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Civics and Citizenship Education in New Zealand Schools: Current state

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Working Paper 2018/02 – Civics and Citizenship Education in New Zealand Schools: Current state

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1. Timeline of civics and citizenship education in New Zealand

1877 – Education Act and first formal national curriculum

The first formal national curriculum, written after the Education Act of 1877, included some content that resembled the subject area of social sciences. Geography was a core subject, and history was a subject that parents could remove their children from if they wanted to avoid 'denominational bias' (Mutch et al., 2008, p. 14).

1928 – Curriculum

In 1928 the beginnings of the social sciences were evident in the topics suggested within the subjects of history and geography. There was an emphasis on responsible citizenship, social service and the worth of the individual. In history, students learned about a range of concepts akin to civics and citizenship education, such as laws, Parliament, mayors, councils and taxes, government departments, and the meaning of true citizenship (Mutch et al, 2008, p. 14).

1944 – Thomas Report

Citizenship was introduced to the New Zealand post-primary curriculum with the Thomas Report, which established the subject area of social studies (Department of Education, 1944). This report introduced the notion that students should perform community service and take an 'active place in New Zealand society as a worker, neighbour, homemaker and citizen' (Department of Education, 1944, pp. 5, 31; Milligan & Wood, 2016, p. xvii).

1961 – Syllabus for Schools: Social Studies in the Primary School

The *Syllabus for Schools: Social Studies in the Primary School* (Department of Education, 1961) asserted that students should 'think clearly about social problems, to act responsibly and intelligently to social situations, and to take intelligent and sympathetic interest in the various peoples, communities, and cultures of the world' (Harcourt, Milligan & Wood, 2016, p. xviii, 31).

1977 – Syllabus

The 1977 syllabus (Department of Education, 1977) introduced a more radical idea of citizenship education than the previous approaches and explicitly named 'social action' as a central idea for social studies teachers to focus on (Harcourt, Milligan & Wood, 2016, p. xviii).

1991 – Ministry of Education handbook published for teachers of social studies in forms 3 and 4

In 1991 the Ministry of Education published a handbook for teachers of social studies in forms 3 and 4. The resource was reportedly well received by many teachers. The handbook was part of a process that led to social studies in New Zealand being updated with a focus on adapting to the needs of a rapidly changing and increasingly diverse society (Mutch et al, 2008, pp. 20–21).

1990s – Debate and 1997 Social Studies Curriculum

As outlined by Harcourt, Milligan & Wood, the curriculum was highly contested in the 1990s, and approaches to citizenship were heavily debated. The debate focused on what kind of knowledge and action social studies should engender and, according to Harcourt, Milligan & Wood, was based around two central questions:

> should social studies education be a conservative project supporting students to fit into society and replicate their current social class, aspirations and status (that is, for social reproduction)? Or should it be a more radical project requiring students to critique, challenge and transform society (that is, for social reconstruction)? (2016, p. xviii).

The outcome was that 'social action' was removed as a distinct concept and replaced with the more moderate 'social decision-making' in the completed 1997 social studies curriculum (ibid).

2000 – Curriculum Stocktake

In 2000 the Ministry of Education initiated a stocktake of the New Zealand curriculum. The stocktake concluded that there should be more emphasis in the curriculum on citizenship (local, national and global) (Constitutional Advisory Panel, 2013, p. 98). The work took place in 2002 and 2003 (Dale, 2016, p. 25).

2000 – Tikanga ā Iwi i roto i te Marautanga o Aotearoa introduced

Tikanga ā Iwi, the subject area parallel to social studies in English-medium schools was introduced in Māori-medium schools (Dale, 2016, p. 24).

2003 – Establishment of the New Zealand Curriculum Project

In March 2003 the Government agreed to the establishment of the New Zealand Curriculum Project to address the recommendations in the stocktake report. This project aimed to clearly articulate values, understandings and competencies for New Zealand students. Additionally, there was to be a clear focus on the quality of teaching. Through this process, citizenship education was to be made more explicit in the national curriculum. Consultation of schools would take place in 2006 (Constitutional Advisory Panel, 2013, p. 98).

