process (in the non-Indigenous journalists *Dadirri* yarning sessions) implies starting and staying, with discomfort theorised as "a form of resistance to the reiteration of comfortable and normative truths and 'wilful ignorances'" (Chadwick, 2021, p. 1).

This research shows that emotions are neither neutral nor de-politicised: "They ascribe value and thus rearrange our connections and interactions with the human and more-than-human" (Waite 2014, p. 669). Emotions are a "performance of the cultural politics of

inhabitation or 'world-making'" (Ahmed 2004, p. 12). However, anxiety also registers a confrontation with the unfamiliar and the strange and interrupts self-mastery (Heidegger 1971). The world turns into something remote and unknown. The subject is rattled, however, momentarily, which potentially generates necessary and sometimes urgent transformation. One can escape the distress by fleeing into the familiar, the known or seeking reassurance and comfort. But if one stays with the discomfort, "a space opens for questioning the taken-for-grantedness of the world" (Slater 2017, p. 9).

The theme of discomfort was the strongest in the Indigenous research participants' yarns and the second strongest in the non-Indigenous research participants' narratives. For different reasons, this theme is crucial for all journalists in this study, indicating that all feel discomfort as journalists who report on Indigenous matters.

Figure 7 Comparative thematic analysis between non-Indigenous and Indigenous journalists' transcripts, specifically for Discomfort theme



(Percentage based on the number of characters per block of the text related to the specific theme)

The four non-Indigenous research participants used more than 20% of their total narrative thematically analysed in the *Dadirri* yarning sessions' transcripts with words, phrases, opinions, feelings, examples, and metaphors related directly or indirectly to various levels of Discomfort.

NIJ_1 started discussing this theme by explaining their “tremendous nervousness” every time they receive an assignment for covering an Indigenous story as a non-Indigenous journalist, particularly one who does not have English as their first language:

“Of course, I get super nervous for many reasons. English is not my first language; I feel I still know little about Indigenous culture after all those years in Australia still, and that is all scary. Plus, during the COVID-19 pandemic, I felt nervous about the technology when I had to contact Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander interviewees by phone or through Zoom or Teams platforms. But what scared the most was worrying about making mistakes in what I was saying. I mean, cultural mistakes, political mistakes. My supervisor even advised me to open the interviews, always saying something along these lines: ‘I’m sorry in advance for anything stupid I might invertedly say, and please do not hesitate to correct me on that’.”

NIJ_1 then gave an example of a situation where all their discomfort as a non-Indigenous journalist really came to the surface. They made “a mistake” that they “regret to this day”:

“Innocently, I asked an Indigenous lady that I interviewed, ‘Can you tell me about a bit more your people?’. She was outraged and got really offended by my lack of historical knowledge of her people’s struggles, especially as I am a journalist. She thought I should have known better – and quite frankly, I understand her entirely, now looking back... But on the day... you know... And from that point on, she made sure to treat me very nasty. Also, the lady had posted early negative posts on social media on ‘white privilege people’ and all that stuff – everything I now know that I represent, at least from her point of view, being a white European and all. Anyway, I went to the interview already nervous. Ultimately, that influenced my work on the day. I really had to put it out of my head, you know...”

NIJ_1 also commented about the discomfort they often feels for being a non-Indigenous journalist reporting on Indigenous stories when they often thinks that perhaps it is not their "place to be", being, in their case, one of the very few non-Indigenous journalists in the newsroom of the radio Indigenous program where they work:

“Sometimes, I’d just forced myself to think that if Indigenous Peoples in my radio newsroom don’t want me, they shouldn’t have me working there. But I shouldn’t feel this way if they contracted me for this job and I’m working here now because of that. The truth is if I feel this bad, I can’t do my best work. This was a big thing for me at the time of the interview with the Indigenous lady I mentioned before, and I felt

conflicted about it. I was thinking, 'Am I taking the place of an Indigenous person?', but then I had to force myself to believe also 'Well, if they had an Indigenous person to occupy my position here, they surely would have that person here, and not me'. Anyway, to say that because of this lady's social media posts and interaction with me, I felt that I was that 'white privileged person' when, in fact, I wasn't... I am not. Most importantly, I don't believe that it's my fault that I'm 'white'. And I'm doing my best in Australia. We don't choose where we are born, but we can choose what we do. And this mindset was my solution because there was a moment where I felt, like, 'Yeah, what else can I do?!'."

NIJ_1 mentioned they are more "in peace with this 'white vs black' stuff" as they now know the meaning of it for the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples in Australia, historically, culturally, and politically speaking; still, they are not entirely comfortable working in a newsroom that is majority Indigenous:

"I'm always very conscious I'm not Indigenous, and I'm always scared that somebody will point it out to me on the first mistake I make. But at the same time, they [the leadership of the Indigenous radio newsroom] didn't have anybody else to work (Indigenous nor non-Indigenous journalists) during the period they called me, so yeah... but this was something making me very nervous and anxious about for many years, and still is every once and a while."

Also, NIJ_2 confessed a great deal of discomfort as a 'white' Brazilian journalist working on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander lands, particularly around the use of language:

"I would like to be more confident when interviewing representatives of Indigenous Australian people, to be honest. And where I feel more insecure is in the most basic writing-related things. In Australia, it has become a convention that the word Aboriginal is written with a capital A. This in Portuguese doesn't make sense, and my former Executive Producer, my former boss at the newsroom, always told us to write the word with a lowercase A so that we respect the rules of the Portuguese language since our radio program in Australia is for the Portuguese, Brazilian and Timorese community, all Portuguese speakers. But I decided to use the word Aboriginal with a capital A, even though it looks strange in Portuguese. Now, I get 'sick' if I don't capitalize the word Aboriginal. It was powerful brainwashing. If I go against this rule, I won't feel racist, but I will feel like I'm making a big mistake. It is not accepted here in Australia amongst the Indigenous Peoples, so it would be wrong not to follow the rule. In Brazil, when we refer to Brazilian Indigenous Peoples, there is no such language rule. But I'm a Brazilian journalist working in Australia at this point in my life, and that's why I created this convention for myself,

my department, and everything we write. Our Brazilian and Portuguese readers will think it's a typo when they read Aboriginal with capital letters in our features. But there's no way I can write it in lowercase anymore. It's like a spelling 'crime' - I learned that it's not in lowercase, and that's it."

NIJ_2 presented another reason for them to feel uncomfortable reporting on Indigenous matters by introducing an example that happened during the Indigenous Voice to Parliament Referendum (see Chapter 1 of this thesis) in Australia, where NIJ_2 felt that a great majority of the western journalists covering the political and historical event did not have enough 'black' cultural and historical knowledge:

"We even say a lot among fellow non-Indigenous journalists that the misinformation we give, in most cases, and due to lack of cultural knowledge, is scary. I don't even understand certain opinions and ideas of 'white' Australians because I don't have the experience of being born in Australia, so a lot of the prejudices that 'white' Australians have don't even occur to me, you know? For example, when 'white' Australians [journalists, public figures and community members] came to the media to say that if Indigenous people won the 'Indigenous Voice to Parliament' referendum, then in a short time, they would want to recover the land that was stolen from them and that this was the main reason why farmers in the Australian rural outback would have voted 'no' in the referendum. When I heard this kind of thing, I was shocked. I didn't understand the political and cultural extent of the issue."

Furthermore, NIJ_2 discussed what is, for them, the major focus of discomfort while reporting on Indigenous issues in remote Indigenous communities. NIJ_2 feels that there are institutional barriers that are "extremely complicated for a journalist to overcome" in covering those stories:

"It wouldn't be worth saying that the mainstream media institution to whom I work had been culturally incompetent from the beginning of the process, sending me there [Indigenous territory] without knowledge [of the cultural, protocol and ceremonial calendar] beforehand. I would always feel bad if I got there [Indigenous remote territory] and couldn't interview due to a lack of community availability. Firstly, because I would not be able to do anything in case the community would deny me the interview due to cultural or ceremonial calendar appointments - which I would understand entirely. Secondly, I would feel even worse as a journalist. I am sure my newsroom boss would think I was a terrible professional for spending time and a large amount of money to travel to the remote territory and then return to the newsroom with 'empty hands'. I bet the institution would never feel that the cultural

incompetence in organising the trip to the Indigenous community was theirs. And the community would also feel that I made a huge mistake in showing up on a 'sacred day' for them. This kind of situation is discomforting to all, really. Now, to bring these two worlds [Indigenous and non-Indigenous] closer together, I think the only way is to communicate and talk more and better while organising media coverage plans, to have more information and a sense of what happens in both worlds."

NIJ_3 talked about the various aspects of discomfort they felt throughout the years and different stages of their careers in mainstream media and academia. NIJ_3 confessed that when they began their journalism career more than 30 years ago, "things were even worse". At that time, most of the non-Indigenous journalists were "ignorant and oblivious to the Indigenous Peoples' situation overall":

"When I started journalism, I didn't know anything about the Brazilian Indigenous people, nor those from Paraná [where NIJ_3 lived at the time]. I never had any training, and no information about this was available in the journalism courses at the university. In the newsroom of the newspaper where I worked, I believe there was a lot of misinformation, too. It wasn't easy. Ignorance was still gigantic. In Brazil, Indigenous people only started attending university in the last 20 years, just to put the issue into perspective."

NIJ_3 shared a great example of how difficult and very discomforting it can be for a young 'white' journalist with no experience or enough cultural knowledge whatsoever to interview an Indigenous person with a historically painful colonising heritage informed by intergenerational trauma that involves everyone in the family for many years and still impacts the whole community to this day:

"I arrived at the community that day with this 'white' face of non-Indigenous Brazilian German descent, very young and unexperimented both in life and journalism. I was incapable of disguising the tremendous fear and nervousness I was feeling.

I remember looking at him [the Indigenous community member to be interviewed on the day] in panic as he was super angry at all 'white' people, as 'white' people were the ones who invaded and stole his family's lands and killed and raped his ancestors, bringing horrendous suffering and terrible consequences to them all. It was excruciatingly difficult for me as I was 'whiter' than everyone in my reporting group in the field, you know? Then I sat before him and saw all that anger and hatred in his eyes. (...)

He started talking with that anger in his voice, telling the story of his people from the beginning, and he spoke and spoke and spoke... When we realized we had about 40 minutes of his speech. Then, he stopped and started crying. I was also crying as well for quite some time, to be honest, because it was a very violent and sad story. Ultimately, the team [other journalists, photographers, and videographers] cried together. Everyone on the team cried, men and women. Then he paused, cried more, and finally put himself together. We finished the interview there. It was all very complex and intense.”

Visibly emotional, NIJ_3 continued explaining the different layers of discomfort everyone in that interview (including the Indigenous community member and the non-Indigenous team of communication professionals) felt in more detail:

“Before the interview, I felt huge discomfort. At that moment, I knew I represented an enemy. I think this is always present for us 'white' journalists working with Indigenous Peoples, right? This discomfort of not knowing how to do things was like thinking, 'How can I interview him?' Right? Everything is very complicated in these moments. He didn't know me; he didn't trust me. He was angry with me because I, a 'white' journalist, represented everything bad in his life. So, I felt this weight of all the genocide, of all the historical violence. I felt like I represented that, you know? So, that wasn't very pleasant. But then, yes, I also put myself together and showed respect and humility. I said that we were there at a request from the community to do what the community asked [the community asked us to document the truth, their truth, about the situation on their lands], that we were putting ourselves at their service, right? So, this humbler disposition helped me to do the job. But, yeah, on that day, I genuinely thought to myself: 'Okay, I agreed to represent all of this – the weight of colonialism – because I actually do'.”

But NIJ_3 also mentioned other uncomfortable situations and types of discomfort they faced throughout their career and still face:

“I have experienced several discomforts in other situations, not just with Indigenous people. We called black filmmakers and Indigenous filmmakers to discuss black cinema and Indigenous cinema. In Brazil, the Indigenous people are some 'loves' close to the black movement, right? Because the black movement wants you to assume your whiteness and your privileges. And for me, it was very pedagogical because it was essential and very confronting. Because we have an idea that we are not racist, but that is not true. To start being anti-racist, we must admit that we are racist, yes. And it's racist without realizing it, right? Your actions, your jokes, the films we like, the people we admire, the ideal of beauty we have, right? So, we are

racist. So, being together and mixing with other cultures has been good. This discomfort is necessary because it is the only way to decolonize truly. Being together, knowing how to accept discomfort.”

But amid so much discomfort as a non-Indigenous journalist and university educator, NIJ_3 said that “there is a light in the tunnel” as young Indigenous communicators in Brazil are invested in producing several education materials to educate non-Indigenous journalists to do better work with the Indigenous communities:

“The movement of Indigenous communicators in Brazil is strong and has produced several materials such as good conduct manuals. Indigenous journalists have been very critical of non-Indigenous journalism, right? When we, non-Indigenous journalists, don’t work properly, they are critical.”

As shown in Figure 7 above, this research study’s two Indigenous knowledge holders/research collaborators used around 28.30% of their total narrative thematically analysed in the *Dadirri* yarning sessions’ transcripts with words, phrases, opinions, feelings, examples, and metaphors related directly or indirectly to various levels of Discomfort.

IJ_1, for example, started discussing the severe discomfort and trauma even Indigenous Peoples, notably the Indigenous Journalists, felt constantly after the poor representation of First Nations Peoples in Canadian non-Indigenous mainstream journalism:

“I feel often uncomfortable as most of the news on Indigenous issues are about extremely heavy and biased representation of Indigenous Peoples. And so sometimes, for me, it is overwhelming and emotional to read or to hear or watch Indigenous news, as I believe it is for many, many, many Indigenous Peoples who are survivors who have experienced trauma. Sometimes I feel like ‘bombarded’ by the media. And sometimes, that’s how inappropriate news on Indigenous Peoples reported by unprepared (to use a better word) non-Indigenous journalists make us feel as Indigenous Peoples.”

IJ_1 also referred to feeling “extremely uncomfortable” in the way non-Indigenous journalists, and even Indigenous journalists working for mainstream media, conduct the interviews and the news coverage overall in the Indigenous communities:

“Even for me, as an experienced Indigenous journalist, sometimes it is very difficult to report on certain Indigenous issues because I don’t want to be re-traumatised or cause more harm to my people. Instead, I want to use my work to make that connection... I like to make it meaningful... you know What I want to do with my work is to tell stories, and sometimes it doesn’t look like I’m doing it... with a lot of lights, a lot of mics into people’s faces, I really, really struggled with that kind of ‘circus’ you know. And sometimes I do see that kind of things happening in non-Indigenous journalism, that lack of respect, that lack of awareness that you may be talking with someone that is traumatised in many ways and your questions are so direct that they do cause harm.”

The proud Ojibwe journalist also mentioned how uncomfortable they feel knowing that non-Indigenous have the “power to inform and push authorities to do their work” but, instead, non-Indigenous journalists choose not to do enough coverage of certain events that need to be in the public and institutions eyes:

“There is research that indicates that all the mainstream media in Canada has been covering the missing and murder of Indigenous women in Canada are less than 2%, and that’s insane! This is a genocide. This is happening right now, and so not only do people need to high up their game on a lot of these issues but also continue to follow up with these authorities and things like that, to really push hard on that because as a journalist (Indigenous and non-Indigenous) we have that power.”

IJ_1 proceed with their narrative on discomfort to discuss a topic that really makes them uncomfortable in the mainstream media newsroom where they have worked for several years now – Indigenous tokenism:

“ While ago, I was invited by a non-Indigenous colleague to collaborate on a story about the crime of an Indigenous boy for one of the top newspapers in New York. And then I realised that, at first, the non-Indigenous journalist with whom I was supposed to collaborate just wanted me to be their fixer. But I advocated and said, “You know what? I want to be involved with the story and help write it”. But she wanted me to be only the fixer, bridge maker, researcher, and Indigenous knowledge holder. In the end, I did have a contributor line, which I’m proud of. But one day, I hoped to have my name written in a top newspaper such as this one [name of newspaper not mentioned for research confidentially purposes], but she wasn’t going to give that to me then. Even though she knew I was a reporter, she wanted to use me so she could do great work. So, you have to learn, as an Indigenous journalist, when and how to speak out about when you see things like that happening. Now, I know better and don’t share my content or contacts with many

people in the newsroom. I don't want non-Indigenous journalism having, and sometimes ruining, sources that I spent years working on and developing just because we work in the same organisation. I don't think tokenising Indigenous journalists should be a 'thing', and I certainly do not believe we should be expected to do non-Indigenous colleagues' homework just because we are the Indigenous journalists in the newsroom."

Furthermore, IJ_1 criticised non-Indigenous journalists' behaviour when covering stories in the First Nations communities. IJ_1 said non-Indigenous strategies and practices are "not appropriate and are discomfoting, to say the least, to everyone in the community":

"They [non-Indigenous journalists] are not just extracting, extracting, extracting. Extracting is the keyword, I mean. I even use the word 'storytakers'. What I want to avoid, as many of my Indigenous colleagues, is that inappropriate and disrespectful non-Indigenous journalists go to our communities and take away our stories without some respect, prior knowledge, and appreciation."

Moreover, still in the theme of discomfort because of poor strategies and practices of non-Indigenous journalists, IJ_1 added that the western way of doing journalism often is contrary to the ways of being and doing of the Indigenous journalists:

"To some mainstream media institutions, to share drafts of the story with your source in the community is clearly against the classical journalism standards and practices. So how do you balance that? It's challenging because you are responsible for the community as an Indigenous journalist reporting on Indigenous issues and, in that sense, sharing the knowledge back and forth before publishing it to get further clarification and full approval; it is only natural to us and is an essential part of our journalistic process."

IJ_1 continues their narrative on various forms of discomfort Indigenous Peoples and Indigenous journalists feel in the context of Canadian non-Indigenous journalism to note that the recurrent use of "Indigenous clichés in mainstream journalism is highly confronting and discomfoting to First Nations Peoples":

"Unfortunately, mainstream journalism in Canada is full of Indigenous clichés such as poverty, porn, and drugs. And some of these stories need to be told, no doubt about it. But I also think that in many of these stories, journalists objectify the community to the world without providing much context, which is essential."

Yes, these stories need to be brought to the four fronts because they involve inequality, for example. Still, it also has to go hand in hand with all that historical intergenerational trauma background so important for the journalists to include in their features. It's crucial to understand the context of how and why the situation became what it is today."

IJ_1 touched on the 'hot topic' of the journalism and photography awards that non-Indigenous Peoples win worldwide after interpreting and representing First Nations Peoples through their non-Indigenous lens, again. For the Ojibwe journalist, this is a discomfoting topic per se:

"Maybe this is just a super sensitive time right now, because the other thing I've been hearing a lot this year is how now the world is watching the Indigenous reality in Canada, and that is the moment to make the space for our Indigenous journalists too. This is just a complex matter as, as we discussed before, there are not enough of us. We've been fighting a long time for our stories to come to the forefront when they didn't get attention, and so having non-Indigenous telling our stories and even winning awards is a big deal. Overall, this is a very thought topic, to be honest."

Finally, IJ_1 confessed that another massive source of discomfort is the under-representation of Indigenous journalists in the Canadian mainstream media newsroom:

"I'm the only Indigenous journalist in my newsroom, so I'm the only one who keeps our Indigenous relations and sets up our Indigenous stories for non-Indigenous reporters. How can we encourage non-Indigenous reporters to build and foster their own relationships if covering Indigenous stories is not their regular bit? But how can we also take the pressure off Indigenous journalists who lead on their own and colleagues' work constantly? I would tell non-Indigenous journalists to get to know their neighbours and community. It may feel a little uncomfortable sometimes, but we are in a time of truth and reconciliation, and it's not the most comfortable process for us."

Also, IJ_2, this research study's proud Wapichona journalist from the Brazilian region of Amazon, had a lot to say about the theme of Discomfort. IJ_2 started by reflecting on the Brazilian higher education system – an environment that "is often discomfoting for Indigenous students of journalism" as IJ_2 explains:

"This is a very recent movement - we, Indigenous young people, have the opportunity to study in university. It's the beginning of something good. However,

there is still a long way for Brazilian universities to understand that Indigenous Peoples and indigenous students need not only to access university but, most importantly, to find appropriate teaching materials and methodologies and technological, housing, and mental health support within higher education. When we come directly from our remote communities to the big cities to study in universities, we find that all are wholly westernised, and we do need time, people, and resources to acclimatise to this new non-Indigenous world. Still, teachings [materials and methods] are very westernised. All of this brings us what we have already been discussing for many years in primary and secondary education: this vision of teaching from the outside in. That knowledge from the outside is always more important than teaching from within, that which comes from the traditional Indigenous knowledge that we have carried for thousands of years, which involves much orality (our songs, our medicines, our rituals...) which end up being considered less of a knowledge compared with the non-Indigenous knowledge. In academia, the methodology, the theoretical frameworks, everything is western. Besides, everything changes in the lives of Indigenous students: the food we eat, the way we socialise (or not socialise at all)... We are used to having this whole family-oriented apparatus, this sense of community thing in which you are always sharing everything... all of this means everything to us. So, when an Indigenous person arrives in the capital city, all this changes. Everything is very individualistic; we feel lost and lonely and need money that we constantly struggle to get as it's harder to find a job as an Indigenous person... It's tough for us to survive in the capital, let alone complete our university degrees.”

Still, in the theme of Discomfort in Higher Education, IJ_2 added the following:

“Financial support policies need to be improved in Brazilian higher education, but also teaching must stop being so exclusionary – very technical and robust words are used, all texts are colonialist and Eurocentric, etc... it would be important if at least the journalism courses included a text that is from the First Nations Peoples reality, that speaks to what we know, that has to do with what we experienced all our lives. The way teachers apply materials and readings that are already exclusionary of Indigenous people and full of prejudice can actually be a process of violence for Indigenous students in the classroom. We have a lot of texts that need to be revised before being presented in the classroom that includes Indigenous students. But for me, the main thing is who shares these texts and how they do it – the educators need to be more inclusive and culturally knowledgeable in the way they teach mixed classrooms [with Indigenous and non-Indigenous students]. Then there is the problem of lack of representation: how many Indigenous professors do we have in Brazilian universities, particularly in the Journalism Studies and courses? And why don't we have more? I think that, especially in university education, we need to move

further towards having more Indigenous teachers who can apply Indigenous teaching and filtering methodologies to western materials in the classroom.”

After what seems to be a challenging phase in the lives of Indigenous journalism students in university, they eventually complete their degrees and, finally, enter the journalism sector. IJ_2 said that is when "it gets even worse" for the young Indigenous journalists facing the many barriers to entering Brazilian mainstream journalism, particularly for the ones who pursue a career in covering their Indigenous communities' affairs:

“Being a journalist is no longer one of the most sought-after professions in Brazil, mainly because, in this country, we have a strong political monopoly on the media. Being a journalist is not easy for anyone in Brazil, especially in the last years of the Bolsonaro government. So, being an Indigenous journalist focusing on the Amazonian context is extremely challenging. And it's not difficult just because you're a journalist but also because you carry your culture and the problems your people are experiencing now.”

IJ_2 also thinks that the under-representation of Indigenous journalists in Brazilian mainstream newsrooms is “problematic and a source of great discomfort to First Nations journalists”:

“It's important that non-Indigenous Brazilian big mainstream media vehicles understand that it is not just a question of historical reparation, and not just because we are Indigenous, but because there is a lack of qualified, trained professional non-Indigenous journalists, people who are capable of doing more specific work involving other cultures, languages and dialects to cover First Nations affairs appropriately. In short, it is necessary to understand that it is essential to have indigenous journalists in these spaces, interviewing community leaders, translating dialects, and understanding the culture. And the reality is that Indigenous journalists are still not in these newsrooms and spaces as such. “

Furthermore, IJ_2 discussed the discomfort they feel all the time in the way Indigenous Peoples are represented as ‘exotic’ in Brazilian mainstream media. Even worse than that is that, according to IJ_2, “indigeneity is often discredited by non-Indigenous peoples if an Indigenous individual does present themselves dressed in a more westernised way instead of being naked and face painted and wearing artifacts as Indigenous Peoples use to present traditionally for specific cultural ceremonies”:

“It is imperative that we are the tellers of our own stories (and this conversation has been discussed for many years) because, for many, many years, our stories have been told by people who know little about Indigenous cultures and who have been sharing narratives and a stereotypical image of Indigenous people as if an Indigenous person is only Indigenous if they are painted, wearing feathers or wearing a ceremonial headdress, just because they live in the Indigenous village... all narratives and images that the media in Brazil still reproduces. When I present myself without the Indigenous traditional headdress or necklace from my people’s culture, or without being traditionally painted, or without an Indigenous artifact of some sort, people tend to think that I am, after all, not a ‘real Indigenous person’. This is what we must break away from, you know?”

IJ_2 touched on another particularly severe type of discomfort Indigenous journalists often feel, mainly when covering Indigenous affairs in their communities in remote Amazonian regions, where “covering Indigenous stories can cost the life of the Indigenous journalist”; that is how much “violent it can be to be a journalist in this country, in Amazon Indigenous territories”:

“It’s a big challenge, we [Indigenous journalists] suffer all types of violence. For example, if you’re a woman reporting on Amazon is very dangerous. If an Indigenous journalist woman wants to go to the communities and cover news in our Indigenous territories everything can happen to them. In addition to the financial issue because it is costly to report in the Amazon region, there is the issue of security – it can be violent to report in the Amazon, we can go and cover a story there and never come back alive, you know. There are a series of issues that are dangerous today, and being indigenous, and living in the Amazon region increases the danger. There are many aspects to be put on the table. This discussion is intense and is not being done in Brazil.”

On the topic of genre-associated discomfort and latent discrimination towards Indigenous Peoples and journalists in Brazil, IJ_2 also shared their opinion in the *Dadirri* yarning session:

“When I attend a communication conference in Brazil, I still feel a different look towards me because I am an Indigenous person and journalist. We are often called out as ‘cotas’ [‘racial cotas’ are reservations for places in entrance exams, tests and public competitions aimed at people of black, brown origin – a mixture of white, black and Indigenous, or Indigenous]. Also, we are usually invited to participate in these conferences exclusively to talk about Indigenous journalism instead of general

journalism in Brazil or the need for a different vision of Communication in Brazil, for example, like any other journalist or academic is invited to do.”

Above all, IJ_2 believes this research theme of discomfort is relevant because it makes one [Indigenous and non-Indigenous] “reflect on the consequences of colonialism, even today”, that makes everyone [colonisers and colonised] uncomfortable on a certain level, at one stage of the 'two-worlds' experience that we are all living:

“Colonization does not only affect Indigenous Peoples, but it also affects the colonizing peoples themselves, especially the children and grandchildren of many generations who lived within a colonizing mentality. So, the first thing I say is that the person must be open to change, to say, 'No, this story is wrong'.”

Discomfort thematic narrative analysis summary

The knowledge holders/research collaborators referred to the discomfort theme more through the lens of racism and discrimination, under-representation, misinformation, cultural knowledge 'extraction', and violence that is inherent to the work of Indigenous journalists - particularly Indigenous women journalists working in Brazil Indigenous territories on features including political, economic and environmental aspects of the process of the stolen Indigenous territories by the 'white', wealthy and politically influential farmers and loggers in the Amazon region. This study's Indigenous journalists also touch on the theme of discomfort as a necessary feeling/transformational process that they think non-Indigenous journalists need to go through to decolonise themselves and their work strategies and practices when they contact the Indigenous communities, seek approval to enter and get information, find sources amongst the community members and leaders, manage their time, relation and trust dynamics, discuss the giving-back, and, finally, produce a culturally competent content. Interestingly, although Indigenous journalists in this study are from different First Nations Peoples and other parts of the world, many of their thoughts, opinions, expectations, and feelings are similar.

Discomfort, likewise, as other negative feelings such as shame, guilt, and nervousness, were reported by the non-Indigenous journalists referring to not only their work on First Nations issues but also when reflecting on their western ways of being, doing, thinking, knowing, and working that then are mirrored in their strategies and practices in non-Indigenous mainstream journalism related with Indigenous Peoples. Non-Indigenous journalists also elaborated on how discomfoting it can be to them when they are seen only as a 'white' person, even when they

want "to be part of the solution and are working hard in avoiding being part of the problem" in the non-Indigenous mainstream journalism in Australia and Brazil. The experiences of discomfort reported by this study's non-Indigenous journalists who live and work in Australia and those who live and work in Brazil are quite distinct due to the context and specific characteristics and political and historical aspects of the journalism sector in Australia and Brazil. However, the main types of discomforting feelings they described also have much in common.

One can say, overall, that these non-Indigenous journalists are uncomfortable when reporting Indigenous affairs.

5.3.3 – Cultural knowledge theme

Cultural knowledge was a recurrent theme across the *Dadirri* yarns with the two groups of journalists (Indigenous and non-Indigenous). All participants in the data collection (except NIJ_2) acknowledge the relevance and the need to increase Indigenous cultural knowledge when reporting on Indigenous Peoples.

In the context of this thesis, cultural knowledge means 'insider' knowledge that is known only by people within a particular culture or by people who have learned about the culture through interaction with that culture. Therefore, in journalism, cultural knowledge can be seen as the resources of information, sources, experiences, and contacts journalists may (or may not) have about different and overlapping cultures, nationalities, and ethnicities.

In journalism reporting on Indigenous people matters, it is imperative to have a certain level of Indigenous cultural knowledge to do culturally accurate and respectful work. Also, a core aspect of journalists' cultural knowledge is sourcing: who are given a voice as members of the community representing specific cultures and who are denied access to the media by journalists. This is of particular importance in reporting on multicultural affairs.

Cultural knowledge also relates to a journalist's awareness of different modes of (intercultural) communication when working in a culturally diverse society. Murdock (1999, p.13) argues that in the context of the media resources of information and experience (cf. knowledge), interpretation and explanation (cf. responsibilities of journalists) and social delegation are, in fact, all questions of cultural knowledge and representation. Journalists cannot isolate representation while reflecting ethnic and cultural diversity in terms of (the composition

of) the labour force, the construction of their networks, story source selection and the portrayal of minorities (in still and moving images, spoken and written word). Also, content analyses of how news media write about or depict ethnic minorities (see, for example, Van Dijk, 1991) are critical when one thinks about Indigenous cultural knowledge. And the research participants discussed the matter in the *Dadirri* yarns.

Because of the increased globalization and corresponding migration and the rise of so-called 'diasporic communities', but also the fact that Indigenous Peoples worldwide are projecting their voice more consistently and powerfully, the notion of cultural knowledge and ways to get it, refine it and manage it in a culturally competent way, cultural or multicultural citizenship have become central considerations in today's social-political formation of society (Kymlicka, 1996).

One may, therefore, expect today's journalists to develop their cultural and multicultural responsibilities. This particularly impacts journalists' role perceptions in contemporary society (see Weaver, 1998) and how they seek to improve their strategies and practices when reporting on the 'Other'.

The theme of cultural knowledge explicitly appeared in all research participants' yarns, except in NIJ_2's narrative.

Figure 8 Comparative thematic analysis between non-Indigenous and Indigenous journalists' transcripts, specifically for Cultural knowledge theme



(Percentage based on the number of characters per block of the text related to the specific theme)

Four of the five non-Indigenous research participants used 5% of their total narrative thematically analysed in the *Dadirri* yarning sessions’ transcripts with words, phrases, opinions, feelings, examples, and metaphors related directly or indirectly to various levels of Cultural knowledge.

NIJ_1 acknowledged their lack of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander cultural knowledge. In fact, NIJ_1 sees this lack of cultural knowledge as something “normal” for an “outsider” to Australian culture, especially since NIJ_1 is also a non-Indigenous person. Still, NIJ_1 tried to do a parallel between their own cultural background, but still, they are aware that, for specific instances, this “attempt of putting oneself in other’s shoes” is as far as they can go in this case:

“I accept that there are a lot of things I don’t understand and that I’ll never be able to fully comprehend – like the trauma they [Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples] have, it’s something I can’t understand as I don’t have the experience of it... I have a little bit of parallel back in my country when we were occupied by the Soviet Union, but it wasn’t as hush, you know (...) The main thing is to be open as much as we can and try to understand where the Indigenous Peoples with whom we are dealing with are coming from, like what the interview does mean to them, especially what some concepts mean to them, for instance, what the land represents for them, what is the meaning of the sentence ‘caring for country’ for example ...”

However, NIJ_1 realised during the *Dadirri* yarning session that they know some essential aspects of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander culture. But NIJ_1 confessed to having learned these cultural aspects the hard way when they could have learned them better if they had done the necessary “homework” for a non-Indigenous journalist:

“Another cultural example that can bring serious issues is to mention the name of Indigenous people that have died in your feature. That is a big mistake that we, non-Indigenous journalists, must avoid, especially because we’re often reporting on dead. Another protocol thing is when you introduce yourself to an Indigenous person before you start the interview, you should start by telling them who you are, where your family roots are from, and where you live, and then give the Indigenous person the time and opportunity to do the same. Acknowledging you, your family and your country is crucial for Indigenous Peoples. It would have helped me more if I had the cultural knowledge of that and other small but significant Indigenous cultural costumes before I started reporting on Indigenous Peoples in Australia.”

Moreover, NIJ_1 mentioned other Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander cultural protocol rules, in this case, that they observed, on the side, from their Indigenous colleagues' work in the newsroom:

“Also, in this list of cultural protocol rules, it will be important to include other practices that have directly to do with Indigenous culture, such as avoiding certain issues of a political nature or even mentioning the name of a person without authorization from the family or community – this is a huge lack of protocol here for Indigenous Australians, for example.”

NIJ_3 contributed to the narrative analysis of the Cultural Knowledge theme with an example that shows how crucial it is to have some Indigenous cultural knowledge before you go to the Indigenous territory to interview a community member:

“My Indigenous colleague's presence in the interview with the Indigenous community member was vital, as they were ‘relatives’ – Indigenous people from Amazon call each other ‘parentes’ [relatives] - a ‘parente’ is another Indigenous person from the same community. Another thing that contributed to the interview's success was the presence of a teacher whom the Indigenous interviewee had known for a long time. Indigenous Peoples are community-based in all aspects of their lives, so they must be surrounded by family and other community members when interviewed, especially if the journalist is non-Indigenous.”

NIJ_4 explained this Cultural Knowledge of ‘Indigenous cultural and political Associative network’ a bit further in their narrative:

“Indigenous Peoples in the Amazon territory communicate with the Brazilian government through associative networks. Indigenous leaders manage these Indigenous Associations, and they demand, mainly from young Indigenous people, and from their partners, the creation of more efficient communication within the Indigenous communities' territory.”

As shown in Figure 8 above, this research study's two Indigenous knowledge holders/research collaborators used 4.80% of their total narrative thematically analysed in the *Dadirri* yarning sessions' transcripts with words, phrases, opinions, feelings,

examples, and metaphors related directly or indirectly to various levels of Cultural knowledge.

IJ_1 showed the theme of Cultural Knowledge was a susceptible one for them and their Canadian Indigenous colleagues by both taking a long and profound deep breath before starting to speak about it and by being extremely assertive, clear, and critical in their observations, particularly when giving their opinion on the often lack of Cultural Knowledge from the non-Indigenous colleagues' side while reporting on Indigenous matters:

“Indigenous storytellers often have the lived experience to tell those stories more in-depth. Unfortunately, non-Indigenous journalists tend to not contact or even include them in their features. What I want to avoid, as many of my Indigenous colleagues in Canadian mainstream newsrooms, is that inappropriate and disrespectful non-Indigenous journalists go to our communities and simply extract, take away our stories without some kind of respect, prior knowledge, and appreciation.”

