Not a Subject but an End-goal:
Education for Citizenship in New Zealand

Cite as: Mutch, C. (2019). Not a subject but an end-goal: Education for citizenship in New Zealand. In Pineda-Alfonso, J A., De Alba-Fernandez, N., & Navarro-Medina, E. (Eds.) Handbook of Research on Participative Citizenship and Global Prosperity (pp.67-88). Hershey, PA: IGI Global.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This chapter discusses the status of citizenship education across three periods of New Zealand history. Each period is characterized by the competing educational debates of the day. The first period (Indigenous versus Colonial, circa 1200AD-early 1900s) describes the contestation over land, citizenship and education between the indigenous Māori and their British colonisers. Early in the 20th century the traditional colonial form of schooling is challenged by a liberal progressive approach (Traditional Conservative versus Liberal Progressive, 1900s-1970s). With the economic downturn of the 1970s the third era begins (New Right versus Liberal Left, 1970s-present). In each period of history, the nature and status of education for citizenship has been a subject of debate with the outcome in the hands of the dominant ideology of the time. The tensions have not yet been resolved and while education for citizenship has always been an end-goal, it has never reached the status of a compulsory subject.

Keywords: Māori, Colonial, Traditional Conservative, Liberal Progressive, New Right, Liberal Left, Neo-liberalism, Neo-conservatism, George Hogben, Peter Fraser, Clarence Beeby, Thomas Report, Social Studies, International Civics and Citizenship Education Study, Social Sciences Education

INTRODUCTION

About 800 years ago, Polynesian seafarers found their way to a group of islands in the southern Pacific Ocean. Over time, they settled and made these islands, roughly the size of Great Britain, their home. With the land's abundant food supplies and temperate climate, the newcomers flourished and set up a complex social system of tribes, sub-tribes and extended families. As part of their wider culture, the people, who became known as Māori, passed on important knowledge, skills and values to the next generation. Young people learned their culture through an informal, community-based, experiential learning apprenticeship model (Irwin, 1994). Māori lived in the land, later known as Aotearoa, undisturbed by outsiders for many centuries until European adventurers, sealers, whalers and Christian missionaries arrived in their waters (King, 2007). In 1840, in order to claim the land for Great Britain, a representative of the British Crown signed a treaty with local Māori. In return for passing sovereignty to the British Crown, Māori were granted citizenship of the British Empire (King, 2007; Orange, 2010). This treaty, the Treaty of Waitangi, set the stage for the on-going contestation of what it meant to be a citizen of Aotearoa New Zealand, what attendant rights and responsibilities came with the conferral of citizenship, and what role education might play in preparing children and young people to be citizens of this new country.

This chapter picks up the story after the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. Differing interpretations of the treaty lead to the colonists winning domination over the indigenous people and to wars over land. The framework for telling the story of education for citizenship in New Zealand uses three time periods, each highlighted by two contested worldviews (Author removed for review purposes, 2002). This framework does not aim to set up a dichotomous "good worldview" versus "bad worldview" scenario but rather show the tensions that existed in each time period and their impact on education for citizenship. It should be

understood, as well, that the time periods are not rigid but overlap; however, there are particular historical events that mark the shift from one time period to the next. The first period is that of the British settler worldview set against that of the Māori worldview (circa 1200AD to the early 1900s). The second time period sees the rise of a traditional conservative political and educational worldview come up against a more liberal progressive political and educational outlook (1900s to 1970s). The third time period brings us to the present as market forces challenge more liberal left interests (1970s to the present). In each of these periods, education for citizenship was revisited and debated before finally being shaped by whichever ideological force held sway at the time.

INDIGENOUS VERSUS COLONIAL

The 1840 Treaty of Waitangi was written in both English and *te reo Māori* (the Māori language). As with any language, it is not always possible to capture the cultural, social and linguistic nuances in translation. While the current understanding of the treaty's three principles is that they guarantee partnership, participation and protection, the understandings that each of the signatories took away from the treaty at the time differed markedly (King, 2007; Orange, 2010; Tawhai & Gray-Sharpe, 2011). *Pākehā* (the Māori name for European New Zealanders) undertook the religious conversion, cultural assimilation and formal education of Māori into British culture through means such as the 1867 Native Schools Act. Māori, "an uninitiated but intelligent and high spirited people" were seen as in need of being brought "into line with our [British] civilisation" (Bailey, 1977, p. 5). Broken promises and misappropriation of land became heated issues for Māori and led to the New Zealand Wars of the 1860s. Following the wars, more Māori land was confiscated by the government. By the end of the 19th century, Māori were dispossessed of much of their land and their population was in rapid decline (Irwin, 1994; King, 2007; Simon & Massey, 1994; Tawhai & Gray-Sharpe, 2011).

When schools were initially established, they were based on the British industrial model, where primary-aged children learned in age-based groupings, in rigid rows, copying and reciting knowledge under the stern eye of a teacher who asserted strict discipline (Campbell, 1941; May, 2011). May (2011, p. 31) describes it this way:

> *The infant room was a small hall with a partition down the middle separating the girls from the boys…. The girls seldom saw the boys on the other side of the partition as infants spent most of the day immobile, wedged into little seats with wide shelves in the front for slates.*