2003 – Social studies offered for seniors

Social studies was not traditionally offered beyond year 10. However, as of 2003 senior students could be assessed against NCEA achievement standards in social studies (Education Gazette, 2003).

2005 – Constitutional Select Committee Recommendation

In 2005 the Constitutional Arrangements Select Committee recommended that 'to foster greater understanding of our constitutional arrangements in the long term, increased effort should be made to improve civics and citizenship education in schools to provide young people with the knowledge needed to become responsible and engaged citizens'. (Constitutional Arrangements Committee, 2005, p. 5). In its response, the Government agreed that more should be done to continue to improve civics and citizenship education in schools (Constitutional Advisory Panel, 2013, p. 98).

2005 – Revision of all marautanga (Māori-medium curricula)

The 2000 Curriculum Stocktake led to the review of all Māori-medium curricula from 2005–2007. A national stakeholder group, Te Ohu Matua, which encompassed the sector groups and organisations connected to Māori-medium education, oversaw the process. There was reportedly a higher level of autonomy in this period of the curriculum-writing process than in past processes (Dale, 2016, p. 29).

2007 – New Zealand Curriculum

In the 2007 iteration of the NZC (Ministry of Education) the concept of social action was reintroduced in social studies with the statement that students will 'participate and take action as critical, informed, and responsible citizens' (p. 17). The phrases 'social action' and 'take action' remained open to interpretation, but provided opportunities for the delivery of both civics and citizenship education (Harris, 2017, p. 247; Harcourt, Milligan & Wood, 2016, p. xviii).

2008 – Te Marautanga o Aotearoa launched

Te Marautanga o Aotearoa was launched in 2008 with Tikanga ā Iwi as one of its eight wāhanga ako (learning areas) (Dale, 2016, p. 25).

2008 – Strategy for Financial Literacy

In 2008 the Commission for Financial Literacy and Retirement Income launched a national strategy for financial literacy. Financial literacy is linked with the concept of citizenship on the basis that it enables people to have a voice both as consumers and as citizens (Constitutional Advisory Panel, 2013, p. 98).

2010 – New Electoral Commission established

The new Electoral Commission was established on 1 October 2010 by the Electoral (Administration) Act 2010 to create a single electoral agency responsible for all aspects of the administration of parliamentary elections. Before this date, one of the former commission's functions was providing public education on the electoral system and related matters. Since 2010 section 5(c) of the Electoral Act has specified that one of the main functions of the Electoral Commission is 'to promote public awareness of electoral matters by means of the conduct of education and information programmes or

by other means', a more extensive responsibility than that of the previous commission (Justice and Electoral Committee, 2013, pp. 9, 20).

2011 – Curriculum Update

The 2011 NZC update explicitly identifies citizenship education as one of the ways to achieve the 'future focus' principle of the curriculum, and social sciences as an area for this focus (Ministry of Education, 2011, p. 2) 'future focus' principle 'encourages students to look to the future by exploring such significant future-focused issues as sustainability, citizenship, enterprise and globalisation' (Harris, 2017, p. 246).

2011 – Personal social action achievement standards

In 2011 the NCEA standards for social studies included 'personal social action' at levels one, two and three (Massey University, 2016).

