He Whakangungu Kairīpoata Nō Aotearoa:

Journalism Education of This Place

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Abstract

Responsiveness to Māori and Te Tiriti o Waitangi by journalism schools in Aotearoa New Zealand tertiary institutions is the topic of this inquiry. The catalyst is the fact that Māori enrolments in journalism schools are usually well below their population demographic. This narrative inquiry uses three methods: analysis of documentation from the five tertiary institutions which host journalism schools; semi-structured interviews with journalism educators sharing their stories of experience; and the researcher's reflective diary. I argue there is a need for bicultural consciousness in journalism education in Aotearoa. Bicultural consciousness refers to the legal, political and cultural relationship between Māori and everyone else in the country based on Te Tiriti o Waitangi (the Treaty of Waitangi) signed in 1840. Responsibility for that relationship recognises our role as journalism educators in government-funded tertiary institutions (*Tertiary Education Commission*, n.d.), and acknowledges that representation of Māori in news media has ranged from imbalance to racism (Abel et al., 2012; McGregor, 1991; Stuart, 2002).

Institutions create environments where the dominating focus is on Māori deficit through reporting of greater failure rates, because that is all that is measured. Documentary narratives suggest institutions are beginning to focus on staff, and in some cases students, by encouraging and in some cases measuring their bicultural consciousness. However, change will be difficult if institutions do not address another issue evident in the documents, and that is anything related to biculturalism is mostly found in theory courses within a programme of study. In other words, neither educators nor their students are required to engage with te ao Māori, the Māori world, in an applied way.

The problem with this theory-practice divide is even more obvious in interviews with journalism educators. For example, there are illustrations of effective engagement with te ao Māori, how it is taught now, and the types of steps journalism schools could implement. The most effective experiences always have a transformative effect for teachers or students and those experiences are always in physical or experiential spaces on Māori terms. However, few of the courses facilitate such transformative learning opportunities which apply journalism skills. In other words, student can go

through an entire programme without applying journalism skills in relationship with te ao Māori. Part of the problem is the residue of normative journalism thinking which treats journalism skills such as news gathering, story production and publishing as relatively neutral in their application. This study proposes that journalism educators connect biculturally conscious learning and teaching for themselves and students with ongoing active experiences directly or indirectly in authentic relationship with Māori.

The study finds innovation among some educators who use the term manaakitanga to describe an Aotearoa New Zealand journalism education of this place. For example, an institutional bicultural model relies on reciprocal relationships across staff both inside institutions and externally, and always involving Māori. Meanwhile a model of a project with a community strongly connecting to te ao Māori is transformative for students. When institutions encourage such Tiriti-driven actions they will need to be prepared to also change tertiary systems, because there are significant flow-of effects for staff time and therefore budgets. Institutions and educators taking this level of responsibility for authentic relationships will make a difference to journalism practice through graduates. Once that happens, more Māori may be more interested in seeing journalism as a career worth undertaking.

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Attestation of Authorship

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person (except where explicitly defined in the acknowledgements), nor material which to a substantial extent has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning.

31 January, 2021

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            Signature   Date

Acknowledgements

Glossary of Māori language terms used

Glossary of Māori terms used in this thesis. The sources are Moorfield's Te Aka dictionary https://maoridictionary.co.nz/; (Clarke et al., 2018).

Māori term	English term
Ako	To learn, study, instruct, teach, advise.
Aotearoa	Māori name for New Zealand.
Hapū	Kinship group, clan, tribe, subtribe.
Hongi	To press noses in greeting.
Iwi	Extended kinship group, tribe, nation, people, nationality, race.
Kaiārahi	Guide, escort, counsellor, conductor, escort, leader, mentor, pilot.
Karanga	To call, call out, shout, summon.
Kaitiaki	Trustee, minder, guard, custodian, guardian, caregiver, keeper
Kete	Basket, kit
Kuia	Female elder.
Kapu tī	Cup of tea.
Kōrero	Speak, speech.
Mana whenua	Territorial rights, power from the land, authority over land.
Māoritanga	Māori culture, practices and beliefs, Māoriness, Māori way of life.
Manaaki	Support, take care of, give hospitality to, protect others.
Manaakitanga	The process of showing respect, generosity and care for others.
Mihi	Speech of greeting, acknowledgement, tribute.
Noho marae	Stay-over in a Māori communal space.
Pākehā	New Zealander of European descent.
Pōwhiri	Invitation, rituals of encounter, welcome ceremony on a marae.
Tangata whenua	Local people, hosts, Indigenous people—people born of the land.
Tangata Tiriti	People of the Treaty, in relationship with tangata whenua.
Tauiwi	Foreigner, European, non-Māori, colonist.
Te ao Māori	The Māori world.
Te ao marama	World of life and light, Earth, physical world.
Te reo Māori	Māori language.
Te Waipounamu	South Island.
Tikanga	Correct procedure, custom (e.g. on a marae).
Tino rangatiratanga	Self-determination, sovereignty, autonomy, self-government.
Waiata	Song
Waka	Canoe, vehicle.
Whakaaro	To think; thought.
Whakamā	To be ashamed; shame.
Whakataukī	Proverb, significant saying.
Whakawhanaungatanga	Process of establishing relationships, relating well to others.
Whānau	Extended family, family group.
Whanaungatanga	Relationship, kinship, sense of family connection.

Ethics Approval

This research was approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 25 September, 2017.

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Prologue

No thesis is an island, to mangle a well-worn narrative. I have been intentionally reminded of this every day over the course of the research when I open my laptop. Pictured there in the background are my grandchildren, Hayley and Cullin, in a photograph with my wife, Cheryl. Then I type in the password which relates to the name of my maternal grandfather, Robert Crawford. I developed the password to constantly recreate the narrative that braids my grandparents and grandchildren together. Grandad died young at 63, looking much older, worn out by hard farming work so his family could flourish. On both sides of our family, farming land which had once been Māori was a foundation for our flourishing future. For me that included a successful career in journalism and then in journalism education, with a loving wife, children and grandchildren. Hayley and Cullin are Āti Haunui a Pāpārangi iwi through their father. Their iwi, like all iwi in this country, suffered after the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, particularly through land loss. The impacts continue still. Hence having grandchildren who are tangata whenua heightens my awareness of Te Tiriti relationship between journalism education and te ao Māori. Research such as this looks different when it is personal. From the beginning my view for this study is for a journalist education, and journalism practice, which makes a difference for Aotearoa New Zealand and the world, so that my grandchildren may flourish. Narratives for the future, therefore, will always be braided with the past.

Chapter 1 – Journalism education and biculturalism

> Māori remind Pākehā that becoming bicultural enough to be at ease in the other founding culture of the nation is the first step towards becoming multicultural.

> (R. Walker, 2004, p. 390)

> This country's journalism is less professional than it should be because we have relied so much on specialists to cover Māori issues. It's an essential step for all our journalists to become familiar with the taha Māori, the Māori side, of Aotearoa New Zealand – and to become proficient in reflecting that.

> (Archie, 2007, p. xv)

1.1 Introduction

Three years after the late Professor Ranginui Walker's words (quoted above) were published in the second edition of his *Ka whawhai tonu matou: Struggle without end*, Carol Archie issued a related challenge specifically for her fellow journalists. Walker's (2004) seminal work was the story of Indigenous Māori, from mythology to multiculturalism, written so that all people in Aotearoa New Zealand may understand and be at ease with Māori as a founding culture of the nation. Archie (2007) was writing in *Pou Kōrero: A journalists' guide to Māori and current affairs*, commissioned by the then New Zealand Journalists Training Organisation (NZJTO). Archie's text is a guide for journalism students and graduates as they gather, produce and publish stories which relate to Māori. Stories, therefore, are central to this study. The narratives found in the institutions, and among the educators in their journalism schools are where this thesis looks for the "ease" Walker (2004, p. 390) hoped for, and the "familiarity", the "proficient" practice sought by Archie (2007, p. xv). This chapter sets out stories that were the catalyst for the thesis and that establish narratives as a backdrop to the research in two key themes, journalism education and biculturalism. The narratives which weave journalism education and biculturalism together in this study are used to argue for a framework and methodological approaches which can be actively critical and generative. Finally, research questions, purpose and structure of the thesis document are set out.

1.2 The site of journalism education

1.2.1 Where are Māori?

The story of this study began with a puzzle which formed in the first few years as I transitioned from practising journalism to teaching in a journalism school from 2010. Every year there were few Māori in our enrolments, and every year in the institution solving this 'problem' generally turned to talk about mechanistic tools such as marketing, funding or support for Māori which might make a difference. When I became the representative for polytechnics on the NZJTO, the body funded by government and industry which was formerly responsible for overseeing journalism education, I discovered that low enrolment statistics were consistently mirrored across all journalism schools in the country (Appendix 5). The triggering question for what became this PhD project was, why don't Māori choose to study journalism?

The question had already been answered rhetorically in scholarship early in the previous decade when journalism educator Ian Stuart (2002) in essence posed the question: Why would Māori enrol in mainstream journalism schools when they don't see themselves reflected in mainstream news media? Stuart argued that the news product was the result of journalism's monocultural practices and processes. He also identified that journalism education played a part. Those practices and processes were also taught and learned by rote to some extent in journalism schools because students had to know how to perform them to get jobs. Stuart produced a decade of work aimed at challenging and influencing news media and tertiary and secondary media educators (Stuart, 1996, 1997, 2000, 2002, 2003, 2005, 2007). For Stuart, power imbalance in practice was replicated in education if there was no critical lens on the way that Māori were represented in news, and in practice the way that journalism students apply their interpretation of stories. It is likely his work contributed to the momentum for Archie's (2007) guide for journalists on how to behave in Māori settings. Therefore, the plotlines for this study began forming in my research around journalism education's responsibilities to and relationships with Māori, and whether they had progressed since the first decade of this millenium.

Well into the second decade, however, around the table of the NZJTO meetings we were still slowly shaking our heads about the consistently low figures of Māori

enrolments. In annual programme reports required by education bureaucracy we were still talking about marketing, funding and support to fix 'the problem'. Clearly, we were looking in the wrong place. Instead of looking outwards towards Māori, the pieces of this puzzle were more logically to be found inside the institutions that host journalism schools, and with the educators who operate those schools, including myself. This research, therefore, naturally turned to the environments that institutions and educators are responsible for creating and maintaining, so that Walker's (2004) invitation for ease meets Archie's (2007) requirement for familiarity and proficiency.

1.2.2 Momentum for something different

Ease, familiarity and proficiency with te ao Māori may have already developed some momentum in wider society. For example, scholars and media have begun to research and report on the rising popularity of courses in te reo Māori; Māori iconography such as moko kaue, women's facial tattoo, is now seen in news media presentation; and news media use of te reo is rising (Ainge-Roy, 2017; Berardi-Wiltshire et al., 2020; Brookes, 2019; Coster, 2018; Tahana, 2017; Te Huia, 2016). Perhaps activity in journalism schools has influenced graduates contributing to some of that media shift. At the same time, educators also may have been influenced by journalism studies scholarship. Globalisation and resulting multiculturalism has led journalism studies scholars to ask if there is more than one form of journalism to teach, or at least to acknowledge (Bromley et al., 2001; Garyantes, 2012; Gunaratne, 2007; Hanusch, 2013, 2014a, 2014b; McMahon & Chow-White, 2011; Middleton, 2020). Journalism educators have taken that shift of thinking into institutions to explore how those questions could shape and are shaping journalism schools, and to actively research their praxis, particularly in relationship to non-Western, non-white and decolonising practices challenging power imbalances (Alemán, 2014; Deuze, 2006; Goodman & Steyn, 2017; Husband, 2017; Kalyango, 2016; Mason et al., 2016; Papoutsaki, 2007; Rodny-Gumede, 2018). There is gathering momentum of inquiry into how journalism education responds to challenges in journalism, and whether it leads or follows. This study further develops the Aotearoa New Zealand context to that global inquiry.

The idea of momentum begs the question, momentum to where, away from what, beyond what? Addressing this question requires breaking down the site of this research about journalism education into its two component parts: first education and

then journalism. Journalism schools in Aotearoa New Zealand are housed in three universities and two polytechnics which broadly follow Western models found in many other parts of the world. Deuze (2006) in Europe and Alemán (2014) in the US found that multiculturalism or diversity were add-ons to journalism education or dealt with in silos. Alemán argues this separation is a function of whiteness in journalism education, in that the norms of journalism are set in concrete and diversity is an add-on. She connects her findings with the critique of whiteness in the academy by Ahmed (2007) who argues that even brown bodies must perform an institutional whiteness manifested in physical and systemic spaces such as what is taught, the way it is taught, and where it is taught. Whiteness is not so much a colour as a way of being and a structure in the world, which provides a critical lens in this thesis for what is taught, how and where.

My experience teaching, designing programmes of study and courses within them, and moderating and monitoring programmes gels with the findings of Deuze (2006) and Alemán (2014). The relationship between journalism and Māori is often isolated as a separate topic or bundled in with other diversity teaching rather than intentionally part of the everyday. Set free in the everyday, 'other' journalisms may bring in worldviews such as Māori to interrupt fundamentals which are normative and white when critically analysed. However, teaching in the current sectioned-off space can often be left to specialists, therefore limiting programme-wide capability. A similar reliance on specialists in Māori issues reporting was identified by Archie (2007, p. xv) as hampering journalism industry's ability to develop a wider capacity among all journalists for addressing their responsibility and relationship with the Indigenous population and Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Therefore, journalism educators and the ease of their relationship with Māori and responsibility for engagement in that relationship throughout the programme is an important critical inquiry in this study.

1.2.3 Relationship between education and practice

Journalism educators are all former journalists preparing students in general to work in journalism roles. These roles are predominantly situated in what is known as mainstream media which is either commercial or public-funded. Therefore, the practices of mainstream media inform journalism education. The relationship between education and practice is acknowledged by the World Journalism Education Council in

its *Declaration of Principles* (*WJEC*, n.d.): "Most undergraduate and many masters programs in journalism have a strong vocational orientation. In these programs experiential learning, provided by classroom laboratories and on-the-job internships, is a key component." What is taught, and how it is taught, reflects that relationship, and it also reflects differences in news cultures. Stuart (2002) is not the only scholar to have critiqued the practices and processes of news socialisation taught in Aotearoa journalism schools, and that other literature also contributes to this study (Hirst, 2010; Thomas, 2008). Critiques deal in broad terms with issues associated with how much sway mainstream media holds in journalism schools. This research draws a connection between influence and critiques that tracks issues between journalism and Māori to the roots of Anglo-American news culture in this country (Abel, 2013; Hope, 2012; McGregor, 1991; Moewaka Barnes et al., 2012; Nairn et al., 2012; Phelan & Shearer, 2009). The legacy has been described as monocultural, with normative practices and understandings of the function of journalism raising questions of racism (McGregor & Te Awa, 1996) and the undermining of societal health, wellbeing, equity and justice (Moewaka Barnes et al., 2012). The scholarship which has mapped this legacy establishes an underlying culture of journalism practice which influences journalism education in Aotearoa New Zealand. In turn that knowledge calls for thinking critically about journalism culture and its socialisation in education as an aspect for this study.

The function of journalism in any given society is the final point to make about the setting of this inquiry. Understandings of function contribute to driving what and how journalism educators teach, and therefore also contribute to the relationship between journalism education and Māori. The question of what journalism is for is at the heart of the debate about the diversity of journalism itself, and whether there is one journalism using a standard set of practices or many journalisms (Bromley et al., 2001; Hanitzsch, 2007; Hanusch & Hanitzsch, 2017). The following incomplete list of terms or topics in journalism scholarship provide an insight: advocacy journalism (Janowitz, 1975), alternative journalism (Atton & Hamilton, 2008), peace journalism (McMahon & Chow-White, 2011), four worlds of journalism (Robie, 2013), inclusive journalism (Husband, 2017; Rupar, 2017), Indigenous journalism (Hanusch, 2013), slow journalism (Craig, 2016), solutions journalism (Benesch, 1998; McIntyre, 2019) and constructive journalism (Hermans & Drok, 2018; McIntyre & Gyldensted, 2017). These and others–

Loosen (2020) lists 166 terms–also provide insight into research about functions of journalism which are public-oriented, contributing to society, and therefore strengths-based. They also offer a sense that the debates surrounding the function of journalism are broad and can be robustly contested. Such debates have also prompted concerns of over-reach by journalism beyond its capacity for the democratic stewardship that some of those journalisms call for (Schudson, 2013). Schudson acknowledges the emergence of a growing social empathy in journalism as it adapts from an age characterised by a blend of commercial organisation and professional pride to one which is less articulated. This lack of articulation is fine by Schudson because it "gives play" and "running room" (p. 142) to journalism. Given the relationship between journalism education and journalism practice, it is in this space where there is room for play that this study is situated. Therefore, the temporality of journalism, its history, its currency and what it is becoming, is an important story to discover and tell. It is developed in both the literature and in the field work of this study with journalism educators as they grapple with their past roles as journalists and their current roles teaching students who are the future of journalism. As such, this research is underpinned by a critique but also a valuing of what journalism education, and therefore journalism, is for.

In Aotearoa New Zealand the tension inherent in that critique and valuing is nowhere more taut than when it comes to journalism education's relationship with Indigenous Māori and Te Tiriti o Waitangi. That tension is bound up with the political, legal and cultural story of biculturalism.

1.3 Biculturalism

Biculturalism in Aotearoa New Zealand can be understood narratively as a relationship between two groupings of peoples. One grouping is Indigenous Māori understood as tangata whenua, or people of the land. The other grouping is tangata Tiriti, people of the Treaty, who are the primary focus of the thesis. This section addresses Te Tiriti o Waitangi, the Treaty of Waitangi, which formally establishes a framework for that relationship. It briefly maps what has happened since Te Tiriti was signed in 1840. It considers critiques of the notion of biculturalism, makes an argument for practical use of the term biculturalism in the methodology of this study, but also establishes the

narrative for critical reflection on what term represents the relationship between tangata whenua and tangata Tiriti, particularly in a journalism education context.

1.3.1 Tangata Tiriti

Biculturalism calls forth the possibility of a relationship between two groups of people in the context of this study. I extend Walker's (2004) use of biculturalism by replacing his use of the term Pākehā, originally used to designate strangers, in the opening quote for this thesis with the term tangata Tiriti. The term Pākehā grew into use generally describing European settler-colonisers of Aotearoa and is still used widely, if problematically (A. Bell, 2006; Huygens, 2016). Its use became increasingly problematic in the latter stages of last century as a Māori renaissance polarised some opinion which rejected the term Pākehā, and as multicultural migration changed the population make-up of Aotearoa and fragmented the grouping in relationship with tangata whenua under Te Tiriti o Waitangi (Sibley & Liu, 2007; Spoonley, 2015). This study acknowledges the Indigenous Māori as tangata whenua, people of the land, and uses the term tangata Tiriti for everyone else. Tangata Tiriti has been developed in use by Tiriti educators to describe people who have come to or were born in Aotearoa under the authority of Te Tiriti o Waitangi: "Including but not limited to Pākehā, Pasifika peoples, those from Asia, Africa, South America" (*Treaty Journeys*, 2007, p. 8). Huygens (2016) argues that as a political grouping, the term tangata Tiriti should not be capitalised. However, I have chosen to capitalise Tiriti because its transliteration from English acknowledges the primacy of the te reo version of Te Tiriti o Waitangi signed by Māori.

1.3.2 From deprivation to rejuvenation

Biculturalism in Aotearoa New Zealand is the political, legal and cultural relationship between tangata whenua and tangata Tiriti. It is based on Te Tiriti o Waitangi, the Māori translation for the Treaty of Waitangi signed in 1840 between Māori leaders, representing their iwi, and the British Crown. Te Tiriti is recognised in statutes that acknowledge Māori rights which relate to their Indigeneity (United Nations, 2008). The Declaration holds the legally binding agreement in a treaty with Indigenous peoples to be the version in the Indigenous language. The Māori language version of Te Tiriti was the one signed by those iwi leaders who chose to sign. However, from 1840 onwards

the nation was built on a settler society using "'white immigration' policies, Indigenous dispossession and marginalisation" (Spoonley, 2015, p. 659). After the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi the British and then later settler colonial governments used law and force to take land from Māori and settle generations of predominantly English, Irish, Scottish, and Welsh immigrants (R. Walker, 2004). The standing of Te Tiriti was legally downgraded in 1877 when Māori took land issues to court, and much of the next century was marked by further land loss leading to economic deprivation. A post-World War II urban drift culminated in the late 1960s and 70s in a revitalised urban Māori population proclaiming its tangata whenua status underpinned by Te Tiriti (Spoonley, 2015). The urban drift of tangata whenua from the 1950s onwards can, in retrospect be seen as a beachhead for significant societal change and a new phase in the bicultural relationship.

A network of influences and relationships came together over the post-war decades. Walker (2004) identifies Māori in political and academic positions of influence from the 1960s onwards, in tandem with increasing street-level protest, and also tangata Tiriti allies often developed through generational whānau relationships between tangata whenua and tangata Tiriti. The result was significant structural change based on the Te Tiriti o Waitangi from the 1970s onward. The Waitangi Tribunal was established as an Act of Parliament in 1975. The report *Puao-te-Atu-tu, Daybreak*, was the result of a national Commission of Inquiry which established the future shape of government bureaucratic relationships with Te Tiriti (*Puao-Te-Atu-Tu [Day Break]*, 1988). Walker (2004) recounts the then Director General of Social Welfare being taken around the country to marae in the mid-1980s to prepare the report. The Director General described the experience as shattering: "Like a litany of sound… recited with the fury of a tempest on every marae, and from marae to marae came the cries" (p. 280). Legal findings prior to and flowing from *Puao-te-Atu-tu* bound the government to recognise Te Tiriti o Waitangi in statutes, policies, programmes, measures and indicators (M. Durie, 2002). In the years after a Labour Government was elected in 1984, a range of state mechanisms put in place recognise the status of Te Tiriti as a settlement agreement, acknowledge the need for reparations, accept Māori language and culture require state maintenance, and that Māori was a specific client group of the state. Durie explains that those legal findings are based on the idea of partnership as an

established interpretation, leaving the State with the challenge of reconciling citizenship, Indigeneity and Te Tiriti o Waitangi.

> Citizenship is about equality and democratic rights, and participation in society, including te ao Māori. Indigeneity is about a set of rights that Indigenous peoples might reasonably expect to exercise in modern times. The Treaty of Waitangi is about a relationship between Māori and the Crown and has been construed by both the Court of Appeal and the Royal Commission on Social Policy as a partnership. The challenge for the State is to embrace all three in a way that values them all in statutes, policies, programmes, as well as processes and outcome measures (p. 600).

While there were previously and have been since many other elements in the revitalisation of Māori, *Puao-te-Atu-tu* was the seminal document "which became influential as a charter in the development of government policies for the delivery of equity to Māori people" (R. Walker, 2004, p. 281). However, along with the generational change came a tangata Tiriti backlash to "new Māori vigour for power and resources for promoting their half of the bicultural equation". While Walker continued to use the term bicultural in the revised edition of his work, albeit with the proviso that it was not simply rhetoric, by that stage the term biculturalism was becoming contested. Language use is important here, however, because Walker did not use the term in isolation when he wrote "their half of the bicultural equation". The word half clearly establishes an argument for equity, of half. In other words, the use of bicultural in this study is about two groups and their worldviews approaching each other with equal status under Te Tiriti o Waitangi. My attention is directed to the other half of the bicultural equation, to tangata Tiriti, and specifically to journalism educators, their students and the institutions in which journalism schools are hosted. However, it is important to consider the arguments against using the term biculturalism in this thesis.

1.3.3 Biculturalism contested

The term 'biculturalism' is established in Te Tiriti literature which journalism educators and their students need to understand. For example, in its Wai718 reports which contributed to the establishment of Māori tertiary institutions, wānanga, the Waitangi Tribunal (*Wananga Capital Establishment*, 1999, p. xi) stated: "Biculturalism is an integral part of the overall Treaty partnership. It involves both cultures existing side by

side in Aotearoa New Zealand, each enriching and informing the other". However critics argue such idealised biculturalism has failed because the dominant culture in the past 180 years does not allow its institutional structures and processes for example in tertiary education to be enriched by the other, and it therefore keeps the two apart (Bishop, 1996, 1998, 2008; Kelsey, 1993; O'Sullivan, 2007). Indeed, journalism schools need to understand that wānanga and other initiatives by iwi as a result of Tiriti settlements are examples of what O'Sullivan (2007) would describe as Māori being *Beyond Biculturalism*. O'Sullivan argues biculturalism is an "ideological" framework for public sector policy development as a response to Māori political assertiveness in the 1970s and 1980s. He labels it a colonial relationship, a tool of coercion which neutered Indigeneity in the interest of retaining colonial authority. It is a back-door way of maintaining one-people policies, a politics of subordination with Māori as a junior partner. In contrast, O'Sullivan identifies Māori leadership through organisations such as iwi already in a phase towards economic freedom, which would in turn provide cultural freedom and the self-determination of tino rangatiratanga. However, O'Sullivan (2019) fears that even Māori leadership has become hamstrung by a continued attachment to biculturalism as a structural mechanism through which they can achieve tino rangatiratanga. He makes the case that the oppositional nature of the structure in political and legal terms will always situate Māori as a junior partner.

Such biculturalism articulated and practised by government has been described as a more culturally sensitive form of assimilation (Kelsey, 1990). Scholarship on government in general, in voting, education and health has come to the same conclusion. For example, analysis by Liu & Robinson (2016) of *Aotearoa New Zealand Speeches from the Throne between 1854 and 2014* show languages of racism disappear, but Enlightenment discourses of benevolence and perfectibility are still evident in the 21st century. They identify that "biculturalism is the dominant discourse for elites today" (p. 137) and it is framed as a discourse of benevolence through symbolic inclusion rather than real equity. Meanwhile among the voting public, Sibley and Liu (2007) find negative attitudes among tangata Tiriti towards the general principles and resource-specific aspects of bicultural policy. Sibley and Osborne (2016) propose that such voter sentiment maintains social inequalities that systematically disadvantage Indigenous peoples thanks to one-nation type, post-colonial ideologies of

benevolence. They posit that increased visibility of Māori iconography and language simply serves to mask inequity.

Inequity between Māori and tangata Tiriti shows up for example in education and health. Bishop's (Bishop, 1996, 1998, 2008) education research and practice challenges the notion of two peoples working together as one as a Crown story which prioritises the nation state, and those priorities have always been determined by the tangata Tiriti majority. In health, Came and Tudor (2016) arrive at the same conclusion based on decades of biculturalism featuring in government documents. They argue for a bicultural praxis, not just use of the word in documentation, as critical to develop for those working with Māori. In real terms that means Māori involvement in decision-making for design, delivery and evaluation of services. Token displays of culture have been argued as causing damage to taonga such as te reo and tikanga (Derby & Moon, 2018). Stuart (2007) challenges media studies teachers to think about biculturalism in their practise because mass media is not culturally neutral. Few objects, institutions and practices can be culturally neutral, and mass media certainly is not.

Another way of thinking about this issue is that history has produced so many entanglements that we need to get beyond biculturalism at the personal level (A. Bell, 2006). Bell argues that the narrative of biculturalism works to keep two groups of people apart. She wonders whether biculturalism can survive the past, present and future dynamics at play because of the generations of entanglement. Bell sees the entanglement idea as one that both individuals and scholars, and by extension journalism schools, could be paying attention to as Aotearoa lives into its future. The arguments for tangata Tiriti to join Māori in looking beyond biculturalism are based on entanglements which are political, legal and personal. They are all valid arguments when standing in the shoes of Māori viewing Aotearoa New Zealand's bicultural project. They also contribute to the case for why biculturalism may disappear as a discourse as we approach 200 years under Te Tiriti o Waitangi.

However, bicultural is still being used institutionally in Aotearoa New Zealand. It is difficult to be swapped out without another term simply becoming a proxy which may be equally misunderstood (G. Stewart, 2018). Therefore, I chose to plan and undertake the research using the terminology explicitly in critical and generative ways, culturally

conscious of how biculturalism has not served Māori, and mindful how to describe a future relationship between tanganta whenua and tangata Tiriti in journalism education.

1.3.4 Problems and possibilities in the term bicultural

I use the term 'bicultural' in this study in two ways: critically and generatively. Critically, journalism educators need to engage with biculturalism and monoculturalism in the very institutions they inhabit because they are subject to government influence through funding. These arguments are deepened in this thesis through literature in Chapter 2, under cultural consciousness, and in Chapter 3, under education. Also, journalism students and graduates need to understand that the dominant monocultural ideology is still present in sites of power such as government, and in journalism practice. For example despite decades of bicultural commitments in government decision-making and documentation, significant disparities are ingrained in health (Goodyear-Smith & Ashton, 2019), education (Bishop et al., 2009), justice (Workman, 2016) and generally throughout inequality indicators (Marriott & Sim, 2015). Journalism students need to understand not only the inequity but also the language and notion of biculturalism and related power imbalances in practical terms, because it may become their job to report on these issues and others in society generally where Māori continue to experience disadvantage and racism (Pack et al., 2016). Much of the critique in these fields of research centre on normative understandings and they extend to journalism education. Theoretical arguments about journalism's logic and function were introduced in this chapter and are further developed in Chapter 3. They connect to the reality that journalism students are being taught to not only think about journalism but also to practice it. There is a social role for journalism as public-oriented (Waisbord, 2019), and that role can challenge normative assumptions of journalism itself. Biculturalism may have a contested future, but its past and present realities still need to be personally addressed by tangata Tiriti. It is the generative stance of this research that journalism education has a role to play, both preparing students for critical societal roles, and interrogating journalism practice itself.

Generatively, using the term 'biculturalism' also holds space for what tangata whenua may bring to an equitable journalism education, in the same way that there have been

promising signs in other arenas. Spoonley (2015) argues that while there has only been partial recognition of indigeneity in Aotearoa, he describes the shift in political thinking about society's ongoing bicultural project as transformative compared to even a generation ago. What he dubs the new post-colonial social contract includes rights associated with a Māori worldview, reparations, recognition of practices such as te reo, the customising of social service delivery and policy. For example, Māori Television was established as a direct result of a Tiriti claim that the Māori language was a taonga (A. Bell, 2010). Innovative Tiriti settlements have developed, for example the agreement reached that the Whanganui River has the same legal rights as a person under an Act of Parliament (Charpleix, 2018). Such steps are signs of Māori intention for tino rangatiratanga – self-determination, empowerment and cultural revitalisation – intentions which have also established parameters for research involving or relating to Māori (L. Smith, 1999, 2012). Legal arguments have also been made that there is scope in the rule of law for biculturalism, and multiculturalism, to be defined in a framework of relationship "between the state and its constituent peoples" (E. Durie, 2005). Such initiatives and arguments are clearly situated and articulated in formalised process such as legislation or policy. The context of tertiary education has similar articulation at a such structural level which is valuable in this research (*Māori Education Strategy*, 2013; *TEC Statement of Intent 2018-19*, 2018; *TEC Statement of Performance Expectations*, 2019). However, much of this research takes place at the personal level with mainly tangata Tiriti educators. It is in that personal relational space of our teaching and learning experience and practice that I argue the term bicultural has value, at least as a place in language to begin exploring understanding.

Education continues to be an area where the term bicultural occurs and is critiqued, but also is used as an element of scaffolding towards a richer understanding of engagement with the idea of relationship. For example Stewart (2018) argues for a radical rebooting of biculturalism because too often the use of another descriptor creates a new problem of definition and understanding. Instead, for education she proposes "biculturalism is a relationship in which the intellectual and sociopolitical histories of two people are intertwined over many generations" (p. 23). Thus it is unique in each social context, and therefore complex. Stewart guides us to look in Māori education research, particularly kaupapa Māori because like Walker (2004) she

points out that Māori educators and researchers know how the walk in two worlds because they have no choice but to be bicultural. The picture which emerges in her writing is that tangata whenua educators can be a model for tangata Tiriti.

There is evidence-based scholarship for tertiary educators and their institutions to follow. For example courageous leadership has been identified as required for the personal will and professional skill of educators to make a difference in this context (Berryman et al., 2015). The study focused on a response to government policy which drew on kaupapa Māori and an authentic reading of bicultural partnership which honoured power-sharing, Te Tiriti o Waitangi and social justice. A further reading of what this looks like can be seen in *Cultural relationships for responsive pedagogy, a bicultural mana ōrite perspective* (Berryman et al., 2018, p. 3). The term bicultural is used briefly, almost as a scaffolding mechanism of recogniseable language as a pathway to the authors' primary focus on mana ōrite: "This, as a metaphor for interdependent relationships, brings responsibilities to both groups to maintain the mana of the other, and understand the mana of both as ōrite". They describe the philosophy as working both at the structural level, and at the personal level of the teacher-student relationship in which the teacher is also a learner. Berryman, Lawence and Lamont (2018) describe the kaupapa Māori approach working equitably in mainstream schools for Māori and for all learners. That guidance, like Stewart's (2018), can be imagined in a wayfinding sense as like tangata whenua stars for tangata Tiriti navigating their way into unfamiliar territory. While I argue for the term bicultural as a mechanism, a scaffolding step, to begin discussion, the navigating metaphor is employed here to shift tangata Tiriti thinking beyond simple use of a term and into imaginative critical and generative use. This discussion serves not only to refocus the use of the term bicultural in educational settings, but to understand that its use is a starting point which calls forth deeper exploration of responsibility for mana-enhancing relationship. These ideas in education have been contributed by Māori in a Tiriti o Waitangi relationship, and the remainder of this thesis strives to equitably match that intent.

The idea of biculturalism in this section has been used to understand the history of Aotearoa New Zealand through the relationship established between tangata whenua and tangata Tiriti under Te Tiriti o Waitangi. This relationship has been fraught for

Māori. However, the possibility of a different future is being generated in relationship, albeit incrementally, with signs of momentum in journalism education and in wider society. The use and understanding of the common term biculturalism has been problematicised, and while it will continue to be utilised in the thesis, the critiques of a simplistic binary, and of power imbalance, will be maintained. The remainder of this chapter sets out the theoretical framework for this study, research questions and chapter outlines.

1.4 Framework and approaches for relationship

Journalism education has been introduced as the site for this study, and a bicultural responsibility for tangata Tiriti has been established as a starting point. From the earliest stage of this research there were personal and relational dimensions which connected and brought those two sites alive, and which guided my thinking behind the framework for the PhD. The personal and relational dimensions will be described as a precursor to introducing social constructionism as the framework for a narrative methodological approach in the study.

1.4.1 The personal is relational

This is personal, for myself, for journalism educators, and for bicultural responsibility and relationship in Aotearoa New Zealand. In terms of myself, I have two mokopuna (grandchildren) who are Āti Haunui-a-Pāpārangi iwi from the Whanganui River. As Māori they are at a greater risk of disparity and racism in Aotearoa New Zealand than children who are not Māori – facts which were established in literature in the previous section. Additionally, I am a journalism educator and I know virtually all other journalism educators in this country to a greater or lesser degree. I am clear that those I know believe journalism education can make a difference for societal good. Societal good can be identified as a generally common thread in the descriptive labels of the many journalisms listed earlier in this introduction chapter. I argue that for all the academic rigour in that scholarship, there is no doubt that the many forms of, or intentions for, journalism come from a place of personal investment by either the journalism scholars or by the journalists they have studied. Such personal stances contribute to journalism education and to the orientation of this study.

Finally, I agree with this idea that Te Tiriti relationship is personal. Skinner (2017, p. 153) puts it this way for tangata Tiriti as individuals: "Step up and shrug off the invisibility cloak of white privilege". In other words, it is an easy option for tangata Tiriti to leave the bicultural relationship up to the Crown or the institutions that they live or work within. Contemporary privilege, in societal areas such as health, education and income, is inextricably linked to the historical privilege of nineteenth and twentieth century Tiriti breaches. Tangata Tiriti privilege relates at the personal level to our own health, education, and income.

Personal investment by tangata Tiriti in taking responsibility for a bicultural relationship must acknowledge the Māori intention for self-determination. However, Bishop (2008) makes the important point that self-determination by Māori has been misunderstood. It is not about separatism, or about tangata Tiriti relinquishing responsibility for ongoing relationships between the peoples of Aotearoa New Zealand. Partnership is closely intertwined with self-determination, and there is a particular synergy with emancipation and empowerment in educational research. Bishop (1996) used the term whakawhanaungatanga – creating and maintaining ongoing reciprocal relationships – to capture this idea in research which relates to Māori. While Bishop's whakawhanaungatanga research was as Māori, with Māori and for Māori, for this study I connect his use of the term 'cultural consciousness' with his stance that tangata Tiriti also have a part to play, a stance which guides the framework for this research.

1.4.2 Situating tangata Tiriti in a "space between"

Relationship as a conscious space between people requires a framework to hold the space. This study adopts social constructionism (Berger & Luckman, 1967) for that purpose. Berger & Luckman argued that human reality and everything that passes for knowledge in society is socially constructed in a process which is ongoingly objective and subjective, externalised, and internalised. Therefore, social constructionism establishes the relational space within which knowledge forms. Scholarship has extended social constructionist thinking towards the understanding that those who ask questions with others can contribute to society. In this case the questions are asked in journalism education and Aotearoa New Zealand society. Gergen and Gergen (2008) explain that social constructionist inquiry now embodies three broad movements

which not only situate knowledge, meaning, and understanding in human relationships, but also argue that these relationships ongoingly create the individual, rather than individuals creating relationships. The three movements are: critical theory associated with feminist, black, gay and lesbian, and anti-psychiatry; literary theory and rhetorical study which view the world through discursive conventions; and social theory's foregrounding of the social processes which give rise to all knowledge. Within the first movement, critical analysis challenges claims made by empirical science that objective measurements can be made in the social sciences. Gergen (2014b) describes critical theory as inquiry-as-incitement, which captures its future-forming potential. However, he cautions against a critique which becomes trapped in the analysis of discourse itself, rather than imagining what might be. The literary/rhetorical movement understands that we make sense of the world through language. Thirdly, the starting point for all knowledge, both science and otherwise, is the social process.

To put Gergen's challenge in the context of this research, relationships are approached as the origin of knowledge in exploring biculturally conscious journalism education. These relationships involve educators, including myself as a researcher, and wider relationships with the institutions of education and journalism as relational practices. The critical and generative puzzle of where and how bicultural consciousness and journalism education work together is placed in that relationship. It is research-as-action because there is a clear intent of inquiry-as-incitement. Literary and rhetorical understandings are central to the knowledge and discursive meaning derived within these relationships with institutions and individuals. Sociality underpins the layers of these relationships. Therefore, social constructionism as a theoretical framework can be characterised both simply and in complex, interactive, multiple dimensions. It is the "space between" which generates relationship and knowledge, but it is also allows for multiple dimensions to be consciously maintained in the research-as-action process.

Instead of directly adopting any of the multitude of methodological processes which have been used in a social constructionist theoretical framework, I chose to think first with a bicultural consciousness. Any methodological framework needs to be able to build reciprocal relationships, challenge traditional research notions of objectivity and neutrality, and engage in relational discourses. Berryman, Soohoo and Nevin's (2013) *Culturally Responsive Methodologies* provided such a structure. The culturally

responsive methodologies framework does not prescribe methods. Instead it asks the researchers to be mindful of their relational positioning prior to making decisions. The researcher must come to know the "other" to understand how they make meaning about what constitutes knowledge, and who or what controls it within their field of study. To make such a shift, the researcher consciously and ongoingly interrogates their own limited understanding of knowledge production in relationship. As a journalism educator, I foreground my relationship with the field, with the participants in the research, and with my intention in the research for advancing a biculturally conscious journalism education.

Culturally responsive methodologies' positioning is addressed through two complementary approaches, narrative and appreciation. Narrative inquiry is used to understand experience through stories found in institutional document analysis, interviews with journalism educators, and in my personal researcher diary. Narrative inquiry is both a method of collecting and a way of representing data (Bishop, 1996; Clandinin, 2013). The researcher and interviewee co-construct collaborative stories through the retelling of experiences. The interview process begins with appreciative questions for biculturally conscious journalism education guided by appreciative inquiry (Cooperrider et al., 2008; Cooperrider & Srivastva, 1987). Appreciative inquiry begins with the premise that in any system such as journalism education there is something that works, and it uses social constructionist and narrative theory to build from that point. Narrative inquiry governs interviewing and analysis through stories using three interconnected dimensions which frame the inquiry: time; space, both physical and experiential; and relationship. Narrative inquiry processes were also utilised in the institutional document analysis, and in my personal diary keeping as the researcher. Integral in the diary process was a Research Whānau of Māori advisers who were friends, researchers and journalists who provided feedback in a reflexive process which was maintained through the diary. The combination of culturally responsive methodologies in the framework of social constructionism addresses the aim of this study.

1.5 Aim, research questions, purpose

The study aims to explore and develop biculturally conscious journalism education in Aotearoa New Zealand. The primary question is broad and informed by the secondary questions which generated empirical research presented in chapters 5 to 8.

The primary research question is:

How biculturalism, embodied in Te Tiriti o Waitangi, is articulated, and could be articulated in journalism education in Aotearoa New Zealand?

The research sub-questions are:

1. *How is biculturalism articulated in the documentation of tertiary institutions that host journalism schools?*
2. *How do educators articulate their personal experience of biculturally conscious journalism education?*
3. *How is biculturalism articulated in teaching and learning in journalism schools?*
4. *How could bicultural consciousness be articulated as a personal praxis for journalism educators and students?*

The purpose of this study is to inform journalism education curricula, to inform future journalism practice, and in turn for Māori to experience journalism education as a place where their own worldview is honoured as the other founding culture of this nation.

1.6 Structure of the thesis

The thesis has nine chapters, and the first three establish the background and theoretical foundation for the research. The fourth chapter describes the methodological framework and methods used. Chapters 5 to 8 explore findings and discussion drawn from the narrative landscape of journalism education and Chapter 9 summarises the conclusions.

Chapter 1 introduces journalism education and establishes Aotearoa New Zealand's bicultural nature based on Te Tiriti o Waitangi. The relationship of those two primary sites of this study is used to argue for social constructionism as a pragmatic theoretical framework which allows for critical and generative culturally responsive methodologies. Narrative inquiry and appreciative inquiry are introduced as the

methodological approaches which meet the aim of the research exploring and developing biculturally conscious journalism education. The study's research questions inform the purpose of the research, and finally the thesis structure is set out.

Chapter 2 makes an argument for the use of social constructionism as the theoretical framework. Examples of its use are drawn on and challenges to the theory's use are elaborated. Particular attention is paid to the critical and generative capacity of social constructionism which is the central argument for its pragmatic use in this research. Specifically, two critical-generative lenses of whiteness and consciousness help connect the framework to the study's exploration of bicultural consciousness in journalism education.

Education, journalism and journalism education are the focus of Chapter 3. Education literature considers teaching and learning theory, and particularly transformative learning and critical pedagogy. The logic and function of journalism is explored in literature, through its history, its normative claims, and how those claims are valued and challenged. Education and journalism are then brought together, broadly in global movements in journalism education, and then in Aotearoa New Zealand. Journalism educators themselves are considered through literature.

The culturally responsive methodologies of narrative inquiry and appreciative inquiry are elaborated in Chapter 4. These approaches are outlined and described as they unfold in institutional document analysis, in interviews with journalism educators and in a personal diary which was informed by reflective discussions with my Research Whānau. The work of narrative inquiry's three-dimensional analytical structure of time, place and relationship is explained as a key development in this study for further research and for journalism education and practice.

Institutional document analysis in Chapters 5 is the first of the findings chapters. The documentary search for an articulation of Aotearoa's bicultural nature begins by identifying significant influences on the primary narratives of deficit, relationship and responsibility. Institutional documentation is then considered for the five institutions housing journalism schools, which are Ara Institute of Canterbury, Auckland University of Technology (AUT), Massey University, University of Canterbury (UC), and Waikato Institute of Technology (Wintec). Confidential documentation provided by some of the

journalism programmes contributes to the chapter. The final section considers the narrative plotlines which emerge within and across the institutions, including what and who gets measured as deficit and how, and what that means in terms of biculturalism and Te Tiriti o Waitangi.

Journalism educators and their stories of experience over time form the structure of Chapter 6. The narratives that educators connect most clearly with a bicultural consciousness were always deeply personal and at times transformative. The learning stretches from their experience as journalists to their work as educators. Those experiences were then critically engaged with during the interviews and in the writing. The narrative dimension of time is foregrounded as stories of experience that inform not only their teaching of future journalists but also our active relationship in exploring a future of biculturally conscious journalism education. The knowledge which emerges across multiple interviews is characterised as an active grappling by the educators with what they know and don't know. They also face the reality of being in relationship with the institutions of education and journalism on bicultural terms.

Narratives of place, both physical and experiential, make up Chapter 7. Narratives of biculturally conscious journalism education show up in two distinct places: theory and practice. Educators share and explore stories of experience from teaching media communications theory courses within degree programmes, because much of the referencing of biculturalism in documents and interviews showed up in those courses within programmes. Practice captures stories and discussion of educating for practical journalism skills, how skills teaching shows up as something neutral rather than a space in which biculturally conscious journalism education can be interrogated in action. Educator stories provide an opportunity to experiment with the three dimensions of time, place and relationship which I use to personally explore my reactions to the stories as practical teaching and learning.

Chapter 8 is about relationship as a narrative dimension, and explores its complexity in one institution. The document analysis inspired this chapter as a consideration for the future because narratives suggested government and institutions were changing the way they respond to their Tiriti o Waitangi relationships and responsibilities. Put another way, what might government and institutional words look like in action? The

first part of the chapter draws on ideas of relationship through the eyes of educators in four different roles across the institution. The second part looks more closely at a project developed by a journalism educator and discusses relationships between herself, the students and the community. The project is used to think about public-oriented journalism, and thinking about that in terms of a 'journalism of this place' in Aotearoa New Zealand where we have a responsibility to develop bicultural relationships based on Te Tiriti o Waitangi.

The concluding Chapter 9 begins by revisiting findings of the preceding chapters. The implications of those findings are considered and conceptualised, followed by contributions that this study makes to the literature and theory. Recommendations for further study are identified from the study. The researcher's personal diary, which has been an integral element in this study, contributes to a final personal reflection prior to my concluding statement.

1.7 Summary

This research begins from the standpoint that Aotearoa New Zealand's bicultural nature is political, legal and cultural based on Te Tiriti o Waitangi, and that teaching in journalism schools is expected to reflect that foundation. The introduction has argued that tangata Tiriti should be at ease with the other founding culture of this nation (R. Walker, 2004), and that journalism educators, journalism students and graduates should always be working towards a familiarity with that culture to be proficient in their practice (Archie, 2007). Journalism educators are the first people identified in that list because this study argues that the process starts in journalism schools. Biculturalism including its history, its tensions and its value as a starting point has been established. Through these entanglements the consistent thread is relationship, hence the argument that social constructionism is the logical framework for this study because it situates the exploration in the rich space between the founding cultures of Aotearoa New Zealand. Culturally responsive methodologies of narrative and appreciation, which will fully develop that space between, are then introduced before the research aim and questions are set out. The next chapter thoroughly develops social constructionism, whiteness, and consciousness as critical and generative spaces for this study.

Chapter 2 – Theoretical framework, cultural consciousness, whiteness

2.1 Introduction

As ideas of journalism education and Māori were swirling around in the conceptual stages for this study, there were three interrelated givens. The research had to be both critical and future-forming, and it had to be relational. The critical-generative duality grew out of my experience with the closed loop of measuring, observing and critiquing data in bureaucratic processes that I was part of every year to discuss 'the problem' of low Māori enrolments, processes which generated little new knowledge about 'the problem'. The future-forming aim drew on the relational ideal of Te Tiriti o Waitangi. They become touchpoints to which I constantly return: Is this future-forming? Is this relational? With who? How? These touchpoints naturally developed into the theoretical perspective for the study using social constructionism as a logical framework in Western scholarship. After backgrounding social constructionism and its development, this chapter addresses challenges to the way the theory has been adopted and argued, which in turn have led to appeals for pragmatism. Included in that will be a pragmatic discussion within the field of journalism. This study follows the argument placing primacy on relational theory which is critically generative and pragmatic, and which can be transformative. Having established the broad base of social constructionism and its challenges, Gergen's (2014b) idea of reflective pragmatism is used as a way of activating the framework for this research. To assist with that process there are two other sections which become part of a bicultural framework, and they are cultural consciousness and whiteness. They become lenses for the ensuing literature, methodology and the findings and discussion chapters.

2.2 Western epistemology's relational space

Berger and Luckman's *The social construction of reality* (1967) is often used as the starting point for discussion on social constructionism. They connected ideas which had been gestating in sociological scholarship and gave it a name which struck a chord and stuck (Cooperrider & Srivastva, 1987; Gergen, 1985; Hibberd, 2005; Holstein & Gubrium, 2013). Berger and Luckman (1967) argued human reality is socially constructed, which means knowledge is socially constructed by human beings in

relationship with each other and with the world around them. The world is simultaneously externalised, objectivised and internalised by human beings as they engage in those relationships. Berger and Luckman were inspired by the thinking of scholars such as Scheler, Weber, Merton, Durkheim and Wittgenstein among others and it has since inspired further development of scholarship in which this study is interested.

Social constructionism proposes that the subjective reality of being human in the world is first set by one's primary cultural socialisation at birth because human beings are biologically predestined to construct and to inhabit the world into which they are born. From that initial point, a simultaneous process begins of externalisation, objectivation and internalisation for the rest of one's life. "What is real 'outside' corresponds to what is real 'within'" (Berger & Luckman, 1967, p. 133). Language and conversation are the primary vehicle as new objective realities become ongoingly available through socialisation. Berger and Luckman call for us to remember also that no discussion of the reality of being human is complete without acknowledging the biological limitations of our objective and subjective reality: "Parliament can do anything except make men bear children" (p. 181). However, even the human organism is socialised before too many years pass. For example, we often do not eat when we are hungry, we eat breakfast, lunch, and dinner. There is, therefore, a dialectic between nature and the socially constructed world.

Berger and Luckman could see their work opening up areas for concern. They were not arguing for an ahistorical "social system" or an ahistorical "human nature" (p. 171). They also warned against "mere rhetoric about dialectics" and about "distortive reifications of both sociologism and psychologism". In other words, they were aware their work could become trapped in theoretical debates, and so urged readers to consider the practical implications in any discussion and implementation of a sociology of knowledge. They were also clear that their approach was non-positivistic. Berger and Luckmann were not arguing against the use of positivist empirical science which attempts to produce and analyse measurements to understand aspects of societies where an apriori truth may be discoverable. Such measurement has its place. Hacking's (1999, p. 25) words are often cited to make the point that Berger and Luckmann "did not claim that everything is a social construct". However, Berger and Luckman (1967)

charge social scientists with ensuring that their data is used for an "understanding of the subjective and objective reality from which they emerged and which, in turn, they influence" (p. 188). Problems can emerge when the space in which knowledge is generated is not considered. As an illustration, Gergen (2014a, p. 293) reflects on traditional forms of empirical scientific research, using the idea of the captivating gaze to explain the limits of studying for the sake of indexing, or recording, or reinforcing a belief or problems. For example, psychiatry recognised 40 diagnoses in the 1930s, and about 350 in 2000, while in 1950 in the US there were 1.6 million care episodes, and in 2000 there were 10.7 million. As an object of scientific research, mental illness is solidified by the captivating gaze. Instead of such mirroring of what is, Gergen challenged social sciences researchers to be world-makers and to create in society what may become by fully utilising the potential of social constructionism.

2.2.1 Social constructionism challenged and developed

Social constructionism has been adopted and adapted in diverse fields, for example narrative theory (Gubrium & Holstein, 2008), action science in communities of practice (Friedman, 2001), appreciative inquiry (Cooperrider & Srivastva, 1987), action research, relational leadership research including in the Aotearoa context (Kennedy et al., 2012; Lichtenstein et al., 2006; Uhl-Bien & Ospina, 2012), and psychology with transformative dialogue (Gergen et al., 2001) to name just a few. At the same time, this wide-ranging application has been challenged as 'anything-goes' and overly mired in theoretical argument. However, these challenges have also helped to build on social constructionism's central tenets. Three of those deeper developments—pragmatism, relationship, and reflexivity—are developed in this section.

One of the most debated areas in social constructionist scholarship has been whether individuals approaching each other create the space of relationship, or whether the space of relationship creates the individuals. While that is an either-or oversimplification, it is designed to frame the extreme ends of a continuum of discussion in psychology and sociology (Gergen, 1985, 1996, 2009; Hibberd, 2005; Shotter & Lannamann, 2002). Hibberd (Hibberd, 2005, p. 29) agrees knowledge can be socially constructed, but she argues some psychology theorists such as Gergen go too far with constructionist metatheory which embodies a doctrine of relativism where anything goes. For example, Hibberd challenges an idealism and a dismissal of all

measurable individual realities. "The social constructionist wishes to place us (as the constructors of knowledge) at the centre of the universe, and this functions both to wish away the great difficulty we have in understanding psychological systems and to 'overcome' that difficulty from a position of omnipotence" (p. 182). Idealism for Hibberd sought "a reassuring, consoling, kindred universe". Motherhood is an example. "The mother is not yet perceived as a separate, independent entity. She is simply "there", symbiotically woven into the infant's fabric of needs" (p. 182). Shotter and Lannamann (2002, p. 577) argue social constructionist positions in psychology has created a closed system of "imprisonment with the ritual of theory-criticism-and-debate". An illustrative example is debate between constructionism and constructivism. Constructivism centres on the minds of already-autonomous individuals shaping pictures as they approach others, while constructionism centres on the metaphors including speech which shape relations in the act, including the individuals (Shotter, 1995). While happy to engage with such delineation in scholarship, Shotter is firstly concerned with theorists remaining relevant to practice, and in particular education which applies to this research. Journalism education has also been caught in the middle of related theory and practice debates.

