

Teaching Diversity, Advancing Democracy: Challenges for Citizenship Education in Aotearoa New Zealand

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Abstract: The presence of diverse needs, interests and perspectives in society is a key measure of a healthy representative democracy. Learning about diversity, and how society provides for diversity, is therefore a valuable characteristic of citizenship education (Arthur and Davison, 2000; Berding and Miedema, 1998; Feinberg, Fields and Roberts, 1997). This paper presents the findings of recent research about citizenship education in Aotearoa (New Zealand). In particular, it explores what presence the notion of diversity has in New Zealand's citizenship education programme (social studies). In New Zealand, the provisions for diversity are under constant political debate. This includes the provisions for indigenous political representation, such as the Maori parliamentary seats. The research utilized critical discourse analysis and content analysis methods. A review of the social studies curriculum revealed a strong focus on identity, culture and heritage in New Zealand, but an absence of material about how diversity is provided for in society. This includes the socio-political provisions for diversity in New Zealand's democratic arrangements, such as guaranteed indigenous representation. The implications of this absence are discussed in terms of citizens' understandings of democracy, equality, and the preparation of citizens to discuss these issues further.

Keywords: Diversity, Equality, Citizenship, Citizenship Education

IN NOVEMBER 2007 the updated *New Zealand Curriculum* introduced 'diversity' as a core feature into the New Zealand education system. 'Cultural diversity' is specified as one of the principles upon which school curricula in New Zealand must now be based, and 'diversity' a value to be developed and modelled to students through teaching and learning (Ministry of Education, 2007). In an era of globalization, the preparation of citizens to live in increasingly diverse communities is arguably one of the most pressing issues in education. In New Zealand, how to provide for diversity without disrupting a collective sense of equality and unity amongst New Zealanders is an ongoing concern. In particular, how to provide for the rights guaranteed to the Māori indigenous minority is a significant aspect of debates about diversity. The education of young New Zealanders about these issues to prepare them to make informed decisions is important to New Zealand's future. The introduction of 'diversity' as a value is therefore a welcomed development in the New Zealand school curriculum. To support this development, research and development of the teaching units available for delivery of the curriculum in the classroom will be essential. In New Zealand, citizenship education is delivered through social studies. This paper presents the findings of research that investigated the presence of some of the diversity issues facing New Zealand in the units available for New Zealand's social studies programme. In partic-

ular, it gives insights into what young New Zealanders may be learning about diversity and how diversity is currently provided for in New Zealand, such as the socio-political spaces for Māori.

Background

The Treaty of Waitangi, New Zealand's founding constitutional document, is the long-standing source of New Zealand's commitment to equality for members of its diverse citizenry. At the signing of the Treaty in 1840, representatives of indigenous Māori tribes and the British Crown agreed to a shared governance arrangement over New Zealand. Despite great cultural differences, equality and unity between the two peoples were key themes of the Treaty discussion. This was epitomised by the proclamation of the Crown representatives "He iwi kotahi tatou", meaning "We are now one people" (Orange, 1987, p. 55). In the Treaty texts, Māori granted the British Crown 'kawanatanga', an authority to govern Britons who had settled permanently in New Zealand, in exchange for the protection of Māori rangatiratanga - continued chiefly authority and control over Māori affairs. Māori were also granted equal citizenship rights to those of British citizens¹.

The Treaty promise of equal rights between Māori and peoples of the Crown has been the basis of policies aimed at creating the environments within which all New Zealanders can expect to enjoy equal

¹ For a copy of the Treaty of Waitangi texts see Durie, 1998, pp. 249-252.

levels of education, health and wellbeing (see Tomlins-Jahnke, 2005). Over time, however, there has been some variance between a focus on equal treatment, as opposed to equal outcomes. Subsequently, the policy frameworks within which equality has been pursued have been significantly varied. In the early decades after the Treaty signing, the approach adopted by settler governments focused on the assimilation of Māori into European society. Through the settler education system, the suppression of Māori language and knowledge was to bring about equality between Māori and European New Zealanders by removing the 'cultural barriers' thought to hinder Māori progress (Mead, 1996; Durie, 2002).

