NZPSA

Our Civic Future

Civics, Citizenship and Political Literacy in Aotearoa New Zealand: A Public Discussion Paper

NZPSA President's Message

On behalf of the New Zealand Political Studies Association (NZPSA) I am delighted to present this Discussion Paper on Civics, Citizenship and Political Literacy. The NZPSA is an Association that exists to foster research into politics, particularly Aotearoa New Zealand politics, and to disseminate that research, including through teaching. This report began four years ago when political scientists, whose expertise lies with issues central to the functioning of New Zealand's democracy, met to discuss ways to support and strengthen democracy. I would like to thank all of the experts who volunteered their time to write or peer review this report.

All advanced democracies face a number of tough challenges. These include declining electoral participation, growing inequality, eroding trust in the media, the ongoing legacy of colonisation, environmental degradation, and fears about international political interference. Internationally, we have also seen a rise in "fake" news, polarisation and political distrust, alongside a worrying decline in support for democracy and increase in support for authoritarian forms of leadership.

Can support for citizen education help stop New Zealand politics following these international trends? This question is tackled in the following pages. The authors provide a range of recommendations for increasing New Zealand democratic resilience. I hope readers find the report's outline of the issues illuminating, and that its recommendations serve to guide public discussions about the role civics and citizenship education can play in protecting and improving the health of New Zealand's democracy.

Dr Kate McMillan
President, New Zealand Political Studies Association / Te Kāhui Tātai Tōrangapū o Aotearoa

Executive Summary

Bronwyn Hayward[1] and Patrick Barrett[2]

In 2018, New Zealand celebrated 125 years of women's voting. It's a good time to take stock of our civic future. Supporting civics, citizenship and political literacy is essential for the maintenance of a healthy democracy and a key focus of the work of the New Zealand Political Studies Association (NZPSA). This discussion paper brings together contributions from researchers, educators and advocates working to improve the way we 'do civics' in Aotearoa New Zealand

There is much to celebrate. The 2017 General election saw a record number of female MPs elected, and increased representation of Māori, Pacific and Asian New Zealanders. International studies of civics knowledge of young New Zealanders shows comparatively high levels of civic knowledge, trust in democratic institutions and support for human rights. Almost two-thirds of young respondents viewed the Treaty of Waitangi as personally important (see chapter 4).

Despite these achievements however, there are significant causes for concern. Research also reveals serious gaps in civic knowledge and participation; some citizens are highly engaged while others lack the skills, information and support they need to have their voices heard on issues they care about. Declining participation in elections over the past four decades underscores growing public disconnection with civic life. In many countries, democracy is under threat. In New Zealand's rapidly diversifying, globalized society, communication technologies enable networking but can also fuel polarization and declining trust in civic institutions, science and traditional media sources.

Maintaining a healthy democracy is not just about attending to civic culture, it is also about paying atttention to transparency and fairness of political processes, the impacts of social inequality and the legacy of colonisation. Citizenship education cannot address all these concerns but this report makes it clear that strategic planning and investment in active citizenship learning can enhance democratic resilience. Each chapter identifies specific actions and we recommend three overall steps:

- **Create a national strategic plan for active citizenship *throughout life*, for a diverse nation.** Maintaining democracy takes practical effort. A civic strategy should be less focused on facts (although some common understanding of fair processes is essential), and targeted more at providing a range of everyday opportunities to engage with others, investing in public spaces and media infrastructure to enable citizens to meet, listen, build trust and citizenship skills in a range of civic settings from small local volunteering events and celebrations to collective decision making.

- **Uphold Treaty obligations for citizenship education**, including the duty to actively protect Māori rights including investing in leadership, teacher training and resources to help New Zealand citizens learn about Māori politics and histories, and participate equally in political processes.

- **Review the implementation of the New Zealand Curriculum** specifically around key competencies related to citizenship to identify civic empowerment gaps and implement strategies to address these with strategies including, but not limited to, professional development for teachers.

The NZPSA welcomes the opportunity to be a part of a national discussion about how best to support and promote a resilient, inclusive democratic future. We need to take measures to sustain our democracy by developing a sense of belonging amongst all citizens and supporting their ability to participate. We look forward to working with others to enhance the democratic capacity in our neighbourhoods, iwi, workplaces, regions, towns, cities and national life.

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Introduction: Why Review Civics and Citizenship Education?

Bronwyn Hayward[1], Maria Bargh[2], and Patrick Barrett[3], Dean Knight[4]

In December 2014 the New Zealand Political Studies Association (NZPSA) convened a working party with three objectives:

- To support civics and citizenship for all students in Aotearoa New Zealand.
- To improve working relationships between teachers and the NZPSA.
- To consider how political scientists can help the professional development of educators and support teaching and learning.
- To help inform national conversations about civics and citizenship in a period of rapid change.

This discussion paper follows on from the 2014 working party and subsequent NZPSA workshops held between 2015 and 2017. It reflects the input and contributions of political and social scientists, community advocates, educators, business and young leaders who have worked as writers, or reviewers to summarise best practices for teaching civics, citizenship, and political literacy through-out life. We consider what governments, communities, schools and businesses can do to strengthen our democracy by supporting the citizen's capacity to participate in public life.

The choice of what sort of democracy we aspire to, and the values and skills we think are important for citizenship, are ultimately decisions and choices for the whole community. This report aims to inform public discussion about how to build resilience into our democratic system based on evidence about what works to encourage active citizenship in a rapidly changing society.

Why think about Citizenship and Civics Education Now?

Debates about civics and citizenship have taken on some urgency in New Zealand. Serious concerns have been raised about declining rates of voter participation amongst some groups, particularly the young, Māori, and new migrants (Barker & McMillan, 2017; MSD, 2016; Vowels, 2017). Others have expressed concern about maintaining transparent, inclusive democratic decision making in our small, rapidly diversifying and increasingly globalised society (Chapple, 2018). A recent review of the New Zealand Constitution called for a national strategy for education about civics, the Treaty of Waitangi and citizenship, and support for a civics and citizenship strategy (Constitutional Advisory Panel, 2013; Office of the Clerk, 2017). Concern has also been expressed that New Zealand citizens of all ages need skills and support to engage with technological innovations for e-government in more inclusive, democratic and equitable ways (Gluck & Macauly, 2017). Moreover, with the rise of "fake" news and social media echo chambers, and declining levels of reported trust in the media, government, and science, citizens need public institutions and skills that support democratic debate and political literacy (Duncan, 2017; McGuiness Institute, 2015). Meanwhile international developments have seen growing polarisation and challenges to liberal values of tolerance and listening to others, in increasingly extremist, hyper-partisan political debate.