2012 – Report of the Electoral Commission on the 2011 general election and referendum

The report of the Electoral Commission on the 2011 general election and referendum expressed concern about declining voter participation as a problem throughout the world. It noted that an obvious starting point for remedying this trend was younger generations. The report stated that an immediate area of focus for the Commission would be civics education. It also stated the intention to expand the Commission's 2011 Kids Voting programme, which reached 46,659 school students in the weeks before the election (Electoral Commission, 2012, p. 25)

April 2013 – Justice and Electoral Committee Inquiry into the 2011 general election

This report also identified declining voter turnout as a matter of concern, particularly among younger people. This concern was reportedly echoed in many of the submissions received by the Committee in conducting its inquiry. Consequently, the final report recommended that the Government consider 'requesting the Electoral Commission to liaise with the Ministry of Education on the feasibility, including resourcing implications, of incorporating ongoing comprehensive civics education into the New Zealand school curriculum'. It was also recommended that the 'Government consider supporting the Electoral Commission to expand public civics education programmes, resources permitting' (Justice and Electoral Committee, 2013, pp. 20–22).

July 2013 – Government Response to 2011 Election Report

The Government announced, in response to the Justice and Electoral Select Committee's report on the 2011 election, that it would consider: 'requesting the Electoral Commission to liaise with the Ministry of Education on the feasibility of, including resourcing implications, incorporating ongoing comprehensive civics education into the New Zealand school curriculum' and 'supporting the Electoral Commission to expand the public civics education programme, resources permitting' (2013, p. 2).

November 2013 – Constitutional Advisory Panel Report

The Constitutional Advisory Panel's report recommended that the government 'develops a national strategy for civics and citizenship education in schools and in the community, including the unique

role of the Treaty of Waitangi, te Tiriti o Waitangi, and assign responsibility for the implementation of the strategy' (2018, p. 3). The report also noted that 'the implementation of the strategy could include the co-ordination of education activities; resource development, including resources for Māori medium schools; and professional development for teachers and the media' (ibid.).

2013–16 – Development of Tikanga ā Iwi NCEA Māori-medium Level 1, Level 2 and Level 3 standards

From 2013–2016 Tikanga ā Iwi standards were developed for Māori-medium schools at NCEA levels 1, 2 and 3. These standards aimed to achieve a connectedness of te ao Māori and te ao iwi taketake (the indigenous world), and to have an indigenous thread running throughout the three levels (Dale, 2016, p. 25).

2. An ongoing conversation

2.1 Civics and citizenship education and New Zealand's constitution

Evidently, conversations about civics and citizenship education (CCE) are ongoing.[1] Perspectives about the extent to which these topics should be included in curricula and what form they should take have evolved over time but remain closely linked to the constitutional conversation in New Zealand. This is due to the fact that the constitutional conversation cannot be advanced in an informed and inclusive manner if New Zealanders of all backgrounds cannot participate in it (Constitutional Advisory Panel, 2013, p. 15). CCE is a necessity for engaging with the discussion on constitutional matters, but it is difficult to learn about a constitution that is as dispersed and disorganised as New Zealand's (Palmer & Butler, 2016, pp. 10–12). Thus, the need for CCE is a significant part of a 'catch 22' that continues to restrict progress in the constitutional conversation. Not only is this relationship between the two topics evident in the cases of the above-mentioned 2005 Select Committee and the Constitutional Advisory Panel's 2013 report, but also in Geoffrey Palmer and Andrew Butler's new book *A Constitution for Aotearoa New Zealand* (2016).[2] One of the reasons the authors propose a written, codified constitution is to help provide a better framework for civics and to dispel the disenchantment with politics in New Zealand (Palmer & Butler, 2016, p. 25). The fact that a need for better civics education could be a key driving force behind something as monumental as constitutional reform is a testament to its importance as a part of safeguarding the democratic character of New Zealand (ibid., pp. 10–12, 25).