2.2.1.1 Social constructionism and journalism

Journalism and education literature will be dealt with primarily in the next chapter. However social constructionism has played a part in its theorising and therefore it is relevant to introduce here. Journalistic claims of objectivity and truth-seeking have been questioned, particularly when journalism is considered as a cultural practice (Godler & Reich, 2013; Schudson, 2007; Zelizer, 2004) or as a social field (Bourdieu, 1998). Debates revolve around the construction of meaning in the journalism field and its effect on the daily and story-by-story actions of journalists who are managing their own subjective reality. In simple terms, journalists are socialised to gather and produce news in a certain way, and therefore news is nothing more than a social construction. Golder and Reich (2013) point out that some journalism scholars "have attempted to rescue journalism from an all-encompassing social constructivism" (p. 675). As one of those rescuers, Schudson (2007) points out that journalists do make the news, but they do not make it up, they make it out of something. As he points out, there are facts in the world we cannot change, for example President Kennedy was shot, no matter

the lens through which one looks at the event (p. 257). To illustrate potential problems in over-theorising journalism, Schudson (2015) uses the journalistic interview as an example of a specific situation and he adopted Actor Network Theory (ANT) which was developed through social constructionism. ANT was developed to understand the relationship between people and things, and in this case the thing is the interview. Schudson found ANT is valuable to help deconstruct relationships, practices, and conventions in the interview. However, he warns that sociology scholars risk fetishising ANT itself. Pragmatically deconstructing the interview, something educators do with students, is the most critical goal. Journalism's pragmatic capacity for searching for and constructing the incomplete truth is a gradual, valuable and ethical goal (Ward, 2004). The journalist is always seeking a way forward with the story, complete with human interactions, and with the valuable goal of providing information to other human beings (Godler & Reich, 2013). Such theorising is not of an imperfect journalism, but rather a social construction of reality which is a pragmatic view of journalism, as taught in institutions. Journalism has a value which is recognised here so that it is recognised and contributes in a future-forming, world-making way to this study.

2.2.1.2 Social constructionism and relationality

Relationships infuse this study, whether they be in journalism interviews, research interviews, between educators and industry, within publicly funded institutions, and in the widest sense of Te Tiriti which brings tangata whenua and tangata Tiriti together. The importance of relationship in social constructionism has already been introduced, including an area of contestation. Some critiques have appealed for a shift in language to a relational sociology to break out of the over-theorised loop in social constructionism (Dépelteau, 2008, 2015; Emirbayer, 1997). Emirbayer made the case that sociologists had become too fixed on substances or static things such as self- and interaction which he identified in structuralist and variable-based sociologies among others. Dépelteau (2008, p. 51) uses the social science work of Archer, Bhaskar, Berger & Luckman, Bourdieu, Giddens, Mills and Mouzelis as examples. He argues their relational claims are unable to get beyond the binds of what he called co-deterministic agency-structure interactions. Dépelteau argues social constructionism has become too entrenched in what he labels co-deterministic theories, rather than true relational spaces. These spaces require sociological imagination and recognition of fluidity of

social processes to remain open to pragmatically addressing social problems and the dynamics of a complex, connected world. "The job of sociologists is not to define these fields in any universal way but to observe, describe, compare, etc., them as they are, with all their diversity and complexity" (Emirbayer, 2013, as cited in Dépelteau, 2015, p. 62). Dépelteau calls this a deep relational sociology.

2.2.1.3 The relational as a pragmatic Indigenous connection

Dépelteau's proposal is useful to ground relationality with a purpose and reality, with social problems, with complexity and connectivity. I use it here to further situate the relational turn in the deepening scholarly engagement of Western and Indigenous relationships, and therefore by extension in contrasting knowledge systems. For example, Kuokkanen (2007) describes the knowledge that Indigenous peoples bring to tertiary institutions in relational terms as a gift which enhances institutions and which needs to be honoured in its own right. Koggel (2018) uses the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada as an example (*TRC*, n.d.). She proposes that the work to come needs an epistemic shift so that coloniser knowledge systems are not the only ones involved. The dynamics, the complexity, and the multiple dimensions at play for nations dealing with the legacy of colonisation require a relational transformation which acknowledges different ways of knowing. She draws on the relational transformation for transitional justice espoused by Murphy (2017): "Relational transformation alters the terms of political interaction among citizens, and between citizens and officials" (p. 119). The tangible social outcomes required by the commission for Canada's Indigenous relationship naturally connects with the Indigenous-coloniser relationship in this study and biculturalism's political, legal and cultural complexity in Aotearoa New Zealand. Relational transformation required in transitional justice is helpful to encompass the legal, political and cultural responsiveness required by tertiary educational institutions in Aotearoa New Zealand. Framing the argument for this research, therefore, there is pragmatic, relational work required in research and practice by tangata Tiriti in tertiary education and specifically in journalism education.

2.2.2 Constructing reflective pragmatism

Contestations of theory such as those outlined thus far have generated an effort by social constructionists to find a middle ground, particularly in relation to evaluation of

research and practice in the field. In the case of this study, it is about finding a way through the relational spaces of Te Tiriti o Waitangi and journalism education with the pragmatism of practice. Holstein & Gubrium (2013) explain that constructionism has been an evolving form and there has always been a challenge for it to show that it is not an "anything goes" research framework (p. 346). It has also been posited as being trapped in a binary relationship with realism (Barad, 2007, cited in Rosiek, 2013). In response to the ongoing debates, Gergen (2014b) proposes reflective pragmatism as a starting point for researchers who on the one hand do not want to be caught by scientific foundationalism, but who are challenged to ensure evaluative excellence in their work. He is far from the only scholar exploring the value of pragmatism as a contemporary articulation. Rosiek (2013) posits reflexive realism as an influence on post-qualitative research, for example in his own pragmatic narrative studies. Gergen (2014b) uses the example of narrative as a diversely adapted form in the type of research discussed in qualitative inquiry, such as this study. A search online using the phrase "narrative method" turned up 12 million websites to illustrate just one form of qualitative study (p. 49). Newcomers and journal editors alike seek criteria for what counts as good work, because the field morphs constantly. Gergen's referencing of narrative as an example is important for this study's development of the methodological approach outlined in chapter 4.

Gergen looks at five widely recognised theories with analytic traditions informed by social constructionism—phenomenology, discourse analysis, narrative study, auto-ethnography and action research, and what might be considered criteria of excellence for each. He uses the concept of communities of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991) to identify criteria. Gergen (2014b) then challenges qualitative researchers to go beyond communities and, instead of being bounded by excellence, to be mindful not to replace one dogma with another. He argues the ability of researchers to go beyond, but not lose sight of, excellence in practice is reflective pragmatism. It begins by clearly stating the goals to be accomplished, and then asking about the practices of inquiry. "The chief question becomes, 'what do we want to accomplish?'" (p. 58). Others include "are there multiple practices that may be deployed? Would it be useful to create a new practice?" (p. 58). However, during implementation, Gergen counsels that there will always be values attached to specific practices of inquiry, which the

researcher needs to understand and declare. For example, the emotional intelligence measurement EQ identifies the value of one person over another. In the case of this study, such values will be monitored through the literature on cultural consciousness and whiteness in this chapter, and through the literature on education, journalism, and journalism education in the next chapter.

Gergen concludes with five points for researchers to consider in methodological development for this study: 1) empirical science is one of many research practices; 2) criteria for research excellence is worthy but should not be legislated; 3) communities of practice can set their own criteria; 4) however these may change over time; 5) and reflective pragmatism is one way of constantly being mindful of that change (p. 58-59). One important line in Gergen's proposal connects this study with his discussion: "With expanding critiques of the Western values saturating traditional research methods (see e.g., L. Smith, 1999) there is a mounting demand for including the world's offerings of Indigenous methods into the social sciences" (p. 57). He challenges the Western research tradition's attachment and search for grand theories in contrast to Indigenous research traditions which maintain cultural consciousness. It is possible to connect his thinking with Berger & Luckman's (1967) desire to see social constructionism as a pragmatic living theory rather than a grand theory. I argue it is Western scholarship's relational space, and that relational capacity is available in theory and practice through Gergen's (2014b) reflective pragmatism in qualitative inquiry.

The remainder of this second chapter, and Chapter 3, will initially establish the elements of a reflective pragmatism in exploring biculturally conscious journalism education. Chapter 3 will deal more pragmatically with the communities of practice involved, namely education, journalism and journalism education. First, however, two reflective elements will be established which will help this study move from mirroring those communities of practice to world-making (Gergen, 2014a). The two elements— cultural consciousness and whiteness—provide critical and generative connectivity to an Indigenous worldview.

2.3 Social constructionism meets cultural consciousness

Reflective cultural consciousness fits logically into this research framework because it seeks to understand how I as a researcher need to be, what I need to be mindful of in the process, and how I am being. I draw on a definition of cultural consciousness Bishop (1996, p. 238) and the participants of his PhD study formed through their shared narratives: "Cultural consciousness as a way of knowing results from a position taken in reference to the matrix of cultural aspirations, preferences and practices that constitute a worldview". Bishop's study was by, for, and predominantly with Māori who, as Walker (2004) points out, have no choice but to be bicultural given the society they are born into. In contrast, cultural consciousness in this study is a critical reflective practice that I as tangata Tiriti strive for personally, and look for in the tangata Tiriti journalism educators in this study, as a world-making intention. To do so, I draw together literature in four sub-headings in this section: Competence, personal spaces, not knowing, and experiential and physical spaces in te ao Māori.

2.3.1 Cultural consciousness begins with competence

Competence, rather than consciousness, tends to be the starting point in the field of intercultural education (Bennett, 2015; Deardorff, 2009; Dervin & Gross, 2016). The field had its roots in the post-World War II development of global relationships and trade and was particularly driven by demand in US corporate culture. After reviewing contemporary models of intercultural competence, grouping them under five broad headings, and producing a table of 300 terms and concepts derived from multiple models, Spitzberg and Changnon (2009) distinguish three hallmarks of these models: empathy, perspective taking and adaptability. They acknowledge that the models share common ground with expanding literature in the Americas, Asia and Africa. However, they note that their distillation of theories relies on the Western concept of competence as an individual and trait concept, which struggles to fit with calls for more relational perspectives. Spitzburg and Changnon warn that Western academic literature's established reliance on competency as a concept will not be easily dismissed, and therefore it needs to be regularly interrogated.

Competency is the term that scholars have used to challenge the capabilities and interpretive resources of journalists in Aotearoa New Zealand in stories relating to

Māori (Abel, 2013; Matheson, 2007; Nairn et al., 2011). Others have essentially delivered the same message, but these three specifically recommend that journalism should look to nursing education's pioneering work under the term 'cultural safety' (Ramsden, 2002, 2015; Ramsden & Spoonley, 1993). Nursing's imperative is relationship and responsibility which requires tangata Tiriti to learn how to think differently about health, and particularly Māori health outcomes. Cultural safety includes an emphasis on relationships between nurses and midwives on one hand, and the health service consumers who differ from them (Papps & Ramsden, 1996). Nursing's innovation created considerable public debate. Importantly for this study the debate heavily involved the news media which turned the idea of cultural sensitivity into an attack on free speech (Ramsden & Spoonley, 1993). Standing up for free speech in the media as being something neutral connects with the idea of meritocracy found in public health research. Deeply ingrained political structures favour "protestant work ethic, self-discipline and individual achievement" (Came & da Silva, 2011, p. 116). Came and da Silva argue those taken-for-granted norms are among the reasons why decades of cultural competency and safety training in Aotearoa across a range of fields have not resulted in better outcomes for Māori. They call for a deeper and wider consciousness by tangata Tiriti requiring "knowledge of whanaungatanga (relatedness), accountability mechanisms, decolonisation and the tools of structural analysis" (p. 118).

Came and Da Silva's list can be viewed as a mix of competency and consciousness. Bishop (1996) discussed a research participant (p. 168) working with tangata Tiriti who had taken responsibility for their own learning to become more culturally competent, and he discussed literature which talked of working toward competency (p. 238). I align this mix with Gergen's (2014b) idea of reflective pragmatism through situating competence pragmatically as a necessary building block for consciousness.

2.3.2 Cultural consciousness is personal

Tangata Tiriti relationships and responsibilities and with tangata whenua under Te Tiriti o Waitangi is the subject of a growing body of literature, particularly as it relates to educational practice and research (Bishop, 1996, 2008, 2012; Brown, 2011; Hotere-Barnes, 2015; Huygens, 2007, 2011; Jones, 2001, 2012). Each of the scholars or the people they write about have reached or strive for what has been described variously

as cultural consciousness (Bishop, 1996), a third space (Brown, 2011), non-stupid optimism (Hotere-Barnes, 2015), a passion for ignorance (Jones, 2001), or a statement of commitment (Wevers, 2006). A common denominator is that there is no competency-based short-cut to reaching those variously described spaces.

These spaces and journeys require tangata Tiriti to first understand their own cultural identity. The beginning of this journey may include recognising powerlessness (Bishop, 1996) or even paralysis (Tolich, 2002). Tolich argues Tangata Tiriti must understand their own culture first. Hotere-Barnes (2015) extends Tolich's thinking in educational research with Māori to propose the idea of "non-stupid optimism" in the face of the fear of getting things wrong, and even negative experiences with Māori. Clearly this consciously reflective journey is a personal one to critically understand one's own taken-for-granted space in the world. Wevers (2006) points out that like any relationship a bicultural one requires an engagement which is ongoingly created. Ritchie (1992) describes an apprenticeship from teenage years into his 40s, and he advises having Māori mentors. Hence, he also counsels that being in relationship with Māori is personal, and so does not claim to speak for other tangata Tiriti. In education settings Berryman, Lawrence and Lamont (2018) illustrate and explain how such conscious relationship in mainstream educational settings need to be operationalised at both the personal level in relationship with students, and at the leadership and governance level. Their advice on how kaupapa Māori can influence mainstream settings for Māori and for all students is valuable in this study because it gives tangata Tiriti leeway to explore understandings in te ao Māori in an authentic reciprocal partnership.

In the process of this thesis, I have reflected on my personal journey towards cultural consciousness, as an ongoing commitment. So far, I have measured it as just over 25 years, which was the point at which I returned to Aotearoa New Zealand after 15 years in Australia, because I had little meaningful contact with te ao Māori in earlier years. That experience gels with Ritchie's guidance that the relationship will always be personal, and by extension different for everyone. This understanding has been important in ensuring I engage reflectively and pragmatically with where others may be on their journey and to have this perspective contribute to the research.

2.3.3 Conscious is knowing, and not knowing

The Māori renaissance has challenged tangata Tiriti's taken-for-granted view of the world. For educators this means systems of knowledge in general, and in practice such as with journalism specifically. For example, Jones (2001) identifies that a major challenge in Western thought tradition is that everything is knowable, even if it is not known yet. Its current manifestation is attributed to The Enlightenment, an intellectual movement which emerged in 18th century Europe. The movement is recognised as having distinctive ideas about religion, the human condition and science. "It held out the prospect of a new, explicitly modern understanding of human beings' place in the world, and of radical improvement in the human condition" (Robertson, 2015, p. 2). Gergen & Gergen (2008) identify that the privileging of the reasoning powers of the individual and optimal powers of for example "cognition, emotion, motivation, self-esteem" (p. 163) was one of the major outcomes of the movement. The Enlightenment naturally spread globally with colonisation, including to Aotearoa New Zealand, bringing with it not only reasoning but the professional competencies of self-control, goals and achievement which were narratives Bishop (1996) identified in his research.

Jones' (2001) research was set in a cross-cultural feminist class and it revealed the epistemological and pedagogical foundation enmeshed in colonial history which creates a "presumption of potential mastery, of entitlement to know" (p. 285). Tangata Tiriti students who thought they were open-minded at times struggled with and resisted what was taught or how. Jones proposes not only a passion for ignorance by the students, but more importantly also for tangata Tiriti lecturers like herself, who have their own automatic reason-based reaction to students. Educators need to embrace not knowing, allow for non-mastery, and resistance in themselves, including resistance to students, as a passion for ignorance.

Personally, such resistance has shown up for me in using te reo publicly for example. After being confronted with not knowing in early attempts to learn, I have only recently applied myself to learning te reo Māori. Research has shown that one of the most effective contributions for bicultural consciousness is tangata Tiriti leading by example and normalising aspects such as te reo (Berardi-Wiltshire et al., 2020; Brown, 2011; Huygens, 2011; Te Huia, 2016). Brown (2011) proposes that tangata Tiriti learning te reo acquire a more critical and searching understanding of the dominant

culture's place in Aotearoa New Zealand to reach what he calls a third space. Tangata Tiriti being out in community can challenge other tangata Tiriti, but it also allows others to ask questions without feeling embarrassed. Brown established that some of those he talked to found tangata Tiriti were aware of tikanga, for example such as not sitting on tables or women sitting behind men in a welcome ceremony, but they were unaware of the deeper understanding in te ao Māori of why. It is those physical and experiential spaces for tangata whenua to which we turn next.

2.3.4 Te ao Māori and experiential and physical spaces of consciousness

Te ao Māori has been defined as a term which is important for this study. Tangata Tiriti, working in institutions which engage with tangata whenua, need to understand the cultural forces, attitudes, expectations, beliefs and values on which a culture is based (Jackson, 1987). The following brief introduction is naturally limited in scope, but I have strived to maximise it through guidance from my Research Whānau, through using Māori scholarship, and by drawing on an example of tangata Tiriti academic engagement with te ao Māori which connects with my own experience.

For Māori the natural and the spiritual are one. The environment and gods who make up that one space are connected (Mead, 2016; Middleton, 2020; R. Walker, 2004). The term for that connection is whakapapa, which includes stories explaining the linear and non-linear connections in this world. These stories were designed as myth-messages which guide people in the present. For example, Walker (2004, p. 11) explains "inherent in the genealogy of earth and sky, the gods and their human descendants is the notion of evolution". They codify relationships and behaviour between human beings and with nature. Middleton (2020) illustrates how such messages are encoded and expressed in news work by Māori journalists using te reo Māori because language and culture are holistic for Māori. These messages also play a part in tikanga which Mead (2016) defines as: "The ethical and common law issues that underpin the behaviour of members of whānau, hapū and iwi as they go about their lives and especially when they engage in the cultural, social, ritual and economic ceremonies of their society" (p. 15). The scope of this study precludes it from going into deeper detail of te ao Māori. However, there is one tangible space which allows for a deepening of awareness through tikanga because it is a place tangata Tiriti can engage with in education, and that is on marae.

Marae are a cultural institution which comprise a meeting space and buildings, all of which have particular tikanga related to them (Mead, 2016). Tikanga on marae can challenge tangata Tiriti consciousness. For example, in a case study involving an educator who was tangata Tiriti, Bishop (1996, p. 125) opened up discussion on how tikanga specifies particular roles for male and female that challenges current Western thinking about gender and power. Bishop's interviewee said a fundamental problem with tangata Tiriti looking at Māori contexts was that they isolated each situation from other contexts. For the issue of gender and power the interviewee said tangata Tiriti such as himself needed to understand the entire picture of power in the Māori worldview, rather than be concerned with who spoke what and when and who sat where during a pōwhiri. Female-male power balancing in te ao Māori are used here to illustrate that there will be tensions for tangata Tiriti to negotiate their way through on the way to becoming bicultural. Personally, I have been involved in traditional Māori welcomes at the beginning of a new tertiary study year where there has been tension about who sits where. I have also had the opportunity to engage more widely with te ao Māori to understand that there is a more complex holistic picture, and that such discussions are for Māori to have, not tangata Tiriti. Embedded in Bishop's wider story was the fact that the educator had ongoingly maintained relationship with te ao Māori and so he was open to wider understandings.

Physical and experiential spaces such as marae have been important for education broadly (Penetito, 2008) and become embedded in tertiary education (Coombes, 2013; M. Durie, 2005), for example in fields such as health (Jansen & Jansen, 2013), social work (M. Durie, 1999; Passells & Ackroyd, 2006) and teacher education (Legge, 2008, 2014). Coombes (2013), who is Māori, explains that there can be challenges in guiding tangata Tiriti students into a marae experience to help them understand that marae have always been places of conflict and encounter where ideas can be exchanged without concern for appearances. For example, he describes the depth of emotion in an early-career example with a tangata Tiriti student as a "lasting source of anxiety" (p. 72) for him. The unstructured and structured process, and the intent of the noho marae as education outside the classroom, or place-based learning, can be problematic and requires preparation (M. Durie, 2005; Legge, 2008; Penetito, 2008). Durie explains different forms of learning on the marae can be confusing for students if

they are not well prepared. Even then, despite good preparation, educators have to be prepared for anything to arise, and even allow structured time for that to happen.

Journalism education programmes have a long history of noho marae experiences. Therefore Legge's (2008) research and ongoing engagement with her use of noho marae as someone who is tangata Tiriti is instructive. An annual noho marae stay was a rich situated learning experience for Legge and her physical education students, opening eyes to their own cultural identity and their role supporting Māori identity. Some of the most powerful moments came in unstructured processes. For example Legge recounts becoming enraged by the comments of tangata Tiriti students, including her swearing at them. A Māori student in the room was quietly in tears. Educators can be managing deep emotions, including their own. Legge reflected that she could have allowed space for compassion for the student comments, while also managing the tension of caring for Māori students in the room. Legge's example illustrates how preparing students for professional practice requires personal transformation along the way and she speaks of having to go on that journey with students. The message is that educators need to have done the work to prepare themselves for exploring Te Tiriti relationship roles, to be prepared to walk alongside the students on their journey, and to be prepared for student reactions and their own.

Legge's narrative research is a model of what Gergen (2014b) proposes for researcher-practitioners using reflective pragmatism. She and the students were engaged in a community of practice, but she was reaching beyond its boundaries for a biculturally conscious practice. Her reflection illustrates the breakdown of four aspects which I have framed as culturally conscious evaluative points in this study. Consciousness begins with some level of competency; it is personal; it includes not knowing; and finally, spaces of te ao Māori and the tikanga involved in places such as marae are rich in their potential for bicultural consciousness. Following Coombes' (2013) guidance to understand marae as a site of encounter and potential conflict, it is possible to witness in Legge's narrative that the marae experience worked on the group in exactly the way it might be expected to. Unthinking racism was spoken about as the students lay on their mattresses around the wharenui surrounded by the ancestors of the marae. Anger arose in the space, and it was dealt with. Such learning, translated as ako in te

reo, can challenge Western epistemologies, which have been described as white. Whiteness is the next critical lens for discussion in this research framework.

2.4 Whiteness

Whiteness is used as a second critically reflective lens in the social construction framework. The final section of this chapter introduces whiteness theory, including research in journalism education which contributes to this study. The place of Māori in tertiary institutions is acknowledged, and finally, the idea of ally work and alliances in Aotearoa education are explained as reference points for analysis in the research.

2.4.1 The chameleon that is whiteness

Whiteness as a concept in scholarship has gained momentum since the middle of last century, emerging in the post-World War II movements of decolonisation, civil rights, and feminism. For example (Sandoval, 1997) explored white consciousness in the post-empire world through the writings of Roland Barthes and Franz Fanon, who found rhetoric created a consciousness visible in speech and signs that imprisoned the colonised. Despite centuries of white supremacy becoming visible in such scholarship which influenced change witnessed in the 1960s, the likes of Sandoval and (Frankenburg, 1993, 1997) decades later were able to illustrate the resilience of whiteness. Frankenburg (1993) used feminism, race and colonial discourses to identify a social construction of whiteness with shapeshifting qualities visible over time and in space. "It is a complexly constructed product of local, regional, national and global relations, past and present" (p. 236). Frankenburg's guidance is valuable for this study's alertness to the discourses and construction of whiteness. Frankenburg suggested the "temporal, spatial and social" (p236) characteristics of whiteness were valuable narrative analytical tools which reveal the racism and dominance it creates.

The social construction of whiteness by white scholars tends to begin with, or pay primary attention to, the invisibility of whiteness (Ahmed, 2004, 2007). However, she also noted the concerns among scholars such Frankenburg (1993) and Dyer (1997) that the increasing academic attention, for example the creation of White Studies, ran the risk of essentialising whiteness. Such essentialising may come in unexpected ways. For example their concerns may arguably have materialised in the establishment in Australian universities of degrees in Western civilisation (McGowan, 2019). Ahmed

(2007) writes from the experience of having brown skin and inhabiting a white world in academia. Her proposal for a phenomenology of whiteness in which "colonialism makes the world 'white'" (p. 153) means even those who do not have white skin learn not to see it. "Spaces acquire the 'skin' of the bodies that inhabit them". For the practice of journalism such spaces would be newsrooms, and for the praxis of journalism education which is the subject of this research they would be tertiary institutions. Ahmed's guidance is fruitful for this study because she situates her own experience with academic institutions. Ahmed identifies habits of whiteness within Western tertiary institutions as the place to identify how an institution is progressing with its diversity commitment. Ahmed's scholarship has shown that tertiary institutional diversity is usually measured in brown bodies. As long as there is plenty of skin of colour in the institution then that is a "happy sign" (p. 164). Happy signs such as bodies of colour and anti-racism research which foregrounds institutional desires for good practice are examples of what Ahmed describes as a sign of resistance to hearing about racism. For example Ahmed and Ahmed (2012, p. 179) talk of a need to be the angry person of colour in response to white academics who think of themselves as "critical". In their eyes scholarship has moved on from identity politics to some sort of higher ground which she describes as "overing", because those scholars believe we have gotten over or gone beyond identity. Ahmed (2007) counsels maintaining a "desire for resistance which can then inform a desire for good practice" as a "defence against hearing about racism as an ongoing and unfinished history" (p. 165). Ahmed's phenomenology of whiteness provides touchpoints for the narratives on which this study is built. The next element of this section consider whiteness in predominantly white journalism education.

2.4.2 Whiteness in journalism education

Ahmed's idea of happy signs were found by Alemán (2014) in her search of background literature ahead of a study into whiteness in journalism education. Scholarship going back 30 years urged institutions to produce more multi-cultural material and "students or faculty of colour" (p. 72) as solutions to mainstream reporting on marginalised communities by journalism education graduates. Alemán explores academic socialisation for signs of whiteness in journalism education. She finds that despite decades of attention to the issue, diversity in journalism education is constrained.

Pedagogical strategies such as drawing on their current networks, interests and motivations constrains the predominantly white class to predominantly white experiences. Multi-cultural or diversity strategies are a bolt-on, rather than embedded and disruptive to the status quo. Hence, looking at race and white privilege in journalism education is always from the dominant standpoint using four discursive strategies of deflection which Alemán recognised from scholarship. The four, individualism, distorted racism, negation, and normativity, use simplification which avoids the deconstruction of whiteness as an ideological system imbued with power. The journalism students observed by Alemán therefore did not have the tools to be able to understand, approach or reflect subaltern racial or ethnic communities. Alemán identifies pedagogy as the central, solidifying space of whiteness in journalism education. Therefore, pedagogy is targeted for change in her findings which focus on what was taught, who it was taught by, and who it was taught to. Part of the challenge is that journalism schools have the twin issues of tertiary institutions as white spaces, and the journalism they teach can be a white practice.

Alemán's work and findings are an important contribution to this study by identifying points of reflection and by also identifying a gap in journalism pedagogy. However, in her study she did not address the teachers about their own personal relationship and experience of diversity. Such relationships are central to this study in educational and institutional settings.

2.4.3 Whiteness, Te Tiriti o Waitangi and institutions

Whiteness has so far been established in theory, and then in journalism education practice, and this final element moves to Aotearoa New Zealand and how whiteness may or may not be identified in institutions which are subject to Te Tiriti o Waitangi. There are government requirements set out in legislation for institutions and organisations which are publicly funded, such as tertiary education providers. Such documents are naturally framed in bureaucratic and legal language of institutions structured on Western models which are critiqued for their whiteness (Ahmed, 2007). However, Te Tiriti o Waitangi does provide a foundation stone which has been utilised to some degree. The work of the Māori Tertiary Reference Group led by Linda Tuhiwai Smith 20 years ago established a strengths-based framework for the future (*Māori Tertiary Education Framework*, 2003). Māori were the focus of the framework.

However, it set out expectations and guidance for the role of government and therefore tangata Tiriti.

Mason Durie was logically informed by the framework in two international presentations for institutional managers later that decade. Exploring the interface between Indigenous knowledge and universal approaches to knowledge and understanding, he described it as a third way for Aotearoa New Zealand to think about higher education (M. Durie, 2005). The paper predominantly dealt with teaching and research. However, two aspects which are potentially relevant for institutional document analysis are Indigenous capability and policies and strategies. He further developed his thinking in subsequent years and identified seven outcome areas which had begun to activate change in the culture of institutions in Aotearoa New Zealand: "1) Tribal participation in education, 2) Māori student participation, 3) curriculum development, 4) campus facilitation, 5) Māori research capability, 6) staff profiles, and 7) effective policies, strategies and decision-making" (M. Durie, 2009, p. 5). Tertiary education institutions that tick these boxes demonstrate social cohesion, which Durie describes as inclusiveness without demanding assimilation. He believed an increasing emphasis on having a Māori dimension in institutions was making a difference. However, he warned that there were risks which good organisational policies and protocols could guard against (p. 17):

> "There has been a renewed sense of partnership built around two sets of traditions, two bodies of knowledge and two cultures. The interface between the two approaches has become a rich ground for expansion of knowledge and enhanced understandings, without assumption that one approach is necessarily more worthy than the other".

Durie's writing is generative and aspirational for an interface which is a third space, and that space logically would not be white in the way Ahmed (2007) describes it.

Durie says little specifically about his expectations of tangata Tiriti leadership at such an interface because he is more focused on Māori engagement. However, the inference can be taken that Māori were acting biculturally in good faith and therefore the other party, tangata Tiriti, may need to take steps to ensure biculturally conscious educational leadership. The work of both the Māori Tertiary Reference Group (*Māori Tertiary Education Framework*, 2003) and Durie will provide reference points for the

narratives which emerge from the institutional document analysis in this research. In spite of the aspirational tone in Durie's words, there has been more recent evidence that suggests institutional spaces may not have moved forward (Kidman et al., 2015; Kidman & Chu, 2017; McAllister et al., 2020; Pihama et al., 2019). This scholarship is specifically referencing Māori and Pacific academic staff and students, and therefore are somewhat outside the scope of this research. However, they may indicate in Aotearoa New Zealand tertiary institutions the same resilience, shapeshifting, chameleon-like qualities of whiteness identified by scholars who have researched whiteness (Frankenburg, 1993; Sandoval, 1997). At the very least, this scholarship adds gravity to the maintenance of whiteness in critical reflection through the study.

2.4.4 Whiteness and alliances

One point of exploration is the potential for alliances between tangata Tiriti and tangata whenua which has been building in literature. For example a study of a publicly funded Aotearoa New Zealand institution which was not in education found that for non-Indigenous to be effective as allies there needed to be: 1) mātauranga (education) through ongoing professional development for all staff; 2) whakawhanaungatanga, acknowledging whakapapa connections both outside and inside the organisation where there should be a 'collective responsibility' culture; 3) auahatanga, auditing and reviewing the workplace and the status of Te Tiriti as core business; and 4) kaitiakitanga committed and accountable leadership which advocates and models values (Harris et al., 2016, pp. 57–58). Institutional racism in public health is the catalyst for Came and Griffith (2018) considering what ally work meant in that field. Five elements are identified for allies who were considered to be maintaining an anti-racism praxis: "Reflexive relational praxis, structural power analysis, socio-political education, monitoring and evaluation and systems change approaches" (p. 182-183).

The term ally has been used in a range of education, tertiary and social justice scenarios including teacher education (Anderson, 2011; Aveling, 2004; Huygens, 2007, 2011; Margaret, 2013; Titonie, 1998). In Margaret's (2013) international study of non-Indigenous people working as allies in anti-racism, recognition of the challenge of sustaining ally work is wrapped up in the following quote: "Being an ally is a practice and a process – not an identity. It is an ongoing practice that is learned and developed through experience" (p. 120). Aotearoa New Zealand has an established network of

educators who see themselves as allies working specifically in Te Tiriti education field (Huygens, 2011; Margaret, 2013). Huygens found those working in the field of such decolonisation education fitted into at least one of four frames of practice: revisiting history, responding emotionally, undertaking collective work, and working toward mutually agreed relationships with Māori. She found that the decolonisation praxis transformed those who took part in it because it became an ongoing practice rather than a process. Margaret's research into non-Indigenous supporters of Indigenous justice, which is what we are talking about here given the inequity in Aotearoa New Zealand, argues that as well as supporting the struggles of Indigenous peoples, allies must engage in separate and specific work amongst their own people. Ally work suggests a personal commitment to be in a Tiriti relationship with tangata whenua. However, Margaret also used the term alliances in her research, while her narratives in which the term is used tends to have more of a structural imagination to it. While Margaret's narratives traced alliances between grass-roots groups, I can see a connection here to the higher level settings articulated by Durie (2009) for institutional relationships with Māori, and particularly with mana whenua in the geographical settings of tertiary institutions. This study reflectively looks for evidence of alliances, allies and ally work through both institutional and personal narratives.

This section has explored theories and notions of whiteness as a reflective lens which is both critical and future-forming for this study. The chameleon-like, shapeshifting nature of whiteness has been considered through literature from the middle of last century until now. Journalism education is an illustration of the stickability of the dominant position of whiteness. Shifting attention to Aotearoa allowed the consideration of mechanisms for shifting that dominance by activating Te Tiriti o Waitangi as a site of relationship within which institutions that house journalism schools, and which come with a legacy of white structures, can be thrown into sharp relief in relationship with Māori. That relationship can be considered at the levels of the personal ally and the institutional alliance for biculturally conscious journalism education.

2.5 Summary

Social constructionism is the logical theoretical approach for this research because its future-forming nature allows for reflective critical theory and generative pragmatism to be engaged with at the same time. This chapter backgrounded the theory building of social construction by using examples and exploring the challenges that argued it had been stretched too far in its use. Significant attention was paid to the challenges in this chapter because they have helped develop social constructionism for this research. Specifically its relational capacity, its connectivity with Indigenous worldviews and its transformative potential in societal justice as future-forming have been connected with Gergen's (2014b) reflective pragmatism. I have argued that the framework allows the use of cultural consciousness and whiteness to be applied as critical and generative lenses. The next chapter builds on these lenses in literature on education, journalism, and journalism education.

Chapter 3 –Education, journalism, journalism education

> Educators have a deep commitment to teaching their students how to most effectively seek the truth and report it. They will continue to do so by inspiring their students to question the status quo, challenge cultural biases, and expose flawed/fake news infiltrating societies worldwide. (Goodman & Steyn, 2017, p. 454)

Education, journalism and journalism education, wrapped up in this statement by Goodman and Steyn (2017), are some of the final words in their review of challenges and innovations in *Global Journalism Education in the 21st Century*. They capture the people who teach, motivation, process, students themselves, the purpose for teaching and learning to understand and practice journalism, and the contribution that journalism education and its graduates can make to the public.

The education section begins with what educators need to understand about teaching and learning. It builds on the critical understandings established in the previous chapters of what is likely to be required for a biculturally conscious journalism education, which is localised but also increasingly impacted by our networked global society. Therefore developments in transformative learning (Illeris, 2014, 2015) form the underlying basis for the shift in consciousness which is required for tangata Tiriti to build and maintain relationships with tangata whenua, particularly when they graduate to perform as journalists.

The history of journalism in Aotearoa New Zealand is so bound up in normative assumptions about the role of journalism in society that it is only in recent decades that tangata Tiriti, and to some extent journalists, have begun to reflect on their past, present and future roles in a meaningful way (Archie, 2007; Stevens, 2020; R. Walker, 2004). The section on journalism backgrounds the deeply rooted Anglo-American legacy in a nation founded on colonisation, with its normative principles and practices which have raised questions of racism (McGregor & Te Awa, 1996), and including journalism's influence on society in relationship with Māori (Moewaka Barnes et al., 2012). Recognition of journalism's social responsibility also has a well-developed body of scholarship, and in a related sense Western journalism principles are also being contrasted with increasingly developed journalism identities in non-Western countries.

The rise in non-Western voices is reflected in the fact that globally journalism education bodies have this century reached agreement on the establishment of a council and a set of principles. Meanwhile journalism education in Aotearoa New Zealand will be shown to have been tightly ruled by industry until this century. However just like journalism, journalism education's colonising Anglo-American legacy runs deep. Therefore considering those roots in this chapter is critical if this study is to do its job and establish what biculturally conscious journalism education could look like.

3.1 Education

Learning is "any process that in living organisms leads to permanent capacity change and which is not solely due to biological maturation or ageing", and it involves a complex set of processes (Illeris, 2007, p. 3). Scanning more than a century of learning theories, Illeris (2007, 2009) proposed two processes and three dimensions of learning (Figure 1) educators need to understand for the greatest potential for learning to arise.

Figure 1

Dimensions and fundamental processes of learning proposed by Knud Illeris:
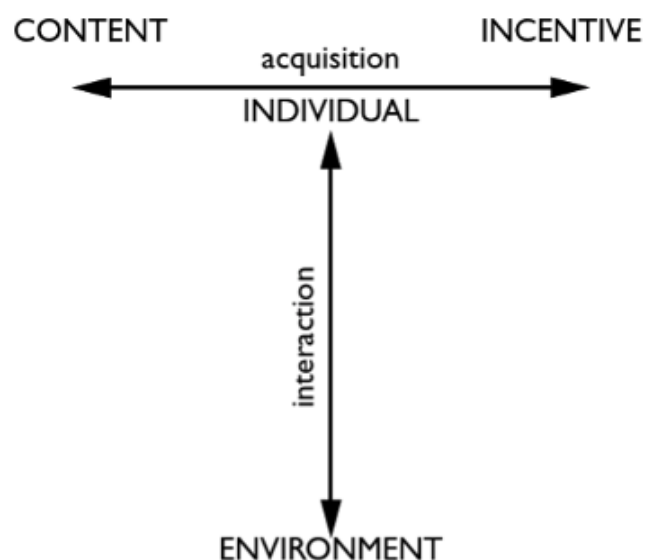
Note: Illeris established interaction and acquisition as T-lines, placing the individual at the intersection, and the three dimensions of content, environment and incentive at the T-points to

understand the holistic learning process. Reprinted from Contemporary Theories of Learning
(1st ed), by K. Illeris, 2009, Wiley. Copyright 2009, by Knud Illeris.

The two basic processes are the external interaction and internal acquisition.
Interaction relates to the social, cultural and material environment. Acquisition
involves both content and incentive. Within that description is the frame for the three
dimensions: environment, content and incentive, which Illeris has situated at three
points on a T, with the individual learner at the junction of the T. Around that were
built types of learning.

The types of learning built up around that triangular model are cumulative learning,
assimilative learning, accommodative learning, and finally a far-reaching type of
learning. Illeris explains that the fourth type has been described in different ways by
different theorists, but for the purposes of this study the theoretical label being used is
transformative learning (Mezirow, 1978, 2009). Cumulative or mechanical learning is
most obvious in the first years of life but can also occur later as a form of automation
(Illeris, 2009). Assimilative learning is the most common type, linking something new to
something already known. Accommodative learning breaks down existing knowledge
and reconstructs it into new knowledge, a process which can be mentally demanding
but can extend the new learning to different but relevant contexts. Transformative
learning is a "very demanding process that changes the very personality or identity and
occurs only in very special situations of profound significance for the learner" (p. 8).
Both accommodative and transformative learning have hallmarks of what is likely to be
required for a shift in cultural consciousness established in Chapter 2.

3.1.1 Transformative learning

It is transformative learning which provides the most clarity for journalism education
because of the way Kegan (2009) contrasts transformative learning with informative
learning. Kegan describes informative learning as pouring more liquid into a bucket,
adding to what we know. For example, in journalistic terms that may be learning new
skills such as interviewing, researching, writing, audio, video and so on. Transformative
learning stirs and disrupts the liquid in the bucket to integrate changes in how we
know. For example, Kegan's description provides a way of understanding how with the
help of transformative learning, journalism students may see that the important skills

they have learned are not neutral and therefore may be performed differently in different situations such as in relationship with Māori. Therefore, this inquiry is interested in the capability of tangata Tiriti journalism educators to utilise transformative learning for biculturally conscious journalism education.

Transformative learning is a process which acts on problematic frames of reference, meaning perspectives or habits of mind (Mezirow, 2009, p. 92). The transformed person becomes "more inclusive, discriminating, open, reflective and emotionally able to change". Those habits may include the sociolinguistic, moral-ethical, learning styles, religious, psychological, health or aesthetic. Pertinent for the situation of this study in journalism education, given media's role in society, are sociolinguistic perspectives or habits listed by Mezirow: "cultural canon, social norms, customs, ideologies, paradigms, linguistic frames, language games, political orientations and secondary socialisation, occupational or organisational cultures' habits of mind" (p. 93). Gender was the original inspiration of research into learning which was transformative for women in the United States in the 1970s. However, race and class have been significant sites of study into the value of the theory in practice (Mezirow, 1978, 2003, 2009). Transformative learning can be a sudden reorientation. It can also be cumulative over time which allows individuals to understand how they are caught in their own history and reliving it. For transformative learning to occur it requires two elements: critical reflection on assumptions, and participating fully and freely in dialectical discourse. The educator's job is to facilitate both.

Transformative learning is not without its issues and challenges. For example, Newman (2012) argues that the term has become so wide-ranging that it has subsumed some of what is simply good teaching and learning, and he suggests that to question transformative learning is to be mutinous. Illeris (2014) proposes too much attention has been paid to what and how transformative learning happens, and not where it happens. Illeris therefore recommends a more rigorous application of the theory. While Mezirow (2009) places the individual at the centre of transformative learning, Illeris (2014) calls for a wider connection to the psychosocial identity, therefore relationship.

3.1.2 Transformative learning and the identity

Understanding identity, as learners and for learners, is therefore critical because identity is both psychological and psychosocial. Illeris proposes the psychosocial is the most significant site for more fully understanding and facilitating transformative learning. Identity is "a concept explicitly including the combination and interaction between the individual and their social environment" (p. 12). There are three layers in Illeris's understanding of identity for education. They are the outer preference layer, the personality layer, and the inner core identity laid down over time.

Figure 2

Identity situated in learning; its core layers; a range of an idividuals' possible identities

Note: Left, Illeris proposed that identity is transformed in learning at the intersection of content, incentive, and interaction (p. 70). Centre, through his research in project-based learning he described three layers of learning, and the core was the most difficult to transform (p. 71). Right, Illeris proposed that while there was a central identity, individuals also maintain different identities in life. For example, in work, family, public and so on (p. 76). Reprinted from Transformative learning and identity, by K. Illeris, 2014, Taylor Francis. Copyright 2013, by Knud Illeris.

Change closer to the central core of one's identity are harder to make. Illeris illustrates how we can maintain family, work, political, national, and cultural identities. Figure 2 illustrates where identity sits in Illeris' comprehensive theory of learning. It shows the three layers of identity he theorises, and an example of an individual's possible identities in daily life. A full identity containing a balance of stability and flexibility usually arrives in a human being's late 20s.

3.1.3 Transformative learning and the educator

Illeris (2015) proposes that the most effective way of embedding transformation in higher education is allowing significant time for project-based learning. He identifies the relationships within the projects as the site of transformation, drawing his premise from decades of developing project-based learning. Much of the focus of this study is the learning environment created for culturally conscious journalism education, and therefore the environment for transformative learning is important to understand. Illeris warns that transformative Learning cannot be taught, it can only be facilitated, and he sets out a project course structure: "Introduction and group formation; problem formulation and practical planning; the investigation phase; the product phase; external examination; post-evaluation" (p. 48-49). Through diagrams, rational logic, and project steps Illeris offers educators knowledge and methods to facilitate the potential for transformative learning in projects. The theory and contributions are clear, valuable and would require effective facilitators capable of managing groups through growth in learning.

However, at the risk of representing the work of accomplished educators such as Illeris and Mezirow simplistically, there appears to be an unsettling certainty underpinning the language of transformative learning. Certainty and logic arise in the language of Western epistemology. Indeed, Mezirow (2009) acknowledges that transformative learning's reliance on rationality and reasoning has been challenged. A good example is when he draws on the connections between transformative learning and transformative action in the critical pedagogy of Freire (1970). For Mezirow (2009), such analysis of ideology and power crosses over into indoctrination. Yet Mezirow uses examples such as transformed learners taking social action and having the ability to critique ideology. Transformation is fine, as long as it is "not primarily to think politically" (p. 99). The active engagement of the educator as both teacher and learner espoused by Freire appears to threaten a neutrality in transformative learning facilitation. Mezirow's critique begs the question: Where does that leave the educator in transformative learning for biculturally conscious journalism education?

If educators are limited by some form of neutrality for fear of indoctrination, then the critical and generative intent of this study that seeks a biculturally conscious journalism education is limited. However, I propose that the psychosocial development

by Illeris (2014) has provided this study with an opportunity to draw on transformative learning and also to use Gergen's (2014b) reflective pragmatism. I argue Illeris (2014) pragmatically anchors this educational literature in excellence within higher education, while my stated intent allows reflection to go beyond the community of journalism in higher education. To begin that reflection I return to critical pedagogy for the specific purpose of reconnecting to biculturally conscious journalism education at the heart of this study.

3.1.4 Going beyond transformative learning

Critical pedagogy is used here as an avenue to think beyond the community of practice to connect with tangata whenua specifically because the theory has influenced the work of Māori and other Indigenous researchers (Berryman et al., 2013; Bishop, 1996; G. Smith, 2004; L. Smith, 1999, 2012). Freire's (1970) idea of educators using critical pedagogy to give those without power the voice to name their world has been valuable for Indigenous peoples (L. Smith, 1999, 2012). Linda Tuhiwai Smith argues that naming the world in Indigenous understandings reclaims the world. The most obvious example is in reclaiming language, place names and the lived history and future they represent. Indigenous epistemologies and forms of research, such as kaupapa Māori, also challenge normative, monocultural forms for the very reason that empowerment and emancipation are their starting point. Not all Māori scholarship has agreed with critical pedagogy. For example the theory's process of 'conscienzation', resistance and transformative action has been seen as too linear and too Western in nature (G. Smith, 2004). Graham Hingangaroa Smith argues that a circular process better represents an Indigenous transformative praxis allowing tangata whenua to enter at any point. He argues that a transformative praxis goes beyond the naming and description of problems and issues, and that a Māori revolution since the 1980s has been engaged in action. Process may be debated, but the intended outcome is the same, emancipation, empowerment and therefore transformation for tangata whenua. Likewise for tangata Tiriti, a culturally consciousness transformation is a generative, world-making ideal which goes beyond the community of practice in journalism education.

3.1.5 Pedagogy of hope beyond knowing

Two related ideas help this study reflect on how institutions and educators may marry the pragmatic steps set out by Illeris (2015) with culturally conscious transformation: These are Ellsworth's (1989) notion of a classroom practice of the unknowable, and the proposal of a pedagogy of hope (Bauman, 2004; Freire, 1994; Stewart-Harawira, 2005). Ellsworth's (1989) ideas developed from her work attempting to use critical pedagogy in anti-racism teaching following violence on her campus. She found critical pedagogy did not feel empowering and emancipatory. Both educators and students can only bring their own race, class, ethnicity, gender, and other positions into relationship. Therefore, spaces for interaction outside class such as potluck meals, field trips and participation in rallies were used. Ellsworth formed her own communication linkages with these groups, which in turn were allowed the freedom to form the communication within the class as a coalition. Not only did such a process challenge critical pedagogy's implied free, rational, and democratic exchange between equal individuals, but there was a recognition that each group could be considered partial within itself and its relationships in the coalition of class groups. Ellsworth proposes a classroom practice of the unknowable as a way of thinking with and through complexity. She contrasts the unknowable with pedagogies which consider objects, nature and others are ultimately knowable, and yet the knower is never so concretely determined.

If journalism educators, students and graduates can embrace the unknowable, including within themselves, then cultural consciousness allows for something else to open up, although as we will find out in the following sections of this chapter, normative assumptions present significant challenges. Ellsworth's work has informed Aotearoa scholarship at the educational interface for tangata whenua and tangata Tiriti (Bishop, 1996; Jones, 2001). Multiple examples and interpretations of not knowing have already been introduced in this study (A. Bell, 2006; Hotere-Barnes, 2015; Jones, 2001; Ritchie, 1992; Wevers, 2006). The multiple formulations of identity and layers which Illeris (2009) theorised connect to Ellsworth's (1989) partial identity which is full of possibility. There is a clear hopefulness in the possibility she talks of. Pedagogy of hope has been adopted as a significant idea in scholarship (Bauman, 2004; Freire, 1994; Stewart-Harawira, 2005). Freire's (1994) development of hope was in

response to the way he felt critical pedagogy had become mired in the critical, rather than his original hopeful intentions (Freire, 1970). Hope for Bauman (2004) and Stewart-Harawira (2005) is a response to the effects of privatisation and neo-liberalism in Western life. Baumann connected hope with utopia. Utopia "means hope: that things may be better than they are, that evil can be defeated, sorrow and despair conquered, and injustice tamed or repaired" (Bauman, 2004, p. 64). Stewart-Harawira (2005) takes Bauman's stance on utopia and hope as the essence of being human and the pursuit of happiness as a collective pursuit. She connects the ideas with her argument that Indigenous knowledge provides access to a pedagogy of hope in the study of culture. Indigenous ontologies in teaching, based on a profound interconnectedness, offer a model for transformative public pedagogies "for a new eco-humanism that is about global peace, global justice, and the sanctity of collective life" (p. 160). It is possible to connect even that limited list with public interest journalism's social responsibility which will be explored in more depth in the next section.

Transformative learning theory and practice is most likely to provide the environment for a biculturally conscious journalism education. However, it takes us to the boundary of Western knowledge because it relies on knowing. Cultural consciousness requires us to go beyond the limits of knowing into spaces which have been described variously as a third space, non-stupid optimism, a passion for ignorance, to name just a few. Gergen's (2014b) reflective pragmatism allows us to go beyond the Western boundaries of transformative learning excellence to consider ideas of a classroom practice of the unknowable, a pedagogy of hope, and of transformative public pedagogies to become springboards in education scholarship for this study. Journalism educators can either choose cultural consciousness or stick with what they know, which are the multicultural norms of what and how they teach. To explore actions for culturally conscious journalism education, the chapter now moves into the realm of journalism.

3.2 Journalism

The digital revolution powered by the Internet has generated significant changes to journalism and journalism education. Journalism has lost its pre-eminent place as the

adjudicator and distributor of news, a place which brought wealth and power to commercial owners and brought influence to public media. "The collapse of old business models, increased market pressures and the proliferation of digital news and information have redrawn journalistic practices and news in the West and other regions of the world" (Waisbord, 2016, p. 205). A common term to describe the change is 'crisis', although others have rethought the use of that term and encouraged an embracing of the changes (Peters & Broersma, 2017; Waisbord, 2016, 2019). Digital disruption will be revisited at the end of this section once it has been established what may, or may not, have been disrupted. This chapter section is divided in four: 1) the intertwined history of journalism and its place in Aotearoa New Zealand society; 2) the guiding principles of journalism; 3) news values and newsworthiness; 4) the influence of these elements on journalism practice.

3.2.1 Journalism's foundations

What we understand as journalism, and the nation that we know in Aotearoa New Zealand, were invented about the same time. It has been 180 years since the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi. It is argued that the journalism we know grew out of the dynamics of politics, economics, language, culture, technology and globalisation from that same time (Chalaby, 1996, 1998). Chalaby argues that the confluence of this list of factors in Britain and the US from the 1850s onwards means that journalism is an Anglo-American invention. He contrasts public discourse produced by publicists prior to that decade with journalism produced by journalists and enabled by political, commercial and technological shifts. Chalaby acknowledges some scholars dated journalism back thousands of years, but he argues against such generalisation. He proposes that commercial and technological changes in the 1850s allowed the invention "of a specialised and increasingly autonomous *field of discursive production*, the journalistic field" (1996, p. 304). Discursive phenomena including norms and values such as objectivity and neutrality and strategies, together with practices in writing became relatively quickly constructed for commercial, technological, and professional interests. Then political, economic, linguistic, cultural, and international factors allowed the subtle infiltration of journalism as sociocultural discursive phenomena into other countries to a greater or lesser extent. Chalaby's contribution has been challenged. For example Schudson (2002) described it as oversimplified, from the left, a reaction to

market forces, and therefore an over-reach. However, awareness of the development of journalism through those forces at play at the very same time as the birth of Aotearoa New Zealand is important for this study because research in this country has traced some of its significant effects.

Colonisation was at its most raw and dynamic in Aotearoa New Zealand in the decades following the 1840 signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Along with the Māori population being overtaken in number, in the second half of the 19th century Māori experienced the illegal and violent theft of land, and the pressure of land acquisition which was supported in journalism (Byrne, 1999; Day, 1990; R. Walker, 2004). Political connectivity including media ownership by politicians; increasing commercial power thanks to mass-printing and telegraph technology; the development of journalistic language and practice; the formation of a professional journalism organisation; and related global networks essentially created a coloniser journalism (Elsaka, 2005; Hope, 2012; Phelan et al., 2012). Middleton (2020) notes that history records a thriving Māori media in early Aotearoa New Zealand but land and language loss, in other words its lack of commercial and political power, led to its demise. The sedimentation of all these layers in a fast-developing nation played its part in not only the creation of a monocultural state but also a monocultural journalism in Aotearoa New Zealand society.

3.2.2 Journalism's guiding principles

The importance of understanding journalism as a colonising factor illustrates an important point of exploration in this study, and that is the fact that journalism does not exist in a vacuum, it exists as an agreement between journalists and their audience. The relationship between journalist and audience is a critical development since the 1850s, firstly through mass media technology such as the newspaper, and later via radio and television, and then through Internet-enabled platforms of the second media revolution (McQuail, 2010). That first revolution resulted in a "logic of industrialisation" because news organisations owned and controlled the means of production (Peters & Broersma, 2017). Such logic created the professional discourse understood by journalists and audiences such as journalism as 'serving public interest' and being a 'public good', 'fighting injustice', 'giving a voice to a community', 'holding power to account', playing a role of 'fourth estate', and being fundamental to

democracy. Anglo-American ideals of accuracy, fairness, objectivity, honesty, public service, responsibility, and factuality were layered onto that logic and routines of news work developed into an ethics of professional journalism. Journalists talk about finding the truth, as though it is out there somewhere waiting to be uncovered by the reporter. Facts, truth and reality become "god terms" (Zelizer, 2004, p. 100).

Those principals over time were used to move from craft-based roots of the press to a professional journalism, although craft-like skills continue to be valued (Elsaka, 2005; Tumber & Pentroulis, 2006; Waisbord, 2013). Consumers came to recognise the profession of journalist. Meanwhile, internally journalism became an interpretive community, one able to adapt and change to societal changes, while also maintaining core principles (Zelizer, 1993, 2010). These principles provide journalists with an interpretive framework which guides their professional practice. However, it has also been found to be a framework which limits the resources they have to call on in Aotearoa relating to Māori (Matheson, 2007). Broersma & Peters (2017) argue that the culture created by a professional discourse over time has locked journalism into a rigid functionalism that has been difficult to change. If Aotearoa New Zealand is built on colonisation in parallel with a rigidly understood, taught, and practiced journalism, then it is logical that the interpretive relationships formed are going to bind or even lock them together. To explore that idea further, it is informative to consider some of those rigid principles together and their impact on Aotearoa New Zealand society and its relationships.