That equal socio-economic outcomes for Māori rely also on the retention of Māori cultural knowledge and practices is now widely recognised (for example, in health see Durie, 1994; Lawson-Te Aho, K. 1998; Pere, 2006). Spaces where Māori can be culturally authentic are a requisite to which equality with other New Zealanders can be pursued – in particular, spaces where Māori priorities, needs, and aspirations for the future can be articulated from a Māori world-view (Durie, 2002; Bishop, 2003). This approach is supported in the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, which states "Indigenous people have the right to . . . freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development" (United Nations Economic and Social Council, 2003, para. 23). Smith (1999, p. 23) notes the desire of indigenous peoples worldwide to "claim a space in which to develop a sense of authentic humanity". In societies populated by diverse peoples, providing spaces whereby indigenous peoples can pursue their development from their own cultural frameworks is therefore a provision for diversity and their 'authentic humanity'.

The provision of spaces which allow for diversity between Māori and other New Zealanders is, however, still highly contested. In 2005 the New Zealand Government rejected the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples on the basis it was felt to support "two classes of citizenship" (Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 2005, p. 1). The rejection of the Declaration accompanied a Government review of what was termed 'race-based funding', which resulted in cuts to Māori health and education programmes in excess of \$130 million (see Espiner, 2005). These developments followed the widely-acclaimed² "Nationhood" speech from the leader of the opposition, Dr. Don Brash (2004, p. 1), that ar-

gued provisions for Māori development are a "dangerous drift towards racial separatism" reflecting "two standards of citizenship". At the following 2005 General Election the National Party, led by Dr Brash, made a commitment to abolish the socio-political spaces provided for Māori development, including the Ministry of Māori Development and the Māori Parliamentary seats³ (Berry, 2005). In the foremath of the 2008 Election, the National Party has reconfirmed its plans to eventually abolish the seats if elected to government (New Zealand National Party, 2008), while another political party has requested a referendum on the issue (see United Future New Zealand Party, 2008).

The Māori seats are a focal point in the debates about diversity in New Zealand, primarily because, by providing a place for diversity within the political system, they challenge traditional notions of democracy. While some argue the Māori seats undermine democracy and equality by privileging one group over another (see, for example, Brash, 2004; Joseph, 2008), others argue "collective identity and representation of collectives is also a valid interpretation of democratic representation" (Sullivan, 2003, p. 40). Where the indigenous peoples are a minority, guaranteed representation is seen as particularly important in addressing the ability of the non-indigenous majority to veto the priorities and interests of the indigenous group. Professor Arohia Durie argues:

Without designated Māori electorates tangata whenua⁴ are reduced in their homeland, to becoming one of a number of minorities dependant upon assimilation for representation. Tangata whenua seats are one of the few ways that Māori can be represented by Māori. (2002, p. 10)

The suggestions for a referendum to abolish or retain the Māori parliamentary seats emphasise the need for citizens to be educated on these issues, so they are prepared to make informed decisions about New Zealand's future. This raises important questions for the nature of New Zealand's education system, in particular the presence of these issues in the curriculum.

Theory

In New Zealand there has been some concern that the education system neglects to educate New Zealanders on the issues of diversity and Māori.

² An observation of Colin James, an experienced political journalist and analyst in New Zealand. See James, 2004.

³ Four Māori Parliamentary seats were introduced in 1867 as a temporary measure to placate Māori communities resising Crown colonisation, and extended indefinitely in 1872 (Sorrenson, 1986). Under the 1993 Electoral Act the Māori seats can grow or decline according to the number of Māori electors who choose to register on a Māori Electoral Roll as opposed to the General Roll. This is known as the Māori Electoral Option. Within the current parliament, this provides 7 Māori electorate seats and 114 general seats (62 general electorate members and 52 party list members. See <http://www.parliament.nz/en-NZ/MPP/>).