Closer to home, questions about whether the New Zealand voting age should be lowered to 16 years have also been linked to a call for civics education (Bruce, 2017). There is also significant and ongoing debate about the legacy of colonisation and the challenge of fulfilling the promise of partnership between the Crown and Tangata Whenua in citizenship teaching (Matike Mai Aotearoa, 2016). Research also reiterates the need to acknowledge and support the political rights of citizens in the wider realm of New Zealand including Niue and the Cook Islands (Salsea, 2017).

Against this contested background this report aims to help inform public debate about how to strengthen democracy through citizenship education.

What is Civics, Citizenship/Raraunga, and Political Literacy?

For the purpose of advancing discussion, the NZPSA defines civics as the knowledge, skills and shared expectations of citizens who participate in, and sustain, democracies. In contrast, citizenship is a broader term that encompasses both a legal status and lived experience of public life.

Citizenship/Raraunga is defined in two ways, one is formal and legal, and commonly refers to the residents of a state who have formally recognised legal rights to make claims and seek support from a community (the right to vote, to assemble, the right to access to education, health and social needs for example) and in turn the legal responsibilities to sustain and maintain that community (for example, through paying taxes, obeying laws, voting and becoming informed). However, the working group recognised that raraunga or citizenship is also the outcome of informal, practical experiences, of being, belonging, and participating every day in a community in ways that support, maintain, and enable that community to function effectively. Both expressions of citizenship contribute to healthy democracies.

NZPSA defines **political literacy** as the ability to understand and interpret information about how and why community decisions are made (or not made), to support citizens to think critically, and make informed choices or take action where necessary (often in cooperation with others), to advance particular concerns and interests, while also considering the possible consequences and impacts of these choices and actions for themselves and others.

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Recent legal and constitutional discussion of civics and citizenship (see for example the Constitutional Arrangements Committee, 2005; Palmer & Butler, 2018) has called for an emphasis on civics and citizenship. In practice however, in legal discussions, the emphasis is often narrowed to focus on the internal workings of government and the associated electoral and constitutional mechanisms; in other words, predominantly knowledge of technical machinery of government and legal opportunities for citizen interaction. This report by contrast, underscores the importance of everyday citizenship. A healthy robust democracy needs active practical participation, it requires citizens who feel motivated and supported to take part, not only in voting and debate, but though volunteering, listening, protesting, taking notice and caring for others.

What Should We Do? Supporting Civics, Citizenship and Political Literacy

Questions about why and how citizens should take part in decision-making have been the focus of political debate for centuries. These debates involve deeper disagreements about the kind of democracy we wish to create and the necessary steps to get there. There are tensions for example between classic liberal visions of civics and citizenship, which focus on teaching the rights and responsibilities of citizenship so that individuals can exercise their freedom, or communitarian and civic republican traditions that encourage citizens to play an active role in public life to promote the common good. The former approach results in an emphasis on teaching human rights and opportunities while the latter can encourage an emphasis on obligations and expectations of active citizenship.

New Zealand's citizen education debate is also set within a wider historical and social context which has been marked by struggles and movements of resistance, for example for women's enfranchisement or against colonisation, together with calls for recognition and voice in a rapidly diversifying society, (Bargh, 2007; Hayward, 2012; Wood & Milligan, 2016). Against this backdrop, schools in particular are often recognised as playing a crucial role in socialising new generations of young citizens. As a result teachers sometimes report feeling uncertain or uncomfortable on how to teach citizenship and contested issues (Milligan, Taylor, Wood, 2011).

To avoid tackling controversial debates, some approaches to teaching civics and citizenship focus only on formal facts and institutional decision procedures, but this narrow civics lens is problematic (Solhaug, 2013). Not only do students frequently report finding this approach "meaningless" or "boring", facts-based learning can widen existing participation gaps and inequalities (Levinson, 2010). This points to wider reasons for thinking more carefully about how we approach citizenship education. Our democratic values will influence whether we emphasise citizen rights or citizen responsibilities, voting or active community involvement, local, national or global identities, whether we focus on teaching concepts and facts or promote the deliberative capacity of students. Our conceptualisation of democracy also shapes how we approach supporting students, teachers, community groups and others to develop citizenship and political literacy skills. Our unique foundation in Aotearoa New Zealand with Te Tiriti o Waitangi and our increasing diversity as a nation presents particular demands in the teaching of civics and citizenship.

Rapid globalisation has also promoted debate in New Zealand, as in many countries, about how to support a sense of community and civic solidarity amongst increasingly diverse populations. In this context some nations have introduced symbolic devices like citizenship tests or oaths of loyalty as ways to demonstrate 'commitment' or 'attachment' to a state. There is much debate about the content, value and purpose of these citizen tests, and whether they should be cognitive (knowledge based), or scrutinise the moral and ethical beliefs of prospective citizens (Michalowski, 2012). Closer analysis however reveals that most tests, for example in Europe, the United States of America, Australia or Canada, have very high pass rates (well over 90%) and largely focus on facts, with scrutiny of values restricted to taking an oath or pledge (Michalowski, 2012; Joppe, 2013). The literature indicates that the decision of new comers to take up citizenship and their subsequent sense of attachment to their new nation is less influenced by tests and more by underlying immigration policies (such as whether these enable family reunification, and skills-based selection), alongside obligations and opportunities for newcomers to contribute to the community in active, diverse ways.

Taking account of the complex challenges and debates about how to best support citizenship in a healthy democracy requires us to consider wider issues than why people don't vote. Although voting matters a great deal, the following discussion papers review the current state of civics and citizenship education in Aotearoa New Zealand more widely and offer recommendations to strengthen our collective endeavour across our society, to support all citizens to flourish in a robust and democratic society.