Secondary level schooling was only available to a few wealthy elite, usually boys, and was based on a classical education that included Latin, Greek and French (Bailey, 1977; Campbell, 1941). In 1877, the Education Act, with its promise of free, compulsory and secular education provided the opportunity for all children to access primary schooling. The first Inspector General of Schools, the Reverend William Habens, designed a forward-thinking curriculum that aimed to provide a liberal and well-rounded education to New Zealand school children. The curriculum was described as, "more ambitious in aim than any in the British Empire" (McLaren, 1980, p. 22), As well as reading, writing and arithmetic, students would study grammar and composition, geography, science, drawing and music. History was not included at the time to avoid religious denominational bias (Campbell, 1941). The avoidance of prescribing which version of history to teach was also one reason for making schooling secular. Instead of religious education, children received character training, based very much on Victorian social mores (Malone, 1973; McGee, 1998). Malone notes that the absence of religious education led instead to over-zealous imperialistic indoctrination. Malone (1973, p. 18) claims, "These concepts, as presented to New Zealand primary school children were moral in character and as dogmatic in many respects as any religious doctrine." Under the Native Schools Act, Māori children were receiving a different education – in English, rather than their own language, which they were punished for speaking (Tawhai & Gray-Sharp, 2011; King, 2007). Girls were being prepared to be domestic servants and boys to be labourers. The 1877

Education Act, however, did make provision for selected Māori students, including girls, to go on Native secondary schools or colleges (Tawhai & Gray-Sharp, 2011).

At the turn of the century, most children between 7 and 13 were now attending formal schooling. Prior to the Education Act, less than half of school-aged children were receiving any form of schooling (Campbell, 1941). The Inspector-General at this time, George Hogben, opened up secondary schooling provision by making state secondary schools provide places for students who passed the Proficiency Examination at the end of primary school. He also set up technical high schools to provide vocational training (Campbell, 1941). In 1904, Hogben revised the school curriculum. He believed education was instrumental in social change. Hogben added moral instruction, history, civics, physical education, health, and manual training to the curriculum (Campbell, 1941). Hogben was influenced by progressive education ideas:

> *We must believe with Froebel and others of the most enlightened of the world's educators, that the child will learn best, not so much by reading about things in books as by doing: that is exercising his natural activities by making things, by observing and testing things for himself; and then afterwards reasoning about them and expressing thoughts about them.* (Hogben, cited in May, 2011, p. 37)

Hogben's reforms, however, coincided with increasing imperialist fervour following the death of Queen Victoria in 1901. There was renewed emphasis in fostering a love and attachment to the Empire (Patrick, 2009). Hogben is often best remembered for the introduction of the *New Zealand School Journal*. It was a multi-subject educational magazine for children, focusing mainly on literature, history, geography, civics and science, divided into three parts according to class levels, and made freely available to all children in state-funded schools (Ewing, 1970). The first edition was published in May, 1907. Content included non-fiction, fiction, poetry and illustrations that aimed to reflect New Zealand children's experiences and interests. It became a key teaching resource for schools and in 1914 was made compulsory (Malone, 1973; Ewing, 1970; Perreau & Kingsbury, 2017).

What then did education for citizenship look like over this period? Prior to the arrival of British settlers, Māori children learned by doing, guided by adults skilled at the task they were mastering. There is also evidence of collective learning in *whare wānanga* (houses of learning), where important cultural knowledge and skills were passed on (Tawhai & Gray-Sharp, 2011). While the notion of citizenship was not understood as we know it today, Māori affiliated with their land, the *waka* (canoe) on which their ancestors arrived, their *whānau* (extended family), *hapū* (sub-tribe) and *iwi* (tribe). They learned the creation story of Rangi, the sky father, and Papatuanuku, the earth mother, and the adventures and deeds of their ancestors (Salmond, 1978). Through genealogy and tribal loyalty, they learned what it meant to be Māori and the expectations and duties that went with their birthright. The arrival of Pākehā changed the nature of the relationship between Māori and their land – their earth mother, who was the essence of all things. As Pākehā gained ascendancy, Māori became dislocated from their land, their language, their history and their culture (Tawhai & Gray-Sharp, 2011). Pākehā believed that Māori should be assimilated into British culture and citizenship (Bailey, 1977; King, 2007). For Māori, it became imperative to hold onto cultural beliefs and practices before these were lost forever. The precepts of partnership, protection and participation as promised by the Treaty of Waitangi, were yet to be realized.

For the children of New Zealand's early British settlers, education was tied to their colonial roots. Despite Hogben's ideals, Campbell (1941, p. 83) claims that, "Far from taking as a starting point the interests and experience of the children themselves, it succeeded to an astonishing degree in isolating facts from any human context whatsoever." Children learned about kings and queens of England, plants and seasons of the northern hemisphere and how to draw a map of the British Isles. It was not until the 1890s that textbooks, such as the *Southern Cross Geographical Readers*, were published that children were able to

learn more about their own land and history (O'Brien, 2007). A major breakthrough in New Zealand curriculum content – and in coming to understand what it meant to be a citizen of New Zealand – came when the *New Zealand School Journal* was launched. A survey of early *School Journals* (Perreau & Kingsbury, 2017) acknowledges material relevant to New Zealand children. There are pieces about Māori myths and legends, New Zealand birds and trees, and famous New Zealanders. The overwhelming balance of content, however, continued the theme of imperial indoctrination (Malone, 1973). Kings and queens of England and heroes of the Empire still featured. Children were told that their land was discovered by Abel Tasman in 1642 (Department of Education, 1907) and reminded them that they were fortunate to be citizens of the British Empire. With the outbreak of the First World War, the content of the *School Journal* became harnessed to the war effort and exhorted children to see sacrifice for the Empire as a noble duty (Perreau & Kingsbury, 2017; Bingham, 2017).