The fourth estate as a notion was first coined in late 18th century Britain, where the historical understanding of power was based on three estates of king, lords and commons (Hampton, 2009). The term fourth estate captured the idea of the press as a conduit of knowledge about what was going on in Parliament between the king and lords on one side, and the commons on the other. By the mid-19th century, when the technological, commercial, cultural, and international conditions ripened, the legitimisation of the fourth estate was ensconced between not only producer and consumer, but also with sources of information political and commercial power, and of course among journalists themselves. Power structures were different in the US, but the term was also adopted thanks to the Anglo-American development of journalism. The fourth estate notion has developed into principles of holding power to account; a

watchdog role; journalism as fundamental to democracy; and giving people information they need to function in a democracy. Democracy, and how it is defined, are therefore locked into journalism principles. Inherent in these historical notions are also a sense of independence for journalism, and some form of trust in the relationship. However, journalism's historical proximity to power has consistently been challenged as problematic. This represents a paradox for both publicly-funded journalism's reliance on political decision-making about its future, and for private news media's reliance on the self-interest of the market (Hampton, 2009; Waisbord, 2016). Guiding principles and paradoxes need to be understood in how they activate and act on the decision-making process to make sense for this study. News values will be introduced in the next element, and then brought together with principals in journalism practice to illustrate their influence.

3.2.3 News values

Journalists guided by principles of the profession make decisions about what is news every day. Therefore, in Aotearoa New Zealand they make decisions about news which affects tangata whenua and tangata Tiriti, and the relationship between them. The idea of news values helps to understand how they have been used to think about what journalists do, but also how they can constrain that thinking. Newsworthiness, the worth of any given news event or topic, is generally agreed to have been first defined by Swedish sociologists Johan Galtung and Mari Holmboe Ruge (Galtung & Ruge, 1965). Since then, news values have been measured and added to by numerous scholars. For example some have gone on to replicate their own take on news values in the digital era (Harcup & O'Neill, 2001, 2017), attempted to apply the idea across cultures (Masterton, 1990, 2005) and applied them in Aotearoa New Zealand, particularly in relation to news involving Māori (McGregor, 1991, 2002). The original 12 factors which most studies still use as a starting point are:

1. Frequency. Any event or topic which arises in a news cycle, rather than unfolding over time, is more valued.
2. Threshold. Events need to reach a certain size threshold to be covered.
3. Unambiguity. Clearly understood and described events are more valuable.
4. Meaningfulness. How meaningful an event is to the news outlet's target audience, geographically or by relevance of local impact, will govern its use.

5. Consonance. Predictable, or wanted news will be valued.

6. Unexpectedness. Surprise is important, but still must be familiar to the audience.

7. Continuity. A headline news event is likely to be revisited because it is familiar for consumers, even if its amplitude is lessened.

8. Composition. News can be balanced across a publication, contrasting light and heavy and adding dimensions to events.

9. Reference to elite nations. Actions of the elite nations, some universal and others proximal, will be more valued.

10. Reference to elite people. People who are famous for a range of reasons will appear more often.

11. Reference to persons. People impacted by or relating to events, including as they relate to acts of free will, are valued in news.

12. Reference to something negative. Unexpected, unambiguous, and fast-moving negative news sells.

Galtung and Rouge (1965) argued that journalism adhered too rigidly to these news values to the detriment of society. They set out a counterweighted 12 points that journalists should consider. Scholarship has pointed to limitations in the study and expanded on the research, adding further news values but also pointing out that such quantitative research itself may mask or not fully explore areas such as ideology (Harcup & O'Neill, 2001). Harcup & O'Neil drew on the observation that many of the same values are found in Shakespeare's plays written hundreds of years earlier (citing Tunstall, 1970). If such values can be found on stage, where theatre continually explores, critiques, and contributes to humanity, then perhaps there is something to be said for them in news. If news values, and indeed journalism, can be appreciated, what light would that appreciation throw on them? I ask the question to draw on three disparate observations from Chapter 2, from Gergen (2014a) describing the scientific gaze, Schudson's (2015) critique of theoretical fetishising, and Ahmed (2007) noting concern about essentialising whiteness in research. Research and practice can become trapped in closed loops and produce outcomes which struggle to be generative. Significant texts relied on in journalism schools globally since 1965 have paid at least some attention to news values as a term, and in doing so have essentialised core news values, and may have limited the imagination of journalism somewhat. This tensioning

of the critique of news values is designed to hold myself, this thesis, and its readers to account for maintaining a generative intent established in Chapter 1. Next, however, I return to some of the negative outcomes of news values which are evident in journalism practice relevant to the context of this research.

3.3.3 Practice activates a logic of journalism

Journalism's foundations, its role in society, its principles and news values all contribute to normative understandings of the way it is practiced. This element of the section begins with a global perspective before focusing more specifically on Aotearoa New Zealand. Given the context of this study of bicultural consciousness, practice will specifically be considered through the lens of race, including with specific examples.

Normative agreements in the relationships which form news work have played a significant role in the way racism manifests in society. Van Dijk's (1991) study of the British press found that news routines—beats or rounds, together with the defining of newsworthy events—are powerful ideological and organisational tools around which elite groups and institutions organise and control their own portrayal in news media. Not only do minorities have less reach than those in power, but they may not be as articulate. Van Dijk acknowledged that news media were not powerless in such a relationship, and that it could hold power to account. Neither was the audience passive because it understood and reacted to the cues of journalism such as headlines and the forms of stories. Longer comment pieces, columns and editorials also served a supplementary persuasive purpose.

Van Dijk's picture of British mainstream news media and its relationship with a power elite can be relatively straightforwardly transplanted to Aotearoa New Zealand because of its colonised history, including the Anglo-American news culture. Stuart (2002) describes it as tauiwi media which reflected its ownership, staffing and target audience as European and non-Māori and thus the dominant voice and paradigm, while Māori are marginalised (Rankine et al., 2014). Challenges to Aotearoa New Zealand journalism's monoculturalism began with the Māori renaissance, starting in Māori media (Whaanga, 1984) and spreading to critique news values such as public interest, topicality, and human interest scholarship contributing to racism (McGregor, 1991; McGregor & Comrie, 1995; McGregor & Te Awa, 1996). Matheson (2007)

describes journalists he interviewed as being aware of their shortcomings when reporting on Māori or Māori-Pākehā relations, but they could not see how facts and objectivity masked white privilege embedded in everyday life. Matheson argues the system is at fault, not the journalists.

Crime reporting in newspapers has been one of the primary sites of tension in the bicultural relationship in Aotearoa New Zealand (McCreanor et al., 2014). Tangata Tiriti male police and justice representatives were the primary sources in the stories analysed by McCreanor and colleagues, while Māori voices were rarely heard. Social context was ignored, as was ethnicity in description when the offender was not Māori. Language which provided ethnicity cues was obvious and recognised by all members of focus groups, no matter what their ethnicity. Typically, the stories were mundane and therefore simply served to reinforce stereotypes. For example discursive representation presents criminal acts by tangata Tiriti as those of a "'bad apple' among the good" (McCreanor et al., 2014, p. 137), while the label Māori represents all Māori. The discourse underpinning monocultural news values then naturally represents control of deviance, threats to a peaceful society and co-existence so conflict is bad, an unspoken normative position of journalistic power even in holding power to account. Māori news was also bad news on a similar study of television (Nairn et al., 2012).

The crime and TV studies were part of a multi-year research into mainstream news narratives and its effect on Māori mental health. The studies illustrate the need for journalists to understand Māori cultural values and perspectives in contrast to news values (Abel et al., 2012; McConville et al., 2016; Moewaka Barnes et al., 2005; Rankine et al., 2008, 2014). This critique of differences in media portrayal of Māori and tangata Tiriti has been consistent (Fleras & Spoonley, 1999; Phelan, 2009, 2012). While the values that journalists use to choose what is news, and what is not, are an issue there are also deeper normative discourses at play—discourses which situate Aotearoa New Zealand media as "hegemonic agents of the dominant Pākehā culture" (Phelan & Shearer, 2009, p. 220). Stories for example about Waitangi Day become "an arena of struggle for competing ideas and ideologies" (Abel et al., 2012, p. 76). Social harmony is recognised as normative for Pākehā media, so any protest, particularly Māori protest at Waitangi, carries a discourse of disrupting harmony. Instead of Treaty breaches by the Crown, media for years used the term 'Treaty greivances' by Māori (Abel, 2013).

The resulting effect on readers, viewers and listeners constantly reinforces messages of Māori as 'other'. This problem has the hallmarks of racism given the consistency of the findings and the fact that it has been tracked for decades.

3.3.4 Considering many journalisms

Journalism's colonising history, its principals of holding power to account, its ideals such as objectivity, its values of newsworthiness, and standard newsgathering practices have some form of concrete-like hold on its professional performance. These rigid structures make culturally conscious journalism practice difficult in Aotearoa New Zealand. However, there are indications that globally journalists may be becoming far more conscious, or at least realising that journalism may be practiced differently in different cultural contexts (Blumler, 2017; Godler & Reich, 2017; Hanitzsch et al., 2019; Hanusch & Hanitzsch, 2017). The *Worlds of Journalism* study drew interview data from 27,000 journalists in 66 countries. One of the primary findings pointed out by Blumler (2017) is the variety of journalism cultures which are different from our own. That alone will give journalism in this country, and this study, a pointer to the fact that there is more than one way of knowing. The idea of multiple ways of knowing prompted Godler and Reich (2013) to question whether they were news cultures or epistemic cultures. This question aligns with Middleton's (2020) research with Māori journalists in Aotearoa New Zealand that there is another way of knowing and practicing journalism. At the same time as these advances, journalism is going through significant digital disruption which promisingly has inspired scholars to think beyond normative journalism (Deuze, 2019; Deuze & Witschge, 2018). This is not happening without resistance. Waisbord (2016) has pointed out that despite the significant changes journalism appears to be attempting to control its boundaries again. On the one hand there is logic in this attempt as journalists think through their role in the face of false news and misinformation, and that role is logically oriented towards the public (Waisbord, 2019). Journalism education's relationship with journalism practice means that it is mindful of these challenges.

3.4 Journalism education

The recent acknowledgement of multiple ways of knowing in journalism is mirrored in journalism education. This final section backgrounds journalism education to

understand the influence of an increasingly networked globalised society, before refocusing on the Aotearoa New Zealand context of this research. A charter for global journalism education was only approved and adopted in 2017 by the World Journalism Education Council (WJEC). The first congress held in 2007 established the council which now represents 28 organisations. Its first congress adopted 11 guiding principles for its professional member associations which broadly encompass three areas. They establish the teaching of breadth and diversity in journalism. "Journalism education is defined in different ways. At the core is the study of all types of journalism" (*WJEC*, n.d.). Secondly, they put the public and its interests at the heart of journalism and therefore journalism education. Thirdly they require global collaboration and cooperation. Each of these three could be discussed as ideas of difference, and relationship across difference.

The World Journalism Education Council represents organisations from countries across the world which may be challenged by Western nations as not meeting the democratic principles introduced in the previous section. Conversely, some of those signatories could rightly question the openness to multiple ways of knowing among countries with a deeply embedded Anglo-American legacy such as Aotearoa New Zealand. It is clear that a reflective global journalism ideal is to some extent in its infancy, but it is an ideal which has a significant body of work already behind it (Goodman & Steyn, 2017). The WJEC endorsed Goodman and Steyn's work, which from its opening words made clear its recognition of multiple ways of knowing and doing journalism. They recognised citizens and journalists doing journalism, the array of vested interests, the emergent field of comparative journalism, and acknowledged the current bias toward Western forms and "efforts to de-Westernise global journalism education" (P. 2).

Comparative journalism studies and related scholarship has for some time been interrogating how and what is taught in journalism education globally. The aim has been to understand both cultural similarities and differences (Deuze, 2005, 2006, 2008, 2011; Zelizer, 2004), and also what may be helping or hindering journalism education's contribution to journalism (Goodman & Steyn, 2017; Mensing, 2011). Deuze (2005, 2006) argue that the idea of community should be at the heart of teaching journalism, and understandings of different cultures should be embedded

throughout degree programmes rather than siloed in a specific course within a degree. Digital communication technologies have not only affected what is taught and how, it has amplified the increasing non-Western voices (Kalyango, 2016). After researching and developing journalism education curriculums in non-Western countries, Papoutsaki (2007) urged the use of research as a pedagogical and epistemological tool which allows for the emergence of non-Western knowledge systems. Like other scholars cited here, Papoutsaki stresses she is not suggesting disregarding Western theories, research and practice for journalism. Papoutsaki's research is focused on non-Western countries, however her recommendations are valuable for journalism educator-researchers in Western countries such as Aotearoa New Zealand with significant Indigenous and multicultural populations. Comparative research is clearly a way for educators to enhance their connectivity to other ways of knowing and therefore her guidance is valuable in this study.

There is significant alternate scholarship which appreciates journalism and illustrates a meshing of ideas which can contribute to journalism education. They include framing inclusive journalism in education as a normative commitment to countering sources of inequality, including racism (Husband, 2017; Rupar, 2017); adapting peace journalism theory to frame reconciliation processes between First Nations and non-Aboriginal communities in Canada (McMahon & Chow-White, 2011); student reporters developing strategies to negotiate their "insider-outsider" status in a culturally diverse US community (Garyantes, 2012); deliberative and critical development journalism in the South Pacific (Robie, 2006, 2013); a secular buddhist approach of mindful journalism ethics (Gunaratne et al., 2015); and project-based learning in different countries (Romano, 2015) and also specifically in Australia as a way for journalism schools to connected students with Indigenous communities (Cullen, 2010; Mason et al., 2016; H. Stewart et al., 2012). Mason and colleagues (2016) use Bourdieu's concept of habitus to track the transformative potential of critically reflexive learning about Australian journalism students reporting on Aboriginal issues. Their identification of the project as transformative has clear connections with transformative learning in projects explored earlier in this chapter (Illeris, 2015). Central to all of these is finding a way of embracing the worldviews of others, so that journalism graduates go out into the world of practice capable of thinking beyond what Ross (2017, p. 1571) identified

as "narrow and essentialised views of difference and/or culture". Such a shift would embrace diverse people and practices because journalism graduates would come to know their audience, something Māori have been waiting a long time for in Aotearoa New Zealand.

3.4.1 Journalism education in Aotearoa New Zealand

Journalism is taught at three universities and two polytechnics in Aotearoa New Zealand. They use a variety of degrees and diplomas which are recognised by the news media industry as producing graduates ready for industry. The degree and diploma programmes of study can contain compulsory and elective courses. Regular surveys of journalism schools from 2012-2107 combined revealed that 80% were of European ethnicities, 12% were Māori, 4% Asian, 3% Pacific and 2% other (Hannis, 2017). At times the surveys consistently showed Māori numbers around or below 10% (Table 1; Appendix 5) and the issue has an even longer history (Stuart, 2002). When those figures are compared to general population census data from Statistics New Zealand (*New Zealand's Population*, 2019) for European (70.2%) Māori (16.5%), Asian (15%) and Pacific (8%), Indigenous and minority groups have clearly stayed away from journalism schools. The census records that 18.5% of the population state they are of Māori descent. There is also historical evidence to show that the journalism industry has the same issue as education (Hollings, 2007; Hollings et al., 2007, 2016; Lealand, 2004), and it has long recognised the imbalance (Stuart, 2002).

Table 1

Journalism education enrolments

	Pākehā	Māori	Pacific	Asian
2012	82%	12%	2%	2%
2013	84%	10%	2%	4%
2014	78%	16%	2%	4%

Note: Figures drawn from New Zealand Journalism Training Organisation reports. Not all institutions provided a breakdown of ethnicity. Full source tables: Appendix 5.

Journalism's legacy in Aotearoa New Zealand is broadly Anglo-American, but its formal journalism education is more closely connected to Britain. Goodman and Steyn (2017) identify literature which tracked a shift from craft to professionalism led by universities in the US, Europe and Australia, driven in part as a reaction to the effects of the

commercialisation of journalism. However, this shift was somewhat slower in the UK. Journalism's craft foundation in Britain grew out of quality control originally overseen by trade unions before being taken over by an industry-guided NGO in the 1950s (Elsaka, 2005). Elsaka found the UK industry oversight model was retained in Aotearoa New Zealand far longer than other Western countries. Therefore, a culture of professionalism developed through university study involving, for example, critical communication studies, has been a recent 21st Century phenomena in this country (Hirst, 2010; Thomas, 2008).

The doctoral findings and recommendations by Thomas (2008) are instructive for this thesis because they critique the history, practices and outcomes of journalism education in Aotearoa New Zealand deeply connected with an industry complicit in land loss, stereotypically negative representation of Māori and monoculturalism. Her research used a case study analysing how journalism students are taught to write news. Thomas established that the news industry controlled what was taught on journalism courses so tightly that it was always assumed to be right. Teaching lacked critical thinking about industry, its practices, and challenges. Journalism educators primarily saw themselves as journalists replicating their own knowledge and learning with students. Thomas argued learning how to write news contained no critical analysis of news values. Instead, students were taught to consider themselves neutral and objective. Repetitive rewriting of multiple stories guided by tutors was identified by Thomas as minimising students' ability to develop their own judgement and therefore constraining them as independent critical thinkers and writers. The career-focus in the programmes was channelled through journalism educators and their industry contacts. Thomas argued this relationship contributed to a lack of critical knowledge about media history in Aotearoa New Zealand, for example its ownership at the time by large transnational corporations and their effect. Students studying for university degrees had been exposed to media critique, but the separation from journalism practice studies led to a fragmentation of knowledge. Thomas recommended changing the weight of learning-by-doing to build for independent critical thinking graduates using self-regulation and peer regulation. Reflecting on her own transformation from industry thinker to educator through postgraduate learning, she proposed that educators required more than just industry experience. Thomas

urged that critical communication theory be integrated throughout journalism education, and therefore journalism educators needed to build their own critical capacity. She recommended that journalism educators integrate learning about discourse analysis, semiotics, and the political economy of communication so that students could interrogate their own writing and not fall into the trap of ideological slants reproduced in the language of their story.

Like Thomas I came from a long history as a journalist into higher education, both teaching what I knew and learning how to teach. Therefore, I understand her findings personally. I recognise the way she talks about higher education transforming the way she views journalism. I often recall a conversation with a long-time journalism educator which took place about a year after I started teaching and began postgraduate studies in education. In response to my comment that I felt I would now be a far better journalist having taken the time to think about how to teach it, he responded: "Yes, we don't do self-reflection well in journalism". His response both captures what Thomas was getting across about critical reflection, at the same time as connecting with the sense that educators still often see themselves as journalists. Industry relationships have been recognised internationally as maintaining the normative Anglo-American culture of the newsroom and the society within which it operates, for better and for worse (Broersma, 2010b; Comrie, 2003; Dickson & Brandon, 2000; Hirst, 2010). Hirst (2010) argues that good journalism education should prepare graduates for critical intellectual inquiry, not for the industry in its normative state.

Mainstream news media socialisation is not just an Aotearoa New Zealand issue. The pressure for what is described as a "teaching hospital" approach has continued in the digital age (Goodman & Steyn, 2017; Mensing, 2011). Rather than help students fully explore new digital possibilities, however, Mensing (2011) argues teaching hospitals can hold students back from envisioning journalism's potential. Also, an issue with this form of journalism is that it masks for the consumer the subjective choice of news, and it tends to require a particular style of news gathering which is demanding in style and lacks nuance (Schudson, 2008). That subjective choice for most consumers of Aotearoa New Zealand news is still made by Pākehā news media which has been critiqued as framing Māori as "other", and a problem (Abel et al., 2012; Matheson, 2007; Moewaka

Barnes et al., 2005, 2012; Phelan, 2012). Therefore, structural influences on education for practice which are described here are important to understand because they create the conditions for normative practices which can produce unconscious institutional racism (Downing & Husband, 2005; Stuart, 2002).

Journalism educators have for a considerable time had the resources to support them in their teaching (Archie, 2007; King, 1985; Stuart, 2002). This study uses that knowledge to listen for what resources programmes and educators draw on for biculturally conscious journalism education. In his article titled *Towards bicultural reporting* Stuart (2002) came closest to guiding journalism educators to think differently by foregrounding for students that the dominant teaching was grounded in "Western democracy, Western decision-making processes and Western narrative styles" (Stuart, 2002, p. 44). By the time of his article a Māori media in print and broadcast had experienced several decades of development and had become a vibrant, albeit a minority alternative. Stuart explained that it had developed its culture drawn from te ao Māori. Stuart's ideal is for all students to be able to produce news in both news cultures, and thus shine a light on racism in monocultural practice which could be characterised as anti-racism ally work. Such an outcome would allow graduates working in the dominant news culture to see Aotearoa New Zealand as a place where there is more than one worldview. "If Māori are expected to become bicultural reporters, then their Pākehā counterparts can becomes bicultural and the same expectations of cross-cultural learning and communication should be applied to them as well" (p. 52). Stuart argues mass media could be a place in which such a radical plural democracy could find expression (Laclau & Mouffe, 2001; Stuart, 2003). Media should be a space where social antagonisms between plural worldviews in society can play out in a way which is healthy for democracy. However, the critique of journalism education by Thomas (2008) makes it clear that as recently as the first decade of this century the industry left little room for deviation from its normative practices. To do so would require giving up the power attached to norms, for example deciding what is newsworthy and what is not, deciding who gets a voice and who does not, favouring one narrative in placement of a story, meeting deadlines before context can be built around a narrative. These are just some illustrations of where power

imbalances can emerge between tangata Tiriti and tangata whenau in stories which relate to Māori, and in Aotearoa every story will have some relation to Māori.

One of the problems identified by Thomas is the professional identity of journalists who become educators and whose place in this study is critical. Scholars have devoted attention to the construction of a professional identity as a new academic (Fitzmaurice, 2011), and their need to maintain value in connection with industry for teaching practice (van Lankveld et al., 2017). Studies recognise the stages, stress and difficulty of the process which needs to be supported by institutions. The experience has been found replicated in journalism education (Russell & Eccles, 2018). People going through this transition period are at best neglected and can often be forgotten according to research into journalism educators, which calls for their experiences to be understood. Of particular interest, given the timing of this study, is the focus "on the 'crisis' in journalism and the industry's future outlook; on the professionalism of journalists; on the evolution of journalism education; and on professional identities in transition" (p. 7). At the same time as becoming familiar with teaching and research, new educators are contributing to the knowledge of students and therefore graduates going out into the 'crisis' in the industry. The critical point for journalism educators going through the early years of this transition phase is managing the transition into education, working through what to teach for students going into that world and, in the context of this study, understanding their own bicultural consciousness. The pressures on transitioning, and established, educators are clearly demanding.

3.5 Summary

Education, journalism and journalism education have been addressed in this chapter. Education established the importance of the 'how' we know ahead of the 'what' we know. Theories of transformative learning, critical pedagogy, and pedagogical ideas such as the unknowable and hope allow this research to understand and also imagine 'how'. Developments in transformative learning provide pragmatic excellence, while alternative pedagogies offer the reflection which is so important in the framework of this research.

Given the changes that journalism, and therefore journalism education, are going through it is tempting to become fixated on them in any current study. However, the

section on journalism illustrates that the catalyst for this inquiry into biculturally conscious journalism education has deep historical roots which must be addressed first. These footings are so embedded in society that even the 'crisis' in journalism is unlikely to uproot them. Changes may provide opportunities in an increasingly networked society globally, but equally racism has a way of sticking around in media. Therefore being mindful of both how things are changing and how things are remaining the same is important.

Journalism education's attachment to these roots in journalism, and its relationship in the academy are at a critical juncture for educators with a long history in journalism. The rupture in journalism and the increasingly globalised networks which affect journalism education provide challenges, opportunities and the requirement of a cultural consciousness. At the same time, transformative learning provides a way of thinking about how journalism educators are learners first. For example when they may take the opportunity to explore comparative journalism education for their own teaching. Their work with students then naturally has the potential to contribute to the practice of journalism itself, rather than be governed by it.

Chapter 4 – Culturally responsive methodologies

4.1 Frameworks for a study in relationship

The methodological framework for the inquiry into the bicultural consciousness of journalism education was developed using a social constructionist approach to the study of social reality (Gergen, 1994, 2014a). Balancing the critical and generative potential of social constructionism as a theoretical framework requires a methodological structure which can hold what may appear to be oppositional forces in creative tension. This section begins with arguing for a structure informed by the idea of *Culturally Responsive Methodologies* (Berryman et al., 2013). The methods chosen, narrative inquiry and appreciative inquiry, are then outlined and described. They include institutional document analysis of the universities and polytechnics which house journalism schools, interviews with journalism educators and a personal diary. Narrative inquiry's three-dimensional analytical structure of time, place and relationship (Clandinin, 2013) are explained and further developed for both scholarly research and for journalism education and practice.

4.2 Culturally responsive methodologies

This qualitative research design engaged myself and others exploring what biculturally conscious journalism education in Aotearoa may look like for educators who are not Māori. Therefore, the study uses Berryman, SooHoo and Nevin's (2013) culturally responsive methodologies as a framework that calls for researchers to build reciprocal relationships which challenge traditional research notions of objectivity and neutrality, and which engage in relational discourses. The researcher is open to knowing the "other" so as to understand how they make meaning about what constitutes knowledge, and who or what controls it in the field of study. To make such a shift, researchers interrogate their own limited understanding of knowledge production, and seek to know themselves in the study. Like other scholars, Berryman, Soohoo and Nevin see the term cultural competence as problematic, keeping the researcher in their own world while striving for some level of competence. In contrast, cultural responsiveness requires a more participatory stance. Such a stance begins with critical consciousness at the intersection of the two major theoretical influences for the methodology, critical pedagogy, and kaupapa Māori theory. Those influences will be

explained as a backdrop before describing the participatory methods employed in this study.

4.2.1 Influence: Critical pedagogy

Critical theory's influence on culturally responsive methodologies is through culturally responsive pedagogy. Critical qualitative research resists dominant methodologies or pedagogies so that critique and empowerment can emerge together (Denzin et al., 2008). Such critical pedagogy values and seeks to understand students' background and cultural experiences to inform pedagogy (Freire, 1970, 1998). Just as the teacher seeks parity with the students in critical pedagogy, so too the culturally responsive researcher views participants as experts in their own local knowledge, and seeks co-construction of knowledge through dialogue. For Freire, this is praxis, or practice informed by theory in an ongoing reflective cycle. Central to the dialogue is the question: Who or what creates knowledge for the topic of the study? The humility of acknowledging not knowing allows into the space a critical consciousness, and allows a space for new knowledge to emerge. Hierarchical colonisation in research, for example situating the researcher as the expert, is resisted. It is replaced by reciprocity, dialogue and building relationship for co-creation (Berryman et al., 2013). Critical social research is not prescriptive, but instead methods and techniques grow from the theory and so research structures which allow for co-creation with participants are required. Control, the ontological development attributed to Enlightenment thinking that human beings can always know or learn to know something, is one of the primary areas of awareness in critical whiteness theory (Ahmed, 2007). Critical thinking such as whiteness theory has developed in Western intellectual thought as a way of maintaining an interrogation of its colonising practises. However critical thinking can become trapped in its own Western tradition of knowing and search for another 'grand theory' (Bishop, 1996). Critical pedagogy therefore requires constant consciousness of all those involved, and in so doing fulfils Freire's original empowerment and emancipatory intention (Freire, 1970, 1994). In *Culturally Responsive Methodologies,* Berryman, Soohoo and Nevin (2013) also acknowledge the influence of another worldview in kaupapa Māori.

4.2.2 Influence: Kaupapa Māori

Kaupapa Māori is research instigated by Māori, for Māori, with Māori (Bishop, 1996; G. Smith, 1992, 1997; L. Smith, 1999, 2012). This study is by a tangata Tiriti researcher and with tangata Tiriti educators. While it is also relating to Māori by contributing to journalism education relationships and responsibilities with te Tiriti o Waitangi, the study is not kaupapa Māori. However, Te Tiriti relationship makes culturally responsive methodologies and its influences valuable for this study so it is vital to understand.

Kaupapa Māori in research grew out of the Māori renaissance over the past 50. Research for Indigenous, by Indigenous, with Indigenous, using decolonising methodologies such as kaupapa Māori (L. Smith, 1999, 2012) and Qaujisarniq (Okalik, 2013) among Inuit have become established in scholarship (Denzin et al., 2008). Smith (1999, 2012) presented kaupapa Māori in a language and context that the dominant Western model could understand by describing the framework as localised critical theory thanks to its emancipatory and empowerment aims which critique dominant, racist, and Westernised hegemonies. Walker, Eketone and Gibbs (2006) describe kaupapa Māori as a movement, as much as a research framework and practise in response to a range of interconnected catalysts which include: the dominant Westernised positivistic research by Pākehā which frames Māori as "the other"; results in few positive outcomes for Māori despite producing results; discusses Māori in terms of deficit; excludes Māori researchers; and does not value Māori knowledge and systems as legitimate (p. 332).

The by Māori, for Māori, with Māori proviso of kaupapa Māori raises the question of how far the influence goes, or should be drawn on. In research terms, Stewart (2017a) proposes that disengagement or engagement with non-Māori as an ethical and philosophical question for Māori to consider what is lost or gained in specific situations. Hence Berryman, Lawrence and Lamont's (2018) gifting of *A bicultural mana ōrite perspective* to mainstream education and how kaupapa Māori has been imbued the work they describe and illustrate. Bishop (1996) says kaupapa Māori is strengths-based and does not ignore or dismiss everything that European colonisation brought with it. Indeed Bishop's research was kaupapa Māori but it used a Western-developed narrative inquiry, which in turn influenced this thesis. Bishop makes the point that self-determination by Māori has been misunderstood, and is not about

separatism or about non-Māori relinquishing responsibility for ongoing relationships between the peoples of Aotearoa New Zealand. Bishop (2008, 2012) explains partnership is closely intertwined with self-determination. There is a synergy with the emancipation and empowerment of critical pedagogy because if the aspiration of kaupapa Māori is effective it restructures power relationships, resulting in autonomous partners approaching each other equitably, rather than in a relationship of subordination of one and domination by the other. The work that Berryman (2018) and her colleagues describe is the manifestation of that thinking to have kaupapa Māori influence mainstream education for the good of Māori, and for all of society. The value for this study is that in the research setting power imbalance can at least be held up to the light for critique, and that the outcomes of this study may be influenced by kaupapa Māori.

Adopting culturally responsive methodologies and its influences calls for emancipatory and empowering thinking about taken for granted actions in journalism education and for the possibility of a biculturally conscious practice. I am a tangata Tiriti researcher involving other tangata Tiriti as collaborators, and I am seeking bicultural narratives in institutional documents which are Western in nature. The influences in culturally responsive methodologies are foundational in this thesis through the rigour they apply to the choice of approaches and methods, to the operationalisation of those methods, including the analytical processes, and to the narratives and ideas they generate.

4.3 Approaches: Narrative and appreciation

Based on the influences of kaupapa Māori and critical pedagogy which Berryman et al (2013) establish, this study used a combination of two methods to address those influences. Narrative inquiry (Bishop, 1996; Clandinin, 2013), and appreciative inquiry (Cooperrider et al., 2008; Cooperrider & Srivastva, 1987) are used to operationalise the holding of critical and generative influences in tension. The use of narrative inquiry is inspired by Bishop's (1996) collaborative research stories in education, mainly with tangata whenua but also tangata Tiriti. He described whakawhanaungatanga as a lived research experience, and the te reo term and its use are defined as: a) establishing whānau, or relationships; b) participant-driven approaches to power and control; c) researcher involvement as lived experience (p. 216). Bishop's work falls into an

Indigenous research paradigm called kaupapa Māori research because it was by Māori, for Māori and with Māori. However he identified narrative inquiry as a Western research process which was closely related to kaupapa Māori. Narrative inquiry continues to be valued globally for its connectivity to Indigenous understandings, and particularly in education (Clandinin, 2013; Rosiek & Snyder, 2020). Appreciative inquiry starts with people's understanding of what works and has also been used in education and particularly in research related to Indigenous, diverse minority groups and cross-cultural research (Batten & Stanford, 2012; Chu, 2010, 2014; Cockell & McArthur-Blair, 2012; Cram, 2010; Michael, 2005; L. Murphy et al., 2004; Sanga & Holland, 2004; Whelan, 2014). The methods answer the stance of this research which acknowledges social constructionism as a theoretical framework which has the capacity to hold critical and generative influences in tension. The methods are shown to do so in the interviews and in the analysis process.

4.3.1 Approach: Narrative inquiry

Narrative inquiry as a method is a way of representing data rather than simply gathering it for later analysis, and therefore it is distinct from the overarching idea of narrative research and the specifics of narrative analysis (Clandinin, 2013). This study acknowledges narrative inquiry as a way of understanding and inquiring into experience and the interviewer and interviewee co-constructing collaborative stories from the retelling of those experiences. Time, place and relationship are three important, interrelated factors. Firstly, the temporality of knowledge generation expressed through narratives of experience means it has history but is always being reformed for the future. Secondly, physical or experiential space is a narratively composed phenomenon of reflection so it will always have a sense of place in relationship with past, present or future. Finally, narratives are the result of a confluence of relational influences including time and place, and in narrative inquiry that includes the researcher who asks the question.

Connelly and Clandinin's (1990) exploration of narrative inquiry was in its infancy when Bishop (1996) used it for his *Collaborative Research Stories: Whakawhanaungatanga*. Bishop translated the concept of relatedness in research through whakawhanaungatanga for the Western researcher as narrative inquiry, by drawing on the work of Connelly and Clandinin (1990). This study, therefore, follows Bishop's

(1996) invitation for Western researchers to expand their interviewing repertoire, and to use narrative inquiry as the Western methodological process which best translates the idea that interviewees become collaborators through the dialogic process. For example, Bishop interviewed six people for his book which was drawn from his masters and his PhD theses. However, each person was interviewed at least three times with in-depth, dialogic semi-structured interviews to construct the collaborative stories, and there were further interviews-as-chat, and secondary interviewees who contributed to the stories and therefore to knowledge.

Clandinin (2013) uses the term "living alongside participants" to indicate the depth and length of the relationship. What emerges is a co-joint construction of meaning through collaborative stories. Collaborative storying recognises "that other people involved in the research process are not just "informants, but are participants with meaningful experiences, concerns and questions" (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990, p. 2). Narrative inquiry goes beyond the sharing of experiences, and takes the researcher into a relationship with the collaborator(s) as co-researcher(s) which requires a shift into their cultural worldview and discursive practice (Bishop, 1996; Clandinin, 2013). We think 'with' story, and that is a terminology I use in the thesis. As a fellow journalism educator this methodology acknowledges that there will be an element of the reverse at play because they are engaged with my questions and my interest in biculturally conscious journalism education.

Narrative inquiry scholarship has continued to be explored and theorised in diverse sites and methods (Chase, 2008, 2011b; Clandinin, 2007, 2013; Gubrium & Holstein, 2008). Rosiek (2013) describes narrative inquiry as a pragmatic methodology, capable of being a bridge between the personal or local experience and desirous narratives of the future without being essentialised in either. Maintaining the balance is the task of the researcher. Clandinin and Rosiek (2012) are wary of some of the divergence from the notion of living alongside participants in their narratives. Research and analysis can result in a degraded epistemic status for the narrative when the analysis of the data is removed from the site of the relationship with the research. This study intends to address such concerns with a layered methodological approach. It draws on Clandinin's (2013) idea of a storied landscape to situate biculturally conscious journalism education itself as the wider narrative. Within that landscape are the

storied lives of the research collaborators, including my own. Drawing on Clandinin's metaphor of a puzzle, a group of methods are pieced together across that landscape. I carry out institutional document analysis of institutions which house journalism schools, primary interviews with key journalism educators, secondary interviews with other educators at each institution, and an autoethnographic diary maintained by myself as the researcher. Each of these pieces of the puzzle added to the overall narratives in a complex, storied landscape of biculturally conscious journalism education.

4.3.2 Approach: Appreciative inquiry

This study appreciates the potential of a Māori worldview to enhance journalism education, and also appreciates the potential for education to contribute to journalism practice and therefore to society. Culturally responsive methodologies in Aotearoa New Zealand require the critically conscious researcher to generate aspirational societal outcomes for Māori, hence the intention to contribute to biculturally conscious journalism education. Appreciative inquiry (Cooperrider & Srivastva, 1987) ensures there is a generative method embedded in the framework to work alongside, and in tension with the critical influences in the framework. Appreciative inquiry's roots are in organisational development, using a four-step process of define, discover, dream and deliver. The key to appreciative inquiry is "the power of the story" set out in Figure 3 because "stories have power to engage the imagination in ways that diagnostic discussion cannot" (Watkins et al., 2011, p. 147).

The basic four-step approach used in organisational development has also been adapted. For example appreciative questioning in the discover phase is used as a standalone tool (Michael, 2005), the first three steps were used with focus group research into newsroom leadership and learning (Whelan, 2014), and the whole process has been adapted into appreciative mentoring in tertiary education (Chu, 2010, 2014). In this research appreciative questions are among the semi-structured questions in the dialogic interview process.

The theory and practice of appreciative inquiry is underpinned by five principles which have social constructionist discourses of generative thought and action drawn from narratives woven throughout. The five principles are the constructionist principle, the

simultaneity principle, the poetic principle, the anticipatory principle, and the positive

principle (Cooperrider & Whitney, 2005).

Figure 3

The power of story in appreciative inquiry

The Power of Story

Universal	All cultures use story to share knowledge, custom, tradition, and learning. Remember the Griots of West Africa who carry the oral history of the tribe, and pass it down from generation to generation. It is only through the story that a tribe knows its history.
Engaging	Stories create relationships; they connect teller and listener and create a shared reality.
Memorable	They are personal, dynamic, memorable, and transmit images and affect.
Dynamic	Stories are continuously changeable; multidimensional; and capable of multiple interpretations.
Stimulate Creativity	Story causes the suspension of our inclination to sort things into categories and causes us to search backward to earlier examples or parallels in our own experience. Stories create the possibility of new acts of creation. One story leads to more stories.
Moves Us Toward the New	While a story causes us to look backward toward a territory we think we have left behind, we also are thrown forward to new possibilities and realities.
Is a Living Thing	As the story is remembered, recounted, and received by the listener, it becomes a living thing. The "aliveness" of the story energizes listeners to pass it on and remains reborn in the storyteller and gives new insight and life.

Note: The power of story understood in appreciative inquiry explained. Reprinted from Appreciative

inquiry: Change at the speed of imagination (2nd ed., p. 147-148) by Jane Magruder Watkins, Bernard J.

Mohr, and Ralphy Kelly, 2011, Centre for Creative Leadership. Copyright 2011 by Watkins et al.

Inside appreciative inquiry, the constructionist principle recognises a group or

organisation as a living, human construction whose knowledge base only exists in

relationship (rather than in individuals). Therefore, language and discourse create

reality, and that reality can in turn generate our sense of the true, the good, and the

possible by asking questions based on the following questions which are remarkably

similar to culturally responsive methodologies: How do we know what we know?

Whose voices matter? Where should we locate knowledge? Inquiry is change inside the simultaneity principle, rather than inquiry and change being separate moments. Cooperrider and Whitney argue that by the very fact questions about ideals are posed by and with human beings, the nature of their social construction means they are the source of our ideas, discourse, research, and social-organisational action. Just as there is endless interpretive possibility in a poem, so the poetic principle proposes that the pasts, presents, and futures of a group or organisation of people can be an endless source of learning, inspiration, and interpretation. When the means and ends of an inquiry are linked, for example embedding a Māori worldview in journalism education, options multiply. The anticipatory principle says images of the future guide current behaviour. Human systems project a horizon of expectations. Organisations, groups and the humanity that makes them up grow towards the light or wither in the dark. The positive principle says things like hope, excitement, inspiration, caring, camaraderie, sense of urgent purpose, and joy in creating something meaningful together are the types of positive effect and social bonding which build and sustain change. Affirmative language such as positive questions are a healthier and more effective way of approaching change than articulating problems to be solved.

There are two broad critiques of appreciative inquiry, firstly that its emphasis on the positive ignores critical inquiry, and secondly that in the organisational settings where the theory had its origins that group process shut down dissenting voices (Bushe, 2007, 2011). However, groups are not part of these methods, and dissenting voices challenging journalism education have been addressed in the literature (Hirst, 2010; Thomas, 2008) and are being managed in critical lenses of whiteness and consciousness (Ahmed, 2007; Bishop, 1996). In the semi-structured interviews critical questions were included in the list and attended to in each interview. In virtually every interview critical exploration of the stories and discussion led to the critical questions being addressed by the time we reached them on the list of indicative questions (Appendix 3). In fact some of the stories in response to the appreciative question were memories of teaching and learning that were not pleasant at the time, but contributed to the educator's future knowledge. That factor supported both what Bushe (2007, 2011) found, and replicated my earlier research experience with appreciative inquiry (Whelan, 2014).

4.4 Methods

This is a narrative inquiry into a complex network of relationships involving Te Tiriti, Government, Māori, government-funded journalism education for practice, and educators to list the most obvious. A framework of culturally responsive methodologies has been brought together to hold in tension both critical pedagogy and the generative intent of biculturally conscious journalism education. Two methodological approaches, narrative inquiry and appreciative inquiry, frame a complex set of methods which are: institutional document analysis, in-depth semi-structured interviews, and a personal reflective autoethnographic diary. Narrative inquiry's three-dimensional approach to time, place and relationship structure the analytical process.

4.4.1 Method: Institutional document analysis

Institutional document analysis was conducted for the five institutions which host journalism schools. They were Ara Institute of Technology, Auckland University of Technology (AUT), Massey University, University of Canterbury (UC), and Waikato Institute of Technology (Wintec). Documents compiled are listed in file images as an appendix (Appendix 6), and as a table in this section (Table 2). The analysis looked for how Aotearoa's bicultural nature was articulated in documents to understand the institutional environments in which journalism educators go about their work.

Document analysis is important because as Prior (2003, p. 4) put it "a university is in its documents rather than in its buildings". They allow understanding through what Smith (1984) in institutional ethnography called textually mediated social organisation and they can help build the collaborative story with participants in narrative inquiry (Clandinin, 2013). Documents may become invisible because they can be regarded as routine. When something goes wrong or an institution is subject to scrutiny they come into their own (Prior, 2003). Document analysis was used in Deuze's (2006) study of multicultural journalism education in Europe. Deuze compiled prescribed literature, learning materials, course guides and assignments, surveyed institution libraries for books on the subject, and how regularly they were used, plus policy and job documentation. In a topical tertiary example, Chase (2011a) used quantitative and qualitative analysis of student newspapers, student government minutes, curriculm, a

calendar of events and website before conducting interviews on how students engage with issues of race, class, gender, ability and sexual orientation. Taber (Taber, 2007, 2010) counselled not to expect document analysis to be a linear process following her narrative inquiry of women in military. Her advice was valuable in this study because aspects in institutional documentation showed a pattern of responding to the influence of government ministry and funding commission regulations and requirements. Therefore I had to spend significant time understanding and establishing those influences in government documentation.

Two types of documents were sought and analysed. The first were public-facing documents which were available on the institutions' websites, some of which were legal requirements and some of which were particular to individual institutions. The second type were internal documents produced and used by educators to communicate their teaching and learning with students. The second type were not public-facing documents. They were provided by some of the journalism schools and are summarised mindful of confidentiality and intellectual property. The narrative inquiry followed guidance that the compiling of documentation can be both deductive and inductive (Braun & Clarke, 2008). As a journalism educator in tertiary settings for a decade, I have lived in the documentation of those settings, in roles which included developing forms of this documentation. Hence in the institutional document analysis, I used my experience to navigate websites and followed emerging plotlines, which were often particular to an institution, to source further documents. Therefore, I am an analyst as a member of the society and culture broadly within which the documents are situated, understanding where I need to go and also making sense of text in documents (D. Smith, 1984). My history maintains the relational nature of the narrative inquiry. For example, on each institution's website I deductively looked for key documents such as the most current council and management structures, strategic plan, investment statement, annual report, programme, and course documents. As a researcher I also went inductively where I needed to go in relationship with the institution's website and with educators, as questions and answers unfolded, identifying, and following plotlines as they emerged. Deductive reasoning is also used in the analytic process of reading documents. Additionally, the culturally responsive framework for this study required that it be both empowering and emancipatory for

the bicultural relationship between tangata Tiriti and Māori. In Chapter 5 dedicated to findings from the institutional document analysis, inductive plotlines and deductive requirements will be shown to emerge under three broad headings, deficit, relationship, and responsibility.

Table 2

Number of documents sourced

	Corporate-level documents	Programme-level documents
Documents sourced which were publically available on tertiary institution websites		
Ara Institute of Canterbury	20	6
Auckland University of Technology (AUT)	36	6
Massey University	30	11
University of Canterbury (UC)	16	15
Waikato Institute of Technology (Wintec)	14	29
Documents sourced in confidence from journalism schools		
School 1		4
School 2		7
School 3		16
Other documents, by following institution narratives, publically available on websites		
Tertiary Education Commission	17	
Ministry of Education	7	

Note: Ara, AUT, Massey, UC programme level documents are screenshots of course descriptions from journalism degree majors, while Wintec's documents were pdfs made available.

A significant amount of the documentation was similar in structure partly due to legal or government requirements or educational norms. Therefore for that documentation I began building a spreadsheet to compare documents and identify inductive and deductive narratives and sub-plotlines. However, no two institutions were the same in the way their documents interacted with their stakeholders such as government funding bodies, staff, students, and iwi. These differences in numbers, illustrated in Table 2, are also a function of the methodology of narrative inquiry, in that the research was fully focused on analysing narrative. I devised a table system in a document adapted from the Cornell Method of notetaking (Pauk & Ross, 2010, as cited in Firth, 2012) within which I kept track of relevant documents, my notes and personal observations as I developed field-to-research texts. A similar document is discussed in its use for interviewees (Appendix 7). In this way I was able to ensure that the layers,

made up of public-facing corporate, public-facing programme, and confidential course-level documents, provided sufficient depth and breadth of analysis of primary documentary data.

Similarities and differences became narratives which framed the institutions and those who work within them. Hence, journalism schools and educators in Aotearoa New Zealand live inside narratives generated by the context in which they operate, and by the ways in which they think and talk about and use these documents. The primary deductive narrative themes of relationship and responsibility were informed by literature on Te Tiriti o Waitangi and by the framework of culturally responsive methodologies. Therefore, relationship and responsibility were specifically looked for in the documentation. Deficit was the primary inductive theme, which means it emerged during the document analysis. Within and across the three primary themes, narrative sub-plots emerged inductively.

4.4.2 Method: Interviews

4.4.2.1 Sampling

The initial sample for the interviews was from curriculum leaders within schools of journalism in Aotearoa New Zealand, lecturers/tutors who may have particular bicultural teaching responsibility, and other staff who the primary interviewee suggested may contribute institutional knowledge. Such purposive sampling suited this research because the interviewees addressed the purpose of the research (Johnson & Christensen, 2008; Patton, 2002). There is debate in the literature about how many interview subjects is appropriate. Denzin and Lincoln (2008) and Patton (2002) agree that the number of interviews in qualitative research is guided by the need for rich descriptions of the social world. One of the major factors influencing the number of interviews was that primary subjects were interviewed in various forms multiple times.

The narrative inquiry was enriched by adopting a sampling mechanism following Bishop (1996). Interviewees could choose to bring into the conversation others who could help fill in gaps, for example expand on their stories of experiences, or contribute to the exploration of biculturally consciousness education in their institution. Bishop used the metaphor of the te reo Māori term koru, the circular shape of the fern frond which expands as it grows and takes shape with other miniature koru

sprouting off the main frond. The koru is a rich metaphor for Māori in visual forms such as art and craft and in spoken forms such as oratory. Like many terms in te reo it is drawn from tangata whenua's close connection to the natural world, or te ao mārama. Bishop translated it to Western research terminology by using the term 'spiral discourse' because the flow of the shape curves out around the frond and then comes back to the branch from which it started. Clandinin (2013) uses examples of the relationship broadening to include others in narrative inquiry. Not only does the imagery of the koru connect to culture, but the spiral also speaks of reflexivity.

Bishop (1996) noted that spiral discourse addressed concerns raised about research intended to affect change. While this study is not framed as action research, it does have an intent to effect change as research-as-action (Gergen, 2014b; Gergen & Gergen, 2008), in tandem with emancipatory and de-colonising intentions. The notion of spiral discourse was explained to participants prior to interviews as part of the information sheet for the semi-structured interviews, and others who were brought into subsequent interviews were also provided with an information sheet.

In total there were 24 semi-structured interviews conducted. To begin with there were four primary sources who were interviewed either two or three times each, making up 10 of the 24 interviews. These primary sources were mainly interviewed face-to-face, with some follow-ups on phone or video call. Within each of those schools there were between one and five other interviews conducted with a range of staff who included curriculum leaders, year-group leaders, communication theory educators whose lectures were compulsory for journalism students, people with primary responsibility for cultural aspects of a course, Māori department staff, and faculty leaders. There were 12 secondary interviewees and two of these were interviewed a second time. During the process of this research the number of journalism schools dropped from seven to five due to falling school enrolments and other financial pressures which particularly affected the polytechnic sector. The numbers are set out in Table 3.

Table 3

Interviewees by type and number

Description	Number of interviews
School 1	

Primary	Journalism educator, former journalist	3
Secondary 1	Journalism educator, former journalist	2
Secondary 2	Critical theory educator	2
Secondary 3	Critical theory educator	1
Secondary 4	Manager, critical theory educator	1
School 2		
Primary	Journalism educator, former journalist	2
Secondary 1	Manager, educator, former journalist	1
Secondary 2	Critical theory educator, Māori school liaison	1
Secondary 3	Guidance role relating to Māori	1
School 3		
Primary	Journalism educator, former journalist	3
Secondary 1	Journalism educator, former journalist	1
Secondary 2	Manager Māori department	1
Secondary 3	Journalism educator, former journalist	1
Secondary 4	Guidance role relating to Māori	1
School 4		
Primary	Journalism educator, former journalist	2
Secondary	Media theory educator	1
TOTALS	16	24

The sampling was deemed to provide sufficient size and make-up across the schools to address the purpose of the research (Patton, 2002). For example the membership of the Journalism Education Association of New Zealand is 32 according to the organisation's 2019 annual report (JEANZ, 2019). Of those, from my knowledge as the secretary for the organisation for the past two years and also president in 2018, only 14 are directly engaged in journalism education, and eight of those were interviewed during the research process. Therefore a majority of active journalism educators were engaged in the process, including the leadership of four of the journalism curriculums, and in turn other educators or people in the institutions who the educators felt were important in the connection with te ao Māori or Te Tiriti o Waitangi. The only school not represented in interviews was Wintec, which has very small journalism numbers, and whose journalism staff were in a period of change at the time. Finally, it is important to note that all journalism educators working in journalism curriculua come under the grouping tangata Tiriti. At some schools the primary interviewees identified secondary interviewees who were Māori working in other roles in the institution.

4.4.2.2 Interviewing

Journalism educators are a relatively small group of people in Aotearoa New Zealand and most meet each other at the annual conference of the Journalism Education Association of New Zealand (*JEANZ*, n.d.). The size of that population of interest influenced the interviewing in two important ways: confidentiality and relationship. The interviews relied on their stories of experience as journalists, with institutional colleagues, with students, and graduates. Therefore, confidentiality was used in the final representation of stories for this study. Confidentiality gave interviewees the power to speak as openly as they wished. A list of gender-neutral names was drawn up and randomly allocated at the end of the narrative analysis and writing process described later in this chapter. There is a distinct collegiality within journalism educators in Aotearoa. The connection is influenced by the size of the group by the fact that they are former journalists who have a shared history of practice or craft (Lave, 2009). There is also a collegial belief in the importance of their teaching and learning work for civil society through the difference they strive to make and that their graduates have the potential to make. This connectedness which I share as a journalism educator was important within the understanding of culturally responsive methodologies. I wanted to strive for reasoning which followed Bishop's (1996) guidance to establish and maintain relationship as the foundation for the research. He used the te reo term whakawhanaungatanga. Whānau, or family, is at the heart of this work. I had established a plan for multiple interviews but they would only take me so far. Instead I relied on a basis of relationality which preceded the research and I laid that relationship in what Clandinin and Connolly (2000) might call the 'storied landscape' of biculturally conscious journalism education which we shared.

The four primary sources drew on stories to think about biculturally conscious journalism teaching and learning. Secondary interviewees were asked similar questions but they were more focused on their field of responsibility or knowledge as it connected with the journalism school. Interviewing began with the establishment of a foundational in-depth, semi-structured interview guide of indicative questions (Appendix 3) which was developed along research ethics guidelines and approved by university the ethics committee. The questions allowed to some extent for comparison and contrast across sites (Patton, 2008). However, at the same time it provided scope

for the semi-structured nature of the interviews to follow their own path based on the educator stories.

After discussing the interviewee's background, localised ownership of the process was activated with the appreciative question about an exceptional example, a high point experience. The appreciative beginning was drawn from appreciative inquiry (Cooperrider & Srivastva, 1987). This study is also informed by Patton's (2002) recommendations that the guide and question wording are critical for achieving quality responses. The following was the broadly appreciative questioning used in the guide: Describe a high-point example in your experience when biculturally conscious journalism education was at its best. You may have been observing, it may have been in teaching, it may have been in your own work, it might have been in student work. Prompting questions which might help are: Describe what was happening. What made it so memorable? How were you feeling? What was your experience of others, lecturer, students, others involved for example in news gathering? If you could replicate it, how would you do it? The stories were many and varied, including experiences as students, as journalists, as educators teaching, in lectures, coaching students through stories, with colleagues, on marae, being interviewed by journalists, at a conference, in their own community, and with family and friends. Given the participants' backgrounds as journalists and educators, and therefore practiced storytellers, the interviews provided a rich, deep well of stories from which to draw.