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Above: North and South Island Schools calling for a ban on plastic bags, parliament grounds.
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How Should We Teach About Te Tiriti o Waitangi? Issues for Raraunga (Citizenship) Education

Maria Bargh[1] and Angus Macfarlane[2]

Research suggests that teaching 'about' Māori politics and histories occurs in some schools, but it is extremely limited in terms of quality and quantity (Manning, 2017a, b). The 2001 New Zealand History Teachers Survey indicated Treaty topics were taught by only 3% of teachers nationally (Delahunty, 2010). Today Māori politics or histories are commonly taught only in passing as part of a larger focus on the British inspired political institutions created after the Treaty of Waitangi (Sheehan, Epstein & Harcourt, 2017). The literature which does cover the Treaty usually examines the three Treaty Articles in English and very generally the differences between versions (Orange, 1987; Māori Affairs Select Committee, 2018). The most significant limitation is that what is taught generally fails to acknowledge the existence of Māori political institutions, laws and structures prior to 1840, or to link the Treaty and its legacy, and Treaty principles and obligations within contemporary political and economic contexts.

The limited quality and quantity of material taught to New Zealand citizens about Māori politics and histories, challenges the ability of Māori and non-Māori to participate equally in political structures and processes. The limited teaching material also makes it difficult for Māori to subsequently defend their Treaty rights and it restricts the ability of the Crown to uphold Treaty obligations, which include the duty to actively protect Māori rights. To ensure that the Crown is able to foster conversations about the best ways to uphold Māori rights, the general New Zealand population must be taught about how those Crown obligations arose from a Treaty partnership and be able to celebrate the unique place of Māori and non-Māori in Aotearoa.

The limited quality and quantity of teaching materials in this area underscores the urgency to respond to the call for (culturally-responsive) place-conscious pedagogies for teachers of politics and the social sciences, in the interests of re-shaping the curriculum so as to more accurately reflect on the impact of past inequities. As L.T. Smith (1999) explained: "a critical aspect of the struggle for self-determination has involved questions relating to Māori histories as Indigenous peoples and a critique of how, as the 'Other', Māori have been represented or excluded from various accounts" (p. 28).

In response to such concerns, Manning (2017a, b) has long-contended that school leaders and teachers of political social sciences (across sectors and curriculum areas) need ministerial support to engage with local hapū and iwi in 'place-conscious' planning activities – if they are to effectively assist in repositioning the emphasis. Arguments about the need to broaden the language from civics to citizen participation have been flawed in the past because those invited 'inside the tent' tended to lean in a similar direction and the curriculum 'experts' who should be driving NCEA (and other) imperatives are those who are not in the tent – Māori, Pasifika, and Primary School delegates particularly. It is neither reasonable nor right to allow the discourse to be captured by privileged sectors of the ethnic and educational population. The 'rivers' need to be braided more equitably so as to take into account a broader range of views, including Indigenous histories and epistemologies (Macfarlane, Macfarlane & Gillon, 2015).

And indeed there do exist a multitude of hapū, iwi and Māori conversations relevant to and related to civic and citizen participation. These centre on being tangata whenua and the original citizens of Aotearoa with Māori rights, Māori political institutions, constitutional change and tino rangatiratanga (Jackson, 1992; Mikaere, 2004; Durie, 1995).

Ongoing reluctance to accept Indigenous ways of knowing may prove to be the catalyst for new opportunities to innovatively reshape and reorganise our theoretical and empirical positions, and our ideas of what it means for curriculum designers to accept dominant or 'reviewed' approaches to education in the 21st century.. It seems it is more urgent than ever before to ask: who is influencing these reviewed approaches and how do, and can, Māori educators participate in them, and indeed, lead them? At stake is the need to rethink the meanings and practices associated with the changing face of political literacy conventions. There is also a need to carefully assess some of the major research themes such as structure, rationality, managing, and leading in education and political life, because simply accepting dominant or reviewed approaches to education is not enough. Reassessment of existing conventions leads to examining old habits and this often means venturing into spaces that may push boundaries and test others' views. This takes courage. However, if the creation of new thinking and practices leads to improved outcomes, then the benefits of trying new approaches outweigh the costs.

Just teaching 'about' civics, citizenship and participation will not be enough. As research by Solhaug (2003) suggests "motivation and the feeling of being efficacious" are more important in lifting participation than simply learning about civics if it is narrowly defined as individual rights in a liberal democracy: the teaching has to involve Māori and non-Māori in our Treaty partnership context.

The definition of 'civics' must also be broader than simply liberal democratic notions premised on the idea of indivisible sovereignty. The definition must look beyond the existing constitutional arrangements and carefully incorporate Indigenous constitutionalisms and aspirations (Jones, 2016, Borrows, 2016).

A move toward encompassing genuinely transformative approaches has to be mounted.

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In the quest for advancing ideas of civics, citizenship, and political literacy, there is potential to create new knowledge that can be used to progress understandings in two worlds, in order to represent better outcomes for all.

Today increasing numbers of educators recognise that it is time to re-engage in a dialogue for change that must go beyond the 'add-on' attempts that have characterised the tokenistic gestures of past curriculum-design decisions. The move toward encompassing genuinely transformative approaches has arrived. But despite a more galvanised process of consultation with Māori tribal communities and calls for raraunga content that reflect accurately on Māori histories we're not there yet, essentially because the status-quo tells us the 'what' with regard to carrying out culturally-responsive political literacy, not the 'how'.

It is inappropriate to seek solutions to Indigenous challenges solely from within Western knowledge streams.

Macfarlane, Macfarlane and Gillon (2015) suggest that a blending of Indigenous and Western bodies of knowledge creates an approach that is potentially more acceptable (and balanced) than either knowledge stream is able to produce unilaterally. We need culturally-grounded frameworks to guide our action, and systems for tracking progress. He Awa Whiria is an example of an innovative framework that draws inspiration from Indigenous and Western streams of knowledge, while maintaining a consciousness of Māori political sovereignty.

Recommendations:
- Increase the use of Māori viewpoints, transformative models and culturally grounded frameworks in teaching.
- Include Māori politics and history content in the curriculum.
- Ensure Māori scholars are participating or taking leading roles in the construction of programmes.