IJ_2 sees the theme of Cultural Knowledge from a different lens than IJ_1. For this Indigenous journalist, Cultural Knowledge must include, above all, Indigenous historical context, and intergenerational trauma. For IJ_2, this can be even more relevant information about Indigenous Peoples to report on non-Indigenous mainstream media than other more specific cultural aspects that “Indigenous Peoples are already kind of expecting non-Indigenous Peoples not to know, at least not in great detail”:

“Yes, these Indigenous stories need to be brought to all four fronts because usually they involve inequality, for example, but they also have to go hand in hand with that entire historical context of Indigenous intergenerational trauma that is so important for non-Indigenous journalists to include in their reporting. Understanding how and why the complex Indigenous situation became what it is today in Brazil is crucial, and this is cultural knowledge, too.”

Cultural knowledge thematic narrative analysis summary

Indigenous journalists reinforced the respect all journalists must have in keeping Indigenous Cultural Knowledge accurate and using it to respect and benefit the First Nations communities directly or indirectly. Moreover, Indigenous journalists noted the importance of

returning First Nations Cultural Knowledge to these communities after it was 'extracted', 'transformed', and finally published in the non-Indigenous mainstream Media.

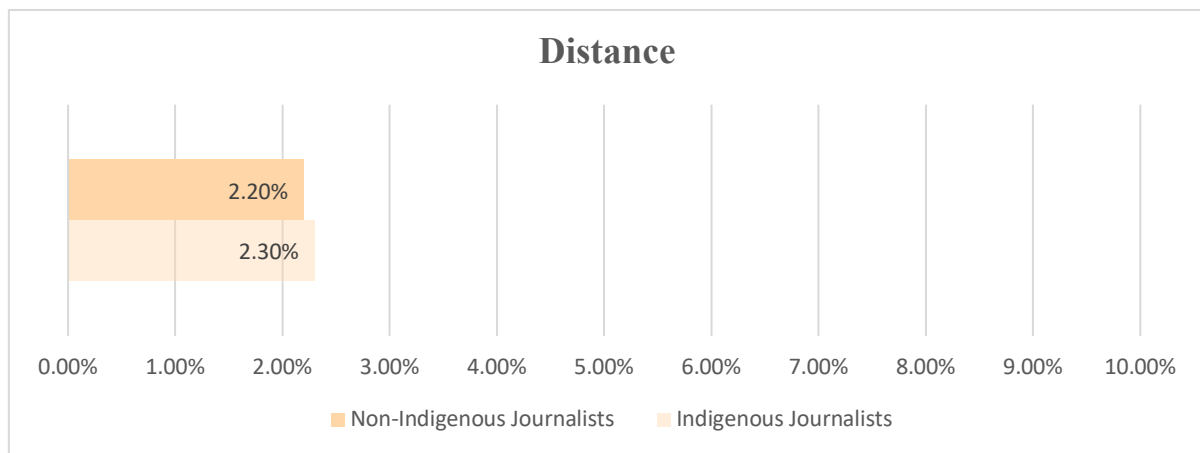
On the other hand, this study's three out of the four non-Indigenous journalists have shown as much awareness of some critical aspects of Indigenous Cultural Knowledge as a great deal of lack of it. They used the opportunity to give some explanation as to why their Cultural Knowledge is not “quite there yet” by assuming that the fact that they are not Indigenous Peoples means that they will probably never know as much as they feel they should about Indigenous Cultural Knowledge to report on Indigenous matters as journalists properly.

5.3.4 – Distance theme

Distance is a concept that is present in only four of the journalists' stories in this data collection. IJ_1 and NIJ_2 did not include the theme in their narrative. Still, the journalists that did mention it had something relevant to share, so this was one of the themes chosen to analyse.

Distance here means not only geographic distance [non-Indigenous journalists discussed how reporting on Indigenous Peoples that live in remote areas can directly interfere with their journalistic strategies and practices in covering these stories] but also cultural and social distance and how colonialism and the historical and inter-generational trauma, inequalities that still prevail today (see Chapter 1 of this thesis) impact a sense of proximity between Indigenous and non-Indigenous, therefore, impacts also on the relationship between Indigenous leaders/sources and the non-Indigenous journalists.

Figure 9 Comparative thematic analysis between non-Indigenous and Indigenous journalists' transcripts, specifically for Distance theme



(Percentage based on the number of characters per block of the text related to the specific theme)

All non-Indigenous research participants, except NIJ_2, used 2.20% of their total narrative thematically analysed in the *Dadirri* yarning sessions' transcripts with words, phrases, opinions, feelings, examples, and metaphors related directly or indirectly to various levels of Distance.

NIJ_1, for example, discussed distance from a particular perspective. As a casual journalist, NIJ_1 does not spend much of their work time in the newsroom; on the contrary, they work many weeks from home. Therefore, NIJ_1 mentioned this physical distance became a relational distance of some sort between NIJ_1 and their Indigenous colleagues from the newsroom, which then interfered with NIJ_1 increasing Indigenous cultural knowledge and, potentially, impacted the quality of NIJ_1 work when reporting on First Nations stories:

"I actually would have enjoyed my work much more if I could have more time together with my Indigenous colleagues and things like that. I believe it was the nature of the work I was doing and the fact that I was working casually, the major factor for the lack of interaction with my Indigenous colleagues."

NIJ_3 mentioned another very pertinent case of distance – the kind of distance from 'self' and from one's media institution's agenda you work for, that is needed, in certain

circumstances, in order the non-Indigenous journalist be able to do a good job on covering First Nation's stories:

“This distance from yourself and the interests of your newsroom [and media to whom you work for] and reporting is fundamental. You have to imagine what it's like to live in another way, to be part of another culture, respecting it above all else, even above your own at that moment.”

NIJ_3 elaborated on another kind of distance: the "geographical distance between journalists and Indigenous sources, that often serves as an excuse not to do a proper job". NIJ_3 also works as an academic, and they see Indigenous students at university becoming increasingly leaders on behalf of their communities. Therefore, NIJ_3 believes this is a great opportunity as an excellent "shortcut" between non-Indigenous journalists and First Nations communities in Brazil, as Indigenous university students can now be the sources to look for their Peoples' stories:

“Whenever non-Indigenous journalists need content for their stories, students have easier access to community leaders. But the students can themselves be the sources because sometimes it's difficult to talk to people in the community, right? These are remote areas, not always with access to a telephone or internet... Anyway, you may have an excuse not to interview. But the students are very accessible, and the universities are in the cities. (...) However, they [non-Indigenous journalists] don't know; they're not familiar with the culture. So, this could be a reason for them to stay away, for them to prefer, for example, not to contact Indigenous students as sources to include their voices in their articles – which couldn't be worse... I mean to exclude the Indigenous voices when reporting on Indigenous stories “.

Also, NJI_4 referred to a mix of different kinds of distance - geographical, linguistic and technological – between non-Indigenous journalists and Indigenous communities living in highly remote territories in Brazil. However, also NIJ_4 do not accept these barriers as excuses anymore:

“Until recently, the lack of internet access, the distance from the most remote Indigenous communities and the language issue were significant barriers to overcome by non-Indigenous Brazilian journalists. But nowadays, that is no longer the case. It's no longer an excuse.”

As shown in Figure 9 above, this research study's one of the two Indigenous knowledge holders/research collaborators used 2.30% of their total narrative thematically analysed in the *Dadirri* yarning sessions' transcripts with words, phrases, opinions, feelings, examples, and metaphors related directly or indirectly to various levels of Distance.

Likewise, NIJ_3 and NJI_4, IJ_2 elaborated on the distance theme from the Indigenous journalistic sources' access point of view. As IJ_2 confirmed, non-Indigenous journalists can do a better job of reporting on Indigenous issues if they try harder to hear the Indigenous voices and include them in the features. According to IJ_2, even in the remotest of the Indigenous territories, there is a chance to get a community member to communicate and enrich the story being reported:

“Nowadays, there are already young Indigenous Brazilians at universities pursuing bachelor's, master's and even PhDs. We are always available to be journalistic sources regarding issues in our communities. But the truth is that non-Indigenous journalists rarely contact us to hear our voices. Another factor that can facilitate reporting on Indigenous issues is that there are already exceptionally well-organised networks of Indigenous communicators in remote communities. These communicators are always available, and in communities with Internet access, these communicators use WhatsApp as a vehicle for communication. Therefore, all non-Indigenous journalists wanting to do a better job only have to come to us.”

Distance thematic narrative analysis summary

Distance was not discussed as much as other themes in this narrative analysis of the *Dadirri* yarning sessions' transcripts. Still, I included the theme as Distance continues to be one of the most substantial barriers to achieving culturally inclusive, accurate and competent journalism covering Indigenous Peoples' lives, matters and stories. This study's non-Indigenous and Indigenous journalists who elaborated on Distance in their narratives were clear in their opinions and examples. Cultural, emotional, geographical, and technological Distance interfere with the increase of non-Indigenous journalists' Cultural Competence (especially when they tend not to include Indigenous voices in their work, feeling that these sources are too far away culturally, emotionally, geographically and technologically to reach out within the non-Indigenous newsrooms' deadlines and financial limitation), which potentially is a

substantial barrier they have to overcome if they pursue excellent journalistic coverage of First Nations Peoples' affairs.

5.3.5 – Time theme

Time was a critical theme across all *Dadirri* yarns of this data collection process. Indigenous and non-Indigenous referred to time as one of the most crucial elements to consider in reporting First Nations issues in non-Indigenous mainstream journalism. Time is an entirely different concept between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Peoples. Amongst the vast diversity of First Nations cultures and languages worldwide, time has various conceptualizations and applications.

In Australia, for example, the Aboriginal concept of time differs from the Judeo-Christian perception of time (Janca & Bullen, 2003) in that Aboriginal Peoples do not perceive time as an exclusively 'linear' category (i.e. past-present-future) and often place events in a 'circular' pattern of time according to which an individual is in the centre of 'time-circles' and events are set in time according to their relative importance for the individual and their respective community (i.e. the more critical events are perceived as being 'closer in time') (Janca & Bullen, 2003). Such an essential difference in perception of time contributes to the limited applicability of western non-Indigenous standard journalistic strategies and practices when reporting on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples. It creates numerous difficulties in providing culturally appropriate journalism to Aboriginal people in Australia naturally.

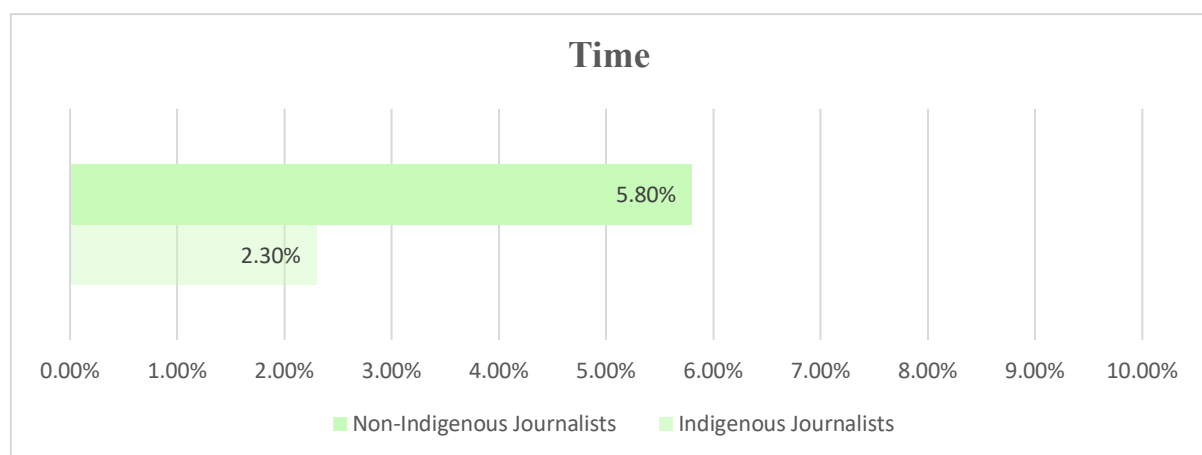
Another excellent example comes from Silva Sinha's field study (2019) of event-based time concepts, their linguistic expression and their use in time reckoning practices in three Brazilian First Nations cultures and languages - Huni Kuĩ (Pano, North-West Amazonia), Awetý and Kamaiurá (Tupi Guaraní; Xingu National Park). In this part of the world, for these communities, there is no lexical translation equivalent for "time" in any of the three languages studied (Silva Sinha, 2019). There are terms for 'dry season' and 'rainy season' in all three languages and terms in all three languages for generic lunar months. But there are no terms for 'year', for example, although the term 'dry season' can also be used for year in all the languages. Interestingly, there are no terms for 'week' and no names for 'days of the week' or 'months of the year' (Silva Sinha, 2019). Therefore, after collecting this data, Silva Sinha (2019) interpreted this new knowledge as indicating the absence of metric time intervals and the cultural conceptualization of 'Time as Such', at least not as the non-Indigenous conceptualize it

(Sinha et al., 2011). The author also discovered that time is exclusively event-based for the Huni Kuĩ, Awetý, and Kamaiurá Peoples. These communities may use numbers to quantify time periods, but this is an imprecise quantification rather than a strict enumeration (e.g., 'three moons' can mean 'more or less three moons') (Silva Sinha, 2019) - this does not mean, of course, that these are cultures without time. Event-based time concepts are the foundation of a complex, traditional lifeworld (Schultz, 1966) for these Amazonian and Xinguan communities.

These two examples of different concepts of time demonstrate how relevant the theme of time is in this thesis, as time, particularly in non-Indigenous mainstream journalism that reports on Indigenous communities in remote places (in the urban context, First Nations Peoples adapted to western concept and use of time to survive life in 'two-worlds'), is one of the most significant sources of stress for all journalists.

The theme of Time appeared in most of the research participants' yarns (except in IJ_1's and NIJ_4's narratives), which can indicate that time is noted and highly present in the minds of most journalists who participated in this data collection.

Figure 10 Comparative thematic analysis between non-Indigenous and Indigenous journalists' transcripts, specifically for Time theme



(Percentage based on the number of characters per block of the text related to the specific theme)

The four three non-Indigenous research participants used 5.80% of their total narrative thematically analysed in the *Dadirri* yarning sessions' transcripts with words,

phrases, opinions, feelings, examples, and metaphors related directly or indirectly to various levels of Time.

NIJ_1 feels the lack of time “is killing journalism” in general, let alone Indigenous journalism:

“Honestly, this lack of time and contact ‘rushing things’ is killing journalism. It doesn’t have to be only in the case of Indigenous journalism. When I started to work as a journalist a long time ago, I had so much time to prepare myself and my work; because of that, I would learn so much more! Nowadays, you don’t have that time. I think one hour will never be enough to do a good interview; we all agree with that. The Australian Indigenous Peoples with whom I worked and that I’ve interviewed, though, even they live within the western system and often feel the lack of time is one the biggest challenges for them. Still, from my experience, many Indigenous Peoples already accommodate life within the non-Indigenous system.”

NIJ_1 worked with African First Nations before and, comparing African Indigenous with Australian Indigenous, regarding their differences in time concept, the Czech journalist reinforced cultural diversity between Indigenous Peoples worldwide as follows:

“As I worked in Africa before, I have a different experience of the concept of time for Indigenous Peoples, and I believe time in Africa is experienced differently. Comparing both countries, I think time is experienced more ‘wildly’ in Africa than in Australia. The concept of time and how people use time in Africa is just so unique. African colleagues would say, ‘One day we will do this and this’, and I needed things to be done ‘today’, like ‘now’, and my African colleagues would say, ‘“This is Africa”,’ and I would respond, ‘But people are waiting for me and my work’. It was super challenging for me to work there. But in the end, I got used to it and loved it.”

Also, NIJ_2 considered time as a “great institutional barrier to overcome” as a journalist, particularly one that is non-Indigenous and is covering First Nations affairs for typical mainstream media:

“Time is a considerable issue when we have to produce quickly, and we don’t have time to do much deeper cultural or historical research. Going back to ideal vs reality, I believe that any normal mainstream non-Indigenous media has that rhythm that we all know so well, in which you have two days to present the material, regardless of whether it is complex. So, if I arrived at the community and they didn’t welcome or talk to me because it was a spiritual, sacred day for them, for example,

I wouldn't impose or say, 'No, but we agreed, and now you have to talk, we don't have time to postpone the interview, blah blah'. No, I would respect it. But the reality is that I would have to return to the newsroom with something as quickly as I can. If not, my newsroom boss would soon decide what to do with my absence from the subject and the time I would have 'lost'. It would be a dire situation, I'm sure."

NIJ_3 referred to the theme of time not only as one of the most critical elements of a culturally competent and respectful journalistic coverage of Indigenous matters but also an incredibly significant thing to take into consideration in a relationship with a First Nation person or community:

"I think the first thing would be to respect the time of the other [interviewee, leader, or member of the Indigenous community]. Never do it in a hurry. We know that rush in traditional journalism is a component that is 'part of'. But to work with Indigenous Peoples, we need to give up that. If you want to report on Indigenous Peoples, you need to comply with their time. So, rushing or just wanting to do it over the phone, asking two questions and solving your problem is not the way to go. We really must take time to look at the indigenous people with more respect for them, for their lives, schedules and tasks and their agenda of priorities. You must have empathy, put yourself in someone else's shoes, and have that shift, right? I think the time issue is crucial for us to get the report, which never happens in a few minutes. Sometimes this process takes days, weeks, months or even years. They [Indigenous Peoples] speak better to those who have time to create the necessary trust, right?"

NIJ_3 was critical of the attitude Brazilian non-Indigenous journalists tend to have regarding their work in reporting First Nations matters:

"There's no contact, no proximity, no time, and one thing led to another. The issue of time is significant for good journalism that reports on Indigenous Peoples. All we [non-Indigenous journalists] must do is think it will take a long time, and that's about it. But no, usually some of us assume it will be very complicated, and so on... and those are the ones who simply give up on doing the right thing that leads to the best work. Non-Indigenous journalists, unfortunately, tend to prefer to do the easiest."

As shown in Figure 10 above, this research study's one of the Indigenous knowledge holders/research collaborators [IJ_2] used 2.30% of their total narrative thematically analysed in the *Dadirri* yarning sessions' transcripts with words, phrases,

opinions, feelings, examples, and metaphors related directly or indirectly to various levels of Time.

The Brazilian Indigenous journalist, IJ_2, reflected on the concept of time for their people while also elaborating on their own difficulties in accommodating the non-Indigenous time concept of the mainstream media newsroom for whom they work:

“One of the biggest difficulties I felt in some newsrooms where I worked is the time issue. I don't particularly appreciate working in a newsroom environment because I don't like the time pressure. I need research time, writing time, and time to go back to the text, listen, and see if this is exactly what I want to say. And, of course, I want to respect the Indigenous community's time, which is my time, too. Many of my non-Indigenous colleagues arrived and said – 'I want an answer tomorrow' – even though the subject was very complex. And sometimes, the community's leaders may not even be in the community. They move around and travel often between Indigenous territories or inside the village, often in places without an Internet connection. And sometimes that's it: there's no time for that quick response that newsroom bosses demand. Communication in the Indigenous area cannot be immediate. The time of Indigenous Peoples is different. They work differently. There must be a time of analysis to put the question correctly. After analysing to see if the community understood the issue, it is necessary to discuss the media vehicle and decide whether it is trustworthy. So, there is all this need for time to manage the distrust factor, which is very valid as Indigenous Peoples are done with trusting journalists that do not do beneficial work towards the communities and sometimes even put them in danger.”

Time thematic narrative analysis summary

All participants who mentioned the theme of time in their narratives revealed that time is vital in journalism, particularly in covering Indigenous matters.

Time was discussed as a crucial element of trust-building with First Nations Peoples. Moreover, time is needed for all steps necessary for Indigenous journalism – both Indigenous and non-Indigenous journalists agreed time is essential to get all sorts and levels of approvals from the community leaders, to travel to the remote Indigenous territories, to build trust from the community members to get them to communicate with suitable Indigenous sources and work on the relevant and accurate information to enrich the journalistic feature.

Both kinds of journalists [Indigenous and non-Indigenous] also mentioned that time is needed to learn cultural knowledge and protocol, as well as the historical, political, and social context of the Indigenous community, its territory, and current events related to the story. Time to research, think about what and what not to ask the community, revise the text to ensure the writing is under the Indigenous protocol, etc.

Non-Indigenous journalists also confessed that time can be a big issue for them as the non-Indigenous newsroom and its respective media institutions have such a rhythm of production that “there is never enough time to do the ideal Indigenous journalism”. Indigenous journalists, on the other hand, said that they live according to Indigenous concepts of time, which are fundamentally different from the non-indigenous, and that makes them very uncomfortable working in the mainstream newsroom. All journalists agree that “time is so needed that the lack of it is killing journalism”. Lacking time can also lead the journalist to lose the story, make mistakes with severe consequences for the community, lose the trust of an Indigenous source, or end the relationship with the community entirely.

5.3.6 – Trust theme

Trust is a fundamental pillar in any kind of relationship, including a relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Peoples, journalists (Indigenous and non-Indigenous) and Indigenous Peoples. Trust is relational and inherently an unequal relationship. Trust in the context of journalism assumes that the trustee (journalist) has something of value (e.g., information) that the trustor (public) does not and depends on it (Usher, 2018). In other words, Trust is related directly to risk. As Blöbaum (2016) notes: "Because journalism conveys information recipients usually do not know, it depends on trust. Consequently, trust becomes more important in societies and circumstances that are perceived as risky" (p.15).

Numerous causes may contribute to the distrust in media, including lack of meaningful engagement with the audience, diminishing news locality, increase in branded content and the influence of advertisers, lack of accountability and admittance of wrongdoing (Javidiani, 2018). In addition, a closer look at the press reveals a troubling lack of diversity in both content and its producers (Javidiani, 2018).

It is evident that, for example, the First Nations' audience often finds the news neither relevant nor resonating with their reality. Indigenous Peoples feel that mainstream non-

Indigenous Media overlooks their ways of being, doing, knowing, and seeing, reflected in the lack of Indigenous topics, perspectives, and representation (Javidiani, 2018). Worse than that, when Indigenous Peoples do appear in the national news of their countries, they are often misrepresented and badly portrayed - and this has been happening for centuries now.

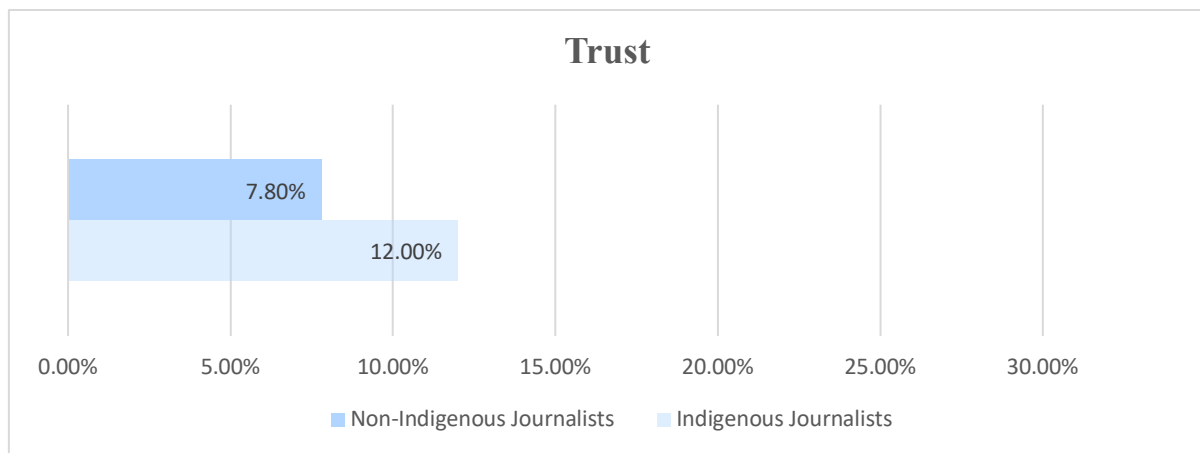
Therefore, when news fails to resonate with those not represented or wrongly and disrespectfully represented, it will lose its relevance and credibility among these communities (Javidiani, 2018). In other words, if a community's reality, needs, and struggles are not, or are poorly, reflected in the media, that media not only fails to provide a complete picture but also to resonate with that community, thus losing its relevance and trust. (Javidiani, 2018).

Trust is, therefore, that which connects the audience to the journalist and is vital to almost every function of journalism: as a witness bearer, authenticator, sense maker, watchdog, forum organizer, community builder, etc. (Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2014 Usher, 2017). In the context of this thesis, a lack of Trust can result in the migration of Indigenous readers to other sources, which may or may not be trustworthy.

The second significant trust issue is the need for non-Indigenous journalism strategies and practices to face a potential power imbalance. Pierre Bourdieu's conceptual framework of habitus, capital, and field helped provide structural insights into social and racial inequities. In Bourdieusian terms, cultural capital refers to accumulating cultural knowledge, skills, and abilities that privileged social groups possess, inherit, and value. White, middle-class society has assumed a standard of cultural dominance, with a tendency for other groups to be deemed deficient compared to this 'norm' (Yosso 2005).

A major challenge, therefore, is for the non-Indigenous journalist to earn the respect and Trust of the Indigenous communities. All Indigenous knowledge holders/research collaborators of this study still feel that there are significant differences between the status of the 'white privileged' non-Indigenous journalists and First Nations Peoples. The participants in this data collection reported their concern about the substantial risk that these differences could hamper attempts to build communication, understanding and Trust between the non-Indigenous journalists and the First Nations they report on, as well as their Indigenous sources and audiences.

Figure 11 Comparative thematic analysis between non-Indigenous and Indigenous journalists' transcripts, specifically for Trust theme



(Percentage based on the number of characters per block of the text related to the specific theme)

The non-Indigenous research participants (except NIJ_1) used 7.80% of their total narrative thematically analysed in the *Dadirri* yarning sessions' transcripts with words, phrases, opinions, feelings, examples, and metaphors related directly or indirectly to various levels of Trust.

NIJ_2 thinks that trust is crucial, for example, to get more Indigenous sources:

"Yes, without a doubt, trust is vital. Even to do not only better but also more work. We could explore more work in this area if we felt fewer or at least not as stronger barriers to getting good sources."

On the other hand, NIJ_3 connected the theme of trust directly with the approval to enter the Indigenous community to interview someone or report a story. NIJ_3 knows by lived experience that only after one has established a relation of trust with the community is when "doors may open to you". NIJ_3 compares entering an Indigenous territory without approval to entering someone's home without even knocking at the door:

"You must ask for permission to enter Indigenous territory. The non-indigenous people are very 'folgados' [not respectable of other's space, needs and interests], as we would say here in Brazil, right? No one comes to my house without telling me or entering my house without asking permission. First, he knocks on my door, then

asks if he can come in, and only then do we interact. I can invite you to my door or not, that's my decision. But no one will enter my house without me inviting or allowing them. And non-Indigenous journalists do exactly that when they enter Indigenous communities. They go to the Indigenous territory, enter, and immediately start photographing and filming. So, first, you must ask for permission to enter, look for the leadership, and speak to them. And nowadays, authorization can be requested via cell phone, even via WhatsApp, which indigenous Brazilians already use. Secondly, when you finally get permission from the leadership, you must introduce yourself, including presenting the perspective of your report and asking for directions as to who in the community you could talk about that subject (this person is also subject to authorization from the leadership). Trust is never immediate; it takes time, sometimes months or even years, to finally get."

To better exemplify the true meaning and the power of trust in journalism, especially in the context of journalism that involves Indigenous Peoples, NIJ_3 shared a situation that happened with them:

"He [the Indigenous interviewee] didn't trust me at first. Still, I think he also felt that I had cultural sensitivity and was humbly providing service to the community with my coverage of this story. This humility, availability, and empathy are essential. I think those factors were the factors that disarmed him. Because he didn't disarm quickly; instead, he disarmed gradually. Initially, he didn't know us, so naturally, he didn't trust us. Most importantly, he was mad at us, 'white journalists', because we represented everything terrible in his life.

But, as I said, he then gradually saw that we were together with him for the Indigenous cause; we were allies. So much so that we cried together throughout the interview and after his story; this interview was incredible as I understood the real meaning and power of trust between a journalist and the interviewee, particularly in the Indigenous context."

NIJ_4 is very experienced and has succeeded well in Indigenous journalism. They believe their career only went this well thanks to the trust they built with the First Nations of several Amazonian regions throughout many years of respect and time spent in the communities getting to know the people, listening to them deeply, and being willing to increase cultural knowledge and learning to be by their side under their protocols and expectations, above all, trying to do the journalism they need, and doing it how they want it to be done:

“I know this country from north to south. I've been to more than 50 Indigenous territories. The contact information of the Indigenous people from these communities is on my cell phone. I have a life with these people, a story of friendship, of affection. I know people who were mothers; today, I get along with their children. So, I am intertwined in the lives of these Indigenous Peoples. I feel very privileged to have been in this dynamic for over ten years because it really puts me in a position of trust. In the sense of lack of ethics, nothing has ever gone wrong in my projects. This is rare and has value, you know, both for me and them [Indigenous Peoples].”

NIJ_4 then shared an example that happened with them recently that is representative of how a non-journalist should link trust to ethics directly when doing journalism that involves Indigenous Peoples:

“When we make stories for a podcast, the podcasts become theirs, the Indigenous owners of these stories. And they are the ones who looked for me to tell their stories in the first place. On one occasion, a TV series wanted to do a story on one of our podcasts with the Indigenous community. And I told the TV network: 'Look, this isn't my story. You must look for them [the Indigenous community], present the project and discuss everything with them. I'm not going to be the one starting the conversation. I don't know what the streaming will be, I don't know what exactly it will be, the conditions that are on the table, the money, the resources... So, these are the contacts here, and you introduce yourselves, tell them what your idea is, how they can benefit from it, and come to an agreement - if they are interested.' Then, if the Indigenous community calls me for this conversation, I can help them. But the stories are not mine. I only told the stories with the permission of the Indigenous community. The agreed right for me to tell the story ends when I get to tell the story for the first time.”

As shown in Figure 11 above, this research study's two Indigenous knowledge holders/research collaborators used 12% of their total narrative thematically analysed in the *Dadirri* yarning sessions' transcripts with words, phrases, opinions, feelings, examples, and metaphors related directly or indirectly to various levels of Trust.

From the First Nations lens, IJ_1 started discussing the theme of trust by showing how important it is to establish a collaborative, protocol-respectful and culturally immersive relationship between the journalist and the Canadian Indigenous community, even at an editorial control level:

“If you don’t give editorial control to the community, how do you balance the relationship? There’s a lot of relationship-building in this journalism area. Plus, not everybody in the community will like what you write and print, but if you do it correctly and truthfully, your work speaks for itself, right? There are even other little things like, sometimes, people [non-Indigenous colleagues in the newsroom] will question me if they find out that I would go to a story or community meeting and exchange protocols such as tobacco or something like that. People feel like, ‘Wow! You’re giving a gift, or you’re trying to get something...’. And it’s nothing like that at all. It’s just protocol. Or, another example, you would go to a community event to build relationships or be invited to someone for a feast or to a meal, or even to participate in a ceremony... typically, if you follow the traditional rules of mainstream journalism, you’re not supposed to do these kinds of things, you must keep neutral, distant, and so on. But when covering Indigenous issues, it’s just part of the culture... that’s how one gets the stories. But sometimes I find that other reporters [non-Indigenous journalists specifically] do go to the same events that I do, but they stay back and do not participate, not eat the food, because that is not something that they were taught, that is not expected from them, actually it’s the opposite of what is expected from them. But to get Indigenous stories, you must build relationships and trust and be embedded in the culture and community. For journalists to properly tell that story, we need to be fully immersed in that.”

Moreover, IJ_1 gave other examples and even journalism tips that are related to trust-building and that they consider to be pillar in Indigenous journalism:

“Also, if you enter our communities as a non-Indigenous journalist, you can be assured that the community will immediately know what your intentions are, whether you’re authentic and genuine right away. Whether you’re interested in simply ‘extracting’ or ‘parachute reporting’, whatever it is people will be going to pick it up straight away. In these cases, the best advice I can give is to discuss details up front – ‘look, I am here to work, and I am very grateful for you to welcome to your community. I want my story to be meaningful, but I need to know what this ceremony does intel, what do you expect from me if I participate in it?’. In the end of the day, this is so much about community and the connections we have with each other and the trust that has been given to us as journalists, and what a privilege and responsibility it is, you know?(...) It is about that relationship built, it is a work that you have to do, so you need to go and find resources about the communities, learn about the communities that you want to cover, and go and hang out with these communities and build those relationships and learn and start from there.”

IJ_2 focused more on the issues of mistrust from the Indigenous communities towards journalism and even academic research – two topics/areas of action that IJ_2 identify as almost

a ‘slap in the face’ of many First Nations Peoples due to “historical and current wrongdoing and disrespect from the non-Indigenous journalists and researchers”:

“We have had long decades of several researchers, writers, scientists and journalists who went to the communities and found the doors open very willingly. But, later, these same people gave a completely different narrative to what was said in the community. As a result, many leaders are now afraid of talking to journalists. Also, to give a second example, talking about academic research in communities nowadays is a bit of a 'slap in the face'. Many Indigenous people, especially at the leadership level, do not like the word 'research' because this was a word used for a long time to 'extract' Indigenous knowledge of communities. This knowledge later did not return, and the few times it returned came with a distorted narrative of reality and what was said before. So, we always need to think, firstly, how will the journalistic article help the community, and what impact will it have on the life of the community?”

Trust thematic narrative analysis summary

To briefly summarise the research findings from the narratives on the theme of trust in this study's Indigenous and non-Indigenous journalists, one can say that all participants that talked about this theme agree that trust is fundamental for excellent journalism involving First Nations Peoples.

Trust then seems to imply continuous throughout time, collaborative, protocol-respectful, giving-back to community-oriented and culturally immersive relationship between the journalist and the Indigenous Peoples/sources/interviewees, but also means being extremely careful not to fall into the historical wrongdoings of non-Indigenous journalists that reported disrespectfully and culturally incompetently on First Nations Peoples which then can lead to continually, naturally and rightfully lack of trust from the Indigenous Peoples towards journalism as a Communication sector.