2.2 Renewed debate in The New Zealand Project

The 2017 release of Max Harris's book *The New Zealand Project* is also advancing discussion on CCE in schools at present, with the release of the book and its stance on civics being covered extensively by the New Zealand media (1 News, 2017; Otago Daily Times, 2017; Vaughan, 2017). Harris proposes the introduction of formal civics education to schools as a learning area in the New Zealand Curriculum. It is argued that civics education is a means of creating 'people power' and that it could help to create an informed and engaged New Zealand while improving civic-mindedness and social capital. Harris also posits that a formal civics programme would address the inequalities in the way

1 This paper explores both civics and citizenship education, and at times will refer to the two collectively under the acronym CCE for brevity. The definitions employed here are consistent with the definitions in the ICCS study and reports, which distinguish between civics and citizenship education as two components of achieving broader "civic knowledge". Civics education addresses the formal institutions and processes of civic life, such as voting in elections. Citizenship education addresses how people participate in society, and how citizens interact with communities and societies (Bolstad, 2012, p. 7). Civics is more akin to the "content" component of the 3Cs framework with citizenship closer to "connection" and "critical thinking".

2 The book does not mention citizenship education.

civics is currently taught in New Zealand, with much discretion on the part of teachers as to how the subject should be addressed, if at all. Harris acknowledges the importance of citizenship education but proposes the introduction of civics first, with a possibility of supplementing or replacing civics with citizenship education after some years of experience. It is also pointed out that CCE is an ongoing topic of discussion in New Zealand politics (Harris, 2017, pp. 246–250).

3. Civics and citizenship in the existing curriculum

The New Zealand Curriculum (NZC) sets the direction for teaching and learning in English-medium schools. A parallel document, Te Marautanga o Aotearoa, does the same for Māori-medium schools (Ministry of Education, 2007, p. 31). Te Marautanga o Aotearoa is not a direct translation of the English-medium curriculum; it sets the direction for learning in a Māori context from a tangata whenua perspective (Constitutional Advisory Panel, 2013, p. 100). The 2007 curriculum recognises the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi, the bicultural foundations of Aotearoa New Zealand and the need to ensure that young people have the knowledge to become responsible and engaged citizens (ibid., p. 98).

3.1 Flexible frameworks

The curriculum documents are frameworks rather than detailed plans. Consequently, there is considerable flexibility in the detail and content of school curricula (Ministry of Education, 2007, p. 31). In years 11–13, students work towards National Certificate of Education Achievement (NCEA), the main qualification for secondary schools in New Zealand. Under this framework, schools still have substantial discretion over internal assessments and the content of classes (ibid., p. 41–42).

There are eight key learning areas in the NZC, such as mathematics and statistics, English, and science (ibid., p. 7). There are also eight wāhanga ako (learning areas) in Te Marautanga (Dale, 2016, p. 25). CCE is not included in these learning areas. The current curricula contain no explicit reference to civics education – that is, education about politics, the institutions of government and the practices of civic life (Harris, 2017, p. 246). Instead, values and principles consistent with fostering civically engaged and informed students are woven through the documents.

3.2 Citizenship in the NZC

There are some explicit references to citizenship in the NZC. Notions of citizenship are a key part of the 'future focus' principle. This principle aims to encourage students to 'look to the future by exploring such significant future-focused issues as sustainability, citizenship enterprise and globalisation'. (Ministry of Education, 2007, p. 9). As noted in the above timeline, the 2011 Curriculum Update outlined options and suggested resources for citizenship education as a means of achieving the future focus principle (Ministry of Education, 2011, p. 2). One of the values in the NZC also provides opportunities to introduce CCE within the existing framework. That is the value of 'community and participation for the common good', with one of the key competencies for this value being 'participating and contributing' (Harris, 2017, p. 247; Ministry of Education, 2007, pp. 10, 12). These references could be used by teachers to talk about social life and political institutions in New Zealand if they chose to (Harris, 2017, p. 247).