Above: Te Kura Tuarua o Tūranga Wāhine: Gisborne Girls High students Puna Whakaata Maniapoto-Love and Reipua Watson spoke at the Civics Summit in Parliament 2018. Gisborne Girls High pupils have called for inclusion of the Turanganui-a-Kiwa Land Wars in the Waikato region's school curriculum. PHOTO CREDIT GISBORNE GIRLS HIGH

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Citizenship Education in The Early Childhood Te Whāriki Curriculum: The Roots of Participation

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Early childhood education is an often overlooked, but very significant foundation for civic identity and community involvement (Astuto & Ruck, 2010; Mackey, 2012). Te Whāriki, New Zealand's early childhood curriculum document, has a vision to support the development of children as citizens. This section spells out that vision and identifies issues that continue to be contested. We identify the principles that enable tamariki/children to develop the skills and capabilities of citizenship, particularly through the development of a strong sense of belonging and well-being, and we conclude with recommendations about how citizenship learning in early childhood education could be strengthened further.

Te Whāriki is unlike other curriculum documents, as it does not prescribe formal subject teaching. Instead, this curriculum, which was introduced in 1996, and revised in 2017, provides a set of principles and learning outcomes to support the development of competent and confident infants, toddlers and young children who are recognised as having the ability to make a valued contribution to society now, and in the future. It is a guide for teachers about how to support tamariki to develop a strong sense of belonging, well-being, and skills for contributing, communicating, and exploring through play and family activities (MyECE, 2018). The four principles Whakamana – Empowerment; Kotahitanga – Holistic Development; Whānau Tangata – Family and Community; Ngā Hononga – Relationships, and their associated goals and values are reviewed below.

Te Whāriki opens with an acknowledgement of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, The Treaty of Waitangi. The principles inherent in The Treaty of Waitangi, of partnership, protection and participation (Ministry of Education, 2017) are woven throughout its vision, principles and strands. The vision of Te Whāriki foresees children having a sense of belonging and knowledge that they contribute to society (Ministry of Education, 2017).

Kotahitanga (Holistic Development)
The first curriculum principle of Kotahitanga (holistic development) encompasses the physical, mental, spiritual, and emotional wellbeing of tamariki/children. The principle emphasises that children will be respected and valued and recognises their right to experience equitable opportunities for participation and learning. Smith (1998, 2013) argues that children are born citizens which is supported by Brokenshire, Plank, Gillanders, and McIlroy (2012) who argue that "there is the need to acknowledge children as citizens, competent in their own right and able to exercise agency, while still needing to be nurtured and protected" (p.5).

Whakamana (Empowerment)
The second principle, Whakamana (empowerment) recognises that enhancing a child's mana is an important focus in Te Whāriki (Ministry of Education, 2017). It could be argued that citizenship is an important expression of a child's mana. How we promote children's citizenship is also a reflection of the society in which the curriculum is developed (Arndt, Gibbons, & Fitzsimons, 2015; Duhn, 2006;

O'Brien & Salonen, 2011). Therefore, we need to ask is the promotion of citizenship for tamariki as envisioned in Te Whāriki a reality or merely rhetoric? Duhn (2006) for example argues the depiction of children as citizens in Te Whāriki is a reflection of the "neo-liberal" policy environment in which the document was developed, and as a result, the vision of children as citizens in this curriculum very much mirrors an individualistic, global citizen operating in a competitive free-market economy. While there are references in Te Whariki to the importance of children's voice in decision making, for example, "children are encouraged to contribute to decision making about the programme (Ministry of Education, 2017, p.34), Duhn (2006) draws our attention to the way some everyday early childhood practices can reinforce individualism. For example, teachers need to be aware of occasions when the same children's voices are listened to at the expense of others. Whichever way we look, whether it is in the embedded nuances of Te Whāriki as described by Duhn (2006) or in early childhood education pedagogy, the influence of teachers in children's learning and development is evident in the supporting and enhancing everyday practice of early childhood services. We value the vision of active citizenship, but question whether children really are treated as the active citizens Te Whāriki espouses they should be.

Whānau Tangata (Family and Community)
In the third principle of Te Whāriki, the family and community are acknowledged as being essential learning contexts for children. Bronfenbrenner's (1994) "Bioecological model" is one of the theories underpinning Te Whariki. This model recognises the importance of how these context and interactions, for example between family relationships and the wider community, influences a child's learning (Ministry of Education, 2017). In addition, Carr and Lee (2012) explore how children draw from their family and community contexts to bring 'funds of knowledge' (p.18) such as family cultural events, or family history from the home to enrich the early childhood learning experience. Inclusive and collaborative practice in the context of a partnership between Māori and Pākeha in Aotearoa is also important in early childhood settings (Education Review Office, 2013).

A study by O'Brien and Salonen (2011) found that within early childhood settings all children need opportunities to observe and engage with teachers, family and community members who in turn model active citizenship. If this is important for children, how do teachers model active citizenship? One example of active citizenship

is evident in a local kindergarten community where the elected Member of Parliament regularly visits. During this time, she listen to children's voices about what concerns them in their community. Mackey (2011) states that "teachers also have a professional responsibility to the children and families in their communities to continue their own learning about wider issues that impact on children. To deny children the information they seek and to exclude them from meaningful democratic participation is likely to jeopardise their ability to seek workable solutions for past and future problems" (p.10).

Ngā Hononga (Relationships)

The fourth principle of Te Whāriki, acknowledges that through meaningful relationships children gain the confidence to explore their world, as young citizens, negotiating new friendships, and become resilient to the challenges of a rapidly changing world (Ministry of Education, 2017). Relationships are more than just bonds with people. Early childhood education encourages children to develop caring and respectful relationships with the environment and the everyday objects that are used for play and for living. Opportunities to access cultural tools will give children a wider experience of diversity, increasing their understanding of what it means to be a citizen in an inclusive society. Healthy, responsive relationships impact the development of a child's identity, from their strength in their culture to being able to confidently contribute. Kinney (2005) discusses how such skills are important for lifelong learning and for contributing to society.

In summary, the vision of Te Whāriki is to support children's mana and to empower them as active citizens. Well-informed and supportive early childhood education settings can encourage children to participate in making decisions on a daily basis and establish competencies and relationship skills that support civic behaviours throughout life (Astuto & Ruck, 2010).