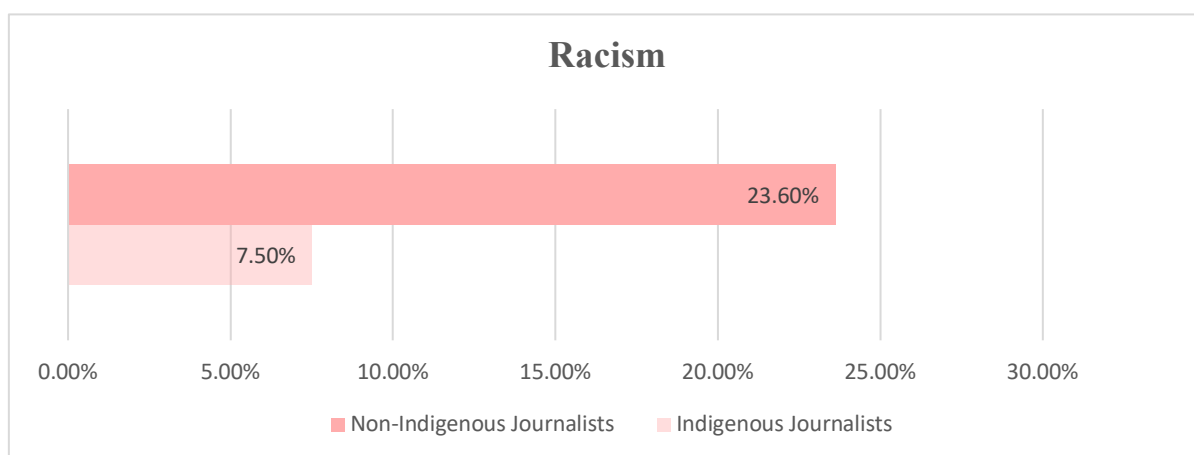
5.3.7 – Racism theme

Racism was among the most vital themes across all research participants’ *Dadirri* yarns. Indigenous and non-Indigenous groups reflected on the topic and reinforced feelings, ideas, and concerns discussed on racism in this thesis’ Background of the Study and Literature Review chapters.

Racism is here observed and analysed as a pervasive system of advantage and disadvantage based on the socially constructed category of race. Racism is enacted on multiple levels simultaneously: Institutional, cultural, interpersonal, and individual (Bell et al., 2016). Institutions structures, policies, and practices interlock with cultural assumptions about what is proper to justify racism. Individuals internalise and enact these assumptions through individual behaviour and institutional participation. “Woven together, these interactions create and sustain systemic benefits for ‘whites’ as a group, and structure discrimination, oppression, dispossession, and exclusion for people from targeted racial groups” (Bell et al., 2019, p. 134).

The theme of Racism appeared in all research participants’ yarns, indicating that racism is noted and highly present in the minds of all journalists who participated in this data collection.

Figure 12 Comparative thematic analysis between non-Indigenous and Indigenous journalists’ transcripts, specifically for Racism theme



(Percentage based on the number of characters per block of the text related to the specific theme)

The four non-Indigenous research participants used 23.60% of their total narrative thematically analysed in the *Dadirri* yarning sessions’ transcripts with words, phrases, opinions, feelings, examples, and metaphors related directly or indirectly to various levels of Racism.

NIJ_1 opened the discussion on the theme of Racism by saying how Indigenous Peoples suffer from Racism in Australia to this day:

“Terrible things that actually happened and are still happening to the Indigenous Peoples in this country.”

And as much as NIJ_1 wanted to be part of the ‘solution’ and felt in their heart, they are an ‘antiracist’ person, the Czech journalist living and working in Sydney admits they have a long way to go in their strategies and practices in journalism when reporting on Indigenous Peoples:

“It’s not like I have told her [referring to an Indigenous interviewee with whom NIJ_1 interacted once] something bad or racist or anything like that, but I felt bad the same way. I should have prepared myself better for this work to avoid mistakes that may be interpreted as racist behaviour from my side.”

Interestingly, and quite “unfortunately” [quoting NIJ_1], the journalist confessed that they feel a great deal of generalised racism among the Czech Republic community in Sydney, much more than they feels racism in their newsroom, for example, which they considered a great place to work as it welcomes a team of journalists originally from around the world. However, NIJ_1 “could not feel more ashamed and guilty” as they came to realise the Czech Republic community in Sydney is “racist towards the ‘other’ overall, not only the Indigenous Peoples”:

“I never felt racism at my current newsroom as we are a team of 68 different language groups worldwide, and so racism is a susceptible topic among us. We are all super cautious and respectful. However, to my great shame, I felt a lot of racism amongst the Czech Republic community in Australia. Like... a lot! To the point that I even proposed a podcast on the topic to the place where I currently work because, you know, even though Australia is very multicultural, my community here is not. It’s not open to other cultures at all. The oldest generation of Czech Republican immigrants that arrived in Australia in the 70s are the worst, as they have had their minds set like this since the days when they still lived in their home country in a very unopened to multiculturalism. Here in Australia, they are racist towards Indigenous Peoples, but also Indian, Lebanese, African and Asian Peoples... towards most of the other communities in sum.”

This generalised and intense racism inside their own community in Australia then brings an extra layer of conflicting feelings, identity issues as a Czech immigrant and all sorts of challenges to NIJ_1 as a non-Indigenous journalist working and living in the lands of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples:

“As a journalist, it is hard for me to manage this kind of situation in my community in Australia. I once reported on a story in a concert for the Czech Radio in Australia, and there were many ‘white’ pregnant ladies there on the day. Suddenly, one of the Czech ladies said, ‘Oh, it’s good that so many white babies are to be born. Enough of Indian, black, and Asian babies’; I couldn’t believe she had said that. At that point, my blood was boiling in my veins, you know... I was like, ‘What the hell?!’ But I was there to report on the concert and thought, ‘I will not make any friends here if I say anything, if I confront this lady after her racist comment’. So, I decided to say something lighter than I would like around these lines: ‘Oh, any baby is welcome independently from their nationality, right?’. But I felt bad because I couldn’t say more as a journalist. It’s hard.”

Conversely, NIJ_1 mentioned they "felt racism from Indigenous Peoples towards 'white people' in general" and shared why they interpreted as an example of 'racism' and how this situation interfered with their journalistic work directly.

“There was like a lady very ‘white’ looking but identifying as an Indigenous person, that was very openly critical and racist towards ‘white people’, that I had to interview once. (...) While doing a bit of research on her before the interview, I saw her comments on social media on how ‘white people’ are colonialists and how they are privileged and use their ‘white privilege’ and stuff in their favour. As a ‘white’ person myself, that just made me feel so, so, so unwelcomed. As a journalist about to interview this lady, I felt super nervous and lacked confidence. Her posts on social media haven’t helped me in my work at all, honestly. To summarise, I never experienced racism personally in Australia nor elsewhere; but I’ve experienced a kind of racist discomfort as a ‘white person.’”

(As the researcher, I must note this may not be quite an example of 'racism' as I am analysing it in this study - see the definition of racism used for this research study, which opens this section of the theme analysis. Instead, this participant's testimony may be more of an example of the unsettling realisation that the “non-Indigenous allies are made and not self-proclaimed” (Adams, 2021, p. 761) and that this 'racism' that NIJ_1 refers to is part of the necessarily painful and discomforting process of one's decolonisation process).

NIJ_2 showed a certain level of what one may call unconscious biased Racism, as NIJ_2's narrative on Racism reflected some unaware social stereotypes about Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples that NIJ_2 formed outside their own conscious awareness. Literature and even generalised common sense indicate that everyone holds unconscious beliefs

about various social and identity groups, and these biases stem from one's tendency to organise social worlds by categorising.

NIJ_2 has lived in Australia for more than 20 years, after they were born and raised in Brazil – a land of Indigenous Peoples as well – but their thoughts and words on Australian Indigenous Peoples still show a fundamental lack of cultural knowledge, historical, political and social Indigenous situation mixed with feelings of 'antiracist good intention' that NIJ_2 interprets as "not bad racism" as if Racism could be scaled from bad to good Racism, being the 'bad racism' the one other's feel and practice intentionally, and 'not bad racism' the type of Racism that is unintentional and unconscious and because of that 'may not be felt by its target' as 'real racism'.

Moreover, NIJ_2 also demonstrated the kind of relational power imbalance between non-Indigenous and Indigenous Peoples, where non-Indigenous peoples tend to paternalize First Nations Peoples, including by showing 'pity' for them and their ways of living and doing in general.

See two examples in the NIJ_2 narrative on Racism that are representative of what was discussed before in the previous paragraphs of this section:

Example A - Unconscious racism linked to cultural misinformation and historical misrepresentation of Indigenous Peoples in Australia. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples represent around 3% of the total population in Australia. Still, they are present in every state of Australia, including South Australia, where NIJ_2 lives and works. Even though Indigenous Peoples may have adapted to western life to survive colonialism and can even present 'whiter' skin due to regular multicultural family relationship ties or, in many worse cases, to intergenerational traumatic events that included the 'stolen generation' process where thousands of kids were stolen from their families to live and to serve 'white' colonising families and to instances of rape by 'white' people that then originated new generations of mixed Indigenous-European children; they identify as Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people no matter what, always and forever. They still live and thrive as a strong community, keeping their cultural knowledge and practices very much alive in all significant Australian cities such as Melbourne:

“Indigenous stories are difficult to obtain because, for example, here in the Victoria area, in South Australia, we hardly see indigenous people on the street. It's not like in Darwin where we come across indigenous people on the street with a lot of problems.”

Example B - Unconscious racism linked to cultural misinformation and historical misrepresentation of Indigenous Peoples' ways and lives in Australia but also associated with a consistently and politically perpetuated paternalistic vision by non-Indigenous peoples towards Indigenous Peoples due to an under or even lack of representation of Indigenous Peoples in imbalanced power relations between them, being the non-Indigenous peoples, consciously or unconsciously, the ones who believe they have all the solutions for all problems, as well as the ones who feel 'pity' (at times even with the guilt associated) from a superior standpoint for the 'subaltern other'.

“My idea of the Indigenous people of the interior of Darwin, for example, is that they live poorly, like 'cattle' in sub-human situations. I feel sorry for them, and maybe this is also racism... not bad racism, though, I guess...”

Finally, and on a very positive note, NIJ_2 mentioned they do not feel any racism among the many immigrant journalists that work together in the NIJ_2 newsroom:

“I have never witnessed any discomfort among colleagues, economic or uncomfortable cultural situations. I have never seen or heard a colleague do or say anything that made me think about it or feel bad about the situation. Where I work, colleagues from more than 60 different languages work together, so maybe that's why there's a lot more care about culture clashes than in other workplaces in Australia, I imagine.”

Also, NIJ_3 had a great deal to say about Racism. They started their narrative on Racism towards Indigenous Peoples in Brazil by elaborating on the historical and political context of the country:

“In Brazil, the first wave of representation of Indigenous people resulted from expeditions by European painters who came to Brazil in 1600 and 1700. They painted landscapes and Indigenous people to take these images to Europe and show what the territory of Brazil was like, to survey the reality here. And, of course, the Brazilian Indigenous soon began to be represented as the 'wild', the 'primitive', the 'exotic' and the ones who were also not diverse within their culture. And this was

one of the great problems of colonization. So, these images are now part of our unconscious imaginary reality, which is still present today - images that continue to influence us. This image of Indigenous people who are 'barbarians', right? Then, there was the literature that brought along several Brazilian classic books that present Indigenous characters in a very romanticized way, very idealized, too. Full of stereotypes. Then, to make things a little worse, came anthropology. The documentaries made by anthropologists also have that bias towards the exotic, the strange, the culture of the 'other' from a superior 'white' lens where what and who is different is always 'inferior' and sometimes even 'dangerous'. So, we have an extensive collection of these anthropological images from photographers, ethnologists, and ethnographers. Not just photos, but movies too. And, of course, the journalists came to follow up on these colonialist and racist narratives. Interestingly, there are still few academic studies on the influence of journalism in perpetuating these issues. Anyway, we [non-Indigenous Brazilian people] tend to maintain this very stereotypical, very prejudiced, very racist mindset also because we still have a remnant prior of this 1988's Constitution policy of guardianship of Indigenous Peoples, despite we're living already in 2023 and Indigenous Peoples are not guarded by 'white' people anymore, right? Okay, it took a few years to be implemented, let's say the '90s, 2000s, 2010s, and 2020s... still, 40 years have passed, and even though their situation has improved, Indigenous people are not 100% protected still. The truth is that they are still not considered 'communication subjects', capable of speaking for themselves, of being sources for the stories of non-Indigenous journalists, you know? That is an enormous demonstration of nowadays' racism from the Brazilian mainstream journalism."

NIJ_3 then reflected on the current turbulent Brazilian political situation and how it is mirrored in most of the "racist decisions of the country's mainstream non-Indigenous journalism". NIJ_3 elaborated on this, linking the topic with the need to decolonise journalism in Brazil rapidly:

"For two years now, here in Brazil, we have had great political polarisation between left and right, which doesn't help non-Indigenous journalists, let alone Indigenous Peoples. We have the extremely prejudiced right-wing faction, which has been making extremely aggressive, violent, and discriminatory statements that do not consider Indigenous Peoples to be even human. The former president, Bolsonaro, himself even said that 'indigenous people are not people like us'. He even said this publicly. So, we have this extreme that, of course, we see reflected in journalism. (...) Most importantly, there has been a lot of violence over the years to expel the Indigenous community from their territories. The politicians and the big farmers are all linked and are all-powerful: they have henchmen who kill and rape. Maybe not so much today, but 400 years ago, undoubtedly. These are all horrible

signs of 'white power' over Indigenous Peoples and their lands, made out of pure racism allied to 'white' political and economic interests. But we, non-Indigenous journalists, need to review and deconstruct colonialism in journalism because these colonising images, feelings and attitudes cannot be perpetuated by an excellent non-Indigenous journalist, right? If we stay stuck in the colonial mindset as journalists, we will also demand that Indigenous Peoples be stuck in 1500, whereas we are in 2023, right? I see and feel that Indigenous people, rightfully, complain a lot about this."

NIJ_3 also feels that biased and "unconscious racism is very much present in non-Indigenous journalism still" and that it is a severe barrier to competent journalism on Indigenous affairs:

"People in general (and I think journalists may end up reproducing this) get frustrated when Indigenous people don't walk around naked in the village or when they use a cell phone or have a car, motorcycle, or whatever... Indigenous Peoples also moved forward in time and were forced to mix with the West to survive, right? And wanting them to continue to dress exotically and not use the internet, etc., this is also prejudice and racism, right? You cannot wish to freeze 'that' Indigenous person in time. Furthermore, Indigenous people are very critical of the stance of non-Indigenous journalists in representing them and always talking about them with the idea that 'Indians' [a word to refer to Brazilian Indigenous Peoples that is controversial and Indigenous Peoples are demanding not to be used anymore] are all the same'. We still have 270 different languages spoken in Brazil. Different Indigenous languages are alive and being spoken daily by 270 Indigenous communities. This cultural diversity needs to be acknowledged, recognised, respected and celebrated by journalists as well."

Asked to share some advice to non-Indigenous journalists covering Indigenous affairs, NIJ_3 returned to the theme of racism again to mention the following:

"About the media and journalists working in the various media, I can say that every time I advise a non-Indigenous journalist, 'Well, ideally, you would listen to Indigenous university students' or the Indigenous community members' voices', non-Indigenous journalists tend not to do so. And this inertia in looking for sources among Indigenous people is, for me, an indirect form of racism. Another subtle form of racism is the words we use. In April, here in Brazil, we celebrate what is still called, even today by some, the Indian Day. It is a derogatory name. It has changed thanks to Sônia Guajajara, Brazil's first minister for Indigenous Peoples ever has rectified the situation; nowadays, it is called Indigenous Peoples Day."

Finally, NIJ_3 confessed that even being an antiracism fearless advocate, they still feel they are racist as “almost all the antiracist ‘white’ people that identify themselves as non-racist peoples.” they say:

“As a ‘white’ journalist, I often feel the entire burden of colonization and the civilizing process on my back. I really do. We have this idea that we are not racist, but that is not true. To start being anti-racist, we must admit that, yes, we are racist indeed. And we’re racist without realising it. Our actions, our jokes, the films we like, the people we admire, the ideal of beauty we have... these are all proofs that we are racist.”

However, NIJ_3 ended their narrative on the theme of Racism on a hopeful note:

“More Indigenous students than ever before are accessing and completing their studies in Brazilian universities, many of them in Journalism, Media, and other areas of Communication courses to become Indigenous Communicators in their communities (in rural, remote, and urban Indigenous territories). Also, more than 60% of the academic research works presented this year at the university where I teach, in Brazil, by Indigenous and non-Indigenous students had to do with the ethnic-racial issue, the issue of racism and the issue of gender. The themes of colonialism and decolonisation were also part of these research projects' theoretical and methodological decisions. So, I think we are at a turning point, you know? And that can only be good to all of us, Indigenous and non-Indigenous journalists, academics, students and community members.”

NIJ_4 was fearlessly critical of journalism in Brazil in their narrative on the theme of Racism throughout the *Dadirri* yarning session. According to NIJ_4, political and economic factors, as well as a great deal of 'conflict of interests', play a significant role in Brazilian mainstream and influential non-Indigenous journalism; for that reason, the quality, diversity and pertinency of the content of Indigenous affairs journalistic coverage, as well as the safeness and human rights respect of Indigenous communities have suffered the impact and the negative consequences severely:

“The journalism we experience today in Brazil is journalism where the production owners are from families who also own land in Brazil, particularly in Amazonian regions. At the same time, we observe that Brazil today has a major territorial dispute, so many of the large national media outlets are on the side of ‘white’, wealthy, and powerful farmers and large landowners. This is not good. They [non-

Indigenous journalists working for these big Media institutions] have already created fake news [while reporting on a specific Indigenous issue], (...) lied, (...) published false documents. (...) Major Brazilian newspapers have been inventing lies about Indigenous peoples since 1989, and this is demonstrated in many articles. And then a lie became a fact that 'could' be true [in public opinion]. The indigenous cause has always been a bargaining chip in Brazilian politics. This is Racism."

Continuing to elaborate on the Political factor in the theme of Racism in Indigenous affairs journalistic coverage, NIJ_4 added the following:

"Brazilian mainstream 'white and wealthy' journalism sector is intrinsically linked and fully represents the interests of these political deputies in the Press: the 'Ruralista' [Portuguese word for 'farmers' here referring to the wealthiest of the farmers in Brazil] political caucus; the 'Bala' [Portuguese word for 'bullet' here symbolising highly corrupt powerful groups] political caucus; and the 'Bíblia' [Portuguese word for 'bible' here symbolising religious influential groups] political caucus. Politics and the Press have always walked together in this country. So, I think this sad reality contaminates all forms of journalism in Brazil, sometimes even the good journalism (which is important to note that also exists) with racism."

NIJ_4 was also critical of the "paternalistically attitude from the mainstream media when contracting Indigenous employees for their newsrooms" as well as the editorial priorities and type of content associated with them, which for NIJ_4 is a form of Racism as well:

"The big criticism I make today of initiative projects from large 'white' media outlets is that we see a lot of grants out there aimed at 'black' Peoples and Indigenous Peoples that, somehow, come with a very paternalistic logic. Black and Indigenous Peoples are employed so they can provide mere services without any control, ownership, agency, or decision-making over their work. Racism in the Press was also consolidated in a series of moments of the Press not being concerned about transmitting necessary information to the Indigenous Peoples. See, for example, what is happening in Amazonas, which is experiencing the most significant extreme drought in recent months. Looking back, we see that São Paulo had a wave of smoke two years ago, which made news worldwide. This wave of smoke in the capital only lasted one day. On the other hand, the city of Manaus has been completely grey for two weeks. And that took more than ten days to be reported by journalists. Today, Indigenous communities, mainly due to the drought, are entirely isolated. People will start dying very quickly this year. But no one talks about it. You see a lethargy in non-Indigenous journalism that does not pass on this information. This is Racism

- as this information does not concern 'white' people far from the Amazon; therefore, it is not a priority for the mainstream media."

But NIJ_4 sees the Indigenous journalism made and controlled by the Indigenous Peoples as "a way out to achieve a more democratic" and antiracism journalism in Brazil, and they explain how and why that is:

"I say that we see demonstrations of Racism every day in the Brazilian Press. And I think that networks of Indigenous communicators and journalists are a great counterpoint to this because they can reach the community with accurate and vital information for them. They care about this. So, I think we must support and believe this is the time and the critical point for more democratic communication in the country."

Finally, NIJ_4 assertively commented on the signs of Racism continuously perpetrated in Brazilian universities "against 'black' and students living in poverty" but also in the way universities include and support Indigenous students poorly, particularly in the Journalism courses:

"Indigenous students go through many very difficult demonstrations of Racism in Brazilian universities. When Indigenous university students arrive, especially in the most racist courses, which are medicine, for example, it is very violent for them. I confess to you that this topic [of supporting university indigenous students] concerns and hurts me tremendously – our universities are still very racist, and Indigenous students suffer a great deal in various ways. Just look at the suicide rate in Brazilian universities and see the numbers of Indigenous people in the statistics."

As shown in Figure 12 above, this research study's Indigenous knowledge holders/research collaborators used 7.50% of their total narrative thematically analysed in the *Dadirri* yarning sessions' transcripts with words, phrases, opinions, feelings, examples, and metaphors related directly or indirectly to various levels of Racism.

IJ_2 started by explaining in detail how Racism is very much present in the lives of young Brazilian Indigenous university students, particularly the ones doing journalism degrees. IJ_2 began by exploring the university context as they know that to become a journalist in Brazil, one must be a qualified professional and complete a university degree.

According to IJ_2, the Indigenous young prospect journalists feel they need to prove themselves and their skills and education qualifications to everyone in the professional journalism sector "twice or third times more" than a non-Indigenous person in Brazil. Therefore, IJ_2 confessed their journey in university was one of "many and violent barriers to overcome":

“When can we also share our Indigenous knowledge and stop feeling the Racism and exclusion in Brazilian universities? There is a long way to go, especially considering methodologies and policies for supporting Indigenous university students from entering to completing their degrees. Many Indigenous students come from remote communities and have never lived in an urban context; they are the first generation of university students in their families and sometimes even their communities. Those who manage to come and study at a university often suffer from all kinds of violence, exclusion, Racism, and poverty, as they have little to almost no money for food, accommodation, or transport. When they arrive in the big cities, they try to work to survive and pursue jobs as cleaners in 'white' families' homes. But again, they suffer from racial discrimination and prejudice, and it's always harder for them to find jobs. Furthermore, in the university teaching context, the curriculum's materials themselves are already exclusionary of Indigenous Peoples in the first place as they contain racist representations of Indigenous Peoples throughout and are entirely Eurocentric-oriented knowledge. All these barriers, together, can be a process of further increasing violence, shame, and identity issues for Indigenous students in and outside the classroom. All of this is incredibly violent for us, Indigenous students.”

However, racism prevails in the lives of these former Indigenous university students even when they become officially qualified journalists and try to work in the non-Indigenous mainstream journalism sector. And even after they finally get their jobs, they still feel "looked differently from their non-indigenous colleagues, on many occasions". IJ_2 made it very clear that racism is constantly present in their professional daily live:

“People tend to look at what I write with different eyes because I am indigenous from the Amazon region. Entering many spaces, discussing traditional communication, and being accepted as a journalist like others are much more difficult for me. I must always explain who I am, where I come from, and why I'm there, more than any other journalist. Sometimes, I still have to show my CV to prove that I am a trained journalist and have done much work. People look at me as an inferior being and professional, even within the world of journalism, and even though I have gone through university and accumulated various professional

training courses, they still look at me as incapable of writing or doing a good job as any other journalist in Brazilian society. I must constantly prove myself two or three times more than others.”

IJ_2 used the opportunity also to share their opinion regarding racism they often observe in the Indigenous-focused content in the non-Indigenous mainstream media:

“Racial stereotype is still extreme in the non-Indigenous media, and that is definitely a form of racism against Indigenous Peoples, therefore a form of violence that is very much felt as such by the Indigenous Peoples that then have access to this kind of journalistic content. Racial stereotyping is very reductive and very wrong. Not all Indigenous people wear the 'cocar' [Brazilian Amazonian Indigenous traditional headdress], traditional necklaces, etc. Many already live in big capitals and dress very western, you know? Like all non-Indigenous peoples worldwide, we Indigenous Peoples don't stop in time; our culture evolves like other cultures; actually, we are quite good at adapting, and because of that, we survived thousands of years on this planet. This vision of representing Indigenous Peoples as 'paused in time' communities must be broken. But we know we will have to wait because 523 years of colonization of Brazil cannot be broken today or tomorrow; I don't believe we will ever be able to reverse everything done during and after colonization. Many things may never change, but from today forward, we can rewrite our history using our own narratives in mainstream non-Indigenous media and in Indigenous media as well.”

Racism thematic narrative analysis summary

Racism, in this research narrative analysis, can be described as one of the three most intensely discussed and further segmented into several sub-themes spontaneously explored by Indigenous and non-Indigenous journalists who participated in the one-on-one *Dadirri* yarn sessions, such as: Racism in the higher education context; Racism in the journalism professional environment; Racism in the journalistic content representing Indigenous Peoples; Biased and unconscious Racism on a personal and professional levels; and Institutional and systemic Racism in mainstream journalism. Overall, the theme of Racism was discussed by the participants from diverse perspectives, as their lived experiences also varied.

All participants discussed Racism as a negative, very much present element, and the must-be-overcome issue in non-Indigenous mainstream journalism in Australia, Brazil and Canada.

IJ_1 (the Indigenous journalist from Canada) did not contribute to this theme of Racism explicitly. Still, they referred to it, implicitly, multiple times throughout the yarning session when commenting on colonialism and the need to decolonise journalism, which are processes that are intrinsically related to Racism.

Interestingly for me, as the researcher, I was able to collect data on this theme from the lens of the non-Indigenous journalists who said they had experienced occasional direct critics of 'white privilege' from Indigenous peoples that advocate openly against 'white superiority', which strongly impacted these participant's emotions and cultural and historical self-awareness, therefore their work as a non-Indigenous journalist reporting on Indigenous matters. NIJ_1 even called these critics as “racism against white privilege people”.

Furthermore, I heard the voices of Indigenous participants who suffered from severe forms of Racism throughout their whole lives in university and professional careers, which continues to interfere with their visions of the world and their place and space in it as Indigenous Peoples that navigate journalism under constant violence of many sorts.

Finally, I observed and further analysed the theme of Racism from one of the non-Indigenous participants who, through a yarn session informed by the Theory of Discomfort and inspired and soothed by the *Dadirri* protocol that implies deep-listening, deep-reflecting and, therefore, allows increasing deep-self-awareness. NIJ_2 went through this whole process to become more aware of the possibility of being, on an unconscious level, racist.

5.3.8 – Cultural Competence theme

The theme of Cultural Competence – as theorised and conceptualised throughout this PhD thesis - appeared in all research participants' narratives transcripts, which can indicate that Cultural Competence is noted and highly present in the minds of all in this data collection, even those who did not know in detail what the concept of Cultural Competence means precisely, or that Cultural Competence is knowledge that includes learning not only about the 'other' but also about 'oneself', and that is something one can learn in a very organised and systematic way.

Figure 13 Comparative thematic analysis between non-Indigenous and Indigenous journalists' transcripts, specifically for Cultural Competence theme



(Percentage based on the number of characters per block of the text related to the specific theme)

The four non-Indigenous research participants used 15.50% of their total narrative thematically analysed in the *Dadirri* yarning sessions' transcripts with words, phrases, opinions, feelings, examples, and metaphors related directly or indirectly to various levels of Cultural Competence.

NIJ_1 sees Cultural Competence as a way of getting to know 'others' and 'themselves' - personally and as a journalist.

The Czech journalist studied anthropology before and explained how they understand Cultural Competence as a concept that comes from knowledge of social sciences. They still use what they learned about anthropology as they think it has always been handy for their work. Therefore, now that NIJ_1 works with Indigenous Peoples in Australia, they are "more interested than ever to learn more about Cultural Competence and ways of applying it in conjunction with the anthropology previous knowledge".

The journalist also mentioned how beneficial they feel exploring Cultural Competence is, especially as an immigrant working and living in Australia:

"I think Cultural Competence is essential, especially not being Australian and living and working here; we get the opportunity of bringing this like open-mind and no prejudice, so we can discover how our audiences are through increasing our

Cultural Competence. Also, I believe Cultural Competence is an important topic to teach young journalism students at university. I believe everything I've learned from my university Anthropology subjects was beneficial for my journalistic experience. I can even say that I've learned and applied more about the best way to interview people and do my research for a feature from Anthropology rather than from journalism courses, especially when I worked in Africa. Africa was my first professional experience in an entirely different cultural environment, which was a big thing for me, no doubt about it. Because of that experience, I see many things in Australia differently today. During that period, I can honestly say that I also learned about my own identity as a person and a journalist. Cultural Competence comes a bit from these ideas like a non-judgmental attitude, understanding that you don't understand other cultures, so you need to get better informed about them, etc... To be able to increase Cultural Competence is great for anybody, really, not just journalists."

NIJ_1 elaborated on the new cultural knowledge they are getting every day in Australia, working with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples as newsroom colleagues and when reporting on the communities, and how they consider this a process of Cultural Competence as well:

"What do I don't know, and what should I explore? I must reflect on this daily while working with Indigenous Peoples. I would ask my Indigenous colleagues to teach me about things, for instance, the best way to approach Elders. Also, because I'm very aware of Australian Indigenous traumatic past and present experiences, I would ask my Indigenous colleagues what the things I must avoid asking are. Moreover, I would like to increase my Cultural Competence in learning specific protocols to address certain topics and establish contact with certain community members. I find that the more I learn, the more I elaborate on my work and the mistakes I can avoid. And for me, Cultural Competence also comes from this 'not knowing' constantly so I can discover and understand it better. For example, as a non-Indigenous person, I didn't know what it means the 'acknowledgement of country'. I didn't know anything about this ritual, and the only thing I could do was to learn and try to understand what it meant for Indigenous Peoples. Also, there may be things that they [Indigenous Peoples] assume we know but that we [non-Indigenous peoples] really don't know or even never heard about before. For example, the meaning behind the 'climbing the Uluru rock' for Indigenous Peoples –for the traditional owners of the Uluru sacred land, if someone falls and dies while climbing the Uluru rock, they have the responsibility of going to and taking care of the family of the deceased. If I were reporting on the prohibition of Uluru climbing and did not know anything about this cultural detail that changes the understanding of the story, I would be in serious trouble. Worse than that, I would not have any

idea about the topic. Therefore, I would not know my mistake and why I was in trouble. Do you know what I mean?”

Lacking Cultural Competence when working with Indigenous Peoples can be a highly complex situation for a journalist, and NIJ_1 “learned it the hard way”:

“When I first interviewed a Caribbean Indigenous in Australia, I made a mistake. I didn’t have a clue that Caribbean people were first brought to Australia as enslaved people. I had no idea about this, and I should have known better and done my ‘homework’ correctly. I learned that I needed to increase my Cultural Competence on the day in the hard way. The Caribbean lady I interviewed got furious with me as she was expecting me to know about this fundamental cultural and historical detail for her people. We must bring these kinds of things that are given to Indigenous Peoples, and we [non-Indigenous journalists] have no clue, in the politest way possible. Another thing is understanding that something we might say can trigger political or traumatic issues.”

Still on the topic of the indispensable “homework” as part of the Cultural Competence process, NIJ_1 explained how to manage this better while having such little time to do the “homework” when you are part of a “stressful and always in a hurry” non-Indigenous mainstream media newsroom.

“If you don’t have time and your work on that day is supposed to be a superficial interview for a 5-minute radio feature, maybe you don’t need to do a lot of ‘homework’ – even though this is never ideal situation. If you want an interview that goes to the depth of a certain issue, it’s always nice to know a bit more, and the Indigenous interviewee will appreciate if you try to learn cultural aspects beforehand – the interview will have a completely different vibe and detail.”

In the case of NIJ_2, despite working for more than 20 years in a newsroom exceptionally knowledgeable and careful in helping non-Indigenous journalists with Cultural Competence, they mentioned they still are discovering what Cultural Competence is, what is their “room for improvement” in that regard, and how to get time to educate themselves on it.

But the most important thing is that NIJ_2 knows how much valuable extra knowledge on Cultural Competence can be when working with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples in Australia:

“For a non-Indigenous journalist to do a better job, without a doubt, in addition to journalistic competence, they must also have Indigenous Cultural Competence. Put two podcasts on the same topic side by side. The two reports are by non-Indigenous journalists, one by a very competent journalist and the other by a very competent but more culturally competent and appropriate journalist; the second podcast will be better. Cultural awareness and competency raise the quality of work, without a doubt. And in Australian journalism, for example, this thing about Cultural Competence is sorely lacking.”

NIJ_2 explained how their newsroom supports non-Indigenous journalists with Cultural Competence in action, for example, "through writing checking on Indigenous protocol".

However, the newsroom is still a typical western mainstream media newsroom in many respects, mainly the rhythm of work, which is "hectic all the time".

Therefore, non-Indigenous journalists like NIJ_2 need "much more time to explore culture competence" to be the "culturally competent non-Indigenous journalists people expect" in the Australian Indigenous context. NIJ_2 introduced "time, or lack of it, as one of the institutional barriers to Cultural Competence."

“At my newsroom, there is an Indigenous person whose job is to support non-Indigenous journalists in reporting on Indigenous affairs. All our work must go through this Indigenous colleague for approval. So, part of my work includes writing being reviewed for the Cultural Competence check. Sometimes, they [Indigenous colleagues] are the ones who want to be consulted at every step of the work, but, unfortunately, I don't have time for that. A while ago, this colleague came to my side to give me tips on writing Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander stories better, which was great! But I couldn't enjoy it properly as I was stressing a bit because my deadlines are tight.”

But NIJ_2 values the Cultural Competency gained mainly from their Indigenous colleagues in the newsroom, as sometimes "what seems a small detail makes the difference in the result and impact of the work for both the Indigenous and non-Indigenous audiences" and, most importantly, in the lives of the First Nations Peoples we report on:

“If one day I go back to work in Brazil, where we also have our Indigenous Peoples, I will write Indigenous in capital letters, and the biggest companies may not well accept it. Or perhaps yes if I explain that this is an Australian Indigenous rule for

Cultural Competence. The capital letters may be just a small detail for us, non-Indigenous journalists, but it's a big thing, culturally and politically, for Indigenous Peoples – It shows that we acknowledge, respect, and give them the importance they deserve as First Nations.”

NIJ_2 elaborated on the lack of Cultural Knowledge in mainstream media worldwide, and one of the things that can help rectify that is education on Cultural Competence for everyone, particularly journalists. For NIJ_2, Cultural Competence is so relevant in this digital and globalised era that education "should be from birth", or at least at the higher education level.

“It would be fascinating to receive education for Indigenous Cultural Competence, but also Cultural Competence in general, particularly in Afro-black culture, Asian culture and even Arab culture. It would be essential if this subject were included in the curriculum of university courses in journalism and Communication in general: Marketing, Public Relations, Press Relations, etc... Also, it would be fabulous if all journalists had access to professional training in this area, even if they are already experienced. Undoubtedly. And so much so that journalists need this training more than ever before, as we mainly write in digital media nowadays, where our work is automatically exposed to all types of audiences, and all types of criticism arrive immediately. I would go as far as saying that Cultural Competence is an area that should be taught in the first year of primary education, even from birth, if possible. It's just that each of us is a 'mini media' in this era of social networks and globalisation. Everyone has an opinion and creates a character online; most of them create it without any filter of Cultural Competence.”

But as far as NIJ_2 knows, there is little teaching or training on Cultural Competence in universities and mainstream media outlets, “at least in the Australian and Brazilian context”:

“Oh, there is nearly zero education on Cultural Education nor Cultural Competence out there! Unfortunately, the United Nations news website is the only media outlet I can think of that might have some of this concern. I have contact with the Portuguese and Brazilian journalists on this team, and I think they are perhaps the only ones, besides my newsroom in Australia, with this focus and care. But also, for God's sake, what would it be if there wasn't this concern from their side since the United Nations' focus is human rights? I don't know how Cultural Competence works at an internal institutional level in the United Nations news website. Still, regarding Communication, I like to follow their work because of their Cultural Competence awareness.”