3.3 Compatibility with social studies

The social sciences learning area is most aligned with CCE, and it arguably provides the best opportunity for introducing learning content about civics and citizenship within the existing structures of the NZC. Social sciences provides the opportunity for students to 'explore how societies work and how they themselves can participate and take action as critical, informed and responsible citizens' (Ministry of Education, 2007, p. 17) and 'develop the knowledge and skills to enable them to: better understand, participate in, and contribute to the local, national, and global communities in which they live and work' (Constitutional Advisory Panel, 2013, p. 98; Ministry of Education, 2007, p. 30). The social sciences learning area is delivered through social studies at levels 1–5, but at levels 6–8, students can specialise in broader subjects under the umbrella of social sciences, including social studies, economics, geography, legal studies and history to name but a few (Ministry of Education, 2007, p. 30). Under the broader learning area of social sciences, social studies is the specific subject most consistent with notions of CCE. Social studies teachers from secondary schools across the country are already working together to form ideas for how to implement the NCEA 'personal social action' standards in a way that can address the gaps in CCE in the NZC (Massey University, 2016). Approaches to date include a teacher who took students to Wellington to learn about the way that Parliament works and a teacher whose class visited the Beehive in order to make a submission at the select committee hearing of the Healthy Homes Bill. Other teachers implementing the standard have focused on issues such as climate change, refugee quotas and minimum wage. These teachers have been working to teach Year 13 students skills such as how to lobby politicians, how to organise petitions and even how to write formal submissions on a Bill (ibid.).

3.4 Māori-medium education

As mentioned above, Te Marautanga o Aotearoa is not a direct translation of the English-medium curriculum, rather it recognises that Māori ways of learning are essential to Māori-medium education and focuses on delivering education in this way (Constitutional Advisory Panel, 2013, p. 100). Māori-medium education' refers to programmes that are taught in te reo Māori for at least 50% of the time, and where the objective is to teach students to be 'bilingual and biliterate' (Dale, 2016, p. 21). Level 1 Māori-medium schools use te reo Māori between 81 and 100% of the time and Level 2 schools between 51 and 80% of the time (ibid.). Te Marautanga was developed by individual Māori educationalists who were contracted by the Ministry of Education to co-ordinate writing groups for each of the seven learning areas then recognised under the national curriculum (Campbell & Stewart, 2009, p. 8; Constitutional Advisory Panel, 2013, p. 100). Additionally, other Māori-medium schools have developed their own curricula (Brown, 2015). The key goals in drafting Te Marautanga were for Māori within the education system to be able to live as Māori; be healthy, wealthy and successful; and actively participate as citizens of the world without sacrificing their Māori identity (Consitutional Advisory Panel, 2013, p. 100). Tikanga ā Iwi was written to be the learning area in Te Marautanga parallel to social studies in the NZC. The Tikanga ā Iwi curriculum is underpinned by three theoretical foundations (ibid., p. 26):

- Te Reo Māori Mātauranga, Māori Tikanga, Māori Iwi taketaketanga (indigeneity)
- Ngā tikanga tuku iho a te mātauranga tangata (conceptions and traditions of social studies education)
- Kaupapa Māori theory Pātoi ako whaihua (effective pedagogy)

Kaupapa Māori theory has an emphasis on the validity and legitimacy of Māori language, knowledge and culture and is a critical part of this foundation (ibid). The main aim of Tikanga ā Iwi is 'te tū

tangata o te ākonga i te ao Māori, i te ao whānui anō hoki kia kaha ai tōna uru mōhiohio, uru haepapa atu ki ngā mahi waihanga porihanga' (Dale, 2016, pp. 26–27). As explained by Hemi Dale, the principal writer of one of the Māori-medium curricula,[3]

> The first part of the main aim states that students will stand tall in the Māori world and in the wider world. This is a long-held Māori aspiration. The emancipatory element of the main aim is the final part, which talks of enabling informed students who are constructively critical and able to engage responsibly and in an informed way in shaping society. The subtext is an emphasis on the actualisation of tinorangatiratanga through active citizenship.