The interview guide followed Bishop's (1996) description for co-joint construction of meaning through collaborative stories to model cultural consciousness drawing on his use of the metaphor whakawhanaungatanga. I relied on the metaphor to both give me permission to probe further at the time with questions which deepened our understanding of the experience and why it stood out, but also to trust that the story could speak for itself as the narrative inquiry developed through the writing process. At times I also returned to the interviewee with further questions by video call, phone or email. We maintained a critical consciousness that the questions were being asked against a backdrop of bicultural issues in Aotearoa, and with aims which are emancipatory and empowering for Māori and for tangata Tiriti in relation to journalism education. To help deepen this process, as outlined in the literature above, critical frames of reference were adopted under questions which used the terms bicultural

consciousness, critical pedagogy and critical whiteness. For example, the following was one of the indicative questions supplied to participants ahead of the interviews:

> Mainstream news media has been described as a white practice, a Pākehā practice which masks power and privilege in the hands of journalists who choose what is news. Similarly, tertiary institutions in Western countries such as this are described as white spaces. What is your response to those arguments/reflections on them related to journalism education?

Permission was sought for digital recording. A paid service was used for transcription of each interview because due to travel the second face-to-face interview was done relatively quickly after the first, sometimes within three days. Subsequent in-depth, dialogic semi-structured interviews were based on what arose in the previous interview. Each primary interviewee was interviewed twice face-to-face within a short space of time, between three days and two weeks depending on the institution and two of the primary interviewees were interviewed three times to deepen understandings of some stories of experience. The first interviews were listened to up to four times each so as to develop questions for the second interview. Text transcripts allowed for later, deeper analysis in collaboration with the interviewee if needed, particularly after the first interview. The four primary interviewees were sent more developed narrative analysis surrounding their stories for feedback following the field-to-research text process described later in this chapter. The secondary interviewees were sent transcripts of their interviews for feedback. The reason for the difference is that the secondary interviewees played a more supplementary role in the process, filling in gaps identified by the primary interviewees and myself during our multiple sessions.

4.4.2.3 Method: Reflexive diary

To establish a reflexive diary for this narrative inquiry I drew on the developments in autoethnography scholarship which is focused on concern about colonising issues in research (Adams et al., 2014; Anderson, 2011; Gergen, 2014a). Texts such as Adams et al (2014) and Anderson (2011) are designed around autoethnography as the centrepiece of the research, which is not the case here, as I will explain later. However there were considerable lessons for this study in their method explanations. In particular, I drew on Anderson's analytic autoethnography "in which the researcher is

(1) a full member in the research group or setting, (2) visible as such a member in published texts, and (3) committed to developing theoretical understandings of broader social phenomena" (p. 347).

The diary process included documenting and analysing actions as well as purposively engaging in it, recording events and conversations, noting my own effects on the research, noting the effects on my own beliefs, actions and sense of self, recording my own feelings and reactions, as well as those of others. Anderson warns these should not be kept in the diary until the writing began, but should be part of discussions with others in the research about, for example, changes in beliefs and relationships over the course of fieldwork. He also guides the ethnographer to take care that the tasks did not divert attention from the research in its entirety. In particular he warns of the danger of self-absorption, and the way to guard this is to engage with others in the field, and in particular dialogue with data and others. Conversley, he cautions about not letting focus on other elements of field work get in the way of maintaining autoethnographic field notes.

Taber (2007) and Bishop (1996) follow Clandinin and Connelly's (2000) concept of the four directions of inward, outward, backward and forward negotiation of a researcher's personal engagment in narrative inquiry. Inward means my internal conditions from feelings to reactions and to dispositions, outward means toward my environment and contexts, and backward and forward mean time, past, present and future. To a great extent the guidance of Bishop (1996) in whakawhanaungatanga was relied on to mitigate all of these warning signals. However, reactions were just as valuable because they can flag points of tensions for deeper engagement in narrative inquiry (Clandinin et al., 2009). The challenge of maintaining conscious engagement with the four directions should not be underestimated, and at times was relentless. Inward, outward, backward and forward reflection is not something to switch on and off but something to be lived daily. I experienced the struggle of maintaining that lived experience in diary form and my committment to an autoethnographic practice alongside the research has flowed but often ebbed.

The reflexive diary has been an ongoing negotiation involving a focus on the relationships between myself and other journalism educators, and the critical

reflection required to maintain awareness of frames of reference identified in the literature, specifically bicultural consciousness, critical pedagogy and critical whiteness. In this way the diary was a significant mechanism for the probing of the power, control and worldviews of myself and the participants in our narrative inquiry and our actions. The diary added to the inward, outward, backward and forward testing of our personal values and perspectives. The diary assisted me to maintain the critical tension between a horizon of culturally conscious journalism education under Te Tiriti o Waitangi, a recognition of our shared histories of potential deficit under Te Tiriti, and the reality that we tangata Tiriti journalism educators were currently the only ones responsible in the journalism education classrooms for doing something about the issue.

In the interview and analysis phases of the inquiry I have been conscious that the writing has actively informed that process. At times it has been a copy and paste process as soon as the diary entry is written. However, at other times the diarising within days or weeks generated new directions in the analysis and writing stages. That generative outcome of the diarising in the middle of research processes connects to Anderson's (2011) counsel about the diary not being writing that is returned to later. However, the historical diary can be returned to and reviewed and may contribute further knowledge. The diarising generated discussion with supervision and with peers, and contributed to regular conference and symposium presentations about progress. In fact, Anderson's guidance about a diary generating discussion with others in the midst of the research connects with an aspect which helped maintain the integrity of the research framework, my Research Whānau.

4.4.2.4 Research Whānau

This research involves a tangata Tiriti researcher, myself, engaging with mostly tangata Tiriti participants and Western tertiary institutions. However there are many times when the Māori worldview and knowledge are involved, and at these times guidance is required. Not only that, but the study intends to contribute to biculturally conscious journalism education, and has committed to a framework of culturally responsive methodologies. The study, therefore, adopted one of the practises Came (2013) put in place for ethical research when engaging with issues relating to Māori, and that is a Research Whānau. The Research Whānau become kaitiaki (guardians) of mātauranga Māori, relied on for wisdom and guidance to ensure the work was tika, or right.

For this research, therefore, I similarly chose a model of separate journalism studies academic supervision, and te ao Māori and mātauranga Māori guidance through Research Whānau. The Research Whānau of advisers are outside of the central focus of the research, and are kaitiaki of Māori knowledge and Māori journalism knowledge. Came's Research Whānau were all drawn from the health field of her research (personal communication, February 10, 2016). One of the challenges I faced is that I had worked with only a limited number of Māori journalists, and therefore my Research Whānau differs from that outlined by Came. My group consists of two journalists and two non-journalist members. Over the life of the research there were formal meetings but many ongoing individual or small-group discussions, including reading of texts and feedback. My Research Whānau members endorsed the research design, have offered guidance on presentations of progress at conferences and symposiums, and have read drafts of writing.

Came (2013) notes that for tangata Tiriti researchers to engage with issues relating to Māori assumes a base level understanding of a Māori worldview which may need to be developed among some non-Māori researchers. I had enough base knowledge through a range of factors: I have facilitated a Māori module in a journalism programme for five years with the support of Māori colleagues; I have completed a level one Te Reo Māori language course and began level two during the research; I have received informal guidance over 25 years from the Research Whānau chair who also has experience in governance; I have devoted considerable time in research of Māori scholarship and kaupapa Māori for this study; and I have connected regularly with another member of my Research Whānau as part of MAI ki Aronui, the university branch of a national organisation which supports Māori and Indigenous scholars and those contributing to relation research such as this study.

4.4.2.4 Analysis

The analytical complexity of narrative inquiry is captured in the imagery of Clandinin and Connelly's (2000) description that the collaborators are in a storied landscape populated by storied lives. Pertinent to this study is the reflection as narrative inquiry researchers working with a study which included Indigenous relationship (Clandinin et al., 2015). The researchers recommend taking on six practices inside and outside the research to develop the consciousness required. Learning through practice; continuing

to stay at it with others; staying with thinking with stories; not just telling, but retelling the stories of others; bumping against dominant institutional plotlines; bumping within ourselves; and regular practise. Within those six points can be seen methodological elements of this research, including retelling of stories, institutional plotlines, and the researcher-as-learner bumping within themselves as they maintain a relentless practice.

Given that this interview process was not conventional, but complex, prior to its commencement a pilot interview was run to prepare myself. The pilot was valuable in preparing me for some of the basic process. However the six points were only fully moved from theory to practice as the narrative inquiry progressed and particularly when it reached the analytical phase. What helped significantly were two inter-woven processes (Clandinin, 2013; Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). The first was the three stages of the interview-analysis process: a) the gathering of the field texts; b) field-to-research texts; and c) research texts. The second, built into stages b) and c) was the three-dimensional narrative analysis space which I was able to enhance through connecting it with the journalism education storytelling.

Stage one: field texts
Stepping through the phases was a time of moving from a close personal relationship with the participant, to a relationship which is more removed. Clandinin (2013) explains that this process requires management and she advises seeing the texts and the development of the analytical narrative as maintaining the relational space with the participant. Unlike other qualitative processes which allow participant checking of transcripts for fact-checking, the narrative inquiry potentially involved an extended, back-and-forth process to further engage, negotiate, and go deeper in experience with participants. Every collaborative relationship was different, and some involved more discussion than others.

After the first primary interviews, recordings were listened to and further questions were developed. The interviews provided rich and deep stories and discussion to inform further questioning. The high point stories provided the first layer of coding for the follow-up interviews. Some also involved a third interview, and also there were interviews-as-chat including phone calls, emails or digital video calls to clarify points.

This back-and-forth dialogue with each of the primary interviewees was one of the layers of mechanism built to ensure that the conclusions were not simply presented as expressions of personal values and perspectives, but rather had been critiqued through critical use of cultural consciousness and whiteness.

Stage two: field-to-research texts and three-dimensional holograms
After the second interview a field-to-research text was developed. The texts were either developed into sections around individual stories or the stories were grouped into themes. To collate these ideas I adapted the Cornell Method (Pauk & Ross, 2010, as cited in Firth, 2012) I referred to in earlier institutional document analysis, developing tables within which I contained story text, added keywords, noted relevant literature and developed early writing notes (Appendix 7). The resulting texts, along with the second interview transcription, were sent to the interviewees. The field-to-research text therefore became a further layer in the process of ensuring that narrative inquiry and appreciative inquiry were used effectively, but also as a check that the data compiled was rich, comprehensive and accurate.

Bishop used thematic analysis in his process with his collaborators. However, I relied to a greater extent on the three-dimensional narrative analysis space described by Clandinin & Connolly (2000). The three-dimensional space is formed by time, place, and relationship. Time as a dimension in narratives means the past is always being reformed now in the retelling and including with the future in mind. The place dimension is a physical and experiential space, connected with past, present or future, and also in relationship with those involved, for example at the time of an event or in the retelling. In the relationship dimension, narratives are the result of a confluence of social influences with people, with time and place or experiential space. A point worth noting is that the third dimension has been labelled in different ways, for example sociality, the social, the relational, relationality and relationship, as narrative inquiry scholarship has developed (Clandinin, 2007, 2013; Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Connelly & Clandinin, 1990). The various terms used strive to convey as deeply as possible to the reader the complexity of the social world alive in the three-dimensional space. Of further value for this research is the fact that Frankenburg (1993) used the three dimensions of time, place and the social to reinforce the complex shape-shifting resilience of whiteness. For clarity in this thesis, the term relationship will be used

primarily, although the terms sociality, the social, relational and relationality may be used in tandem.

Figure 4

A visualisation of the three-dimensional analytical space.
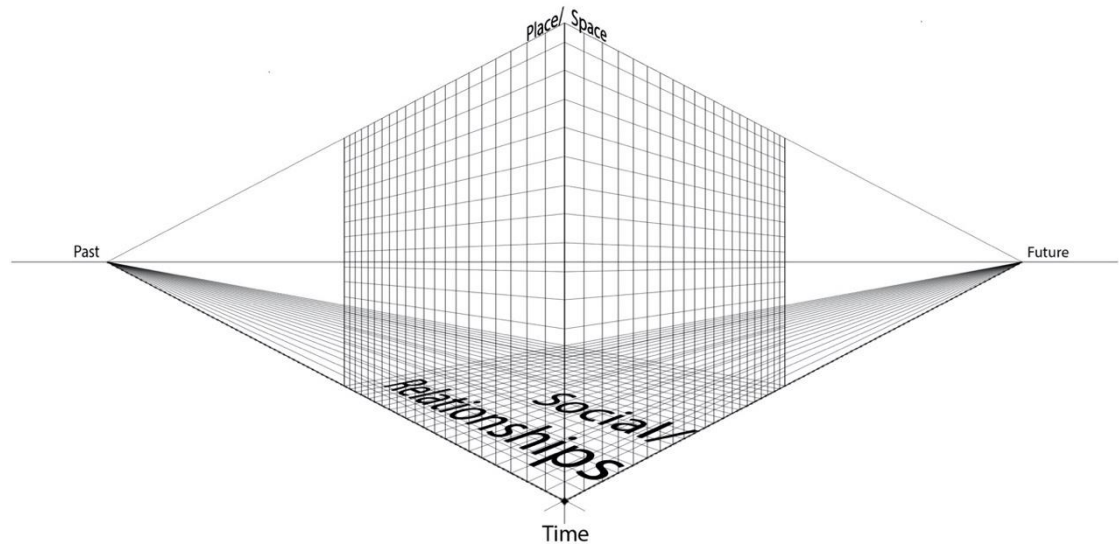
The three-dimensional space became a visual reference for me for which I have developed a diagram using Adobe Illustrator to assist in understanding the imaginary space (Figure 4). I developed the idea of a hologram and would even physically walk around the space which, while it was imagined, relied on real events retold by participants. Each of the stories was put inside the 3D space so that, as well as the words from the interviewee as audio and textual transcription on screen, I was able to visualise to some extent what was going on and ask myself questions. Is this really what I am seeing? What else could be going on with the other elements intersecting? Are there unseen or unheard drivers in the story which need acknowledging. How does time influence this retelling, in other words what is the educator drawing on to think now and about the future? Does the physical or experiential space, in the past or now, have a role? What relationships are acting on the storyteller, on the story, on the people in the story, in time, or as a sense of place, including now in the retelling? All the time, within the space, is the participant's own, personal, understanding of experience being told and retold, and possibly being reformed. To help connect with the idea of the three-dimensional space, following are three vignettes which help to illustrate in different ways multiple possible dimensions of the same experience.

Vignette one: The first vignette is of three individual stories told by interviewees about the same physical event. The event was a public research seminar presented by a visiting journalism scholar from overseas. The seminar was based on the scholar's work drawn from interviews with Māori journalists. Three different participants in this study cited the seminar to make a different point. One interviewee contrasted his own lack of action in learning te reo Māori with that of the visitor, who had done the work so that he could introduce himself on formal occasions in Aotearoa, including in the seminar in question. He delivered his own mihi in te reo at the beginning of the seminar, and the interviewee praised the visiting scholar for devoting the time and effort to do so. Another participant cited the event as an example of the important role that teaching and research institutions have in critical research, even if it is contentious. The scholar's journal articles have been critiqued because he is not Māori but is studying Māori. There is a body of critical studies which show that historically research of Māori across many fields has been conducted by non-Māori and tangata whenua have not received anything in return (Bishop, 1996; L. Smith, 2012). Those Māori scholars explain that such a critique was the catalyst for the development of kaupapa Māori research theory because it is by Māori, with Māori, for Māori. The third interviewee was Māori, and he recounted the seminar from a lived kaupapa Māori perspective. During the panel discussion he challenged the visitor about what he was giving back to Māori with his research. While there was one physical place, each of the people in that space brought different personal trajectories into the three-dimensional space framed by time, place and relationship and experienced the space in a different way. This story has been used as a relatively simplistic anecdote about multiple experiences of the same occurrence. Individual narratives of time, place and relationship were acting on that environment, and went on to contribute to narratives which went away from that space. The recounting of experiences are informed by each person's three-dimensional space framed by time, past, present and future; space, both physical and experiential; and relationship with others, even in the retelling with me. The complex description of those last few sentences give some sense of why the hologram idea allowed me to connect more deeply with each person's experience in the analysis.

Vignette 2: One educator told a story of a graduate guest speaker who was Māori telling a story to students which was rich in biculturally conscious content. The educator described it as a transformational moment for himself. In the three-dimensional process I was able to visualise looking around the room and consider the students in the room, and the fact that they would not have got the point as powerfully, because they did not have his perspective, his historical point of reference. The journalism students were likely to need a more practical, hands-on, project-based experience in their education to get the same depth of experience.

Vignette 3: In a different example, an educator told the story of a group of journalism students during a hui (discussion) on a marae (Māori meeting house). It was a day-long experience with a series of guest speakers and the educator talked about how much the students love it. They talked about wishing they had had the experience earlier, rather than in year three of their degree. The educator commented that they should have gone to the welcome in year one on the marae because it is an important occasion. In the three-dimensional experiential and relationship space, I considered students going onto the marae at the beginning of a degree beside others from different disciplines, and contrasted it with a journalism cohort experientially committed to a future in their chosen career, and being part of that dedicated hui in that special space. A university welcome in year one is important. However, something deeper was happening with the students committed to their journalism majors in that space. Seeing and understanding that idea opened a deeper exploration for the findings.

Stage three: research texts
The three-dimensional holograms continued to influence stage three of the analysis, unfolding in the writing of the research texts and developing the finding and discussion chapters of this thesis. For example, vignettes two and three will be more deeply explored in the research chapters, where the idea of the three-dimensional hologram will be considered as a potential journalism teaching tool. The research text was developed by revising and refining the Cornell Method tables, including connecting the four primary interviews with scholarship to help develop themes. Narratives from secondary interviews also contributed during this analytical process, illustrating, contrasting, filling in gaps and deepening understand of the landscape. Throughout the

writing process original names were maintained for my personal connectivity with the storytellers and their narratives. Then, near the submission point of the thesis, the names were replaced with randomly selected gender-neutral names to dissipate any immediate connectivity to identity. However, actual gender pronouns of the interviewees were left intact when necessary. Additionally, to assist with confidentiality, little if any contextual information was used to introduce individual interviewees at the beginning of chapters or sections.

Finally, it is important to reinforce that the documents and the people interviewed are situated inside institutions which are Western in their structures and processes, not kaupapa Māori. Additionally, the teachers of vocational journalism topics interviewed and the researcher are tangata Tiriti, not tangata whenua. The research texts reflect those political and cultural factors with all the tensions of power, control and worldviews situated within those spaces. Hence narrative inquiry is used explicitly to foreground those localised situations. In doing so the research texts reveal tensions which in tandem with appreciation can be used to make recommendations in the final chapter, but not make grand conclusions.

4.5 Conclusion

Relationships are complex and maintaining them even more complex. The lived experience of journalism educators is a space of multi-layered relationships as they strive to educate for a biculturally conscious practice, their own and that of their students. Aotearoa's bicultural relationship described in the background is political, legal and cultural. To present it as two worldviews, one Māori and one Western, borders on the simplistic. However, the duality serves this research as a device to think with tension which is critical and generative at the same time. Culturally responsive methodologies (Berryman et al., 2013) serves as the framework to hold that tension, which has been presented in theoretical terms, but it also needs to be understood in terms of practical journalism education. The methodological chapter described the meshing of two approaches to maintain that cultural responsiveness. Narrative inquiry provides the foundation with a puzzle of methods brought together to honour the complexity of the job. The institutional document analysis, interviews, and the researchers' diary make up the pieces of the puzzle. Appreciative questions and

narratives retold by the educators helped them and the researcher to understand their experience. Each story was understood in the three-dimensional narrative analytical space formed by time, place, and relationship. These layers of complexity have been described under a set of headings and sub-headings in this chapter which is familiar to Western scholarship. However, there were times when it looked nothing like this set of sub-headings. My guidance to anyone attempting to replicate the process is to maintain your relationship with culturally responsive methodologies, be prepared for your own story to take on a different shape in the three-dimensional space, and for that in turn to be acknowledged as part of the study.

Clandinin and Connelly's (2000) idea that people, places and things are always becoming, rather than simply being, helps to frame this narrative inquiry. Each educator, whose personal stories have been considered in this chapter, understood this idea. They retold their stories and explored them with that understanding, at times tentatively, at times with certainty, but almost always with a sense that there was more that could be done. How audiences of this text engage with this experience and knowledge will be up to them. However, it is the intent of this study that readers should engage with the narratives in the same generative intent that they were offered, listened to, and written about. Think about people, places, and things always becoming, rather than simply being. A way of doing that is to imagine the participant, researcher, and reader in the same three-dimensional narrative environment framed by time, space and relationship. Above all, it should be a safe space to explore, and that exploration begins in the next chapter with the institutional document analysis.

Chapter 5 – *Deficit, relationship, responsibility*: Institutional document analysis

5.1 Introduction

This institutional document analysis conducted in 2019 looks for the narratives in documents to answer the secondary research question: How is biculturalism articulated in the documentation of tertiary institutions that host journalism schools? The chapter begins by identifying how significant government documentation influences the primary narratives of *deficit, relationship,* and *responsibility*. Documentation is then considered for the five institutions which house journalism schools: Ara Institute of Canterbury, Auckland University of Technology (AUT), Massey University, University of Canterbury (UC), and Waikato Institute of Technology (Wintec). *Deficit, relationship* and *responsibility* which emerge across the institutions are the focus of the final section, which also draws on relevant literature.

5.1.1 Influences on documentation

Tertiary institutions and therefore their educators have relationships with three government bodies with funding and quality roles whose policy documents and requirements need to be identified. The three are the Ministry of Education, the Tertiary Education Commission (TEC), and the New Zealand Qualifications Authority (NZQA). The Ministry of Education is the lead adviser on the education system to the elected government. It shapes the direction for education agencies and providers, and contributes to the Government's goals for education (*Ministry of Education Role*, n.d.). The Ministry's roles include monitoring Crown education agencies the TEC and the NZQA. The TEC leads the government's *relationship* with the tertiary education sector and provides career services from education through to employment (*Tertiary Education Commission*, n.d.). The TEC invests government funding in the institutions which house journalism schools, it monitors their performance and provides information and advice. NZQA manages the New Zealand Qualifications Framework, and also commissions independent quality assurance of non-university tertiary education, that includes polytechnics which have schools of journalism (*NZQA Role*, n.d.).

Two Ministry of Education documents relevant to this research, and influential in institutional narratives, were developed early in the past decade. They were the Tertiary Education Strategy 2014-19 (*Tertiary Education Strategy 2014-19*, 2014), and *Ka Hikitia: Accelerating success* 2013-2017 (*Māori Education Strategy*, 2013). The former document "requires a strong focus on outcomes" and addresses the Crown's bicultural responsibilities, for tertiary education organisations (TEO) (*Tertiary Education Strategy 2014-19*, 2014, p. 7):

> *"In recognising the role of Māori as tangata whenua and Crown partners under the Treaty of Waitangi TEOs must enable Māori to achieve education success as Māori, including by protecting Māori language and culture, and to prepare for labour market success.*
>
> *"Tertiary education also contributes to Māori cultural outcomes – such as greater knowledge and use of Māori language and tikanga Māori, and development of mātauranga Māori. TEOs have a responsibility to contribute to the survival and wellbeing of Māori as a people."*

"Priority 3: Boosting achievement of Māori and Pasifika" (p. 12), was the priority most cited and reported on by institutions in documents such as strategic and investment plans. Priority 3 created a narrative of *deficit* in the way institutions responded. However, there was room for institutions to reflect their character and contributions, and these areas were where narratives of Te Tiriti *relationship* and *responsibility* were mostly found. The strategy then referred to *Ka Hikitia – Accelerating Success 2013-17* as the Ministry's more detailed document outlining how it and institutions should work collaboratively with iwi. That document built on Ka Hikitia – Managing Success 2008-2012. The TEC in turn cited Ka Hikitia 2013-17 outcomes which it expected institutions to measure and improve on, and they mostly related to the gap between Māori and other learners. For example, the strategy cited gains between 2007 and 2012, but also referenced the Māori *deficit*:

> *"16% of Māori under 25 participate in study at level 4 and above, compared to 23 % of the total population; 64% of Māori completed a qualification at level 4 or above within five years of beginning full-time study in 2007 compared to 74% of the total population" (p. 13).*

Outcomes as indicators of success included rates of progression by students at levels one to three and above, increasing rates of Māori enrolling in and completing

qualifications at level four and above, better employment outcomes, institution-specific targets for Māori learners and staff, and opportunities for research which engages Māori.

The strategy also included a section titled "system expectations" which identified all parts of TEO systems supporting Māori language, tikanga Māori and mātauranga Māori by working in partnership with Māori to provide culturally relevant teaching and learning, and to contribute to the growth of mātauranga Māori research (p. 21). However, there were few specifics and no indicators of success set against outcomes. For example, in contrast to tangata whenua *deficit* measurements, there were no measurements, outcomes or indicators for tangata Tiriti students or educators and their bicultural knowledge such as te reo, tikanga, or mātauranga Māori.

In summary, since early in the past decade, document narratives clearly indicated Crown policy settings have required tertiary institutions to focus on improving Māori outcomes by a constant measurement of the *deficit* of Māori students in Western education outcomes, and by strategies which predominantly paid attention to Māori only rather than, for example, how tangata Tiriti contributed to *deficit*.

A discernible narrative change, however, emerged from 2018 onwards in annual TEC statement of intent documents which supplemented the primary Ministry of Education strategic documents (*TEC Statement of Performance Expectations*, 2019). In particular the 2019 versions contained notable changes (*TEC Statement of Intent 2018-19*, 2018). Firstly there were significant introductions and use of te reo Māori. Secondly, in place of *deficit* language, equity-based statements were made of achieving parity, which was a subtle but noticeable change of language. Finally, there appeared to be an acknowledgement that in the TEC itself, and in institutions, tangata Tiriti needed to develop cultural consciousness to support systemic change. "A key component of this is growing our cultural intelligence – the ability to relate and work effectively in culturally diverse settings and supporting multi-lingualism across the organisation" (p. 15).

That and other wording appeared to establish a narrative of culture change required in the TEC and in the organisations it funds. Interestingly, the language used can be seen to connect with an earlier Ministry of Education document produced by a Māori

Tertiary Reference Group chaired by Linda Tuhiwai Smith (*Māori Tertiary Education Framework*, 2003). The focus was primarily establishing how TEOs should work with Māori, and while it was not cited in *Ka Hikitea* or the current TEC documentation, it remained in the Ministry's policy documentation on its website at the time of analysis it continued to be referenced in some institutional documentation sighted for this analysis, and its priorities are instructional. Under priority 5, the first action was "ensuring all tertiary staff participate in a Treaty of Waitangi education programme wānanga and have basic knowledge of tikanga Māori" (p. 28). Measurement was included in the framework, but well down the list as action point E in priority five. Yet in documents a decade later Māori student *deficit* in numerical terms was the defining measurement cited in the tertiary section of the Ministry of Education's Accelerating Māori Success priority-setting strategy (*Māori Education Strategy*, 2013).

The TEC retained the six Ministry of Education priorities as its primary measurable outcomes. References to biculturalism and relationships with tangata whenua therefore focus on Māori needs from a dominant Western institutional standpoint, although the narrative shift from 2018 towards tangata Tiriti responsibilities, suggesting a bicultural *deficit*, was subtle and relevant. However, after years of deficit measurement and the best intentions of educational bureaucracy, leadership and practitioners, subtle shifts are going to struggle to make the difference required. For example, education scholars investigated Ka Hikitia policy and found it was not sufficient to disrupt ongoing patterns of traditional pedagogy (Berryman et al., 2015). They were talking about Māori disparity below tertiary level, but as the institutional documentation to come in this chapter shows the pattern continues at tertiary level. Berryman and her colleagues identified transformative leadership of institutions as making the difference. The courage of leaders to be influenced by kaupapa Māori, bicultural partnerships and social justice meant they sought power-sharing relationships with Te Tiriti of Waitangi partners and put Māori epistemologies and world views at the centre of policy and practice. A thorough reading of the Ministry of Education and TEC documents shows a clear intention for Māori to do well. However, the narratives followed in this study suggest that intentions and subtle changes are not enough and it requires what Stewart (2018) would call a radical rebooting of the

notion of the term biculturalism. Such a rebooting can be seen in the challenge here for institutional leaderships to be more courageous in their use of government policy.

The Ministry and TEC documents were reached in a backward way by following the dominant narrative of deficit in the tertiary institutions which responded to them. It is to those institutions that the chapter now turns.

5.2 Institutional narratives

Each institution has its own narrative in this section developed from publicly available documents, which were either website pages or downloaded from website pages (Figure 5; Appendix 6). There is also a sub-section on documents provided in-confidence.

Figure 5

Public-facing documents accessed from tertiary institution websites and used to develop institutional narratives (Appendix 6).

Website front pages

Organisational/management/reporting structures

Strategic plans

Investment plans

Annual plans

Māori & Te Tiriti -related documents, web pages

Other documents particular to each institution

The narrative for each institution's bicultural consciousness was generally developed using the following resources: 1) home page te reo, leadership, strategic plan, investment plan, and annual report; 2) other relevant documents such as teaching and learning, Māori or diversity strategies, policies; 3) any other broader narrative which emerged from navigating those specific documents, the websites and relevant external links they may have referenced; 4) programme and course documents specific to journalism and the school within which it is situated. Narratives established at a high level of overarching institutional documentation such as strategies, plans, and annual reports were expected to be reflected at course-level documentation. The space

devoted to each of the four areas will vary depending on narratives which emerge in each institution. Institutions are listed in alphabetical order.

5.2.1 Ara Institute of Canterbury/Ara Rau, Taumata Rau

Ngāi Tahu iwi has a dedicated place on the institution's Council as mana whenua. Interestingly, the first item of 23 on the list of competencies required of council members was "Māori knowledge and perspectives from a Canterbury and national perspective" (*Ara Council Statute*, n.d.). In the organisational structure, there was a Kaiārahi /Director of Māori Development reporting directly to the Chief Executive and also to the Council (*Ara Organisational Structure*, n.d.). The Kaiārahi was responsible for a Māori Advisory Group and a Māori Trades Training Governance Group.

The two-page Ara Strategic Plan 2017-2019 (*Ara Strategic Plan 2017-19*, 2017), carried aspirational statements which included "parity of achievement for Māori", "responsiveness to Māori", and "embeds Māori knowledge and pedagogy in delivery". A one-page *Strategic Focus Areas and Priorities 2019* document cited "increase Māori and Pasifika achievement" as the first goal in its primary focus area, (*Ara Strategic Focus Areas & Priorities 2019*, n.d.). "Improving outcomes for Māori" was the focus of its goal of *relationship* with iwi partners.

Those strategic aspirational statements translated directly to an Investment Plan sub-heading "Māori economic aspirations" which talked directly about working with Ngāi Tahu (*Ara Investment Plan 2019 to 2021*, 2019, p. 12). Education in Māori economic empowerment continued to surface in its mission and role statements, and in its responses to tertiary strategy priorities. However, Ara's predominant focus for reference to Māori were seven of the 70 investment plan pages devoted to the Government priority "Boosting Achievement of Māori". It began talking about parity, and then offered a mix of positive and negative statistical measurements of *deficit*. A subheading "how does teaching and learning respond to the needs of Māori?" talked of the organisation changing programme development to integrate kaupapa and mātauranga Māori in all programmes but with no related documentation available. A range of initiatives included changes to teaching approaches and curriculum development, a common cultural competence paper for degrees, and noho marae. The

plan included building "cultural competence and cultural confidence" into future role descriptions and professional development (p. 43).

Staff development in the Investment Plan can be connected to questions raised in a 2017 NZQA External Evaluation and Review (EER) report of Ara (*NZQA EER Ara*, 2017, p. 47). The report rated the institution as "adequate" for educational performance and self-assessment in the area of Māori achievement, and noted uncertain uptake of a staff development tool to help understanding the Māori world, *E Amo E Rere*. Ara's Bachelor of Broadcasting recorded Māori as achieving at a higher rate than the Ara student body as a whole.

Bicultural *relationship* in documentation centred on an "enduring partnership" with Ngāi Tahu and its aspirations as an iwi, including involvement in programme design and development, and involvement in the iwi's Tokono Te Raki: Māori Future Collective with South Island educational institutions and employers (*Tokono Te Raki*, n.d.).

In programme documentation Ara's Bachelor of Broadcasting prioritised bicultural consciousness in the last of eight points on the graduate profile: "Develop and apply a cultural framework of practice reflective of the Aotearoa New Zealand context with particular consideration to Te Tiriti o Waitangi and Māori culture and protocol" (*Ara Bachelor of Broadcasting*, n.d., p. 2). Graduate profiles must be reflected at the next level in programme and course documentation. Hence, in the Media Ecology courses, which have 40 credits in first year and 25 credits in second year, the final of seven learning outcomes stated: "Apply knowledge of Māori culture and wider cultural awareness to media practice" (*Ara Media Ecology*, n.d.). Across the remainder of the programme's skill-based courses, te reo pronunciation was a requirement but there was no other articulated connection of the country's bicultural nature connected with journalism practice which would require assessing. The weightings, therefore, appeared to be light for what was a strong statement as one of eight graduate outcomes placed at the highest level of qualification documentation. Additionally, the focus appeared to be solely on culture, and the words "to media practice" were broad.

There was significant relational language used in Ara documentation, including connections to actions and initiatives planned. For example, a redevelopment of

programmes to involve the knowledge and ways of looking from a tangata whenua worldview spoke about taking *responsibility,* but there was little publicly available information on how this would be actioned. However there was an overriding narrative sense of responding to Māori *deficit*, ahead of a Tiriti *relationship* and *responsibility* engaged in by tangata Tiriti educators and students. This is a clear narrative connection to the influence of the Ministry and TEC documentation. The relationship narratives are careful rather than the courageous leadership and radical but authentic bicultural power-sharing identified in the educational scholarship as necessary to make a difference (Berryman et al., 2015; G. Stewart, 2018). The available journalism course documentation looked innovative, but it raised the question about how the theoretical knowledge on Media Ecology was actioned without a dedicated connection into the skill-based Broadcast Journalism and Internship courses. Based on the documentation available, vocational journalism courses appear to be treated as neutral rather than contested and relational spaces under Te Tiriti o Waitangi.

5.2.2 Auckland University of Technology/ Te Wānanga Aronui o Tāmaki Makau Rau

AUT's primary institutional documents began with considerable explicit reference connecting Te Tiriti *responsibility* to *relationship*. Under the third of its five themes, the four-page strategic plan started with "Respecting Te Tiriti o Waitangi. We will partner with Māori to advance Mātauranga Māori and te reo and achieve the benefits a university can provide with and for Māori" (*AUT Directions to 2025*, n.d., p. 2). The document had "signs of progress" which included an increase in Māori partnerships, that Māori undergraduate and postgraduate equivalent full-time students (EFTS) will match age-adjusted demographics, and that 10% of senior staff and academic would be Māori.

The Investment Plan devoted one-and-a-half early pages connecting some of those strategic statements under "Te Tiriti o Waitangi at AUT" (*AUT Investment Plan 2019-2020*, n.d., pp. 8–10). Te Tiriti *relationships* and responsibilities included a Pro Vice Chancellor Māori Advancement position, and in cultural life through the marae Ngā Wai o Horotiu at its city centre campus. Te Tiriti section also stated: "Supporting all staff to become capable of supporting Te Tiriti and Mātauranga Māori ensures a deeper understanding of Te Ao Māori across the university" (p. 10). There was no

further information although there was discussion of a "Mātauranga Māori Policy Framework currently under development" (p. 41) which I could not find accessible on the website.

Documentation pertaining to the university's council revealed no specified Māori leadership positions, for example connected to iwi. *Relationships* and initiatives in documentation include three iwi in AUT's upper-North Island geographical *relationship*: Ngāti Whātua, Waikato-Tainui and Ngā Puhi.

The Investment Plan's "Boosting achievement for Māori" section comprised 10 pages of a 66-page plan (p. 34). However, in reality the focus started eight pages earlier under the Ministry of Education's TEC priority 2, "Getting at-risk young people into a career" (p. 26). Much of this section was devoted to Māori. Taking a narrative view of the investment plan, the general at-risk section established a clear narrative of Māori at risk, while the 'boosting Māori' section began by talking about parity and maintained a generative language. For example in the boosting section, there was a "Mātauranga Māori in the classroom" subheading addressing educators and students who were not Māori in the language of whakamana (empowerment) "so that all will feel safe and confident to engage, interact and share these values, making them part of the teaching ethos of AUT" (p. 41). This division of risk and boosting is a significant narrative shift, including bringing tangata Tiriti into the bicultural narrative.

Journalism is taught in the School of Communication Studies and delivered through three programmes, a Bachelor of Communication Studies (Journalism) redeveloped and rolling out from 2020, and Postgraduate Diploma and Masters qualifications with journalism pathways. There was no graduate profile or learning outcomes publicly available through the website, or Te Tiriti o Waitangi bicultural specifics in the degree parent web page. At the degree programme documentation level, the brief journalism information included a description of "bicultural and cross-cultural reporting" but no other detail. There was a compulsory first-year Intercultural Communication course, but there was a surprising lack of Indigenous reference. In contrast, one of the compulsory first-year papers, Mahitahi/Collaborative Practices contained a far more articulated outline of its reliance on the Māori worldview (*AUT BComm Mahitahi*, n.d.).

None of the journalism major courses mentioned biculturalism or Te Tiriti. In the one-year postgraduate journalism documentation the only reference to Aotearoa's bicultural nature was in a Public Affairs Reporting course workshop which was relatively comprehensive, but it was an elective. In summary, Aotearoa's bicultural nature was not reflected in core journalism-specific course documents.

The strong *relationship* and *responsibility* narrative of the corporate documents did not survive into the public-facing programme and course information for journalism. Mahitahi's description was innovative and clearly driven by *relationships* involving tangata whenua staff. However, it appeared siloed based on the documents available. AUT's monitoring and actions addressing Māori *deficit* contributed to two sub-plots. First it addressed Māori *deficit* in the at-risk section along with all at-risk groups. That focus left the Ministry of Education priority "boosting achievement of Māori" section to clearly become a more generative discussion of the breadth of who Māori are and what AUT, including staff, commit to for the whole spectrum of Māori. AUT's narrative of a "persistent" gap between Māori and non-Māori appeared to draw focus into this latter initiative as the key to parity, but there was little detail. Aotearoa's bicultural nature barely registered in student information.

The inference from the AUT documents is that there is a gap in leadership translating the promise of the relationship and innovative responsibility narratives, for example the refocusing of deficit, through to the course level. This narrative inquiry recognises why there is minimal language in course information on the website. However, I argue that decisions on what is made visible and what is not in tertiary settings extend Ahmed's (2007) critique of whiteness in the institution. For example such simplified texts leave little room to contextualise information, for example for relationship with Te Tiriti. If there is no explicit responsibility taken in every course, for an authentic Te Tiriti o Waitangi relationship, then how can we expect responsibility to follow through at the teaching level. To borrow from Deuze (2006), biculturalism *is* society, and as Stuart (2002) pointed out there can be two interpretations of stories in this Aotearoa New Zealand. Journalism educators therefore do not have to be personally responsible for an authentic Te Tiriti o Waitangi relationship in all vocational courses.

5.2.3 Massey University/Te Kunenga ki Pūrehuroa

Massey University's council has one Māori appointee, and at management level there is a Pro-Vice Chancellor Māori and Pacific. The seven-page Massey University Strategy 2018-2022 established bicultural terms on the first page with the fourth of five statements: "Role-modelling excellent practice as a Tiriti o Waitangi-led institution" (*Massey Strategy 2018-2022*, n.d.). A series of standard statements followed across the document acknowledging tangata whenua and Te Tiriti foundations, and finishing with a commitment to "building staff competencies to honour Te Tiriti o Waitangi" (p. 7).

A parity narrative emerged relatively early in the Investment Plan (*Massey Investment Plan 2019-22*, n.d.): "The ongoing difference in education performance indicators (EPIs) for Māori and Pacific learners, particularly those studying at distance, and the Tertiary Education Commission's (TEC's) intention to increase parity between learners" (p. 6). Then across more than two pages it addressed staff capability including: "We are Tiriti-led, upholding Te Tiriti o Waitangi principles through our practice" (p. 14). There was much more said in the section about individual and collective strengths to be acknowledged. However the significant narrative in high-level documentation was that staff were being measured against Te Tiriti principles.

Massey devoted six pages of its 80-page plan to the standard "Boosting achievement of Māori" heading with a relatively detailed explanation of its initiatives (p. 29-34). Specific *deficit* measurements came after five pages which outlined generative actions captured in a Māori strategy Kia Mārama 2018-22. Massey presented a blunt assessment that the gap between Māori and non-Māori learners had hardly changed over the five years to 2017. Everything that came before established a narrative of Massey taking *responsibility* for the *deficit*. The student-focused initiatives to address the gap clearly sat alongside the Tiriti-led initiative.

The narrative of being Tiriti-led is pervasive in Massey documentation. Its 2018 annual report available at the time of analysis in 2019 outlined the investment made in the initative (*Massey Annual Report 2018*, 2019). They included the development of a Te Tiriti o Waitangi charter; staff Te Tiriti capabilities; *relationships* with iwi; Māori student parity; and strengthening Māori academic roles. On its website the

Māori@Massey front page button led to a set of pages, one of which was "Becoming Tiriti-led" (*Massey E*, n.d.). It was an interesting pathway, given the strong narrative elsewhere, because in some ways the Tiriti-led site was information for tangata-Tiriti, and yet the intitial interface appeared to be a portal for Māori. Inside this website section were six sub-sections which identified key Tiriti elements of the Massey 2018-22 strategy. Staff could book learning sessions and seek resources so they could meet the staff capability framework. Staff capability was an interesting narrative explicitly articulated in the Paerangi Massey University Learning and Teaching Strategy (*Massey Paerangi 2019-22*, n.d.). Paerangi was clearly developed through mātauranga Māori, and its supporting plan of actions have measurable responsibilities allocated to positions spread from management to teaching staff.

Massey offers journalism as a major in a recently redeveloped Bachelor of Communications, and as a postgraduate diploma. The first Tiriti reference on its web pages came in four of the eight core 15-credit first year papers with explicit learning outcomes related to Te Tiriti or Aotearoa's bicultural nature. The Introduction to journalism learning outcome four required students to "Describe the bicultural and multicultural implications of journalism practice"; Creative communication learning outcome four stated "Show understanding of the ways creative communication works within the cultural environment of Aotearoa New Zealand's treaty-based society"; Media skills outcome four stated "Design messages which reflect the bicultural and bilingual context of Aotearoa/New Zealand"; and Business communication required students to "Distinguish communication approaches needed in different bicultural and multicultural contexts" (*Massey Bachelor of Communication*, n.d.). There was clearly a strong footprint of Te Tiriti and Aotearoa's bicultural nature in the degree core papers at a theoretical level, but not in the practical journalism major papers. Information about the one-year Postgraduate Diploma in Journalism also lacked any reference.

Massey's Tiriti-led initiative was pervasive in its institutional documentation, which then made it appear oddly tucked-away in Māori@Massey on its website. Being Tiriti-led affected the way the required "boosting" section was framed in both generative language and blunt numbers. Also the Paerangi teaching and learning strategy was immersive to the point that suggested no one could go through an employment review without answering how they were tangibly meeting Tiriti-led outcomes. Tiriti-led as a

narrative could be seen connecting all the way from the strategic plan, the investment plan and the teaching and learning plan through to multiple core courses of the redeveloped Bachelor of Communications. However, they appear predominantly theoretical in nature and there was little evidence in practical journalism course information. The pattern of vocational journalism courses being delivered for the delivery of neutral practical skill continues. This gap has already been problematicised in the Ara and AUT sections. However, what is interesting in the Massey documentation narrative is that what is clearly a powerful Te Tiriti-led commitment can get stopped at the vocational level. The resilience of whiteness has been tracked across decades, including in journalism where there is a commitment to diversity (Ahmed, 2007; Alemán, 2014; Frankenburg, 1993, 1997; Sandoval, 1997). The resilience evidence in these documents raises questions of power, and who decides what vocational journalism skills are and how they are practiced in Aotearoa New Zealand.

5.2.4 University of Canterbury/Te Whare Wānanga o Waitaha

The University of Canterbury's (UC) council has an appointee from Ngāi Tahu. At the time of analysis early in 2019, the council's latest plan summary available on the university website was *Te Mahere a UC 2017-18* (*UC 2017-18 Plan*, n.d.). UC listed five attributes that it aspired to provide students with, and the fourth was "Biculturally competent and confident" (p. 1). In its number one goal UC sought to recruit quality students including Māori without specific indicators of progress. Number three goal for the student experience included "implement our Māori strategy to increase participation and success" with the TEC retention and progression EPIs as indicators of progress (p. 2). Goal four, to transform graduates, identified staff as a key factor in the third of five points: "Enhance bicultural skills and experience of staff to support students" (p. 3). Progress would be measured by the "number and percentage of staff undertaking relevant professional development". In a tightly written document UC had established a strong narrative which was aspirational for Māori, recognised *deficit*, and held staff to account.

Canterbury's *UC Investment Plan 2015-2017* available at the time of analysis was just 27 pages, which was significantly smaller and structured markedly differently to the others (*UC Investment Plan 2015-17*, n.d.). Within three paragraphs it acknowledged

Aotearoa's bicultural foundations, and then rather than talking broadly about Māori, it immediately identified its geographical place in Te Wai Pounamu/South Island and its *relationship* with Ngāi Tahu, and mana whenua Ngāi Tūāhuriri. The difference in timing between the latest available investment and strategic plans revealed an interesting development. In the 2015-17 investment plan, which was approved in October 2014, bicultural competence and confidence was connected only with students. By the time the latest strategic plan at the timing of this research was published in April 2017 the Bicultural Competence and Confidence attribute had been extended to enhancing staff capability, including with a basic measurement of course undertaking.

That narrative flowed into the annual report for 2018, where bicultural competence and confidence underpinned Te Tiriti *relationship* and *responsibility*. Unlike other institutions UC did not directly follow the TEC reporting template. For example "Boost the achievement of Māori" was folded with all student reporting into a broader reporting objective called "Challenge: Improving the education performance and participation of students" (*UC Annual Report 2018*, 2019). However the reporting of *deficit* figures were still clear with *deficit* measurements in tables. It is timely here to inject two other documents released in 2012 which were developed following Ngāi Tahu involvement, and which are still available on the website. *UC Futures* mapped the journey ahead for the university rebuilding after earthquakes at the beginning of the decade (*UC Futures*, 2012). *Rautaki Whakawhanake Kaupapa Māori 2012 Strategy for Māori Development* articulated the university's aspirations to support Māori development and innovation (*UC Māori Development Strategy*, 2012). Ngāi Tahu's involvement with the university's journey in the past decade was clearly imprinted beyond the subheading for Māori enrolment and success, and was articulated in bicultural competence and confidence across the university. In the 2018 annual report the attribute had become "Biculturally competent and confident in a multicultural society" (*UC Annual Report 2018*, 2019, p. 27). However, it clearly required student and staff development.

UC delivers journalism as a major in the Bachelor of Communications. It formerly delivered a postgraduate diploma in journalism, and in 2021 it intended to deliver a new Graduate Diploma in Journalism. The first year of the new degree was rolled out in 2019. While the focus of this study is journalism, it is pertinent to note the

connection to one of the majors in the degree which is "Tauwhitinga Māori: Māori Communication Strategy and Practice" (*UC BComm Tauwhitinga Māori*, n.d.) shared with UC's Māori school. The broad communications degree documentation had 10 core courses across its three years, and five journalism major courses listed at years two and three (*UC Bachelor of Communications*, n.d.). On the website, none of the learning objectives of the courses specified Te Tiriti or biculturalism, however two of the year one core courses, and one of the final year courses addressed the 'biculturally competent and confident' attribute. Those two first-year courses were *Introduction to news journalism*, and *Fundamentals of management*, and the final year *Communication in context* described competence to work in bicultural contexts. At year two the *Media audiences* course also connected to this attribute. The remainder of the core communications and of the journalism major course web pages had yet to be fully populated, and none of their general descriptions mentioned the Te Tiriti, biculturalism or Māori at the time of analysis.

Bicultural competence and confidence clearly forms a dominant narrative by being presented in different forms throughout UC after gestating for much of the past decade. The framework connected Te Tiriti, iwi, UC and the world in *relationship*. It reached from the policy-setting level through to staff requirements, course information, core courses and journalism practice. The new degree's basic course website information was biculturally strong in some courses and missing in others. The guidelines and transparency for the development of programmes appeared to leave no room for educators to avoid having to develop the capacity to put together the required courses. The narrative suggests that if staff members are not biculturally competent and confident then they are given the guidance to becomes so. I would argue that the documentary narratives illustrate courageous leadership required to generate cultural relationships for responsive pedagogy (Berryman et al., 2015, 2018). The documentary narratives suggest that University of Canterbury journalism students are engaged in programmes which have been developed in an authentic relationship with tangata whenau, and learning for all students happens in a culturally conscious way informed by kaupapa Māori under Te Tiriti o Waitangi.

5.2.5 Waikato Institute of Technology/Te Kuratini o Waikato

One member of Wintec's council is a ministerial appointment made in consultation with regional iwi Waikato-Tainui, and Wintec's kaumatua is part of the leadership team. The institute's 17-page Strategic Plan began to reference Māori on page six as the partner of choice with Waikato-Tainui for education and commercial ventures, and then in relation to increasing educational success for Māori students (*Wintec Strategic Plan 2016-2018*, n.d.). Māori *relationship* with drivers of change and the economy in the region were addressed over two pages intended to contribute to social and economic benefits. The narrative over these pages suggested that Waikato-Tainui had set out what it needed and Wintec responded. Wintec's 102-page Investment Plan 2019-2020 included a description of its Ako Teaching and Learning Directions 2017-2020, and Ngāwhā Whakatupu Māori Capability Framework strategies (*Wintec Investment Plan 2019-20*, n.d.). Three principals and five approaches together guided both programme design and delivery. One of the five approaches in the delivery model was ako, described as "Māori teaching and learning theory and practice" (p. 20). All programmes delivered at Wintec had to contain each of the five approaches. The investment plan identified some significant demographics worth noting: In the Waikato region 22% identified as Māori compared to 14.6% nationally; Wintec's domestic enrolments were about 25% Māori, and young Māori were the fastest growing demographic in the region; 14% of staff were Māori.

However, Wintec's most focused attention was in seven pages addressing the Tertiary Education 2014-19 priority "Boosting achievement in Māori" (p. 48), and a section on EPI's and poor performing provision with a fine-grained breakdown of different programmes (p. 79-88). In response the boosting plan included a comprehensive outline of its *Māori Capability Development Framework* strategies for supporting students and guiding staff. The staff strategy included a cultural competency module called Te Tauihu. However only staff who taught on programmes with more than 20% Māori students were targeted to have completed the course initially. The Māori *deficit* narrative and data was matched in the 128-page annual 2018 annual report, which also had a significant presence of Māori stories, photos and detail (*Wintec Annual Report 2018*, 2019).

Journalism at Wintec is delivered through two options, a three-year major in the Bachelor of Communications which began delivery in 2018, and a one-year diploma. There was nothing relating to Te Tiriti or biculturalism in the degree qualification overview lodged on the NZQA website (*Wintec Bachelor of Communications*, n.d.). However, in the programme and course website detail, both Communications Craft 1 and Craft 2 core courses had learning outcomes stating: "Identify and apply the principles and practices of Te Tiriti o Waitangi within creative and media domains" (*Wintec BComm Core Courses*, n.d.). Two other core papers, Critical Methods 1 and Critical Methods 2 had learning outcomes which stated: "Identify and apply principles and practices of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, and Akoranga relevant to creative outputs". The New Zealand Diploma in Journalism (Level 5) qualification strategic purpose statements include: "This includes the attributes necessary to contribute to a bi- and multi-cultural environment in Aotearoa New Zealand" (*NZ Diploma of Journalism*, n.d.). The qualification was to be delivered by Wintec for the first time in 2020 and two of the courses aligned with the strategic purpose statement. Its 30-credit News Storytelling course included the following learning outcome: "Produce stories on specified topics, including Māori, diversity and civic institutions" (*Wintec NZ Diploma of Journalism*, n.d.). The 15-credit Media Law and Context course included a learning outcome: "Analyse te Tiriti o Waitangi, Te ao Māori (worldview) and tikanga Māori (protocols) as related to (a) the student as an individual and (b) journalism practice in Aotearoa New Zealand".

There were two partly connected narratives in Wintec's institutional documentation. On the one hand there was deep connection with Tainui and knowledge about Māori stakeholders and thorough strategies and frameworks which address Māori learners. Actions can be seen in educator development of programmes and their delivery. The journalism programme learning outcomes in the one-year diploma and in the degree's applied craft courses illustrated this to an extent in some courses but not others, which suggested that the teaching and learning framework and ako were working to a point (*Wintec Investment Plan 2019-20*, n.d.). In 2017 there was a jump from 70% to 75% in Māori success across Wintec. However there was still a gap in a biculturally conscious connection for tangata Tiriti. The first entry to the website and search for anything relating to Te Tiriti, biculturalism and Māori presented a narrative that these areas

were there for Māori, rather than as a wider *responsibility* for tangata Tiriti to engage with. And yet, the ako programme and teaching and learning development, and the professional development programme, were rich in possibility, hence the narrative of disconnection.

Journalism students at Wintec cannot avoid dealing with Te Tiriti o Waitangi in the vocational aspects of their programme. However, they come up against a long-standing problem in society in Aotearoa New Zealand, the "othering" of Māori. Certainly tangata whenua and tangata Tiriti are not the same, however the siloing of a Māori story as separate teaching and assessment removes responsibility from the educator and the student for seeing any story as potentially related to Māori. Archie (2007) made the point that for too long journalism in Aotearoa has left stories relating to Māori to a specialist round responsibility, rather than every news topic in this country having some interest to tangata whenua.

5.2.6 Confidential institutional documents

The final element in this section introduces programme-level documentation which was provided in-confidence from three journalism schools. The documents were not public and covered aspects such as accreditation, programme development and course delivery such as handbooks. They are dealt with in broad terms because of the smaller number and to respect confidentiality.

5.2.6.1 Embedding *responsibility* for *relationship* in documentation

Documents from one of the schools showed deep engagement with tangata whenua. A degree handbook began generically because it served a range of majors and minors. Students typically received more detailed understanding of course requirements at course level. However it did contain a high level statement about the country's Tiriti-based nature connecting to the degree majors and which connected to a separate administration document used to track Te Tiriti and biculturalism touchpoints. The touchpoints included informational learning such as Māori organisational structures and tikanga, but also identified biculturalism in critical thinking such as reflecting on knowledge and norms, Indigenous models of communication, and application of learning to a student's major or minor field. Also, the touchpoint document showed Māori knowledge was not only contained in core papers across the degree, but

embedded in a journalism skills course. The narrative was of *responsibility* taken for students as critical thinkers including applying practice. In the institution's one-year diploma qualification handbook, Te Tiriti *relationship* can be seen clearly mapped to the course level, activated in journalism practice by students.