Recommendations:

- Research is needed into how well the citizenship aspects of Te Whāriki are working in practice.
- The early childhood sector needs to be able to articulate to whānau and community why active citizenship should be an important everyday practice.
- Teacher education needs to equip graduate teachers so that they can demonstrate active citizenship and an understanding of civics, citizenship and political literacy in their daily practice.
- We would welcome a review into how active citizenship is taught in teacher education programmes for ECE students.
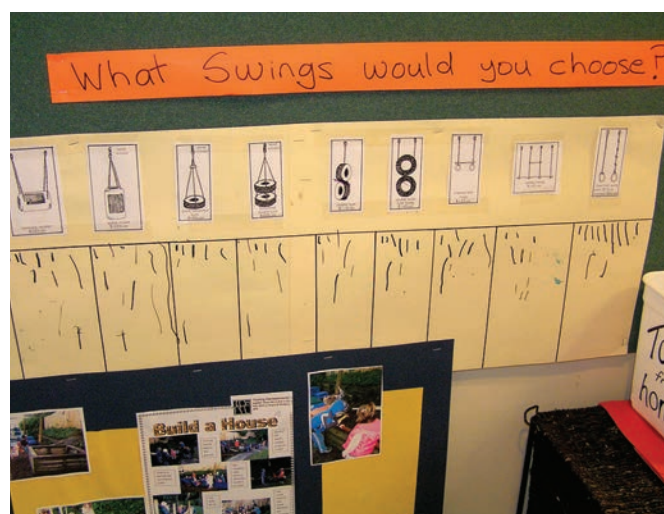
Above: Starting the voting habit early: Children in a local kindergarten voted for the kind of swings they want in their play areas.
PHOTO CREDIT GLYNNE MACKEY

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④

Civics, Citizenship and Political Literacy in The New Zealand Curriculum and Te Marautanga o Aotearoa

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This section examines citizenship education within New Zealand education through the current New Zealand Curriculum (NZC). We identify several challenges and opportunities for citizenship education, discuss strategies that research suggests can work well, and make key recommendations to advance citizenship and political literacy education.

Defining Civics and Citizenship Education for the New Zealand School Curriculum

We understand citizenship education to encompass "knowledge and understanding and opportunities for participation and engagement" (Schultz et al., 2010, p. 22). Citizenship education "is concerned with the wider range of ways in which citizens interact with and shape their communities (including schools) and societies" (ibid). Civics education is treated here as a 'subset' of citizenship education, that focuses on the "knowledge and understanding of formal institutions and processes of civic life (such as voting in elections, government processes)" (Schultz et al., 2010, p. 22).

Citizenship education broadly aims to equip students for current and future participation as active citizens, and this includes developing the capabilities to understand, critique and participate in community decision-making. In practice, different ideological frameworks underpin varying approaches to citizenship education, leading to different emphases and outcomes. For example, a 'participatory' and 'justice-oriented' approach to citizenship education is more likely to address systemic issues of social inequalities and aims to advance student understanding of human rights, inclusion and environmental justice than approaches merely focused on encouraging citizenship as a sense of 'personal responsibility' (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004).

Citizenship education in New Zealand

In New Zealand there are two statements of national curriculum: The New Zealand Curriculum, and Te Marautanga o Aotearoa. While New Zealand has never had a formal citizenship education curriculum, aspects of citizenship education are infused within and through different parts of both curricula. In the current New Zealand Curriculum (NZC) (Ministry of Education, 2007), there are explicit citizenship education goals through its vision, principles, future-focussed themes and key competencies, particularly "participating and contributing" and "relating to others" (pp. 8-12). A number of learning area purpose statements in that curriculum also include commitments to developing "knowledgeable, active and critical citizens" – for example, Science, Health and Physical Education, and the cross-curricular area of Education for Sustainability also advance future-focussed citizenship goals.

In Te Marautanga o Aotearoa Curriculum citizenship aims are incorporated and interwoven within the focus of Tikanga ā Iwi, the curriculum area which helps tamariki understand people in society, addresses silences in social knowledge, and supports students to look outward, understand indigeneity and develop critical views and Mātauranga Māori understandings (Dale, 2016). There is also

a significant emphasis in tikanga ä-iwi being on the realisation of rangatiratanga through active citizenship (Keible and Tavich, 2017).

Citizenship Focussed Learning Within the NZC Social Studies Curriculum

In the New Zealand Curriculum (NZC), social studies has been the primary vehicle for achieving citizenship education aims (Archer & Openshaw, 1992). Most specifically, citizenship education is addressed through the social sciences learning area where students will "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). In addition, citizenship education has also been supported through cross-curricular programmes of learning, the culture of schools, and experiences which connect students to communities beyond the school gate (see Mutch, 2013; Wood & Milligan, 2016, for more detail on the history of citizenship education in NZ).

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Citizenship focussed learning within the NZC social studies curriculum involves social inquiry and conceptual approaches. Social inquiry offers scope for students to develop deliberative and participatory capabilities through, for example, a focus on understanding differences in values or community decision-making processes. A conceptual approach, where students learn through bundles of concepts, provides opportunities for the cumulative development of civic knowledge. The Identity, Culture and Organisation strand and achievement objectives most explicitly provide these opportunities for citizenship learning:

NZ Curriculum level	Years	Focuses for learning NZC social studies curriculum (Identity, Culture and Organisation strand)
1-2	1-4	belonging to groups; rights, roles and responsibilities
3	5-6	how groups make rules and laws
4	7-8	how leadership is acquired/exercised; formal and informal decision-making and community challenges
5	9-10	systems of government and how they compare; responses to Te Tiriti; how people define and seek human rights.
6-8	11-13	how individuals, groups and institutions promote social justice; how communities and nations meet their responsibilities and exercise their rights; how policy changes are influenced and impact on the rights, roles and responsibilities of individuals and communities

Many other social studies achievement objectives also support aspects of citizenship education though the strands of the Economic World (e.g. consumer rights), Continuity and Change (e.g. cultural heritage) and Place and Environment (e.g. migration and access to resources).