⁴ The indigenous people (translation added).

and citizens on the Treaty of Waitangi, indigenous rights, and spaces for cultural diversity. In 1992, educationalist Judith Simon's research highlighted that school children were not being educated about New Zealand's historical development and the ensuing social relationships between Māori and other New Zealanders. These findings were supported by Roger Openshaw (1996), who argued the New Zealand curriculum was ill-prepared for students to learn about the Treaty of Waitangi, race relations, equity and social relationships. Simon's concern (1992, p. 253) was that issues about the Māori-European relationship were deliberately avoided, and drew upon Jacoby's (1979) notion of 'social amnesia' to describe the phenomenon she felt was occurring in New Zealand classrooms: "a forgetting and repression of the human and social activity that makes and remake society ... society's own past".

Arguably, the tendency to avoid controversial issues in education is a trend set at central government level in New Zealand. In 2006, amidst the political controversy of the previous two years, the draft Curriculum for schools released for consultation by the Ministry of Education had removed all references to the Treaty of Waitangi⁵. Educationalists such as Simon (1992, p. 259) have long warned against silencing controversial issues, as it reinforces "an uncritical focus on social harmony" with no appreciation of the conditions within which harmony is achieved. Walker's (1996) concern is also for the lack of understanding amongst New Zealand citizens about the vast history underpinning the spaces that allow for diversity between Māori and other New Zealanders. Foucault (1976, pp. 82-83) describes histories which have been silenced in education as 'subjugated knowledges', citing these knowledges are often "concerned with a historical knowledge of struggles". By including select knowledges in education, Apple (1979, p. 63) argues, the socio-historical experiences of some groups are given "cultural legitimacy" over others. Battiste (2000, p. 198) identifies this as 'cognitive imperialism': where "cognitive manipulation [is] used to disclaim others' knowledge bases". By silencing the history underpinning the socio-political spaces from which Māori can live and develop from a place of cultural authenticity, the knowledges underpinning those spaces are in essence disclaimed. This is emphasised by Walker in his observation that:

Although the Māori stoutly resisted colonial despoliation by defending their land against invasion, by guerrilla warfare, petitions to the

Queen for a Royal Commission to look into their grievances, and the formation of a Māori parliaments, these efforts are not part of the psyche and collective memory of the Pakeha⁶ New Zealander. . . they are confined to the dustbin of 'non history'. (1996, p. 142)

The presence of diverse knowledges must provide the basis for education which plans to prepare students to engage in society. This approach is supported by Dewey (1916, cited in Berding and Miedema, 1998), who measures democracy in terms of presence. According to Berding and Miedema (ibid, p. 285), presence is measured through the "numerous and varied" interests articulated in society. The presence of diverse needs, interests and perspectives in society is one measure of how healthy a democracy is. Learning about diversity, and how society provides for diversity is therefore a valuable characteristic of citizenship education (Arthur and Davison, 2000; Berding and Miedema, 1998; Feinberg, Fields and Roberts, 1997). How to mediate diverse and competing interests that may challenge societies' status quo is best reflected in Freire's (1970, p. 33) notion of 'problem-posing' education: "the posing of the problems of human beings in relation to the world". Through problem-posing, learners perceive their responsibility to participate in seeking solutions to society's problems, including conflicting interests or needs and aspirations that may require society to change. Problem-posing education about relationships and the structures that characterise those relationships is also a model argued for by hooks (1994). As hooks (1994, p. 22) states, through considering different alternatives to the status quo, learners are provided with "ways of knowing that enhance their capacity to live fully and deeply". This is supported by Arthur and Davison (2000, p.11), who argue education must imbue in citizens "levels of criticality in order that they might question, critique, debate and even take a leadership role in proposing alternative models of the structures and processes of democracy". Problem-posing education in New Zealand could facilitate the questions about democracy that diversity poses, including the discussions and debates around equality posed by socio-political spaces for diversity such as the Māori parliamentary seats. In committing to this task, hooks affirms that:

We must embrace struggle and sacrifice. We cannot be easily discouraged. We cannot despair when there is conflict. Our solidarity must be affirmed by shared belief in a spirit of intellec-

⁵ As opposed to what featured in the previous *New Zealand Curriculum Framework*, which included acknowledgement of the "value of the Treaty of Waitangi, and of New Zealand's bicultural identity and multicultural society" (Ministry of Education, 1993, para. 5), the Treaty as a principle directing the curriculum, and where appropriate the Treaty's relevance to the curriculum's essential learning areas.