TRADITIONAL CONSERVATIVE VERSUS LIBERAL PROGRESSIVE

Across the decades from the 1900s to the 1970s, political and educational debates ranged back and forth between two main worldviews – that of the traditional conservatives and the liberal progressives as explained here:

> *A traditional conservative view of what it meant to be a New Zealand citizen looked back to Britain, to a more stratified society, and was proud that New Zealand provided raw materials for her manufacturing and young men to fight for the Crown. Liberal progressives sought to establish a view of citizenship that focused on a more egalitarian society, on upholding democracy and on providing social and educational opportunities for all.* (Author, 2008, p. 200)

One in ten men left New Zealand to fight for the British Empire in the First World War. Of those, one in four was killed or maimed (Phillips, 1996). This was huge toll for the country, especially given that it was not New Zealand's war. Many New Zealanders died needlessly in badly managed campaigns, such as the one in which the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps (Anzacs) fought the Turks at Gallipoli (Phillips, 1996; Pugsley, 1990). King (2007, p. 263) claims: "It was slaughter on a scale unprecedented in human history and considering the negligible result, utterly wasteful." The tide of feeling towards the British Empire began to change. As one historical account notes:

> *Yet when all is said, something of lasting significance for us emerged from the Dardanelles debacle. The experience came to be seen as giving tentative expression to a new national consciousness, setting us apart as New Zealanders, not merely British, and more than the affiliates of Australia.* (Thornton cited in Pugsley, 1990, p. 7)

The rhetoric began to change. Empire Day celebrations were superseded by Anzac Day commemorations (Perreau & Kingsbury, 2017). The content of the *School Journals* reflected a more liberal, nationalistic and anti-war sentiment: "The cost of that war—the Great War of 1914-18—was gigantic, not only in money, but in human lives … War, like famine, disease, and fire, is a scourge to all humanity" (Department of Education, 1929, p. 90).

In 1928, a revised curriculum reflected this desire for greater national loyalty and stronger moral character. Citizenship education was taught through history, geography and character training. Character training emphasized obedience, honesty, politeness, care of public property and the dignity of labour. Within history and geography, themes of responsible citizenship, social service and the worth of the individual were highlighted. More specifically, in history, topics were more closely aligned with civics, such as learning about laws, parliament, mayors, councils and taxes (Author et al., 2008).

A post-war economic slump led to the Great Depression of the 1930s. New Zealand was also facing increasing social disparity and union unrest. Economic downturn lowered trade prices, reduced

production and income, and increased unemployment and poverty. Olssen (1981, p. 250) claims the Great Depression did not cause but intensified the already visible "economic dislocation, social distress and political disorder." The Great Depression also affected the education sector as the government fired teachers, increased class sizes and rationed supplies. Men were put to work on relief schemes that paid a pittance and malnutrition became rife (Author, 2006). The time was right for political activists and radical reformers to enter government. In 1935, the Labour Party swept to victory with its promise of a fair and just society. It ushered in social reforms, creating a Welfare State from the "cradle to the grave" (Alcorn, 1999; Gustafson, 1986). While the Great Depression was a time of deprivation and hardship, it also provided a further chance for New Zealanders to re-affirm their developing identity. It became time to strengthen independence from the British Empire and to look more globally at political and educational ideas and to re-define these for the New Zealand context.

Ideas from the New Education Fellowship, a progressive education movement with its genesis in Europe, were finding their way to New Zealand. In 1936, New Education Fellowship speakers from around the world presented their ideas on progressive education, especially for early childhood and primary education, to New Zealand teachers (Abbiss, 1998). These progressive ideas were championed by the first Labour Minister of Education and later, Prime Minister, Peter Fraser, and his Director General of Education, Clarence Beeby (Alcorn, 1999). Education at this time had a status and momentum that has been described as unparalleled in New Zealand's history (Bassett & King, 2000). The education system of the time took a liberal-progressive approach. Liberal, because each individual was seen as having the right to education, "to the fullest extent of his powers" (Alcorn, 1999, p. 99), and progressive, because the pedagogical approach was child-centred and experiential. A well-rounded, integrated and active curriculum highlighted the arts and humanities alongside mathematics and the sciences (Author, 2013). The liberal-progressive approach also promoted internationalism and democratic consensus. As Archer and Openshaw (1992, p. 22) state, "Alongside the strictures of the older citizenship ethic—obedience, loyalty and duty—were set the new imperatives of the liberal-progressive one—human brotherhood, international understanding, respect for other cultures."

By 1944, the importance of an integrated curriculum was recognised in the influential *Thomas Report* (Department of Education, 1944). The report set the scene for the establishment of social studies as we know it today – "an integrated course of history and civics, geography and some descriptive economics" (Shuker, 1992, p. 36). Social studies would form part of a core curriculum for the first two years of secondary schooling. Social studies became the key vehicle through which citizenship and civics education would be taught from early primary through to junior secondary school. McGee (1998, p. 49) notes that, "rather than teaching morals it was intended that pupils, through the new subject, would learn to identify and solve social problems, and become immersed in the workings of society." The arrival of the Second World War slowed much of the momentum of the integrated curriculum, and social studies returned to a more patriotic rhetoric, exhorting: "Love of one's country, willingness to serve it, and faith in its future…" (Department of Education, 1954, p. 1).