Since 2003, students can also elect to study social studies in Years 11-13. The social studies NCEA achievement standards have a strong focus on social issues and human rights, and since 2013 specific 'social action' Achievement Standards in the NCEA have greatly increased opportunities for greater student citizenship action. More than 5000 secondary school students undertake 'personal social action' Achievement Standards at NCEA Levels 1-3 every year (Wood et al., 2017). These Achievement Standards require active involvement from students and do not assess the success of the social action, but the ability for students to reflect on, evaluate and critique their participation. In 2015, approximately 24,000 students submitted social studies achievement standards from 224 providers (schools) in New Zealand.

How is New Zealand Performing?

We have very few large-scale studies of New Zealand school-aged young people's civic knowledge, values, beliefs and engagement. The 2009 International Citizenship and Civics Study (ICCS) provides the most recent comprehensive analysis of this for Year 9 students (aged 13-14 years) in which data from almost 4000 New Zealand students was compared with data from 37 other countries. New Zealand scored close to the ICCS average overall. New Zealand students had higher than average civic knowledge than most of the

38 countries surveyed, but there was also a significant gap between high and low achievers (Bolstad, 2013; Lang, 2010). This has also been described as a 'Civic empowerment gap" with young Māori and Pasifika males undertaking the NZC, least likely to report high engagement (Krieble & Tavich, 2017).

New Zealand students' perceptions of openness in classroom discussions was one of the highest rates for any country that participated in the ICCS. However, learning within Year 9 classrooms was less likely to be student-driven or develop a justice orientation to citizenship education (Bolstad, 2012). Year 9 students reported high levels of trust in democratic institutions, and support for equal rights and democratic freedoms. Nearly two-thirds saw the Treaty of Waitangi as personally important, although this varied considerably across ethnicities (Satherly, 2011). Although most Year 9 students largely anticipated that they would vote in national elections, lower proportions anticipated involvement in a social movement or activities such as: helping a candidate in an election campaign, joining a union or a political party, or standing as a local body candidate.

When students were asked about their anticipated citizenship activities in the near future, we saw much higher levels of support for activities that are generally social in nature compared to those that require overt political participation (Hipkins & Satherley, 2012, p. 3).

Bolstad's (2012) analysis of this ICCS data further concluded that there was an inconsistent view across New Zealand schools about what 'civic and citizenship education' ought to involve and what means are effective in developing students' competencies (p. 32). Bolstad also found that teachers were very confident teaching topics in social studies which related to the cultural identities, equality, human rights and the environment, however, they had only moderate confidence in teaching legal, political and constitutional topics.

In sum, while the ICCS findings are a decade old now (see final recommendation to update this below), they suggest that New Zealand's education system was strong in some aspects of civics and citizenship education, its delivery was uneven, and there was room for improvement in supporting 'thicker' conceptions of citizenship education that are aimed towards children and young people's participation in society, involving equitable opportunity to develop skills for critical, collective political action.

Challenges and Opportunities for Citizenship Education in New Zealand

There are a number of challenges and opportunities relating to New Zealand's current education context and citizenship education approach.

i. **Curriculum structure and approach:** While the 2007 curriculum has a strong focus on concepts, competencies, and inquiry learning, very little knowledge is prescribed (Priestley & Sinnema, 2014; Wood & Sheehan, 2008). This curriculum approach is both a challenge and an opportunity. While there is no obligation to cover citizenship education or teach specific aspects of New Zealand historical, social and cultural political system, teachers still have many opportunities to develop a locally responsive and 'student-centred' curriculum. There is evidence of some strong citizenship education from the flaxroots (Hayward & Wood, 2016; Harcourt, Milligan & Wood, 2016; Nelson & Kerr, 2006; Wood et al., 2017).

However, high curriculum autonomy also contributes strongly to the patchiness of students' experiences of citizenship education. Another challenge for citizenship education relates to curriculum coherence and curriculum crowding, particularly as new priorities such as financial literacy and computational thinking have become additional curricular expectations. It is common for groups outside the education sector to lobby for particular things to be added to, or strengthened in the

curriculum. An important consideration is how teachers can be supported to enrich the existing focus on citizenship within the NZC to enhance civic and political literacy, rather than being expected to add what might be perceived as another dimension to the school curriculum.

ii. **Teaching and valuing social studies:** While there are pockets of effective learning and teaching practice in involving community engagement and citizenship projects in Years 1-8 (primary school), there is some evidence that schools have reduced their focus on social studies in recent years. Some argue this is a result of the narrowing of curriculum through National Standards, with some schools devoting a greater proportion of time towards literacy and numeracy (at the expense of other curriculum areas) and an increased focus on assessment tasks (Thrupp & White, 2013). Recent National Monitoring in Social Studies achievement (NMSSA) data found that only 38% of Year 8 students achieved at the expected (Level 4) curriculum level. Evidence of poor performance progress at this level exists across many other curriculum learning areas including maths, English, Health and PE (EARU/NZCER, 2015; Gilmore, 2016).

In their secondary schooling experience, students are most likely to receive citizenship education through social studies at Year 9 and 10 where this is still a compulsory part of the New Zealand curriculum with dedicated curriculum time in most schools. Many students will not choose social science subjects beyond this level.

iii. **Professional development and resourcing:** There has been very little professional development for teachers for subject and curriculum areas for many years now. There are almost no curriculum advisers in New Zealand with a funding model that has placed professional development only in Communities of Learning, Kāhui Ako. Consequently, there is little resourcing or expertise to support the teaching for citizenship and political literacy in both primary and secondary schools. There is also a clear need for ongoing teacher capacity in the Tikanga ā Iwi learning area (Dale, 2017).

In summary, many opportunities currently exist in the NZC for students to develop citizenship understandings and experiences. The challenge, however, is to develop greater depth and consistency to ensure that all students in NZ schools experience engaging, critical and active citizenship learning opportunities throughout their compulsory schooling. Falling rates of voter and civic participation in the past two decades provide one signal that this is important. Moreover, a critical approach to learning citizenship is heightened given the need for students to be able to evaluate truth from fiction in the news, and to critique various claims made by groups and organisations. The final section summarises international literature which describes the type of citizenship education which can equip students to be critical, informed and active citizens.

What Works Well in Citizenship Education?