Through the Dadirri yarning session, NIJ_2 admitted they have looked at Cultural Competence from a new perspective. NIJ_2 reflected on their possible lack of Cultural Competence to accept it and go from here to do the transformational process they feel is necessary to become a more culturally competent non-Indigenous journalist.

NIJ_2 confessed to have felt the yarning was "uncomfortable and confronting" at times, as they were unaware of the "multiple aspects and opportunities" one can explore while raising their Cultural Competency level to apply the knowledge to their journalistic strategies and practices:

"The lack of Cultural Competence in newsrooms focused on Indigenous affairs is complicated. Now that we are both [NIJ_2 and the researcher] talking about Cultural Competence, I confess, which is uncomfortable because it is a confrontation; in a way, I learned that Cultural Competence is a vaster area than I imagined. I now understand that involves, for example, essential new habits like looking at an Indigenous cultural calendar and checking the cultural and ceremonial dates during my eventual future trips to the community. Furthermore, I may request authorization to enter the community in advance, try to find out and contact the Elders in good time, and so on. After discussing the subject here, I am now more prepared to report on an Indigenous community. I now have a better idea of the 'checklist' I must do before taking off from Melbourne to a remote community. A list of engagement practices in this type of journalism would be perfect for any journalist, you know?"

NIJ_3, on the other hand, showed a deep understanding of Cultural Competency and how essential it is for all journalists, particularly the ones reporting on Indigenous matters from the Amazonas Indigenous territories in Brazil.

NIJ_3 also mentioned they feel that "clearly, the majority of non-Indigenous journalists covering Indigenous stories in Brazil are culturally incompetent, even though it is fair to say that there are also a few excellent journalists doing the work better":

"Non-Indigenous Brazilian journalists, even if unconsciously, are culturally incompetent at the level of Indigenous reality because the ideas they have are very stereotypical and Indigenous people are not even sought out by them as sources. Therefore, it means this cultural incompetence exists and is here to stay for a lot longer, unfortunately."

Above all, NIJ_3 showed concerns about the “typical Brazilian non-Indigenous journalist attitude towards work related with the Indigenous communities”. NIJ_3 seems to believe that “Cultural incompetence is not even the worse issue that we are facing today in Brazilian journalism”:

“Maybe the fear of the unknown and the guilt we may feel as 'white privileged' people and journalists, and this incompetence also for not knowing more about Indigenous culture is perhaps a deep-rooted colonisation, a deep-rooted superiority that we still have within us to this day. However, even before the issue of cultural incompetency, what the majority of non-Indigenous journalists in Brazil have to overcome is an issue of conformity... that conformity and laziness of looking for the easiest and quicker way to report on Indigenous Peoples, you know?”

NIJ_4 stated that they believe “a significant transformation is happening in Brazilian mainstream journalism” regarding Cultural Competence in First Nations journalistic coverage, a “little but essential step forward towards democracy in Brazil.”:

“There was no alternative to Brazilian journalism other than to look to our First Nations Peoples and ask them - 'what you like to be called? Oh yeah, 'People'! So, one can't say 'tribe' nor 'Indian' anymore. One must use the words 'Indigenous Peoples' or 'First Nations Peoples'". And there we are with Cultural Competency in action. Brazilian non-Indigenous journalists are finally starting to understand that if they do not improve how they treated Indigenous Peoples in terms of representation, language, adjustments to protocol, and so on... it would not be possible to sustain democracy.”

As mentioned in this chapter, NIJ_4 is this study's most experienced journalist reporting on Indigenous matters and maintaining long-term relationships with First Nations leaders and community members from the "Povo da Floresta", Brazilian Amazonian Indigenous diverse Peoples and group languages.

NIJ_4 understands the meaning of Cultural Competence, its pertinency, and its beneficial effect and can confidently advise non-Indigenous journalists in Brazil and overseas on exploring it broadly. Here are three fundamental pieces of advice on how to report on Indigenous Peoples' matters culturally competently that NIJ_4 shared during the *Dadirri* yarning sessions as 'tools' and 'resources' they use for their own work daily:

“A first Cultural Competence piece of advice is that non-Indigenous journalist must first seek to understand who represents that First Nations territory and then obey the logic of ‘associativism’. He cannot fail to listen to the Indigenous National Association because it represents Indigenous individuals and communities. Indigenous Peoples are culturally and politically diverse, but they are all social, collective beings. So, I think journalists should have the same respect they have when listening to other non-indigenous representative entities.

The second piece of advice would be the following: a good journalist tells the story correctly and adapts to their audience's needs and expectations. So, the storytelling format is the most appropriate to tell Indigenous stories. Narrative storytelling is a technique that non-Indigenous journalists can master if they want. So, one must search, research, and listen deeply to what Indigenous Peoples want and do not want to share. Every non-Indigenous journalist must always think that, nowadays, Indigenous Peoples are watching TV; some others are reading newspapers and magazines; and great part of the Indigenous youth are present on social media consuming journalistic content. This means that Indigenous Peoples are the ones reading, selling, and listening to the Indigenous material non-Indigenous journalists publish. We must write to them, speak to them directly, right? However, often, when talking about Indigenous issues, I see that non-Indigenous journalists try very hard to explain the Indigenous reality to ‘white’ non-Indigenous society. Conversely, non-Indigenous journalists must ‘dialogue’ and ‘tell the story’, primarily, to Indigenous Peoples by exploring their ways of being and doing. If you produce material that makes your sources proud, you contribute to more democratic journalism. And this is Cultural Competency too in my understanding.

Finally, I would advise any non-Indigenous journalist to interview a ‘cacique’ [a type of political leader or chief of the community responsible for organizing and taking care of issues relating to Indigenous Peoples, such as their way of life, rituals and even punishments] applying the same level of respect, admiration, and reverence that they would apply towards a non-Indigenous leadership of any nature. In sum, I want to say that non-Indigenous journalists must be careful about the words they use and always think that the Indigenous people in the feature will surely hear or read the story and perhaps even share the understanding of it with the rest of their community.”

As shown in Figure 13 above, this research study’s two Indigenous knowledge holders/research collaborators used 32.90% of their total narrative thematically analysed in the *Dadirri* yarning sessions’ transcripts with words, phrases, opinions, feelings,

examples, and metaphors related directly or indirectly to various levels of Cultural Competence.

IJ_1 reported the belief that Cultural Competency is mostly “all about homework” that non-Indigenous journalists must do before they cover Indigenous stories. This is not to say that Indigenous journalists do not have to spend the necessary time on their ‘homework’, too, “especially when they go and report on neighbour Indigenous communities that are unique as all Indigenous Peoples are”:

“Cultural Competence raises when journalists educate themselves. That goes with, in the case of the non-Indigenous journalists, learning about the communities and the context, and the contacts... just going over and above in many areas in order to get it right. The responsibility of getting the story right is such that you need to understand the context as best as you possibly can. And here I understand that this can be perhaps a bit more challenging for the non-Indigenous journalists than Indigenous journalists, to a certain degree, simply because the culture itself is not as familiar to the non-Indigenous people.”

Even though IJ_1 feels that “covering Indigenous matters is perhaps easier to Indigenous journalists than to non-Indigenous journalists”, the Ojibwe journalist made it clear that “Cultural Competency serves all journalists”:

“One needs to be cautious at all times, even as an Indigenous journalist, as you need to know if, how and when you are potentially crossing the line between what the community wants to involve you in and what you are prepared to involve yourself in. This is important to all journalists, particularly non-Indigenous journalists, for whom it can be even more difficult to be aware of those lines one should never cross. They may not know about a certain ceremony and step into something that they are not even aware they could be making a kind of obligation towards the community and then are expected to give back something specific.”

IJ_1 left an essential piece of advice for all non-Indigenous journalists who may come across this PhD thesis besides those involved in this study.

In just a paragraph, IJ_1 touched on the 'homework' to be done, including looking at the work of culturally competent and experienced Indigenous journalists with whom one can learn about writing, representation and imagery use protocols; on visiting the community [again, after following the proper protocol] to get involved directly with the community to

establish empathy and trust but also to increase one's Cultural Competence in-loco, where one can see, hear and learn cultural/social/spiritual/political aspects that one cannot learn about elsewhere; and, finally, on the giving back to the community which is paramount for work in this area as a way to show appreciation, respect and take the relationship to the next level:

“Follow some Indigenous reporters that you find are doing good work, plus there are endless resources out there for you to explore and learn from. In sum, start by showing up at the communities [after following the appropriate protocol] and going out there. And if you visit my people’s community, for example, also, bring a coffee or a doughnut, or some gift to show respect and giving back for the community knowledge and time.”

IJ_2 used the *Dadirri* yarning session to make their voice heard on the urgent need to end the lack of cultural competency in mainstream Brazilian non-Indigenous journalism.

They started the yarn with mixed feelings – on the one hand, IJ_2 is impatient and worried as they feel the Cultural Competence conversation has not even begun in Brazil properly; on the other hand, the Wapichona journalist feels hopeful as “things are starting to happen slowly”:

“We still have a lot more to go regarding Cultural Competence. Several media outlets are not yet prepared to receive Indigenous journalists and their agendas and, above all, to understand the Indigenous vision. But the doors are opening; we can already see an openness and greater interest in bringing Indigenous journalists and communicators. I already feel a certain openness for us to have this dialogue. Of course, we haven't started yet. We're not quite there yet... and we're not even like from the middle to the end of the journey... we're really at the beginning of it.”

IJ_2 elaborated on how culturally incompetent non-Indigenous journalism in Brazil can be life-threatening to Indigenous community members, particularly the Indigenous leaders who have been fighting for years for Indigenous land ownership rights against the wealthier and most politically influential ‘white’ people in the country.

“In the case of more political issues and Indigenous land disputes, for example, reflecting on what results the journalistic article will bring to the Indigenous community is more than necessary - is vital, literally speaking. If it is a complaint, who will be attacked in the matter? In the case of a complaint, you still need to have a lot of pre-Indigenous cultural, political and historical contextual knowledge about

the Indigenous territory, the Indigenous sources you use, the Indigenous leader you choose to talk to, and, above all, you need to be extremely careful with confidentiality because many of the Indigenous leaders are being persecuted, threatened, they are targets, and if the journalist discloses names, indications of places, addresses, etc., you may be putting that Indigenous leader's and their family's life in danger. Cultural Competency is extremely important in these kinds of Indigenous stories. We are talking about lives, people who have been fighting for survival reasons for years. In the example of the Indigenous people of Brazil, we are talking about people from the Amazon region who have been living in social and territorial conflicts of all sorts for years in a row. We are dealing here with conflicts between Indigenous communities and the greatest 'white' powers of Brazil, where many people have died and continue today dying in the process.”

IJ_2 proceeded with their narrative by pointing out some signs of the Brazilian non-Indigenous journalists’ cultural incompetency:

“I believe that a non-Indigenous journalist has to know Indigenous reality very well to start writing about it. And, of course, I advise non-Indigenous journalists to collaborate with Indigenous journalists and communicators in different Indigenous territories - their voices and knowledge are to be heard and known. In Brazilian Amazonian Indigenous territories, communication networks are already set up in each region, which Brazilian non-Indigenous journalists do not contact and should as these Indigenous communicators are getting increasingly informed and specialized in the issues affecting Indigenous communities. Then there is another problem: on rare occasions, these communicators are contacted for interviews by non-Indigenous journalists to share information, prove leadership sources, etc., but they never get paid for it. If there is networking that can be used, the journalist should use it, but also be careful to pay the village communicator. And what happens is that not only do they not pay, but they also don't even mention the communicator's name in the article, often not even in the acknowledgments. So, I think it is necessary to rethink how this communication occurs between non-Indigenous journalists and communities and their communicators in Brazil. For me, this is just another sign of overall cultural incompetency from the non-Indigenous journalists.”

IJ_2 finalised their narrative on the Cultural Competence theme by sharing, in detail and through examples (based on the Brazilian Indigenous context but that, somehow, can echo other Indigenous realities worldwide), four solid pieces of advice on increasing the level of Cultural Competence to better work with Indigenous communities and better deliver First Nations stories and news coverage on mainstream media.

IJ_2's first piece of advice of Cultural Competence in action, on getting authorisation to enter the Indigenous community or territory:

“The first piece of advice must be authorisation from those who will be researched and interviewed. On that note, I suggest never using the word 'research' in an Indigenous context. Using that word in a scientific context is customary in the academic environment. Still, even in the educational environment, I, as an Indigenous person and Indigenous university student, am afraid to use that word. But going back to the topic of authorisation, authorisation is respect. Do not enter the community to write a story with the help of an Indigenous friend who lives in the community. No. Every community has a leader and a chief. It has an organisation managed by a person responsible for caring for and protecting the community as a whole from everyone who enters the village. What often happens is, for example, the non-Indigenous journalist thinks - 'Oh, I know a colleague, an Indigenous person in the town, and this friend invites me to go to the community, and it's resolved', But often this Indigenous person offers the visit to the community with tremendous goodwill, thinking - 'Oh, I'm going to show a little of the reality of the community to this non-Indigenous person, and so on'. But then, many Indigenous people in the community do not understand the invitation in this way; people in the community may not like being the 'object' of curiosity, of research. In addition, it is necessary to remember that the Indigenous friend who made the invitation may not even have any intention of exposing their community to the journalist but wanted to show a little of their reality to a friend, period. So, respect here is fundamental. To be able to circulate in the community and, above all, to write about the community, you need to contact the leadership and ask for formal authorisation. Suppose the leader authorises you, then OK. But if he refuses because he doesn't know you and doesn't trust you, that's fine, too. There's no point in getting angry; you must understand why the community is saying no. Why does the community not want your presence there? Maybe it's not about you at all; perhaps it's about other non-Indigenous colleagues of yours who have already visited the community and violated the village's trust in some way. You have to be patient, gain trust, and show that you will do work that will not harm the community's values and much less threaten its survival because, in many communities, this is what is at stake. Leaders must trust that non-Indigenous journalists will not attack or put anyone in danger with their written words and will not violate the culture in any way. Indigenous leaders need to feel that the journalist is an ally in that community and is there to help bring about positive change. Indigenous leaders need allies close to the Indigenous cause who are not there to write their thesis, dissertation, or journalistic article and disappear right after getting what they need. More than ever, the Indigenous leaders need non-Indigenous journalists to raise flags for Indigenous causes. Many non-Indigenous journalists and academics write about Indigenous Peoples and the Indigenous

cause. Still, these journalists and academics disappear when Indigenous leaders and communities need help. Where are they when communities actually need them? So, the first advice I give is to ask for permission and remain respectful throughout the entire process and even after. Please do not use your Indigenous friend to write your thesis, dissertation or journalistic article about him and his community. ”

IJ_2's second piece of advice of Cultural Competence in action, on avoiding touching sacred Indigenous artifacts and respecting the Peoples, the community rules, the culture, the sacred dates, the rituals, and the objects:

“Non-Indigenous people go to Indigenous communities and often want to touch a headdress or other objects used for prayer and other sacred ceremonies. Non-Indigenous peoples often look at our objects with a very Christian and judgmental look, saying or letting it appear that what is there is not sacred (simply because it is an object that is not familiar to them). Other times, non-Indigenous people demonise some of our objects, thinking that they are used for more obscure rituals when, in fact, for us, they are sacred and used to pray. It is also essential to respect the issue of food. Many people visit the community and reject its food; they don't even want to try it. If someone goes to the community, then it's because they want to experience that, and when you don't accept the food, the drinks... of course, it's OK, sometimes it's for health reasons, even other issues... but when you propose to go and share the moment with the community, it helps if you get yourself culturally immersed as much as you can and the community approves. You cannot look at the community itself with strangeness. You set out to be there and, therefore, can't say, 'I'm superior, I'm a non-Indigenous and, on top of it, I'm a journalist'. No. It doesn't work like that. You must also enter as an ally of a cause visiting the community to work, but it is work that will be fundamental in terms of respect for the culture of that community. So, I think the second point is this: respecting the community, the culture, the rituals, the artifacts, and the people – some non-Indigenous journalists even have the authorisation to do the story, but then arrive in a rush and straight away filming the whole village, everyone, and everything, and that too it's disrespect and total lack of Cultural Competence. You must ask for different authorisation levels: to enter, film and photograph, touch artifacts, participate in ceremonies, etc. Also, never forget that community authorisation does not mean you are automatically authorised to film and photograph. Some things cannot be recorded, photographed, or filmed”.

IJ_2's third piece of advice of Cultural Competence in action, on being respectful about all aspects of your stay in the community:

“This advice is straightforward to follow, but it demands one's putting themselves in another's shoes. You don't go into anyone's house, opening all the doors and drawers and touching everything. But many people enter the Indigenous community and want to touch, feel and take everything. Do you enter someone's house and take a photo of the owner of the house, his children, his house? Of course not. So why do you want to do this in Indigenous communities? You can't take what you want from the community without someone's permission. Why do you have this wrong idea that you can't do anything in the homes of people in your community, but in the Indigenous community, you can do everything? This mentality is all still a colonising vision from 'above'; you feel, even unconsciously, that you're 'above' us. You don't have the right to do that in Indigenous communities, even if you are a journalist and part of your job is to take pictures of the community. If you want to be a culturally competent individual and professional, always keep this question on the top of your mind: 'Would I do this in the house of someone in my community?' OK, if not, 'why would I do it here, in the Indigenous community?' Please always take a step back to understand this matter and respect the boundaries for your actions during your stay in the Indigenous community.”

IJ_2's fourth piece of advice of Cultural Competence in action, on always giving back to the Indigenous community (including your Indigenous sources):

“Another piece of advice I would like to give is to go back, to return, to give back to the community. Come back after your work is done and published. Going back doesn't mean going back physically because that involves money, time, etc., that you may not have, and everyone understands. But coming back means giving back, showing your material to the community, and sharing your work even if the community doesn't read what you're offering for various reasons. Even if it's a 300-page doctoral thesis in English that no one in the community will read, go out there and offer it. This is fundamental. And, if possible, transform your work into a piece accessible to the community: make a film, record an audio, write a few paragraphs in Portuguese, anything... This return you give means trust and gratitude and is a relationship-building process with leadership and the entire community. It is also a partnership and a sign that you are an ally of the Indigenous cause; it is saying, 'Look, I am here for whatever you need. Thank you for being so supportive, and I am here to contribute and return for your time spent and knowledge shared for my work'. Then, yes, the leader sees that you are trustworthy, a partner, and did not simply 'extract' knowledge from the leader and the community for your own benefit. As a culturally competent journalist, you must think, 'How can I give back to the community?' Many people make films and documentaries, so why don't you send a copy or part of that film to the community? Better yet, why not organise with the community leaders and provide a moment to present your work to the entire

community? Non-Indigenous journalists often forget this part of the work and the relationship with Indigenous communities. This concern for feedback and 'thank you' is something that even we, Indigenous journalists, always have to keep in mind and that sometimes escapes us. The community must have a little understanding of your work; after all, your work is about the community. So, thinking about how you can return, say thank you, and share your work in a community environment so that everyone can see it together, as a group, is advice that I think is fundamental for increasing non-Indigenous journalists' Cultural Competence."

Cultural Competence thematic narrative analysis summary

Cultural Competence (including the sub-themes of cultural awareness, sensitiveness, and responsiveness) was a significant theme explored and seriously reflected upon all journalists in the *Dadirri* yarning sessions. Indigenous and non-Indigenous groups reflected on the topic and reinforced the pertinency, urgency and necessity of Cultural Competence education and action in journalism at all levels.

The data collected indicates that all journalists agreed about the need to have teaching and professional training in Cultural Competence in action in all Communication and Journalism courses in universities worldwide but also in the professional environment where training in Cultural Competence can make the difference when reporting on the 'other' in a globalised era, particularly in countries with First Nations Peoples.

The non-Indigenous journalists who participated in these *Dadirri* yarning sessions shared the willingness to learn more and increase their Cultural Competence level as part of their in-depth 'homework' as journalists. They believe this is valuable knowledge to help them improve their strategies and practices towards more accurate, respectful, and inclusive journalism while also helping them avoid severe mistakes in the way they choose to and how they approach their sources, the resources they have available to explore before covering a story, the protocol they should follow when working with specific communities; but also how they can learn to know more about themselves, their culture, the history of their people and how their people related with other peoples throughout time.

Finally, Cultural Competence was the theme where IJ_1 and IJ_2 spent more time elaborating on their narratives during the *Dadirri* yarning sessions – and this is a substantial data result. This particular research finding can be interpreted as the Cultural Competence theme being the most meaningful and fundamental element of the transformational process

towards a better overall coverage of First Nations People's stories and affairs by non-Indigenous journalists in the Australian, Brazilian, and Canadian mainstream media, from this study's Indigenous journalists' point of view.

5.4 – Findings Summary

The data gathered from the *Dadirri* yarning sessions, and the information obtained after the thematic analysis of the themes selected from these sessions' transcripts, respectively, the themes of Self-reflection, Discomfort, Cultural Knowledge, Distance, Time, Trust, Racism and Cultural Competence, allows for the 'dialogue' and comparative analysis between the narratives of the two journalists' groups that participated in this study: Indigenous and non-Indigenous journalists. These narratives' qualitative findings offer relevant reflection and advice on culturally competent strategies and practices for more inclusive mainstream non-Indigenous journalism involving First Nations Peoples, their stories, and their affairs.

The main objective here was to promote a 'dialogue' between Indigenous and non-Indigenous journalists to make their voices heard to one another. The aim of the study is achieved as both research participants and knowledge holders/research collaborators opened themselves up to share significant knowledge and feelings, knowing that the other group would be 'listening' to them carefully at the end of this study: the total amount of characters from all *Dadirri* yarning sessions transcripts collected from the four non-Indigenous journalists' narratives on the eight major themes analysed was 101.528 (see Figure 19). At the same time, the total amount of characters from all *Dadirri* yarning session transcripts collected from the two Indigenous journalists' narratives on the eight major themes analysed was 40.770 (see Figure 19). These statistics indicate that the contribution of the Indigenous journalists as the knowledge holders/research collaborators of this study exceeded my expectations as the researcher, being the Indigenous journalists only two participants and having shared knowledge that proportionally, and in transcripts' total number of characters, represents almost 40% of the narratives of the four non-Indigenous journalists together. To ensure more accuracy regarding the size of each participant's narrative sample, see Table 7 below.

All journalists elaborated on all eight themes analysed, except in the themes of Distance (IJ_1 and NIJ_2 did not contribute), Time (IJ_1 and NIJ_4 did not add to the

narrative), Cultural Knowledge (NIJ_2 did not discuss the topic) and Trust (NIJ_1 was the only participant absent from the narrative). In all of the eight themes, at least one participant, in the case of the Indigenous journalists' group, and three of the four participants in the non-Indigenous journalists' side, contributed with their narratives, which indicates that the eight themes related to Cultural Competence in journalism chosen to be analysed for this study are significant for all participants. Furthermore, between Indigenous and non-Indigenous journalists, the three most discussed themes were Culture Competence, followed by Discomfort and Racism. Interestingly, Distance was the least mentioned theme by Indigenous and non-Indigenous journalists. This similarity found in the thematic analysis between Indigenous and non-Indigenous journalists' narratives can be seen as an optimistic sign that all of these journalists have these common concerns in mainstream journalism, which then leads one to believe that, yes, there is space and willingness for this study's dialogue, and that this 'dialogue' may interest all journalists and for the same crucial motives/themes.

Table 7 Comparative thematic analysis of all themes, between non-Indigenous and Indigenous journalists' transcripts

Comparative narrative thematic analysis of all themes, between Indigenous and Non-Indigenous journalists' transcripts					
Self-Reflection					
Indigenous			Non-Indigenous		
Participants	(n) characters	(%) percentage	Participants	(n) characters	(%) percentage
IJ-1	2,110	14.8%	NIJ-1	3,235	25.3%
IJ-2	1,104	5.1%	NIJ-2	3,036	22.9%
	—	—	NIJ-3	1,345	22.2%
	—	—	NIJ-4	1,608	19.4%
Total (2)	3,214	9.9%	Total (4)	9,224	19.4%
Discomfort					
Indigenous			Non-Indigenous		
Participants	(n) characters	(%) percentage	Participants	(n) characters	(%) percentage
IJ-1	5,070	35.5%	NIJ-1	2,837	22.2%
IJ-2	4,584	21.2%	NIJ-2	3,737	28.2%
	—	—	NIJ-3	4,764	26.0%
	—	—	NIJ-4	249	3.4%
Total (2)	9,654	28.3%	Total (4)	11,587	19.9%

Cultural Knowledge					
Indigenous			Non-Indigenous		
Participants	(n) characters	(%) percentage	Participants	(n) characters	(%) percentage
IJ-1	953	6.7%	NIJ-1	1,772	13.8%
IJ-2	630	2.9%	NIJ-2	0	0.0%
	—	—	NIJ-3	272	1.5%
	—	—	NIJ-4	517	7.2%
Total (2)	1,583	4.8%	Total (4)	2,561	5.6%
Distance					
Indigenous			Non-Indigenous		
Participants	(n) characters	(%) percentage	Participants	(n) characters	(%) percentage
IJ-1	0	0.0%	NIJ-1	351	2.7%
IJ-2	975	4.5%	NIJ-2	0	0.0%
	—	—	NIJ-3	612	3.7%
	—	—	NIJ-4	85	1.2%
Total (2)	975	2.3%	Total (4)	1,108	1.9%
Time					
Indigenous			Non-Indigenous		
Participants	(n) characters	(%) percentage	Participants	(n) characters	(%) percentage
IJ-1	0	0.0%	NIJ-1	1,187	9.3%

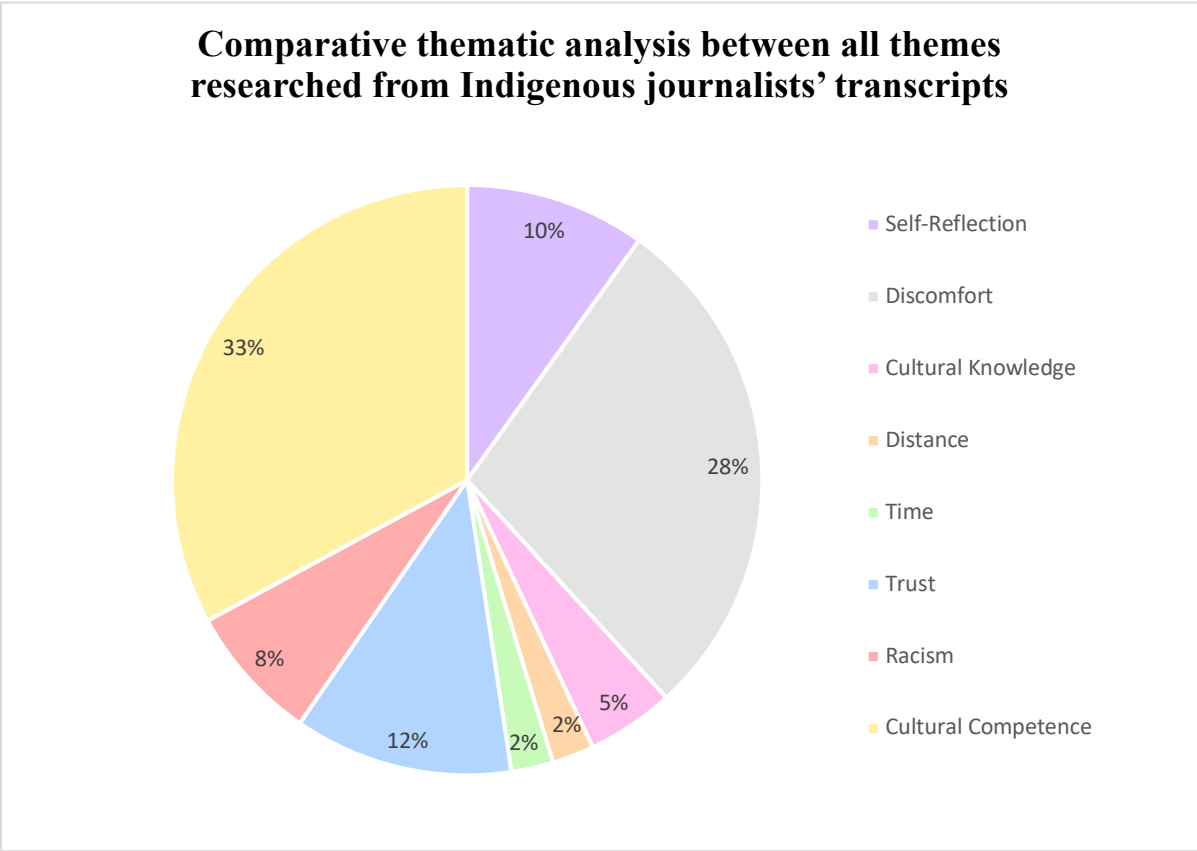
IJ-2	975	4.5%	NIJ-2	669	5.0%
	—	—	NIJ-3	1,128	6.1%
	—	—	NIJ-4	0	0.0%
Total (2)	975	2.3%	Total (4)	2,984	5.1%
Trust					
Indigenous			Non-Indigenous		
Participants	(n) characters	(%) percentage	Participants	(n) characters	(%) percentage
IJ-1	2,259	15.8%	NIJ-1	0	0.0%
IJ-2	1,768	8.2%	NIJ-2	163	1.2%
	—	—	NIJ-3	2,454	13.4%
	—	—	NIJ-4	1,376	19.0%
Total (2)	4,027	12.0%	Total (4)	3,993	8.4%
Racism					
Indigenous			Non-Indigenous		
Participants	(n) characters	(%) percentage	Participants	(n) characters	(%) percentage
IJ-1	517	3.6%	NIJ-1	1,988	15.5%
IJ-2	2,478	11.5%	NIJ-2	1,276	9.6%
	—	—	NIJ-3	7,177	39.1%
	—	—	NIJ-4	1,683	23.3%
Total (2)	2,995	7.5%	Total (4)	12,124	21.9%

Cultural Competence					
Indigenous			Non-Indigenous		
Participants	(n) characters	(%) percentage	Participants	(n) characters	(%) percentage
IJ-1	3,392	23.7%	NIJ-1	1,428	11.2%
IJ-2	9,120	42.2%	NIJ-2	4,389	33.1%
	—	—	NIJ-3	541	2.9%
	—	—	NIJ-4	1,710	23.7%
Total (2)	12,512	32.9%	Total (4)	8,068	17.7%

(Per theme, per number of characters per block of text related to each theme, and respective percentage)

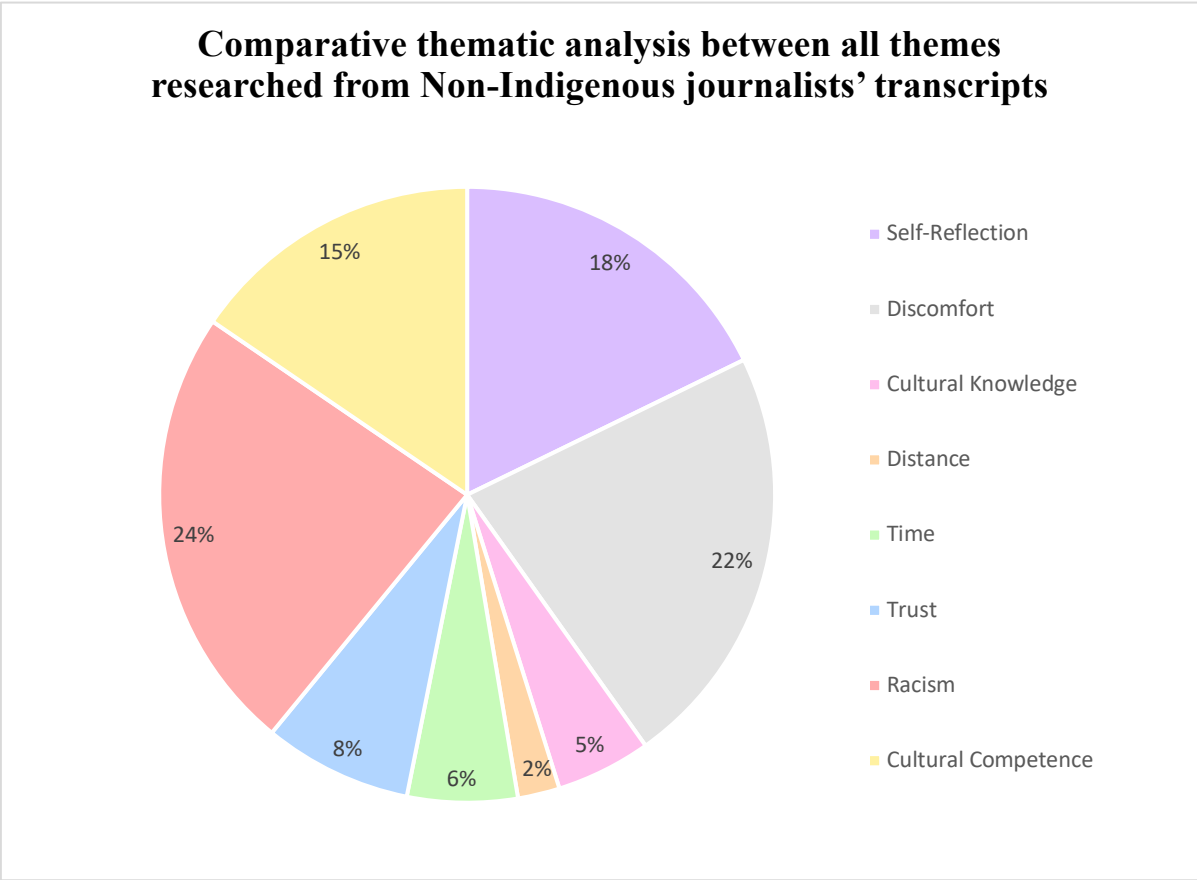
Most importantly, one can follow the conclusions of the research findings given in the visual form of two pie charts (see Figure 14 and Figure 15) supported by the more detailed data presented in Table 7 (where data is presented per theme, per number of characters per block of text related to each theme, and respective percentage) and see that the themes that interested both Indigenous and non-Indigenous journalists the most (calculated in percentage based on the number of characters per block of the text related to each one of the themes) were, respectively: on the Indigenous journalists' side, the theme of Cultural Competence (33%), followed by the theme of Discomfort (28%) and the theme of Trust (12%) are the three most relevant themes of this group's mind; whereas for the non-Indigenous journalists, the theme of Racism (24%), followed very closely by the theme of Discomfort (22%), and the theme of Self-reflection (18%) and Cultural Competence (15%) in the third and fourth position of the chart, indicates that these are the topics that are of more concern for this group.

Figure 14 Indigenous Journalists’ research findings pie chart



(Percentage based on the number of characters per block of the text related to each one of the themes)

Figure 15 Non-Indigenous Journalists' research findings pie chart



(Percentage based on the number of characters per block of the text related to each one of the themes)

The significant research findings in Figure 19 and Figure 20 can be interpreted more in detail in light of each of the participants' blocks of text related to each of the eight themes included in this chapter's previous section.