The 1960s were a period of improved economic and social stability. Responses to a changing society were echoed in the curriculum (Author, 1996). Social studies again took a more responsive and active citizenship approach. The 1961 curriculum aimed:

> *…to help children understand the world they live in and take their own place in it. In particular, social studies should help children to think clearly about social problems, to act responsibly and intelligently in social situations, and to take an intelligent and sympathetic interest in the various peoples, communities, and cultures of the world.* (Department of Education, 1961, p. 1)

As the 1970s approached, New Zealand was about to be challenged by social change movements, such as feminism, anti-war protests and indigenous rights, bringing "a new wave of protest that brought a new

hue to the social fabric" (Dunstall, 1981, p. 428). In line with the "new social studies" movement from the United States, social studies in New Zealand began to teach conceptual understandings, such as social change, by drawing on sociological and anthropological concepts alongside those from history, geography and economics (Author, 2008). A good example of cross-disciplinary approaches of the time was the establishment of a new Forms 1-4 (middle school) social studies curriculum. In this document, social studies is described as follows: "Social studies is about people: how they think, feel and act, how they interact with others, how they meet their needs and organise their way of life" (Department of Education, 1977, p. 4). The knowledge aspect of the curriculum was grouped under four conceptual themes: cultural difference, interaction, social control and social change. Through a combination of knowledge, abilities, values and social action, it was hoped students would come to "respect human dignity, to show concern for others, to respect and accept the idea of difference and to uphold social justice" (Department of Education, 1977, p. 5). Primary school social studies of the time also encouraged children to be "open-minded, to have concern for truth and justice and to develop those feelings of empathy and humanity which will help them grow towards responsible participation in society" (Department of Education, 1978, p. 2).

NEW RIGHT VERSUS LIBERAL LEFT

The 1970s also heralded a time of economic retrenchment brought about, in part, by the international oil crisis. Dunstall, (1981, p. 398) also notes, "The welfare state bred new problems, inflation, and with it new inequalities and new anxieties." In 1984, A new Labour Government inherited a funding shortfall from the previous government. They chose a radical solution. As much of the government's money went on social services – health, social welfare and education, these were seen as sectors of government spending that could be streamlined to make them more cost-effective through decentralisation, privatisation and user-pays strategies (Author, 2001).

Market-led economic movements have been variously called New Right (Lauder, 1990), neo-liberalism (Dale, 1989; Trowler, 1998) and New Public Management (Hood, 1995). They often went hand-in-hand with social and political conservatism, also known as neo-conservatism (Dale, 1989; Trowler, 1998). Lauder (1990) claims that the New Right perspective sees human beings as fundamentally possessive and concerned with the pursuit of self interest. Individual freedom is more important than equality of opportunity. Politically, there should be minimal state support because privatisation will lead to competition, which is more efficient. Dale (1989) and Trowler (1998) explain that there are two distinct strands to new right ideology. Neo-liberal values focus on the individual, freedom of choice, a market society, a laissez-faire approach and minimal government intervention. Neo-conservative values include strong government, social authoritarianism, a disciplined society, hierarchy and subordination. These two forces within one ideological viewpoint were to lead to some contradictory decisions in educational policy at the time (Author, 2008). The opposing worldview, especially given decades of Welfare State provision in New Zealand, was called the Liberal Left (Barr, 1997). The Liberal Left is, "a fusion of earlier liberal progressive and more recent socially critical perspectives" (Author, 2005, p. 194). New Right forces saw social studies as social engineering. One critic, who later became a politician, said that social studies was, "nothing but a list of politically-correct topics without any knowledge base or understanding of how the real world works. Fine … if you want to produce professional uplifters and protesters. But no good if you want to produce productive, thrifty citizens…." (Hide, cited in Prebble, 1996, p. 10). By 1987, a social studies survey found the subject was in the doldrums with cutbacks in teacher professional development, curriculum support and resource production (Department of Education, 1987; Author et al., 2008).

In 1985, a school curriculum proposal in the Liberal Left vein, developed from wide educational and community consultation, attempted to continue the development of a thematic and integrated curriculum. It proposed a departure from traditional subject divisions, suggesting instead: culture and heritage;

language; creative and aesthetic development; mathematics; practical abilities; living in society; science, technology and the environment; and health and well-being (Department of Education, 1988). When a National (conservative) government was returned to power in the early 1990s, the idea was shelved and discussions instead turned to a curriculum that would meet the needs of the workforce and a competitive economy (Author, 2008). The replacement draft national curriculum included neo-liberal themes of competitiveness and enterprise alongside neo-conservative themes of excellence and tradition. Technology was added as a new subject and, along with mathematics, science and English, promoted as the core curriculum (Ministry of Education, 1991). The final version of the curriculum, in 1993, made it clear where education's energies should be focused: "If we wish to progress…in today's and tomorrow's competitive economy, we need a workforce that is highly skilled and adaptable" (Ministry of Education, 1993, p. 1). In this new curriculum, under the umbrella term "social sciences", social studies would be taught from Years 1-10, with history and geography available from Years 11-13 (the years of national examinations). Social studies, the main vehicle for citizenship education, still had a place but its purpose would continue to be hotly contested.

The 1993 curriculum was a high-level policy document with only a single page descriptor for each subject area. Over the next decade, each subject would be provided with its own more detailed content and assessment guidelines. The development of the social studies guidelines highlight the highly contested nature of social studies at the time. It was re-written and published three times before it was finally agreed upon and legally mandated (Author, 2004). The first version, written by a team of academics, was in the Liberal Left vein. New Zealand was referred to by its bi-cultural name: "Aotearoa New Zealand" and gender roles were reversed by talking of "women, men and children." This version was not acceptable to conservative business interests who lobbied strongly to have it removed. One such critic called social studies "a sea of pink fluff", claiming that, "Social studies teaching in New Zealand schools has long been a minor scandal. It is a subject under whose umbrella half-truths, quarter-truths and sometimes just plain moonshine have too often been peddled to unsuspecting children" (Hames, 2002, p. 82). The Ministry of Education chose another writer who returned the curriculum to a more neo-conservative stance, making stronger ties to New Zealand's British heritage. This version was not accepted by academics or teachers, with one educator complaining that its portrayal of Māori in New Zealand's history amounted to racism (Author, 1998). Finally, a compromise was reached that was acceptable to both sides of the debate. In the third (and final) version, the subject's stated aims were to "enable students to participate in a changing society as informed, confident and responsible citizens" (Ministry of Education, 1997, p.8). Once the document was published, the debates de-escalated and teachers were able to concentrate on teaching citizenship through the curriculum's content and process strands. There were many concepts in the content strands relating to citizenship education. In the social organisation strand students were to learn how and why groups are organised; how leadership is exercised; making and implementing laws; exercising rights and responsibilities; maintaining social justice and human rights; and the impacts of reform (Ministry of Education, 1997).