5.2.6.2 When bicultural consciousness meets Western thinking

Programme documentation from a second institution illustrated carefully considered bicultural *relationship* between tangata whenua and journalism. Principles richly formed on kaupapa Māori philosophy were developed together with the institution's senior Māori academic. A strategic plan for the school had seven goals and in two of them the term tangata whenua or Māori were used. Firstly the stakeholder section stated tangata whenua were invited to talk to students and staff about issues. Secondly, the programme addressed social, economic, cultural and environmental issues and identified tangata whenua as a group which could be specifically affected by news media practice. Māori pronunciation is also addressed. However Western ways of thinking were obvious with Māori grouped with diversity, despite the fact that indigeneity and diversity are quite different things. While diversity in this case describes cultures which make up different ethnic groups, Indigeneity recognises the communities present at the time of Western colonisation (Spoonley, 2015). Tangata whenua and the Crown signing the Te Tiriti o Waitangi in 1840 establishes this fact and adds legal and political spheres which journalists needs to engage with (Archie, 2007; R. Walker, 2004). It is an issue I have noted at some schools. Another document also took care to spell out that acknowledging journalism's impact on minorities and tangata whenua should be done without 'sacrificing journalistic independence'. The message was clear that there was a line in normative journalism practice which could not be crossed. This section was well-thought through and explained with commitments to teaching. However, when I went looking for further articulation in the course handbook, there was only a link to a NZ Press Council reference to Te Tiriti. It was almost as if there was a divide between theory and practice where normative journalism education takes over.

5.2.6.3 A narrative of assumption

The final confidential documents were from a school's postgraduate programme. One course details comprehensive teaching on Tiriti issues, Tiriti-related organisations, and

the *relationship* between Te Tiriti and news media, and some is delivered on a marae. However, the course is an elective and may not run without enough enrolments. There are no other mentions, and so Aotearoa's bicultural nature must arise organically in teaching across the programme. Course-level documentation such as these raise the prospect that without a structure, and without biculturally conscious teaching staff and resources, it may not arise, or at least not enough to make the sort of difference espoused in this research.

5.2.6.4 Visible, invisible biculturally conscious journalism education

The confidential materials were a valuable window into programme development and student-level documentation. They reveal narratives which pose questions for journalism schools, educators and this study. In one group of documents, bicultural consciousness was real, visible and normative and could be tracked all the way from development and strategic documents through to those which inform students in both theoretical and practical courses, which followed the guidelines urged by Deuze (2006) in his multicultural study. In the second group of documents a bicultural consciousness was visible to a certain point, but did not go beyond that to active documents used by students. The latter case includes plenty of words recognisable in journalism such as accuracy, fairness, freedom and independence, but there was no sign of their critical activation in practice. Such journalism principles applied in practice without being interrogated can become an issue (Broersma, 2010b; Waisbord, 2019; Zelizer, 1993, 2010), particularly in relation to Aotearoa New Zealand's Te Tiriti *relationship* and *responsibility* (McGregor & Te Awa, 1996; Phelan & Shearer, 2009). There is one final observation to make about these documents provided in confidence. In the first group it was possible to see Māori engagement in the process throughout, both in development and with students. In the second, Māori were visibly engaged in development, but they become invisible in delivery documents. In the third group Māori were not visible, although the elective course document suggests there would be engagement with Māori at least on the marae. The contrast across the three sets of documents is vivid for an issue which is central to any research such as this at the interface of tangata whenua and tangata Tiriti and that is the balance or imbalance of power. It ranges from a narrative of highly relational in the first to not visible in the third. The first set suggests a narrative of culturally responsive pedagogy, which means

they have been developed and are delivered as an interdependent relationship, in which both groups maintain and understand the mana of the other (Berryman et al., 2018).

5.3 Discussion: Narratives of *deficit*, *relationship* and *responsibility*

Narratives of *deficit*, *relationship* and *responsibility* form the structure of this discussion. They were identified by bringing my cultural consciousness (Bishop, 1996) to the textually mediated social organisation of institutional documents (D. Smith, 1984). For example at the same time as looking for narratives of emancipation and empowerment, I recognised *deficit* from my socialisation as a former programme manager. The analysis led in a non-linear (Taber, 2007, 2010) fashion to its roots outside the tertiary institutions in government ministries and in iwi publications. After addressing *deficit*, this discussion will reflect more deeply on *responsibility* and *relationship* by connecting the institutional document analysis with journalism studies scholarship such as actively interventionist practices (Hanitzsch, 2007) and the notion that there are many journalisms that educators need to acknowledge (Bromley et al., 2001; Gunaratne, 2007). Reflective pragmatism (Gergen, 2014b) in the framework of this study means it is important to have such literature anchoring the narratives in journalism education as the vocational site of this study. However, it is equally important to remember the Aotearoa New Zealand situation, where institutions and educators are challenged on their *responsibility* for *relationship* in biculturally consciousness terms. That cultural consciousness lens in this context will reflexively help the narratives expand the horizon of what a biculturally conscious journalism may look like.

5.3.1 *Deficit*

5.3.1.1 Māori as *deficit*

Deficit first emerged through institutional measurement of Māori underachievement and it constrained wider discussion. Institutions which stuck rigidly to government *deficit* reporting policy struggled to break away from its reference point. The deeper I delved to follow the *deficit* trails, the more vivid were the memories of my time as a programme manager answering the *deficit* question at the end of each programme. Gergen's (2014a) warning about becoming trapped in the Western gaze is instructive

because the narrative of *deficit* was often so dominant so early in documentation that any generative power of narratives of *relationship* and *responsibility* was muted. Clearly it is important for institutions to be held to account for delivering for tangata whenua and the wider population, and data is important. However, when one group is measured, and the other not, and more broadly the system is not measured, then there is a problem. Tangata whenua are seen in *deficit*, but tangata Tiriti educators are not because they are not measured, for example for their lack of knowledge or connection with te ao Māori. I am not suggesting more *deficit* measurement, I am using the contrast to make a point. The anomaly comes down to what is valued, and I argue is an example of whiteness (Ahmed, 2007) in the Aotearoa New Zealand tertiary education system. *Deficit* has been the antithesis of the decolonising work in education which has bought benefit to Māori in recent decades through strengths-based approaches (Berryman et al., 2018; Bishop, 2008, 2012; Bishop et al., 2014; L. Smith, 1999, 2012). The Māori Tertiary Reference Group (*Māori Tertiary Education Framework*, 2003) established a framework so that similar work could infuse tertiary education. The strengths-based narrative appeared to be usurped by what looks like more of a Western *deficit* model a decade later (*Māori Education Strategy*, 2013). Indeed Māori and Pacific scholars have argued that Indigenous knowledge is increasingly not valued in the academy (Kidman et al., 2015; McAllister et al., 2020; Pihama et al., 2019). However, the analysis of documents suggest change is happening, and that shift could be considered through the idea of tangata Tiriti as *deficit*, or more generatively by reframing *deficit* entirely.

5.3.1.2 Tangata Tiriti as *deficit*

Māori failure in Western knowledge was presented in blunt terms, but there were also signs of recognition of *deficit* among tangata Tiriti educators and students. For example, both UC and Massey appeared to have established systems which require educators understanding and engaging with biculturalism as something which relates to all learners, knowledge and subject matter. Educators would be monitored in systematic processes. Wintec documentation looked well developed, but was not as all-encompassing because it was only compulsory for educators of Māori cohorts over a particular size. Yet bicultural consciousness is not just about teaching Māori, it is about responding to a Tiriti *relationship* in tertiary education for all learners. Ara and

AUT allude to similar work but there is no public-facing documentation to support the narrative. It is worth returning to the Māori education strategy established in 2003, and particularly again to priority 5, where the first action was "ensuring all tertiary staff participate in a Treaty of Waitangi education programme wānanga and have basic knowledge of tikanga Māori" (*Māori Tertiary Education Framework*, 2003, p. 28). There was a sense of institutions returning to the generative intent of that 2003 document for all in education, and that narrative emerges under the two subheadings relationship and responsibilities which complete this chapter.

5.3.1.3 Reframing *deficit*

A narrative sense emerged in the documentation that institutions were exploring other ways of responding to the government *deficit* narrative, potentially encouraged by shifts reflected in TEC documentation since 2018 (*TEC Statement of Intent 2018-19*, 2018). For example Massey's Tiriti-led initiative was so strongly established early in corporate documents, that by the time that the *deficit* discussion was reached, including the difficulty Massey had with boosting Māori achievement, it was quite clear that it had become committed to radical change. Massey and AUT corporate documents in particular were blunt in their statements that despite years of initiatives to address measurements, there was a persistent gap. AUT shifted the entire Māori *deficit* discussion into the section dealing with all at-risk students. That move left the section on 'boosting' to deal generatively with Māori in all of its diversity, rather than have boosting constrained in a dual *relationship* with *deficit*. UC also repackaged the boosting section, and in fact all TEC reporting into its own headings. The result was that UC was able to develop its own narrative and link that narrative to its bicultural competence and confidence framework effectively across all reporting, rather than as a response to *deficit*. It is no surprise that UC and Ara documentation, which also spells out *relationships* with mana whenua, are part of the Ngāi Tahu-initiated Tokono Te Raki Māori Futures Collective, whose vision states: "We need to shift away from siloed agencies and institutions whose fragmented approaches focus on blaming whānau" (*Tokono Te Raki*, n.d.). There is clearly a narrative for change in documentation, with articulated solutions by Massey and UC.

5.3.2 *Relationship*

Institutions talked a lot in their overarching documents or policies about building and maintaining *relationships* with Māori. However, at the same time they also appeared constrained by Western systems. For example, in differing ways these documents suggested all of the institutions were looking deeply at the Western epistemology on which qualifications, programmes, courses and the teaching and learning to deliver them were based. At the time of this analysis all but one of the faculties hosting journalism schools were in their first or second year of new degrees. None of the institutions in programme level documentation on their websites had overview statements or learning outcomes, depending on what the institutions chose to make public, which explicitly related to Te Tiriti. Further down in the documentation at course level there were specifics, although they were generally expressed in theoretical terms. However, UC's use of it's bicultural competence framework was innovative in that it was clearly threaded into some of the courses in the degree in the first year of its roll-out, including a vocational introduction to journalism course. The two exceptions at course level were AUT's Mahitahi first-year collaboration course based on Māori knowledge systems, and the first group of confidential documents which was comprehensive in its bicultural expression from theory through to practice.

From my experience in education I recognise that most high level documentation fits into a functional Western system of language which could be described as aspirational but is deliberately broad. The intention of such language is to provide as much flexibility as possible to assist with maintaining content which is current. The reason for this is that institutional processes of change are generally based on policies which require time-consuming checks in the interests of academic rigour. Therefore, use of broad language makes the programmes as nimble as possible. However such language does not demand authentic relationships based on Te Tiriti o Waitangi, at least in public-facing documents. Two of the confidential sets of course-level documentation showed that the bicultural consciousness reached below the surface. However, one of them stopped when it came too close to journalism independence. Such systems, what goes into documentation, fits into what Ahmed (2007) described when she proposed that so much of the way Western tertiary institutions operated as white spaces. Ahmed's experience straddles from Australia to the UK and includes experience in the

US and therefore her view is global, which suggests that tertiary institutional whiteness is global, deeply rooted and difficult to shift.

Transforming Western systems may appear impossible, but there were enough narrative indications in this institutional document analysis to suggest that Aotearoa could be the place to establish a global ideal. The most clearly articulated example was in the South Island where the Ngāi Tahu iwi has a place on the council of both Ara and University of Canterbury. Other institutions have similar appointments, however documentation suggests Ngāi Tahu is more tangibly involved in deeper layers of kaiārahi positions. Ngāi Tahu clearly believes change is possible with its vision and connections as articulated in its Māori Futures documentation (*Tokono Te Raki*, n.d.). Such education *relationships* for a healthy and financially sound future for their people, but also for the wider community, can be connected to the argument set out by Stewart-Harawira (2005) for Indigenous knowledge providing access to a pedagogy of hope in the academy. Stewart-Harawira argues for using Indigenous ontologies in teaching, based on a profound interconnectedness, offering a model for transformative public pedagogies. Ngāi Tahu has engaged local institutions using the strengths-based systems of te ao Māori aligned with an Indigenous pedagogy of hope. The final section of this chapter considers some of the systemic issues which emerged in institutional documents specifically around journalism education.

5.3.3 *Responsibility*

This final section follows narratives of *responsibility* in the documents with scholarship. The narratives are: 1) journalism schools predominantly contain anything related to Aotearoa's bicultural nature in theoretical courses, rather than those involving news story production, with some notable exceptions; 2) where Te Tiriti *relationships* and responsibilities are included in applied work, the question becomes whether identifying, sourcing and writing a Māori story is enough, or whether a wider embedding is possible; 3) tangata whenua as Indigenous under Te Tiriti, versus as grouping with other minorities, is problematic.

Courses designed to develop critical thinking are clearly easier to articulate and implement with bicultural content. Examples include collaboration, media ecology, intercultural communication and mahi tahi among others. However, there are

established arguments that it will only take the graduate so far. Husband (2017) observes that over many years he has seen journalism students happily engage with critical insights in course work, but struggle to sustain it once in the workforce. Course-level documentation applying journalism skills were almost devoid of bicultural consciousness. The one exception was the first group of confidential documentation.

Applied areas of journalism education need to be used in this context to activate the norms of news work because they have been shown to be sites where practice blinds practitioners to the power they wield and even the racism they can activate (Downing & Husband, 2005; Matheson, 2007; McGregor & Te Awa, 1996; Nairn et al., 2012; Stuart, 2002; Van Dijk, 1991). Even applying journalism practice in education with one story becomes a limiting exercise. Having one, or even no specification sets up the potential for a limited or reactive focus on issues related to tangata whenua. There is one programme, among the confidential documents which illustrates ingrained threads of relationship with te ao Māori, including a project. Similar potentially effective examples have been recorded globally in deeply engaged journalism education projects labelled as community, or inclusive, or health, or solutions journalism, rather than being related specifically to Indigenous peoples (Cullen, 2010; Elliott et al., 2019; Mason et al., 2016; Romano, 2015; H. Stewart et al., 2012).

The bundling of Māori with diversity has long been challenged in wider society (Fleras & Spoonley, 1999; Spoonley, 2015; R. Walker, 2004). The problem was clearly illustrated in the second group of confidential documents which recognised tangata whenua, but then almost immediately bundled them with minorities and also immediately noted journalism's right to independence in the same document. The narrative was a clear maintenance of that independence over and above *relationships* and *responsibility* inherent in Te Tiriti, and the exercise of journalism as power which scholars in Aotearoa and globally have identified as a problem (Matheson, 2007; Phelan, 2012; Van Dijk, 1991). That maintenance is an ongoing site of tension for journalism education and its claim to independence in recent decades at the same time as journalism is being accomplished and taught in a different way by different cultures (Goodman & Steyn, 2017; Hanusch, 2013; Middleton, 2020) through to stronger calls for de-Westernisation in media and communication studies (Garyantes, 2012; McMahon & Chow-White, 2011; Papoutsaki, 2007; Waisbord & Mellado, 2014).

Scholars are rethinking journalism, and acknowledging broader practices of advocacy and social empathy journalism while defending the purity of the task (Peters & Broersma, 2017; Schudson, 2013). The sharp injection of independence immediately after expressions of cultural consciousness was clearly a narrative of holding onto Western journalism's ideal of independence. The narrative sits uncomfortably with the more fluid interpretations of the way the world that journalism school graduates enter works, and with the social *responsibility* of their practice.

5.4 Conclusion

Chapter 5 responds to the research question: How is biculturalism articulated in the documentation of tertiary institutions that host journalism schools? The articulation which came through in documentary narratives is distilled under three headings: *Deficit*, *relationship* and *responsibility.*

Māori *deficit* was established as a mechanism responsive to government policy settings which then to a significant extent appear to limit the ways that institutions are able to respond. Meanwhile, tangata Tiriti students and educators were not measured on their bicultural consciousness, although that appears to be changing. There were signs that government and institutions were shifting in tone, although *deficit* appeared to remain a difficult narrative to shake. Rather than necessarily foreground any *deficit*, with tangata Tiriti or tangata whenua, I argue that the narrative of *relationship* appeared to be a more hopeful and productive way ahead for tertiary institutions. Institutions recognise the importance of *relationships* with tangata whenua, or in some cases specifically mana whenua where they are able to have singular *relationships* such as Wintec with Waikato Tainui, or Ara and UC with Ngāi Tahu. However they appeared constrained by some of the Western ways of operating that they need to respond to, and the *deficit* narrative provides a window into the limits of responsiveness. Drawing on Gergen's (2014a) guidance for research, the narrative of *deficit* emerges from mirroring, while the narrative of *relationship* is a product of world-making. Finding a way through this functionalism is both a challenge and a generative opportunity for Aotearoa New Zealand institutions and there was evidence of a shift that was in its infancy.

Years of data reporting by institutions show stubborn disparity for Māori, for example AUT and Massey make plain statements about the issue. Against that history, incrementalism is questionable given there is ample evidence in Aotearoa New Zealand education that institutions following a strengths-based kaupapa Māori philosophy achieve results (Berryman et al., 2018; Bishop, 2012; Bishop et al., 2014). The mana-enhancing, interdependence adopted when mainstream institutions are guided by kaupapa Māori philosophy is a relationship which responds to Te Tiriti o Waitangi in its fullest sense. However, it takes courageous leadership (Berryman et al., 2015). Journalism educators can take *responsibility* for these *relationships* now, and some of the course documents provided a glimpse of the courage required. The first confidential group of documents were a revelation in terms of their clear articulation and commitment, particularly when putting new skills into practice in a culturally conscious way. Such vocational education in the application of journalism skills potentially expands for journalism graduates what have been described as their interpretive resources (Matheson, 2007; Zelizer, 1993). There may be arguments that publicly available course level programme documents mask biculturally conscious work in action, but it is hard to see and the documents certainly provide no mechanism for ensuring it happens each year. Such work requires biculturally conscious journalism educators, and it was promising to see institutions increasingly taking *responsibility* for guiding staff on that journey. However, I argue that it needs to happen at a more courageous pace to alter the power imbalances identified when tangata whenua are measured in deficit at the same time as there is a clear deficit of relationship with te ao Māori in journalism education programmes. The next chapters now engage with educators to understand how they experience biculturally conscious journalism education at a personal level.

Chapter 6 – Narratives in time

Journalism educators have a relationship with the institutional documents and therefore with narratives of *deficit, relationship* and *responsibility*. Those narratives will be kept in mind over the next three chapters, which rely on stories of experience retold in confidence by journalism educators in Aotearoa New Zealand universities and institutes of higher education. Following Clandinin and Connolly's (2000) guidance, the stories of experiences were analysed as three-dimensional narratives formed by time, place and the relationship. For this study the three-dimensional idea was imagined as a hologram, which helped in visualising temporality, place and relationship as always acting on each other. While those three dimensions are at play throughout, each of the chapters are framed specifically by time, by place and by relationship in that order. Therefore, this chapter uses the dimension of time to explore the secondary research question: How do educators articulate their personal experience of biculturally conscious journalism education?

The time dimension in this chapter is used to observe the way experiences over time build and contribute to how individuals think about and understand biculturally conscious journalism education. The stories span from times in which the interviewees were learning how to be journalists, to when they became practitioners of journalism, to when they were transitioning to becoming educators, and reflecting on that role. This chapter draws only from the four primary interviewees, who were all former journalists who are now responsible for either all or parts of journalism curriculums at their institutions. They each took part in at least two semi-structured interviews as well as some ensuing interviews-as-chat (Bishop, 1996). They were asked to come to the first interview with high point stories of experience from the past when they felt biculturally conscious journalism teaching and learning was alive. We then critically engaged with those experiences, including using bicultural consciousness and whiteness as critical reference points. The interviewees each have their own sections for their stories of experiences and within those sections the experiences are discussed. Confidentiality has been used in this research, and gender-neutral pseudonyms have been used for each person in this chapter.

6.1 Chris' personal stories

Chris' section is in two parts. It begins with five stories which contributed to Chris settling on the Māori term manaakitanga as his teaching philosophy. The second part is based on a story which again contributed to the reflective building of a different way of viewing source relationships through the lens of te ao Māori.

6.1.1 Reflecting on cultural consciousness

While working as a journalist overseas, Chris researched and wrote a story which uncovered facts about an isolated Indigenous community. The population was being taken advantage of by someone with a local business. Chris had no interaction with the community, but he talks of a connection.

> *When I think about that place and those people that I tried to do a little bit of good for. That's what motivates me. Same with Māori. I don't want to perform it. I don't want to be an expert in it. For me, it's more a quiet thing.*

Educators draw on their personal experiences of a profession worthy of teaching and this story is a good example. One of the elements regularly cited as a purpose and motivation in journalism is helping those who may not have the power to help themselves (Broersma, 2010a; Deuze, 2005), which Schudson (2013, p. 173) would likely call a "social empathy" reporting. It connects with a widely recognised intrinsic motivation of journalism practice described as interventionist (Drok, 2019; Hanitzsch, 2007). Interventionist may not be a term Chris would immediately use to describe the way he thinks about his journalism and his education role. "Quietly" doing good, rather than "to perform" any expertise in Māori was his motivation when he considered bicultural consciousness.

Chris connects with experience during a pōwhiri on a marae with journalism students to explain the way he identifies his journalism education practice in Māori terms. He describes the warmth and manaakitanga of a marae guardian's welcome:

> *He was just a gentle, warm, low-key guy who made you feel welcome. He understood that you were a bit shy, a bit embarrassed being on his space. He enacted in a genuine way what manaakitanga meant. That is part of the reason I feel this strong commitment with my students. Not, 'guys, you all will do Māori culture now', because to me it's*

another version of the same old colonising white thing. To me doing manaakitanga and hospitality and graciousness and reciprocity is very different.

The sense of manaakitanga during the pōwhiri in the marae environment has clear signs of transformative learning, particularly given the possibility of change at the level of his identity (Illeris, 2014; Mezirow, 1978). Chris adds detail about how particularly post-graduate journalism students were like family for the year, and there were basic principles: "Like being kind to each other. And not have a competition to sort of overwhelm our class ethos". He is also available outside work hours because journalism is not a nine-to-five profession and students may need guidance on a story. Hence, Chris identifies with the manaakitanga which captivated him in the pōwhiri in contrast to "guys, you all will do Māori culture now". He builds on the contrast with overt manifestations by reflecting on his relationship with his cousin, who is Māori:

Because he is Māori, it doesn't mean he wants to talk about his whakapapa. So not presuming that everyone is into the external manifestations. And yet there are some things about him that you might stereotypically say are Māori values. Like a sense of looking out for other people.

I went through this period of trying externally to be all overly Māori. My cousin pointed it out to me in a quiet way, 'what are you trying to prove'. So, it has made me think, how should we teach it? And stop trying to teach the external markers. But emphasise pronunciation and all that sort of thing properly.

In relationship with his cousin, Chris came to understand that not all Māori wish to overtly express their connection with te ao Māori. On one side of the bicultural equation educators, journalism students and graduates will have their own connectedness and confidence, and possibly shyness and embarrassment which Chris recalls on the marae. On the other side are Māori, and here I extend this imagined collective group to include Māori students, Māori sources for journalism students' stories and Māori educators. Just as Chris has settled on an outward manifestation of his bicultural consciousness, so too Māori will have done the same thing either consciously, or unconsciously. Tangata Tiriti are counselled to never assume about Māori and an individual's relationship with te ao Māori, particularly given what has happened since 1840 and given the renaissance of the past 50 years (Ritchie, 1992; R.

Walker, 2004). I am reminded of Walker's point that Māori have had to be bicultural since the 19th Century, a valuable point for tangata Tiriti to think about as we explore bicultural consciousness. The next story was used by Chris to illustrate his point of manaakitanga in teaching. The story occurs in a current affairs discussion which is a staple ingredient of journalism schools globally:

> *One of our Māori students pulled up the coverage of the terror raids*
> *back in 2007 and how mainstream media in her view othered Māori*
> *communities in the Ureweras as radicals. She was asking the*
> *question, "what's changed so much in terms of the way we covered*
> *Christchurch?" The way the media has adopted the Prime Minister's*
> *"they are us" line is for her problematic and probably for some people*
> *in the Muslim community. Surely it's not "they", it should be "we".*
> *We talk about things like manaakitanga, but do we enact protecting*
> *the mana of people within the classroom space and the*
> *conversations? Probably not well sometimes. The student was*
> *struggling to make her point so I really tried hard to make sure that*
> *the class saw her point. I am conscious of manaakitanga. It's my job*
> *to help protect the mana of the speaker.*

The 2007 Urewera terror raids will be discussed in more depth later in this chapter. This Māori student illustrates deep insight in referencing the raids, the 2019 Christchurch mosque terror attack statement by Prime Minister Jacinda Adern, and its implied inclusion and exclusion in Western society (Lloyd, 2019). Such teaching points are ripe for biculturally conscious teaching and learning about journalism, and educators need to be able to seamlessly develop these with students. In the three-dimensional space of narrative inquiry I visualise the Māori student's whakapapa and history at play with Chris and others in the room. In other words, time went beyond that room. However, the primary illustrative point here is Chris' connection to manaakitanga and guiding a student through the session.

After our first two interviews several months earlier, Chris said that he was not sure what biculturally conscious journalism education may look like, however the time and the opening appreciative questions about high-point stories allowed him to critically reflect. Towards the end he expressed how valuable the time had been. In the process manaakitanga had crystalised as a way for Chris to describe his teaching and learning. The process supports my choice of the social constructionism framework as future-forming research-as-action (Gergen, 2014a; Gergen & Gergen, 2008), the use of

appreciative questions (Cooperrider et al., 2008; Whelan, 2014), and recognises that in narrative inquiry researchers need to remain mindful that they are always part of the process in some way (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000).

Critical questions remain in the wake of this group of stories, questions that suggest gaps which will be used as future-forming points. For example, the worthy goal of doing stories that make a difference in the interventionist (Hanitzsch, 2007) spectrum of journalism is a contested area because of challenges to the role and power of the journalist in the relationship, for example who decides who needs help, what help and why? The idea of white saviourism arises, and unthinking application of such journalism in teaching and learning would raise questions about whiteness in journalism education (Alemán, 2014). Motivation may not be enough to critically reflect on the dangers of whiteness and it is also unlikely to guarantee to deliver for students the sort of transformative effects Chris experienced personally in the pōwhiri. In fact, the school no longer uses noho marae for educators and students and so the experience which made such a difference to Chris is not available. We revisit marae and pōwhiri later in this chapter, but it is valuable here as a contrast to Chris' references of "do Māori culture" and "external markers". He had a perception that making the programme more biculturally conscious would mean needing to fit more into a programme, and yet he had experienced discomfort in situations relating to Māori and could not see the importance of students needing to engage with such experiences. For all the importance of manaakitanga and motivation, I argue that it needs to be a portal to something more tangible in the journalism programme. What also comes through in this melding of storytelling and discussion is the lack of awareness about what an authentic engagement with te ao Māori in a student journalism newsroom may look like. This uncertainty is an important narrative to keep in mind in this study.

6.1.2 Challenging norms in journalism education

This second story retold by Chris involves a reporter who is Māori and a graduate of the school as a guest speaker for students using the example of a death-knock, which is newsroom jargon for approaching family of someone who has died and asking for an interview (Morris & Tyler, 2018). A Māori family member had died in tragic circumstances. A reporter talked to the family, who agreed to go on camera to tell

their story. They agreed to the body being filmed, which is unusual due to tapu, the Māori term in this context means 'set apart'.

> *The story was a gift. And it wasn't a gift to go away and sell off. It was a gift to you. As a reporter. An ongoing expectation about a relationship that went with that. That meant [news outlet] didn't put it online. Any time they want to use it again for something, including to show our class, they will go back to the family. That was a tikanga which was appropriate to that family and that place and action. That was a great example of reporting with, by, on Māori. Deeper principles of reciprocity, partnership, and respect. A genuine, meaningful negotiation, on equal terms. What I understand to be one of the most important things about the bicultural approach, not just presuming that something you learned in a Māori course 10 years ago is going to apply. It was a meaningful experience for me.*

I consider the story in two ways through the impact it had on Chris and students, and then about the idea of the story as a gift and how Indigenous philosophies may contribute to journalism education.

Chris and I both found the story deeply meaningful because we come from a generation of former journalists and educators who understand story ownership in terms of journalism as copyright and a commodity owned by the employer or journalist. News as a commodity is part of normative Anglo-American principles and logic upon which commercial Aotearoa New Zealand news media is historically based (Chalaby, 1996; Schudson, 2008; Thomas, 2008; Zelizer, 2010). In contrast, the reporter and the family were operating in a Māori paradigm of knowledge which understands the story as a gift through Indigenous spiritual understandings of non-human resource ownership, and values of interdependence, reciprocity and responsibility towards others (Kuokkanen, 2006, 2007; G. Stewart, 2017b). What Chris experienced and retold is founded deep in te ao Māori. When such normative ideas are challenged and altered, transformative learning can be considered (Illeris, 2014; Mezirow, 1978). But Chris said not all the students would have 'got it' at such a deep level.

Across our interviews the topic of sources arose numerous times and some of those discussions open an avenue for further exploration. Informationally, Chris teaches

students that the journalistic norms which form the basis of mainstream news practice in Aotearoa New Zealand are not universal.

> *About the only thing studies of journalists all around the world agree on is that you shouldn't betray your sources. Think about that in terms of Māori values.*

> *It comes down to that fundamental human value of reciprocity, doesn't it? If I make a promise, I should keep it. And that was that story I was telling you about with [reporter], I think, that is so important.*

The promise in the gift story set the tone for reciprocity and empathy which resurfaced at various times in our conversations.

> *Teaching them how to be empathetic and show reciprocity and be very good communicators with their sources while still keeping their boundaries and having independence, is to me the kind of problem which is one that comes up again and again for students and young journalists.*

The importance of coaching students to as deep a level as possible when interviewing sources is why Chris spends almost two weeks training them at the beginning of the postgraduate course, striving to develop "exceptional communicators". He likens interviewing to teaching, in that it is all about the relationship:

> *You can be independent and a very good communicator and keep them very well informed. The number one thing sources need, which I do not to think I did very well as a journalist, is be an exceptional communicator every step of the way.*

Chris does not specify bicultural content in the curriculum, but discussion revealed a ready-made space in the two weeks of interviewing preparation before students embark on their stories. Such work would equally come with "external markers", however it could be highly naturalised in the way Chris describes interviewing training. To draw on Papoutsaki's (2007) idea, non-Western and Western journalism ideals become available at the same time. Chris' retelling of the guest speaker's story, and his own reflection of wider processes makes the interviewing teaching such a logical situation where Western and non-Western may find some natural crossover. Even if they clash it is a necessary clash as Aotearoa New Zealand is bicultural and journalism

educators must heed global studies which present the many worldviews in journalism (Goodman & Steyn, 2017; Hanusch & Hanitzsch, 2017).

A final point to note is the holding on to ideas of boundaries and independence in journalism. Use of the contested term objectivity tends to be slowly disappearing from journalism education. However, related ideas are injected here almost as protective mechanisms of a ring-fenced journalism ideal. This tension is interesting to keep in mind as narratives build through this chapter. The next educator takes a far more active stance on biculturally conscious journalism education.

6.2 Sam's personal stories

Sam retells two stories of personal experience which have influenced the way she teaches. Sam is not Māori, but is comfortable in te ao Māori having been raised in a community connected to marae, therefore a relationship maintained across time. That connection is a backdrop to a "dreadful" experience during her journalism training. The educator did not have enough knowledge to prepare for a noho marae, so Sam and another student helped the class learn a waiata. When they arrived at the marae, the educator told Sam she would have to be their kaikaranga, representing them at the front of the group and responding to the sung call of welcome from the marae kaikaranga:

> *I'm like, 'what? I can't karanga'. He said 'well, you have to'. I said 'but I'm too junior and I don't know how and I've never been taught. It was awful'. In the end I had to do it and I've never been more horrified and mortified in all my life. The kuia who called us on pulled me aside later and said 'good on you for making the effort, I could see you were really uncomfortable, but it's okay, this was a safe space to do that, don't do it again'. And I thought 'absolutely right'. So I've been very aware of that burden of representation for Māori students and I don't ever want to put one of my students in that situation. And I don't ever want them to feel that they have to carry the weight of their Pākehā students' learning.*

Sam's personal narrative moves to a newsroom which she joined after graduating. The local iwi had recently reached its Te Tiriti o Waitangi claim settlement with the government, and the editor set a watchdog tone in the newsroom at the same time as Sam took on responsibility for the Māori 'round', reporting on tangata whenua stories.

> *The editor was very fixed wanting to report on 'what they had done with our money'. That was the frame for the storytelling.*

> *It was awful. I just felt like I was constantly battling the news outlet's own racism. It was a tough gig for a young reporter. I don't know whether I did it that well, but certainly made an effort. We were still pluralising Māori words and there was a group of us trying to campaign to have the style change. I ended up setting up meetings between senior editors and the iwi to try and broker a different way of doing things, because I was going to the iwi and trying to relationship-build and contact-build and it was just this toxic history between them and the news outlet.*

She recalls being so personally offended by the news outlet's attitude and coverage that she felt more like an advocate for iwi in her reporting:

> *I remember a story where I wanted it written a particular way, I stayed in the newsroom and negotiated with the news editor around 'it has to have this headline, don't you dare slap a shitty headline on this story'. I stayed until the publication was put to bed to make sure that's the way it ran. It did feel a lot like putting a stake in the sand and trying to fight for a different kind of journalism.*

I suggested that such advocacy was needed at that time, and Sam's response was revealing:

> *I really, really worry we don't attract enough Māori and Pasifika into journalism and then we send them out there as pretty much lone practitioners in white newsrooms. It's a bruising experience. It's not healthy. It's not enough to hire one, two Māori reporters into the newsroom. I don't know what the threshold is but there's a certain number or proportion of people you need for it to really make a difference to the culture of a place and for it to really be safe for those handful of reporters.*

Those experiences over time have armed Sam with clarity about how biculturally conscious journalism education must be embedded through programmes, and she referenced those points in the interviews. However, rather than look at what she does as a result, it is the other actors in the narrative who I consider here, the white males involved.

This narrative is about three white men whose actions build on each other. The first is the journalism educator who did not know enough or did not prepare well enough to

know. The second is the editor who established a watchdog frame of storytelling for what 'they' had done with 'our' money, a reminder of the limitations in fourth estate journalism when it comes to race (Van Dijk, 1991). The third white male is myself, with what on the surface looks like a relatively innocent, almost rhetorical, question: "But that's perhaps the sort of thing that needed to be done at the time?". The question is loaded with location in time, then and now, and the relationships involved in those times. It assumes that such practice is the past and would not happen now. My question was automatic, and presumptive. Sam immediately draws on her bicultural consciousness forged over time, understanding that whiteness is alive and well and waiting for students in institutions, and graduates when they go out into the world. Indeed Aotearoa New Zealand journalism continues to struggle to understand its place and practice in societal power structures as they relate to tangata whenua and other communities (Abel, 2013; McCreanor et al., 2011, 2014; Moewaka Barnes et al., 2012; Nairn et al., 2012; Phelan & Shearer, 2009; Ross, 2017).

Before our graduates get to such newsrooms they go through journalism education. Therefore, the most valuable focus in the narrative is the whiteness which was alive in our interviews as journalism educators. Ahmed (2007) describes this awareness I am striving to reveal as a phenomenology of whiteness, the idea being not necessarily to fix and change something, but to always be aware or open to noticing whiteness. Fixing and changing is what has happened since the educator and editor acted in those ways in Sam's story, but it does not mean whiteness goes away. It's shapeshifting capacity makes Frankenburg's (1993, 1997) guidance valuable when she advises to remember the temporal, spatial and social characteristics when tracking whiteness. The resilience of whiteness is visible in the three-dimensional space of this interview, and Sam's answer is important because whiteness has been found alive and well in journalism pedagogy (Alemán, 2014). Her stories and response make the narrative past alive now and for the future. It also poses a question: For educators like myself, who have not had her formative experiences, what do we need?

Journalism and journalism education have such specific ways of being and doing which are cultural artefacts, and tend to be monocultural not only in Aotearoa but globally (Broersma, 2010a; Deuze, 2006; Hanitzsch, 2007; Hirst, 2010; Husband, 2017; Matheson, 2007; Schudson, 2007; Thomas, 2008; Zelizer, 2004). Shifting outside of

those cultural norms, however we may do it, is going to be uncomfortable. However we have witnessed in Sam's stories of experience mortifying, identity-forming and uncomfortable transformative learning (Illeris, 2014; Mezirow, 1978, 2009). Logically, then, discomfort will be part of the process of developing bicultural consciousness. Journalism educators to begin with need to consider whiteness in their assumptions about what they do and say every day. The idea is not necessarily to change practices or habits, although that may become a result, but to open our taken-for-granted practices and habits about both teaching and learning and about vocational journalism practice to the force of critique (Ahmed, 2007). One way of doing that is to develop a closer relationship with te ao Māori and the next story from another educator reflects on one form, on a marae.

6.3 Alex's personal story

Alex's high point story of experience of biculturally conscious journalism teaching and learning occurred during an annual noho marae for staff and students. The noho marae is part of a media communications theory course which is strongly bicultural in what it contains and in assessment, and involves journalism educators. However, the journalism skills courses in the overall programme have no assessed bicultural outcomes for students. Alex's story describes a highly emotional experience leading students and staff onto a marae:

> *I found it quite intimidating to suddenly stand on a marae speaking in Māori when English is my second language. So I wondered how they were going to take it. They took it really well. But it was nerve-wracking. It was quite cool to see how students came up to me afterwards and were really rapt with it as well. There was an atmosphere of support that I'm unfamiliar with culturally.*

Mana whenua who welcomed the group were interested in the pepeha he developed and delivered to explain where he was from, and therefore who he was.

> *I guess it made me realise that in Māoridom where you come from has more importance than in other cultures. Then for a group of people to actually care about that and ask me more questions about it, that was quite interesting and revealing. Revealing in that was a real cultural difference that existed within New Zealand.*

Being intimidated can be seen to be part of taking the first step on a journey to establishing a relationship. Going through the "intimidating" experience in a different cultural space became a powerful tool for a different kind of relationship with not only mana whenua, but also tangata Tiriti in the form of the students. When such a door is opened in an experiential space, in those different relationships, and in the retelling for this narrative, additional layers become available. For example, during our interviews when I questioned Alex further about why it was a high point, he considered in more depth the idea in te ao Māori that "where you come from has more importance than in other cultures". He was referring to the interest of both tangata whenua and tangata Tiriti in his pepeha, which included describing the place his family was originally from before Aotearoa and the people to whom he is connected. Walker (2004) explains that standing and identity for Māori were defined both by geography and by family connections. Physical features such as mountains and waterways became an iwi's geographical markers and the people, including forebears named in the pepeha, are deeply connected to that land. Journalism educators and students need to understand how far removed the idea of place is from Western notions of property (Coombes, 2013). Pepeha here serves as a lesson in Māori history, but it is also an experiential cultural artifact alive in the present because its value can be seen to have activated relationships for the future.

Retelling the story also provides an opening for understanding Alex's experience in the pōwhiri as potentially transformative (Illeris, 2014; Mezirow, 1978). Alex was intimidated and yet he is comfortable in public speaking, he speaks more than one language, including living in other countries mixing multiple languages. Alex is sitting in the front row on the marae, with its history and meaning in te ao Māori, being welcomed and responding in a centuries-old process. With all of that unspoken and spoken ritual stimuli at play, this was not an accustomed speaking space for Alex. The idea of tangata Tiriti being in the cultural space of another worldview and surrendering oneself to that space is one which has been addressed in scholarship by tangata whenua and tangata Tiriti, particularly in education (Berryman et al., 2015, 2018; Bishop, 1996; Brown, 2011; Jones, 2001; Ritchie, 1992; Wevers, 2006). Those scholars urge tangata Tiriti educators to devote the time and open themselves up to the

feelings of discomfort because it is an essential, practical part of the journey towards a bicultural consciousness.

I used 'potentially transformative' deliberately at the beginning of the previous paragraph because experience remains only potential unless it continues to be engaged with and developed. Transformative learning can be a sudden reorientation or cumulative over time (Mezirow, 1978, 2003, 2009). In this case there is a certain reorientation at the time, but Alex had not acted on that reorienting experience in any tangible way, although in the interview he connected in discussion with a certificate in teaching and learning involving Te Tiriti content. In his development of the idea of inclusive journalism, Husband (2009) warned about becoming entranced by self-congratulation in inclusive experiences. He said "understanding" becomes a commodity for the inclusive journalist. I argue that journalist educators need to see this in themselves before they can effectively work with journalism students. The challenge for journalist educators is to ensure that they, their students and graduates begin building the capacity to ongoingly develop a fluency they can sustain as an inclusive journalist educator and inclusive journalist. For example, take Alex's feeling of intimidation. Husband (2017, p. 431) identified such feelings as "fear of exposure, or loss of control of the exchange" in situations where inclusivity is at stake. Loss of control means a loss of power. In the Aotearoa context Wevers (2006) advocates for tangata Tiriti understanding our automatic way of being as power approaching culture. Wevers argues that when we make culture powerful deeper personal relationships become possible with being in this land with tangata whenua. Berryman (2015) and her fellow practitioner-researchers acknowledge the time and courage it takes for mainstream education leaders to place themselves in an interdependent relationship with tangata whenua. Alex's experience in a pōwhiri has been valuable for discussion because many educators in Aotearora would have either experienced them or observed them on marae. This chapter has already touched on some of those and there are more which will be explored with the final educator in this chapter.

6.4 Elliott's personal stories

Transformative experiences on marae will continue to be developed now with Elliott, this time focusing on students and educator, before returning to an educator-specific

focus with a story about the transition from being a practising journalist to teaching journalism.

6.4.1 Marae levelling and rising up

Elliott reflects on how the noho marae he has witnessed generate a levelling effect between groups of individuals in personal stages of apprehension—post-graduate and undergraduate, older and younger students, male and female, Māori and Pākehā. He describes marae as having "an incredible effect of levelling the playing field". He recounts a story of a Māori student who had challenges in his personal life which impacted on the early stages of his programme:

> *Because the playing field isn't really level to start with, you actually see Māori students rise up and you wish in your heart that it was like this all the time, that they believed in why they were there, studying to be a journalist. You see it on the marae. Is it because the cultural environment makes them feel more comfortable? Well yes, obviously, but it's more than that for me and I'm thinking back to a particular marae. By three quarters of the way through the year when we're at the marae and he is now speaking on behalf of all of us in the whaikōrero, my skin is tingling now when I think about the rising up of this young man.*

To think with Elliott's retelling of the marae experience, I used the three-dimensions of time, place and relationship in a figurative hologram form, physically walking around the imaginary hologram beside my writing desk, imagining the individuals and group on the marae. I have been involved in enough pōwhiri myself, complete with many emotions, to bring a vivid imagination to the three-dimensional space. There is the clear illustration of personal perspective transformation (Mezirow, 1978) during the marae experience within the wider journalism programme. However, the young rangatira cannot be disconnected from the others in the room, and particularly the fellow students he is speaking for. The entire student cohort in the space is playing a part in the rising up of the young rangatira, or leader. Illeris (2015) draws on decades of education research-as-action to argue that the greatest potential for transformative learning is available when students are actively in collaboration. Illeris urged educators to use project-based learning. The marae experience Elliott described was not part of a defined project, but it fed into multiple areas of learning. It provides this section with the opportunity to think holistically about the marae experience as integral to any

programme. To develop this discussion further I will draw on additional quotes from Elliott:

> *I saw him recently on campus when he was revisiting as a graduate. He walked straight up to me and we hongi in the middle of the campus. Now 10 years ago that wouldn't have happened anyway. To see this guy come through our programme and emerge as a powerful young rangatira really was for me the highlight.*

Queried about why it would not have happened 10 years ago, Elliott said back then "we were still talking about cultural diversity rather than being it and modelling it". Elliott also talked about noticing over time students becoming more open, if not fully informed, and about how they wished they had been introduced to the marae earlier.

> *They definitely do feel that it's a hugely beneficial experience both in a journalistic sense and in a personal sense. A lot of them say things like 'I wish somebody had done that for us two years ago' or 'this is the first time I've been on the marae, I'm just about to leave, why is this the first time?' I say, 'well, all first year students are invited to be called on to the marae and become mana whenua'. They say, 'Oh, I never bother with those orientation week things'.*

Elliott's experience of the hongi, a traditional Māori greeting, and observation of change deepen support for awareness of societal changes which illustrate developing bicultural consciousness (Ainge-Roy, 2017; Berardi-Wiltshire et al., 2020; Brookes, 2019; Coster, 2018). I use his quotes here to draw attention to the journalism education context for bicultural consciousness. Pōwhiri have become important in education, although they can be contested as the colonisation of te ao Māori (Derby & Moon, 2018). However, following tikanga and bringing together te ao Māori through pōwhiri and marae experience embedded in the meaning of a journalism programme, along with the collective identity of fellow journalism students, clearly has the potential for transformative learning. The experience establishes a cohort which is collectively committed to that field of learning, which in journalism can include a strong social, public-oriented consciousness (Deuze, 2005; Hanitzsch, 2007; Schudson, 2013; Waisbord, 2019). It provides an opportunity for a commitment to thinking and acting in a different way in journalism. Te ao Māori through the experiential space of the pōwhiri on the physical space of the marae becomes a powerful context for place-based (Penetito, 2008) journalism teaching and learning.

Most journalism schools have altered marae experiences from overnight experiences to one-day activities due to cost and to the availability of proficient journalism educators to lead them. However, our marae discussion led to a wider exploration inspired by the increasing awareness of te ao Māori in society:

> *If we made the point that our teaching must be derived from Treaty principles, and journalism as a public good must be derived from Treaty principles and not just when you're handed a taha Māori story, but that you see every story through the lens of biculturalism. It's idealistic. Even utopian. But I wonder if that's not the direction we should start going in.*

> *What would be wrong with having a class on court reporting in the marae? That would naturally bring in how is court different for Māori and what are Māori court workers, what's their role? You would automatically have a different conversation going on.*

Elliott's retelling generates an image which captures Freire's (1994) exhortation that every skill and profession needs to understand the work they are being trained for in the political, legal and cultural contexts of the world and educators need to facilitate these contexts. Elliott's imagining of pragmatic public-oriented journalism education which begins with the founding document of Aotearoa, Te Tiriti o Waitangi, as a starting point gels with Freire's case for such critical pedagogy as a pedagogy of hope. The term "utopia" used by Elliott has been resurrected in scholarship connected with education which particularly draws on Indigenous ways of thinking and being. Utopia "means hope: that things may be better than they are, that evil can be defeated, sorrow and despair conquered, and injustice tamed or repaired" (Bauman, 2004, p. 64). In Bauman's thinking, Elliott should not give up on utopia as an unattainable end. Bauman's argument for utopia has been connected with Indigenous ontologies in teaching, based on a profound interconnectedness, offering a model for transformative public pedagogies (Stewart-Harawira, 2005). Stewart-Harawira's model connects to Elliott's Tiriti-based public interest journalism when he says: "It's curriculum-based because Aotearoa New Zealand journalists have to know this stuff." In other words, our discussion has led to Elliott proposing that te ao Māori be hard-wired into journalism education.

For Māori journalists it comes naturally, albeit in negotiation with the news culture within which they are working (Middleton, 2020). Therefore, just as Māori journalists experience Western media mechanisms which they have to keep negotiating, so too tangata Tiriti journalism students and graduates need te ao Māori mechanisms. The question recurs: What capacity do journalism educators need to build so that they have the capability to guide journalism student learning in a curriculum which has a Māori worldview hard-wired into it, and how? That question directly relates to the transition from being journalists to being journalism educators, which is the topic of the next story.

6.4.2 Journalists and educators

This story retold by Elliott begins with an interaction between a journalism educator Kuini Rikihana, who is Māori, and an editor speaking at the annual conference of journalism educators in December, 2007. The editor was speaking about his publication's controversial coverage of what became known variously as the terror raids by police, or Tuhoe raids or Urewera raids after the iwi and the region in which they took place (Webby, 2015a, 2015b). Armed police raided what they said was a group of activitists training to use violence and illegal weapons. The news coverage which the editor was talking about was contentious and it has been the subject of analysis in scholarship, documentary and, of course, in journalism. Indeed the news coverage itself has been critiqued (Abel, 2008; Devadas, 2008; Paish, 2018; Webby, 2015b, 2015a). Kuini asked the editor if he thought a headline used in the publication could be seen as racist.

> *What this illuminates is the difference between journalism educators and journalism practitioners. Because we're educators and academics we're thinking and talking all the time and can sit here and talk about really difficult stuff without it becoming personal.*
>
> *Kuini Rikihana asked a reasonable question unpacking a headline about whether it was inadvertently racist and just that word had the editor's back go up. I quote as best as I can from memory, "I refuse to dignify that question with an answer", because he felt he was being accused of being racist.*
>
> *It was an awakening for me that there is a significant difference in the way we think as journalism educators on these issues from the way that news media industry thinks about it.*

Elliott recalled Kuini as "clever and thoughtful and non-judgemental and just so didn't deserve the reaction she got, asking a very legitimate question in an academic inquiry context." I was interested in reactions from other journalism educators, including whether Kuini was backed up in the room at the time, and Elliott did not think so:

> *I think people definitely supported Kuini. I went up to her afterwards and said, "I understand that you weren't accusing him of personal antipathy towards Māori people but that it was just sort of an issue of institutional racism in the repetition of current practice".*

> *Would that situation in that conference happen now? Not to the same extent but still a little bit. I mean, there isn't an academic in the world who doesn't understand the idea of the dominant group's privilege? But when you put that to journalists they often say, where are the laws that privilege Pākehā? Because they don't see it as a sociological thing. They just see it as a political thing.*

I asked whether a Pākehā journalism educator would have asked the same question:

> *Probably not at the time but she raised it and we all saw it even if the industry that day didn't. I think a Pākehā journalism educator would raise it now, that's probably a big difference.*

There are interdependent elements in Elliott's story and our discussion. The first is the initial point Elliott wanted to make about the awareness of the difference between a journalist and a journalism educator and when and how that awakening happens, and the second is a change in the relationship between educators and industry between 2007 and now.

Elliott's awakening is typical of the timing and impact of a shift from thinking as a practitioner to educator in journalism education (Banda et al., 2007; Dube, 2010, cited in Goodman & Steyn, 2017; Russell & Eccles, 2018) and wider tertiary education (Fitzmaurice, 2011; van Lankveld et al., 2017). It is timely to connect with the institutional document analysis which made it clear that institutions are beginning to establish requirements for educators to understand the country's bicultural nature as it relates to their roles and responsibilities, and importantly to their curriculums. Theoretical and practical courses of informational learning for cultural competence are important. However, Elliott's "awakening" was not informational. The retelling suggested it was to some extent transformational (Illeris, 2014). Illeris argues that

work is one of our many identities, each of which can be shifted in transformation. Bicultural consciousness as a powerful context for having the shift be even more tangible, transformative and timely for educators at the time of their transition. Elliott's story illustrates that being in relationship with te ao Māori will challenge journalism practice in something as simple as a headline, or more complex as a reflective discussion between working journalists and educators. We cannot lead that discussion for students in the everyday practise of journalism during courses if we have not mindfully been through some form of transition, if not transformation, in relationship with te ao Māori and Te Tiriti o Waitangi ourselves.

Educators would certainly have led scrutiny and debate with students at the time and throughout the long fall-out from the Urewera raids. Interestingly the raids came within months of the publication of *Pou kōreō: A journalists' guide to Māori and current affairs* (Archie, 2007) published by the industry-funded Journalism Training Organisation (JTO). Schools were moderated by the industry through the JTO at the time (Hirst, 2010; Thomas, 2008), and yet in this conference setting industry would not engage in a discussion with an educator about, for example, a headline. Any critique is moot here, but it serves to help reinforce Elliott's point that tangata Tiriti educators who were silent then would ask the same question now and an editor might not respond in quite the same way now. "Not to the same extent but still a little bit." Since 2007 there has been a shift in societal bicultural consciousness captured by Elliott in a story of his experience facilitating a discussion panel at a local event involving a respected community figure in a predominantly middle class tangata Tiriti area:

> *I started the whole thing off with 'okay, let's start by talking about how you got fluent in te reo' and off she bursts into te reo Māori. Now this would never have happened in a New Zealand middle-class fundraising event 10 years ago. I think that we all should take a te reo class. I think it should be something that university lecturers have to be able to do at least a good mihi.*

> *I think the media does have a role in leading society. I'm not advocating necessarily for sort of partisan journalism, but I am saying that after we've had a really good national conversation about something, the media should help us move that conversation on.*

Elliott makes an interesting comment about being accused of being partisan:

As soon as you take a side you're apparently no longer a journalist. I don't think that's well thought out enough. So, do we need neutrality from our reporters? Yes, we need detachment. Do we need them to say I'm getting out of bed to make sure the world doesn't change today? No.

However, he also acknowledged not only was te reo increasingly an expectation in news media, but also in education:

Wouldn't it be great if students went out into the industry and said to editors "but all the teachers speak te reo Māori". Wouldn't that have an influence on the industry? We just need to find the time and motivation and if necessary the compulsion to do it. We need to get over ourselves and understand it's an important part of our job, not just a nice to have.

Publications in print and online have translated their mastheads into te reo, Māori place names are pronounced correctly, broadcasters use te reo on a regular basis and scholars have begun looking at the social phenomenon in Aotearoa New Zealand (Ainge-Roy, 2017; Berardi-Wiltshire et al., 2020; Brookes, 2019; Coster, 2018). In another part of our discussions Elliott said that it was possible some of the shift could be put down to years of good journalism education. Elliott used our discussion to reflect on changing times and the changes that educators may need to make, such as learning te reo. However, his grappling with the 'partisan' issue reflects a wariness of going too far, and also connects with the still deeply ingrained logic of journalism among journalists and educators (Drok, 2019; Goodman & Steyn, 2017; Hampton, 2009; Hanusch & Hanitzsch, 2017; Waisbord, 2019). In one of the documents analysed in the previous chapter, and in all four interviews in this chapter, there is a hesitancy expressed about going too far with bicultural consciousness before threatening some invisible line of partisanship. In other words, not only will journalists and editors likely still argue with a journalism educator's sociological discussion of news, at the same time journalism educators will also think twice when working with students about whether they are broaching a partisan line in journalism education. Therefore, despite societal and news media changes, there are still journalism educators and their graduates who need to continue interrogating their interpretive resources to see the power and the possibility of racism of their daily business in Aotearoa (Matheson, 2007). It requires more than hoping for an "awakening" at a journalism education

conference, and logically calls for a more intentional biculturally conscious process be put in place for journalists who wish to become educators.