Comparing Figure 19's quantitative results with the qualitative data from the participants' narratives, one can see that for Indigenous journalists, Cultural Competence, Discomfort and Trust are themes that mirror their most significant concerns in non-Indigenous mainstream journalism.

Cultural Competence is what these journalists feel needs to be the central focus of their non-Indigenous colleagues regarding education and action towards more inclusive, respectful, and consistent strategies and practices in journalism involving Indigenous Peoples and their issues. This finding is of most significance as it validates this study entirely. My main research

question is - How can Indigenous ways of knowing, doing, thinking, and feeling and the theory of Discomfort enhance non-Indigenous journalists' Cultural Competence to develop better content to be used when covering Indigenous stories? – so, the initial hypothesis was that non-Indigenous journalists could be culturally incompetent to a certain extent when reporting on Indigenous affairs. The fact that the Indigenous journalists spend most of their time in the *Dadirri* yarning sessions elaborating on how they feel their non-Indigenous colleagues can, and must, increase their Cultural Competence indicates that they think they are not culturally competent yet. To corroborate this, all of the non-Indigenous research participants concluded that they felt they needed more Cultural Competence to do better work, and one of the participants (NIJ_3) even stated that, in Brazil at least, “non-Indigenous journalists still are racists and culturally incompetent”. However, it is also important to note here that all Indigenous and non-Indigenous journalists agreed that, even though the lack of Cultural Competence is a reality that must be addressed urgently, one must also recognise that things are getting better in this respect in Australia, Brazil and Canada “slowly but surely” as IJ_2 mentioned, thanks to the Indigenous journalists that worldwide are making their voice has been heard in the mainstream Communication and Media spaces, and the non-Indigenous journalists that are willing to make the effort of improving their strategies and practices towards more inclusive and culturally competent mainstream journalism.

Discomfort seems to be the overarching emotion felt by Indigenous journalists the most and for longer, as a consequence of colonisation, intergenerational trauma, 'white' privilege and superiority, racism, inequality, cultural misrepresentation and social under-representation - all substantial reasons mentioned by the Indigenous journalists in this study for a generalise, constant and robust feeling of Discomfort that they made it clear in this study they want non-Indigenous journalists to stop perpetuating in mainstream journalism by increasing their Cultural Competence.

The third theme most discussed by the Indigenous journalists was Trust. Therefore, Trust seems critical for First Nations Peoples, particularly Trust (or distrust) in non-Indigenous Peoples and journalists, in the way they build (if at all) their relationships with the Indigenous community and sources, in how they ‘extract’ and use Indigenous Knowledge, and in their amount of effort put on working towards better journalism inclusive of Indigenous Peoples and their ways of being, doing and knowing. Overall, Indigenous journalists in this research explained why and how they believe non-Indigenous journalists must be willing to build Trust

and find appropriate ways to maintain it as a top priority to become more culturally competent in reporting on First Nations Peoples.

Moreover, as shown in Figure 20, non-Indigenous journalists seem to have their attention spread between the theme of Racism (representing 24% of their analysed narratives), followed by the theme of Discomfort (22%), Self-reflection (18%) and Cultural Competence (15%). Interestingly, in the presence of the non-Indigenous journalists' research findings, and after comparing them with the conclusions of the prominent Indigenous journalists' results, one can say that non-Indigenous journalists seem ready to begin their journey towards the urgent and much-needed improvement of their work involving First Nations Peoples, but they are still culturally incompetent journalists.

In other words, significant findings of this research show that non-Indigenous journalists are aware of the Racism very much present in mainstream 'white' journalism, and they are already taking their time to Self-reflect on their role in the 'system'. Therefore, they are in the first stage of the painful Discomfort needed to finally begin the transformative journey towards a more Culturally Competent journalism that Indigenous Peoples see as the alternative to the past and current wrongdoings in the non-Indigenous journalism involving First Nations Peoples. This may seem to some as an overly optimistic observation of the research findings. Still, after I have seen how non-Indigenous journalists reacted openly and positively to the Discomfort and how they were able and willing to practice Self-reflection, I conclude that combining these two factors can help these journalists start raising their Cultural Competence. However, what is critical here is that, even though the increment of Cultural Competence must be an institutional serious and urgent compromise, non-Indigenous journalists also must understand that they need to do their part individually – the so-called "homework that needs to be done" mentioned several times in the Indigenous journalists *Dadirri* yarning sessions. But, going back to the optimistic interpretation of this research results, one must reinforce that both research groups said multiple times that "things are changing for the better" (IJ_1 noted) and that "perhaps we will never be able to change all the bad things that came with colonisation, but we can start doing our part from today, and that will make a change for sure" (quoting IJ_2).

Analysing the findings related to the non-Indigenous journalists more in-depth on the theme of Racism, I discovered that non-Indigenous journalists are aware of the Racism suffered by Indigenous Peoples and how mainstream non-Indigenous journalism has been racist and continues to perpetuate Racism towards First Nations Peoples. Only one in four participants

(NIJ_2) revealed unconscious biased Racism. However, after almost two hours of *Dadirri* yarning session informed by the Theory of Discomfort, this participant confessed they were already more aware of the issue and stated they would prioritise its improvement in the future. This situation during the data collection process was analysed and described as being positive as, in a way, when one becomes self-aware of Racism, it can be very discomforting; however, this can also be the first step to learning more about antiracist strategies and practices in journalism. According to all participants (Indigenous and non-Indigenous in this study), NIJ_2 still represents the vast majority of non-Indigenous journalists in mainstream journalism, which means that perhaps professional training in Cultural Competence in-action, that would necessarily lead non-Indigenous journalists to discomfort followed by self-reflection, has the potential to be particularly transformational in the case of the journalists that are still in a deeply unconscious state of Racism, therefore culturally incompetency.

The results of the theme of Discomfort are evident: non-Indigenous are uncomfortable in their 'skin', as they feel they are too 'white' to know enough about Indigenous Cultural Knowledge. But at the same time, they know that they can increase that knowledge if they are willing to transform their strategies and practices through Discomfort by embarking on a journey of deep Self-reflection focused on their conscious, or unconscious, colonialist heritage to embrace the painful but transformative decolonising process that will lead them, in the end, to an increment of their Cultural Competency. Also, I discovered that the Discomfort described in the non-Indigenous journalists' narratives is reflexive of the Discomfort they feel Indigenous Peoples suffered, and still do, because of the impact of the work of non-Indigenous journalists that can be more part of the 'problem' than of the 'solution' in their lives. Therefore, the Discomfort non-Indigenous often referred to in their narratives can be interpreted as a mixture of negative feelings such as pain, guilt, fear, and shame.

Interestingly, the fact that the themes of Self-reflection and Cultural Competence are very closely positioned in the statistics of the thematic analysis (almost side by side in third and fourth positions, respectively) is perhaps the finding that confirms the hypothesis of this thesis more effectively – Can non-Indigenous journalists explore and increase their Cultural Competence to reporting on Indigenous Peoples better, through discomfort?

These two themes, statistically so close to one another, confirm that non-Indigenous journalists can, and should, explore ways to increase their Cultural Competence through the

discomforting process of Self-reflection – as deep Self-reflection is the way to becoming aware of the need for Cultural Competence in the first place.

To be more culturally competent, one needs to self-reflect on who one is, what needs to change in oneself, where one can find the resources to change oneself for the better, and how one can transform one's ways of being, doing and knowing to then, finally, be able to understand, fully accept and celebrate the 'Other' through a Cultural Competence process.

In sum, the close relation between Self-reflection and Cultural Competence themes here indicates that non-Indigenous journalists need self-reflection to gain Cultural Competence and are already taking on the journey towards Cultural Competence, as self-reflection is inherent in the Cultural Competence process.

All the participants in this study (Indigenous and non-Indigenous) agreed on the fact that non-Indigenous journalists are still culturally incompetent and that this is an educational and institutional, systemic issue to address urgently and consistently across all non-Indigenous mainstream journalism and journalism courses on higher education level as well as on a professional training level. Besides the urgent need to overcome the generalised racism and colonialism in western journalism, the institutional leaders need to pause and reflect on how things need to change; for example, non-Indigenous journalists need more Time to short all sorts of Distances (geographic, cultural, and relational) that still separate them from the First Nations Peoples they are reporting on. Indigenous journalists need to be more present in the mainstream newsroom, not only to guide their non-Indigenous colleagues to do their 'homework' but rather, most importantly, to take the leadership on the work that is related to Indigenous Peoples, and – critical and many times mentioned by Indigenous journalists in this study – if they prefer, to work in any journalistic area as any other journalist in the newsroom.

Indigenous knowledge and ways of seeing the world and doing things must be included in mainstream non-Indigenous journalism for inclusiveness at all levels and cultural enrichment of people and work, in and outside the newsroom. Indigenous Peoples are part of the audience, so they need to be represented in the newsroom so that Indigenous content can be more culturally sensitive, sociologically, and historically accurate and presented more equitably. Furthermore, Indigenous material must be trauma-informed and politically carefully curated. It also needs to be always under Indigenous protocols at all levels and, and for that, Indigenous sources need to be included and respected, and all sorts of authorisations and approvals need to

be sought out before, during and after the material is published. Finally, all reports on First Nations Peoples in mainstream non-Indigenous journalism must have what the community needs, wants, and deserves in their epicentre. Finally, Trust is crucial in reporting on First Nations affairs, so non-Indigenous journalists must not forget to give back to Indigenous people for their time and shared knowledge.

Overall, mainstream non-Indigenous journalism has plenty of room for improvement, as these research findings indicate. But the good news is that Indigenous journalists are making their voices heard more than ever before, and it looks like non-Indigenous journalists are starting to listen to them more and more deeply. As NIJ_3 summarised so well: "Things [in mainstream non-Indigenous journalism] are not quite there where they should be, but things are changing, slowly but surely.". Moreover, as IJ_2 also mentioned: "Hopefully, this is just the beginning of something better".

Considering the data collected for this qualitative research, much more is to be analysed and discussed, particularly on the themes less concerned by the participants but still relevant for the increment of Cultural Competence in non-Indigenous journalism, such as the themes of Time and Distance. But as I conclude, I fulfilled the aims of this study and, most importantly, answered the research questions (see more details in the next section of this chapter). I know these research findings can be further unpacked in future studies developed from here by me and others who may come across this study and are interested in the topic.

The next section of this chapter will further discuss these data findings, mainly concerning the data collection method and the theoretical framework applied to it, considering the research questions of this study.

5.5 – Discussion of the Findings

As the researcher, I tested the Theory of Discomfort in the *Dadirri* yarning sessions with the non-Indigenous journalists only, as they are the main focus of this research study. Also, the literature on the topic and my own personal and professional experience as a non-Indigenous journalist reporting on Indigenous affairs in Australia, in the lands of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples, indicated, from the beginning of this PhD journey, that non-Indigenous

mainstream journalism needs to suffer a transformation process to become more culturally competent.

By introducing my questions assertively and sometimes even provocatively and confrontationally to add some discomfort to the narrative to test the theory, I not only successfully used Boler's and Zembylas' (2003) Pedagogy of Discomfort applied to research in the Journalism Studies for the first time (as far as I know from the literature) but I also confirmed the research hypothesis, meaning that leading the non-Indigenous journalists through a deep listening, deep self-reflection and deep-self-awareness exercise framed on discomfort but softened through the *Dadirri* protocol do support these journalists in their journey towards Cultural Competence.

Based on the narratives produced by these journalists and observation of their behaviour throughout the *Dadirri* yarning sessions, I was able to note that through discomfort, non-Indigenous journalists are capable of increasing their personal, cultural, and professional self-awareness and, from there, raising their level of self's and other's Cultural Competence to then, finally, improve their strategies and practices towards a more accurate and respectful journalistic work inclusive of all peoples, notably the First Nations Peoples.

Moreover, the painfully uncomfortable moments these journalists agreed to embark on when they accepted the invitation to participate in such an innovative research data collection process were controlled, at all times, by the careful use of *Dadirri* protocol as the 'tool' that allowed me, as the researcher, to establish the limits between uncomfortable situations that lead to positive transformation through controlled pain, and harmful situations that can only cause one to paralyse and not progress to a more positive state of personal grow - which I ensure to meticulously monitored throughout the interview sessions, at all times to the best of my abilities as a researcher and an experienced journalist.

One can say that the thematic narrative of NIJ_2 (the non-Indigenous journalist who clearly showed a certain level of biased unconscious racism in their discourse but who went through the exercise of self-reflection with an open willingness to get deeper self-awareness and understanding of their issue of both unconscious racism and lack of Indigenous Cultural Competence) was perhaps the most significant contribute to proving the power of Boler's and Zembylas' (2003) Pedagogy of Discomfort. By the end of NIJ_2's *Dadirri* yarning session, and after going through complex and painful feelings of shame and guilt, the participant realised

that something must change for the better in the traditional western journalistic way of approaching Indigenous Peoples to report on them and their matters, and most importantly, in NIJ_2's own strategies and practices as a non-Indigenous journalist.

NIJ_2 started the *Dadirri* yarning session with the idea that their practices and strategies for reporting Indigenous Peoples were "neutral, impartial, correct, enough to do a good job". However, after a sequence of discomforting questions that led to a deep listening, deep self-reflection and deep-self-awareness exercise answering those uncomfortable questions, NIJ_2 became aware of the much room for improvement towards transformation needed on the antiracism and Cultural Competence levels. The participant confessed this realisation as follows; among other subtle but robust observations they included in their narratives:

"The lack of Cultural Competence in newsrooms focused on Indigenous affairs is complicated. Now that we are both [NIJ_2 and the researcher] talking about Cultural Competence, I confess, which is uncomfortable because it is a confrontation; in a way, I learned that Cultural Competence is a vaster area than I imagined. I now understand that involves, for example, essential new habits like looking at an Indigenous cultural calendar and checking the cultural and ceremonial dates during my eventual future trips to the community. Furthermore, I may request authorization to enter the community in advance, try to find out and contact the Elders in good time, and so on. After discussing the subject here, I am now more prepared to report on an Indigenous community. I now have a better idea of the 'checklist' I must do before taking off from Melbourne to a remote community. A list of engagement practices in this type of journalism would be perfect for any journalist, you know?"

When NIJ_2 concluded that discomfort leads them to the much-needed awareness, which can then lead to possible transformation and, finally, cultural competency increasing, I, as a researcher, came to the conclusion (based on evidence provided by NIJ_2, but also based on the narratives of all journalists that participated in this data collection, on all the eight themes they discussed and I analysed) that my primary research aims with this PhD study has been achieved and the essential research question answered.

Moreover, my original and innovative contribution to Journalism Studies, to the Cultural Competence area of knowledge, and, finally, to the application of Boler's and Zembylas' (2003) Pedagogy of Discomfort for the first time informed by Indigenous cultural,

spiritual and research methodological concept of *Dadirri*, particularly involving Indigenous and non-Indigenous journalists, was also provided.

I brought a new theoretical framework for this research study by combining *Dadirri* with Boler's and Zembylas's (2003) Pedagogy of Discomfort to summarise this data collection process analysis and research findings.

I used *Dadirri* as the 'tool' Zembylas (2015) argues necessary for the constitution of nonviolent ethics in the exercise of discomfort. The Pedagogy of Discomfort entails ethical violence by imposing a particular code of ethics on Others who cannot appropriate these ethics in a living way (Zembylas, 2015). But it is possible to formulate nonviolent ethics in Pedagogy of Discomfort – Boler (1999) believes that one of the basic tenets of a Pedagogy of Discomfort is that it promotes 'active' rather than 'passive' empathy, that does not prevent discomfort or suffering and pain, all necessary emotions to promote not only knowledge but also action for change (Boler 1999), but can be evoked "as an action that retains a productive quality" (Zembylas 2015, p. 172). Lindquist (2004) also refers to 'strategic empathy' that means, in the context of the classroom, the willingness of the teacher to make themselves strategically sceptic to empathise with troubled knowledge that students carry with them even when it is disturbing to others (fellow students or teacher) (Zembylas 2012). This concept of 'strategic empathy' resonates with *Dadirri* as empathy is embedded in *Dadirri* at its deepest level. *Dadirri* requires being quietly aware, listening and watching, with all people recognised as unique, diverse, complex, and interconnected - part of a community where all people matter and belong. Accordingly, it is a way of learning and building knowledge together empathically (Ungunmerr-Baumann, 2002).

Furthermore, I used *Dadirri* in this data collection process as a 'bridge' for communication and understanding between two voices in uncomfortable, troubled, and painful conversations. Through a dialogue promoted under *Dadirri* values and protocol, participants also had the time and the space to critically engage with an individual's troubled knowledges and discomforting emotions. In other words, *Dadirri* worked as the space for 'strategic empathy' (as a constructive point of departure to navigate discomfort) and space for positive and constructive dialogue to transform these troubled knowledges and painful emotions. Through *Dadirri*, all non-Indigenous journalists in this data collection journey "learnt by watching and listening, waiting and acting" (Ungunmerr-Baumann, 2002). Therefore, and in the context of this study, I also proved the potential of *Dadirri* for bringing non-Indigenous and

Indigenous journalists together in a dialogue conducted in cultural safeness. The 'strategically' designed set of one-on-one interview circles in my study - Indigenous and non-Indigenous journalists yarned with me separately, but the data will now be shared with all, creating the necessary dialogue between groups so all can learn from the experience - served to prevent any form of 'violent ethic' amongst research participants. *Dadirri* then served as a 'tool' to not only hear everyone's voices but also to 'neutralise' the necessary ethical violence resulting from the discomfort entailed upon the "subject engaged in an ongoing struggle between a critical relation to the truth regime in which one life and giving a 'truthful' account of the self" (Zembylas 2015, p. 169). *Dadirri* 'pacified' this ethically violent process through a protocol, mutual respect, deep listening, deep self-awareness, and deep self-reflection to action. Ultimately, *Dadirri* allowed an opportunity for the use of discomforting feelings to "challenge dominant beliefs, social habits and normative practices that sustain social inequities, and they create openings for individual and social transformation" (Zembylas 2015, p. 163).

Combining *Dadirri* with the Pedagogy of Discomfort was both original and relevant. Above all, it was a new conceptual, theoretical, and practical framework that proved valuable as a transformative strategy for non-Indigenous journalists' feelings and practices and a healing strategy for the complex emotions, great suffering, and intergenerational trauma of Indigenous journalists.

5.6 – Implications for Practice and Recommendations

This thesis reinforces that for good outcomes in non-Indigenous journalism reporting on First Nations Peoples and their matters, cultural competence is lacking and, therefore, is needed at the individual, team, organizational, and systemic levels. While each level can be developed in isolation, all levels must work together to be effective. Most importantly, cultural competence involves more than accepting diversity; it also means challenging systemic barriers and changing the existing structures and practices perpetuating intolerance, oppression, and inequity.

I believe one must also recognize that the barriers do not result from Indigenous Peoples and their cultures but rather from the values and beliefs inherent in the systemic framework of non-Indigenous journalism and from insufficient training at the academic and

professional levels. A better option is to view cultural diversity not as a problem or a barrier to be overcome but as a leverage point that can significantly affect an outcome. Focusing on cultural diversity consideration in reporting on Indigenous Peoples and their matters can be a powerful tool in providing journalistic material that can be relevant and meaningful for both non-Indigenous and Indigenous communities and, in turn, will lead to more positive results in mainstream journalism and cultural knowledge overall.

The implications of the findings in this study are significant. They include the importance of applying cultural competence to journalists and the need for a renewed examination of the influences of colonisation on reporting and news coverage involving First Nations Peoples. A consideration related to cultural competence is that it is a process, a difficult and discomfiting one. Its implications must be considered for all journalists, particularly for non-Indigenous journalists, within the current news industry, current western news values, ethics, norms, and routines, digital journalism, and journalism education. In addition, considerations on the 'two-worlds' reality, where Indigenous and non-Indigenous Peoples encounter and relate with one another and other binary conceptualisations about cultural competence and journalism, must also be addressed.

Implications for non-Indigenous journalists

It is clear from the study's findings that cultural competence is not only an appropriate concept to be applied to journalists and journalism but also highly significant. The importance of coverage that presents multiple cultural perspectives and increases audience understanding cannot be underestimated in today's globalised world and digital and multicultural journalism. Evidence about the importance of increased understanding through news coverage could be observed in non-Indigenous journalists' preconceptions of the Indigenous communities they cover. Many of the non-Indigenous journalists said they lacked adequate cultural knowledge. Still, some of them were also unaware of their prejudice and biased unconscious racism and a great need to reflect on the way they consciously or unconsciously end up perpetuating the worst in their colonising heritage and their 'white privilege'. Some of the cultural competence limitations these non-Indigenous journalists presented and the false narratives they tend to perpetuate were formulated by historical and anthropological literature and documentaries and news media coverage of the Indigenous Peoples throughout the years. More importantly, the mainstream news media rarely covered positive aspects of the First Nations Peoples, which helped to feed the non-Indigenous journalists' negative and false ideas and later became a source

of their wrongdoings as they came to contact, interact, and report on the Indigenous Peoples and their matters.

The inability to reflect the complexities of the culture and life of Indigenous Peoples indicates a low level of cultural competence, which all Indigenous and non-Indigenous research participants confessed they identify in the mainstream non-Indigenous media. In addition, the mainstream media's representation of the Indigenous people reflects the broad category of 'exotic, inferior, stagnated in time, not diverse and problematic', ignoring all the diversity, richness, intricacies, and complexities of the Indigenous Peoples' ways of being, doing and knowing. Overall, most non-Indigenous and Indigenous journalists in this study are aware of the need for increased education and training in cultural competence to achieve more nuanced, inclusive, and truthful coverage of Indigenous Peoples and the places where they live, their culture, history, and context, needs and expectations.

Implications for the journalism industry

Given the current state of the non-Indigenous mainstream journalism industry, with its shrinking staff, struggles to incorporate and earn revenue from new technologies, time pressures and constant need for news that maintains an audience strongly related and loyal, taking the time and having the motivation to move toward culturally competent journalism will never be an easy, let alone urgent priority.

It is possible that with increasingly higher and more globalised digital news content, audiences (particularly Indigenous Peoples more than ever present, especially in social media, and willing to make their voices heard and their truth tell) will be more than ever demanding higher accuracy, equity and quality; therefore, more culturally competent coverage will increase, and finally, mainstream powerful media is forced to, firstly, get more Indigenous journalists to be part of the team in the newsroom, secondly, take the time to provide cultural competence in action professional training to non-Indigenous journalists so they can offer better coverage of First Nations Peoples issues.

Implications for non-Indigenous journalism ethics, policies, strategies, and practices

According to this study's significant findings, aspects of Cultural Competence run against many current news values editors expect from their journalists. These expectations

include covering Indigenous Peoples' stories and matters that appeal to the news organisation's market base and ensuring non-Indigenous journalists comply with deadlines and display expertise relatively quickly, even on highly complex topics. Moreover, the few mainstream media newsrooms that already employ Indigenous journalists expect their work to be reduced to 'help' their non-Indigenous colleagues monitoring their 'homework' (which many times is lacking rigour). These research findings also confirmed these newsrooms in countries with First Nations populations still have Indigenous journalists under-represented and under-valued in their potential as journalists, and that is institutional cultural incompetence *per se* - an issue that needs to be looked at more carefully. Therefore, one implication of this complex newsroom's current cultural incompetency is that news values must be re-examined by accepting and implementing a culturally competent approach to journalism.

Another implication of this study is that the research results suggest a close and dynamic relationship between Culturally Competent journalism and Constructive Journalism (McIntyre & Gyldensted, 2018). Much of mainstream non-Indigenous journalism has been dominated by a framework of conflict, trauma, and all kinds of negativity, mainly when reporting on First Nations Peoples worldwide. Yet, the depressing nature of the news is not surprising as 'Bad news is good news' and 'If it bleeds, it leads' (Haagerup, 2014), as news serves several western traditional journalism purposes that explain why news stories are often negative and conflict-based and trauma-oriented. Among those purposes is the journalists' duty to alert the public of threats, including through the exposure of government corruption. But, also, journalists are naturally drawn toward drama (Niven, 2005), and news organizations see conflict and drama as 'part of the job', almost as an essential routine 'that is good for the business'. Therefore, it is understandable that negativity is the news value used to train journalists to identify newsworthy information. Conversely, it seems that nowadays, journalism audiences are demanding positivism in the form of solutions for the challenging of the world more than 'bad news' that mostly serves to reinforce and acts as a constant reminder of all that is wrong and causes pain, fear, and distress. Audiences are tired as the gravitation of journalists and news consumers toward negative news can negatively impact consumers, mainly, in the context of this study, the Indigenous Peoples news consumers that see themselves included almost exclusively in non-Indigenous journalists' 'bad news', often published without proper political, social, cultural, and historical context. I then argue that culturally competent journalism has the potential to alleviate the impacts of the 'bad news' as culturally competent journalism is, in fact, constructive journalism - a more responsive and respectful journalism

that, therefore, is positive, identifies and works against the 'big problems' of the world and can represent part of the 'solution' for the significant challenges of justice, inclusion, equity and multiculturalism globally.

Another implication I argue in this study is that more culturally competent journalism needs to include an ability to negotiate the culture of one's news institution, including the possible challenge of its expectations, rules, time management, equity and diversity in employment, and market demands.

Journalistic ethics, rules and routines contributed to and hindered the process of cultural competence simultaneously. Thus, the concept of cultural competence reinforces the need to maintain or strengthen some of these norms but also serves as a caution against over-relying. Some traditional norms of non-Indigenous journalism must be re-think when reporting on Indigenous Peoples, such as sharing the material with the Indigenous sources for approval before publishing, ensuring a giving back to the community is done ~~given~~, getting immersed in the Indigenous culture as much as possible while covering the story, and so on – all strategies and practices that go against the traditional notions of 'neutrality' and 'distance' that the journalist is expected to follow. Conversely, these new journalistic strategies and practices are critical in Indigenous journalism. Thus, some western traditional journalistic norms, routines, policies, strategies, and practices essentially help move journalists toward cultural competence. Still, additional forms of awareness, knowledge, and skills are needed to achieve a higher level of cultural competence in the reporting and news production process towards Indigenous Peoples' coverage.

Therefore, in the light of these research findings, non-Indigenous journalism ethics, policies, strategies, and practices must be examined more carefully and adapted to a multicultural way of communicating. Most importantly, these findings also lead to the conclusion that 'white' non-Indigenous mainstream journalism must be decolonised to a certain extent to become more inclusive, truthful, and culturally competent.

Implications for journalism education

The research's main results also have implications for journalism education, particularly for communitarian journalism, multicultural journalism, and Indigenous journalism education. The significant implication is that a culturally competent approach to journalism

should become a topic of discussion in journalism courses at the university level. The discussions also could be framed to pursue a new professional norm of understanding, both on the part of the journalists and their audiences. Awareness of Self and knowledge of the Other, not just the Other's isolated cultural pieces of knowledge but cultural competence in-action skills, must be included in the universities' curriculum and taught and encouraged by Indigenous and non-Indigenous higher education educators, particularly in universities in countries with Indigenous Peoples.

Classroom discussions associated with cultural competence would focus on the decolonisation of journalism, the social construction of reality and the inclusion of other knowledges besides the western, including Indigenous knowledges. This more inclusive approach to teaching and learning in the university setting, particularly in the Journalism courses, would provide the framework for discussing one's perception of 'reality' and how perceptions might differ depending upon one's cultural and social experiences. This increased awareness would provide the foundation for discussions of two dimensions of a culturally competent approach to journalism:

- a) knowledge of the Self and the Other and skills necessary to move toward more culturally competent reporting and news texts, audio, and images. For example, while journalism students are taught the importance of deep self-reflection, deep-self-awareness and deep-listening skills, a culturally competent approach would ask them first to examine their own perspectives to take those perspectives into account while listening to someone else, then try to remove their own filters as the interviewee is speaking;
- b) another way to emphasise a culturally competent approach to journalism would be to discuss the importance of not just 'macro' knowledge but also 'micro' knowledge (and vice versa).

Another finding of this study is that only a few non-Indigenous journalists who participated knew the history and socio-political context of the Indigenous Peoples they covered. Without this kind of knowledge, culturally competent news coverage is impossible. In addition, while many experienced non-Indigenous journalists produced narratives in their *Dadirri* yarning sessions that revealed 'micro' knowledge of the Indigenous Peoples, the need

for ‘macro’ level knowledge could be more strongly emphasised, which shows that their work when reporting Indigenous Peoples may be lacking this knowledge too.

Thus, university educators must consider how to help students who one day become journalists (particularly the ones interested in working with and for Indigenous Peoples, independent of their cultural background) gain both ‘micro’ and ‘macro’ knowledge of Self and the Other. The university’s curriculum/policies/strategies/practices decolonisation ~~is~~ are, again, an individual (on the educator, researcher, and staff levels) and organisational (on the curriculum, employment diversity, and support for all students, including Indigenous students but also students from diverse cultural minorities, and so on) processes.

Moreover, some journalists participating in this study indicated the urgent need for cultural competency in action in a professional training context. For them, this would represent a significant improvement in how they work with and for Indigenous Peoples. Furthermore, I argue that professional cultural competence training would help transform journalists and, most importantly, the media organisation. The media organisations’ lack of cultural competence is one of the most significant issues pointed out by the journalists in this study, who noted that working in a culturally incompetent newsroom/organisation naturally interferes directly with the journalist’s cultural competence and work quality.

Finally, in the next section of this chapter and as a complement to this study’s implications for practice, I will present the new Cultural Competence Continuum Applied to Journalism (JCCC), a practical ‘tool’ that can help journalists identify where they are in the continuum of cultural competence and reflect on how they can improve their skills and increase their cultural awareness, knowledge, sensitivity, responsiveness, and proficiency to go further in their cultural competency individual journey. Furthermore, I will also offer a checklist of strategies and practices to support non-Indigenous journalists navigating JCCC towards culturally competent (cultural proficiency) while reporting on Indigenous Peoples.

5.6.1 – First Take-home Message for non-Indigenous Journalists: Journalism Continuum of Cultural Competence

Cultural competence has been described as a continuum that ranges from cultural destructiveness to cultural proficiency (Kerr, Struthers & Huynh, 2001; Marques Bento Guedes, 2018). Unlike other approaches that advocate cultural competence to enhance the quality and

effectiveness of the theory's practical use, the Journalism Continuum of Cultural Competence (JCCC) (Fig. 22) highlights that a lack of competence can be destructive. In other words, cultural competence is a necessary component for effective intercultural collaboration relationships and needs to be used seriously (Marques Bento Guedes, 2018); in the case of this study, it is to be appropriately utilised mainly by all non-Indigenous journalists, particularly the ones who report on First Nations Peoples and their matters. Although I present this continuum linearly, it should not be interpreted as a series of predetermined, rigid phases; on the contrary, JCCC offers possible ways to respond to cultural differences, and the steps outline developmental tasks that reflect growth toward a goal of cultural proficiency (Srivastava, 2016).

The JCCC is offered in this chapter as a new practical 'tool' to be explored and used adequately by all journalists (Indigenous and non-Indigenous) who work with and for different Peoples in multicultural and globalised mainstream media. The JCCC is intended to invite all journalists for a self-reflection exercise in identifying their level of cultural competence in the continuum, on personal and institutional levels – from cultural destructiveness to cultural proficiency – and act towards improving their strategies and practices in journalism in a more systematic and informed way.

Figure 16 Journalism Continuum of Cultural Competence (JCCC) diagram, adapted from Marques Bento Guedes' (2018) Cultural Competence Continuum Applied to Astronomy



Cultural destructiveness refers to strategies, practices, actions, mentality, and organisational policies focused on one superior/influential culture to the extent that other cultures are dehumanised and destroyed. The Australian Indigenous Peoples whose children were removed from their homes and placed in homes and schools run by non-Indigenous people (the so-called Stolen Generations) is a historical example of cultural destructiveness. Cultural destructiveness can also occur in journalism in how non-Indigenous mainstream media inaccurately and misleadingly presents false narratives on the history, culture, politics, and traditional and spiritual specific events in the lives of Indigenous Peoples or, for example, exclude Indigenous sources in the journalistic process of reporting on Indigenous Peoples. By doing this, journalists are perpetuating the destruction of the identity and culture of Indigenous Peoples. Also, cultural destructiveness can often happen in academia, starting from the ethnographic research method of individual researcher-Indigenous encounters. When the insensitivity or prejudice of the researcher impedes the collaboration or development of knowledge, it crosses the line from cultural incompetence to destructiveness. Smith (2012, p. 8) describes this very clearly and assertively:

“Many of the earliest Western researchers were not formally ‘trained’ and (...) they represent the Other to a general audience back in Europe which became fixed in the milieu of cultural ideas. Images of the ‘cannibal’ chief, the ‘red’ Indian, the ‘witch’ doctor, or the ‘tattooed and shrunken’ head, and stories which told of savagery and primitivism, generated further interest, and therefore further opportunities, to represent the Other again and again.”

Cultural incapacity refers to the inability of some non-Indigenous journalists to communicate with and consequently understand Indigenous Peoples, especially when visiting the communities and contacting the community leaders directly or inviting Indigenous community members or journalists/communicators to become sources in a First Nations story. The dominant western discourse and understanding of the world serve as the norm for all processes/methods/approaches/strategies/practices/understandings, and systemic biases lead to paternalism, laziness, racism, or exclusionary approaches for diverse communities (Srivastava, 2016). Both subtle and not-so-subtle messages emphasise that members of “Other” communities are not welcome, valued, considered, or able to fit into the framework of western mainstream journalism. The expectation is that the minority cultures will adapt to, accept, and even be grateful for the non-Indigenous mainstream journalism even to consider reporting on First Nations matters in the first place. In this case, cultural incapacity is said to exist when non-

Indigenous journalists are aware of the need to do things differently but do not recognise the significance of cultural competence or see it as their role, or else feel powerless against the 'system' (Rorie et al., 1996). The lack of language interpretation services in non-Indigenous journalism reporting on Indigenous Peoples may be one example of cultural incapacity.

Cultural blindness Cultural blindness occurs when the existence of cultural differences is denied in a desire to be unbiased and treat all Peoples identically (the "I don't see colour" argument). Cultural blindness prevents one from examining longstanding systematic biases (Srivastava, 2007) in Journalism Studies as an academic field and with journalists as professionals and individuals. Thus, it prevents journalists from developing ways of enhancing the quality and equity of journalism encounters and projects of stories for (and with) all communities. Journalists who feel it is critical to approach all their interlocutors, collaborators, and colleagues similarly are at risk of cultural blindness (Marques Bento Guedes, 2018).

Like anyone else, journalists can quickly fail to recognise differential needs and interests and may exhibit culturally blind behaviours. This leads to behaviours normalised within the journalists' cultural framework, which usually equates to being a western 'white' man. For example, a non-Indigenous journalist in a work meeting with Indigenous Peoples presents a schedule they commonly use with non-Indigenous interlocutors (time scales can differ for Indigenous and non-Indigenous Peoples as time has different meanings for different peoples, as mentioned in detail in the previous chapter of this thesis). Another example is the non-Indigenous journalist interviewing by asking questions like the Indigenous interviewees are non-Indigenous people (sentences, words, concepts, metaphors, protocol, and perceptions often have different meanings depending on one's cultural background).