Considering this, CCE resources and strategies developed for Tikanga ā Iwi must align with the specific vision of Tikanga ā Iwi and Te Marautanga and consider their relationships to the wider aspirational goals of te ao Māori, rather than being translations of English-medium resources, which have different objectives (Dale, 2016, p. 21). Furthermore, the imposition of universal conceptions of citizenship conflicts with and undermines the rights of indigenous people to self-determination (ibid., p. 20). Resource development and recommendations on CCE for Māori-medium schools require further consultation.

3.5 CCE not a part of the educational landscape

Despite the opportunities for teachers to deliver CCE content under the current arrangements in the education sector, no formal civics education is mandated or even referred to in the curricula. Consequently, it can be concluded that civics education is not formally a part of primary or secondary school education in New Zealand (Harris, 2017, p. 247). In addition, notions of citizenship are extremely vague and provide little clear direction for teachers to implement principles or values consistent with citizenship (Wood & Milligan, 2016, p. 67).

4. CCE resources for teachers

4.1 For use in the classroom

There appears to be ample content available online for teachers who wish to teach CCE in New Zealand.[4] The Constitutional Advisory Panel outlined existing teaching resources relevant to the New Zealand constitution accessible to teachers through Te Kete Ipurangi (TKI) – New Zealand's bilingual education portal, which is an initiative of the Ministry of Education (T e Kete Ipurangi, 2013). The result is a six-page list of resources accessible online covering topics topics ranging from human rights, to Parliament, to the environment in a New Zealand context (Constitutional Advisory Panel, 2013, pp. 101–107). Resources from Australia and the UK are noted on a seventh page. This content is provided by a variety of sources including non-government agencies and the Electoral Commission. Despite the considerable amount of content, the Panel noted that

> What appears to be lacking, however, is strategic leadership in this field. The existing resources are incomplete and difficult to find, and are prepared separately by individual government and nongovernment agencies. The Panel identified few resources on constitutional topics that are suitable

3 Dale in Milligan & Wood (2016, pp. 26–27)
4 The Ministry for Culture and Heritage has a forthcoming stocktake on CCE resources in New Zealand.

> for Māori medium schools. Some agencies are collaborating and sharing ideas, while others appear to be unaware of related initiatives. Multiple constitutional accounts and perspectives can be – and should be – reflected in conversations about civics, the Treaty and citizenship. But it seems that the current fragmented approach means that no one agency or group of agencies has taken responsibility for ensuring that New Zealand citizens can easily access information about how our government operates and how to participate effectively (Constitutional Advisory Panel, 2013, p. 15).

4. 2 Fragmented, incomplete resources and lack of guidance

Despite this account being from 2013, current arrangements appear to be much the same. There is no go-to hub for teachers to find resources, guidance or ideas for CCE. TKI still provides a list of the above-mentioned constitutional teacher resources, and also provides resources for citizenship education under the 'future focus' section of the website (Ministry of Education, 2012). Social Sciences Online, another Ministry of Education website for teachers, also provides some links to civics and citizenship content under the social studies section (Ministry of Education, 2017). Non-government organisations such as Ara Taiohi also provide resources for CCE (Ara Taiohi, 2017). However, as a whole, these resources are in the same state that the Constitutional Advisory Panel found them – fragmented, incomplete and many without guidance on how to incorporate them into lessons. Many are just links to websites rather than specific teacher resources; for example, one of the TKI resources is a link to a section of the Cabinet Manual.[5] It is up to teachers to sift through materials of varying quality and design ways to translate the information that has not been developed as a school resource into a form that will be accessible and valuable to students. Furthermore, CCE resources for Tikanga ā Iwi are limited (Te Kete Ipurangi, 2017).

Other Ministry of Education teaching resources, such as Down the Back of the Chair, provide only curriculum-specific resources. Consequently, there are some (albeit few) resources available for citizenship education under social sciences, but none for civics (Ministry of Education, 2017). The Assessment Resource Banks offer no social sciences content (Ministry of Education, 2018). Another source of teaching material in New Zealand, Pond, provides resources that have been designed for use in classrooms and serves as a platform for educators to share resources. However, in the case of CCE there are few specific resources available (Network for Learning, 2017). This is likely due to the fact that there is no emphasis on civics in the NZC (and references to citizenship are ambiguous), meaning that there is little demand for such resources.