6.5 Conclusion

Transformative learning can be discerned as a consistently underlying narrative in this chapter to answer the research question: How do educators articulate their personal experience of biculturally conscious journalism education? It is valuable to think about the transformative learning narrative through journalism educators reaching varying layers of identities (Illeris, 2014).

Figure 6

Bicultural consciousness in transformative learning identity layers
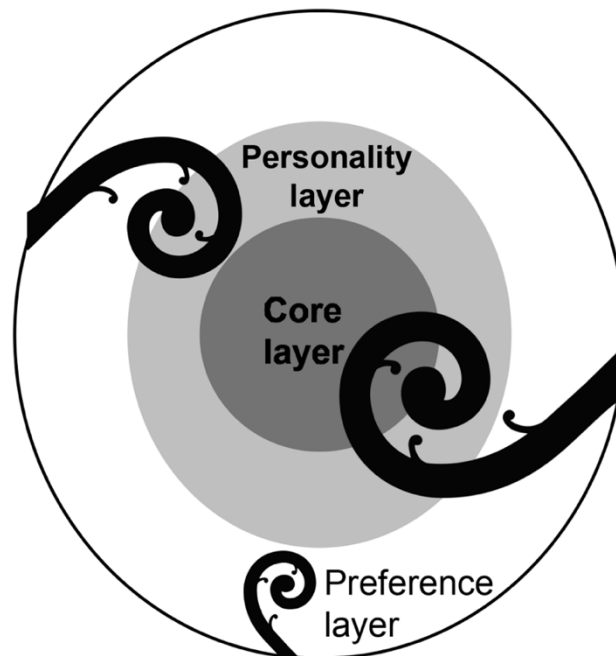
Note: Illeris explained that deeper levels of transformative learning are required to affect different layers of identity. Adapted from Transformative learning and Identity, by K. Illeris, 2014, Taylor Francis. Copyright 2013, by Knud Illeris. Fern Koru, Em Elvin from Noun Project, Creative Commons.

Figure 6 adapts the three layers of identity which Illeris argued are reached through transformative learning which is both psychological and psychosocial in relationship with others. The figure draws on Bishop's (1996) metaphor of the koru, or fern fronds, representing stories retold in the social environment, allowing journalism educators to reflect on their experiences so the transformative potential of the narratives may reach deeper layers of identity. Using this figure, it is possible to think about the

different layers of transformative learning which are active across biculturally consciousness stories of experience in terms of time.

Sam's stories were from her journalism education, from newsroom experience, and now teaching and observing news media, and illustrate how transformative learning can be a disorientating dilemma. They were clearly transformative experiences embedded at the core layer of identity at the time of the events and therefore continued to be active across time. The stories or experience retold by Chris, Alex and Elliott suggest they reached at least into the preference layer of identity, and in some cases possibly deeper. Chris retold stories of the Indigenous community, or the marae experience, of his cousin, of manaakitanga with students, and of the story as a gift. Alex recounted his experience leading students in a pōwhiri and delivering his pepeha. Elliott reflected on stories of students and pōwhiri, a public hongi, Māori spaces in teaching and learning, the difference between journalists and educators, and on te reo. To a greater or lesser degree there are elements of discomfort accompanying bicultural consciousness, what Mezirow (1978) would call disorientation in transformative learning theory.

Each story provides a rich well for discussion to further our understanding of the potential for biculturally conscious journalism. As a result of the original appreciative questions about high point experiences we were able to discuss the stories more deeply, and then in this research text they have been developed further by drawing on scholarship. However, understanding cannot simply be left to become a commodity which is recognised as a potential problem for journalists, and I argue journalism educators, as they expand their repertoire in the quest for greater inclusivity in journalism education (Husband, 2009). Hence, I use Chris' story of the gift as an inspiration to think about developing interview training. I use Alex's story to call on the need for such discomforting experiences to be interrogated more deeply by journalism educators personally, and with their students. Both Chris and Elliott used their stories and our ensuing discussions to think about how biculturally conscious journalism education may be made more tangible in courses. Their explorations recognised that more needed to be done, and that in some ways changes may challenge some of the normative preparation of students for mainstream news media. This was the point

made by Sam in her concerns for Māori students facing monocultural environments when they graduate.

However, before changes are made for students, I argue that we tangata Tiriti educators to a greater or lesser degree are likely to need to put ourselves in positions of discomfort in relationship with te ao Māori. That discomfort will be related to engaging with tangata whenua on Māori terms and giving up our position of power (Berryman et al., 2015, 2018; Bishop et al., 2014; Ellsworth, 1989; Husband, 2009; Jones, 2001). My personal blindness to monoculturalism is evident following Sam's story about historical newsroom racism when my response minimised current issues. No current educator may go to a marae unprepared, no current editor would set such a storytelling frame for graduates of our schools, but my automatic reaction was symptomatic of the shapeshifting qualities of whiteness (Frankenburg, 1993). Time may have altered the way whiteness shows up in journalism education and journalism, but it is still there. The transformative biculturally conscious experiences recounted in this chapter provide access to think about the work journalism educators may need to continue for themselves before they address their students' learning. Transformative learning can be sudden as we see in Sam's story, or it can be cumulative over time. However, cumulative transformation needs ongoing engagement in a tangible way, however disorienting that may be personally or for normative Western processes, to build on the base of experiences discussed in this chapter. For example, manaakitanga has been introduced as an idea in this chapter but the nature of te reo, which I have come to understand in my own learning, means it is important that it is not used simply as a translation.

The full sense of manaakitanga and other ideas will continue to be explored in the coming chapters in relationship with Māori. However it is valuable at this point to draw on education literature informed by kaupapa Māori to understand that what I am alluding to here is not simply another course for journalism or any educators. Drawing on my use of the term bicultural in this study, it will take what Stewart (G. Stewart, 2018) calls a radical rebooting of biculturalism in the context of journalism education. The willing exploration among collaborators in these interviews for how journalism education may become more biculturally conscious illustrates lack of understanding in society and in education more specifically about the term biculturalism and why it is

contested. An example of what I am talking about is the hard work done in mainstream secondary schools to build cultural relationships for responsive pedagogy (Berryman et al., 2015, 2018; Bishop, 2012). It is not about adding more to a curriculum. It is not about threatening some invisible line of independence or partisanship in journalism. It is not about having to go to a marae. It is about changing the way we teach and the responsive pedagogy for cultural relationships involved. It will also take an investment of time and not a little courage by journalism educators to lead the way. Curriculum, journalism independence and marae experiences may or may not become part of such change. However, as all of the stories in this chapter illustrated and reflected on, journalism education and educators have changed over time.

Having considered documents and educators, the thesis now progresses to the way programmes may work. The next chapter uses the dimension of place to where and how biculturally conscious journalism education may occur, if it does.

Chapter 7 – Narratives of place and space

7.1 Introduction

Programmes, courses and classrooms as places of journalism education are the focus
of this chapter which answers the secondary research question: How is biculturalism
articulated in teaching and learning in journalism schools? The narrative of place
emerged in interviews and institutional documents, suggesting that biculturalism or Te
Tiriti was most often confined to critical theory courses within programmes, rather
than in courses devoted to journalism skills. That situating is a starting point because in
narrative inquiry, place is both physical and experiential. For example, the last section
of the previous chapter illustrates how marae and pōwhiri can be physical places and
experiential spaces. The retelling of such experiences in turn provides interviewees
and myself, with a place and space where we can think narratively (Clandinin et al.,
2015). As such, place can be analysed as always interacting with time and relationship.

This chapter is divided into three plotlines which are theory, practice, and
experimenting with a three-dimensional space for teaching and learning. In theory,
educators discuss teaching critical media communications courses drawing on stories
of experience. Practice as a plotline considers stories and wider discussion with
journalism educators about courses of practical journalism skills. Teaching and learning
as a three-dimensional space uses educators' stories as an experimental experiential
space for my reflection, in other words the text becomes research-as-action (Gergen,
2014b, 2014a; Gergen & Gergen, 2008). In the theory and practice sections of this
chapter, the confidentiality was maintained by the use of gender-neutral pseudonyms.
However, a decision was made to use no names in the final section because of the
intention to maintain a focus on the experiential space, rather than on someone's
story.

7.2 Plotline One: Theory as a place and space

Undergraduate journalism programmes in Aotearoa New Zealand include a variety of
compulsory and non-compulsory theory courses focused on communication, media or
society. The courses are delivered and assessed separately to practical skills teaching in
journalism degrees. In postgraduate programmes students are assumed to arrive with

that critical theoretical knowledge and awareness from their undergraduate degrees. Students are expected to draw on their capacity for critical thinking, developed in the theory classes, as they progress to learning journalism skills in vocational courses within their programmes of study. The three educators in this section of the chapter are secondary interviewees who were recommended by primary interviewees. They were recommended specifically for their knowledge of what is taught in theory. None of these three teachers of media theory courses were former journalists and they do not teach journalism practice courses.

7.2.1 Whanaungatanga and identity work with students

The courses discussed with the first educator are run in semester one of years one and two of a degree. Much of what can be considered biculturally conscious education is included in year one, including tikanga, a noho marae, and teaching of history. Course leader Charlie explained the institution contracts educators who are Māori and who also have a background in performing arts and educational psychology:

> *They run a day-long workshop, working on building whanaungatanga, so they take the students through processes in terms of their own identity, their own sense of place, and things that represent that, the ideals around where they're coming from in terms of culture.*
>
> *A lot of them come from very middle-class backgrounds and so, if they know any people of Māori descent, chances are they're doing okay, they're middle class as well and so they really struggle with the idea of "why do we need special treatment?" Our student body, despite our best efforts, is often quite white, quite middle class.*

She said the investment by the institution was worthwhile: "We are training the future storytellers, they have the power to shape the narrative and impact on other people's thoughts." They ask their students each year about what Aotearoa New Zealand history they have been taught, which is always little, but she notes a greater acceptance of tikanga. The combination of the processes they go through can have a significant effect on students who are asked to write a reflection which is not graded. She used one as an example:

> *A young white middle class male student started off his reflection by saying "Hi, my name is …, and I'm a racist. I didn't think I was but over*

the last few weeks I have actually learnt that I have been brought up quite racist." I remember reading that and going, "that's a total win", for someone to examine their own prejudices and realise that they're there, and however they've been brought up and what they've been told and what they've absorbed. And that re-evaluating their viewpoint was necessary.

Charlie said the craft-specific lecturers such as journalism build on what has been covered in the theoretical work such as an essay. An assessed essay draws on sessions of recognising and explaining privilege through race, minorities, alternative media, women in media, and other disadvantaged groups. She said whanaungatanga— relationship-building across the year group—and the identity workshop helped connect theory to practice: "It probably works that way because it's for their own personal education as much as direct relationship to what they're going to turn around and do in terms of news or the other crafts." Charlie clearly described the interconnected process that students go through for whanaungatanga as impacting the students personally. There is certainly a description of what Mezirow (1978, 2009) would call perspective transformation, potentially at the level of identity in their learning (Illeris, 2014). If anything was going to connect theory to craft, she felt the foundation of whanauangatanga among the media students does. There is a clear connection between the reflection by Charlie and Elliott's observation in the previous chapter about the impact of marae and pōwhiri on students committed to journalism as a collective, in relationship with each other.

The interactive work described by Charlie captures the idea of bicultural consciousness and specifically Bishop's (1996) argument for whakawhanaungatanga as a way of people connecting and moving through experiential spaces as they shared their personal stories. Informational learning such as history, tikanga and te reo, becomes activated in a culturally conscious way when the individuals of the group are in active relationship. The teaching is effective within the bounds of the course through an investment in effective Indigenous educators. In answer to my question "what next?", she offered two answers. Whanaungatanga and enhanced understanding of personal identities remained active within the individual as part of the group as they progress into their practical journalism skills training. She also believed that the journalism educator maintains that connection in practical work. Therefore, there is a clear need

for journalism educators to have the capability as educators and the journalism vocational course structure to put that connection into action.

7.2.2 'We don't come into the world fluent about cultural differences'

The second contribution from Andy begins with a story of experience from an intercultural communications lecture and tutorial. The story frames what he sees as his remit, which is to get students to think critically about media, culture, reproduction of racist discourses and stereotypes, and the cultural and political forces that have moulded their identities:

> *A very confident Māori student described Pākehā culture as racist in a lecture theatre with over 200 students present. One Pākehā student got quite irate in the subsequent tutorial saying "why are all you lecturers saying the same thing about my identity". I simply heard this as a plea: "why are you making me feel bad about my identity?" I remember it being one of the best teaching moments I ever had. Made possible by me abandoning the prepared script and responding to the students' own impulses in the tutorial. The students wanted to talk about these things, and it allowed genuine bicultural conversation; the Māori student who had described Pākehā culture as racist at the earlier lecture was there, and it was just lovely to see her and the Pākehā student who expressed her frustration properly listening to each other.*

> *I guess, from my perspective, I see the classroom as a space of conversation, a space of story-telling and potential self-revelation, which encourages students to voice their different stories and experiences and open themselves up to listening to the experiences of others in the classroom.*

Andy has noticed that younger New Zealanders have become more confident in talking about the bicultural relationship, rather than being worried about saying the wrong thing. However, such discussion relies on the educator to manage misplaced comments which may be racist to be heard, but not shamed, so the individual and the room can move forward. He reflected on the place of his own conservative family upbringing to illustrate "that we don't come into the world already fluent about recognising and understanding cultural differences". He used this perspective in class to help students think through acquiring intercultural competency. He also uses a *media and society* course teaching, for example how the immediacy of news coverage,

or what he calls "an endless series of nows", contrasts with non-Western cultures which do not always live in a place of "now":

> *I might use this general point to show how that makes it more difficult for Māori histories to be rendered visible within those spaces, because of the dominance of a Western understanding of time. A discussion of this general point might then make it easier for a Māori student to start talking about their own cultural background and the historical narratives handed down through their own whānau or iwi. These openings can create rich pedagogical moments.*

The educator likens his teaching to a performative role. He arrives armed with content, but as the content is apprehended by the student it becomes a lived experience of the students, and so the educator must become the learner in the moment, attuned to the individuals in the room. The story and discussion brings alive for us as listeners Freire's (1994) description of the critical, exacting, consistent educator always understanding teaching in its totality. The biculturally conscious educator facilitates conversations to help students develop a culturally conscious fluency by responding to the totality of the role. The teacher manages in the physical and experiential space, a room of identities in relationship with each other. At the same time the educator is mindful of the media students in the room, their future learning and roles, and maintains a connection with the practical intent of their future. With other theory lecturers such as the next story there was connection with practice, to a point.

7.2.3 When theory meets reality

Glenn is Māori and our discussions began with my inquiry into how he would guide tangata Tiriti lecturers in embedding biculturally conscious content across a course. He says it is possible to include Māori-related content which is topical each week, rather that containing it in a specific week. Media provide plenty of opportunities. He challenges the mostly tangata Tiriti students to think about how Māori are portrayed:

> *I want them when they are out on a job, to go "oh yes, I remember a similar case and how it was reported". For example, the Kohanga Reo Trust fraud case. Coverage in the New Zealand Herald. I think the total amount of money might have been $11,000 or $20,000. On page 52 or 56 there was a businessman, I think it was $150 million fraud. Just a small article about him. Why is this one on the front and that one is in the middle? A couple of years ago there was a doctor in Whanganui. She forgot that her baby was in the car, the baby died. I*

> *have collected the news articles and compared them with a case last year with a Māori family who left their baby in the car and that baby died. Looking at the differences how the media framed it."*

Glenn also drew on his own experience of news media experiences, where he was interviewed on TV as someone who was Māori and a communications scholar, about police practices.

> *I was actually pro the police. That was about three or four minutes. They only put 50 seconds on their website. I said, "we have different needs, we communicate differently". I said, "if a cop knocks on the door, he better be Māori or I am shutting the door and asking for a Māori liaison officer". They didn't include the fact said if I am talking to a Pākehā police officer, statistically I am more likely to be arrested and put through the whole process, whether I did it or not. The Police Commissioner said it's unconscious bias. If you are the person being put through this treatment, I guess you would call it racism.*

The repackaging of the story on the outlet's website led to some angry reader responses when it was linked on the outlet's social media, and the news outlet then produced a story about the angry responses. Glenn phoned the producer to complain but he refused to change it because it did not suit the story angle. "From then I knew, 'okay, they were actually looking for click bait'."

Glenn's story moves news media critique from classroom theorising to the lived experience of institutional racism. His retelling of personal experience takes us deeper into the reality of normative journalism practice which can produce racism. News consumers recognise and react to racist cues from journalism when they are packaged into headlines and soundbites (McCreanor et al., 2014; Van Dijk, 1991). I immediately recognised what the producer was doing to produce an angle because of my own decades of inculcation in a Western understanding of journalism. However, having the person affected by the racism retelling the story in a somewhat resigned way was a numbing experience and reinforced the fact that racism and resilient whiteness (Ahmed, 2007; Alemán, 2014) are alive and well in news media, a fact pointed out by Sam in the previous chapter.

That story arose out of a conversation about the increasing use of te reo Māori on that television station, and Glenn used it to raise questions of hypocrisy and

commodification. Virtually every interview in this study registered at least a passing mention of the increasing presence of te reo in media as a good thing and even something that journalism schools may have contributed to. However, an argument can also be made that it is a commodification of Māori taonga if news practices are not changing. Glenn is torn between valuing te reo and experiencing racism in the same news media space.

7.2.4 Discussion: In theory

Whanaungatanga in the discussion with Charlie, and totality of practice visible in Andy's story are deflated somewhat by Glen's story of experiencing mainstream journalism practice as institutional racism. Within that span, the potential for transformative learning (Illeris, 2014, 2015) discussed in the previous chapter is visible and available for students in a theoretical sense, but not in practice. Bicultural consciousness in education is not a process of logical informative learning adding more to the pot (Kegan, 2009), it is an active connective process captured in the term whanaungatanga which needs facilitation. For example, Andy threw out his teaching plan and facilitated whanaungatanga, although he did not use the term. In his and all cases what Freire (1994) calls the educator's practice in totality can be imagined as active in the space. It is instructive that Charlie and her school invest in Māori with particular capabilities to jump-start the process of whanaungatanga drawing on kaupapa Māori relational process. Andy's retelling conjures a picture of an adroit educator dancing in the performance of teaching and learning, albeit one that was not timetabled and therefore not guaranteed for students. Alternatively, Glen brings to the space of teaching a lived bicultural experience as Māori, including the experience of news media racism in recent years. He is able to quickly recognise racism, call it out and teach with it. Critical communication theory is an important component in journalism education and these discussions and stories provide three effective examples. However, such critical pedagogy has been challenged as still situating the educator as holding the power in the space and so limiting its fullest effect in the hands of the students (Ellsworth, 1989). That challenge therefore poses the question: Will such theory teaching and learning be resilient enough to be called on when applying skills in their practical journalism courses? The next section focuses on practical journalism courses within programmes to consider that question.

7.3 Plotline two: Places and spaces of practice

This section is situated in stories and discussion with three educators who teach vocational journalism courses and who are former journalists. The skills described in this section can be understood within the range of vocational tasks involved in news gathering, story production and publishing, such as how to find stories using research tools, how to interview sources, how to take notes, how to use technology to capture audio or images, how to write in different structures and styles for journalism purposes, or how to use publishing platforms for journalism. Skills are broadly described in graduate outcomes of higher level institutional documents, or detailed in learning outcomes listed and task descriptions described in course level documentation. Institution-wide graduate outcomes and course-level learning outcomes are generally developed in consultation with employers in industry in Aotearoa New Zealand among others, but task requirements and descriptions are typically developed by educators and updated regularly.

7.3.1 'A practical course, not a sociological look'

In response to a question about how Aotearoa New Zealand's bicultural nature was reflected across a three-year journalism degree, Jackie explained her practical journalism courses each have one designated week with a Māori focus, including: Introductions and sign-offs for broadcasting; an exercise she developed herself involving a 100-word list of te reo; students are required to read literature on reporting on Māori (Archie, 2007); they do exercises using an interactive online map (*Māori Maps*, n.d.) to identify marae in geographical areas and find contact names and details for sources; they are required to sign off in te reo in an audio podcast and a video story. Under a broader diversity story requirement, students have the option to do a story relating to Māori as part of a diversity requirement. Every story they write requires a reflection on the inclusion, or not, of diversity and why. "As a group we talk about how they can reach out to find sources not mirroring themselves. Which encompasses how to seek out Māori without making it seem a token gesture".

I questioned how students and graduates might think about power structures in society, including news media, as they go about their work. Jackie responded: "It's not

a sociological look. It's more of a practical look. It's more of a checklist. Students that come here, they're not going to fight against diversity or biculturalism."

> *What they need are the practical skills to identify and do something about it. It's more, "how do you do it for journalism? And this checklist on the people you interviewed, how far outside your own path did you go? How many male, female, Māori, Pākehā, were there?" That sort of a checklist makes them start thinking, "I went to the convenient ones". And isn't that what they do in the newsroom?*

Jackie expects students to arrive in her courses ready to engage their sociological knowledge with journalism skills. The engagement then is expected to happen in informative learning in the classroom and situated learning. Such learning includes newsgathering such as research and interviewing, news story production which may be written, audio or video, and news publishing, which may be on a school website or even published in mainstream news publications. In situated learning, Lave (2009, p. 207) explains that "knowledgeability is routinely in a state of change", surrounded socially, culturally, historically. Educators in this process play a key role being former journalists who become guides through the process and as assessors of outcomes. Such processes are consistently described in literature on journalism education globally and in Aotearoa, as a way of maintaining consistent practices desired by industry (Goodman & Steyn, 2017; Hirst, 2010; Mensing, 2011; Thomas, 2008). Jackie said students may identify that they do not have a spread of sources, something which she linked to typical news practice. However, as Lave (citing Hutchins, 1993, 2009, p. 207) points out the capacity for error correction will only go as far as the contours of a student's "horizons of observability". The question is, does measuring oneself against a checklist create enough of a horizon in practical terms, one which goes far enough beyond industry practice in the application of vocational journalism skills so that Māori and Tiriti-related issues in news media may be connected with (Abel et al., 2012; Phelan & Shearer, 2009)?

7.3.2 Craft-focused teaching

Practical skill is connected with the historical idea of journalism as a craft, rather than a profession, and the term craft was used consistently by Alex. For example, the term "craft focus" emerged from a discussion about a teaching qualification he was completing, which included developing knowledge of Te Tiriti history and tikanga as

well as understanding how to integrate te ao Māori and mātauranga Māori as different ways of learning.

> *The thing that really stood out for me was learning about all the legislation that was put in place to really disenfranchise Māori in terms of voting rights, property ownership and the rest. I knew they were disenfranchised but I didn't know that it had been done step by step through legislative measures.*

He said he intended to use what he learned to draw on Māori ways of knowing in teaching processes, for example notions of kaitiakitanga. However, there was a limit:

> *I feel like the students arrive and they know this stuff. It was already embedded in the curriculum. We have a focus on diversity in media representation and getting to know about other cultures and minorities. We have guest speakers. Then there's the marae visit, there's te reo pronunciation assessments.*

He described journalism courses within the programme as, "about the practicality of doing journalism and not as much about theory and concepts underpinning it." I was interested in Alex's thoughts on how some journalism practices have been challenged as contributing to racism, and related teaching. News values such as conflict and immediacy were two examples I used.

> *I think that immediacy versus building relationships, that's just a tension that has always existed for a journalist, whether you're Māori or Pākehā, so we talk about that a lot. Conflict I would look at it differently from what you've outlined in terms of the peaceful society kind of being at odds with the virtue of challenge. The teaching and learning we focus on is holding decisionmakers to account.*

Alex's programme has a robust process over multiple years where students build sources reporting on rounds in real situations for stories which then go onto the institution's publishing platform. However, there is no assessable requirement for stories which bring students into relationship with Māori or Te Tiriti. Interestingly, having worked and studied in Europe for several years as a journalist, Alex identifies a significant issue in mainstream news practice in Aotearoa:

> *Sometimes, when I moved back, I'd open the news site on my phone and five out of the top six stories were about some sort of crime or car crash. "It bleeds, it leads" is really prevalent in New Zealand.*

Alex has his eyes opened in a teaching and learning theory course and sees the value in adopting and adapting elements of te ao Māori and mātauranga Māori in teaching practice. However, he does not see a further extension of a different worldview that may alter or challenge hands-on journalism practice for students. Using a different worldview would take classroom teaching into a realm where craft journalism, with its assumptions anchored in news values and norms of news work, are practically applied in relationship with Māori. The "it bleeds, it leads" comment is important, because it is a problem which has been labelled in scholarship as journalistic practice that underpins racism (McCreanor et al., 2014). Similarly normative assumptions of media holding power to account are argued to have maintained injustice and inequity when media chooses who to hold to account (Phelan & Shearer, 2009; Van Dijk, 1991). Alex's own tertiary teaching qualification has shifted his cultural consciousness about the relationship between tangata whenua and tangata Tiriti. However, it has not shifted that consciousness far enough to consider that journalism education for the "practicality of doing journalism" needs to change. Encapsulated in that rigidness is the issue of the divide between informative and transformative learning. The delivery of vocational journalism as a neutral set of skills in their application is the reason why "it bleeds, it leads" became so ingrained in journalism practice and by extension stubbornly continued to contribute to representation of Māori which impacts on Aotearoa society.

7.3.3 Motivation as a space of learning

In this third educator discussion focused on journalism practice, Chris discussed relying on and being responsive to student motivation, using two anecdotes about working directly with students and another in a current affairs session in class. A Māori student doing a story related to his own marae was clarifying teaching of how to work with sources, people being quoted on the record, and sources seeing stories before publishing, which is not accepted practice in mainstream journalism. Chris recounts:

> *I said, 'how would you want to do the story?' And he said, 'well, I want to just talk to the people at the marae and see what they feel comfortable with and do it that way'. And the last thing I was going to do was say, 'now as a journalist, you better get the story, they're on the record'. I said, 'okay, you go with what you want'.*

The second Māori student wanted to be a fashion journalist.

> *He's connected to his marae and everything else, but I had a strong sense he didn't want to do Māori stories. I was there to support him in what he wanted to do. 'How can you be a fashion journalist? How can you do that? If you want to start talking about or bring Māori into that, great. But if you don't, then I'm not going to push it on you'.*

Showing interviewees stories that have been written before publication challenges the normative Western framework of independence (Hampton, 2009; Peters & Broersma, 2017) on which Aotearoa New Zealand news media foundations are also based. Chris' examples are familiar to me. Journalism programmes in the past have also had a prescription for certain types of stories, although there had always been some leeway. When I began teaching a decade ago, I followed strict, moderated prescriptions but have increasingly relaxed those over time. I rely on student motivations to gently introduce them and build them through courses, including showing stories to sources if needed. The pragmatism from Chris comes in the knowledge that not all graduates go into mainstream journalism, and they gradually build on their skills working with sources. Chris also drew on his own ongoing learning where he observes educators drawing on intrinsic motivation to get to a standard. "The students are mostly focused on how am I going to get this story done? How can I get more stories? What can I do with this story? How will it be a better story?"

This story is about a current affairs session, which typical of journalism courses. The session was led by a student looking at the Black Lives Matter issue in the US and state prosecution law and its effect on African Americans:

> *We grew the discussion about why don't we report prosecutorial discretion in New Zealand? What does it have to do with the incarceration rates, charging rates and arrest rates of Māori. Has it got something to do with the sub-judice rules we have here? So much of the judicial process is sort of a black box until the trial is finished. By the end, it's too late. I thought that was an interesting and very useful discussion about how does race work, and racism work, in journalism? What causes it? It wouldn't make any difference if students could kōrero until they are blue in the face if they can't ask hard questions about racial issues of the justice department, bureaucrats, judges.*

One or two others spontaneously got inspired by that. There was good analyses of reporting on race issues. That sort of session is worth more than top-down things. Intrinsically generated is richer and more useful. Meaningful. Try different ways until you have got something that actually makes the light bulbs go off."

The story is a comprehensive example of a journalism educator identifying motivation and tapping into experience and knowledge to develop deeper discussion with students, and so typifying critical pedagogy work of educators with students (Freire, 1970, 1994). Questioning of inequity entrenched in Aotearoa assists journalism graduates going out into future roles to understand the societal status quo, but not accept it. Chris' story is a great example of bicultural consciousness in action, ready to go when it can be called on. However, the example leaves me with a nagging feeling that it is ad hoc, and such an opportunity may not arise in any given course. Of course, the separate teaching of media law in the programme presents a structural place ripe for embedding such biculturally conscious teaching and learning together. By extension court reporting teaching in the programme is another possible natural space to situate such teaching, a point made by Elliott in the previous chapter. That nagging feeling I referred to brings me back to the fact that these opportunities for teaching, and most of the stories retold and explored in this study, rely on either random opportunity, or on specific curriculum points when te ao Maori is granted entry into journalism education.

7.3.4 Discussion: In practice

The containment of Te Tiriti or bicultural-specific teaching mostly in theory courses showed up in both institutional documents and in virtually all educator interviews. The divide generated some tension when I probed the point in some interviews with journalism educators. The tension ranged from direct pushback that skills courses were not places for sociology, or the craft focus was most relevant, to a grappling with how difficult it would be to fit more in. Tensions mark fissures in narrative inquiry as sites for deeper inquiry, and new stories can be imagined (Clandinin et al., 2009). For example, the educators appear stuck in forms of delivery repeated each year, and my response is to imagine how they might be delivered differently.

Jackie and Alex both felt that significant bicultural content was managed by theoretical courses, and that practical teaching and learning was the role of the journalism craft courses. Biculturalism in practical journalism was reduced to a checklist or in Chris' case the ad hoc reliance on student motivation. The stories and discussions raised questions about how far critical pedagogy (Freire, 1970) and even transformative learning (Illeris, 2014) in media communications theory will translate itself in those circumstances if journalism educators are relying on checklists or opportunities which may or may not arise. Journalism skills are important and they need to be mastered, however they are not neutral. For example, there is Aotearoa scholarship to draw on which shows how the same news story could be written differently through Anglo-American and Māori worldviews and experiences (Stuart, 2002). Research has also shown how Māori journalists do just that (Middleton, 2020). Contrasted against these examples, the teaching of journalism skills as neutral, with perhaps the addition of a checklist, comes across as monocultural. Such craft teaching is an epistemological position that Freire (1994) would call magical, in which skills have a neutral quality with so much importance that the educator needs only to deposit it. Therefore, educators need to be cognisant in their delivery of practical craft skills. Effectively connecting content with te ao Māori takes an investment in time to develop capacity, and then educators need to be prepared to go through a process alongside students (Jones, 2001; Legge, 2008). Examples cited in this section are valuable. However, they have an underlying ad-hoc nature to them, and even a week dedicated to Māori during skills courses does not gaurantee active engagement of students' new-found skills in relationship with tangata whenua. Without that activation, bicultural consciousness remains theoretical, rather than pragmatic. At the same time Te Tiriti o Waitangi is an important structural space in Aotearoa society, but it is not paid the same attention as other structures such as local government and courts.

Most educators interviewed for this study acknowledged that there was a need to somehow bring a more active bicultural consciousness into journalism skills courses. They were not sure how they would achieve it, seeing it as adding more to an already tight course rather than altering what is there, responses which I align with Kegan's (2009) image of adding more to the pot of knowledge rather than transforming what is already in the pot. There is incongruity in the fact that the most impactful learning

experiences for journalism educators illustrated in the previous chapter were transformative in relationship with Māori, and yet they generally do not ensure each year that their students have the same opportunity. Most educators were also aligned with theory educator Charlie that students arrive at journalism school with significant gaps in history knowledge, and in experiences of tangata whenua who are outside their white, middle class Aotearoa understandings. Interestingly everyone agreed that students were now far more conscious and comfortable with tikanga and te reo. However, there are still gaps to fill related to practice. Checklists, craft skills and motivation are unlikely to be enough.

The issues raised in this theory-practice divide are addressed in three ways in this thesis. The first has already been addressed at the end of the previous chapter, and that was the need for journalism educators to develop their ability with cultural relationships for responsive pedagogy (Berryman et al., 2015, 2018). This recommendation will be revisited and developed in Chapter 9. The second is the exploration of a teaching tool for journalism education in the next section of this chapter. The third under the relational heading of the next chapter, Chapter 8, is the idea of developing a personal praxis of manaakitanga modelled through institutional relationship and teaching and learning ideas.

7.4 Teaching and learning as a three-dimensional space

The theory-practice divide is well entrenched in journalism education and will not be easily dispensed with. I have explored stories of experience with journalism educators in practical courses so far and to these I will add three more. However, the purpose of this section is a pragmatic research-as-action use of the three-dimensional narrative space (Figure 4, p.94). I employ it here as an exploratory teaching tool and not to analyse any of the stories themselves beyond posing questions. I bring my experience as an educator, together with wider scholarship which has contributed to the research, along with reflection in my researcher diary. The three-dimensional space in narrative inquiry is an analytical tool which helps researchers to think about the dynamics at play in people's experiences, drawing on time, place, and relationship. Here I develop the vignettes in different ways to illustrate how the three-dimensional space can be both a reflective tool, but also one which could be used actively going into situations in

a culturally conscious way. The stories were told by journalism educators, however, names are intentionally not included in this section. Names have been left out to assist in maintaining the primary focus on the three-dimensional space as a teaching and learning tool, rather than the stories and the individuals themselves.

7.4.1 Opportunities to check white privilege

The first story is a vignette retold by a journalism educator of a teaching session dedicated to multi-media skills included the showing of a *New Zealand Herald* documentary called *Under The Bridge* (Johnston et al., 2017). The documentary was about a school from a community with issues related to low income, high unemployment and homelessness. The journalism educator retelling this story described five or six students staying on afterwards to discuss the documentary and they came to the educator the next day to talk about how one of the group could not understand why the story was published in the first place. The educator described the conversation as the student being told by his peers to "check his white privilege". The educator observed that the particular student's viewpoints had changed quite significantly: "He probably sat a little bit centre right politically when he got here, and I think that has shifted quite a bit throughout his exposure to maybe some biculturally conscious journalism and learning."

It would have been relatively straightforward to meld the excellent multi-media teaching points in the *New Zealand Herald* story with cultural consciousness. The New Zealand Herald produced its own valuable behind-the-story reflection about the project. The reflective video and writing illustrated for example, the time that the journalism team involved in the production of the story devoted to the source relationship (NZ Herald, 2017). Time is a vital ingredient in culturally conscious journalism and the reflection video acknowledged that fact, as does guidance for tangata Tiriti journalists (Archie, 2007). However, a more complex consideration which arose for me in the three-dimensional space was the student's peers telling him to check his white privilege. The peer-learning happened organically, and peer learning experiences are important for students who are often in their formative years after leaving school. The retelling of the story led to me thinking three-dimensionally: What if I had developed this teaching session? How could it have been prepared in a more culturally conscious way, being mindful of possible student reactions during and after

the session? Thinking narratively ahead of this session using the three-dimensional teaching tool may have allowed for culturally conscious teaching and learning to be woven through practical teaching and learning. The vignette also allows us to consider how both educators and students are learners and that the three dimensions of time, place and relationship are always acting on us across a course of study, and in each teaching space. Weaving theory and practice together has the potential to enrich the three-dimensional space of teaching and learning before, during and after classroom sessions.

The story has hallmarks of the experience discussed earlier in the chapter, in the theory teaching session, when an adroit educator has to manage potentially robust debate in the room. I know I have had similar experiences and have handled them in a spectrum from not well to adeptly. Two aspects have played a part in that process, and they are my experience in teaching, and personally taking responsibility as tangata Tiriti for having an ongoing relationship with te ao Māori. For example, in teaching I have increasingly followed the advice offered earlier in the chapter in the theory teaching section and been open with students about my own incomplete journey of cultural consciousness as a way through difficult discussions. The discovery during this thesis of the late Professor James Ritchie's (1992) *Becoming Bicultural*, and his description of a decades-long apprenticeship, has helped me and I recommend the book to all readers of this thesis who wish to develop their cultural consciousness in relationship with Te Tiriti o Waitangi. No two situations such as this will be alike. However, being prepared with personal culturally conscious strategies for occasions such as the student told to check his white privilege is important, and that begins with reflecting on my own privilege.

7.4.2 Aggrieved by so many things and media portrayals of Māori

The catalyst for this three-dimensional narrative vignette was a vocational journalism teaching session in which a guest speaker who is Māori and also a former journalist was asked to speak to students. The focus of the session was to provide students with a perspective of covering stories involving Māori:

> *He was really passionate about the media needing to do a better job*
> *of portraying Māori. He got quite heated and emotional about it.*
> *That had quite an impact on students. It certainly had an impact on*

me. What was really fascinating was after the lesson a few of the students sort of hung around and were discussing it and one of the students who is Māori said he thought the speaker was way over the top and he didn't agree with most of what he said. The speaker's eyes were watering and he was just expressive and got a bit loud.

I asked the educator about his observation of the Māori student:

I guess that this particular student's background is probably with a Pākehā parent and a Māori parent where the Pākehā side is more prevalent in the household, possibly. I'm not exactly sure what would have brought him to have that kind of stance or viewpoint. Maybe he just didn't like the guest speaker's style because he was so expressive. This student is a bit more down to earth, I suppose.

I inquired further about why the guest speaker had an impact on him as a journalism educator and he observed that while the speaker was "aggrieved", his "anger hasn't stood in his way. He's used it to propel himself. I think it drives him". In the three-dimensional narrative inquiry analytical space of time, place and relationship I visualised four forms of experiences in the room: the guest speaker, students, the Māori student, and the educator, all in relationship with each other. I also reflected on myself as a listener asking questions.

The guest speaker called on examples from the past, not only decades ago but to generational struggle. A loud voice and watering eyes can be understood through the intergenerational fight by Māori for justice which is expressed in the title of Walker's *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou: Struggle Without End* (R. Walker, 2004). The guest speaker operated as a working journalist during a time of transformation for Aotearoa when news media was presenting this constant change to the news consumers. Walker characterises media coverage as reinforcing prejudices and myths of hand-outs to Māori. For example, headlines stated Māori being given half of fisheries rather than the fisheries being returned. Te Tiriti breaches by the Crown were constantly stated as Te Tiriti grievances. Language as discourse is everything. The outcome of those earlier media portrayals of Māori through this generational change has been the close watch being kept in scholarship and of research accusing news media of institutional racism in practice (Moewaka Barnes et al., 2012), including in sports reporting (McCreanor et al., 2010), which relates to a story told by the guest speaker. Clearly the speaker's watering eyes suggests that he is still fighting in a struggle without end.

The students who stayed after the end of the session to keep talking about the issues raised were clearly inspired to do so by the speaker's oratory. The retelling of the experience of the debate centred around whether they agreed with the speaker or not. Opportunities such as these are like gold in journalism education and I typically allow time after guest speakers have gone to dig deeper into the student reaction and connect it with the stories they may be doing at that time, or I reflect on them at the next class opportunity.

In the educator's experience of the Māori student's reaction, he draws on understandings of family background and history, which may or may not influence what the student is experiencing at the journalism school. He connects with his everyday experience of the student as "down-to-earth". Ritchie (1992) advises fellow tangata Tiriti to never make cultural assumptions about someone's reactions. He made the point that Māori culture was no fixed thing because it varied from iwi to iwi. It was always adapting and changing, and not to make assumptions that change was all due to outsiders. It is more important to understand that tangata whenua have also changed their lives, based on what they want, what confronts them, and what they need (R. Walker, 2004).

Tangata Tiriti educators should also observe and learn over time. Across many years working with teaching students on noho marae, Legge (2008) came to understand some nuances Māori used as a mask in relationship with other students and the surroundings, and which educators need to be attuned to. What Legge and Ritchie (1992) point to is a phenomenon which Freire (1970, 1994) strives to get the educator to understand, that the oppressed have a deeply ingrained relationship with the oppressor which sometimes the oppressed do not understand. When an educator is at least attuned through listening, a bicultural consciousness is at play, and new possibilities of understanding may present themselves.

7.4.3 A Māori student "called out"

This final vignette to illustrate use of the narrative three-dimensional space in teaching and learning is situated on a marae where a journalism cohort goes every year for an intensive workshop weaving in mana whenua history and tikanga. The educator was

using the story to reflect on how Māori students are in a spectrum of relationship with te ao Māori, stepping out into the world from home and school into university:

> *It's also that whakamā at a time when lots of people expect it's easy to claim your 'Māoriness', and the fact that they feel not strongly enough Māori. That's a really difficult space to be in. I had one student who would have been the strongest student I've ever had so far in his whakapapa and understanding of Māori culture and he was the most connected with his iwi but wasn't fluent in te reo by any stretch. And when we did the marae trip, I asked him did he want to play a role? It was okay if he didn't, but I just wanted to offer him that opportunity. He wanted to lead the waiata and he was too slow to come in with the waiata and one of the women on the marae she called him out later and really told him off for being too slow to back up the speaker. And I was heart-broken for the guy because it wasn't the right way to raise it, she did it in front of everybody.*
>
> *She really shamed him in front of people, she should have known. I thought 'you don't do that to your young folk who are really just gently feeling their way to stand tall in a Māori space'.*
>
> *And she is an educator but she's also very political in her stance around the Māori space.*

When I first listened to that story I had a similar reaction to the journalism educator. I listened to the recording of this story multiple times and as I did I shifted focus to think with the educator's story in the three-dimensional narrative space created by time, place and relationship. As I did so and began to write in my reflective diary, and then in the stages of the field to research texts it was clear this story perfectly illustrated the value of the three-dimensional narrative space.

I began to wonder what was going on with the Māori educator, with the Māori student, with all students in that three-dimensional space on the marae, which sits in this study's storied landscape established for culturally conscious journalism? Since then, I have read a growing body of literature about tangata Tiriti needing to ongoingly engage with tangata whenua. In doing so I have expanded my capacity to recognise that there will always be layers beyond what I can see or hear, as referenced in the two previous stories. For example, Ritchie illustrates with examples how direct Māori can be in their communication at particular times, for particular purposes (Ritchie, 1992). Others have characterised the culturally conscious work ahead of tangata Tiriti

who are prepared to embrace it as a passion for ignorance (Jones, 2001), getting beyond Pākehā paralysis (Tolich, 2002) and non-stupid optimism (Hotere-Barnes, 2015) to identify just a few examples.

My three-dimensional narrative wondering why the educator "called out" the young man is not posed as a challenge to the Māori educator. It is a generative wondering about what a story like this offers the puzzle of culturally conscious journalism education under Te Tiriti o Waitangi. For example, through my reflective diarising and writing the following possible ideas emerge in the three-dimensional narrative space which may inform similar situations future teaching: 1) I could later ask the Māori educator why; 2) I could talk personally to the student by himself to understand his experience; 3) included in that talk I could ask if he was happy in the next session with the class back at the institution whether he would be happy to have his experience being "called out" made part of a discussion; 4) If he was okay with that, I could use the discussion to expand the point that in their work as journalists they may at some point receive or observe similar direct communication. They should not make assumptions, but they do not need to remain silent, and can always ask why, and sometimes they may still be left not knowing everything, and they do not need to know everything. Importantly, all of this would take relationship and time.

7.4.4 Discussion: Three-dimensional spaces of teaching and learning

Reading and thinking with the whakamā story is a good example of how journalism educators can reflect beyond experience when dynamic opportunities arise for biculturally conscious teaching and learning. Vivid experiences mean educators can become more adept to work with journalism students to help prepare them for real life situations either as students or as graduates. There were many stories across the interviews, and at times I discussed with the interviewee what I might do, but at other times I simply wondered what my response would have been. Either way, the three-dimensional space has been a valuable resource and development. A different journalism educator may view experiences differently in the three-dimensional space, which is why thinking with time, place and relationship as an experiential space provides rich possibilities. As I worked through the first two stories using the three-dimensional space, I also came to see that there was an age and experience difference between myself and the storyteller, and a gap in engagement with bicultural

consciousness. This working through has been done historically, but the three-dimensional space also allows for a different way of thinking about the future and going into rich teaching experiences described with strategies in place.

Following Freire's (1994) *Pedagogy of Hope*, we can also see in these stories that students learn but they also teach, if we are listening. Indeed a more nuanced reading of this section will connect educators with the recommendation from Chapter 7 that kaupapa Māori influences of culturally conscious pedagogy in which the teacher is also always learning from the student (Berryman et al., 2018). Educators learn newly in every course because they are attuned to what is happening with each student. Considering the magical or neutral quality of knowledge discussed earlier, we should understand that each student can apply the skills differently and the educator needs to be attuned to these situations. Freire became focused on hope because he felt Western scholarship had become too entrapped by critical pedagogy with a closed loop of critique of his earlier work (Freire, 1970). Indeed this wariness of critical pedagogy is why educators want students to approach others aware of their own partial knowledge and to think beyond Western structures of teaching and learning and research, including in Aotearoa (Bishop, 1996; Ellsworth, 1989; Jones, 2001). By taking the three-dimensional analytical space of time, place and relationship from narrative inquiry to these three stories I can see it offering a possible resource for both educators and students.

Here I have applied the tool in retrospect. However, it would be possible to apply it ahead of time to think about the learning environment that is being approached, such as the valuable guest speaker and marae experiences. In such a way these learning experiences may be approached with the critical eye that we ask of journalism students, but also with an open-minded, hopeful stance that is generative for learning, for community, and for world-making (Bauman, 2004; Freire, 1994; Gergen, 2014a; Stewart-Harawira, 2005). Applying the three-dimensional space before and after such experiences also provides students with a tool for use as journalism graduates to work in biculturally conscious ways. Using the three-dimensional space with students to construct or deconstruct any interviews could be used in journalism education. Stewart-Harawira described Indigenous ways of thinking and being as potentially transformative public pedagogies. Shifting our ways of thinking and learning provides

an opportunity for students to engage in potentially transformative learning which is pragmatically useful for their future roles. Hence, this three-dimensional tool developed through biculturally conscious research could contribute to public-oriented journalism.

In this section I have illustrated use of the three-dimensional space for biculturally conscious journalism education, particularly in rigid institutional structures which may not change quickly. As a tool it has the potential to enrich teaching. There are also other ways, for example understanding a Māori worldview is increasingly important and there is valuable research to call on (Middleton, 2020; Stuart, 2002). Journalism educators will benefit from exploring what works for them personally to help their students bridge the spaces of the theory-practice divide, a way which is culturally conscious, rather than bringing normative Western logic.

7.5 Conclusion: Places and spaces of bicultural consciousness

This chapter has used stories of experience from theory educators and from journalism practice educators to addresses the research question: How is biculturalism articulated in teaching and learning in journalism schools? The underlying narrative is that biculturalism is articulated in theory courses, and only to a limited extent in practical courses. Many stories of experience have been used across the chapter to represent the narrative that few of the programmes require students to take the skills they learn in journalism practice courses and apply them in relationship with Māori. That underlying narrative from interviews reinforces what was evident in the institutional document analysis about the lack of a requirement for practical application of journalism skills in relationship with tangata whenua or te ao Māori.

The interviews which illustrate the different spaces of theory and practice provide valuable understanding of teaching and learning with accomplished educators, as far as they were able to go in their silos. The stories in this chapter illustrate how critical communication theory educators do their job, for example in the course drawing on whanaungatanga. Then it becomes the responsibility of the journalism educator to take students to the next stage in practice. However, journalism educators appear to be passing on a set of skills which could be described as magically neutral (Freire, 1970, 1994). The closest that biculturalism comes to being activated in this chapter as a

requirement in practice is in a checklist and also if students happen to choose to do a story relating to Māori.

The first two sections of this chapter were deliberately structured as theory and practice to illustrate the fact that a significant number of students can go through their journalism education without applying journalism skills in relationship with Māori. Yet, to borrow from the findings of Deuze (2006, p. 399) in multicultural journalism education, biculturalism "is not a separate 'part' of the whole that is society; it is society", and therefore should be given meaning in everyday praxis, not only theoretical discussion. The purpose of the responsive pedagogy suggestion from the previous chapter for cultural consciousness in tertiary education to be more than incremental, but I do not expect journalism education programmes and courses to suddenly become immersively bicultural spaces. Therefore, in response to the theory-practice divide, I used the third section of this chapter to apply the three-dimensional narrative analysis as an exploration of how everyday informative learning in teaching sessions may be expanded with biculturally conscious thinking. However, to manage that I argue there is an imperative for journalism educators to become more active in their engagement with Māori and with Aotearoa's bicultural nature. The final research chapter considers the types of actions that journalism educators may take for those relationships.

Chapter 8 – Narratives of relationships

Relationship is the underlying narrative of this final research chapter in answer to the final secondary research question: How could bicultural consciousness be articulated in as a personal praxis for journalism educators and students? The three previous chapters used different sites for observing biculturally conscious journalism education, which were institutional documentation, educator experiences and then programme structures. Institution, educator and structure are now brought together in one chapter to think about praxis. I draw on Bishop's idea of praxis as a relationship between theory and experience grounded within cultural contexts (Bishop, 1996, p. 58, citing Lather, 1991). Bishop sought to go beyond the binary of theory-experience understanding of praxis in Western scholarship and instead examined what he described as interrelated matrices necessary to allow for other worldviews to arise in relationship. I have drawn on his thinking to both maintain the bicultural consciousness lens of the research, and also to look beyond the theory-practice divide (Chapter 5, Chapter 7). It became clear over the course of the research that the societal shifts in play required a view aligned with the idea of interrelated matrices. Government, institutions, educators, students, media industry and public are some of these matrices. Educators such as myself understand these influences on our work. However we can bring a heightened sensitivity to the interplay of these influences specifically in relationship with biculturally conscious journalism education.

There are two sections in the chapter. To begin, four educators talk about their relationships with the university, with others across the institution and with community. Role titles will be used instead of pseudonyms which were used in previous chapters. The reason for this change in policy is to maintain the focus on the role relationships as the most important factor in this chapter. The roles are Māori adviser, manager, theory lecturer with pastoral care responsibility, and journalism lecturer. In the second section an educator uses a story of experience with students immersed in a biculturally conscious journalism education project to illustrate how skills may be applied in action and reflected on with students as praxis. The intention of this chapter is to consider the relational narratives alive when permission is given to work differently, and also to consider the institutional and personal responses. In so

doing the narrative may offer clues and cues for others seeking to develop a personal expression for biculturally conscious journalism education.

8.1 The educators

8.1.1 The Māori adviser

This adviser describes her role in terms of navigators of waka giving advice to the captains of the ocean-going canoes which crossed the Pacific and travelled around Aotearoa:

> *Those who know the stars, who understand the seasons, who can read the tide, who watch the birds flying left to right and which way they're going and the winds, all those kinds of things, we're looking at the wider context. The environment for the sailing of the waka. That's what I do in terms of kaupapa Māori for the university.*

The visual imagery in the job description brings together an acknowledgement of Māori knowledge, technology, history and environment under kaupapa Māori which is "the philosophy and practice of being and acting Māori" (G. Smith, 1992, p. 1). Kaupapa Māori has a well-established history in education for revitalisation of "Māori aspirations, preferences and practices" which resist the "hegemony of the dominant discourse" (Bishop, 1996, p. 11). The adviser stresses that anyone who wishes to be bicultural must value kaupapa Māori.

> *My world is bicultural, always has been, right from the moment I was born so, for me I see the value in that. It's not a hat I take on and take off.*

> *The things that we're learning should value kaupapa Māori, not just experience that you get from valuing those two different worlds, but actually because it gives you a much stronger focus on people, on the human aspects of being a good human.*

The hat metaphor helps tangata Tiriti to understand that Māori are born bicultural, living in a Western system while being connected as Indigenous. For the adviser her Māori identity is in her life and her work, it has an intergenerational focus including voluntary work for iwi that shapes the world for her children and a society which has at its core people, and universities are part of that. "Our universities have the responsibility to be more reflective of our values and our needs and aspirations." She

describes academics valuing kaupapa Māori for itself and her role in guiding them, and specifically refers to the other three educators who are part of this section:

> *You cannot create a programme without actually having an*
> *understanding of kaupapa Māori values yourself, personally. And*
> *that's a process, it doesn't happen overnight. That comes through*
> *exposure. [The three] have long been working towards their own*
> *development and knowledge and increasing their understanding of*
> *things Māori. They have great relationships with people and they*
> *value them so that's really important.*

The adviser's role weaves through the work of the manager, the theory lecturer and journalism lecturer in this narrative and the work they do developing and putting their courses into action, including in relationship with Māori.

> *People like me have the kind of pivotal role of connecting dots. Saying*
> *"I know exactly who you need to speak to, let's go and make that*
> *happen". Sometimes it works, sometimes it doesn't, sometimes*
> *people don't want to know, sometimes they're like "why would I want*
> *to work with them? They've never done anything". Historically,*
> *unfortunately colonisation has done that. We have on the iwi side of*
> *the fence, a distrust. We're like, "What are the advantages and*
> *disadvantages of us giving up our mana to you just so you can do this*
> *for us? Will you authentically employ these values and ideas, will you*
> *be using our people? Because we don't want just anyone teaching*
> *this stuff." It has to be our people.*

The adviser's example connects directly to the value an institution places on its responsibility for relationship with tangata whenua, not only in words but in tangible actions and that includes financial terms. Her reading of the stars, the seasons, the tide, the birds and the winds in the wider context described earlier means that it is part of her role to guide tangata Tiriti educators to a point of understanding those sentiments. She describes her approach as manaakitanga: "What we should have is just an equal, shared value system where manaakitanga is at the core for all of us. It's a reciprocal relationship and responsibility to look after one another." She brings these understandings to the running of the two-day courses for staff. The courses are part of the university's intentions honouring Te Tiriti.

> *We take people on a little journey over those two days which requires*
> *a whole lot of unpacking and repacking of the waka, in an individual*
> *sense but also as a collective. The ultimate aim is that people just*

develop an interest or become champions or deepen their understanding. We get to remove the ignorant aspects of what we do when we become monocultural. And the arrogance of that. We do that in a way that is done with aroha because it's not assuming anything on either side.

It's opt in. Colleges in terms of the deans of those colleges have made commitments that 80% of their staff would have gone through it. But I think we will get to a point to say every new staff member has to do it because it makes sense.