A third solid and typical example is when some non-Indigenous activists passionately defend policies, advocate for rights, act, and design projects based on their own culture's worldviews. This results in failing to consider questions such as "Is this something the Indigenous community needs/wants or is this an idea purely motivated or based on my western way of seeing things?" or "Am I being culturally competent by taking Indigenous beliefs as if they were my own?". One's goodwill should not be the motivator or rationale if the goal is to increase one's cultural competence. One should not seek a 'pat on the back' or 'ally cookies' but rather an opportunity to overcome deficiencies in their cultural competence and rise to a set standard of behaviour. Cultural blindness is to decide as if the Indigenous person was also a westerner. Even if a decision were made to delete western culture entirely from the equation, it

would always interfere to some degree. An appropriate solution to culture blindness might be to demonstrate respect and embrace the differences between the two worldviews instead of treating Indigenous and non-Indigenous views identically (Marques Bento Guedes, 2018).

Cultural pre-competence refers to recognising needs based on culture and some movement towards meeting those needs. Examples of cultural pre-competence include a commitment to civil rights and social justice; engagement with individuals and communities to ask ‘What, when, and how am I allowed to contribute?’; and developing inclusive policies and workforce equity initiatives (Srivastava, 2007).

It is possible that some journalists falsely believe that engaging in one or two initiatives makes them culturally competent, thus compromising further progress along the JCCC. Demoralisation is another potential difficulty that can arise when a journalist encounters challenges during activities and initiatives at this stage. Lack of progress is regarded as a failure, leading to reluctance to make subsequent efforts, and progress on the JCCC becomes compromised.

Cultural competence is characterised by a recognition of, and respect for, difference and an ongoing effort toward self-assessment and working with diversity. Cultural competence requires understanding the relationship between policy and practice and a commitment to policies that enhance services to culturally competent (Srivastava, 2007).

Cultural competence (cultural proficiency) happens when non-Indigenous journalists and their mainstream media organizations and institutions value inclusion and equity and actively seek out the positive and decisive role that culture can play in journalism, particularly about reporting on First Nations Peoples and that matters and stories.

Rather than just providing “unbiased” journalist material on Indigenous Peoples, culturally proficient non-Indigenous journalists and journalism organizations and institutions seek opportunities to learn more about different perspectives, create teams and newsrooms of journalists from a range of cultural backgrounds, particularly Indigenous journalists in this case, share knowledge based on intercultural sharing considering ancient alternative interviewing formats and communitarian and collaborative strategies and practices within the scope of modern journalism where appropriate, enhancing ways of communication, developing conflict

resolution skills to avoid cultural shock, relational and work issues of cultural misunderstanding and incompatibility that could potentially damage collaborations and relationships.

The transformation must come from organizations, agencies, newsrooms, universities, research institutions, scientific publishers, and, most importantly, journalists themselves.

5.6.2 – Second Take-home Message for non-Indigenous Journalists: Checklist of Strategies and Practices for Culturally Competent Journalism Involving Indigenous Peoples

As a non-Indigenous journalist going through a decolonising lifetime (often necessarily urgent, painful, and discomfoting) process while working with and for Indigenous Peoples myself, I had the opportunity to collect some knowledge from my own experience reporting on First Nations Peoples as a 'white' woman coming from a colonising country such as Portugal. To this knowledge, I added a most valuable one, which is the one I gained throughout the years from the 'black' literature on the topic, from my Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders friends, First Nations' research supervisors and cultural mentors, but also from Māori's colleagues, and other members of the diverse Indigenous communities with whom I had worked and from whom I learned by culturally immersing myself, and respectfully observing, asking, and doing my 'homework'.

From everything I think is crucial, here is a checklist (see Table 8) that I believe can be pertinent and helpful for working directly with Indigenous Peoples in the context of mainstream non-Indigenous journalism reporting on First Nations Peoples:

Table 8 Checklist of Strategies and Practices for Culturally Competent Journalism Involving Indigenous Peoples

Checklist of Strategies and Practices for Culturally Competent Journalism Involving Indigenous Peoples	
☒	Be as aware as possible of communication that is culturally sensitive and respectful, having in mind at all times of potential mistrust of governments and other institutions because of history (mainly related to intergenerational trauma, stolen generations, genocide, and land dispossession)

☒	Use of culturally sensitive language and preferred terminology in line with current policy directives (this language and terminology is as diverse as Indigenous Peoples worldwide)
☒	Try to implement culturally specific practices as described in relevant national, state, and local Indigenous guidelines, policies and frameworks that pertain to working with distinct Indigenous Peoples
☒	Respectfully use and record information identifying Indigenous Peoples' status in line with current policy directives
☒	Request for interpreter services (language can be a severe barrier between journalist and community, even when the journalist and the Indigenous person speak a common language, English, for example)
☒	Be aware of the best practices of recruitment and retention policies (of Indigenous members of the community, particularly the members of the community that are your journalistic sources)
☒	Seek training in all cultural aspects that are relevant for specific contexts (each Indigenous community, even if from the same Indigenous language group, is unique)
☒	Collaborate with Indigenous journalists/community communicators/community members (they are the voices you must hear above all; they are also the ones with whom you can share – not 'extract' – knowledge, the ones that can work as culture brokers and liaisons)
☒	Produce and publish culturally competent material in a culturally competent way. (This must include consulting with Indigenous stakeholders at all stages of the journalistic process, seeking Indigenous collaborators for inclusion from the research of the material to its publishing and finally giving back to the community)
☒	Include your Indigenous collaborators, preferably as co-authors, in your work (seeking Indigenous referees for proof-reading your work, acknowledging Indigenous Elders as traditional custodians of knowledge, and including appropriate Indigenous stakeholders in assessing journalism methods, interpreting information, and clarifying Indigenous meanings and perspectives)
☒	Include community leaders (elders, cultural mentors, advisors, journalists or communicators, Indigenous university students and academics) in decision-making processes on what to publish and avoid mentioning in your work as sometimes your

	work, unconsciously, can put individuals and the community in all sorts of danger situations (even life-threatening in some cases)
☒	Immerse yourself in the collaborative, communitarian work-team into Indigenous culture (especially if one feels the need to overcome one's own ethnocentrism) by (a) accessing relevant Indigenous knowledge about complex cultural structures and protocols, (b) developing non-verbal communication skills, such as the appropriate use and interpretation of posture, gestures, and eye contact, (c) learning the importance of silence or pauses in discussions, concepts of Men's and Women's Business [Women's and Men's businesses are ceremonies, upbringing, health and maintenance of culturally significant places and sacred sites. Exemplary of Men's Business are some sites that are for men only as they are used for special initiation ceremonies to support young males to grow into men. Similar events are exclusive to women; therefore, they are Women's Business for the same reasons]
☒	If you travel to the Indigenous communities, be mindful of the crucial importance of organising your visit in time and getting all the necessary approvals and essential information to navigate in the community properly, knowing what your limits are and the cultural, social, spiritual, political, and geographical lines you must not cross
☒	Learn in advance and be respectful about the administrative and organisational accommodations (including altering physical environments and written materials, which influences access and utilisation) when visiting and staying for the night in the community
☒	Be fully committed to understand and work within local cultural protocols and kinship structures of Indigenous communities
☒	Be respectful and follow, at all times, the Indigenous protocols in community contexts (such as seeking permission to visit, checking the appropriateness of moving around the community, where and when you are allowed to touch people, artifacts, food, drinks and ceremonial objects)
☒	Be aware of cultural "prohibitions" (such as referring to a recently deceased person by name, to give an Australian example)
☒	Talk, officially at an organisational level, with the right person to gather specific information (always seek the advice, approval, and authorisation of the community's leadership)
☒	Learn how to prepare essential work meetings with Indigenous Peoples and act according to their ways of doing things (be ready to have several family members

	coming to the interview as a communitarian way of doing work meetings, especially with 'strangers')
☒	Do your 'homework' in-depth and with time (learn the historical, cultural, social, and political context of the Indigenous community, and see where and how your historical, cultural, social, and political context can be a potential 'barrier' or an 'opportunity' for the success of your encounter with the Indigenous individual or community)
☒	Be aware of the spiritual, cultural and social annual calendar of the Indigenous community (avoid visiting the community on a sacred day as you might be invited to return on a 'better day' without your work done – and if so, the advice is to be respectfully, patient and polite – accept; your non-Indigenous calendar is not the one of the Indigenous community and you, as the journalist, must be the one to be prepared for its public and sacred days in advance)
☒	Be prepared to listen deeply, to get uncomfortable, to hear about your 'white privilege' (if that is your case) and to humbly accept the cultural differences (this is the only way to learn and get your work culturally competent – do never forget that you are the journalist, the guest, the one who wants to know more, therefore, the one who needs to follow the rules and the protocol of the community)
☒	Seek the help of your Indigenous colleagues in the newsroom only after doing your 'homework' in-depth first (Indigenous journalists are your colleagues, not your 'cultural mentors'. Also, avoid assuming all Indigenous Peoples are knowledgeable of their Indigenous culture; some did not grow up culturally immersed in their indigeneity)
☒	Finally, but crucially, always think in advance if, and if so, how, your journalistic work can benefit the community (to establish valuable trust with the community to do culturally competent journalistic work, you need to have the expectations, the needs, and the interests of the community in mind at all times, prioritising them regarding your own and your newsroom' and organisation' agenda)

I will present this study's limitations in the next section of this thesis chapter. Finally, I will add some considerations about my journey navigating the ethical considerations involving research with Indigenous peoples in the intersection of 'two worlds'.

5.7 – Limitations and Other Considerations

Literature limitations

My research explored the literature on Journalism Studies, Indigenous Studies, Indigenous Research Methodologies Studies, and Cultural Competence Studies, as well as the intersections of these domains. However, I soon discovered that the bibliography is sparse on the explanation for low levels of Cultural Competence among non-Indigenous journalists reporting on Indigenous Peoples and their matters, at least from the non-Indigenous journalists' perspective, as the topic was mainly explored from the Indigenous journalists' point of view, from what I could find in the literature. This topic has not been adequately investigated, nor have theoretical and methodological approaches been sufficient for non-Indigenous journalists to address this issue and improve their Cultural Competency skills. Existing scholarship does not sufficiently explore why non-Indigenous journalists still lack Cultural Competence when they must contact, interact with, interview and report on First Nations Peoples. Neither does it comment on how cultural competence can be an essential component in improving the quality of journalism overall and how non-Indigenous journalists' decolonisation is a painful and discomforting, nevertheless urgent and necessary individual, and institutional process. Moreover, the apparent inexistence of research published combining a 'dialogue' between Indigenous and non-Indigenous journalists analysing the level of cultural competence of non-Indigenous journalists, utilising both the Pedagogy of Discomfort and the Aboriginal concept of *Dadirri* through a research design conceptually, theoretically and methodologically placed in the intersection of 'two worlds' (Indigenous and non-Indigenous paradigms), revealed to be simultaneously this study's limitation and the originality it brings to the literature.

Researcher profile limitations

I need to consider my profile as a researcher as a significant limitation in this study: I am not Australian, yet I live and work in Australia; I am not Indigenous, yet I live and work with Australian First Nation Peoples; English is not my native language; and I am a Portuguese journalist amid my decolonising process. On the other hand, I recognise that my profile as a researcher, with an academic background in anthropology and extensive professional experience in various areas of communication, has ended up being a significant asset to this thesis. As a foreign researcher observing, interacting with, and interpreting the narratives of Canadian and Brazilian Indigenous journalists and non-Indigenous journalists from different

cultural backgrounds (Brazil and Czech Republic), an 'outsider's' point of view allowed me to have some neutrality, cultural distance, and critical perspective needed to conduct an in-depth level of analysis; while being a non-Indigenous journalist reporting on Indigenous Peoples and their matters in Australia gave me a deeper understanding of the non-Indigenous journalists' narratives and feelings that participated in this study. I conducted this research with a similar cultural sensitivity and respect towards non-Indigenous and Indigenous journalists.

Methodology limitations

Another limitation of this study is the nature of the chosen qualitative research methodology. One of the strengths of qualitative methods is their use as exploratory tools when precedents are challenging to find. I discovered close to nothing about Cultural Competence combined with the Pedagogy of Discomfort and the mix of Indigenous and non-Indigenous research methodologies in the literature, so qualitative methods were relevant to the present research. Narrative Thematic Analysis was the chosen method to explore the narratives of Indigenous and non-Indigenous journalists. Through this qualitative method, I was able to trace the relationship between feelings, talk and text, and the cultural bond between non-Indigenous journalists and Indigenous Peoples, as well as the same dynamic for the Indigenous journalists and their views on the work of their 'non-Indigenous colleagues' and its impacts on Indigenous Peoples' lives and cultures. I explored language (in the form of a thematic narrative) as an essential cultural element that established the 'dialogue' between 'colleagues' (Indigenous and non-Indigenous journalists). By exposing and analysing the data findings, I demonstrated how these journalists' narratives are implicated in relations of power and dominance and in advocating cultural competence change. However, qualitative research methodologies have limitations, including the Thematic Narrative Analysis method. Generalised concepts and assumptions can occur due to a small number of narratives collected through the Thematic Narrative Analysis method. In the case of this study [due to (a) the thesis' western deadlines being too limited for research involving Indigenous Peoples, (b) Indigenous Peoples' time concept being unique and must be respected as such, and (c) other constraints presented below in this section of the thesis], only narrative samples of six data collection participants (four non-Indigenous journalists and two Indigenous journalists) were considered for analysis.

However, the primary goal of this research was to provide frameworks that future studies can apply beyond the limits of this thesis and the limitations inherent in its qualitative methodology and the Thematic Narrative Analysis method. That said, this thesis aims to offer

these research results as a 'start of the conversation' to generate ideas, concepts, understanding and interpretation that will always represent the 'tip of the iceberg' given the lack of information in the literature on the topic as it was explored here.

Research design limitations

I used PAR as my primary research design in the post-COVID-19 era. The pandemic created many challenges for PAR researchers who rely on collaborative relationships that are often constructed on the ground, mainly if their work involves Indigenous Peoples. The first one was the lack of in-person contact, which for Indigenous Peoples is crucial being them, essentially, communitarian communities. I then had to shift my way of contacting my research participants to the digital platform. This digital shift initially created a lot of uncertainty and challenges as we (my Indigenous knowledge holders/research collaborators and non-Indigenous research participants, and I) all struggled to figure out what technologies were available, who had access to them, how they worked and the different ways in which they could be combined.

However, as the pandemic progressed, I started to adapt my work despite the many limitations and the digital fatigue (both of participants and mine, as the researcher) even as we all became much more familiar with the different technologies available, as well as more flexible and creative in adapting our research and objectives. While the utilisation of online measures was helpful for us to transition from in-person to online meetings quickly, it also impacted with whom and how I was able to communicate and how we could work as a PAR team towards maintaining the study's objectives through a new online form of communication.

How I 'resolved' the COVID-19 dilemma (a 'solution' which I continued to use until the end of this PhD study, already in a post-pandemic situation) of not being in close contact with my PhD supervisor, Indigenous research advisors, research collaborators, and non-Indigenous participants, included different online formats of 'formal' and 'informal' means of communication, with limitations that had issues such as language, technological infrastructure, different time zones between different countries, and everyone's involved availability. This study's knowledge holders/research collaborators are from other countries (Canada and Brazil) and speak different languages (English and Portuguese), and this only requested more time translating and refining all the recruitment and study presentation materials that were

introduced by me in online video calls but also shared by email in bilingual written documents. The thesis submission time limitation was a great challenge that I eventually overcame.

Also, although countries with existing access to advanced technological frameworks were assumed to be less affected than developing countries without the same infrastructure, my PAR research design highlighted that the digital divide was unclear. None of the Indigenous communities with which I worked was utterly isolated, even though one of the Indigenous participants communicated from remote villages in the Amazon. In some cases, in countries like Brazil, technology like WhatsApp facilitated my connection with participants daily when necessary and in more informal conversations than the more formalised Zoom meeting settings that I utilised with some of my non-Indigenous participants who live in Australia.

However, even though the PAR digital shift happened smotherer than I expected at the beginning of the change from offline to online process, I still was forced to leave the communities where I was starting to recruit Indigenous participants face-to-face, explain and convince them that we could still be able to conduct the *Dadirri* yarning sessions digitally. Six participants agreed to continue working with me. Still, some preferred to cancel their participation, which made me cancel many planned activities and explore, for example, the Photovoice and Story Completion research methods that I was planning to explore in my study if the number of participants would allow me to do so.

Nevertheless, I remained in contact with my two Indigenous research collaborators, both living in their communities in Canada and Brazil, using WhatsApp, with voice messages and texts as the preferred means of communication. I also used WhatsApp to employ PAR methods and explore ways of recruiting Indigenous research collaborators with the help of non-Indigenous research participants who facilitated contact with prospective participants from their own communities in Australia, Brazil, and Canada. Overall, WhatsApp allowed me to do tasks digitally that would be impossible to do in person, like collecting data from participants in different countries, for example, during night-time. Although conducting the *Dadirri* yarning sessions on WhatsApp had certain limitations, I still maintained the PAR focus, which is working collaboratively with everyone involved in the study. Furthermore, WhatsApp has facilitated both long-term relationships through informal contact and allowed for sharing more collaborative dynamics for data collection.

Interestingly, I discovered that using 'informal' technology, like WhatsApp, may be more successful when researching communities in vulnerable conditions, particularly in countries like Brazil and the Amazonian Indigenous remote territories where it is widely used as a primary means of communication. Additionally, even though I considered the PAR shift to digital one of the limitations of my study in many forms (for trust building and time management, for example), my experience showed that WhatsApp could help reduce digital exclusion of hard-to-reach, vulnerable social groups such as the Indigenous Peoples. The digital methods I chose, and the rhythms of communication I adopted were often based on the suggestions and needs of Indigenous communities and participants' preferences and personalities. Therefore, I think the interaction worked best where I did not try to impose something new but instead worked with what participants felt most appropriate and accessible. Although WhatsApp was a valuable tool for some of my research participants, others shifted to more 'formal' digital communication modes using Zoom. This shift to remote PAR gave me the courage to allow mistakes and imperfections to try out new formats and get out of my comfort zone as a researcher.

Covid-19 limitations

The COVID-19 pandemic pulled all of us, researchers, out of our university community and, in my specific case, also out of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities with whom I was trying to establish contact, build enough trust to get closer to the community leaders and community members including Indigenous journalists who were my newsroom colleagues at the time. Like everyone else, I was locked in my home as I navigated the many uncertainties of the virus and its toll, with some members of my close family even contracting the virus, including my husband, children, and myself. This isolation and an extra layer of difficulty communicating with my Indigenous advisory panel and the group of people I invited to join me in my PhD journey as my knowledge holders/research collaborators was highly challenging. I lost contact with some people in my Indigenous advisory group and the support of some of the Indigenous journalists I was trying to recruit for my PhD. Moreover, I had just booked my trip to the Northern Territory to take the most notorious Dadirri course with Miriam-Rose Ungunmerr-Baumann in the Nauiyu People, the owners of the name and concept of Dadirri, when the COVID-19 came, and the Australian inter-states borders were abruptly closed. The Dadirri course was immediately suspended and has not reopened, the Nayui community continues to protect the most vulnerable from

'outsiders'. Another limitation to my study, continuing the topic of COVID-19, was the unpredictable effects of the COVID-19 pandemic that have particularly impacted First Nations communities throughout the globe. A second significant recent global trend that occurred at the height of the pandemic was the reignited #BlackLivesMatter (#BLM) protest campaign (as explained in depth previously in this thesis). This campaign drew attention to the vast inequities faced by 'black', transcultural (migrant, refugee, culturally diverse and international) and Indigenous Peoples, which in countries with Indigenous Peoples, such as Australia, triggered rapid action in higher education institutions against racism and unconscious bias.

On the one hand, this was a very positive thing brought about by the COVID-19 pandemic. Still, on the other hand, decolonising work being developed by 'white people' like me was impacted as Indigenous Peoples were, rightfully, even more, focused on the fight for their rights and not as interested in being part of research led by 'white' researchers working in the First Nations research field. Many Indigenous activists in Australia started to look at this kind of work with different eyes, and researchers like me were called to prove themselves and their work better and justify the reasons beyond our research intentions in more depth. Again, I took this phase of my work as part of my urgent, painful, and discomforting personal process of decolonisation. This represented much growth and a critical learning curve for me as a researcher. I then decided to pause my study to reflect on it. Even though this pause represented some loss in my PhD momentum, it also gave me the time I needed to re-shift my topic, refine my methodologies, reinforce my relationship with my Portuguese PhD supervisor, re-connect with my knowledge holders/research collaborators, and recruit my research participants.

Political limitations

One of the most significant limitations I encountered in my study was the political moment Australia went through exactly when I was collecting the PhD data. As explained in depth in this thesis's context of the Study chapter, Australians voted 'No' to the Indigenous Voice to Parliament Referendum in November 2023. This political event impacted my study in ways I was not expecting. But again, this also served as a learning curve for me in my personal and professional decolonising process as a researcher and journalist, where one must prioritise 'Others' needs, particularly when certain events happen to First Nations Peoples involved in my work that potentially can transform their lives and the lives of their families and communities for many generations to come. This referendum was one of those events that profoundly impacted Australian First Nations throughout the country. In this politically turbulent context,

talking to Indigenous people who were prominent in the campaign for a "yes" vote felt like intruding into private grief. It felt like pestering suffering people for their feelings shortly after a tragedy. Their decision to have a one-week moratorium on public comment was no doubt sensible - but it was not just about the politics of crafting a unified position but also about mourning. The statement explaining the silence was released in the Australian mainstream media, including in *The Canberra Times*, shortly after the 'No' result of the referendum, and its tone of bereavement was noticed: "Now is not the time to dissect the reasons for this tragic outcome. This will be done in the coming weeks, years, and decades. Now is the time for silence, to mourn and deeply consider the consequence of this outcome" (Evans, 2023). This major event impeded conducting two *Dadirri* yarning sessions with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples that I planned and fully organised for the weeks after the referendum. In the end, this was also one of the reasons why I could not have Australian Indigenous Peoples as my knowledge holders/research collaborators or cultural mentors to guide me in the protocol section of the *Dadirri* yarning sessions with the Indigenous journalists of this study. However, I believe this limitation, once again, was overcome as I ended up having two Indigenous journalists as knowledge holders/research collaborators who are from Canada (from the Ojibwe people) and Brazil (from the Wapichana people) who brought an increased diversity and richness to my study, which is itself primarily focused on the Australian Indigenous (the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples).

University's ethics for research with First Nations Peoples' limitations

Researchers such as me who choose to work in the Indigenous Studies area of research are usually willing to explore a discourse of decolonisation and, in the process of increasing their Cultural Competence and using their PhD study to decolonise themselves/journalism/Academia, opt to combine Indigenous and non-Indigenous methodologies. These researchers, me included, often find universities unprepared for this ethically complex research work. My case was not an exception here as one of the most significant limitations in my work is the lack of ethical conduct in the human research process for studies involving vulnerable populations, languages, and cultures such as the First Nations Peoples. Lusófona University does have a university Ethic Commission, as well as a specific Ethic Commission based on Lusófona Institute of Research and Development. However, after seeking support from my PhD supervisor and searching for answers on this matter on the Lusófona University website, I soon realised I would not have any previous guidelines

specifically designed for ethical research with Indigenous Peoples in my academic institution. But this did not demotivate me from pursuing the most ethical research with Indigenous Peoples that I could do within my personal and higher degree institutional limitations.

In 2020, before my PhD, and in the context of a research project I developed at an Australian university, I applied for ethics approval from the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS) Research Ethics Committee. The research project at the time was different yet methodologically similar to my PhD research project. In Australia, as in many other countries with Indigenous Peoples, all researchers that work, directly or indirectly, with Indigenous Peoples are obliged to apply for approval from the university's ethics in human research committee or alternatively, in my case, from the AITSIS which is the most appropriate institution in Australia to get ethics approval as the committed is mostly Indigenous Academics and leaders of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities. At the time, I got the AITSIS Ethics approval (HREC Reference Number: EO187-07072020), which, to this day, I consider one of the most significant achievements and proof of cultural competence in my conduct as a researcher.

Throughout the long (ongoing for four months) and challenging (more than 100 pages of detailed description of the project' concept, theory, methodology, benefits for the community, emergency procedures placed in case the study caused any harm to the participants or their communities, publishing conditions and data collected storage explained) process to get AITSIS letter of ethics approval, I learned most of what I know today about researching with and for First Nations Peoples. This valuable knowledge better supported my PhD, as I could not find the specific ethical support in researching with First Nations Peoples, which I needed from Lusófona University.

Since Portuguese universities, Lusófona University included, are increasingly globalised, receiving students from different parts of the world, perhaps including Indigenous students but also refugee students and local and international CALD (Culturally and Linguistically Diverse) students, I hope this PhD study brings a new light on the urgency and pertinency of a university's more inclusive, decolonising, culturally competent, and even compulsory research ethics process that protects both vulnerable research participants, their cultures and languages, and the research students that want to conduct decolonising, more appropriate, culturally safe, equitable, inclusive, and beneficial research work.

Conclusions

I begin the conclusions section of this study by confirming the core hypothesis of my PhD thesis: the main findings of this research suggest non-Indigenous journalists need to develop a cultural competence framework for working with and reporting on Indigenous Peoples. Most importantly, this study's research findings indicate that most non-Indigenous journalists are, in fact, culturally incompetent, as well as their mainstream journalism organisations. For these non-Indigenous journalists already working with and reporting on Indigenous Peoples, training on cultural competency should be seriously considered for them and the next generation of young journalists. Training in cultural competence, particularly Indigenous cultural competence in the context of this study, needs to be included in academic programs and courses from the university undergraduate level as well as in professional training workshops. Also, mainstream journalism organisations worldwide must develop policies, protocols, methods, and practices that overcome obstacles and shortfalls with journalists approaching, working in collaboration with, and reporting on multicultural communities. This is critically important as diverse culturally, socially, economically, and politically more vulnerable communities (First Nations, refugees, CALD communities and others) can be encountered as mainstream journalism subjects, sources, and audiences.

This study explored how Indigenous knowledges and values can transform non-Indigenous journalists' practices and strategies to better represent all peoples, particularly First Nations Peoples, by creating a more culturally competent, inclusive, and responsive approach to mass communication. It promoted an empowering and transformative "dialogue" that bridges two worlds' perspectives, feelings, constraints, and opportunities in western mainstream journalism that reports on First Nations Peoples. It did this by inviting four non-Indigenous (experienced in reporting on Indigenous communities and living and working on Indigenous lands in Australia and Brazil, but from diverse cultural backgrounds, respectively Brazil and Czech Republic) and two Indigenous journalists (one a proud Ojibwe person from Canada, and the other a proud member of the Wapichana People from Roraima, Cachoeira, in the Amazon, Brazil) to listen deeply, reflect and understand their own and each other's cultures, opinions, needs and ways of working.

This PhD is Participatory Action Research (PAR) theoretically informed by the Social Construction of Reality with a constructive and decolonising intention. It is based on

Indigenous protocols and the Aboriginal cultural and spiritual concept of *Dadirri* and is framed by the Pedagogy of Discomfort. Non-Indigenous and Indigenous research methodologies were explored and combined, including the traditional western semi-structured active interviewing redefined here as one-on-one *Dadirri* Yarning sessions for data collection. This research design proposed an inquiry into Discomfort within an emancipatory narrative. Furthermore, the method of Thematic Narrative Analysis was chosen to organise and present the research findings.

In the process of the Thematic Narrative Analysis, I interrogated and analysed the stories of Indigenous and non-Indigenous journalists working with Indigenous Peoples and reporting on Indigenous Peoples issues. The focus was on what content the narratives communicated during the one-on-one *Dadirri* yarning sessions with these journalists, being the sessions conducted with the non-Indigenous journalists framed by the Theory of Discomfort, which allowed a particular reflexive and emotional openness and richness from these research participants.

As my main aim was to interrogate non-Indigenous journalists' Cultural Competence when working on, for and with Indigenous Peoples, eight topics were identified as overarching themes before analysis was undertaken, as follows: Self-reflection, Discomfort, Cultural awareness, Distance, Time, Trust, Racism and Cultural Competence. These eight themes were collected from the blocks of text from the *Dadirri* yarning sessions transcripts containing words, phrases, opinions, feelings, examples, and metaphors related directly or indirectly to each research overarching topic.

After a long-lasting and intricate data management and transcript process, final individual transcripts resulted from the *Dadirri* yarning sessions with the knowledge holders/research collaborators (Indigenous journalists), respectively IJ_1's and IJ_2's stories, representing 35,935 characters of data thematically analysed. The four final transcripts collected from the non-Indigenous journalists (respectively from NIJ_1's, NIJ_2's, NIJ_3's and NIJ_4's stories) were, in total, 51,649 characters of blocks of text that were analysed in the lens of the eight themes chosen for this study.

In all the eight themes, at least one participant, in the case of the Indigenous journalists' group and three of the four participants in the non-Indigenous journalists' side, contributed with their narratives, which indicates that the eight themes related to Cultural Competence in

journalism chosen to be analysed for this study are significant for all participants. Furthermore, between Indigenous and non-Indigenous journalists, the three most discussed themes were Culture Competence, followed by Discomfort and Racism. Interestingly, distance was the least mentioned theme by Indigenous and non-Indigenous journalists. This similarity found in the thematic analysis between Indigenous and non-Indigenous journalists' narratives can be seen as an optimistic sign that all these journalists have these common concerns in mainstream journalism, which then leads one to believe that, yes, there is space and willingness for this study's 'dialogue', and that this 'dialogue' may interest all journalists and for the same crucial motives/themes.

Furthermore, it was interesting to discover that on the Indigenous journalists' side, the theme of Cultural Competence (33%), followed by the theme of Discomfort (28%), and the theme of Trust (12%) were the three most relevant themes. In contrast, for non-Indigenous journalists, the theme of Racism (24%) was followed very closely by the theme of Discomfort (22%). The themes of Self-reflection (18%) and Cultural Competence (15%) in the third and fourth positions in the statistics indicated that these topics are of more concern for this group. Therefore, this suggests that for Indigenous journalists, Cultural Competence, Discomfort and Trust are themes that mirror their most significant worries in non-Indigenous mainstream journalism. Cultural competence is what these journalists feel needs to be the central focus of their non-Indigenous colleagues regarding education and action towards more inclusive, respectful, and consistent strategies and practices in journalism involving Indigenous Peoples and their issues. This finding is of most significance as it validates this study entirely. Also, the theme of Discomfort's results strongly confirm the pertinency of the study's theoretical and methodological design – Discomfort came out as the second strongest theme in the narratives of both Indigenous and non-Indigenous journalists, with very close percentages for some participants from both groups (NIJ – 28%; IJ – 22%). These findings not only justify the use of the Pedagogy of Discomfort but also show that Discomfort somehow brings Indigenous and non-Indigenous journalists together while proving that in the 'two worlds', something must change for the better.

Most importantly, non-Indigenous journalists' data findings also suggest that the fact that the themes of Self-reflection and Cultural Competence are very closely positioned in their statistics of the thematic analysis (almost side by side in third and fourth positions, respectively) is perhaps the finding that confirms the hypothesis of this thesis more effectively as, somehow,

it responds to the primary study's research question: Can non-Indigenous journalists explore and increase their Cultural Competence to reporting on Indigenous Peoples better, through Discomfort? These two themes, statistically so close to one another, confirm that non-Indigenous journalists feel they can, and should, explore ways to increase their Cultural Competence through the discomfiting process of Self-reflection – as deep Self-reflection is the way to becoming aware of the need for Cultural Competence in the first place. To be more culturally competent, one needs to self-reflect on who one is, what needs to change in oneself, where one can find the resources to change oneself for the better, and how one can transform one's ways of being, doing and knowing to then, finally, be able to understand, fully accept and celebrate the 'Other' through a Cultural Competence process. In sum, the close relationship between Self-reflection and Cultural Competence themes (following the themes of Racism and Discomfort) indicated that non-Indigenous journalists need self-reflection to gain Cultural Competence and are already taking on the discomfiting journey towards Cultural Competence, as self-reflection and uncomfortable emotions are inherent in the Cultural Competence process.

Analysing the findings related to the non-Indigenous journalists on the theme of Racism, I discovered that non-Indigenous journalists are aware of the Racism suffered by Indigenous Peoples and how mainstream non-Indigenous journalism has been racist and continues to perpetuate Racism towards First Nations Peoples. Only one in four participants (NIJ_2) revealed unconscious biased Racism. However, after almost two hours of *Dadirri* yarning session informed by the Theory of Discomfort, this participant confessed they were already more aware of the issue and stated they would prioritise its improvement in the future. This situation during the data collection process was analysed and described as being positive as, in a way, when one becomes self-aware of Racism, it can be very discomfiting; however, this can also be the first step to learning more about antiracist strategies and practices in journalism. This participant, though, still represents many non-Indigenous journalists in mainstream journalism (as *per* this study's transversal narratives to Indigenous and non-Indigenous participants), which means that perhaps professional training in Cultural Competence in-action, framed by a combination of Discomfort and Self-reflection exercises, has the potential to be particularly transformational in the case of the journalists that are still in a deeply unconscious state of Racism, therefore culturally incompetency or even worst – Cultural Destructiveness.

The results of the theme of Discomfort in the qualitative narrative analysis were also straightforward: non-Indigenous journalists are uncomfortable in their 'skin', as they feel they are too 'white' to know enough about Indigenous Cultural Knowledge. But at the same time, they showed that they know they can increase that knowledge if they are willing to transform their strategies and practices through Discomfort by embarking on a journey of deep Self-reflection focused on their conscious, or unconscious, colonialist heritage to embrace the painful but transformative decolonising process that will lead them, in the end, to an increment of their Cultural Competency. Also, I discovered that the Discomfort described in the non-Indigenous journalists' narratives is reflexive of the Discomfort they feel Indigenous Peoples suffered, and still do, because of the impact of the work of non-Indigenous journalists that can be more part of the 'problem' than of the 'solution' in their lives regarding the historically biased, paternalist, false and misleading representation of Indigenous Peoples in the mainstream media worldwide. Therefore, the Discomfort non-Indigenous often referred to here in their narratives can be interpreted as a mixture of negative feelings such as pain, guilt, fear, shame, and cultural ignorance.

Overall, all the participants in this study (Indigenous and non-Indigenous) agreed on the fact that non-Indigenous journalists are still culturally incompetent and that this is an educational and institutional, systemic issue to address urgently and consistently across all non-Indigenous mainstream journalism and journalism courses on higher education level as well as on a professional training level. Besides the urgent need to overcome the generalised racism and colonialism in western journalism, the institutional leaders need to pause and reflect on how things need to change; for example, non-Indigenous journalists in this study complained they need more time to short all sorts of distances (geographic, cultural, and relational) that continue to separate them from the First Nations Peoples they are reporting on as well as from their newsroom Indigenous colleagues. This study's findings also assertively demonstrated that Indigenous journalists need to be more present in the mainstream newsroom, not only to guide their non-Indigenous colleagues to do their 'homework' but rather, most importantly, to take the leadership on the work that is related to Indigenous Peoples, and – critical and many times mentioned by Indigenous journalists in this study – if they prefer, to work in any journalistic area as any other journalist in the newsroom.