4.3 Electoral Commission resources

The Electoral Commission provides a substantial amount of resources for use by teachers in the classroom with the Commission's Your Voice, Your Choice teaching units. The purpose of the teaching units is to encourage 'understanding and enthusiasm for participating in their communities and the voting process' (Electoral Commission, 2017). All units are aligned with the vision, principles, values and key competencies of Levels 3 to 5 of the New Zealand Curriculum and Level 5 of Te Marautanga o Aotearoa and link to the social sciences learning area. The material is flexible and teachers are encouraged to adapt the activities to the needs of specific students (ibid). One of the main programmes under the Your Voice, Your Choice umbrella is Kids Voting. Kids Voting is a chance for students to take part in general elections. Students vote for candidates on a real ballot paper and compare the results of the classroom election with the results of the real election. The Kids Voting programme has been run in New Zealand as part of the social studies curriculum for students aged

5 The link – https://cabinetmanual.cabinetoffice.govt.nz/introduction – is on the TKI page for constitutional resources.

11–14 years for local body elections since 2001 and for parliamentary elections since 2002. The programme will be run again for the 2017 general election (Electoral Commission, 2017). Thousands of students across New Zealand have taken part in Kids Voting, with over 147,000 students taking part for the second referendum on the New Zealand flag that was held in early 2016 (ibid.). Evaluation found that all the teachers surveyed thought the programme had increased student knowledge and understanding of elections, with 81% thinking it had increased their own understanding; 94% reported that they would take part again (Justice and Electoral Committee, 2013, p. 21).

4.4 Resources for use outside the classroom

There also several existing programmes available for teachers wishing to take a more practical approach to CCE outside of the classroom. Parliament, for example, runs several different interactive programmes for school groups visiting the Beehive, including a possible meeting with the member of parliament for the school's electorate if the member is available (New Zealand Parliament, 2017). Schools can apply for funding to travel to Wellington through the NZ Business and Parliament Trust's Travel Assistance Programme, established in 2015 (NZ Business and Parliament Trust, 2017). Additionally, in 2015–16 Experience Wellington led the 150 Years: 150 Buses project, which saw more than 4,500 students from low decile schools travel to the capital to learn about citizenship and commemoration. Professional development for teachers was provided as well as resources to enrich the visits (Experience Wellington, 2016, p. 32). Other programmes include civics education modules involving historical sites and landmarks such as Pukeahu National War Memorial Park (Ministry for Culture & Heritage, 2017). Again, however, there is no single website to go to for information on programmes such as the above. The issue of fragmentation appears to be relevant in the case of resources for learning outside of the classroom.

4.5 New Zealand's performance in civics and citizenship education

The International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) was undertaken in New Zealand in 2008, with New Zealand one of 38 countries that took part. Four reports were published on the results of this study between 2010 and 2012. The study focused on civics and citizenship education in New Zealand secondary schools, exploring both attitudes toward and knowledge of the topics. Around 3,900 Year 9 students, 1,400 Year 9 teachers and 120 principals from a random sample of 146 schools across New Zealand took part in the study. The study was conducted under the auspices of the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) and managed within New Zealand by the Ministry of Education (Education Counts, 2018).

4.6 Inequalities in civic knowledge

The first report of the series of publications based on the results of the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) revealed that New Zealand has some of the highest international scores and some of the lowest scores for civic knowledge. No other country in the study had such a wide distribution. At the bottom end, Māori and Pasifika males were found to have the most limited knowledge in democracy (Lang, 2010, p. 6).