The adviser describes the steps that tangata Tiriti choose so they have the capacity to either work with students in a biculturally conscious way, or know when to call on an adviser to guide them to the most appropriate person among tangata whenua to work with students. Māori advisers are involved in the design with staff, reading draft course documents to identify the relevance to kaupapa Māori or iwi through the university's Tiriti obligation kaupapa, and identifying the people in iwi who can help shape the course. The work includes checking on assessment value. She uses the example that five per cent of a hundred percent course is not strong enough. "I do it encouragingly. We don't have the authority to say you can or you can't, but they actually do care and listen to us." The adviser explained such layered outcomes through to student programme graduation like this: "When they leave here they have knowledge of themselves regionally, nationally, internationally." Her explanation also addresses the argument that designing an Aotearoa understanding of biculturalism into courses would make it difficult to attract international students:

They don't come here because they want to learn about Pākehā things in New Zealand. We had that push back from academics saying "we've got to think about our international students, not sure that fits there". Of course it bloody fits there. We have this thinking that, 'we've got to look after them and we've got to make ourselves Chinese or Korean'. No we don't. We need to show them manaakitanga. That's a Māori value. That's actually a human value. Just understand it and embrace it, that's my kōrero to people, we don't have to give up any part of who we are, it's about adding value.

The adviser establishes kaupapa Māori systemically, as an institutional policy, in structural mechanisms, and also active among staff who embrace it. Importantly she starts by establishing kauapapa Māori as a personal manifestation of being tangata whenua and mana whenua. When tangata whenua are employed in systemic roles

such as her own, they bring Māori ways of being and doing to their roles and thereby kaupapa Māori in matrices which are personal and professional, for example in running courses and guiding documentation, content and relationships. That content extends biculturally conscious teaching and learning to all students in local and global contexts from a basis of manaakitanga as a human value of relationship. The adviser's narrative of kaupapa Māori can be understood as a gift of Indigenous knowledge offered, grounded in the Māori view of reciprocity, and therefore of Indigenous ontologies woven into the academy (Kuokkanen, 2007; G. Stewart, 2017b; Stewart-Harawira, 2005). These reciprocal and hopeful philosophies are based on manaaki as explained by the adviser, and there is also an underlying non-negotiation about them. There is a logic in such firmness. For example interviewees in this research have at times struggled to think beyond the delivery and implementation of basic skills in anything other than a normative Western form. The struggle suggests they need structured guidance. The next discussion from the manager addresses such resistance being outweighed in the relationships which welcomed these changes.

8.1.2 The manager

The manager is a former journalist and he reflected on an early career experience covering Māori, and his shortcomings and lack of knowledge. That experience helped to shape his awareness that graduates are not always well trained in understanding their own cultural location and capacity to listen across difference. It has also shaped his academic work. Therefore, he is empowered by the institution developing policies and relationship with Māori so that graduates may not have the same shortcomings:

> *It has given us permission to push our students into territory that they're not comfortable with. Nearly all of them don't have a foot in more than one culture and so they've been fearful and tentative and tend to reproduce material we give them rather than thinking deeply.*

The manager quotes a comment by a senior Māori figure referring to the changes as "students not being asked to leave your culture at the door unless you're Pākehā, that way we've claimed to be culturally neutral, within a context of the invisibility of whiteness". The changes are not only challenging students, they also met resistance from what the manager calls a minority of staff. However, they were met by Māori and

like-minded academics supporting the changes, and by stakeholders outside the
university in market research:

> *People at banks and government departments said it was great to see
> a Māori course. There's a wider conversation happening in society
> about what students need in order to be good communicators,
> whether it's journalism, PR, whatever. Without that some of the
> conversations would have been harder within the university. We also
> had feedback from undergraduate students and prospective students
> that "that's really cool that you can do communication in a Māori
> context or from a bicultural context".*

The wider conversations referred to by the manager are manifesting themselves in
news media (Stevens, 2020), and in personal responsibilities (Berardi-Wiltshire et al.,
2020; Skinner, 2017), which have been building since the middle of last century (R.
Walker, 2004). However, activating such a societal shift within the institution requires
structure and relationships in the form of Māori. The manager said Māori have an
institutional power and a voice which must be listened to because it is not tokenistic,
and it is a "mutually really strongly beneficial outcome. They meet mana whenua goals
and wider iwi goals". It also helped to have a significant core of staff who wanted to
make the difference to having a strong Māori influence in the communications
programme:

> *One shaping factor isn't enough but when you have multiple ones
> come together and you really get stuff going. We've got quite a few
> of those, so the position from various people who were resistant or
> were worried about student enrolments could be brought on board.*
>
> *It met people coming the other way, looking for ways to improve their
> teaching. We had people stand up at faculty meetings and say, "what
> about my academic freedom? You can't tell me how to teach. Are you
> going to demand that I do tokenist things in the classroom, saying
> here is the truth and now we will talk about the Māori perspective".
> They were heard, but I think they were isolated voices. Most people
> were well beyond those kinds of ways of thinking. We do that within a
> context of shared values and those values have moved on.*

However, the manager warns that it must come with the understanding that the point
reached cannot be seen as a goal achieved, but part of an ongoing relationship which
will not be static. For example:

There are some Māori academics on campus who say "stuff biculturalism, what's important for us is as iwi to determine our own futures. Our primary relationship is with our culture and iwi, it's not the bloody Crown". So in a context where self-determination is accepted as a basis for any future solutions the relationship between Māori and Pākeha or Crown institutions, in 10 years we may have lost the word bicultural.

Permission is a strong narrative to think about in this section in both a critical and generative sense. Thinking critically, to begin with, Māori have been given permission to come into an historical Western structure and contribute change to the university. Stakeholders such as banks, government departments and students who are consulted when institutions make such changes were supportive. Their permission was important in shifting the attitudes of staff who were worried about including mātauranga Māori in courses. The logic of the market has been critiqued for its influence on institutions such as tertiary education in recent decades (Kelsey, 1993). The logic of the market is just one of the ways the invisibility of whiteness acts in tertiary institutions, who for example use good news stories about diversity and inclusion in marketing (Ahmed, 2007). The dissenting voices may be isolated, but their weight should never be underestimated given the proven capacity for whiteness to change shape when its power is challenged (Frankenburg, 1993, 1997).

Having taken heed of the critical, there are equally generative permissions on which to reflect, and which connect with guidance to maintain a desire for resistance when faced with whiteness in tertiary education (Ahmed, 2007). One is iwi leadership woven into the academy and another is a critical mass of educators "coming the other way". Tino rangatiratanga, or sovereignty is also a strong point of resistance to consider in the relationship activated by "permission". Māori academics are free to express "stuff biculturalism" and argue for tino rangatiratanga. When tangata Tiriti can listen to "stuff biculturalism" and not be confronted by it, or be fearful, then the academy becomes an equitable space. When that happens tangata Tiriti have made relationship more important than anything else. They have taken the permission and turned it into collective activism, resisting those who may fight for a status quo, and therefore world-making for a journalism and wider tertiary education which looks different. Such a different future requires individual educators to step into spaces and take on new

learning they may not have considered when they originally brought their skills to the academy, as we will hear from the theory lecturer.

8.1.3 The theory lecturer with responsibility for pastoral care

There are several relationship weaves in this reflection by the theory lecturer, who represents what the manager earlier characterised as a majority group of "people coming the other way". The weaves are her own research work in relationship with Māori, her decision to learn te reo, and her pastoral care responsibility as a liaison with students from the institution's Māori school. Her research project did not start out with any Māori connection, but is an illustration of how every research topic in Aotearoa relates to the country's bicultural nature. Based on Te Tiriti o Waitangi, I argue biculturalism *is* society, and I draw here on a similar emphasis on *'is'* used by Deuze (2006) in his journalism education and multiculturalism research in Europe. The lecturer spoke of being welcomed by Māori who valued her work, who contributed to it, read it and gave her feedback. As she was increasingly asked to speak about her research as it related to Māori, including speaking with Māori, she felt ill-equipped because it required stepping into a bicultural space at events.

> *"All I did was analyse the documents. I felt very ill-equipped because I had not stepped into that bicultural space. I'd only done it intellectually. I felt a strong sense of the richness of that space in that event. It was starting to strive to be a bicultural space."*

She became increasingly aware that there was a bridge that she wanted to cross from intellectual understandings to the personal, and that language was the way across.

> *I became very aware of my lack of reo. I am very aware of having benefited from my reading of Waitangi claims but I feel like I'm still in the process of approaching it appropriately. As informed as I can be and as in as reciprocal a manner as I can. That's a process.*

The theory lecturer sees learning te reo as a responsibility and a reciprocal relationship which is both personal and professional. She could also see how the institution and its people had begun to go through a process as they worked out what it meant to be in a deeper relationship with mana whenua. As part of the many adjustments that schools are having to make in that relationship, the theory lecturer has taken on a pastoral role

for students from the institution's Māori school who may undertake courses in her school.

> *My focus is on my language study and through that building relationships with the school rather than just turning up as the Pākehā going, "so we want your students, send us your students". By participating in the Māori school as a student and then in whatever form I can by going to events and things and demonstrating a commitment to keep developing my own reo and my own understanding of that school. There are a lot of older students who were coming to develop their language skills to be able to speak it at home with their children, to regain generational loss and grow the next generation. So that's helping me to get a sense of who our students might be, what they might need, and how to connect with them so that's the relationship building I've been doing.*

> *I really feel like I need to do the mahi in the first place. I want to demonstrate to the students my own participation. So that I'm not saying I'm your person, immigrant Pākehā me, I am someone also on this journey of connection. That's part of the ako, that I'm learning and not trying to claim a position of authority or knowledge that's more than many students who come in. A position of learning and from humbleness.*

Te reo becomes the weave of relationship in her reflection. Fear to step personally into a bicultural space is well-documented in the literature in Aotearoa, particularly in education (Bishop, 1996; Hotere-Barnes, 2015; Jones, 2001; Ritchie, 1992; Tolich, 2002; Wevers, 2006). In this case the teacher remained in the intellectual space she had carved out for Te Tiriti o Waitangi as it related to her research. That would have maintained the existing power and privilege. Instead she chose to give them up, and through her personal relationship with te reo make culture powerful and engage with biculturalism at a personal level as an educator (Skinner, 2017; Wevers, 2006). Both she and the older Māori students have put themselves into te reo lessons because of the growing awareness of a bicultural space accessible by the bridge of language. In the process she goes beyond enjoying the richness of the space to a deeper understanding of history and loss represented by the older tangata whenua parents alongside her learning te reo and doing it for the next generation. There is a cumulative process going on which I argue is aligned with transformative learning (Illeris, 2014; Mezirow, 1978) and with relational transformation in transitional justice (C. Murphy, 2017). As a tertiary educator the lecturer has taken responsibility for her

public role. She has stepped from a theoretical understanding of her bicultural relationship and responsibility to a personal understanding. Te reo has become a personal commitment which I characterise as not just a relational action, but an act which is transformative.

8.1.4 The journalism lecturer

Four vignettes recounted by the journalism lecturer help to understand and think about relationships with institutional structures, processes and people. The four involve financial processes, what gets measured in academic time, faculty meetings, and supporting bicultural development for staff.

Financial processes came up in response to a question about the cost of a marae experience for students, and about the process of koha:

> *Our students pay a field levy and that pays for the marae trip. I've been queried over that by administrators here, like "why are we doing this, it's very expensive?" I said, "well, that's what it costs to get expertise". I don't begrudge it.*

> *Every year I jump up and down and make a fuss to get koha. We need to be able to present the cheque or cash or something on the day at the powhiri. And I think "haven't you done the institution bicultural training programme for staff, you should know this". It's a battle every year. I make myself as difficult as possible so it's just easier for them to find a solution and they give it to me.*

Financial systems are closely tied with academic systems through students and research. Measurements of student numbers are by equivalent full-time students (EFTS). The research process is integrated nationally for government funding and follows global practices because of the relationships with research publishing measurements. The system is known as the Performance-Based Research Fund (PBRF).

> *We're on the back foot at the university where we're still driven by EFTS, bums on seats or PBRF, mega research funding, but many of the things that we're talking about here are issues which require time that you can't account for, relationship building for which you need lots of time, not money. None of it fits neatly in a budget spreadsheet of student numbers or research grant money.*

However, across the institution there are opportunities for relationships with leadership, management and committees where the journalism lecturer intentionally challenges monocultural structures. For example:

> *At Pro-Vice Chancellor meetings, at faculty meetings, I think that we have to keep demanding more, it's keeping that issue in front of people. So if we're pushing and pulling and poking wherever we can, I think that's really important, because change doesn't happen without that squeaky wheel.*

In a similar way the journalism lecturer also uses staff development programmes run by the Māori adviser as sites of relationship with others:

> *They're getting to the point where everyone has to do it. It's also a little bit of an opportunity to hold myself to account, like, "am I doing what I think I'm doing? And am I doing enough?" But also I think it's a point where we can coalesce and actually support our champions. It's not being done willingly across the campus.*

> *So I stand up for the programme wherever I can. I keep taking the class and I keep asking to take the class because I think that that's a really important message to send to my managers. And I keep pushing our managers within the college too in terms of, "okay, so having done this how are you going to support us to keep a ginger group active with what we're developing in the programmes?" A few of us asked to carry on with the little support group and we were encouraged to be a ginger group for helping to push for more biculturally aware content and so I've worked closely to try and thread more into my programme.*

They can also be difficult spaces because staff can be at a range of stages in their relationship with Te Tiriti, and she connects these moments with similar experiences with groups of students:

> *You have to sit through classes with some pretty racist stuff that's said. I'm always mindful of how uncomfortable that is for me so I'm aware that in a class where you have a real range of knowledge and experience, you're asking some people to bear with you while you bring others up to speed.*

The university's new structures, or in the manager's words "permission", for recognising Te Tiriti relationship and responsibilities have allowed educators such as

the journalism lecturer a personal authority to do a lot more and to demand more of colleagues:

> *It's a really powerful tool and without it there's less that we would be doing. But I do think that there's a danger of that tick box stuff when you set those things up, too and so people nominate the paper to satisfy the demands of this attribute and don't teach it anywhere else. Whereas what I'm hoping I'm doing is even in the papers where there's nothing flagged around te ao Māori and biculturalism that I'm talking enough about it in a way that normalises it.*

The university's new structure has clearly empowered biculturally conscious educators to make a stand in their relationships throughout the university. The whiteness scholarship urges the maintenance of a desire for resistance in the academy (Ahmed, 2007), following a familiar path of allies in Te Tiriti work, in education and anti-racism work (Came & Griffith, 2018; Huygens, 2011; Margaret, 2013; Titonie, 1998). The journalism lecturer's vignettes on her university-wide relationships illustrate the micro points across the institutions where "normative" monocultural practices, whether they be academic or accounting, will continue unless they are challenged. Our institutions are young in global terms, but most have relationships with both colonial and modern legacies. Being empowered to take them on is promising. However, it is also important to note in these vignettes that maintaining the challenge in institutional relationships can be exhausting. For all of the outward signs of progress, Western systems and processes make it difficult for Māori to participate on their own terms in institutions. If they are constantly having to fight for koha or relational time which is foundational in Indigenous systems then documentation which proclaims Te Tiriti o Waitangi relationships and responsibilities are simply words on paper.

8.1.5 Educators discussion

As this research project developed, it became clear that aspects from these interviews would serve to illustrate many of the interrelated matrices identified as important in biculturally conscious journalism education. The matrices building over the course of the thesis have included: Increasing government and institutional imperatives, but biculturalism or Te Titiri lacking in journalism documentation; transformative learning through personal relationships with Māori being important for educators, but similar transformative opportunities appearing not to be available to students in a consistent,

structured way; educators relying on informative learning in journalism skills training, while bicultural consciousness is predominantly left to theory courses. The educators used to consider these intersecting relationships acknowledged processes of change were in their early stages at the time, and recognised it would take time. Their discussions have been presented here to illustrate how this collection of relationships offers possibilities which are world-making (Gergen, 2014a).

Permission, the term used by the manager, underpins the relationships which can be seen empowering these interviewees. This permission, evident in the adviser's description of structural processes, connects with the institutional document analysis which suggested that government and in turn institutions were requiring more of their programmes and staff to be in relationship with Te Tiriti o Waitangi. While I have zeroed in on bureaucratic processes here, it is important to note that the adviser began by articulating her connection to the spiritual realm and finished by bringing everything together with the te ao Māori understand of manaakitanga. Such relationships that institutions sanction to bloom when they commit to bicultural consciousness offer hopeful signs, but also a window into the work which is to come. When tangata whenua become integral to the institution's systems through kaupapa Māori, then they bring their whole selves and will challenge educators in journalism and any discipline, about the way they have always done things. Hence we can witness the flow-on effect of the journalism lecturer challenging the institution at multiple points if it gets in the way of delivering biculturally conscious journalism education. The challenges being issued to institutions and educators in this set of interviews are being echoed in scholarship (Kidman et al., 2015; Kidman & Chu, 2017; McAllister et al., 2020; Pihama et al., 2019; Ruru, 2020). The growing Māori voice challenging institutions appears to be at odds with the picture painted in the first decade of this century of the work being done by institutions with tangata whenua (M. Durie, 2005, 2009). In fact, the growing voice is likely to be a result of that work, and such robust engagement should be welcomed. As the manager points out, in a decade we are likely to be talking more about tino rangatiratanga with tangata whenua who are already beyond biculturalism. For example, in a signpost for journalism and journalism education, Māori academics have begun to look at what a bijural, bicultural and bilingual system may look like in legal systems and education (Ruru, 2020). However, it

is important for tangata Tiriti to remember that self-determination is not about separatism or about tangata Tiriti relinquishing responsibility for an ongoing relationship (Bishop, 1996). Hence tangata Tiriti journalism educators are encouraged to understand how important their role is in taking responsibility for relationships such as those illustrated in this section.

I have argued for the continued value of the term biculturalism for that very reason. However, its use needs to be more than simply a recogniseable word, and here I follow and contextualise Stewart's (2018) call for a radical reboot of the idea and use of the term biculturalism. A Māori navigator is needed in the heart of the academy and in journalism education. As government and tertiary institutions rightly require bicultural consciousness to prosper, I am reminded of the call to *Let many journalisms bloom* (Gunaratne, 2007). Many journalisms have been developing, and many have a clear social justice intent (Atton & Hamilton, 2008; Benesch, 1998; Craig, 2016; Hermans & Drok, 2018; Husband, 2017; McIntyre, 2019; McIntyre & Gyldensted, 2017; McMahon & Chow-White, 2011; Rupar, 2017). They argue that journalism is capable of surviving a wider, perhaps prism-like take on itself. Such public orientation is logically stengths-based for society. All parts of society, including tertiary education institutions and journalism, have an ongoing role to play for Māori which can be conceptualised as a relational transformation for transitional justice (C. Murphy, 2017). Murphy conceptualises relational transformation as being among citizens and between citizens and officials, and I would characterise those in tertiary institutional roles as among those who could be deemed "officials" who need to be part of relational transformation. Just as the growing and welcome voice of Māori in tertiary institutions is being empowered, so too journalism education must recognise that the times are changing and the tick-box approach referred to by the journalism lecturer in these interviews will not suffice. Biculturally conscious journalism education is a radical reboot based on the ideas presented in this thesis.

The interviews in this chapter have provided cues for journalism educators to think about how they may begin that work in Aotearoa, and globally in response to journalism studies into education and practice continuing the work to understand many journalisms globally (Goodman & Steyn, 2017; Hanusch & Hanitzsch, 2017). I recommend that it begins well before approaching documentation. As the Māori

adviser pointed out, the other three interviewees in this section have devoted time to their relationships with Māori inside and outside the institution, and as activists across the university. The illustrations in this section can be described as ally, anti-racism or decolonisation work (Came & Griffith, 2018; Huygens, 2011; Margaret, 2013). Journalists, and by extension journalism educators, in Aotearoa have had good guidance on how to practice or teach (Archie, 2007; Matheson, 2007; Moewaka Barnes et al., 2012). However I argue that what is required goes beyond those very good professional guides and begins by making it personal in the relationships we see developing in these interviews. What that looks like will be different for different people, as the theory lecturer's te reo and the journalism lecturer's activism stories of experience revealed. Their examples are good illustrations for why journalism educators, and journalists too, should not go looking for a fixed template for what they should do to be in relationship with Māori. The relationship will be personal for each individual. For example, I first attempted to learn te reo almost a decade ago and have recently begun the process again, but in-between I have devoted time to understanding tikanga, history, and spirituality in te ao Māori. As the theory lecturer suggested, it is a process. The most important step is the first, and that is taking action. The second part of this chapter centres on what those actions could look like for students.

8.2 Students and community: Journalism education of this place

The responsibility for relationships set out in the previous chapter can be seen in this chapter to be translated into programme and course-level action. The central focus is the journalism lecturer who was introduced in the previous section of this chapter, and therefore to maintain consistency within the chapter the role title is used, rather than a pseudonym. The educator reflects on how student engagement with Māori was changed so that the focus shifted to community relationships. The educator invests time teaching te reo, tikanga, and connection with mana whenua and its history on marae. Despite having students thoroughly prepared with informative learning (Kegan, 2009), she discovered they were still fearful of doing a story related to Māori which was required in their portfolio of stories. It was a wide brief typical of such stories that many journalism schools have historically required, for example a profile of an individual, or about iwi business. Some students were even prepared to not do a story

and take a hit on their portfolio grade. Class discussions also revealed that if the educator was to assign a story, almost to a person the topic that would make them "break out into a cold sweat" would be a Māori story. Yet, she says consistently her journalism students want to treat people ethically and practice in inclusive ways.

The journalism lecturer went looking for a process whereby practical journalism education got students beyond a barrier, and it needed to be a compulsory course in the programme rather than an elective. Her research included looking at journalism education programmes around the world. She developed an immersive project and the only label attached was 'community project'. The nature of containing the project within a community meant that she had to remove the range of story choices from students, and also move away from normative Western journalism processes typically taught in Aotearoa journalism schools. The project involved a large school with a high Māori demographic and strong in tikanga, or Māori protocols. Journalism students were to put into practice the skills they had trained for, such as developing relationships, interviewing, and producing appropriate story forms. However, there was a key difference in that the subjects of their interviews also had shared ownership of the story. Journalism students went back to their subjects with the stories they produced. The educator explained how she talked through it with the students:

> *Inclusive journalism, community engagement, issues of trust and reciprocity and this is where we're really going to play with that. And I also talk them through really carefully that this is where we do our journalism a little bit differently, that what we're teaching in the other papers is the journalism you can expect to practice in the newsroom. But hopefully more thoughtfully.*

The educator aligns the project with the idea of inclusive journalism (Husband, 2017; Rupar, 2017). Inclusive journalism recognises affective and emotional connection between journalist and source, the moral obligations that go with that relationship, and importantly the right of the source to have a voice. There is an affective process involved for the student journalist, recognising one's own worldview and being prepared to give up one's power, and to build that affective muscle. The intention was for the project processes to have a flow-on effect into the way they would practice as graduates. For example, the project took time and steps to build relationship:

We went out there for a couple of field trips. Students had to keep going back to do their stories. That has worked better for me in terms of helping the students feel more comfortable about their reporting in a Māori space. The school is very strong in its Māori tikanga.

Students were exposed to all of that without being told 'we are going to go and do the Māori story'.

Relationship with sources is one of the fundamental aspects of journalism practice and therefore education. For example, journalism schools in Aotearoa New Zealand have always ensured students go out into communities to find stories and sources as part of their news gathering skill development. The idea of sources owning their own story is the antithesis of the dominant news culture in Aotearoa New Zealand, in which the news outlet is deemed to own any story published, a fact represented by copyright information on screen and print. Journalism and journalism education in Aotearoa has a legacy of monocultural news values and practices which shows up in what stories are chosen and how information is gathered and presented (Hirst, 2010; McGregor, 1991; McGregor & Comrie, 1995; Stuart, 2002). Even her framing of the project for students makes it explicit that they cannot expect to operate this way in mainstream newsrooms. In journalism education for mainstream news the journalist strives to control what they can. In the project the journalism student gave up control and learned how to be okay with that. The difference could be seen in the students acknowledging what they learned in unfamiliar environments and with personal reflection on their uncomfortable reactions:

Most of my students will reflect on how much they've learned about themselves over the course of the year, through their interviewing and interaction with sources. That's where the project was valuable because they were thrown into a situation where they had less control over who the sources were.

When they went out to the project much of what they had reflected back was how hard it was to live in that really negative space of, when everybody else is looking in and kicking them in the shins, just how rotten that is. And that was really shocking for a lot of my students. People who threw back at them, "well, how are you going to take care of my story? How are you going be any different and not write something shitty?" That process is where they did more learning in that interaction with others in their story, through their storytelling.

The educator's successful community project model has a different feel to it than normative news practice, and after listening to and thinking about her story, I posed the following questions and statement to her: "Is there a space for an Aotearoa news values or practice? If there was how would you define it?" The educator responded:

> *I think there is a difference. In New Zealand we should be practicing more inclusive journalism full stop because I don't think we do enough at all. That would be just that very global thing of being more thoughtful about the 'isms', being more inclusive of gender identities and ethnic identities and different worldviews. But I do think that there is something more in New Zealand that would be a journalism of this place and I think it would be really flavoured by and should be grounded by Treaty partnership. I don't get any sense in our reportage that journalists have really grappled with being the Treaty partner. I still get questioned whenever I use that term. There's still a them and an us, there's still an assumption that everything that needs to be done is done. The impetus always has to come from Māori. There's the sense of ownership of our own history and striving to be a better Treaty partner that I don't really get a flavour of in our journalism. I think community papers get closer to it, so there's a very different flavour to the storytelling and I think that's really driven by a sense of manaakitanga, and a much closer sense of connection to the people we're reporting for. I think that there's a sense of turangawaewae would be a really good underpinning for a new kind of New Zealand journalism. That's the journalism that we should be practicing. Deeply rooted in this strong sense of our place and always about making that connection with our community.*

8.2.2 Students and community discussion

The catalyst for the journalism lecturer's project was how students were "confronted" by producing stories in relationship with Māori. Feelings ranging from discomfort to intimidation have been described multiple times across this study. For example, in chapter 6 Chris recounted his nervousness in a pōwhiri and about his reaction from a cousin who is Māori. In the same chapter Sam talked of knowing the kaikaranga role she was forced to perform was not appropriate, and of being the racist newsroom's representative in relationship with Māori. Also in chapter 6, Alex's story of leading staff and students in the pōwhiri used the term 'intimidating', and he described reactions to the emotion of the guest speaker, and also the tension in peer-learning surrounding biculturally conscious discussion. In chapter 7, Charlie recalled the student writing about realising he was racist, while Andy was confronted by a tangata Tiriti student being upset about being made to feel bad about her own culture. The Māori student

called out on the marae was a difficult process. The manager as a young journalist recalled the difficulty on the job in realising how little he understood of te ao Māori, and he also referred to the resistance of some educators to engaging with kaupapa Māori. The theory lecturer felt ill-equipped to step into a bicultural space. The journalism lecturer talks of sitting through "pretty racist stuff" from educators and students as they work through the process of engaging with te ao Māori. The way journalism educators have talked about most of these situations in this research highlights the moments of transformative learning (Illeris, 2014, 2015; Mezirow, 1978, 2009). They were either sudden reorientations of knowledge at the time, or they used their stories of experience to at least understand their transformative potential, and of course they were always in relationship with others. However, the story of the student project provided the only experience recounted across many interviews in this research of an educator acting on her own discomfort with her students' to put together a structured learning situation which was potentially transformative for students. Not only that but the structure draws on the kaupapa Māori idea of cultural relationship for responsive pedagogy (Berryman et al., 2018). Students are required to apply journalism skills of news gathering and story production in a mana-enhancing, interdependent relationship with Māori. Even prior to that the educator made a commitment to be in a mana-enhancing interdependent relationship.

The educator's experience, and the emotions which have been described in relationship with biculturalism and Te Tiriti o Waitangi throughout this research has been well researched by scholars in Aotearoa (A. Bell, 2006; Hotere-Barnes, 2015; Huygens, 2011; Jones, 2001; Legge, 2008; Wevers, 2006). Such responses are seen as deeply rooted in Enlightenment thinking in Western society where human reasoning is paramount, everything is knowable, and mastery is possible, particularly through its education systems (Jones, 2001). In contrast, the natural and spiritual world are one for Māori, and humans, environment and gods who make up that space are connected (Mead, 2016; R. Walker, 2004). In other words, not everything can be known and processes such as tikanga and pōwhiri on marae acknowledge that. Tangata Tiriti are guided to make culture powerful (Wevers, 2006), and be satisfied that not everything is knowable in relationship with Māori (Ritchie, 1992). The important thing to get first is that tangata Tiriti educators have to do that work in relationship with Māori to be

able to create an environment where students may also transform their understandings, although educators need to be mindful to continue engaging in that relational work (Jones, 2001; Legge, 2008). As I think about my own experiences, I am struck by the depth of the journalism lecturer's relationship with bicultural consciousness which has her reaching further in. For example, in my personal experience prior to this research, I had developed variations of engaging students with bicultural consciousness and had struck similar resistance. I had reached a point of acceptance that there would always be some students who would not 'get it' based on variables such as age or life experiences. Like other educators in this research, I had accepted some limits of journalism education, or some limits of education structures themselves. In contrast, the journalism lecturer's story goes beyond that point of acceptance for those students who she found were happy to lose marks instead of doing a story related to Māori.

Among the problematic matrices of relationships which arise in this story are intersections of issues regarding time flagged in the first section of this chapter. A project takes a lot of time to establish and implement in relationship for both the educator and for the students. In the first section of this chapter the educator lamented that the demands of academic time measurement did not take into account such relationship building which was important in culturally conscious education. Already in this chapter I have raised the fact that empowering cultural consciousness will produce, and already is producing, flow-on points of tension. At the beginning of this discussion I aligned the educators project with transformative learning because project-based learning tends to be the most effective environment (Illeris, 2014, 2015). Illeris makes the point that project-based learning with a transformative process at its core takes time, and he and others had to fight for at that at times in institutions. Time to build relationship and for biculturally conscious journalism education is therefore problematic. Perhaps, for now, the challenge of time makes it even more important for journalism students to understand the culturally conscious concept of not knowing, or partial ways of knowing (Ellsworth, 1989). Ellsworth advised educators to help their students get beyond knowing, and that partial ways of knowing were ok as long as the partiality was acknowledged as a commitment to an ongoing relationship.

The structure created by the journalism educator in this example allows for this partiality, with critical reflection by the cohort at the end of the project being important to heighten this awareness. The educator labels this project 'inclusive journalism', and the ability of students to maintain what they have learned over time as graduates has also been identified as a problem for inclusive journalism (Husband, 2017). Husband's focus on the personal identity of the 'inclusive journalist', rather than journalism generally, can be seen to connect with transformative learning. Illeris asserts that project-based learning (2014) provides the most effective opportunity to reach deeper into the core layer of identity, which I argue would establish transformation more firmly for the inclusive journalist. The project described in this section may create that opportunity and would be a rich site for future research. It is not a surprise that the journalism educator uses the term manaakitanga to describe a journalism which is of Aotearoa New Zealand, and therefore logically strengths-based for society. These are not terms typically associated with journalism courses, but manaakitanga has repeatedly surfaced through this thesis as a way of articulating the essence of a journalism of this place.

8.3 Conclusion

This chapter has been used to answer the question: How could bicultural consciousness be articulated as a personal praxis for journalism educators and students? The chapter first illustrated how institutional systems based on Te Tiriti o Waitangi responsibilities can empower relationships, and the second section used a student project in relationship with community to explore biculturally conscious praxis. In both cases the term manaakitanga arose directly, and also could be seen in action when the tensions that can arise in education were at play. Specifically, manaakitanga was also offered and interpreted by the kaiārahi, the navigator who is tangata whenua, as the term which best describes the heart of these institutional relationships.

Journalism education as a personal praxis of manaakitanga can be understood in the context of the wider tertiary institution, and also journalism education globally where other worldviews are acknowledged. The increasing expectations for responsibilities related to Te Tiriti o Waitangi are already having flow-on effects and they will increase. Tangata Tiriti journalism educators either are being asked, or will in the future be

asked, to reflect more deeply on and take action in relationship to Te Tiriti. Relationships with tangata whenua will be important to support that development and would precede any teaching. Journalism educators may be in one or more of a range of biculturally conscious relationships, from learning te reo to understanding tikanga or history. The important thing is that the actions in relationship begin. Such work will follow the imperatives identified in global studies about the different way journalism and its education are approached (Goodman & Steyn, 2017; Hanusch & Hanitzsch, 2017). Just as the influence of tangata whenua in institutions is growing, so too the voice of diverse understandings of journalism will mean wider worldviews becoming more prevalent in education and practice. They will shift from becoming interesting comparative teaching observations to becoming direct challenges to Western bias (Hanitzsch, 2019). I propose that the Aotearoa understanding of manaakitanga, the process of showing respect, generosity and care for others, is the way to articulate the bridging of those worlds of journalism so they become more than a theoretical object of comparative study.

The example of the student project in relationship with the community can be seen as an example of how compulsory courses in journalism education, both in Aotearoa and globally, may explore what I have described as a transformative inclusive journalism. However, just as the relationships in the first sections may become challenging for individuals and institutions, so too such journalism education projects will present challenges. Journalism education which deems itself to be culturally conscious of this place, and tertiary education systems more widely, will likely need to consider and more closely value and allocate the time it takes to honour their commitment.

Chapter 9 – Conclusion

This study seeks to answer the primary research question: How biculturalism, as established in Te Tiriti o Waitangi, is articulated, and could be articulated in journalism education in Aotearoa New Zealand? The historical lack of Māori enrolments in journalism schools was taken as the starting point for a proposition that journalism education lacks bicultural consciousness, a problem that connects with journalism practice (Abel et al., 2012; Moewaka Barnes et al., 2012). The proposition drew on the idea that cultural consciousness refers to the position taken by tangata Tiriti under Te Tiriti of Waitangi in relation to cultural aspirations, preferences and practices that constitute a Māori worldview (Bishop, 1996). Narrative inquiry was used as a culturally responsive methodology to study institutional documents, interview educators and maintain a researcher diary. Educators talked about their experiences of teaching and learning in journalism in relationship with te ao Māori, the Māori world. By understanding those experiences, the research intends to contribute to a biculturally conscious journalism education in Aotearoa New Zealand. This concluding chapter begins by connecting findings developed across four research chapters. The implications are considered, followed by the significance of the study's contribution to literature and theory. Recommendations for further research follow. The researcher's personal diary contributes to a final personal reflection prior to a concluding statement.

To answer the primary research question—How biculturalism, as embodied in Te Tiriti o Waitangi, is articulated and could be articulated in journalism education in Aotearoa New Zealand?—the four sub-questions posed and answered in the four chapters containing empirical research were:

1. How is biculturalism articulated in the documentation of tertiary institutions that host journalism schools?
2. How do educators articulate their personal experience of biculturally conscious journalism education?
3. How is biculturalism articulated in teaching and learning in journalism schools?
4. How could bicultural consciousness be articulated as a personal praxis for journalism educators and students?

The response to the primary question is that biculturalism, as established in Te Tiriti o Waitangi, could be articulated in journalism education in Aotearoa New Zealand in the following ways:

- Institutions and their educators and students understanding and acting on their deficit of bicultural consciousness;
- Transformative learning and teaching influenced by kaupapa Māori is required for that bicultural consciousness;
- A theory-practice divide in most journalism education needs to be bridged so that informative learning of journalism knowledge and skills are put into practice through transformative learning and teaching;
- Journalism education as a personal praxis of manaakitangi answers sub-question four; journalism educators first need to take responsibility for their own personal relationship with te ao Māori, to understand what will help students to apply their journalism knowledge and skills in biculturally conscious ways.

It is possible to go through journalism school with little or no practical interaction with te ao Māori in the application of journalism skills such as developing relationships in news gathering, producing stories and publishing stories. Documents analysed showed only two out of the five schools explicitly required applying practical skills in relationship with Māori. When I asked educators across the three schools that do not require biculturally conscious application of skills, there were mixed responses. They included being satisfied that theory courses are enough; that informative classroom learning followed by student practice and educator feedback is sufficient; it may be managed by guest speakers and general student newsroom activity; that requiring such stories could be another form of colonisation; but mostly that it was difficult to add more into courses. However, most educators agreed that a deeper bicultural consciousness would benefit students.

I agree with some reactions that the answer is not simply adding more, or packing teaching around a required a story about Māori, which was a requirement that the former New Zealand Journalism Training Organisation made compulsory for polytechnics in the past. There may no longer be a ruling industry training body for all

journalism schools, however both documentation and interviews suggest its legacy remains. The formulation of the Anglo-American journalism model that Aotearoa New Zealand generally follows has its roots around the period that Aotearoa was colonised (Byrne, 1999; Chalaby, 1996; Day, 1990; Elsaka, 2005). The flow-on effects continue into this century in the way news media reports on Māori issues (Hope, 2012; Moewaka Barnes et al., 2012; Phelan, 2012; R. Walker, 2004) and in journalism education (Hirst, 2010; Thomas, 2008). The result is an underlying monoculturalism. One of the ways that shows up in journalism education is teaching related to the country's bicultural nature siloed in one course, or in one week across courses. Mainstream news media may not be as pervasive as it once was thanks to the rise of social media. However, given that most of the journalism educators in Aotearoa New Zealand, including myself, began their journalism practice when normative Western understandings of journalism were deeply embedded in society and in our own training, it is no wonder we struggle to see a way to perform differently.

The good news is to a greater or lesser extent institutions appear to be moving towards the settings needed to prompt some educators to do things differently. Journalism educators were unsure how they might do that, but most actively engaged during the research in discussing how things might be done differently. The narrative inquiry methodology and appreciative questions were intentionally used to encourage such research-as-action, or world-making (Gergen, 2014b, 2014a; Gergen & Gergen, 2008). In this way the educator's collaborative exploration of their stories of experience during interviews contributed to findings two, three and four, while finding one was a response to the analysis of institutional documents. The findings section of this chapter develops ideas which are then distilled into four recommendations.

9.1. Findings

9.1.1 Finding One: The deficit of tangata Tiriti

Deficit, relationship, and responsibility were over-arching narratives in institutional documents, and those narratives respond directly to the first research sub-question: How is biculturalism articulated in the documentation of tertiary institutions that host journalism schools? Measurement of Māori deficit has held the attention of the Western institutional gaze in Aotearoa in response to the Ministry of Education's

Accelerating Māori Success priority-setting strategy (*Māori Education Strategy*, 2013). However, instead of being a catalyst for change it is a dead-weight. Most energy is invested in measuring deficit and trying to fix 'the problem'. We are mirroring rather than world-making. Those metaphors narratively represent the difference between *Ka Hikitea* and the Māori Tertiary Education Framework from a decade earlier (*Māori Tertiary Education Framework*, 2003). The earlier framework was strengths-based rather than deficit-based, in other words the ideologies are opposite. The narratives of the 2003 and 2013 government documents are ideologically opposed, although this study acknowledges that deeper research would be needed to understand their background. Indeed, some have argued that it is possible to give life to a bicultural intent in Ka Hikitea, but that it takes courageous leadership (Berryman et al., 2015). Having established the problem with deficit, there is also a valuable duality to the deficit narrative for this research. There was little attention in *Ka Hikitea* paid to tangata Tiriti who dominate staffing levels in tertiary institutions. Therefore there is limited understanding of our capacity as educators to respond to the deficit narrative. To put it more bluntly, tangata Tiriti are likely to be in deficit. Measuring tangata Tiriti educators and students for deficit would likely only add to the problem and so I draw on the notion of world-making to connect to the second narrative from the institutional documents, and that narrative is relationship.

Institutions could argue that the responsibility for relationship which showed up narratively in the documentation was evidence that they were not constrained by requirements to measure deficit. The answer to that is that deficit was the first and dominant narrative and, as such, it drove everything else. In other words, relationship and responsibility responded to Māori deficit. Relationship and responsibility were best described as emergent. However, there appeared to be a mix of government and institutional shifts and innovation having an effect on the way institutions responded to government and the way they were beginning to go about their internal and external relationships. The braiding of responsibility *for* relationship needs to become the new dominant narrative and there are promising models in the way some institutions are responding to government reporting requirements, and also building relationships with tangata whenua (*AUT Investment Plan 2019-2020*, n.d.; *UC Investment Plan 2015-17*, n.d.). Measurement data is important, but the relationship

that people have with that data is predicated on the way it is presented and interpreted. If, for example, Māori deficit it directly linked with tangata Tiriti deficit in bicultural consciousness, then world-making actions may become strengths-based. Putting it in the context of this research, what do tangata Tiriti journalism educators need, and what can tangata whenua bring to journalism education? Just as there is emergent innovation in reporting models, so too there are emerging models from institutions of responding to what tangata Tiriti need (*Massey Paerangi 2019-22*, n.d.; *Massey Investment Plan 2019-22*, n.d.; *UC Annual Report 2018*, 2019; *UC Investment Plan 2015-17*, n.d.). Central to these initiatives is the relationship that staff have with Te Tiriti o Waitangi and while there are promising signs, they are best described as in their early years of development. They will provide a rich landscape for case-study and comparative research in the future, with a particular focus on whether slow-moving institutional structures hamper agency in individuals within the organisation.

Deficit narratives measured in Māori, and obvious in institutions and in tangata Tiriti, need a strengths-based responsibility for relationship narrative to transform and activate bicultural consciousness. This emergent narrative shows up in innovations discussed in the previous paragraph, however it is only a beginning. For example, there is barely any correlation between the promising institutional narratives of relationship, and programme documents which are devoid of such narratives. Most high-level, publicly available programme documentation barely mentions Te Tiriti o Waitangi or biculturalism. This issue relates to the way tertiary education documents are written broadly for flexibility, almost to the point of being generic to suit Western systems and processes. Flexibility removes any onus for engagement with te ao Māori, leaving the decision-making up to the agency of the educator responsible for the course and to her or his capacity to deliver. In such a scenario the agency of the educator needs to be strong. Institutions committed to honouring Te Tiriti, and I include curriculum leaders here, need to ask themselves whether such generically written documentation meets their commitment. I argue it does not.

Journalism course-level documents reveal a specific problem for Te Tiriti relationship. Almost all publicly available course documentation for journalism schools situate and articulate learning relating to Aotearoa's bicultural nature in theoretical courses rather than those involving news-story production. In general, journalism skills are articulated

as neutral in documents. This issue is more deeply engaged with in finding three, but it is important to acknowledge here because the documents were one of the catalysts for responding to the research question which produced finding three. Journalism programme documentation also revealed the bundling together of Māori with diversity subject-matter, rather than recognising Aotearoa's Tiriti-based foundation and everything that entails. The problem with immersing Te Tiriti o Waitangi in diversity teaching in journalism is addressed in biculturalism versus multiculturalism rhetoric and debates (Spoonley, 2015; R. Walker, 2004). The more recent and important broadening of understandings of diversity in society means bundling tangata whenua with diversity serves to dilute the Māori voice. The resultant minimisation of Indigeneity is problematic for journalism because there are legal, political and cultural planes on which journalism graduates need to understand how to engage their new-found skills with te ao Māori. Even allowing for the reasons of efficiency that guide the way Western documentation is written, there is clearly an empty space, a silence, in course documents when Te Tiriti o Waitangi needs to be articulated. Such a void is an anomaly when held up in contrast to the transformative stories that educators tell of their most biculturally conscious experiences which were the catalyst for the second finding.

9.1.2 Finding Two: Bicultural consciousness and transformative learning

Journalism educator stories of experience in Chapter 6 all revealed themes of personal transformative learning when they were actively engaged in relationship with te ao Māori. In doing so they answered the second research sub-question: How do educators articulate their personal experience of biculturally conscious journalism education? Among the experiences were stories about manaakitanga on the marae and in class; a Māori guest speaker's story as a gift; kaikaranga at the marae entrance; a conduit between newsroom racism and iwi self-determination; speaking for manuhiri in a pōwhiri and having one's whakapapa acknowledged; facilitating and witnessing student experience on a marae; public hongi and te reo; and being in the same space as a Māori journalism educator asking an editor about racism in a headline. When each is understood as a learning experience then each can be seen as perspective transformation (Mezirow, 1978, 2009), and through psychosocial engagement there was a shift at some level of identity (Illeris, 2014). Being in relationship with Māori, on

Māori terms, connects with transformative learning in education scholarship that foregrounds the psychosocial influence on the psychological. In other words, learning relies on social contexts and in these journalism educator examples relationship was either with tangata whenua directly or with some aspect of te ao Māori.

This study therefore argues that journalism educators are biculturally conscious when they engage in and maintain authentic relationships with te ao Māori. While some of the stories recounted were translated into tangible results and examples in journalism education, others were not. Appreciation in the research process arguably shifted some of the interviewees further in their understanding of their experiences through retelling and discussing the stories with me as a fellow journalism educator. Further actions became available, rather than meaningful observation. Journalists have been warned to be wary of commodifying understanding of other cultures from those moments as meaningful experiences without a tangible connection to something further (Husband, 2009). The onus therefore moves from journalism to the journalist. In turn, journalist educators need to reflect on their bicultural consciousness, and that reflection will likely mean surrendering positions of power both as journalist and educator. In fact, journalists becoming journalist educators will particularly need to go through that reflective process to respond to institutional commitments identified in the document analysis. I argue that we cannot wait for a possible awakening in a conference identified by one of the interviewees, and we need to acknowledge that Te Tiriti is increasingly alive in societal examples such as the educator's seminal moments with a hongi, and with te reo at an event. Not every journalist educator may choose to hongi in public or learn te reo, but they will need to engage in some process authentically with te ao Māori at a personal level. Understanding the processes of transformative learning will help them and their students, because it is illogical for educators to recognise the transformative value of authentic experiences without facilitating them for students. The format of this narrative inquiry may assist in such a process for new journalist educators, and even offers collaborative structures which may be beneficial to institutions, educators, and future educators.

An avenue worth exploring by tertiary institutions and their educators is the influence of kaupapa Māori. While kaupapa Māori is understood as by Māori, for Māori, the idea and value of kaupapa Māori influence in mainstream education for all educators and

students now has significant evidence-based scholarship to support it (Berryman et al., 2015, 2018; Bishop, 2008, 2012; Bishop et al., 2014). The job of biculturally conscious journalism or other vocational education cannot be left to Māori. Taking on teaching and learning knowledge which responds to kaupapa Māori requirements of empancipation and empowerment for Māori has the potential to contribute to Aotearoa New Zealand, and also global journalism education.

9.1.3 Finding Three: Educator responsibility for putting theory into practice

Critical communication theory courses are the most typical place to find biculturalism or Te Tiriti o Waitangi, a fact identified in educator interviews and supported by the institutional document analysis. This answers the third research sub-question: How is biculturalism articulated in teaching and learning in journalism schools? Theory provides students with an important way to understand themselves and their peers in the political, legal and cultural context of Aotearoa under Te Tiriti o Waitangi. However, I argue that theory can only go so far and active practical work is required. Journalism educators are the ones who help students build a bridge from theory to practice, but students need to understand the practical knowledge and skills in the building blocks of that bridge are not neutral. If knowledge and skills are treated as such, then the teacher is making a deposit of information into the students' knowledge bank using an established form of teaching and learning which is cognitive and transactional. The teacher's accumulated knowledge is transferred from the teacher to an assumed "pure recipient" (Freire, 1994, p. 118). If that practice does not involve or engage with Māori in some way, then the knowledge shared must be considered monocultural in a country that is legally, politically and culturally bicultural.

As a journalist for 25 years and now educator for 10 years, I recognise the influences of this theory-practice divide. The development of journalism in Aotearoa New Zealand is deeply entwined in colonisation. The normative processes are strongly embedded in Anglo-American professional practice (Byrne, 1999; Chalaby, 1996; Day, 1990; Elsaka, 2005). For all of the changes and challenges of the digital media revolution, the arguments for the pre-eminence of core purposes and skills in journalism are resilient. At times in the interviews, educators held onto journalistic traditions such as holding power to account, of objectivity, of not being partisan, and even of being colonising

ourselves if we require bicultural consciousness. Yet the evidence continues to build that there are many ways to look at and apply journalism (Goodman & Steyn, 2017; Hanusch & Hanitzsch, 2017; Loosen et al., 2020). Old habits are hard to break and most of us in journalism education, and most of the interviewees, are older and have ingrained ways of doing and being. Education processes can also be habitual ways of doing things which are structural whiteness (Ahmed, 2007). The functional processes of education contribute to silos of neat, teachable packages, but they have been argued to work against true diversity in journalism teaching in the US and multicultural journalism education in Europe which relate to this study (Alemán, 2014; Deuze, 2006). We persist with these ways of doing things despite professing to be a bicultural nation which honours Te Tiriti o Waitangi in tertiary education. It is time to break the theory-practice mould and learn how to teach journalism practice differently in a way which weaves bicultural consciousness through every course in a programme.

Journalism schools will do their graduates a disservice, and arguably will not fully deliver some graduate outcomes, if they allow students to go into practice without engaging with te ao Māori through the subjects and sources of their stories. Relying on separating the teaching of theory and then the basic skills of journalism education is not enough. Finding two illustrated that journalism educators themselves were at their most authentically engaged with bicultural consciousness as either journalists or teachers when they or their students were in relationship with Māori, on Māori terms. Therefore, it is incongruous that students are not given similar opportunities in which to transform their knowledge and skills from being neutral to being biculturally conscious, or at least to begin thinking about the difference in practice. Practical engagement needs to activate the theoretical learning, and it needs to be done in relationship with Māori.

The question left hanging is how that may be achieved by both the educator and the student and finding four may help with the development of ideas for the future. However, at the very least learning outcomes in all vocational journalism courses would be enhanced with the inclusion of language which acknowledges the need for journalism practice to respond to Te Tiriti o Waitangi and tangata whenua.

9.1.4 Finding Four: Manaakitanga in a journalism education of this place

Manaakitanga in a journalist education of this place emerged in answer to research sub-question four: How could bicultural consciousness be articulated as a personal praxis for journalism educators and students? Manaakitanga is the process of showing respect, generosity, and care for others. It arose as a term during many of the interviews across the study. However, for this finding it was offered in discussion the kaiārahi, the navigator, in one institution who is tangata whenua. The kaiārahi helps curriculums such as journalism navigate their way through responding to kaupapa Māori's requirement for empowerment and emancipation so that tangata whenua may determine their future, on their terms.

Relationships will flourish with the right institutional settings. Some of the key settings revealed in reflections on relationship by four educators in chapter 8 were:

- Tangata whenua being part of the university and deeply involved with schools and their programme and course development;
- A critical mass of people in relationship with te ao Māori creating momentum;
- Tangata tiriti educators being activists disrupting white spaces.

The result could be a disruption of tertiary institutions and in this context journalism education to the point that the monocultural status quo may appear vividly as a white tertiary education space which is resisted (Ahmed, 2007). Disparate experiences and views can coalesce around a powerful permission such as that articulated in some of the institutional documentation discussed in Chapter 5, and also in the relationships discussed in Chapter 8. Institutions need to be prepared to support what they allow to bloom with these permissions. Western systems and processes are likely to be challenged in the ongoing development of processes to honour Te Tiriti o Waitangi if they are given permission to do so, and even without permission. For example, the theory-practice divide which in finding two is a tidy and functional Western educational structure, but it is likely to be disrupted in the quest for bicultural consciousness. If institutions are to become biculturally conscious, then they will honour the other half of the founding cultures of this nation (R. Walker, 2004), and authentic personal relationship translated as manaakitanga are the place to start. A logical extension of this challenge is that institutions are going to be asked to give as

much weight to relationship are they do, for example, to research. As an illustration, the project described in Chapter 8 took a lot of relational time to set up. The global foregrounding of relationality in research and social justice as an active rather than a theoretical setting, particularly in relation to Indigenous and tertiary education, means Aotearoa institutions may not have to grapple with this issue alone (Gergen, 2014b, 2014a; Koggel, 2018; C. Murphy, 2017).

Extending the tertiary setting and manaakitanga to a journalism of this place will presents some challenges. For example, manaakitanga could meet with tension as journalists chase stories, trying to be first with the news, because competition drives the logic of the news as a commodity and in the way journalism is performed to get information to the public. However, there is a long-standing, and increasing, awareness of issues about the logic of Anglo-American news decision-making and its potentially racist consequences, particularly in Aotearoa New Zealand (McGregor, 1991, 2002; Moewaka Barnes et al., 2012; Van Dijk, 1991). Indeed one of the educators challenged the use of news values in teaching because of their tendency to lock in problematic practices rather than allowing journalists here to think about a 'journalism of this place'. One of the major news organisations in the country has audited its own racism (Stevens, 2020). Also, the way news organisations worked together, rather against each other in competition, was highlighted as a significant feature of the 2019 mosque attack in Christchurch (Rupar, 2020). Equally, relationships are fundamental to the way journalists go about their work, for example with their sources and with news consumers, and journalism educators are increasingly exploring whose voices are heard and who owns the story (Cullen, 2010; Mason et al., 2016; Romano, 2015; H. Stewart et al., 2012).

The project with students in Chapter 8 which reinforced this finding extends those earlier studies by ensuring that the teaching and learning is in core course work, not an elective. Equally important is the kaupapa Māori influence in that project where a strongly Māori community was given say in how it was represented by journalism students. Such storytelling may not be replicated in daily journalism, but the practical experience enhances their interpretive resources of graduates at the very least. I argue that manaakitanga is not only a journalism of this place, but it is also a journalism of its time because it is education for strengths-based journalism. This study has illustrated

that awareness of bicultural consciousness in tertiary education, and of many journalisms, has begun. The right mechanisms and authentic relationships need to be maintained for biculturally conscious journalism education to bloom in Aotearoa New Zealand.

9.1.5 Recommendations from findings

Drawing on the four findings outlined above, the following are recommendations from this study; note that reference to Te Tiriti o Waitangi is the te reo Māori version of Te Tiriti, which is the version recognised in statutes that acknowledge Māori rights which relate to their Indigeneity (United Nations, 2008):

- Tertiary institutions establish processes and networks which assist vocational curricula to develop their courses to respond to Te Tiriti o Waitangi;
- Journalism curricula partner with tangata whenua to include a learning outcome in their vocational courses which responds to Te Tiriti o Waitangi;
- Journalism educators undertake kaupapa Māori-influenced professional development for their teaching and learning practice;
- Project-based learning which is informed by kaupapa Māori principles, and which relates to te ao Māori in some way, be utilised in third year and postgraduate vocational journalism.