In 2005, the Education Review Office, the agency focused on evaluating the quality of education in every school in the country, reviewed social studies (Education Review Office, 2006). It later produced a report on the best practice examples of social studies teaching (Education Review Office, 2007). The examples highlighted planning, use of resources, pedagogy, inclusiveness and assessment. The two examples below give a sense of what was occurring and the links between social studies and teaching civics and citizenship (see, for example, Torney-Purta, John, & Amadeo, 1999):

> *In Years 7 and 8, teachers regularly held classroom workshops for 12-14 students at a time. In these workshops, students were encouraged to increase their independent work abilities. Students chose their subject for an investigation and teachers built on these subjects through guided reading and independent reading activities. Using visual and performing arts, as well as*

> *ICT, each theme was explored. Teachers used this style of teaching because it enabled students to work in small groups and to interact and communicate with the teacher and with each other.* (Education Review Office, 2007, p. 5)

> *Students ... were highly engaged in action-learning. In one study, students had gone into their local community to seek answers to their questions. Teachers introduced activities to students that covered the use of graphic organisers, thinking strategies, data collection, and graphic techniques. Students chose the ways in which they communicated their findings.* (Education Review Office, 2007, p. 10)

At the turn of the 21st century, the Ministry of Education undertook a review of the school curriculum with wide educational, community and stakeholder consultation. The *Curriculum Stocktake* (Ministry of Education, 2002) recommended citizenship education be included as an important cross-curricular theme along with social cohesion and education for a sustainable future. These cross-curricular themes never eventuated and the concepts were much watered down when the new Year 1-13 curriculum was mandated in 2007. In the new curriculum document, there was still no specific citizenship education statement. Citizenship education appeared in an aspirational manner through the visions, values, goals and principles and in a practical manner through the key competencies and recommended pedagogical approaches (Author, 2010). The foreword to the *New Zealand Curriculum* (Ministry of Education, 2007, p. 4) talks of "a framework designed to ensure that all young New Zealanders are equipped with the knowledge, competencies, and values they will need to be successful citizens in the twenty first century". The vision describes the kinds of young people the curriculum aims to foster using words such as: "creative, energetic, enterprising", "confident, connected, and actively involved" (Ministry of Education, 2007, p. 8).

In 2008, a version of the curriculum was produced in *te reo Māori*. Rather a direct translation, this version, *Te Marautanga o Aotearoa* (Ministry of Education, 2008a) drew on a Māori worldview to frame the content, understandings and appropriate approaches for teaching the curriculum in *kura kaupapa Māori* (Māori immersion schools) or schools with bi-lingual classes. Recognition of Māori rights, culture and language had come some way since the 1800s. In 1975, the Waitangi Tribunal was set up to recognise the place of the Treaty of Waitangi and to hear related Māori grievances. Over time, the Tribunal was given more statutory powers and, eventually, large land and financial settlements were given to *iwi* (Māori tribes) to recognise what had been illegally confiscated from them. In the 1980s, *kōhanga reo* (language nests) were set up by Māori communities to educate young children in their language and culture. These were followed by *kura kaupapa*. Today, it is possible to be fully educated from early childhood to university in *te reo Māori* (Smith, 2003).

The 2007 curriculum confirmed that the social sciences, specifically social studies, would be where citizenship education would be taught. This also applied to *Tikanga a iwi*, in the Māori-medium curriculum. The achievement objectives for the social sciences provided guidance on the conceptual understandings, learning processes, knowledge and skills that students would develop over time. The curriculum recommended a social inquiry approach, where students ask questions, gather information, examine relevant current issues and reflect upon the understandings they have developed. Through these processes, it was hoped that students would learn to engage critically with social issues (Ministry of Education, 2007). Two initiatives were to be influential in the direction social studies would now take. A best-evidence synthesis was undertaken to inform future developments and a set of teacher resources was prepared to give more explicit guidance about the concepts, content and competencies that would enable students to become the confident, connected and actively involved students the curriculum was promoting.

As part of a Ministry of Education drive to find research-informed evidence to improve teaching and learning, best evidence syntheses were conducted on various aspects of curriculum and pedagogy. One of these syntheses was on effective pedagogies in social studies (Aitken & Sinnema, 2008). The findings of the social studies synthesis align with much of the research into teaching for active, democratic and participatory citizenship (see, for example, Kennedy, Lee, & Grossman, 2011). The synthesis pointed to four key mechanisms (alignment, connection, community and interest) which could enhance social studies teaching and learning. The authors of the synthesis found that, effective learning in the social studies occurs when teachers:

- *align experiences to important outcomes* by identifying prior knowledge, aligning activities and resources to intended outcomes, providing opportunities to revisit concepts and learning processes, and attending to the learning of individual students;
- *make connections to students' lives* by drawing on relevant content and ensuring content is inclusive;
- *build and sustain a learning community* by establishing productive teacher–student relationships, promoting dialogue and sharing power with students; and
- *design experiences that interest learners* by meeting diverse motivational needs, maximizing student interest and using a variety of activities (Aitken & Sinnema, 2008).