I also found from the journalists' narratives the confirmation of what 'black' literature on various kinds of knowledge and research fields has been saying for many years now -

Indigenous knowledge and ways of seeing the world and doing things must be included in the mainstream environment overall, including in mainstream non-Indigenous journalism for inclusiveness at all levels and cultural enrichment of people and work, in and outside the newsroom. Indigenous and non-Indigenous participants mentioned that Indigenous Peoples are part of the audience, so they need to be represented in the newsroom so Indigenous content can be more culturally sensitive, sociologically, and historically accurate and presented more equitably. Some participants, particularly the non-Indigenous journalists, reinforced that the Indigenous material must be trauma-informed and politically carefully curated. It also needs to be constantly under Indigenous protocols at all levels, and for that, Indigenous sources need to be included and respected, and all sorts of authorisations and approvals need to be sought out before, during and after the material is published. Finally, all reports on First Nations Peoples in mainstream non-Indigenous journalism must have what the community needs, wants, and deserves in their epicentre. Moreover, Trust is crucial in reporting on First Nations affairs, so non-Indigenous journalists must not forget to give back to Indigenous Peoples for their time and shared knowledge. This study indicates that mainstream non-Indigenous journalism has room for improvement.

This PhD was also constructive, decolonising, and transformative to some participants and me as the researcher. Also, the good news is that Indigenous journalists are making their voices heard more than ever before. Moreover, it looks like non-Indigenous journalists are starting to listen to them more and more deeply as the narratives of the non-Indigenous journalists in this research revealed: "Things [in mainstream non-Indigenous journalism] are not quite there where they should be, but things are changing, slowly but surely.", summarised NIJ_3, from the non-Indigenous group. IJ_2, the proud Wapichana journalist, also mentioned: "Hopefully, this is just the beginning of something better, even though we did not even reach the middle of the journey".

Considering the data collected for this thematic narrative analysis, much more is to be analysed and discussed, particularly on the themes less concerned by the participants but still relevant for the increment of Cultural Competence in non-Indigenous journalism, such as the themes of Time and Distance. This research's findings can now be further unpacked in future studies developed by me and others who may come across this study and are interested in the topic.

But as I conclude, I fulfilled the aims of this study and, most importantly, answered all the research questions, as follows:

1. How can Indigenous ways of knowing, doing, thinking, and feeling and the Pedagogy of Discomfort enhance non-Indigenous journalists' cultural competence to develop better content to be used?

From a theoretical and conceptual perspective, combining *Dadirri* with the Pedagogy of Discomfort was original and relevant, and the data collection findings reflected that clearly. Above all, it was a new conceptual, theoretical, and practical framework that proved valuable as a transformative strategy for non-Indigenous journalists' feelings and practices and a healing strategy for the complex emotions, great suffering, and intergenerational trauma of Indigenous journalists. Moreover, and to reinforce this relation between Discomfort and increment of Cultural Competence, from all the themes analysed in this thesis, Discomfort may be the one who has the power to, through pain and truth, establish the 'dialogue' that this thesis intended to propose between Indigenous and non-Indigenous journalists. Regarding the theme thesis' findings, one can say that these non-Indigenous journalists are uncomfortable reporting on Indigenous affairs. Also, regarding their experience as participants of this data collection process informed by the Pedagogy of Discomfort, they all reacted very openly and reflexively, and at times even emotionally, to applying Discomfort in action during the one-on-one *Dadirri* yarning sessions. Most importantly, some participants even confessed they learned from these experiences and felt better prepared to embrace cultural competence as a priority to transform their strategies and practices in reporting on Indigenous Peoples after this research experience was framed by Discomfort. Therefore, after this research participation, one can only assume these non-Indigenous journalists can feel more prepared to develop better journalistic content after this research.

2. What are the structural and systemic enablers and barriers that facilitate and constrain the possibilities for non-Indigenous journalists to understand Indigenous ways of knowing, doing, thinking, and feeling to represent them in the context of their journalistic work properly?

Non-Indigenous journalists used the *Dadirri* yarning sessions to elaborate extensively on this topic, as the findings presented in this the previous chapter showed. Amongst other considerations, non-Indigenous journalists mentioned the issue of working in organisations that

are culturally incompetent and that perpetuate systemic Racism and the historical colonialist attitude translated into, for example, "lack of time to do better work". These journalists also referred to the several different layers of distance (geographic, cultural, political, and relational) they feel still separate them from Indigenous Peoples and, therefore, that this distance does not allow them for more profound and accurately informed knowledge about Indigenous Peoples' ways of knowing, doing, thinking, and feeling to represent them in the context of their journalistic work properly.

3. How can using an inquiry of Discomfort provide insight into enhancing non-indigenous knowledge of Indigenous Peoples' cultural and identity needs?

As mentioned in this chapter, through an inquiry of Discomfort, these study's participants found the time and space to pause for enough time to self-reflect, reflect on Indigenous Peoples' reality from their perspective, and reflect on what still creates Discomfort in the relationship between them. Above all, Discomfort allowed participants to put themselves in 'Other's shoes' to explore new and often confronting perspectives. This process seems to have resulted, to a certain degree, in a learning process, as mentioned by some participants who not only confessed profoundly discomfoting emotions such as shame and guilt but also explored the consequences of their strategies and practices in journalism reporting on Indigenous Peoples' lives.

4. What do Indigenous journalists feel they need/are entitled to/expect to receive from non-Indigenous journalists and their work that includes Indigenous ways of knowing, doing, thinking, and feeling (both through text and images)?

This research question was answered in the narratives of the Indigenous journalists who used the opportunity to make their voices heard. These participants discussed the eight main research themes. They even introduced new ones, clarifying what they feel needs to change on an organisational and individual level in mainstream non-Indigenous journalism. Several sub-themes were unfolded in the Indigenous knowledge holders/research collaborators' narratives, such as Indigenous journalists under-representation in leadership positions in the mainstream newsrooms, the use of Indigenous knowledge by non-Indigenous journalists to win prestigious awards in mainstream journalism, non-Indigenous journalists' parachuting' and 'extractive' journalism, Indigenous 'tokenism' by non-Indigenous colleagues, and Indigenous

journalism as a form of activism (all sub-themes that were further elaborated in the Findings section of this chapter).

5. What do Indigenous journalists feel their Peoples need/are entitled to/expect to receive from all journalists (Indigenous and non-Indigenous) to support and protect them and their cultures in the context of journalistic coverage?

This topic was discussed in the Indigenous journalists' narratives from the *Dadirri* yarning sessions in detail, including practical examples and valuable advice on culturally competent strategies and practices to be addressed and applied by non-Indigenous journalists throughout their journalist process on reporting on Indigenous Peoples. Acting as the knowledge holders/research collaborators of this study, the Indigenous participants generously provided non-Indigenous with information on what they feel their Peoples need/are entitled to/expect to receive from all journalists (Indigenous and non-Indigenous) to support and protect them and their cultures in the context of journalistic coverage.

Furthermore, the thesis' black' and western literature review combined reinforced the lack of published materials like this PhD research. As far as I know, this is the first study to draw from the Pedagogy of Discomfort and apply it to the Communication Sciences, Journalism Studies, and Indigenous Studies, with Indigenous and non-indigenous journalists participating in a 'dialogue' while combining Indigenous and non-indigenous cultural/theoretical/conceptual paradigms and research methodologies, navigating these intercultural complexities towards decolonising, and incrementing cultural competence into the non-Indigenous journalists' strategies and practices when reporting on Indigenous Peoples and their matters. Given this gap in the literature, this PhD thesis is well placed to make a significant contribution to the existing body of knowledge with application to current Journalism Studies, Indigenous Studies, *Dadirri*, Cultural Competence and Pedagogy of Discomfort research and development.

Moreover, from the researcher's point of view, I can say that I (as a non-Indigenous journalist myself) felt naturally and openly uncomfortable as much as some of the participants. I experienced the 'discomforting' data collection process and the Discomfort theme analysis, in particular, as a transformative internal 'dialogue' between my lived experience as a non-Indigenous journalist and the new, kind of full-pictured knowledge of the Indigenous and non-Indigenous perspectives on reporting on First Nations affairs. Above all, the data I collected, combined with the feelings I was confronted with throughout this whole PhD journey in general

and the data collection process in particular, resulted in the necessarily discomfiting and transformational learning curve experience that I was looking for with this research design and theoretical approach in the first place. Interestingly, some non-Indigenous participants (NIJ_1, NJI_2, and NJI_3) also reported a transformative experience.

In light of these qualitative research results combined with existing material in the literature (mainly 'black' literature), I have dedicated the Implications and Recommendations for Practice section of the thesis to the presentation of one theoretical and one practical proposal that I provided in this thesis as two 'take-home messages' for non-Indigenous journalists that work with and for Indigenous Peoples: Journalism Continuum of Cultural Competence (JCCC) and the Checklist of Strategies and Practices for Culturally Competent Journalism Involving Indigenous Peoples. These two theoretical and in-action exercises advocate cultural competence to enhance the quality and effectiveness of the theory's practical use and reinforce that a lack of competence can be destructive. In other words, cultural competence is necessary for effective intercultural collaboration relationships and must be used seriously. Although the JCCC is presented linearly, it should not be interpreted as a series of predetermined, rigid phases; on the contrary, it offers possible ways to respond to cultural differences, and the steps outline developmental tasks that reflect growth toward a goal of cultural proficiency. The Checklist of Strategies and Practices for Culturally Competent Journalism Involving Indigenous Peoples is an in-action approach to journalism that reports on First Nations Peoples and stresses understanding and interacting in a way that respects and integrates the values, beliefs, and expectations of the "Other".

The Checklist of Strategies and Practices for Culturally Competent Journalism Involving Indigenous Peoples and the JCCC are proposed here as practical and theoretical exercises on the complexities of culture and the overwhelming task that Indigenous cultural competence can represent to non-Indigenous journalists. However, the JCCC can help non-Indigenous journalists reflect and position themselves in the cultural competence continuum. The non-Indigenous journalist is challenged to question their level of cultural competence within the continuum: are they closer to the lowest level - Cultural Destructiveness, where non-Indigenous journalist's attitudes, practices, and policies are so harmful that they are destructive to diversity? Are they closer to the higher level - cultural competence/cultural proficiency, where they and their mainstream organisations value diversity and seek out the decisive role that culture can play in journalism coverage that involves First Nations Peoples, for example?

As far as I have learned from the literature, JCCC is the first attempt at creating a continuum of cultural competency specifically focused on non-Indigenous journalists' working with and for Indigenous Peoples as a 'tool' to reflect on and help improve their cultural competence before, during and after their journalistic coverage. JCCC combined with the Checklist of Strategies and Practices for Culturally Competent Journalism Involving Indigenous Peoples, can help guide journalists when they work on Indigenous knowledge and stories to help them overcome cycles of cultural blindness and cultural incapacity in the process of their approach to the Indigenous individuals and communities. Combined, the two 'tools' can also help the non-Indigenous journalist produce appropriate content or design interview scripts informed by Indigenous protocols according to the specific Indigenous individual and community culture and rules they are to contact and work with. However, to be a culturally competent and valuable combination of two 'tools' applying cultural competence in action, both JCCC and Checklist of Strategies and Practices for Culturally Competent Journalism Involving Indigenous Peoples must be a result of an active collaboration between non-Indigenous and Indigenous journalists, Indigenous community sources, as well as Indigenous Elders/leaders and other members of the specific communities the journalistic coverage is to be conducted or is in the process of being approved to be undertaken.

On another note, this study has reinforced the need and the pertinency in exploring and researching this niche of cultural competence concerning journalism on Indigenous First Nations covered by non-Indigenous journalists to improve these journalists' encounters with Indigenous Peoples. By enhancing their cultural competence, journalists will also be able to increasingly acknowledge and celebrate Indigenous knowledge on various levels while having the opportunity to reflect on their own culture and how both parties can find, share, and understand similarities and overcome discomfoting and challenging differences. Cultural competence also leads to more efficient journalistic research and facilitates managing 'ice break' moments in interviews, community coverage, or even resolving cultural shocks or conflicts. Moreover, cultural competence is instrumental in managing process deadlines and better financial costs (for example, with trips to remote communities), which are often unpredictable if there is cultural insensitivity from the beginning. From the Indigenous Peoples' side, an increasing improvement of the journalist's Indigenous cultural competence will, finally, be a sign of hope towards the respect for their culture and their Peoples' history, rights, politics, social, and spiritual richness and diversity, but also respect for their lands, their sacred sites, and their ancestral knowledge that they are entitled to, deserve, and seek to see recognised in

the mainstream media. Above all, cultural competence in action can have the power to bring non-Indigenous journalists and First Nations Peoples together, if not completely, at least to a respectful, truthful, reasonable, and mutually beneficial level of positive and constructive dialogue. This PhD has tried to contribute to this dialogue and close the gap between the 'two worlds'.

I conclude by using the final lines of this PhD thesis to reinforce that this research is only the "tip of the iceberg" and that much more is to be explored regarding cultural competence for the journalists, particularly the non-Indigenous journalists reporting with and for Indigenous Peoples. As a brief sum of the knowledge, I gained throughout this research study – often, necessarily learning the hard way and overcoming much pain and other discomforting feelings - I will end by sharing with my fellow non-Indigenous colleagues who can come across this piece of work some of the most enlighten lessons I learned to accomplish a culturally competent first encounter with Indigenous Peoples:

- a) Try to start by recognising the gaps between Indigenous and journalists' values (non-Indigenous journalists are usually the 'guests' in the Indigenous environment. As guests, often non-invited guests, journalists should respect first to be respected);
- b) Do your best to work with Indigenous Peoples to bridge the gaps between Indigenous values, needs, rights and interests, journalists' values, needs, obligations, and interests, and the journalistic goals vs. Indigenous decisions;
- c) Be aware of the research in Journalism Studies and worldwide journalism coverage directly and indirectly related to Indigenous Peoples that may be affected by culture, either negatively or positively. And learn from it;
- d) Always make your best effort to ascertain Indigenous values, needs, beliefs, history, colonisation influences and consequences (trauma, dispossession and genocide, stolen generations, languages and sacred lands and places loss, etc...), preferences, social and political characteristics, the perception of what means journalism and how Indigenous Peoples have experimented journalism in their life so far;

- e) Be ready to wait, listen, learn, give back, get immersed in culture, and share when asked to do so. And be open to acknowledging that the Indigenous Peoples' knowledge is theirs, and you will never know everything about anything. So, be appreciative, respectful, sensitive, and highly responsible towards the use you give to the little knowledge, yet valuable, you learned in your work process.

These were some (amongst many others that only time and further action from my side will unpack for me) transformative and empowering lessons I learned from my PhD. I share them with the hope that they will be helpful to journalists and researchers, both in the construction of theoretical frameworks and in the practices developed in newsrooms.

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Annexes

Annexe 1 – Approval to use *Dadirri* in my research

04/09/2019

Gmail - Miriam Rose Foundation Response Re: My PhD on DADIRRI :)



Carla Guedes <carlabentoguedes@gmail.com>

Miriam Rose Foundation Response Re: My PhD on DADIRRI :)
1 mensagem

Miriam Rose Foundation [Enquiries] <enquiries@miriamrosefoundation.org.au> 30 de agosto de 2019 21:22
Para: carlabentoguedes@gmail.com

Thank you for contacting the Miriam Rose Foundation Aboriginal Corporation. Your email messages are important to us.

At present we do not have an employed administration person that responds to emails for the foundation or for Miriam Rose Baumann personally.

We apologise for any inconvenience or disappointment caused.

If you are contacting the Miriam Rose Foundation for any of the following reasons, hopefully these following messages will be of assistance:-

- 1. Permission to use Dadirri**
Requesting permission to use Miriam Rose's writings or short video clip on Dadirri for respectful training.
Miriam has given her permission for others to use her writings and video clips on Dadirri with appropriate acknowledgement. Miriam does enjoy hearing about the work being done and how Dadirri is being utilised. Your email will be forwarded on to her, however you may not receive a further response.
Appropriate acknowledgement; "Dadirri is a word from the Ngangikurungkurr language. Miriam Rose is an Elder from the Nauiyu community, Daly River, Northern Territory."
- 2. Miriam Rose as Keynote Speaker**
Inviting Miriam Rose to be a keynote speaker or guest at your event or organisation.
Miriam is currently booked through to November 2019.
If you have an event that is for 2020, please provide all details in an email and this will be passed on to Miriam for her to respond to. Please also confirm in your email that you are aware there will be a keynote speaking fee and that travel and accommodation costs for Miriam and a carer will be fully covered.
- 3. Dadirri Cultural Connection Tour – visiting Miriam or the community**
Tours for 2019 are fully booked.
If you wish to book on a tour as an organisation / group or individual for 2020 please message through the Miriam Rose Foundation facebook page or Cultural Connection Tour facebook page. These pages are being monitored by volunteer board members and friends of the foundation.

<https://mail.google.com/mail/u/0/?ik=763e1b1f23&view=pt&search=all&permthid=thread-f%3A1643290723795940179&simpl=msg-f%3A1643290723795940179>

1/2

Annexe 2 – *Dadirri* information for research participants in the data collection process

***Dadirri* is the Aboriginal cultural and spiritual concept that theoretically and methodologically frames this research project**

The owners of the word *Dadirri* are the *Ngangikurungkurr* language group of the Daly River, specifically from *Nauiyu* remote community situated approximately 250km south of Darwin in the Northern Territory. From the 19th Century onwards, the Daly River communities have undergone multiple colonisation waves, suffered multiple massacres, the negative influence of the missionary, Stolen Generation, and many more devastating impacts. Despite remarkable resilience, these impacts have manifested in a range of social, economic, and cultural consequences, leading to the experience of trauma and intergenerational trauma (Morris, 2019). *Nauiyu* people were able to survive and maintain their culture, and their spirituality vibrantly celebrated and lived through *Dadirri*.

Through creating a power balance, *Dadirri* emancipates Indigenous people from oppression, acknowledging that revolutionary change comes from within communities and not from the outsider oppressors (West et al., 2012). *Dadirri* listens and knows, witnesses, feels, empathises in the pain of the Indigenous experience of trauma (Atkinson, 2002; Atkinson, 2008). Collectively, *Dadirri* is informed by the concept of community – all people matter, all people belong (Atkinson, 2002; Ungunmerr, 2002).

Dr Miriam- Rose Ungunmerr-Baumann, a distinguished educator, artist, critical Elder of the *Nauiyu* community and 2021 Senior Australian of the Year, first brought *Dadirri* to the national attention in 1988. When first addressing a conference in Tasmania, Ungunmerr-Baumann described the value of *Dadirri*:

What I want to talk about is another special quality of my people. I believe it is the most important. It is perhaps the greatest gift we can give to our fellow Australians. In our language, it is called Dadirri. It is an inner, deep listening, and quiet, still awareness. Dadirri recognises the deep spring inside us. We call on it and it calls on us. This is the gift Australia is thirsting for... and I believe that the spirit of Dadirri that we have to offer will blossom and grow, not just within ourselves, but in our whole nation. (Ungunmerr-Baumann, 1988)

At its deepest level, *Dadirri* is the search for understanding and meaning, a cyclical process of deep listening, observing the feelings and actions, and reflecting and learning through deep listening, deep self-awareness, and self-reflection (Morris, 2019). The principles of *Dadirri* are based on what is learned from listening; it provides a purposeful plan to act, informed by wisdom, and embrace the responsibility that comes with that knowledge (Atkinson, 2002; Morris, 2019). Moreover, this cyclic process of re-listening at increasingly deeper levels promoted a richer understanding and knowledge building on self, the other and self and the other together as a community (Atkinson, 2002; Ungunmerr- Baumann, 2002).

Finally, and most notably in the context of this research project, the great strength of *Dadirri* is that it encourages collaborative relationships built on trust and respect, providing an opportunity to create the co-directional sharing of new knowledge (Morris, 2019). *Dadirri* also privileges Indigenous voices to be heard towards healing and positive social transformation, which is highly significant for purpose of this study.

References:

- Atkinson, C. L. (2008). *The violence continuum: Australian Aboriginal male violence and generational post-traumatic stress*.
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- Ungunmerr-Baumann, M. R. (1988). *Dadirri*. Compass Theology Review, 22, 9–11.
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Annexe 3 – *Dadirri* yarning circle protocol

***Dadirri* Yarning Circle Protocol**

Yarning circles are based on respect for everyone in the circle: everyone has an equal chance to speak and be heard (Leroy-Dyer, 2016). Bessarab and Ng'andu (2010) also call this collaborative yarning, where the participants are actively engaged in discussions and explore and bounce ideas off each other, and group dynamics are harnessed. In a yarning circle, all participants are provided with an opportunity to speak in a safe non-judgmental place to share their knowledge in an inclusive and collaborative learning environment. Yarning circles commence with social yarning to ensure cultural protocols are adhered to. Using yarning circles eliminates the potential dominance of one or two participants, which has been identified as an issue in focus groups (Leroy-Dyer, 2016). Yarning together focuses on strengths, not criticism or problem solving, because this approach recognises the resilience of participants and focuses on abilities, knowledge and capacities rather than on what people cannot do or not know. It recognises that the community is rich in resources; assumes that people can learn, grow and change; encourages positive expectations of participants; and is characterised by collaborative relationships. In sum, "it focuses on resources and attributes that may enable positive outcomes" (Armstrong et al., 2012, p. 9). While yarning circle protocols are similar for Indigenous peoples around the world, they can still vary according to the specific characteristics of each culture. For this research project, I will follow the 'Yarning Circle Guide' developed by Janine Dunleavy (2019):

1. Participants respect each other's views
2. Participants sit in a circle (in the yarning circle is conducted face-to-face)
3. The facilitator guides the circle
4. No voice is of greater importance than another
5. Talk proceeds around the circle in a clockwise direction
6. Each participant speaks from their strengths
7. Everyone listens to the speaker
8. Participants talk in turn
9. To question others, a participant's turn must come around again
10. Sometimes participants may wish to pass their turn
11. No one can talk over anyone else. Everyone must wait their turn
12. Confidentiality is key—what is said in the yarning circle stays in the yarning circle
13. Data collected from this yarning circle will be de-identified and used for research purposes that is shared
14. Culturally restricted information may arise from this yarning circle and must be respected

Note: our yarning circles will be conducted online through Zoom, as the group is diverse in language and will participate from different parts of the world. However, the session will follow the same face-to-face regular yarning circles grounded rules.

References:

- Armstrong, S., Buckley, S., Lonsdale, M., Milgate, G., Kneebone, L. B., Cook, L., & Skelton, F. (2012). *Starting school: a strengths-based approach towards Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children*.
- Bessarab, D., & Ng'andu, B. (2010). *Yarning about yarning as a legitimate method in Indigenous research*. *International Journal of Critical Indigenous Studies*, 3(1), 37-50.
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- Leroy-Dyer, S. (2016). *Statement of Originality* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Newcastle).

Annexe 4 – Participant Information Sheet and Informed Consent Form (PISICF)

Participant Information Sheet and Informed Consent Form (PISICF)

Project Title: Exploring cultural competence for non-Indigenous journalists who work with Indigenous peoples.

Researcher: Carla Bento Guedes

Organisation: Lusófona University (Lisbon, Portugal)

What is the project about?

The primary research question that this study seeks to address is:

How can Indigenous ways of knowing, doing, thinking, and feeling along with the theory of Discomfort enhance non-Indigenous journalists' cultural competence to develop better content to all Peoples, particularly the First Nations People?

The following sub-questions will frame the inquiry:

- a) What are the structural and systemic enablers and barriers that both facilitate and constrain the possibilities for non-Indigenous journalists to understand Indigenous ways of knowing, doing, thinking, and feeling to represent them in the context of their journalistic work properly?
- b) How can using an inquiry of discomfort provide insight into enhancing non-indigenous knowledge of Indigenous peoples' cultural and identity needs?
- c) What do Indigenous journalists feel they need/are entitled to/expect to receive from the non-Indigenous journalists and the work they do that is inclusive of Indigenous ways of knowing, doing, thinking, and feeling (both through text and images)?
- d) What do Indigenous journalists feel their peoples need/are entitled to/expect to receive from all journalists (Indigenous and non-Indigenous) to support and protect them and their cultures in the context of journalistic coverage?

This study is significant because it will fill a gap in the current knowledge base on the 'Pedagogy of Discomfort' by applying this theory to the context of non-Indigenous journalists who work with and for First Nations Peoples. Framing this study around the Indigenous methodology of *Dadirri* in the context of the mainstream Mass Communication will enable all journalists (particularly the Indigenous journalists) to develop an "increased cultural identity, development of voice, self-realisation, self-acceptance and pride" (Fredericks et al., 2015, p.61). The findings of this research will inform recommendations towards revising university courses and journalism professional sector to better recognise the value of embedding Indigenous knowledges and practices to better support the interests of all journalists and all peoples.

Who is involved in the project?

This research project is being conducted by Carla Bento Guedes in the context of her Lusófona University (Lisbon, Portugal) PhD program. Associate Professor Carla Rodrigues Cardoso is the chief investigator/PhD supervisor.

As a non-Indigenous researcher developing a PhD involving Indigenous Peoples and their cultural protocols and fundamental interests, Carla is taking her decolonisation process seriously. Therefore, her PhD study has significantly changed over the last five years. Carla swapped universities and changed the research topic and the supervisory team, all to conduct her PhD as respectfully and culturally competently as possible towards First Nations peoples, notably the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples – the owners of the land where she lives, studies, and works. However, Carla always kept the original research design, theoretical approach, and research methodology, all elements of the PhD project that were designed with the support of the following Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Advisory Group: Dr Kevin Lowe, Emeritus Professor Judy Atkinson, and

Dr Tyson Yunkaporta - to them, and Dr Sharlene Leroy-Dyer, Carla's former PhD secondary supervisor and Culture and Career advisor, in particular, much respect and a special thank you note.

The details of everyone involved in the early stages of Carla's former research project (particularly the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander academics and advisors mentioned above) and the current PhD program team are the following:

Research student:

Carla Guedes
PhD Program scholarship
Lusófona University (Lisbon, Portugal)
0474311358
carlabentoguedes@gmail.com

Chief Investigator:

Associate Professor Carla Rodrigues Cardoso
Researcher at Lusófona University [DCC](#) | [ECATI](#) | [CICANT](#)
Scientific Coordinator at [MagLab - Magazine Media Lab](#)

Former Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Advisory Group

Dr Kevin Lowe
Proud Gubbi Gubbi man from southeast Queensland.
Scientia Indigenous Fellow at UNSW

Emeritus Professor Judy Atkinson (Honorary)
Proud Jiman (Central West Queensland) and Bundjalung (Northern New South Wales) woman, with Anglo-Celtic and German heritage.
AM Patron / Elder Advisor
Member of the Harvard Global Mental Health Scientific Research Alliance
Chair of the Australian Childhood Foundations Cultural Governance Group
Founder and Patron of We Al-li.
Her research includes the use of *Dadirri* as Indigenous research methodology.

Dr Tyson Yunkaporta
Proud Apalech clan (west cape) with ties in the south, born country is Melbourne and adoptive and community/cultural ties are from.
Author of *Eight Aboriginal Ways of Learning*
Academic Senior Lecture - Indigenous Knowledges (Deakin University)
Educator, Indigenous thinker, maker (traditional wood carving), arts critic, researcher, poet.

Dr Sharlene Leroy-Dyer
Proud Saltwater woman with family ties to Darug, Garigal, Awabakal and Wiradjuri peoples.
Director UQ Business School's Indigenous Business Hub at The University of Queensland

The details of the PhD research project are the following:

Place of research:
Between Sydney (Australia) and Lisbon (Portugal)

Proposed commencement date of research activities:
October/2023 (PhD data collection)

The study will be conducted according to the following timeline:
Recruitment of Participants - 2023
Data Collection - 2023
Analysis of Data - 2023
Submission of the PhD thesis - December 23, 2023

Why have I been invited to participate?

You have been invited to participate because your cultural background, and professional position fit the inclusion criteria of Carla's study of having ongoing non-Indigenous and Indigenous-background journalists with at least six months of experience in the journalism sector related to Indigenous Peoples. This information was obtained from you directly. If you are an Indigenous journalist, you fit the ideal criteria to contribute to this research project as part of the collaborative group/knowledge holders' group. If you are a non-Indigenous journalist, you fit the ideal criteria to contribute to this research project as part of the research participants group.

You can pull out at any time, and it won't change your relationship with Carla or anyone else in this research team. If you do decide to pull out of the project, please do this by 05/10/2023.

What will the researcher do and when?

Carla will conduct qualitative interpretive research that utilises the Indigenous research methodology of *Dadirri* in conjunction with unstructured interviewing inspired by the traditional Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Yarning Circles' process and protocol and autoethnography. Essentially, this study is a Participatory Action Research (PAR) project, and Carla will work with two different research groups – the research participants (non-Indigenous journalists) and the collaborative group/knowledge holders of the study (Indigenous journalists). The collaborative group/knowledge holders will guide me directly on refining the research recommendations to the non-Indigenous journalists working with First Nations Peoples. This project draws on lived experience and knowledge to develop sensitive and ethical ways of discomforting (and decolonising) understandings through the combination of Indigenous and western research methods.

You are invited to discuss questions related to your work experience and emotions in journalism involving work with Indigenous Peoples. **In the case of the research participants group, this will occur with other non-Indigenous journalists only** (that adhere to the same inclusion criteria) and will follow the *Dadirri* yarning circle protocol. This group session will be conducted in the safest cultural and professional environment possible, with the identity protection of everyone involved always in mind. Before the *Dadirri* yarning circle, you will receive literature on *Dadirri* and the yarning circle protocol to be informed before participating in the session. Carla will go through the protocol again on the day of the data collection session. This one session will be conducted in October 2023.

In the case of the collaborative group/knowledge holders' group, you will be asked to participate in a one-on-one active interview – informed by the traditional Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people's Yarning protocols and inspired by the cultural and spiritual concept of *Dadirri*. You will be asked to discuss questions related to your opinion and your emotions, expectations and needs on the non-Indigenous journalists' work when reporting on First Nations issues. This interview will be conducted in the safest cultural environment possible, knowing that although Carla is a non-Indigenous person, she will do whatever she can to overcome her cultural competence limitations and humbly and respectfully sees this data collection process as part of her decolonising process. Before the *Dadirri* yarning circle, you will receive literature on *Dadirri* and the yarning circle protocol to be informed before participating in the session. Carla will go through the protocol again on the day of the data collection session. This one session will be conducted in October 2023.

All yarning sessions will happen online through Zoom. Each yarning circle session will have its own dynamic, which may mean a slight variation in time; however, it is estimated that this session will take one to two hours.

The *Dadirri* yarning circle will be recorded via video, audio and handwritten notes. Data will then be converted into an electronic format. If you are interested, this electronic data will be shared with you for collaboration and final verification in the data transcription and analysis process, following the *Dadirri* protocol. If you do not wish to be videoed or audio recorded during the yarning circles, you and Carla can discuss an alternative option for collecting data.

This research is not intended to explore or include any sensitive information that may be considered sacred or inappropriate for Carla to access as a non-Indigenous person/woman/researcher/journalist. Carla will be as culturally respectful and as responsible as possible. Carla will seek your guidance as part of the research collaborative/knowledge-holders group – Indigenous journalists to achieve this. To ensure the most respectful research practice and the highest level of cultural competency is achieved, Carla will always ask for advice and approval from Indigenous friends, colleagues, and academics. These friends, colleagues and scholars confirmed their willingness and availability to support this research project.

A form of payment (e.g., design services, co-authored publications resulting from this study, or other) for your participation in this research project will be discussed and decided directly with you so you can have the opportunity to let the research team know about your interests and expectations. However, according to the traditional rules of European higher education institutions such as Lusófona University, Carla cannot compensate you with a monetary payment. This is a giving back for your time and to thank you for the valuable knowledge you will contribute to the research. Despite being gifted a token of appreciation for your time and participation, there will be no pressure or expectation to give answers you do not feel comfortable sharing.

What will happen to my information?

Your information will be used to create relevant knowledge to be included in Carla's PhD thesis.

Any information that is obtained in connection with this research project and that can be identified with you will remain confidential unless otherwise permitted by you, or as required by law. The procedures for ensuring the confidentiality of your information during the collection phase and the later publication of results are the following:

- If you do not give permission for your name or image to be included in this study, people won't know who you are from reading the thesis or watching the videos from the *Dadirri* yarning circle if Carla includes them in research presentations for conferences or similar events. If this is the case, blinding strategies will be used to ensure that your identity remains anonymous.
- To protect your confidentiality in the collection of electronic data (including paper recording notes), as well as the audio and video recorded *Dadirri* yarning sessions, individual identifiers will be removed from the data using the following method: E.g., Direct (e.g., name, address, photograph) and indirect (e.g., date of birth, gender, profession) identifiers will be removed during the transcription process. The potential identification and identities of all participants will be protected by assigning respective codes to the data collected, such Indigenous journalists _ Session 1. The master list for the de-identification will be stored separately to the de-identified data. The audio and video recordings will be transcribed by Carla and uploaded to OneDrive for further data analysis.
- Data may be used for future research purposes or shared with other researchers or members of non-Indigenous or First Nations communities or non-Indigenous or First Nations organizations. All data will be de-identified before sharing to ensure that your identity remains anonymous [using the process mentioned above]; Carla will ask others who wish to access the data for a copy of their ethics approval (in the case of this happens under the Australian research with First Nations Peoples policies, for example) to do so before the data is shared for secondary research purposes (Carla will also try to consult her former Indigenous Advisory Group in the process of sharing data with others for secondary research purposes); Carla will maintain a copy of other researchers' ethics approval for her records; finally, Carla will transfer the data to other researchers by sharing a link to a secure OneDrive folder.
- Furthermore, the research data will be always stored in an online secure location, only Carla, her PhD supervisor and the participants involved in the study will have access to transcription information.
- Carla will provide you with a copy of the PhD Thesis in the end, if agreed between the two parties.

As a PhD student, Carla will own the copyright of the material produced during her research study. However, non-Indigenous and Indigenous journalists who will be part of this research will be recognised for their invaluable contribution to this study in a particular area of Carla's thesis dedicated to the acknowledgements. Most importantly, the former Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Advisory Group will also be acknowledged for their invaluable support, knowledge sharing, and time dedicated to my project in its early stages. In the future, Carla intends to publish co-authored material on this PhD journey with everyone in this research journey who is interested in it, as a way of giving back to everyone's contributions and as a way of closing this Participatory Action Research cycle collaboratively.

What are the potential risks?

The research team does not anticipate any harm experienced by Indigenous or non-Indigenous peoples in this study. However, to anticipate or minimise any level of harm, Carla will adopt the following processes:

- Pseudonyms will be used to reduce the chances of identification for all participants in the data collection sessions. The yarning circle and one-on-one yarns will be conducted with non-Indigenous and Indigenous peoples in separately, securing cultural safeness but also making sure that every group speaks the same language and are able to understand one another on a deeper level. Confidentiality will be assured for all parts at all times.
- To minimise the possibility of psychological harm to participants, sensitive or triggering topics related to their personal experiences will be monitored by Carla under strict values and protocol of *Dadirri*:
 - a) practice of deep listening;
 - b) silent moments highly respected;
 - c) discourse interruptions must be avoided;
 - d) respect for other's ideas and feelings must be taken into consideration at all times;
 - e) time for several breaks during the session will be provided, if needed.
- To minimise anxiety related to a sense of obligation to provide answers, Carla will reassure participants that their refusal to answer any questions or their withdrawal of participation from the study will have no negative repercussions.
- To minimise feelings of anger, fear, or any development of defensive or attack psychological mechanisms towards any participant of the study (especially in future presentations of the research project to a wider audience shared by non-Indigenous and Indigenous peoples), Carla will open the session with a friendly reminder of anticipated discomfort to those more susceptible in the audience. During these sessions, Carla will diligently ensure common-sense rules of respect within a 'dialogue' of this nature will be adhered to. The session will be terminated if any disrespectful act or situation happens.