⁶ New Zealander of European descent (translation added).

tual openness that celebrates diversity. (1994, p. 33)

Methodology

Education thus has a critical role in facilitating discussion on the presence of diverse knowledges, perspectives and interests in society, with the potential to advance citizens' understandings and appreciation of spaces which provide for that diversity. This is the theoretical approach that underpinned the research question: What education is there in the New Zealand curriculum about the socio-political spaces that provide for diversity between Māori and other New Zealanders, such as the Māori parliamentary seats? This evolved from several secondary questions: What presence does the notion of diversity have in the New Zealand curriculum? What education is there about providing spaces in society for diversity? What education is there in the curriculum about the indigenous status of Māori? and what of the Treaty relationship between Māori and other New Zealanders? What education is there about the socio-political spaces which provide recognition of this relationship?

Social studies is the curriculum area which New Zealand's citizenship education programme is delivered to New Zealand's young citizens, the updated *New Zealand Curriculum* (2007, p. 17) stating: "In the social sciences, students explore how societies work and how they themselves can participate and take action as critical, informed, and responsible citizens". Across Years 1 to 13 the *New Zealand Curriculum* describes eight achievement levels, with specific learning objectives at each level. Teaching units are then provided by the Ministry of Education to support the delivery of the curriculum at each achievement level. The units for social studies are provided through the Ministry's *Social Studies Online, Tikanga-a-Iwi-a-Ipurangi* site⁷. It is important here to note that these units are not compulsory, and teachers are expected to develop their own. As they are the primary examples provided by the Ministry for delivery of the curriculum, however, they are an important point for review and evaluation. At the time of this research, 76 units were available for social studies. The contents of those units formed the data for this research.

Content analysis was employed as the primary approach to analysing the research data (the social studies units). Content analysis when used in the analysis of texts concentrates on word usage (Neuendorf, 2002). It is in part a quantitative approach in that it produces a count of variables present in the text. The measure of different variables can indicate characteristics of a text, by revealing the

extent to which certain variables are given attention (Suvedi, et. al., 1999). It is also considered partly a qualitative approach as predictive content analysis then infers outcomes or effects of the text's characteristics on audiences (Neuendorf, 2002). Each unit provided by the Ministry of Education has two sections: (1) details of the 'Achievement Objectives', 'Learning Outcomes', and the 'Settings' and 'Perspectives' the unit is based on, and (2) a section describing 'Teaching and Learning Activities'. As this research was interested in what education is being imparted to students, and to avoid duplication of texts, the analysis focused on texts under Section 2 'Teaching and Learning Activities' of the units only.

Eight key variables were chosen associated to socio-political spaces for diversity in New Zealand: governance, electoral system, rights, biculturalism, indigeneity (tangata whenua / Māori), Treaty of Waitangi, 'learning about identity' and 'diversity in society'. These were drawn from themes in the *New Zealand Curriculum*, and therefore were expected to have a high degree of reliability. The variable 'Maori Parliamentary Seats' was then included, representing an interface between the other variables. To ensure content validity, a dictionary (index) was created for each variable. This involved testing and amending the variables list to ensure they were mutually exclusive. The variable 'learning about identity' consisted of key words such as culture, ethnicity, customs and practices, while the variable 'learning about diversity' focused on terms such as multiculturalism, cultural interaction, and social/cultural change. Immigration was also added to this variable, due to the high likelihood that discussions in education on immigration will include diversity issues. The dictionary for the 'Māori Parliamentary Seats' variable included: Māori electoral seats, Māori electorates, Māori Electoral Option, and Māori political representation.