Recent international and New Zealand literature provides some insights into what works well for effective citizenship education.

i. Classrooms which have an open climate (Schulz et al., 2010) where high levels of criticality about social issues are fostered, contribute the most to developing engaged citizens in the future. For example, they actively follow current events, discuss problems in communities and ways to respond, promote active dialogue and discuss controversial issues, expose students to civic role models and study issues which matter to them (Kahne & Sporte, 2008; Kahne & Westheimer, 2006; Schulz et al., 2010). New Zealand-based research found that teachers who created a classroom climate of critical debate, engaged deeply with contemporary social issues and offered opportunities for students to respond in citizenship action were able to deepen citizenship learning and engagement in their students (Wood et al., 2017; 2018b).

ii. Students are also more politically motivated when presented with issues which have personal significance to their lives (Davies et al., 2014, Kahne & Sporte, 2008; Wood et al., 2018a). While this encourages a local issues citizenship education focus, studies have also found that national and global issues can also be engaging for students. An exploratory study by Bolstad, Hipkins and Stevens (2014) also found that highly multicultural school communities in New Zealand had rich insights in global citizenship and what this means in an increasingly transnational world and multicultural Aotearoa.

iii. Effective citizenship education requires not only civic knowledge, but also opportunities to actively respond to issues that matter to them and their community. When young people participate in more active forms of citizenship learning during school (such as community engagement, volunteering, lobbying MPs), this results in stronger patterns of future civic participation (Kahne & Sporte, 2008; McFarland & Thomas, 2006). Recent New Zealand studies confirm the significance of cumulative opportunities for school-based citizenship participation. Students described how on-going 'practice' in taking social action built their political efficacy and civic knowledge, and how skilled teachers in citizenship education helped to ensure that such citizenship experiences were meaningful and led to deep learning (Perreau, forthcoming; Wood et al., 2017; 2018a).

iv. Citizenship education frameworks which encourage inclusive and flexible notions of citizenship are needed, in order to include the diverse expressions of participation and range of citizenship experiences held by students. For New Zealand this means a critical understanding of the history and ongoing impacts of colonisation which has frequently served to exclude and minimise the citizenship rights of Māori and more recently other ethnic minorities (Liu, McCreanor, McIntosh, & Teaiwa, 2005). Citizenship education frameworks which can encompass this breadth and acknowledge at the outset the inequalities which many students face, will better serve our democracy.

Finally, we argue Aotearoa New Zealand frameworks for citizenship must engage with New Zealand's foundational Treaty partnership. To this end, the gaps in many New Zealanders' knowledge of New Zealand history, Māori histories, and the legal, political, and constitutional matters that arise from our foundational bicultural history are a further challenge to be addressed (Godfery, 2016 and chapter 2 of this report). Efforts to build and consolidate Aotearoa New Zealand perspectives on civics and citizenship education that are socially-, historically-, and culturally-rounded are ongoing and important (Harcourt, Milligan & Wood, 2017; Hayward & Wood, 2016; Wood & Milligan, 2016).

Recommendations for the New Zealand Curriculum

Developing greater depth and consistency so that all New Zealand students experience engaging, critical and active citizenship learning opportunities throughout their compulsory schooling requires:

- A review of the evidence of existing community understandings of, and school approaches to, citizenship education across all curriculum levels and identification of any empowerment gaps.

- Elaborations of the expectations for political literacy and citizenship outcomes, in the context of both the existing curricula which still enable flexibility in approaches and community relevance.

- Support for effective citizenship education through better resourcing and with more explicit expectations of teachers and students. For example, resources are needed that support understandings of legal, political and constitutional topics and help teachers develop effective strategies for citizenship engagement and understandings at every level of compulsory schooling.

- Promoting opportunities for students to 'practise' their citizenship in schools (to be citizens now) through enhanced leadership and roles in decision-making in schools as well as opportunities to contribute to shape community and national issues. The current NCEA 'social action' standards are already well placed to do this and provide a useful model already within New Zealand citizenship education.

- Giving recognition to teachers who are citizenship education experts and celebrate and share their effective practice, strategies and outcomes for other teachers. One approach could be the similar to the UNESCO awards for global citizenship this year. Young citizens could similarly be recognised and celebrated for their contributions and knowledge.

In addition, we recommend that New Zealand participate in the next IEA ICCS Survey to evaluate changes since 2009 and monitor the current status of New Zealand students' civic knowledge, dispositions and behaviours.

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⑤

Post-Secondary Education and Citizenship Education

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In this section we turn to sites where citizenship education occurs in the post-school environment. Here we note international patterns in post-secondary citizenship education, opportunities presented through the worker, community and business sector, and the tertiary sector, and conclude by stating why these sectors are important.

We draw a very thin lens on citizenship education and learning if we restrict our understanding of that learning to the activities that take place in formal education environments (schools, universities, polytechnics and so on) (Biesta, 2011). Biesta argues for example, that citizenship education too often overlooks the sites and ways in which citizenship is actually learned – in and through the processes and practices that make up the everyday lives of children, young people and adults. While formal teaching definitely has a role, he suggests that "it is far from the only factor that matters in the formation of democratic citizens" (p. 1). This insight is underpinned by an understanding that citizenship identities are contingent, fluid, and are continually negotiated, not only in youth but throughout the life-course (Smith et al. 2005, p. 440). Understanding citizenship formation over the life-course provides a more temporally, spatially and relationally-sensitive vocabulary of citizenship (Wood, 2017). In the section that follows we identify opportunities for citizen education in employment, community work, the business sector, and in tertiary education.

Home and Away: Learning from International Experiences of Tertiary Citizen Education

Internationally, post-secondary education has become the rite of passage that determines an individual's role in society, primarily through preparing students for the labour market (Labhrainn, 2007). The value of civic learning during tertiary study, however, is being rediscovered as a priority in the post-secondary sector in both New Zealand and abroad (Kennedy, 2012). Employers report that technical skills are important but not sufficient for prospering in the global economy, and seek graduates with an understanding of social changes, intercultural literacy and civic engagement in an increasingly interconnected and uncertain world (Torney-Purta et al., 2015).