At the same time as the synthesis was produced, several practical resources for teachers were being prepared. The series, *Building conceptual understandings in the social sciences* (Ministry of Education, 2008b; 2009a), drew on the four conceptual strands in the social sciences curriculum from Years 1-10, which were to be approached with increasing sophistication as students proceeded through their schooling. The strands are: *Identity, culture, and organisation*; *Place and environment*; *Continuity and change*; and, *The economic world*. The main pedagogical approach promoted in the social sciences was social inquiry. The rationale for a social inquiry approach was that it:

- *"provides social sciences with an appropriate and distinctive process for studying human society;*
- *encourages values exploration and social decision making in social sciences;*
- *streamlines and simplifies the approach to social studies topics;*
- *provides a central context that promotes the integrated development of inquiry learning, conceptual understandings, and critical thinking."* (Ministry of Education, 2008b, p. 4)

More detailed examples of how to prepare teaching units for a social inquiry approach were provided in further resources. Two, in particular, give examples that fit very closely with education for citizenship – *Belonging and participating in society* (Ministry of Education, 2008c) and *Being part of global communities* (Ministry of Education, 2009b). In *Belonging and Participating* (p. 5), there is a specific section discussing the links with citizenship education, in which it states that the social sciences assist the wider goals of citizenship education by aiming to:

> *Increase the constructive participation of students in political, social and economic decision-making through:*
>
> - *involvement in meaningful decision-making experiences that develop the skills of analysis, dialogue and self-reflection, and through*

- *understanding the nature, development and functioning of human communities at local, regional, national and global levels.*

How well social inquiry pedagogies were put into practice at the time can be understood by two different large-scale assessments – one national and the other international. The New Zealand National Education Monitoring Project (NEMP) was established to gain data about children's learning across the curriculum (as at the time New Zealand did not have a system of national assessments for Years 1-10). NEMP assessed the knowledge and skills of a representative sample of school students at Years 4 and 8. In 2009, the focus was social studies. The assessment strategies used were based on typical social studies activities, including ones that investigated citizenship knowledge and skills. The results showed that students were very enthusiastic about learning through social studies, and topics such as living in the future or how people live in New Zealand and around the world but, interestingly, they failed to recognize exactly what social studies aimed achieve. Students performed best when they covered familiar content and did well on collaborative problem solving and decision-making. They did not perform as well on tasks related to New Zealand identity, culture and heritage, or social issues beyond their own experience. Differences in performance between Māori and Pākehā students, and between Pasifika (students of Pacific Island heritage) and Pākehā, were highlighted as being of concern (Smith, Crooks, Gilmore & White, 2010).

New Zealand also participated in the 2008 International Civics and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS), which tested students' citizenship and civic knowledge (in New Zealand at Year 9). New Zealand students performed well above the international average (517 points compared to 500). Thirty-five percent of New Zealand students achieved scores at the highest proficiency level (Level 3) compared with an average of 28% across all ICCS countries. At the other end of the scale, 14% of New Zealand students had scores below proficiency Level 1. The citizenship behaviours that students thought made good citizens were to work hard, obey the law and engage in voting in national elections. It is interesting that students chose compliant rather than participatory activities, such as "take part in activities to protect the environment; participate in activities to benefit the local community; [or] take part in activities that promote human rights" (Hipkins & Satherley, 2012, p. 3). New Zealand students scored significantly above the international average on perceptions of classrooms as open forums for discussion. They felt they were encouraged to express their opinions, bring up points for discussion and make up their own minds about issues. Teachers thought that the most important aim of citizenship education was to promote students' critical and independent thinking. The Ministry (Ministry of Education, 2008d, p. 2) concluded that, "The findings support the *New Zealand Curriculum's* overall purpose and the approach New Zealand has taken to integrate civics and citizenship into appropriate curriculum areas, particularly social sciences." The ICCS assessment again showed ethnic disparity. Students identifying with Pākehā or Asian ethnic groups generally did better in civic knowledge than Māori or Pasifika students. Civic knowledge was strongly associated with socio-economic status, higher levels of parental education and occupation, more books in the home, speaking the test language (English) at home and coming from a non-immigrant background (Bolstad, 2012; Hipkins & Satherley, 2012). New Zealand has not participated in the most recent ICCS.

THE CURRENT STATUS OF EDUCATION FOR CITIZENSHIP

The three historical sections have outlined the ways in which education for citizenship has been conceptualised and incorporated into the curriculum. It was argued that constructions of citizenship, and the attendant rights and responsibilities of citizens, were always subject to competing worldviews. The results of the debates framed the ways in which education for citizenship was presented in the school curriculum and how it should be approached. This section brings the discussion to the present day by

examining the last decade of debates and initiatives.

In 2011, a policy update to the 2007 curriculum revisited the need for citizenship education, this time as a key future focus along with sustainability, enterprise and globalisation (Ministry of Education, 2011). Sadly, the definition of citizenship used was very limited: "the relationship between a person and their community" (p. 2). The curriculum update directed teachers to another government website where they could find two teaching resources (one for primary and one for secondary) on legal definitions and processes of becoming a New Zealand citizen. The update also, somewhat surprisingly, directed teachers interested in citizenship education to another government website where children could learn about tax education. Teachers were also alerted to a new resource coming out on financial literacy that would, "examine concepts related to behavioural economics, including needs, wants, the consumer, and the producer, and link these to the concept of citizenship" (p. 2). An opportunity to tie broader notions of education for participatory citizenship to the concepts already in the social sciences curriculum was not taken. The other future focus issues – sustainability, enterprise and globalisation – were given a similarly light treatment and teachers were redirected to existing websites, such as ones on education for sustainability, futures thinking, future problem solving, enterprise education, and knowing about Asia. The unwritten message in this update was that cross-curricular themes are not high priorities. Teachers reading this update with the expectation of guidance on how to incorporate citizenship education (or any of the other future focus issues) into their programmes would have been disappointed. The information in this update was superficial and piecemeal. Teachers more than likely returned to the topics that were more closely linked to curriculum and assessment requirements and which were supported with relevant multi-level resources.