Critical discourse analysis was then drawn upon to interpret the presence and absence of different variables within the research texts (the units). As described by Locke (2004, p. 38) critical discourse analysis is "concerned with the ways in which power relations produced by discourses are maintained and / or challenged through texts". As further discussed by Thiesmeyer (2003, p. 10), the silence of select discourses / knowledges contributes to maintaining the status quo of social structures by suppressing acts of 'problem-posing' which would lead to structural transformation, as it "edits our knowledge, which in turn shapes our choices of how to act". With a count of the variables from the texts (the units), inferences could then be formed from the data findings to consider the research question: What education is there in the New Zealand curriculum about the socio-

⁷ See http://www.tki.org.nz/r/socialscience/curriculum/SSOL/index_e.php.

political spaces that provide for diversity between Māori and other New Zealanders, such as the Māori parliamentary seats?

Findings

Of the 76 units available for social studies education, 22 did not feature any of the variables of the research. Analysis of the 54 units where variables appeared

was sorted by achievement level groups, to provide a layer of analysis by the different levels. Over the 54 units, variables appeared (counted once) across units 117 times, illustrating that many units feature several variables. For example, variables appear 14 times across the seven Level 1-2 units, 62 times across those seven units. Details of the research findings are presented in the following table:

Table 1: Social Studies Units: The Number of Variables Present by Achievement Level

Units	Level 1 – 2		Level 3 – 4		Level 5 – 6 (NCEA 1)		Level 7 – 8 (NCEA 2 - 3)		Total	
	N° of units	N° of <i>x</i>	N° of units	N° of <i>x</i>	N° of units	N° of <i>x</i>	N° of units	N° of <i>x</i>	N° of units	N° of <i>x</i>
Governance	1	1	10	63	12	49	2	10	25	123
Electoral system	0	0	3	6	2	5	0	0	5	11
Rights	1	13	2	17	11	42	2	5	16	77
Biculturalism	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1
Indigenous	6	15	7	102	9	17	1	12	23	146
Treaty Waitangi	1	19	0	0	3	33	0	0	4	52
Identity	5	14	10	85	18	87	2	21	35	207
Diversity	0	0	2	9	5	10	1	34	8	53
Māori Parlia-mentary Seats	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total n° of variables	14	62	34	282	61	244	8	82	117	670
N° of individual units with variables	7		19		26		2		54	

Several characteristics about the social studies curriculum in New Zealand can be drawn from Table 1.

Learning about identity, including culture, heritage, beliefs, customs and practices, has a strong place in New Zealand's social studies curriculum. 46% of all social studies units (35 of 76) had some aspects of learning about identity. This was also the most popular variable in the research, comprising 30% (207 of 670) of total variables. This is accompanied by education about the indigenous identity of New Zealand - tangata whenua / Māori. This variable appears in 30% (23 of 76) of all units, and makes up 21% (146 of 670) of total variables, indicating several units feature high counts of the Māori variable. This can be seen at Level 3-4, where the variable appears a total of 102 times across seven different units, and at Level 7-8 where the variable appears 12 times in one unit. In total the presence of the variable 'identity' and 'tangata whenua / Māori' suggests a large majority of units have some aspect of learning about identity, culture, heritage and be-

liefs, be that a Māori identity, the identity of others, or learning about the concepts associated to identity.

Despite the considerable number of units about identity (46%) and tangata whenua / Māori (30%), and the statement that the curriculum will acknowledge the "bicultural foundations of Aotearoa New Zealand" (Ministry of Education, 2007, p. 9), only one of the 76 units features the word 'bicultural'. In addition, this was not in context of the Māori-European New Zealander relationship, but where the teacher explores with students 'What do we mean by bi-cultural?', along with other concepts such as 'multicultural' and 'gender'. Similarly, the Treaty of Waitangi comprises 7% (52 of 670) of total variables across 5% (4 of 76) of the units. The high variable count indicates a few units (four) dedicated to education about the Treaty. One concern is that these four units appear only at Level 1-2, taught at Years 1 to 4 (5 to 8 year olds), and the rest at Level 5-6, Years 9 to 11 (13 to 15 year olds), with none appearing at Level 7-8, Years 12 to 13 which is comprised of 16 and 17 year olds who are a few years from being eligible to vote in democratic elections.