Participants who experience distress as a result of participation in this study can contact Carla directly, and she will arrange for access to support and counselling services through the Australian Counselling and Psychological Services available for all.

Data storage

During the PhD project, the data will be stored in an online secure access restricted to the Chief Investigator/supervisor and Carla in a Google Drive folder. Only Associate Professor Carla Rodrigues Cardoso, Carla and the data collection participants will have access to transcription information.

The information will be kept for five years after the thesis publication.

Culturally restricted information

Carla does not intend to explore, and much less include in this research, any sensitive information that may be considered 'sacred', inappropriate for her to access as a non-Indigenous person/woman/researcher/journalist or restricted to a research study as this. Carla will be as culturally respectful and responsible as possible, and to achieve that, she will seek your guidance as part of the research team – Indigenous and non-Indigenous journalists included in the process. To ensure the most respectful research practice and the highest level of cultural competency, Carla will also ask for advice and approval from other Indigenous friends, colleagues and academics willing to be involved at all times.

Inclusion and exclusion criteria

Inclusion criteria:

- Ongoing non-Indigenous journalists with experience working with First Nations Peoples
- Ongoing Indigenous journalists
- At least six months of experience in the journalism sector related to First Nations Peoples

Contact

Know that if you are worried about the research, you can contact Carla directly through this email: carlabentoguedes@gmail.com or ring her on her mobile 0474311348.

Complaints

know that you can complain to:

- Associate Professor, research Chief Investigator - carla.cardoso@ulusofona.pt and go from there.

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET AND INFORMED CONSENT FORM (CONTINUED)

Participant to complete:

1. I understand what this project is about	Yes ☐	No ☐
2. I voluntarily agree to participation in this study	Yes ☐	No ☐
3. I understand that I can withdraw from the project at any time	Yes ☐	No ☐
4. I understand what will happen to me during the research project	Yes ☐	No ☐
5. I agree that Carla can interview me for the research in a group of people (or <i>Dadirri</i> yarning circle or one-on-one <i>Dadirri</i> yarn)	Yes ☐	No ☐
6. I consent to this <i>Dadirri</i> yarning session being audio taped and filmed	Yes ☐	No ☐
7. I agree to photographs being taken of the session	Yes ☐	No ☐
8. I understand that I will be compensated (in the form to be discussed directly with Carla) for my participation	Yes ☐	No ☐
9. I understand the potential risks and possible benefits of participating in this research	Yes ☐	No ☐
10. I understand that the results of this research may be published or shared in a public forum	Yes ☐	No ☐
11. I agree that my name and other personal information may be mentioned in the PhD thesis that comes out of this research, ONLY if I give permission to it.	Yes ☐	No ☐
12. I understand that all information gathered in this research that is confidential will be kept secure for five years after the PhD thesis publication	Yes ☐	No ☐
13. Please nominate how you would like your data to be treated:	☐ I give permission for my information to be shared ☐ I don't give permission for my information to be shared	
14. I want Carla to give me a copy of the PhD thesis that is produced as a result of this research.	Yes ☐	No ☐
15. I understand that I will retain any Intellectual Property from my personal interview recordings.	Yes ☐	No ☐
16. I understand that Carla will not share copyright in the thesis that will be produced with the findings of this research as Lusófona University expects her to be the sole owner of this	Yes ☐	No ☐

study. However, Carla does recognise that the thesis is made possible only through the collaborative efforts of the research participants and collaborators group/knowledge holders. Carla will obtain consent from these co-investigators before using the data obtained in this study again in any future research.		

Signatures

Participant to complete:

- I have read the Participant Information Sheet and Informed Consent Form and I agree with it.

Name: _____ **Signature:** _____

Date: _____

Email (to send a copy of this form): _____

Researcher to complete:

- I have described the nature of the research to the Participant, and I believe that he/she understood and agreed to it.

Name of the researcher: Carla Guedes

Date: 30.09.2023

Signature of researcher:

Annexe 5 – Information Statement for the Research Project (Indigenous journalists' version)

Information Statement for the Research Project:

"Exploring cultural competence for non-Indigenous journalists who work with Indigenous Peoples."



RESEARCHER:

PhD candidate, Carla Bento Guedes
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Lusófona University, Lisbon/Portugal
<https://www.ulusofona.pt/>

Research Supervisor:

Associate Professor, Carla Rodrigues Cardoso
Researcher at Lusófona University - DCC | ECATI
Scientific Coordinator at MagLab - Magazine Media Lab

You are invited to participate in the above research project conducted by Lusófona University PhD student Carla Bento Guedes. Associate Professor Carla Rodrigues Cardoso supervises Carla's research project.

Why is the research being done?

This study will explore how Indigenous knowledge and values can transform non-Indigenous journalists' practices and strategies to better represent all peoples by creating a more culturally inclusive and respectful approach to Mass Communication. This research project will create a dialogue that bridges two worlds' perspectives and feelings in western mainstream journalism.

It will do this by inviting non-Indigenous and Indigenous journalists to listen deeply, reflect and understand each other's cultures, opinions, needs and ways of working. This PhD study intends to transform everyone's (including the researcher's) lives and ways of working by opening new subjective possibilities.

Who can participate in the research project?

Non-Indigenous journalists working with and for Indigenous Peoples with at least six months experience in any area of the journalism sector – acting as research participants. And Indigenous journalists (Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders journalists or other Indigenous journalists worldwide) with at least six months experience in any area of the journalism sector – acting as research consultative/knowledge holder.

What would you be asked to do?

As an Indigenous journalist, you will be asked to participate in a one-on-one active interview – informed by the traditional Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people's Yarning protocols and inspired by the cultural and spiritual concept of Dadimi. You will be asked to discuss questions related to your opinion and your emotions, expectations and needs on the non-Indigenous journalists' work when reporting on First Nations issues.

This interview will be conducted in the safest cultural environment possible, knowing that even though Carla is a non-Indigenous person, she will do whatever she can to overcome her cultural competence limitations and humbly and respectfully sees this data collection process as part of her decolonising process.

How much time will it take?

The data collection session will be conducted online through ZOOM in October 2023 and will take approximately one to two hours.

Reciprocity?

Forms of reciprocity will be discussed with each research collaborator.

What do you need to do to participate?

If you want to participate, please inform Carla using her email above. She will reply to you soon after with a consent form that you must complete and return to her. Carla will then contact you, and you will go from there.

Annexe 6 – Information Statement for the Research Project (non-Indigenous journalists' version)

Information Statement for the Research Project:

"Exploring cultural competence for non-Indigenous journalists who work with Indigenous Peoples."



RESEARCHER:

PhD candidate, Carla Bento Guedes
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Lusófona University, Lisbon/Portugal
<https://www.ulisofona.pt/>

Research Supervisor:

Associate Professor, Carla Rodrigues Cardoso

Researcher at Lusófona University - DCC | ECATI
Scientific Coordinator at MagLab - Magazine Media Lab

You are invited to participate in the above research project conducted by Lusófona University PhD student Carla Bento Guedes. Associate Professor Carla Rodrigues Cardoso supervises Carla's research project.

Why is the research being done?

This study will explore how Indigenous knowledge and values can transform non-Indigenous journalists' practices and strategies to better represent all peoples by creating a more culturally inclusive and respectful approach to Mass Communication. This research project will create a dialogue that bridges two worlds' perspectives and feelings in western mainstream journalism.

It will do this by inviting non-Indigenous and Indigenous journalists to listen deeply, reflect and understand each other's cultures, opinions, needs and ways of working. This PhD study intends to transform everyone's (including the researcher's) lives and ways of working by opening new subjective possibilities.

Who can participate in the research project?

Non-Indigenous journalists working with and for Indigenous Peoples with at least six months experience in any area of the journalism sector – acting as research participants. And Indigenous journalists (Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders or other Indigenous journalists worldwide) with at least six months experience in any area of the journalism sector – acting as research consultative/knowledge holders.

What would you be asked to do?

As a non-Indigenous journalist, you will be asked to participate in a group interview session - informed by the traditional Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people's Yarning protocols, inspired by the cultural and spiritual concept of Dadirri, and framed by Megan Boler's Pedagogy of Discomfort. You will be asked to discuss questions related to your work experience and your emotions, expectations and needs.

This group session will be conducted in the safest cultural and professional environment possible, with the identity protection of everyone involved in mind at all times.

How much time will it take?

The data collection session will be conducted online through ZOOM in October 2023 and will take approximately one to two hours.

Reciprocity?

Forms of reciprocity will be discussed with each research collaborator.

What do you need to do to participate?

If you want to participate, please inform Carla using her email above. She will reply to you soon after with a consent form that you must complete and return to her. Carla will then contact you, and you will go from there.

Annexe 7 – Semi-structured set of questions for the data collection (Indigenous journalists’ version)

QUESTIONS FOR INDIGENOUS JOURNALISTS:

1. Can you please introduce yourself and tell me about what you’re working now?
(Professional area, year of journalism, etc.)

The questions I am going to ask you now are about your experiences in journalism with non-Indigenous journalists (including editors/supervisors, colleagues, and journalists that you don’t know personally or never worked with before):

2. What is it like being an Indigenous journalist in your workplace? (Do you feel the work environment is culturally safe? Does having other Indigenous journalists in the workplace affect your experience? How would you describe the interaction with non-Indigenous journalists – Good/bad?)
3. Can you describe your interactions with your non-Indigenous colleagues. (Are these interactions mostly good or bad experiences? Are your non-Indigenous colleagues knowledgeable about Indigenous ways of knowing, doing, learning, and reporting? Do you feel that their work is culturally safe for all peoples?)
4. Can you describe what a good non-Indigenous journalist for you is. (What things do you want a non-Indigenous journalist to consider when they report on Indigenous Peoples’ matters? Is it important that the non-Indigenous journalist considers Indigenous cultural identity? What strategies and practices do you think they should adopt when they report on Indigenous Peoples’ matters?)
5. Can you describe a challenging situation you encountered as an Indigenous journalist working with a non-Indigenous journalist? (What was that like personally for you? And why? How did the non-Indigenous journalist respond to the situation? How would you have liked them to respond?)
6. Think of a time where there was conflict, challenges, or racism in mainstream non-Indigenous journalism. Can you talk a bit about this? (The ways non-Indigenous colleagues managed the situation. The ways you have handled the situation. How were your needs (as an Indigenous person) taken into consideration? How would you like to have seen it managed?)
7. Describe an experience where non-Indigenous journalists in your workplace expressed views about or related to Indigenous peoples that made you uncomfortable or created discomfort in the workplace? (How do you manage this? How do you engage with non-Indigenous journalists in situations like this?)
8. What strategies do you have (if at all) for noticing and interrupting colonial or racist situations when they emerge?
9. Did you ever feel that your non-Indigenous colleagues sometimes feels discomfort, guilty or fear in both what they report on Indigenous peoples and the way they interact with you and other Indigenous Peoples? (If so, why do you think that happens? What do you think your non-Indigenous colleagues can do to overcome that? What do you think you can do in that situation?)

10. How do you respond to western perspectives taught in journalism courses in Academia or professional training that may make you feel uncomfortable, hurt, isolated, patronised, and traumatised?

11. What do you know about the policies, resources, and training for non-Indigenous journalists at university or professional training courses towards Indigenous ways, interests, needs and expectations? (In what ways do these things influence how non-Indigenous journalists engage with you? / How can universities and professional training courses better support non-Indigenous capacity to engage with Indigenous Peoples?

13. Being in a mainstream journalism environment can be challenging. Can you list three of the biggest challenges you have faced in the mainstream journalism system. (e.g., racism, time management, under-representation of Indigenous staff, language/thinking, level of cultural safeness and cultural competency, or others)

14. Is there any advice you would like to give your non-Indigenous colleagues that you believe would benefit all journalists in the process of reporting on Indigenous peoples' matters?

15. Is there any question you would like me to ask on your behalf to the non-Indigenous journalists participating in this study?

The questions I am going to ask you now are about your experiences in journalism workplace with your Indigenous colleagues:

1. Describe your interactions with your Indigenous colleagues. (Are these interactions primarily good or bad experiences / What are the most significant differences between the interactions with the Indigenous colleagues and the non-Indigenous colleagues?)

2. Describe what you think is good journalism from an Indigenous journalist. (What things do you want the Indigenous journalist to consider when they report on Indigenous peoples' matters? / Is it important that the Indigenous community being reported on, and the journalist share the same cultural identity? If so, how do you think this impacts Indigenous community sense of belonging and life in general?)

3. Think of a time when conflict, challenges, or racism existed in the workplace (including in the journalistic content). Can you talk a bit about this? (The ways your Indigenous colleagues managed the situation / The ways you have handled the situation / How would you like to have seen it managed?)

FINAL COMMENTS - Are there any other comments you'd like to make?

Em Português

Pode, por favor, começar por se apresentar e dizer-me se estudou jornalismo na universidade ou em cursos profissionais, onde está a trabalhar agora, há quanto tempo é, ou foi, jornalista? Onde é que trabalhou?

As perguntas que vou fazer agora são sobre as suas experiências no jornalismo com jornalistas não-indígenas (incluindo editores/supervisores, colegas e até jornalistas que você não conhece pessoalmente ou com quem nunca trabalhou antes):

2. Como é ser jornalista indígena no seu local de trabalho? (Você acha que o ambiente de trabalho é culturalmente seguro? Ter outros jornalistas indígenas no local de trabalho afeta a sua experiência? Como você descreveria a interação com jornalistas não-indígenas – Boa/má?)
3. Pode descrever as suas interações com os seus colegas não-indígenas? (Essas interações são, na sua maioria, experiências boas ou más? Os seus colegas não-indígenas têm conhecimento sobre as formas indígenas de saber, fazer, aprender e fazer jornalismo? Você acha que o trabalho deles é culturalmente seguro para todos os povos?)
4. Pode descrever o que é para si um bom jornalista não-indígena? (Que coisas deseja que um jornalista não-indígena considere quando faz reportagens sobre assuntos dos Povos Indígenas? É importante que o jornalista não-indígena considere a identidade cultural indígena, por exemplo? Que estratégias e práticas acha que eles deveriam adotar quando reportam sobre assuntos dos Povos Indígenas?)
5. Pode descrever uma situação desafiadora pela qual passou enquanto jornalista indígena trabalhando com um jornalista não-indígena? (Como foi isso pessoalmente para você? E porquê? Como é que o jornalista não-indígena respondeu à situação? Como você gostaria que ele respondesse?)
6. Pense numa época em que houve conflitos, desafios ou racismo no jornalismo não-indígena em geral. Pode elaborar um pouco acerca disso? (Como é que os colegas não-indígenas administraram a situação? Como é que você lidou com a situação? Até que ponto as suas necessidades (como pessoa indígena) foram levadas em consideração? Como você gostaria que as suas necessidades como pessoa Indígena fossem geridas?)
7. Descreva uma experiência em que jornalistas não-indígenas no seu local de trabalho expressaram opiniões sobre, ou relacionadas, aos povos indígenas que o deixaram desconfortável ou criaram desconforto no local de trabalho? (Como você geriu isso? Como é que os seus colegas jornalistas não-indígenas reagem normalmente em situações como esta?)
8. Que estratégias tem (se é que tem algumas) para perceber e interromper situações coloniais ou racistas quando elas surgem?
9. Já sentiu que os seus colegas não-indígenas às vezes sentem desconforto, culpa ou medo tanto pelo que relatam sobre os povos indígenas quanto pela forma como interagem com você e outras pessoas indígenas? (Se sim, por que você acha que isso acontece? O que você acha que os seus colegas não-indígenas podem fazer para superar isso? O que você acha que pode fazer nessa situação?)

10. Como responde à visão estritamente ocidental ensinada nos cursos de jornalismo na academia ou na formação profissional que pode fazê-lo se sentir-se desconfortável, magoado, isolado, condescendente e traumatizado?
11. O que você sabe sobre as políticas, recursos e treino para jornalistas não-indígenas em universidades ou cursos de formação profissional voltados para os costumes, interesses, necessidades e expectativas indígenas? (De que forma essas matérias influenciam o modo como os jornalistas não-indígenas se envolvem com as comunidades indígenas? / Como pensa que as universidades e os cursos de formação profissional podem apoiar melhor a capacidade dos não-indígenas de se envolverem com os povos indígenas?)
12. Estar num ambiente jornalístico tradicional não-Indígena pode ser desafiante. Você pode listar três dos maiores desafios que enfrentou no sistema de jornalismo tradicional não-Indígena. (por exemplo, racismo, gestão do tempo, sub-representação do pessoal indígena, linguagem/pensamento, nível de segurança cultural e competência cultural, ou outros)
13. Há algum conselho que gostaria de dar aos seus colegas não-indígenas que acredita que beneficiaria toda a gente no processo de reportagem sobre assuntos dos povos indígenas – comunidades e jornalistas?
14. Há alguma pergunta que você gostaria que eu fizesse em seu nome aos jornalistas não-indígenas participantes deste estudo?

As perguntas que vou fazer agora são sobre as suas experiências no local de trabalho com seus colegas jornalistas indígenas:

1. Descreva as suas interações com os seus colegas indígenas. (Essas interações são principalmente experiências boas ou más? / Quais são as diferenças mais significativas entre as interações com os colegas indígenas e os colegas não-indígenas?)
2. Descreva o que considera ser bom trabalho jornalístico vindo de um jornalista indígena. (Que coisas você deseja que o jornalista indígena considere ao fazer reportagens sobre assuntos dos povos indígenas? / É importante que a comunidade indígena que está a ser reportada e o jornalista compartilhem a mesma identidade cultural? Em caso afirmativo, como acha que isso impacta o sentido de pertença da comunidade indígena bem como a vida dessa comunidade em geral?)
3. Pense numa ocasião em que sentiu que houve conflitos, desafios ou racismo no local de trabalho (inclusive no conteúdo jornalístico). Pode falar um pouco sobre isso? (A maneira como os seus colegas indígenas administraram a situação / A maneira como você lidou com a situação / Como você gostaria que a situação tivesse sido gerida?)

COMENTÁRIOS FINAIS - Há algum outro comentário que você gostaria de fazer no âmbito da competência cultural dos jornalistas não-Indígenas?

Annexe 8 – Semi-structured set of questions for the data collection (non-Indigenous journalists’ version)

QUESTIONS FOR NON-INDIGENOUS JOURNALISTS:

Please introduce yourself and tell me what you’re working on now. (Professional area, year of journalism, academic qualifications, or professional training in journalism, etc.)

The questions I am going to ask you now are about your experiences in journalism with Indigenous journalists and/or Indigenous Peoples:

2. What is a non-Indigenous journalist reporting on Indigenous Peoples’ matters like? (Do you feel your work strategies and practices are culturally safe for everyone – the Indigenous community and yourself? Does having Indigenous journalists as colleagues in the workplace affect your experience? How would you describe the interaction with Indigenous communities – Good/Challenging?)
3. Can you describe your interactions with Indigenous journalists as colleagues? (Are these interactions mostly good or challenging experiences? Are your Indigenous colleagues knowledgeable about Indigenous ways of knowing, doing, learning, and reporting? And if so, are they always willing and available to share their knowledge? Do you feel your workplace is culturally safe for Indigenous and non-Indigenous journalists?)
4. Can you describe what an excellent non-Indigenous journalist is for you? (What do you feel a non-Indigenous journalist must consider when reporting on Indigenous Peoples’ matters? Is it essential that the non-Indigenous journalist considers Indigenous cultural identity and Indigenous communities’ benefits from the report, for example? What strategies and practices do you adopt as a non-Indigenous journalist when you report on Indigenous Peoples’ matters?)
5. Can you describe a challenging situation you encountered as a non-Indigenous journalist working with Indigenous colleagues? (What was that like personally for you? And why? How did the Indigenous journalist respond to the situation? How would you have liked them to respond?)
6. Think of a time when there was conflict, challenges, or racism in mainstream non-Indigenous journalism reporting on Indigenous peoples’ matters. Can you talk a bit about this? (The ways non-Indigenous colleagues managed the situation. The ways you have handled the situation. How were your needs (as a non-Indigenous person) taken into consideration? How were the needs of Indigenous peoples taken into consideration? How would you like to have seen it managed?)
7. Describe an experience where non-Indigenous journalists in your workplace expressed views about or related to Indigenous peoples that made you uncomfortable or created discomfort in the workplace. (How do you manage this? How do you engage with non-Indigenous journalists in situations like this?)
8. Describe an experience where you, as a non-Indigenous journalist, (consciously or unconsciously) expressed views about or related to Indigenous peoples that created discomfort in the workplace. (How did you manage this?)

9. What strategies do you have (if at all) for noticing and interrupting colonial or racist situations when they emerge in your work or others?

10. Did you ever feel that you, or your non-Indigenous colleagues, sometimes feel discomfort, guilt, or fear in both what you report on Indigenous peoples and how you interact with Indigenous Peoples? (If so, why do you think that happens? What can you and your non-Indigenous colleagues do to overcome that? What do you think you can do in that situation?)

11. How do you respond to western perspectives taught in journalism courses in Academia or professional training that may make you feel uncomfortable, unprepared, lacking culturally confident or incompetent when working with cultural minority communities?

12. What do you know about the policies, resources, and training for non-Indigenous journalists at university or professional training courses towards Indigenous ways, interests, needs and expectations? (In what ways do these things influence how you engage with Indigenous communities? / How can universities and professional training courses better support non-Indigenous journalists' capacity to engage with Indigenous Peoples?

14. Reporting on Indigenous Peoples' matters in a mainstream journalism system can be challenging for non-Indigenous journalists. Can you list three of the biggest challenges you have faced so far? (e.g., racism, time management, under-representation of Indigenous staff, language/thinking, level of cultural safeness and cultural competency, or others)

16. How do you describe your 'homework' before starting a journalistic piece on Indigenous Peoples' matters?

16. Is there any question you would like me to ask on your behalf to the Indigenous journalists participating in this study?

The questions I am going to ask you now are about your experiences in the journalism workplace with your Indigenous colleagues:

1. Describe your interactions with your Indigenous colleagues. (Are these interactions primarily good or bad experiences / What are the most significant differences between the interactions with Indigenous and non-Indigenous colleagues?)
2. How do you describe your relationship with Indigenous colleagues when reporting on Indigenous Peoples' matters? Do you feel they can help share Indigenous knowledge? Do you ask for their help constantly?
3. Describe what you think is good journalism from an Indigenous journalist. (What do the Indigenous journalists consider when they report on Indigenous peoples' matters? / Is it necessary/'easier' that the Indigenous community and the journalist share the same cultural identity? If so, how do you think this impacts the Indigenous community's sense of belonging and life?)
4. Think of a time when conflict, challenges, or racism existed in the workplace (including in the journalistic content). Can you talk a bit about this? (How have your Indigenous colleagues managed the situation / How have your non-Indigenous colleagues managed the problem / How have you handled the situation / How would you like to see it worked?)

FINAL COMMENTS - Are there any other comments you'd like to make?

Em Português

Pode, por favor, começar por se apresentar e dizer-me se estudou jornalismo na universidade ou em cursos profissionais, onde está a trabalhar agora, há quanto tempo é, ou foi, jornalista? Onde é que trabalhou?

As perguntas que vou fazer agora são sobre suas experiências no jornalismo com jornalistas indígenas e/ou povos indígenas:

2. Como é ser um jornalista não-indígena que reporta sobre assuntos dos Povos Indígenas? (Acha que as suas estratégias e práticas de trabalho são culturalmente seguras para todos – incluindo a comunidade indígena e você mesmo?

Ter jornalistas indígenas como colegas no local de trabalho afeta a sua experiência?

Como você descreveria a interação com as comunidades indígenas – Boa/Desafiadora?)

3. Pode descrever o que é para si um excelente jornalista não-indígena? (O que acha que um jornalista não-indígena deve considerar ao reportar sobre assuntos dos Povos Indígenas? Por exemplo: é essencial que o jornalista não-indígena considere a identidade cultural indígena e os benefícios das comunidades indígenas na sua matéria? Que estratégias e práticas adota, como jornalista não-indígena, quando faz reportagens sobre assuntos dos Povos Indígenas?)

4. Pode descrever uma situação mais complicada que possa ter encontrado como jornalista não-indígena trabalhando com colegas jornalistas indígenas? (Como é que essa situação o impactou como pessoa e como profissional? E porquê? Como é que o jornalista indígena respondeu à situação? Como você gostaria que ele tivesse respondido?)

5. Pense numa ocasião que avaliou como conflituosa, desafiante ou racista em reportagens feitas por jornalistas não-indígena sobre assuntos dos povos indígenas. Pode falar um pouco sobre isso? (A maneira como os colegas não-indígenas administraram a situação. A maneira como você lidou com a situação. Como é que as suas necessidades/dificuldades (como pessoa não-indígena) foram levadas em consideração? Como é que as necessidades/dificuldades dos povos indígenas foram levadas em consideração? Como você gostaria de ter visto a situação ser gerida?)

6. Descreva uma experiência em que jornalistas não-indígenas no seu local de trabalho expressaram opiniões sobre, ou relacionadas com os povos indígenas que o deixaram desconfortável ou criaram desconforto no local de trabalho. (Como você geriu isso? Como é

que expressa as suas opiniões e emoções com os seus jornalistas não-indígenas em situações como desta natureza?)

7. Descreva uma experiência em que você, como jornalista não-indígena, (consciente ou inconscientemente) expressou opiniões, emoções ou conhecimento sobre povos indígenas, que criaram desconforto no local de trabalho. (Como é que geriu a situação?)

8. Que estratégias tem (se é que tem) para perceber e interromper situações coloniais ou racistas quando elas surgem no jornalismo, nomeadamente no seu local de trabalho?

9. Alguma vez sentiu que você ou seus colegas não-Indígenas estão desconfortáveis, inseguros, sentem culpa ou medo no âmbito de trabalho que envolva povos indígenas, ou até quando interagem com estas comunidades? (Se sim, por que acha que isso acontece? O que considera que você e os seus colegas não-indígenas podem fazer para superar isso? O que você acha que pode fazer, pessoalmente, nessa situação?)

10. Como você responde às perspectivas ocidentais ensinadas em cursos de jornalismo na academia ou em ambiente de formação profissional, que podem fazê-la sentir-se desconfortável, despreparada, sem confiança cultural ou até mesmo incompetente culturalmente ao trabalhar com comunidades de minorias culturais, principalmente comunidades Indígenas?

11. O que é que sabe sobre as políticas, recursos e treino para jornalistas não-indígenas em universidades ou cursos de formação profissional que se foquem em aspetos culturais, hábitos, interesses, necessidades, expectativas e protocolos indígenas? (De que forma estas coisas influenciam a forma como você se envolve com as comunidades indígenas, no âmbito do seu trabalho jornalístico? / Como é que as universidades e os cursos de formação profissional podem apoiar melhor a capacidade dos jornalistas não-indígenas de se envolverem com os povos indígenas?

12. Reportar sobre assuntos dos Povos Indígenas num sistema jornalístico convencional ocidental pode ser um desafio para os jornalistas não-indígenas. Você pode listar três dos maiores desafios que enfrentou até agora? (por exemplo, racismo, gestão do tempo, sub-representação do pessoal indígena no seu local de trabalho, linguagem/pensamento, nível de segurança cultural e competência cultural, ou outros)

13. Como você descreve o seu “trabalho de casa” (dever de casa em brasileiro) antes de iniciar uma matéria jornalística sobre assuntos dos Povos Indígenas?

14. Há alguma pergunta que você gostaria que eu fizesse em seu nome aos jornalistas indígenas participantes deste estudo?

As perguntas que vou fazer agora são sobre as suas experiências no local de trabalho jornalístico com os seus colegas indígenas:

1. Pode descrever as suas interações com jornalistas indígenas, enquanto colegas? (Essas interações são, em sua maioria, experiências boas ou desafiadoras? Seus colegas indígenas

têm conhecimento sobre as formas indígenas de saber, fazer, aprender e relatar? E, em caso afirmativo, acha que eles estão sempre felizes e disponíveis para partilhar os seus conhecimentos consigo? Quais são as diferenças mais significativas entre as interações com colegas indígenas e não indígenas?)

2. Você acha que o seu local de trabalho é igualmente culturalmente seguro para jornalistas indígenas e não indígenas? Porquê?

2. Antes de partir para um trabalho que envolva povos Indígenas, recorre à ajuda dos seus colegas Indígenas imediatamente, ou tenta procurar informação noutros pontos de referência Indígena antes?

3. Acha que um jornalista que reporta assuntos Indígenas deve ser indígena? (É necessário/ou 'mais fácil' que a comunidade indígena e o jornalista compartilhem a mesma identidade cultural? Se sim, o que acha que isso traz de positivo ao resultado do trabalho?)

4. Pense numa ocasião em que houve conflitos, desafios ou racismo no seu local de trabalho (inclusive no conteúdo jornalístico). Você pode falar um pouco sobre isso? (Como é que os seus colegas indígenas administraram a situação / Como é que os seus colegas não-indígenas administraram o problema / Como é que você lidou com a situação / Como é que você gostaria que tudo tivesse sido resolvido?)

COMENTÁRIOS FINAIS - Há algum outro comentário que você gostaria de fazer antes de terminarmos?

Annexe 9 – National Geographic Magazine's editor-in-chief, Susan Goldberg's editorial of apology:

“For Decades, Our Coverage Was Racist. To Rise Above Our Past, We Must Acknowledge It.

We asked a preeminent historian to investigate our coverage of people of colour in the U.S. and abroad. Here's what he found.

This story is part of The Race Issue, a special issue of National Geographic that explores how race defines, separates, and unites us. It is November 2, 1930, and National Geographic has sent a reporter and a photographer to cover a magnificent occasion: the crowning of Haile Selassie, King of Kings of Ethiopia, Conquering Lion of the Tribe of Judah. There are trumpets, incense, priests, spear-wielding warriors. The story runs 14,000 words, with 83 images.

*If a ceremony in 1930 honouring a black man had taken place in America, instead of Ethiopia, you can pretty much guarantee there wouldn't have been a story at all. Even worse, if Haile Selassie had lived in the United States, he would almost certainly have been denied entry to our lectures in segregated Washington, D.C., and he might not have been allowed to be a National Geographic member. According to Robert M. Poole, who wrote *Explores House: National Geographic and the World It Made*, “African Americans were excluded from membership - at least in Washington - through the 1940s.”*

I'm the tenth editor of National Geographic since its founding in 1888. I'm the first woman and the first Jewish person - a member of two groups that also once faced discrimination here. It hurts to share the appalling stories from the magazine's past. But when we decided to devote our April magazine to the topic of race, we thought we should examine our own history before turning our reportorial gaze to others.

Race is not a biological construct, as writer Elizabeth Kolbert explains in this issue, but a social one that can have devastating effects. “So many of the horrors of the past few centuries can be traced to the idea that one race is inferior to another,” she writes. “Racial distinctions continue to shape our politics, our neighbourhoods, and our sense of self.”

How we present race matters. I hear from readers that National Geographic provided their first look at the world. Our explorers, scientists, photographers, and writers have taken people to places they'd never even imagined;

it's a tradition that still drives our coverage and of which we're rightly proud. And it means we have a duty, in every story, to present accurate and authentic depictions - a duty heightened when we cover fraught issues such as race.

We asked John Edwin Mason to help with this examination. Mason is well positioned for the task: He's a University of Virginia professor specializing in the history of photography and the history of Africa, a frequent crossroads of our storytelling. He dived into our archives.

What Mason found in short was that until the 1970s National Geographic all but ignored people of colour who lived in the United States, rarely acknowledging them beyond laborers or domestic workers. Meanwhile it pictured "natives" elsewhere as exotics, famously and frequently unclothed, happy hunters, noble savages -every type of cliché.

Unlike magazines such as Life, Mason said, National Geographic did little to push its readers beyond the stereotypes ingrained in white American culture.

"Americans got ideas about the world from Tarzan movies and crude racist caricatures," he said. "Segregation was the way it was. National Geographic wasn't teaching as much as reinforcing messages they already received and doing so in a magazine that had tremendous authority. National Geographic comes into existence at the height of colonialism, and the world was divided into the colonizers and the colonized. That was a colour line, and National Geographic was reflecting that view of the world."

Some of what you find in our archives leaves you speechless, like A 1916 Story About Australia. Underneath photos of two Aboriginal people, the caption reads: "South Australian Blackfellows: These savages rank lowest in intelligence of all human beings."

Questions arise not just from what's in the magazine, but what isn't. Mason compared two stories we did about South Africa, one in 1962, the other in 1977. The 1962 story was printed two and a half years after the massacre of 69 black South Africans by police in Sharpeville, many shot in the back as they fled. The brutality of the killings shocked the world.

"National Geographic's story barely mentions any problems," Mason said. "There are no voices of black South Africans. That absence is as important as what is in there. The only black people are doing exotic dances ... servants or workers. It's

bizarre, actually, to consider what the editors, writers, and photographers had to consciously not see.”

Contrast that with the piece in 1977, in the wake of the U.S. civil rights era: “It’s not a perfect article, but it acknowledges the oppression,” Mason said. “Black people are pictured. Opposition leaders are pictured. It’s a very different article.”

Fast-forward to a 2015 story about Haiti, when we gave cameras to young Haitians and asked them to document the reality of their world. “The images by Haitians are really, really important,” Mason said, and would have been “unthinkable” in our past. So would our coverage now of ethnic and religious conflicts, evolving gender norms, the realities of today’s Africa, and much more.

Mason also uncovered a string of oddities - photos of “the native person fascinated by Western technology. It really creates this us-and-them dichotomy between the civilized and the uncivilized.” And then there’s the excess of pictures of beautiful Pacific-Island women.

“If I were talking to my students about the period until after the 1960s, I would say, ‘Be cautious about what you think you are learning here,’ he said. “At the same time, you acknowledge the strengths National Geographic had even in this period, to take people out into the world to see things we’ve never seen before. It’s possible to say that a magazine can open people’s eyes at the same time it closes them.”

April 4 marks the 50th anniversary of the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. It’s a worthy moment to step back, to take stock of where we are on race. It’s also a conversation that is changing in real time: In two years, for the first time in U.S. history, less than half the children in the nation will be white.

So, let’s talk about what’s working when it comes to race, and what isn’t. Let’s examine why we continue to segregate along racial lines and how we can build inclusive communities. Let’s confront today’s shameful use of racism as a political strategy and prove we are better than this.

For us this issue also provided an important opportunity to look at our own efforts to illuminate the human journey, a core part of our mission for 130 years.

I want a future editor of National Geographic to look back at our coverage with pride - not only about the stories we decided to tell and how we told them but about the diverse group of writers, editors, and photographers behind the work.

We hope you will join us in this exploration of race, beginning this month and continuing throughout the year.

Sometimes these stories, like parts of our own history, are not easy to read. But as Michele Norris writes in this issue, “It’s hard for an individual - or a country - to evolve past discomfort if the source of the anxiety is only discussed in hushed tones.”” (Goldberg, S. (2018).