9.2 Implications

This study went looking for biculturally conscious journalism education and found promising signposts, but significant gaps. There are naturally implications flowing from the findings which ask individual educators to devote time reflecting on, developing, and maintaining authentic relationships with tangata whenau, and to redesign their courses so that te ao Māori is articulated. If those recommendations are adopted, and the subtle shifts indicated in documentation at the policy level of institutions mean what they say, then journalism schools and their educators will not be able to avoid responsibility for relationship with Te Tiriti o Waitangi. The almost root-and-branch nature of the relationship with Māori at one institution is one model for the future. When journalism schools meet that layer of detail, then there is the potential for a clash between journalism practice taught in journalism schools and te ao Māori.

Challenges to journalism practice are exactly what should be happening if the academy is to be true to its mission and not simply a bricks and mortar site for rote-learning. The latter statement is somewhat inflammatory given that I know virtually all the journalism educators in Aotearoa, and I trust the heart they bring to their work for journalism graduates. However, there is intention in inflaming debate because there were two clear and connected undercurrents in the journalism educator interviews that were: there is little time for anything else; and industry skill requirements takes precedence. I have made arguments that it is possible to balance both, although something may have to give at times. However, journalism and what goes into curriculums has always and will continue to change over time. There was discussion that indicated educators "get" the shift from journalist to educator. However, there was still evidence of the tension that comes with the inherent and at times deep attachment to Western journalism norms, and the difference these can make for the public good, which drives journalism educators. There is no easy answer to this tension between professional and educator identities, and there is significant literature that reflects debates in journalism education (Banda et al., 2007; citing Dube, 2010, Goodman & Steyn, 2017; Russell & Eccles, 2018; van Lankveld et al., 2017) and in wider education (Bauman, 2001; Fitzmaurice, 2011; Illeris, 2014). This study can be seen to contribute to that discussion.

Finally, journalism is not the only area of education likely to feel momentum for change. The systems and processes of tertiary institutions themselves are likely to come under increasing pressure as they continue to develop their articulation of a commitment to Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Accounting and time measurement, for example contrasting measurements of relationships and research outputs, are illustrations. The increasing engagement of Indigenous peoples with tertiary institutions globally means Aotearoa academics are not alone in this issue. Relationships are critical, and more time will be required to honour them.

9.3 Significance of the study

9.3.1 Culturally responsive methodologies

Cultural consciousness was established as a guiding idea from the earliest reading of literature for this study, thanks to the seminal work of kaupapa Māori education

scholar Professor Russell Bishop (1996). As I read Bishop's work it was no surprise to see his work cited as a wayfinder for the culturally responsive methodologies framework (Berryman et al., 2013). In Chapter 1 I acknowledged that the term bicultural was contested and it is certainly used in a limited way in scholarship by Berryman and colleagues relied on in this thesis (Berryman et al., 2015, 2018). My decision in Chapter 1 to continue using it was argued primarily from the point that it was an immediately recogniseable term to begin interviews, and because it was still in general societal use, albeit problematically. I was mindful throughout the research process of looking for other terms to use and fully expected to be favouring another term by completion. Instead I have come to agree with the call for a rebooting of biculturalism in education rather than swapping one term for another (G. Stewart, 2018). I follow Stewart's argument that a radical biculturalism has the capacity to serve society and the education system. I argue that my recommendations that kaupapa Māori influence journalism education responds to Stewart's call. Biculturally conscious journalism education, therefore, contributes to the growing body of research that intersects particularly with Indigenous interests intended in culturally responsive methodologies.

The study's contemporary use of narrative inquiry contributes to culturally responsive methodologies. Narrative inquiry is more often understood as a research methodology in which deeper engagement with individuals is foregrounded in more localised sites. In contrast, this study's setting is journalism education in an entire country. However, narrative inquiry's multi-faceted connection with people was enticing and led me to explore an adaption using the idea of the storied landscape of Aotearoa New Zealand journalism education in which the storied lives of many educators contributed (Clandinin, 2013). I argue that my attempts to maintain relationship and pragmatism in journalism education research have always kept me within sight of narrative inquiry's borderlands (Clandinin & Rosiek, 2012).

9.3.2 Narrative inquiry and the three-dimensional hologram

Narrative inquiry's three-dimensional analytical space of time, place and relationship has been further developed in this study. Stories told by the educators were analysed using the three dimensions, which are always in relationship with each other. For example past, present and future always influences a story: at the time of the

occurrence, in its retelling and how it influences the future. Similarly, place is both a physical and experiential space at the time of the story and in its retelling. Finally, the social relationships in the story and in the retelling create their own experiential space. Initially, I attempted to draw these spaces on paper and on computer, but they were too dynamic and too complex. Eventually, I developed the idea of visualising the three-dimensional analytical spaces as holograms (Figure 4, p.93). I could physically walk around the hologram to observe people and relationships of time, place and relationship in the spaces to consider more deeply how each may be acting on the other. As I became more adept at visualising how time, space and relationship acted on each other and the stories in the space, it became obvious that the tool would be valuable as a future process for teaching journalism education. Source relationships and interviewing are the wider area in which teaching could be developed using the three-dimensional space. In particular, the three-dimensional space would offer far more nuanced understanding of stories involving te ao Māori and Te Tiriti o Waitangi, and also for researchers in that space.

9.3.3 Transformative learning in journalism education

Biculturally conscious journalism education is a contemporary context in this thesis for transformative learning (Mezirow, 1978, 2009). Specifically the focus by Illeris (2014) on where transformation actually happens, in relationship, is important for this research. Relationship is at the core of the findings of this study, hence the importance of Illeris's point that the psychosocial conditions be present at the same time as the psychological condition so that transformative learning can be activated. There were transformative plotlines in this research which are worthy of further connection. The transformative capacity of authentic relationships with indigeneity is introduced here but logically needs more research. Skinner's (2017) call for individuals to take responsibility for their Tiriti relationship, and not leave it to the Crown, has been used to develop the idea of responsibility for authentic relationship in journalism education. Also Murphy's (2017) conceptualising of relational transformation in transitional justice through citizen-citizen and citizen-official relationships was connected with. That personal and social, public-oriented intersection could be used as a way of situating where transformation occurs and why in journalism education as we strive to be biculturally conscious in practice.

Journalism education projects as ways of implementing such research-as-action add to decades of project work that Illeris (2014) draws on for transformative learning. Those that have the inclusive journalist student as their focus are logical given the discussion in Chapter 8. Inclusive journalism has for some time now added to journalism studies debate about what journalism is, and therefore what should be taught and how (Husband, 2017). Some of the interview discussions about how to teach in journalism touched on the ideas of advocacy, partisan and inclusive journalism as we explored our way to an Aotearoa journalism of this place. Perhaps, then, this work may add discussion to the spectrum of forms set out by Hanitszch (2007) when he corralled many journalisms into a continuum. Journalism which is of this place provides space for Indigenous communities to either decolonise journalism, or perhaps claim some part of it, within the national borders they inhabit. That work in Aotearoa has already begun to be recognised and researched (Hanusch, 2014a; Middleton, 2020; Stuart, 2002). This study may offer insight into how thinking inside journalist education may interplay with or contribute to journalism practice through graduates.

9.4 Directions for future study

Narrative inquiry's localised nature limited the generalisations that can be made from the data and analysis, but it made obvious some areas for future research.

Māori educators played only secondary interviewee roles in this research and would be logical future partners. All the primary interviewees identified as tangata Tiriti, although one noted Māori whakapapa which had been little explored. Most secondary interviewees were tangata Tiriti. Given that virtually all journalism educators at the time identified as tangata Tiriti, and this has been the case for several years, there was limited scope for inclusion of Māori in this research. As a former Māori journalism educator pointed out to me early in the research, my research was about a tangata Tiriti problem, not a Māori problem. However, as I pointed out in the findings, biculturally conscious journalism educators need to be in relationship with te ao Māori. At the very least engaging Māori journalists and educators would enhance future research.

This research was visualised from the outset as just the beginning, and as one of a series of steps. Institutions, educators, and myself as researcher and educator were

the first building blocks. The next logical steps are research with students, recent graduates and industry. The students and graduates would logically provide backward and forward-looking views of biculturally conscious journalism education. Of particular interest in that next step would be the regularly repeated opinion of most journalism educators that young people coming into the schools are increasingly comfortable with tikanga and basic te reo; though they lack history and context. On the graduates side, the dynamics of the current media landscape and the global 'Black Lives Matter' movement would logically come into play. The graduate work environment connects to the insight industry would offer into the issue, particularly given its bicultural consciousness is regularly critiqued in the study, and because of the complexities it is operating under in the media landscape.

The institutional document analysis, which used thematic analysis to develop and understand the broad narratives of deficit, relationship and responsibility provided glimpses of other research possibilities. For example, indications of ideological differences in Ministry of Education documents in 2003 and 2013 would be worth revisiting, particularly given a new Crown-Māori education partnership began work in 2020 (*Māori and Crown Working Together to Shape Tertiary Education*, 2020). Certainly the direction indicated in documents is worth following, perhaps with a different methodological approach, to track the success of institutional changes and commitments. Such a study will be particularly important because institutional settings, which respond to ministry settings, were identified as a significant factor in the future success and momentum for biculturally conscious education for any curriculum area.

The idea of 'not knowing' in journalism and journalism education is unexplored. Not knowing first presented itself in the literature review of research relating to relationships with Māori and other Indigenous peoples. It also as a challenge to grand Western theories such as critical pedagogy (Ellsworth, 1989), and is likely to challenge some of the reasoning argued in the breadth of transformative learning theory. Not knowing cropped up in a variety of ways, including fear, anger, and assumptions of knowing based on Enlightenment thinking. It was alluded to or mentioned in the research discussion at times, but the idea needs a more articulated approach in the methodology for it to be fully explored in journalist education and practice. Given that

journalists are always asking questions, not knowing provides a fascinating area of tension for future research.

9.5 Reflection

Narrative inquiry is a methodology grounded in relationships. Those few words capture the way the researcher is called to think about their commitment to participants, and also the way the researcher must be always reflecting on the relationships at play at any given time. Therefore any narrative inquiry will be best served by having a personal mechanism for reflection built into the process. Throughout the study I used two such mechanisms, diarising and a Research Whānau of tangata whenua who guided my thinking and were also kaitiaki of mātauranga Māori. I argue that they contributed to transformative learning across the life of the project. This final part of the chapter before the summary reflects on that process as a way of offering some future direction for others to think with.

9.5.1 Researcher's reflective relational diary

Relational research is a complex undertaking which requires diarising. For example, I compiled five annual digital documents containing 54,805 words and 12 physical journals across the research. I offer a brief summary here to understand how the diarising added to my depth of thought. The diary's greatest value was in its real-time contribution to my thinking and acting at different stages of the project. All of the literature drawn on for a research diary talks about the importance of regular maintenance of the diary (Adams et al., 2014; Anderson, 2011; Taber, 2007, 2010). The most fruitful advice for this study came from Anderson (2011) and his guidance of finding a balance and not allowing the diarising to interrupt the research flow, but not having the demands of the wider research hamper the diarising. The diary is not there to return to when the writing begins or when certain parts are finished. Instead it should always be informing what is happening in research actions or writing. To put it in narrative inquiry language, the diarising contributed to the backward and forward, inward and outward inquiry process where the researcher is always an active and recognised part of the research process (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). I used a variety of techniques which fed into the physical and digital documents. The digital documents were enhanced by the use of a mobile phone note-taking application which was useful

for tapping notes as they came to mind, for transferring later, if I was not near a computer or the physical journals. I also typed out email notes at different times to my primary supervisor, to members of my Research Whānau and sometimes to myself as a way of both reporting on progress but also thinking through an issue. Those emails, including replies, were copied and pasted into the digital diarising documents and contributed to that stage of the process. The physical journals and digital documents can therefore be understood as living documents which effect a cumulative transformative process from beginning to end.

Transformative learning explored in the study through stories of educator experience was generally characterised by sudden reorientations of perspective, a factor discussed in literature (Mezirow, 2009). However, transformative learning can be cumulative over time, which was my experience with the diary. The perspective reorientations identified in the educator stories are relatively clearly defined, but my own cumulative transformation through the diary is not so straightforward to delineate. Transformation came in an accumulation of many micro moments.

For example, listening to the educators talking about their marae experiences, together with reading of literature, connected me with my own running of noho marae with students and their importance. Where I can reflect on transformation across time is in the greater peace with not knowing that I take into Māori spaces such as marae, a conscious giving over to whatever happens in the space. In particular, rich diarising resulted from spending time with colleagues in MAI Ki Aronui at Auckland University of Technology's marae Ngā Wai o Horotiu. MAI stands for Māori and Indigenous and is a network of groups across tertiary institutions that support Māori and Indigenous researchers and people doing research which relates to Māori and Indigenous, such as mine.

The three-dimensional narrative inquiry analytical space of time, place and relationship also regularly appeared in my diarising and became a tool to consider what part I may be playing in the narrative. One example in particular is still vivid in memory and the result is written into Chapter 6, where I describe myself as one of three white men who were part of the wider narrative. I recall walking around my imaginary three-dimensional hologram considering everyone at play in the participant's story and

suddenly 'seeing' myself and my question there as part of the narrative. It was a disorienting moment. Diarising the experience became part of a deeper reflection on all of the narratives I engaged in, including my own history of unconsciousness connected with normative assumptions that produce racism.

The diarising constantly kept me in relationship with everything that was going on as it happened. I could not imagine doing a narrative inquiry without maintaining such processes which will ebb and flow due to its highly personal nature. The latter point is important to note because no research project using a diary will ever look the same, not only because every project is different, but also because every researcher will have a different way of being in relationship with their participants and every relationship that arises in their research.

9.5.2 Research Whānau

Research Whānau is also deeply personal by its very nature. The project was by, with and for tangata Tiriti primarily, and therefore journalism education knowledge was the primary factor in research supervision. However, before supervision was in place I had already sat down with a friend who had been mentoring me on te ao Māori and Te Tiriti o Waitangi for 20 years. My four Research Whānau members were my long-time friend who works in the field of public health and as a Te Tiriti educator, a former journalist and now academic; a journalist; and an anti-racism in health researcher who is also a Te Tiriti educator. On the advice of my mentor, I drew on scholarship by Heather Came (2013) about her use of a Research Whānau during her PhD on institutional racism in the field of health in Aotearoa. My original intention was to follow Came's relatively structured process. However, just as diarising develops personally with a study, I discovered that the Research Whānau naturally 'fitted' in relationship with the unfolding project. The ebb and flow of my research did not suit a structured approach. We ended up having three semi-formal meetings over about four years. As a process, therefore, my Research Whānau structure became a multitude of informal interactions too great to count. They ranged from a simple checking of definitions to deep conversations during late nights and at times overnight stays in their homes. Often, relevant articles were shared and swapped. In keeping with te ao Māori many of the occasions involved food and often they were wider social occasions, but each time we would discuss aspects of the research. Each year of the process, I

would do several presentations at conferences or symposiums on the stage of research I was at, and I would often practice the presentation with one or more members of the Research Whānau. One member was hardly involved in a physical way, but as a working journalist who is Māori, and as someone I had worked with in a newsroom, she was regularly a reflective touchpoint for me as I ruminated on narrative plotlines past, present and future. As the final document began to build I shared elements with members, and then full drafts. Some looked at the full document and provided feedback, while other interactions involved sitting down and running through my findings verbally for feedback. This highly unstructured process worked for a number of reasons: initially we were based in different cities and the first half of the study was disjointed due to external factors; my Research Whānau were all busy with their own projects; and each whānau member brought disparate knowledge and skills to the group, which meant that often it was more logical to go to one rather than others.

Having explained that this study is by, with and for tangata Tiriti, the original meeting with my mentor recognised that from the beginning my intent was to contribute to Māori through the other half of the bicultural equation in this country. Hence my commitment was always one of reciprocity, and I strived to always be mindful of that with my Research Whānau given the gift of time and knowledge I was receiving from tangata whenua. Following Heather Came, I also made the decision from the beginning to not write my Research Whānau into the research beyond description in Chapter 4, and in this reflection. For example, I did not build in reference to their personal analysis and feedback of aspects of the study that we discussed. I argue that to do so would have been to step beyond my capacity as a tangata Tiriti researcher and into a realm which has been challenged by Māori scholars as one that we can never know (Bishop, 1996, 2008; L. Smith, 2012). While I have come to know much about te ao Māori, I have also come to be at peace in the space of not knowing that other tangata Tiriti researchers talk about in relationship with Māori (Hotere-Barnes, 2015; Jones, 2001). Hence this simply remains a summary of my experience which may be helpful for others who choose to approach Māori in a reciprocal way and request support as part of a Research Whānau.

9.5.3 Summary

This study began life in journalism education classrooms and the puzzle about why Māori were missing in terms of demographic numbers in the classrooms. The puzzle emerged as one for tangata Tiriti to address, and the space we were or were not generating which might have made Māori comfortable joining us. The puzzle developed as a narrative inquiry into institutional environments for journalism education, and the journalism educators who delivered that education.

While the institutional settings appear to be changing to facilitate biculturally conscious journalism education, it is the journalism educators and their allies across institutions who will have to be relied on to take the required actions, beginning at a personal level. As Skinner (2017) suggested, it is time for individuals in this country to stop leaving it to the Crown and to slip off the invisible cloak of white privilege. The cloak is an apt metaphor for journalist educators in countries such as ours with legacies of Anglo-American journalism. The norms of journalism, and education, are invisible cloaks getting in the way of a deeper engagement with te ao Māori and an Aotearoa New Zealand journalism education of this place.

Society and even news media organisations themselves have begun to take the lead in Aotearoa New Zealand so journalism schools and their institutions will have little choice but to follow. Teaching teams need to work together to form deeper relationships with te ao Māori. Such relationships could reach a point where te ao Māori may become a weave through traditional journalism teaching. One logical and long-proven area is project-based learning, which would not necessarily be designated as related to Māori, but which would naturally and authentically engage with tangata whenua. These recommendations are designed to make a difference to journalism as graduates go out into the world of practice. Once that happens, Māori may be more interested in seeing journalism as a career worth undertaking.

Epilogue

The future looked different for my grandchildren, my mokopuna Hayley and Cullin, on Monday November 30th 2020. Not only was it the day I sat down to draft this last piece of reflection, but it was also the day one of the mainstream news organisations in Aotearoa New Zealand, *Stuff*, published *Our truth: We apologise to Māori* with the

words "Nō mātou te hē", which literally translates to 'ours is the wrong' (Stevens, 2020). To put it in terms of the narratives of deficit, relationship and responsibility found in this thesis, the organisation audited the deficit of its history, and took responsibility for building and maintaining a reciprocal relationship with tangata whenua for the future. The *Stuff* audit followed another promising development in 2020 from another mainstream news publisher, the *New Zealand Herald*, which appointed a Māori staff member as director of cultural diversity. I went through a similar set of emotions with both occurrences: excitement, emotion and then sobering reality as I discussed it with Māori, who were wary. On reflection, as I moved through each of those spaces, I realised there was a sense of self-congratulation and relief that I was not in this commitment alone. Then I thought about all of the people, including Māori, who had worked for 180 years and still work at times in isolation against monoculturalism and racism. The thought was sobering. Many of those people are cited in this research. Wariness about change in mainstream media and society is natural; after all, it has taken 180 years for us to reach this point. The wariness about news media changing that I observe in Māori and in anti-racism workers prompted me to stop and think. What emerged in that reflection is: What's next? What I see in the future is from the past. The past I saw in this research was interconnected living human systems, for example the journalistic system and the education system which are always malleable by their very humanity, and therefore always capable of changing for the public good, depending on what we are committed to creating. What's next are actions aligned to *my* commitment for biculturally conscious journalism education, and to my mokopuna.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Ethics approval letter

AUTEC Secretariat

Auckland University of Technology
D-88, WU406 Level 4 WU Building City Campus
T: +64 9 921 9999 ext. 8316
E: ethics@aut.ac.nz
www.aut.ac.nz/researchethics

25 September 2017

Verica Rupar
Faculty of Design and Creative Technologies

Dear Verica

Re Ethics Application: **17/323 Biculturally conscious journalism education**

Thank you for providing evidence as requested, which satisfies the points raised by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Subcommittee.

Your ethics application has been approved for three years until 25 September 2020.

Standard Conditions of Approval

1. A progress report is due annually on the anniversary of the approval date, using form EA2, which is available online through http://www.aut.ac.nz/researchethics.
2. A final report is due at the expiration of the approval period, or, upon completion of project, using form EA3, which is available online through http://www.aut.ac.nz/researchethics.
3. Any amendments to the project must be approved by AUTEC prior to being implemented. Amendments can be requested using the EA2 form: http://www.aut.ac.nz/researchethics.
4. Any serious or unexpected adverse events must be reported to AUTEC Secretariat as a matter of priority.
5. Any unforeseen events that might affect continued ethical acceptability of the project should also be reported to the AUTEC Secretariat as a matter of priority.

Please quote the application number and title on all future correspondence related to this project.

AUTEC grants ethical approval only. If you require management approval for access for your research from another institution or organisation then you are responsible for obtaining it. You are reminded that it is your responsibility to ensure that the spelling and grammar of documents being provided to participants or external organisations is of a high standard.

For any enquiries, please contact ethics@aut.ac.nz

Yours sincerely,

Kate O'Connor
Executive Manager
Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee

Cc: bernie.whelan@gmail.com

Appendix 2: Participant information sheet

Participant Information Sheet

For journalism educators

Date Information Sheet Produced:

28 August 2017

Project Title:

Biculturally conscious journalism education: Biculturalism in the everyday praxis of journalism schools.

An Invitation

Kia ora. My name is Bernie Whelan and I am a doctoral student at Auckland University of Technology. I am a journalism educator and programme manager at Whitireia Polytechnic in Wellington, where I have taught for the past eight years. Prior to teaching I was a journalist for 30 years.

I would like to invite you to participate in this research. This study takes the stance that both journalism and a Māori worldview have important roles in Aotearoa society. So, I am interested in how journalism schools manage the tension between cultural consciousness, which is sometimes understood by the terms cultural competence or safety, along with the demands of preparing students for mainstream news media.

This research is not about passing judgement on how you or your institution manage Aotearoa New Zealand's politically bicultural nature. It is about analysing different approaches to biculturalism in journalism education.

I acknowledge that as I am programme manager at another journalism school, you may have concerns about intellectual property. I believe this can be managed and processes agreed on in the research to allay any concerns.

I am looking forward to inquiring with you into the different ways that biculturalism can be reflected and hope you will find value in the discussion. I value your time and knowledge for this research, and a koha will be provided as a token of my appreciation.

What is the purpose of this research?

The purpose of the research is to contribute to bicultural journalism education in Aotearoa New Zealand, both in the ideas you contribute, and through the method of the research. I will use a biculturally conscious format of dialogue which is more collaborative than a research interview, and the outcome of which will be a story which you have been part of throughout the process.

How was I identified and why am I being invited to participate in this research?

As a journalism educator at one of Aotearoa New Zealand's journalism schools I felt that you would offer important insights into the topic. Your contact details were held by myself as part of existing professional networks.

How do I agree to participate in this research?

Your participation in this research is voluntary (it is your choice) and whether or not you choose to participate will neither advantage nor disadvantage you. You are able to withdraw from the study at any time. If you choose to withdraw from the study, then you will be offered the choice between having any data that is identifiable as belonging to you removed or allowing it to continue to be used. However, once the findings have been produced, removal of your data may not be possible.

This aspect is reinforced in a consent form which is a separate document emailed with this information sheet. The consent form can be signed and sent back to me by email, or signed at the time of an interview.

What will happen in this research?

The research is primarily centred around an interview and dialogue between you and I. Prior to the interview I will have researched publically available documents such as policies for your institution which can contribute to the dialogue. I envisage the interview lasting between 60 and 90 minutes. I have a list of questions which I will provide prior so you can be prepared with answers. I will then transpose the interview and provide you with a transcript. From this transcript both you and I may have further questions or discussions to expand on, and this can either be done in another face-to-face interview, or in a digital video, or phone call. There may be further documents you or I wish to research or to refer to. I will be analysing your institution's documents which are publically available, such as policies, to contribute to our discussion. However, the choice will be yours about providing any more detailed documentation about your courses. You may wish to consult with others at your institution to add depth to the study. My intention is to compile a story about biculturalism as it is woven into journalism education at your institution and that story is completed in collaboration with you.

At some point after the interview, I would like you to nominate six students who you believe would contribute well in a focus group which is centred on the student experience of connecting journalism and biculturalism. The focus groups and their analysis will be totally separate from the educator interview and analysis. There is a separate information sheet for the students.

What are the discomforts and risks?

I don't anticipate any discomfort or risk. Specifically, the design of the relational dialogue and collaborative building of your biculturalism story is designed for you to be involved throughout.

What are the benefits?

My intention is for the resulting thesis as part of a successful PhD qualification will contain recommendations for how journalism schools can embed biculturalism in their curriculums. Linked with that would be connecting and complementing journalism's special role in democracy with educational responsibilities based on the Treaty of Waitangi. Given that most journalism educators and students are Pākehā, this study will contribute to research on Pākehā engaging with biculturalism and Treaty education. There is a related push globally to consider non-western worldviews in journalism education, and in academic scholarship, to which the research will contribute. The study is also timely given that new diploma qualifications on the NZQA framework require that graduates can incorporate the values and perspectives of Aotearoa New Zealand, including te ao Māori (worldview), into professional practice.

How will my privacy be protected?

Your name and the name of your institution will not be used, and instead, pseudonyms will be used in the resulting collaborative story, and thesis discussion/report. I will not be sharing the contents of your interview with anyone else. However, given the small pool of journalism educators it is likely that every participant will know each other and potentially recognise elements in the collaborative stories of others.

What are the costs of participating in this research?

There are no financial costs involved, just your time as a journalism educator. The initial interview is expected to take between 60 and 90 minutes, and subsequent shorter discussions by phone or digital video call to clarify points may be needed in the process of building a collaborative story. It is difficult to quantify how much time the subsequent interviews will take up, but it will be my responsibility as a researcher in our relationship to minimise the impact on your time by keeping dialogue as effective and efficient as possible.

What opportunity do I have to consider this invitation?

I will get in touch in three days after sending this invitation to see if you would like to take part.

Will I receive feedback on the results of this research?

Yes. I will send a summary of the completed research to you. The full research will also be publically available at no cost through the AUT library.

What do I do if I have concerns about this research?

Any concerns regarding the nature of this project should be notified in the first instance to the Project Supervisor, Associate Professor Verica Rupar, Senior Lecturer, Journalism, School of Communication Studies, verica.rupar@aut.ac.nz, (09) 921-9999 ext 6407.

Concerns regarding the conduct of the research should be notified to the Executive Secretary of AUTEC, Kate O'Connor, ethics@aut.ac.nz, 921 9999 ext 6038.

Whom do I contact for further information about this research?

Please keep this Information Sheet and a copy of the Consent Form for your future reference. You are also able to contact the research team as follows:

Researcher Contact Details:

Bernie Whelan. Email: Bernie.whelan@gmail.com, phone (027) 706-5237.

Project Supervisor Contact Details:

Associate Professor Verica Rupar, Senior Lecturer, Journalism, School of Communication Studies, verica.rupar@aut.ac.nz, (09) 921-9999 ext 6407.

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on September 25, 2017, AUTEC Reference number 17/323.

Appendix 3: Indicative questions

Indicative questions for Journalism Educators:
[working title] Biculturally conscious journalism education: Biculturalism in the everyday praxis of journalism schools.

Biographical information
Full name, date of birth, cultural identification

Your journalism background
Where and when did you train?
Outline your career from first role to becoming an educator.
What is you recall of biculturalism as a practicing journalist?

Your journalism education background
When and how did you get into it?
Outline your journalism education career from first role to date?
What qualifications have you undertaken?

Real-life example/illustration/story
Describe a high-point example in your experience when biculturally conscious journalism education was at its best in your programme. You may have been observing, it may have been in teaching, it may have been in your own work, it might have been in student work. Prompting questions which might help are: Describe what was happening? What made it so memorable? How were you feeling? What was your experience of others, lecturer, students, others involved for example in news gathering? If you could replicate it how would you do it?

Biculturalism and your programmes
How do you reflect/embed/address biculturalism in your programmes
What literature do you use? Pou Kōrerō, by Carol Archie? How?
Would it be possible to get a copy of your documentation for journalism courses and programmes?

Institutional
- What educational documents do you refer to when considering your institution's roles and responsibilities in relation to biculturalism?
- Have you been involved in any wider discussion/training/research project related to biculturalism in education? Provide details.
- What would be your observation of biculturalism reflected in the wider tertiary institution?

Dialogue on critical thinking
In the reading I have done so far for this research - studies and literature I have read about intercultural communication, about education, about journalism - can be broadly grouped into three areas of critical thinking:
1) intercultural consciousness (ongoing conscious negotiation) v intercultural competence
2) whiteness theory – e.g. journalism as a Pākehā practice; organisations in post-colonial society are white spaces, e.g. tertiary
3) Critical pedagogy – if education is not emancipatory, empowering and action-oriented then it is not education, it is just the status quo.

I am interested in your thoughts, for example:

Bicultural consciousness
What does it mean for you as a journalism educator?
Is it possible to maintain an engagement with biculturalism throughout the programme?

Whiteness
Mainstream news media has been described as a white practice, a Pākehā practice which masks power and privilege in the hands of journalists who choose what is news.
Similarly, tertiary institutions in western countries such as this are described as white spaces.
What is your response to those arguments/reflections on them related to journalism education?

Critical pedagogy
Is it possible to negotiate mainstream news values and a Māori worldview?
- E.g. Immediacy versus time being secondary to relationship
- E.g. peaceful society as a virtue versus challenge, emancipation, empowerment
- E.g. Treaty grievance versus Treaty breaches

How?

General
Is there anything that we haven't touched on that you would like to discuss?

Appendix 4: Consent form

Consent Form

Project title: **Biculturally Conscious Journalism Education**

Project Supervisor: **Associate Professor Verica Rupar, School of Communication Studies; Professor Geoffrey Craig**

Researcher: **Bernie Whelan**

○ I have read and understood the information provided about this research project in the Information Sheet dated 28 August 2017.

○ I have had an opportunity to ask questions and to have them answered.

○ I understand that notes will be taken during the interviews and that they will also be audio-taped and transcribed.

○ I understand that taking part in this study is voluntary (my choice) and that I may withdraw from the study at any time without being disadvantaged in any way.

○ I understand that if I withdraw from the study then I will be offered the choice between having any data that is identifiable as belonging to me removed or allowing it to continue to be used. However, once the findings have been produced, removal of my data may not be possible.

○ I agree to take part in this research.

○ I wish to receive a summary of the research findings (please tick one): Yes○   No○

Participant's signature: ....

Participant's name: ....

Participant's Contact Details:

....

....

....

....

Date:

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on September 25, AUTEC Reference number 17/323.

Note: The Participant should retain a copy of this form.

Appendix 5: New Zealand Journalism Training Organisation enrolment reports

Item 10

J-schools statistics

Aoraki	Enrolled 2012	Enrolled 2011	Gender 2012	Prior learning 2012	Ethnicity* 2012
NatDipJ	11	13	F:4 M:8	Degree: Dip: School:	E: 10 M:1 P: A:
Certificate-Dunedin	10	NA	F:7 M:3	Degree:3 Dip: School :4	E: M: P: A:
Certificate-Chch	9	17	F: 9 M: 0	Degree: 4 Dip:2 School: 3 Work:4	E: M: P: A:
Broadcasting School					
Degree	39 year 1 and 2	38 year 1 and 2	F: 25 M:13	Degree: 4 Dip: 0 School: 35	E: 33 M:2 P: A: 1
AUT					
Degree	45	42	F: M:	Degree: Dip: School:	E: M: P: A:
Post-graduate	35	36	F: M:	Highest qualification:	
Massey					
Post-graduate	23	21	F:16 M: 7	Degree: 23 Dip: School:	E:20 M: 3 P: A: 1
				Highest qualification: double bachelors	
SIT					
NatDipJ	18	10	F:12 M:6	Degree: 2 Dip: 1 School: 5	E: 17 M:1 P: A:
Certificate	0	0	F: M:	Degree: Dip: School:	E: M: P: A:
Waiariki					
NatDipJ	11	14	F:9 M:2	Degree: Dip: School:	E:3 M:8 P: A:

Wintec					
NatDipJ	7	21	F: 5 M:2	Degree: 6 Dip: School :1	E: 5 M: 2 P: A:
Degree	16	15	F:12 M:4	Degree: Dip: School: 16	E: 15 M: P: 1 A:
Online	6 yr 1, 8yr 2	7 yr 1			
WITT	**Enrolled 2012**	**Enrolled 2011**	**Gender 2012**	**Prior learning 2012**	**Ethnicity*2012**
NatDipJ	13	13	F: 4 M:9	Degree:2 Dip: School:11	E:11 M: P: 2 A:
Whitireia	**Enrolled 2012**	**Enrolled 2011**	**Gender 2012**	**Prior learning 2012**	**Ethnicity*2012**
NatDipJ	28	28	F: 18 M:10	Degree: 12 Dip: School:	E: 22 M:3 P: A: 1 ME 1 AF: 1
Certificate	27	24	F: 15 M:12	Degree: 5 Dip: School: 22	E: 21 M: 4 P: 2 A: 1
Radio course	13	16	F: 7 M: 6	Degree: 1 Dip: 6 School:	E: 10 M:1 P: 2 A:
Totals	**312**	**311**	**F: 143 M:81**		**E:136 M:20 P:3**
Totals degree or NatDipJ	**253**	**257**			

* E: European; M: Māori; P: Pacifika; A: Asian

NEW ZEALAND
JOURNALISTS TRAINING ORGANISATION

J-school statistics 2013 -2012

Institution	Enrolled 2013	Gender	Ethnicity*	Prior learning	Enrolled 2012	Gender	Ethnicity*	Prior learning	Graduated 2012
Aoraki NatDipJ	13	F: M:			11	F:4, M:7	E:10, M:1		7
Aoraki Certificate Dunedin	9				10	F:7, M:3		Degree:3, school:4	9
Aoraki Certificate Christchurch	14				9	F:9, M:0		Degree:4, Dip:2, school 3,	
AUT degree	44	F: M:	E: M: P: A:	Degree: Dip: School:	41	F:32, M:9	E:33, M:2 P: A:1	Degree: Dip: School:	40
AUT post-grad	26	F: M:			29	F:18, M: 11	E:22, M:1, P:0,A:6		28
Broadcasting School	20	F:12,M:8	E:17,M:2,European/ American:1	Degree:5, Dip:1, School:14 (5 UE, 9NCEA L3)	39 year 1 and 2	F:25,M:14	E:33,M:2,P:0,A:1	Degree: 4,Dip:0,School 35	
Canterbury	20	F;14,M:6	E:16,P:2,E+M:2	Degree: 6 BA 8 BA (Hons) 1 BA/LLB (Bachelor of Law) 1 LLM (Masters in Law) 1 MA (International Law & Politics) + PG Dip in Public Health 1 BSc 1 BSc (Hons) 1 PhD (Science)	NA (course in abeyance for 2012)	NA	NA	NA	NA
Massey	26	F:18, M;8	E:21,M:3,P:0,A;2	Degree:26	23	F:16, M:7	E:20,M:3,P:0,A:1	Degree:23. Highest qual: double bachelors	23
SIT	13 (9 FT, 4PT)				18	F;12,M:6	E:17,M:1,P;0, A:0		4

Institution	Enrolled 2013	Gender	Ethnicity*	Prior learning	Enrolled 2012	Gender	Ethnicity*	Prior learning	Graduated 2012
Institution	Enrolled 2013	Gender	Ethnicity*	Prior learning	Enrolled 2012	Gender	Ethnicity*	Prior learning	Graduated 2012
Waiariki	NA (course in abeyance for 2013)	NA	NA	NA	11	F;9,M;2	E:3,M;8	No stats supplied	4
Whitireia NatDipJ:2012/2013	31	F:18, M:10	E:22,M:3,P:0,A:1,ME:1,AF:1	Degree:12	2011/2012: 28				24
Whitireia Cert	18*				28				26
Radio course 2012	13				2011:16				
Wintec degree	15	F:13,M:2	E:13,M:1,A:1	School: 15	15				8**
Wintec NatDipJ	3	M:2,F:1	E:3,M:0,A:0	Degree:1,School:2	6				5
Wintec Online NatDipJ	12	F:10,M:2		Degree 6, school:6	9				7***
WITT	12				12	F:4,M:8			6
Total	288				301				
Total NatDipJ	83				95				
Total degree	151				147				
Total certificate	54				59				

N E W Z E A L A N D
JOURNALISTS TRAINING ORGANISATION

J-school statistics 2014 -2013

Institution	Enrolled 2014	Gender 2014	Ethnicity*2014	Prior learning 2014	Enrolled 2013	Gender 2013	Ethnicity	Prior learning
Massey								
Post-grad	17	F: M:		Degree: 17	26	F: 18, M:8		26
Masters	3							
	Enrolled	Gender	Ethnicity	Prior learning	Enrolled 2013	Gender	Ethnicity	Prior learning
SIT								
NatDipJ	10.5	F:7 M: 4	E:9 M 1: P 0: A 1:	Degree: 2 Dip: 1 School: 8	13	F:8, M:5		
Waiariki (in abeyance)								
Whitireia								
NatDipJ	29 (2013-14)	F: 13 M: 16	E: 25 M: 0 P:1 A:1, Africa: 1	Degree: 10 Dip: 0 School (Cert first):5	34 (2012-13)	F:21 M:13		Degree: 13, Dip: 0, School (cert first):9
Cert	10	F:5 M:5	E:7 M:3	Degree: 1 Dip: 0 School: 4	18 (2013)	F: 9 M:9		Degree: 0, Dip: 0, School: 10
Radio course	5	F: 3 M: 2	E: 1 M: 3 P: 1	Not available	12 (2012-13)	F: 6 M: 6		Not available
Wintec								
Degree	12 (3rd year)	F:9, M: 3	E: 6 M: 5, P: 0 A:1(NZ Indian)	All undergraduate	15	F:13,M:2	E:13,M:1,A:1	School: 15
NatDipJ	7	F:4,M:3	E:5,:M1,P:O,A:0 Other: 1 (Egyptian)	Degree: 5, Dip: 1	3	F:1,M:2	E:3	
NatDipJ online	5	F:4, M:1	Unknown	Degree: 2	12	F:10,M:2	Unknown	Degree: 6, School: 6
WITT	8	F: M:	E: M: P: A:					
NatDipJ					12	F:10,M:2		
Total enrolled	229				281			
Breakdown								
NatDipJ	72				83			
Postgrad	37				52			
Graduate	13				18			
Masters	3				NA			
Degree	82				75			
Certificate	17				41			
Radio Whitireia	5				12			

Appendix 6: File images of institutional documents – Ara Institute of Canterbury (Ara),

Auckland University of Technology (AUT), Massey University, University of Canterbury (UC),

Waikato Institute of Technology (Wintec).

▼ 📁 a Ara
    📄 1 1 Applicationpack_BBc.pdf
    📄 1_03622-Strategic-Plan-2017-19_25-Oct-v2.pdf
    📄 1_04220-StrategicPlan-2019_A3_FINAL.pdf
    📄 1_Investment-Plan-Ara-Institute-of-Canterbury-2019-21.pdf
    📄 2_6006_EER report 2017.pdf
    📄 3_Ara-Organisation-and-Committees-1-August-2018.pdf
    📄 4_Ara-StatuteMay19.pdf
    📄 5_Ara-Council-Agenda-October-2019-Public_NOTE SUBMISSION.pdf
    📄 6_Ara-RoVE-Submission-050419.pdf
    📄 9_NZQA_BBC_Ara.pdf
    📄 03507-Sustainability-Charter-2016.pdf
    📄 Annual-Report-2018.pdf
  ▼ 📁 policies
      📄 7_CPP204-Equal-Emp-Opportunities-TKM-vsndocx.pdf
      📄 8_CPP218-Induction-TKM.pdf
      📄 10_CPP101-Communication-Policy18.pdf
      📄 11_APP505-Assessment18.pdf
      📄 x_APP301-Student-Rights-Responsibilities.pdf
      📄 x_APP301a-Student-Rights.pdf
  🖼 Screen Shot 2020-01-09 at 2.58.42 PM_Council responsibility_No direct Treaty mention
  🖼 Screen Shot 2020-01-09 at 6.18.27 PM_Front page
  📄 Tokona-te-Raki-Te-Pae-Tawhiti-Strategic-Intent-OCT-2019.pdf

Auckland University of Technology (AUT)

▼ 📁 b AUT
   📄 ~$Diversity-Roadmap.doc
   📄 1 a a cornell_AUT_Insitutional document analysis
  ▼ 📁 1 a first docs off 'about' on front page of web
    📄 1_AUT-Senior-Management-Structure_October-2019.pdf
    📄 2_Strategic plan_aut-directions-4pg-010917-v11.pdf
    📄 3_Annual-Report-2018-AUT.pdf
    📄 3_AUT-Investment-Plan.pdf
    📄 4_AUT-profile-2018-digital.pdf
    📄 5_Calendar-2019.pdf
    📄 6_Code-of-Practice-condensed-final.pdf
    📄 8_Alumni-insight-magazine-2019-v4-digital-final.pdf
    📄 9_Diversity-Roadmap.doc
    📄 10_Diversity-strategy-and-action-plan-2012-2016.pdf
    📄 11_AUT-CODE-OF-CONDUCT-FOR-RESEARCH-2019.pdf
  ▼ 📁 1 a Journalism specific
    📄 2020-Postgraduate-Guide.pdf
    📄 Bachelor-of-Communication-Studies-Brochure-2020.pdf
    🖼 Screen Shot 2020-01-07 at 4.03.42 PM_journ front page
    🖼 Screen Shot 2020-01-07 at 4.10.17 PM_inside BCom J major page
    🖼 Screen Shot 2020-01-08 at 10.13.05 AM_Cores for journalism
  ▼ 📁 1 a Māori specific
    🖼 Screen Shot 2020-01-06 at 5.27.02 PM_Office of Māori advancement
  ▶ 📁 z history mentioning Māori
  ▼ 📁 Annual reports
    📄 2014-annual-report.pdf
    📄 Annual-Report-08-online-Final-6-Apr-09.pdf
    📄 Annual-Report-2018-AUT.pdf
    📄 AUT-Annual-Report-09-_Final-web-30-Mar-10.pdf
    📄 AUT-Annual-Report-2010-Final-31-March-web.pdf
    📄 AUT-Annual-Report-2011-Web.pdf
    📄 AUT-Annual-Report-2012-web-secured.pdf
    📄 Digital-annual-report-2017.pdf
    📄 FINAL-AUT-Annual-Report-2013-secured.pdf
    📄 FINAL-SECURE-AUT-Annual-Report-2015-Online-version-with-content-page-buttons.pdf
    📄 Web-version-AUT-Annual-Report-2016-final.pdf
  ▼ 📁 Images
    🖼 Screen Shot 2020-01-06 at 4.39.24 PM_Whanau
    🖼 Screen Shot 2020-01-06 at 4.51.04 PM_Council
    🖼 Screen Shot 2020-01-06 at 4.53.08 PM_Senior leadership team
    🖼 Screen Shot 2020-01-06 at 4.54.01 PM_Strategic leadership team
    🖼 Screen Shot 2020-01-06 at 4.56.33 PM_Statistics
    🖼 Screen Shot 2020-01-06 at 4.57.09 PM_Statistics 2
    🖼 Screen Shot 2020-01-06 at 5.13.55 PM_Social responsibility
    🖼 Screen Shot 2020-01-06 at 5.16.01 PM_Diversity
    🖼 Screen Shot 2020-01-06 at 5.23.58 PM_te reo
    🖼 Screen Shot 2020-01-06 at 5.24.41 PM_about
    🖼 Screen Shot 2020-01-06 at 5.26.06 PM_Māori at AUT

Massey University

- ▼ 📁 c Massey
  - ▼ 📁 1 Massey - plans and reports
    - 📄 1 massey-university-strategy 2018-2022.pdf
    - 📄 2 massey-university-investment-plan_2019-2021.pdf
    - 📄 2 paerangi-learning-and-teaching-strategy.pdf
    - 📄 3 Annual_Report_2018.pdf
    - 📄 4 kia-marama-maori@massey-2013.pdf
    - 📄 2015-au4652_Constitution.pdf
    - 📄 x old Defining-road-to-2020.pdf
    - 📄 x oldthe-road-to-2025.pdf
  - ▼ 📁 2 Massey - policies
    - 📄 discretionary-expenditure-and-gifts-policy.pdf
    - 📄 discretionary-expenditure-and-gifts-procedures.pdf
    - 📄 health-safety-and-wellbeing-charter.pdf
    - 📄 health-safety-and-wellbeing-policy.pdf
    - 📄 induction-policy.pdf
    - 📄 intellectual-property-policy.pdf
    - 📄 manager-staff-development-policy.pdf
    - 📄 maori-language-policy.pdf
    - 📄 massey-university-council-appointments-statute-2019.pdf
    - 📄 naming-of-buildings-policy.pdf
    - 📄 policy-on-student-engagement-in-the-assurance-and-enhancement-of-teaching-and-learning.pdf
    - 📄 sensitive-expenditure-and-gifts-procedures.pdf
    - 📄 teaching-and-learning-framework.pdf
    - 📄 teaching-and-learning-policy.pdf
    - 📄 treaty-of-waitangi-policy.pdf
  - ▼ 📁 2 More About Massey - Tiriti-led web pages
    - ▶ 📁 Becoming Tiriti-led - Massey University_files
    - 🌐 Becoming Tiriti-led - Massey University.htm
    - ▶ 📁 Key Treaty of Waitangi elements of the Massey University Strategy 2018-2022 - Massey University_files
    - 🌐 Key Treaty of Waitangi elements of the Massey University Strategy 2018-2022 - Massey University.htm
    - 📄 kia-marama-maori@massey-2013.pdf
    - ▶ 📁 Kōrero - Conversations about the Treaty of Waitangi - Massey University_files
    - 🌐 Kōrero - Conversations about the Treaty of Waitangi - Massey University.htm
    - ▶ 📁 Māori @ Massey - Massey University_files
    - 🌐 Māori @ Massey - Massey University.htm
    - ▶ 📁 Tiriti Charter Development - Massey University_files
    - 🌐 Tiriti Charter Development - Massey University.htm
    - ▶ 📁 Tiriti o Waitangi (Treaty of Waitangi) Quiz - Massey University_files
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  - 📄 kia-marama-maori@massey-2013.pdf

University of Canterbury (UC)

▼ 📁 d UC
    ▼ 📁 1-Web docs
        📕 1 UCs-2017-2018-update-April.pdf
        📕 2 investment-plan-2015-2017.pdf
        📕 3 Annual-Report-2018-Full.pdf
        📕 4 uc-learning-and-teaching-plan-2013-17.pdf
        📕 2012ucfutures.pdf
        📕 annual-report-2015-full.pdf
        📕 Equity-and-Diversity-Plan_FinalAll.pdf
        📕 strategy_for_maori_development_2012.pdf
        📕 uc-statement-of-strategic-intent-2009.pdf
    ▼ 📁 x Policies
        📕 Equity-and-Diversity-Policy.pdf
        📕 Sustainability-Framework.pdf
  📕 5uc-innovation-and-entrepreneurship-strategy-2013-15.pdf
  🖵 Screen Shot 2019-06-24 at 8.09.46 AM
  🖵 Screen Shot 2019-06-24 at 8.12.45 AM
  📄 UC and Ngai Tahu
  📄 UC BiCC

Waikato Institute of Technology (Wintec)

▼ 📁 e Wintec
    📄 1 structure.pdf
    📄 2 wintec-strategic-plan-2016-2018.pdf
    📄 3 wintec-investment-plan-2019-2020.pdf
    📄 4 2019-academic-manual.pdf
    📄 5 māori-capability-framework.pdf
    📄 6 NZQA Bachelor of Communication Wintec.pdf
    ▼ 📁 Annual reports
        📄 wintec-annual-report-2014.pdf
        📄 wintec-annual-report-2017.pdf
        📄 wintec-annual-report-2018.pdf
    ▼ 📁 Course descriptors
        ▼ 📁 BCom
            📄 bmaxx100.pdf
            📄 Com501.pdf
            📄 Com601.pdf
            📄 Com701.pdf
            📄 COMM602.pdf
            📄 Crit501.pdf
            📄 Crit601.pdf
            📄 crtv501.pdf
            📄 crtv502.pdf
            📄 CRTV601.pdf
            📄 CRTV602.pdf
            📄 CRTV701.pdf
            📄 CRTV702.pdf
            📄 CRTV703.pdf
            📄 CRTV704.pdf
            📄 dfnz701.pdf
            📄 jour505.pdf
            📄 PHOT501.pdf
            📄 PHOT502.pdf
            📄 Prof501.pdf
            📄 Prof601.pdf
            📄 Prof701.pdf
        ▼ 📁 Journalism
            📄 501 News storytelling.pdf
            📄 502 Advanced Storytelling.pdf
            📄 503 Tech Skills 1- Online.pdf
            📄 504 Tech skills 2 multimedia.pdf
            📄 505 Media law.pdf
            📄 506 Professional practice.pdf
            📄 3208_NZQA qual_NZDipJ.pdf
    📄 history-of-wintec-land.pdf
    📄 Māori front page for Wintec
    📄 What-the-Reform-of-Vocational-Education-means-for-Maori-learners-V2.pdf
    📄 wintec_prospectus.pdf
    📄 x 2018academicmanual.pdf

Appendix 7: Sample of Cornell Method adaptation used to build field-to-research texts.

Keywords	Paper	Summary
Institutional Racism AA news values	Stuart Moewaka-Barnes etc Journalistic frames scholarship multiple	*When I joined it was still a very white newsroom. I don't think there were any Maori reporters. It was a horrible time to pick the Māori Affairs round up because I started a couple of years or so after the settlement and the editor was very fixed and wanting to report on 'what they had done with our money'. That was the frame for the storytelling. It was awful. I just felt like I was constantly battling the news outlet's own racism. It was a tough gig for a young reporter. I don't know whether I did it that well, but certainly made an effort.*
Calling out. Connects to section 3 and working now with allies in uni	Allies	*At the same time, we were still pluralising Māori words and there was a group of us that was trying to campaign to have the style change. Lots of battles on that kind of front. I ended up setting up meetings between senior editors and the iwi to try and broker a different way of doing things, because I was going to the iwi and trying to relationship-build and contact-build and it was just this toxic history between them and the news outlet.*

Advocacy
Allies
Alternate
Leadership
 	
A stand
'different type' = inclusive
	Advocacy scholarship
	
	Many scholars
	Inclusive
	
	Coombes
		Some of my stories I look back at them and think I probably leaned too far at times toward, not placating the iwi, but was so personally offended by news outlet's attitude and coverage, that I became more of an advocate in how I reported the iwi. To the point where I do remember a story where I wanted it written a particular way, I stayed in the newsroom and negotiated with the news editor around 'it has to have this headline, don't you dare slap a shitty headline on this story' and I stayed until the publication was put to bed to make sure that's the way it ran. It did feel a lot like putting a stake in the sand and trying to fight for a different kind of journalism.
		TIME
		  - Memory still alive
		  - Still in her tough gig whenever she teaches
		  - Did it help she'd had 4-5 years uni and life on west coast, and grew up Pacific… tough. No. see comment below.
		  - 'what have they done with our money' requires and understanding that the treaty settlement money is not 'our' money. Need history lesson.
		  -
		PLACE
		  - Physical and temporal place
		  - A stake in the sand. Her place which is also her people, the people in the iwi and in the newsroom
		
		SOCIAL
		  - There were a group of people trying to effect change. E.g. plural
		  - Setting up meeting
		  - Fight for a different journalism
		  - Connection to the people of the place
		  - Journalism ally work = development/alternative.

Field text note:
Her place and my statement about Coombes – this about someone claiming their place. Claiming journalism as a place in her mihi. I wonder what Bourdieu says something about the performance is also something we own and claim against people like that editor. No. This has to be the individual experience, and that is the key, to remember I am not saying 'be like this' I am saying
1.What it takes for a journalism educator (and journalist) to establish a journalism education of place
- marae
- Anglo-American news culture (background)
- Journalism as leadership practice (MAJOR)
- Advocate to ally (MAJOR – LINK TO LEADERSHIP)
- Pointer to future…. Journalism education of place (The result)
2) what they need and the GAP
3) Inclusive Journalism education and what it looks like
4) Challenges to generating inclusive journalism education

Key words	Paper	Summary
News culture	NValues lit	*Bernard:* "But that's perhaps the sort of thing that needed to be done at the time?"
Whiteness	Find new 'fairness' as news value lit... I think Husband etc	*Interviewee: But boy, it's a lonely thing to do. I really, really worry we don't attract enough Maori and Pasifika in to journalism and then we send them out there as pretty much lone practitioners in white newsrooms and it's a bruising experience. It's not good, it's not healthy.*
Anglo-American news values Negativity	Whariki and negativity	*I personally think it's not enough to hire one, two Māori reporters in to the newsroom. There has to be, I don't know what the threshold is but there's a certain number or proportion of people you need for it to really make a different to the culture of a place and for it to really be safe for those handful of reporters, yeah.*
equty		**This needs intro par** *"I found that year really hard. Having had a year out and then going back into journalism I found the newsroom really negative. I had happily been acculturated into*
Newsroom culture	Culture Logic Multiple scholars	*that space before but having a year's break and then going back in, and maybe with being a new parent as well. I still miss the newsroom now. But I was really shocked at how much I didn't enjoy the journalism. How much of a culture shock it was. Like a really negative space and it was all negative news. For example, court and crime reporting."*
		TIME Done at that time: I have this auto thing like it was back then. S1 primary had the same reaction. But it is still alive in the memory of the educator (social), and we (S1 primary and I) are putting it in its place, because back then I was in that place.
		PLACE - Culture of a place - **But here in this place** SOCIAL - Lonely v Safe - News values fit in all of these. - Acculturated, Culture shock, Negative space all negative news, crime and court. Connects to caring.

Field text note:
A most interesting thing here is my disconnection from her experience. xx had the same thing. 'that was then and this is now'. But for the people involved it is real.. particularly women. Me later – why particularly women? Because we were also keeping in place a gender issue. I could connect the 'care' aspect here. I have not experienced racism so I cannot know it. Although I had the one experience in Japan.

Really use this section to delve into the idea of news values. Write about them.