4.7 A leaning toward citizenship education

The study also found that teachers only had a moderate level of confidence teaching topics linked with legal, political and constitutional issues (Bolstad, 2012, p. 27). There does not appear to be as significant a gap in citizenship education in New Zealand as there is for civics education. In the fourth publication of the ICCS study it was reported by a majority of principals and teachers that teaching aims consistent with citizenship education were promoted in their schools (ibid., pp. 11–13).[6] Accordingly, findings suggested that Year 9 social studies classrooms tended to focus on topics of social justice including gender equality, care for the environment, and rights and responsibilities, with less focus on the workings of institutions supporting civil society (ibid., p. 28). Relatively few of the surveyed educational staff saw 'promoting knowledge of social, political and civic institutions' as a key aim of civics and citizenship education. However, a large proportion of teachers (compared to other ICCS countries) viewed 'promoting students' critical thinking' as important (ibid., p. 33).

4.8 Lack of consistency

A survey of principals found that their top three (of 10) aims for civics and citizenship education in New Zealand were (in order): promoting students' critical and independent thinking; promoting knowledge of citizens' rights and responsibilities; and promoting students' participation in the local community (Bolstad, 2012, p. 11). School views of CCE were also found to be most closely aligned with developing 'personally responsible citizens' and (to a lesser extent) 'participatory citizens' (ibid., pp. 33). In the final report on the results of the ICCS study it was concluded that, overall, 'it is somewhat unclear whether there is a consistent view across New Zealand schools about what "civics and citizenship education" ought to involve and what means are effective in developing students' citizenship competencies' (Bolstad, 2012, p. 32; Constitutional Advisory Panel, 2013, p. 99).

6 Note: the study took place before the explicit reference to citizenship education as a means of achieving the 'future focus' principle in the 2011 curriculum update (Ministry of Education, 2011, p. 2).

Key insights and themes:

- Critical thinking, connection and content are clearly valued now and throughout the history of CCE in New Zealand. There appears to be a clear desire to not only teach students content, but to give them the skills to interpret it, think critically about it and apply (connect) it to the world around them through actions such as participating in their communities. This is consistent with the Three Cs framework for civics and citizenship education identified in the accompanying *Think Piece 29– Civics and Citizenship Education in New Zealand: A case for change?*.

- There appears to be a leaning, both historically and in the findings of the ICCS study, toward citizenship education over civics education. This is likely due to references to citizenship in the NZC, as well as the lack of support offered to teachers in broaching subjects of a civic nature. The effects of this are reflected in the self-reported moderate confidence of teachers in tackling subjects relating more to civics than citizenship. The more recent 2011 Curriculum Update that emphasized citizenship content also demonstrates this preference.

- Social studies appears to be a natural landing subject for civics and citizenship education. The arrangements of the current NZC appear to have room for such content to be taught. However, the decision of whether and how to teach civics rests with individual schools and teachers. This has led to an inconsistent approach to CCE throughout New Zealand schools.

- There are significant inequalities in civic knowledge for New Zealand students.

- Māori-medium resources and strategies for CCE need to be developed from a tangata whenua perspective and should not be direct translations of English-medium resources and strategies. They must align with the specific visions of Te Marautanga o Aotearoa and Tikanga ā Iwi. The development of recommendations on CCE in Māori-medium schools requires further consultation.

- The lack of a 'hub' or go-to website for information on current CCE programmes and resources is a significant weakness of the current system. The dispersed nature of the content available on CCE in New Zealand was clear in researching this working paper. Presumably, this inconvenience would be significant for busy teachers.

- In terms of the three drivers identified in the accompanying *Think Piece 29– Civics and Citizenship Education in New Zealand: A case for change?*, this working paper can only validate two. Clearly, the loss of platform for public discourse is an emerging matter of concern in New Zealand. However, it appears that history speaks to the other two drivers: a lack of consistency about what constitutes a civics programme in New Zealand, and a lack of knowledge and interest in democracy. These latter two appear to be persistent problems for New Zealand, both at present and in previous years.

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