It is not surprising then that the lack of appropriate teaching and learning in citizenship and civics education remains of concern. Groups and organisations from both ends of the political spectrum have attempted to bring the need for focused citizenship and civics education to the attention of politicians and policy makers. This was especially evident after each set of national or local elections. In 2010, a new Electoral Commission was established to promote wider public awareness of electoral matters. The Commission states, "The turnout result for the 2011 election was a turning point for the Commission. Before then, the Commission saw its role as making voting as accessible as possible. After 2011 it determined that it also needed to be *championing participation*" (Justice and Electoral Committee, 2015, p. ii, *emphasis added*). The Electoral Commission has reported on the 2011 general election and the 2014 local authority elections. Each time, it has expressed concern about a continuing decline in voter participation, particularly among younger people. It has noted that an obvious starting point for remedying this trend is to educate the next generation. It recommended that the government consider incorporating ongoing comprehensive civics education into the New Zealand school curriculum and further support the Electoral Commission's public civics education programmes (Justice and Electoral Committee, 2013; 2015). The government's response, however, was muted. The government insisted that work was already underway in updating the social sciences curriculum and it did not consider that research into the impact of civics education was a priority (The New Zealand Government, 2014).

A related and parallel debate taking place in the country is whether New Zealand should have a single, written constitution. Currently, the kinds of guidance regarding citizens' rights are provided by various mechanisms, such as the Treaty of Waitangi, the Human Rights Act, the Bills of Rights and the Public Finance Act. As Palmer (2012) states,

> *Unlike most countries' constitutions, New Zealand's is not contained in one document, but is made up a variety of laws, legal judgments and conventions. This means the country's constitution can be changed comparatively easily, but that flexibility gives New Zealand's Parliament more power than in other Westminster systems.*

A constitutional advisory panel report stated that it was important for citizens to be better informed about their civic rights and responsibilities and recommended the development of a national strategy for civics and citizenship education. Such a strategy would also include developing a better understanding of the role of the Treaty of Waitangi. The report suggested better co-ordination of education activities and resources, including preparing resources for Māori medium schools (Constitutional Advisory Panel, 2013).

In 2017, the organisation representing local authorities, Local Government New Zealand, made a submission to the Justice and Electoral Committee. They expressed their concern about low voter turnout in local elections as follows (Local Government New Zealand, 2017, p. 3):

> *In New Zealand voting is discretionary which allows individuals to choose whether, and how, they wish to participate within the country's democracy. Although every resident has the right and opportunity to vote in the local authority elections not all will choose to exercise that right or make use of the opportunity. Reasons vary, ranging from insufficient information to make a wise choice to choosing to participate by others means, such as joining a local advocacy organisation. Low electoral turnout by itself does not by itself indicate community apathy or disenchantment with the state of our democracy, yet it is important to governments that they have a clear community mandate to act. Legitimacy, in a non legal sense, is derived from the degree to which a government is representative of its citizens.*

The Local Government submission was concerned that the visibility of civics education was lost by being incorporated into other aspects of the curriculum rather than being a stand-alone subject. It recommended developing resource kits to educate students about local government and local elections. The submission concluded, "We believe that the Electoral Commission and the Ministry of Education should play a critical role in the process of building citizenship and both should be resourced appropriately. A focus on young people is critical" (Local Government New Zealand, 2017, p. 7).

At this point in time, there are pockets of interest in formalising citizenship and/or civics education but these ventures have been rather fragmented and short-lived. The author of this chapter has been part of several initiatives and seminars to raise the awareness of education for citizenship – *Educating for citizenship* (2013); *Civics, citizenship and political literacy working group* (2015); *Connected citizenship: A cross-sector conversation* (2016); *Civics and the media* (2016); *Educating for critical citizenship* (2018) and even a *Civics and citizenship education* workshop held in the Legislative Chamber of Parliament Buildings (2016). Yet despite these lively and engaging discussions, little has changed in policy and practice. The Ministry of Education continues to include notions of citizenship in high level policy documents as in the recent *2014-2018 Statement of Intent* (Ministry of Education, 2014, p. 8):

> *Our vision is to see all children and students succeed personally and achieve educational success. We want every New Zealander to:*
>
> - *be strong in their national and cultural identity;*
> - *aspire for themselves and their children to achieve more;*
> - *have the choice and opportunity to be the best they can be;*
> - *be an active participant and citizen in creating a strong civil society; and*
> - *be productive, valued and competitive in the world.*

On the ground, however, there is little tangible evidence of a commitment to focused citizenship education. Most recently, following the 2017 general election, the Ministry of Education has asked for expressions of interest in developing a way forward for enhancing the profile of social studies, including providing professional development for social studies teachers. Funding has been provided to establish a national network of social studies educators, from across primary, secondary and tertiary institutions (Perreau, personal communication, June 14, 2018). As social studies is the current vehicle for delivering citizenship and civics content and skills, it will be of interest to see if the new network includes citizenship education as a focus. Until then, it appears that neither citizenship nor civics education is a government priority and the Ministry of Education feels the concepts are well-covered in the social sciences curriculum. It will be left to the various lobby groups and advocates to keep education for citizenship in the eyes of the public and policymakers.