Subsequently, there is no mention of the Māori parliamentary seats either, as a socio-political space recognising the status of Māori in the Treaty relationship with other New Zealanders, or as an expression of New Zealand's 'bicultural foundation'. Neither is it a feature in education about the electoral system, rights of New Zealanders, or as a socio-political provision for diversity.

Associated to the absence of education about the Māori parliamentary seats are findings that education about electoral systems has a poor presence in New Zealand's social studies curriculum. There is a strong presence of education about characteristics of governance, including parliament, government, law, policies, and entities such as Commissions of Inquiry, appearing in 32% of all units (25 of 76), and comprising 18% (123 of 670) of total variables. But details of the electoral system, including democracy, political parties, types of political systems, and types of electoral systems, appears in 6% of all units (5 of 76) but only comprises 1% (11 of 670) of the total variables counted.

Learning about rights, such as human rights, appears in 21% (16 of 76) of all social studies units, comprising 11% (77 of 670) of total variables. Learning about issues associated to citizens' rights in diverse societies, however, is limited by the poor focus on learning about diversity. The term 'diversity' appears once in one unit. Two units each mention once the term 'multicultural'. One unit mentions 'cultural interaction' twice, two units (about culture) mention social change once each, and 'cultural change' is mentioned twice in one unit. The most dominant theme of the diversity variable is the term 'immigration', which appears in three units a total of 43 times. Similar to the term 'bi-cultural', 26 units stated 'multiculturalism' as a 'Perspective' in the unit outline, however only two units featured the word 'multicultural'.

The research findings thus reveal there is no education in the New Zealand social studies curriculum about the socio-political spaces that provide for diversity between Māori and other New Zealanders. Specifically, there is no mention of the Māori parliamentary seats. Should New Zealand citizens in future be asked to participate in a referendum or other decision-making exercises to decide the future of provisions such as guaranteed political Māori representation, there are some concerns that those who are attending compulsory education at this time will have no formal knowledge (as provided by the Ministry of Education through the social studies units) from which their decisions can be based. To reiterate

Thiesmeyer (2003, p. 10), New Zealanders will be disempowered in their decisions as the knowledge base they have to draw on is limited, thereby limiting their "choices of how to act". In particular, there is concern that New Zealand citizens are not engaging in the process whereby they can reconcile the issues around democracy, equality, diversity, and recognising the right of Māori to pursue their wellbeing from a place of authenticity. Extensive work is required on the social studies units available to educational communities to include material on the questions being asked of citizens in wider New Zealand society.

The Future

In the feedback to the Ministry of Education on the *New Zealand Curriculum Draft for Consultation 2006*, there was overwhelming concern from educators, communities, and schools that the Treaty of Waitangi had been removed from the curriculum (see, for example, Watson, Bowen & Earle, 2006). In response to numerous and fervent requests to reinstate references to the Treaty, the Treaty of Waitangi now reappears in the *New Zealand Curriculum 2007* as a principle directing the curriculum, in context of its relevance to appropriate learning areas, and as part of the vision of the education system for the teaching and learning of young New Zealand citizens. This includes a vision for young New Zealanders:

... who will work to create an Aotearoa New Zealand in which Māori and Pakeha recognise each other as full Treaty partners, and in which all cultures are valued for the contributions they bring. (Ministry of Education, 2007, p. 8).

The outcomes of the draft curriculum consultation process reveals a radical potential amongst communities, schools and educators to drive the direction of educational development in New Zealand. The provision of spaces where Māori can pursue their development from their own cultural frameworks, a prerequisite to Māori achieving socio-economic equality with other New Zealanders, is in much need of articulation, discussion, debate and understanding in wider society. Following on from the inclusion of 'diversity' in the updated Curriculum, the Ministry of Education should engage further with educational communities on formulating an education which addresses the specific issues which diversity in New Zealand poses; democracy, equality, and finding unity in that diversity.

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