CONCLUSION

Rather than just describing what the current state of citizen education is, this chapter has aimed to put education for citizenship in New Zealand into its historical context. Using a framework of contested worldviews, the author has shown that the fortunes of education for citizenship have risen or fallen with the patronage of the strongest ideology of the time. In the first period (Indigenous versus Colonial, circa 1200AD – early 1900s) the local indigenous Māori lost sovereignty over their land, culture and language to the British colonisers. Once the Treaty of Waitangi was signed in 1840 and formal education established in 1877, the notion of a good citizen became one who subscribed to Victorian social mores and upheld the glory of the British Empire. At the turn of the 20th century, colonial New Zealanders began to establish an identity and loyalty to the land in which they now lived, rather than the one they had left behind. This new era (Traditional Conservative versus Liberal Progressive, 1900s-1970s) coincided with a burgeoning of liberal-progressive education ideas that championed a fairer and more justice-focused notion of citizenship. In the 1970s, world economic downturn ushered in the next era (New Right versus Liberal Left, 1970s-present). In this era, the competing worldviews supported either market-led government policies or argued for a return to a focus on equity and fairness. As the notion of citizenship has changed over time, so too has the place of education for citizenship in the curriculum. It began as character training in the first era, was promoted as more active citizenship in the second, and is now securely embedded in policy documents and delivered through the social sciences curriculum, especially social studies. What is not so embedded, is how education for citizenship is interpreted. Is it to teach civics, that is, the role of governments, legal systems and institutions, and prepare children and young people to be law-abiding and compliant citizens? Or, is it to prepare children and young people to think more broadly about what it means to be a citizen and to prepare them to think critically and participate actively in society?

In the final section of this chapter, an overview of the current state of education for citizenship in New Zealand shows that while the notion of citizenship is embedded in the curriculum, it has never reached stand-alone status, nor is it subject to any formal assessment. It appears to be a low government and ministry priority. It is supported by different lobby groups and advocates, but these often have their own agendas, from increasing voter turnout, to financial literacy or tax education. Yet, while the idea of raising citizenship education to the status a stand-alone subject has not gained momentum, New Zealand children and young people are still gaining important skills and understandings, as shown in ICCS and other assessments. Could it be that New Zealanders are gaining the skills and understandings that they need through a variety of means, both in school and out of school? Back in 1998, academic Hugh Barr stated:

> *So, citizenship education in New Zealand is not based on a solid core of content. There are no generally used textbooks, and curriculum goals in citizenship are expressed in the most generic terms. There is, in fact, no formal programme of citizenship education in New Zealand schools. If New Zealanders are good citizens it may be because they learn the knowledge, skills and values*

> *required of a good citizen outside the classroom, or it may be that factors other than information about social and political systems are more important in developing confident and informed and responsible citizens*. (Barr, 1998, p. 30)

Perhaps Barr is right. New Zealand is a safe, stable democracy that regularly features at, or near the top, of international surveys of the *most peaceful countries* (see, Institute for Economics and Peace, 2018), the *least corrupt countries* (see, Transparency International, 2018) or with the *most liveable cities* (see, Mercer Global, 2018). In order to test Barr's hypothesis, it would be helpful to undertake a detailed mapping of the ways in which citizenship and civics education is "infused through the curriculum" (Author, 2010, p. 182) and is covered in formal and informal ways through everyday cultural, social, political and economic interactions. Perhaps, it does not matter that it is not a stand-alone subject in the curriculum; perhaps being an authentic, integrated and agreed societal end-goal is enough.

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KEY TERMS AND DEFINITIONS

Core Curriculum: When several school subjects are prioritised over others and deemed essential. The subjects are often what are known as "the basics – numeracy and literacy – but in more recent times are the STEM subjects – science, technology, English and mathematics.

Citizenship Education: The aspect of schooling, either as a subject in the curriculum or incorporated into other subjects, where students learn about democracy, the rights and responsibilities of citizenship, and how to be active and engaged citizens.

Civics Education: Allied to citizenship education but focuses more on knowledge of government, the law and the obligations of being a citizen.

Ideology: When a group holds a set of views that they deem common sense and unproblematic but which might be at odds with other group's views.

Integrated Curriculum: Curriculum theorists talk of two kinds of curricula: one in which school subjects are kept close to their original disciplinary boundaries (for example, history and geography); and another where disciplinary boundaries are more blurred (for example, a cross-curricular thematic approach). The second kind of curriculum is often called an integrated curriculum and is more common in early childhood and primary schooling.

Primary Education: Also known as elementary education – the first level of schooling following early childhood education. In New Zealand primary schooling goes from Years 1-8 (ages 5-12), although there are some intermediate (middle) schools catering for Years 7 and 8 only.

Secondary Education: The level of schooling following basic or primary education. In New Zealand, secondary education goes from Years 9-13 (ages 13-18) with the last three years including national level assessments (National Certificate of Educational Attainment).

Social Sciences Education: The term social sciences is more generally used for a cluster of academic disciplines, such as geography or political studies. In New Zealand, social sciences education is also used to cover the school subjects, social studies, history, geography, economics, classical studies, sociology and so on.

Social Inquiry: Various modes of inquiry learning or action learning have become popular over the last few decades. Social inquiry is one of these types of inquiry where the topic focuses on some kind of social issue and often leads to some form of social action.

Worldview: A more generic term for what philosophers called ontology. It is the way in which groups or individuals reconcile the contradictions of their reality to create a coherent belief, philosophy or explanation to describe the way the world appears to them.