While there is no common core to the content of this citizenship education in tertiary education, these efforts have included curriculum initiatives to incorporate humanities and social science into undergraduate programmes (Torney-Purta et al., 2015), to promote community-based or service learning through campus-community partnerships (Labhrainn, 2007), or to enable intercultural learning (Caruana, 2014). However, where post-secondary education is seen in narrow terms as primarily a driver of economic development at the expense of the wider goal of advancing civic capacity, it is recognized as a threat to the development of active citizens with the potential to be involved in public affairs (Persell & Wenglinsky, 2004; Caruana, 2014).

Educating for Political Literacy and Citizen Engagement: Worker, Community Education and Business Opportunities

Work and community sites also provide strategic opportunities for civic engagement, citizenship education and participation. An example of one such site are trade unions. But, what comes to mind when you hear the term 'trade unions'? Factories and picket lines? Comfortable bureaucrats living off someone else's hard work? In recent years it has been less common to couple 'trade unions' with 'education' but the connection is more appropriate than

old-fashioned images of a trade union in a factory. Consistent with the points made by Persell and Wenglinsky (2004) and Caruana (2014) above, New Zealand's trade unions contribute to the development of political literacy by training thousands of workplace delegates in employment relations law, workplace negotiations and political engagement annually. Each year thousands of union members also participate in various campaigns, from 'end zero hours' to pay equity.

In short, trade unions are one of the few non-government organisations teaching civics and citizenship, albeit with slightly different framing (many unions might simply call it 'politics'). Either way, trade unions train their members and support their capacity to engage in public life. The right to take members out of the workplace for training is often written into the collective employment agreement between the employer and the workers' union, or sometimes unions trigger section 26 of the Employment Relations Act ('union meetings'). Under section 26 – unions call them 'stop work meetings' – the union leadership will often speak to all of its members about campaigns and political changes to be mindful of or engage in. This is what separates trade unions from other non-government groups: trade unions have a statutory mandate of a kind, but the content of that mandate is theirs to determine.

There is much to be gained, too, by significantly reinvesting in adult and community education (or boosting government support where that exists), including in the programmes currently provided by the WEA and those administered or provided by community organisations, PTEs and rural education activity programme (REAP) providers. Such programmes have long played an important role, supporting social cohesion and life-long education, and providing people with opportunities to practice civic engagement in their communities (Findsen, 2006). Relatedly, partnerships between providers and businesses can be better leveraged to support students' acquisition of the skills and capacities needed to be an

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active citizens, including through the use of credit transfers (which allow units of study to contribute to more than one qualification) (Productivity Commission, 2017).

The Present State of the Play in Post-Secondary Education

Evidence suggests that learning to be a citizen involves much more than formal education within the compulsory schooling sector. For many, the chance to participate in tertiary study – whether in a wananga, private provider, polytechnic or university – provides further opportunities to systematically study and practice political literacy and civic engagement. However, the disciplines and programmes most likely to furnish effective civic learning are the social sciences and humanities, disciplines where enrolments are falling (Newton, 2018). Reductions in effective levels of government investment in the social sciences and humanities erode the capacity of our tertiary institutions to support the sorts of civic education that underpins a healthy, functioning democracy (Allen, 2016).

Furthermore, some current policy settings in Aotearoa New Zealand – including funding incentives - are negatively effecting humanities and social science subjects (as well as cuts to pre-degree and adult education courses) and privileging STEM disciplines (science, technology, engineering and maths). These issues need to be addressed if we are to tackle the challenges associated with developing active, engaged citizens. In addition to restoring equitable levels of public funding for humanities and social science subjects, government should provide clear financial incentives for tertiary providers to place civic learning and active citizenship at the heart of all of their programmes. The evidence suggests this would deliver civic benefits: Hillygus (2005) found that the more social science credits tertiary students take the more likely they are to vote. It would also be consistent with employers' growing demand for transferable skills (Deloitte, 2018) and boost our capacity to address the multi-faceted, intractable policy challenges we confront both at home and abroad.

From Citizenship Education to Life-Long Learning in a Digital Era

A capacious understanding of the nature of citizenship demands that we rethink our approach to citizenship education. The current approach is often grounded in learning that takes place in a particular formal setting and at a specific – and generally relatively early – time in the life span (e.g. at secondary school or university). We now also need to start attending more closely to the implications of Biesta's (2011) point that the making and constant re-making of democratic citizens requires us to pay attention to citizenship learning that takes place across the life span and in both formal and informal settings.

This is a matter of urgency. At this point in history, advances in digital technology have enabled unparalleled communication but also a proliferation in uncivil behaviour, the rapid dissemination of 'fake news', the manipulation of personal data for political purposes and the blurring of the line between truth and political propaganda. It is critically important that we address the question of civics education beyond secondary and tertiary environments. More than ever, in this digital era our polity needs citizens of all ages, who are able to judge the veracity of and test the merits of, competing claims to truth.

In a digital era, we must shift from focusing on citizenship in formal educational settings at one point in time, to seeing citizenship education as a life-long learning process. That shift will be driven by the new work opportunities and risks being generated by digitisation (e.g. the gig economy, working from non-office locations, the rise in precarious work and so on), but it will also be a response to the need to continuously replenish social capital and citizenship skills as civic and political circumstances constantly change (Eve, de Groot & Schmidt, 2007; Milana, 2012).

Pragmatically, this will require connecting people with opportunities to learn about and engage in politics and civics as they move through the life course. To a degree this can be achieved using traditional institutions: options include enabling people of different ages to re-engage in civic education through formal learning institutions, including primary and secondary schools, wananga, polytechnics and universities. Equally, such learning opportunities could be provided at and through public institutions including town halls, community centres and (in particular) libraries, the role of which in fostering life-long learning and the accumulation of social capital has long been recognised (Kranich, 2001).

But new and powerful digital technologies are also to hand which can significantly extend access to (and lower the costs associated with) civics education. For instance, political literacy and civic education can be designed into online learning platforms such as MOOCS (Massive Open Online Courses), accessible by individuals, non-governmental organisations, providers of adult continuing education programmes and so on.

To take full advantage of these opportunities we need to build in opportunities for acknowledging adult learning. We should, of course, draw on existing means of credentialising the acquisition of knowledge (certificates, diplomas, degrees, etc.). However, we could also acknowledge new informal learning by using new forms of credentialisation such as micro-credentials or digital badging. But such credentialisation should not be to the detriment of the core purpose of life-long citizen and civic learning, which is the constant, ongoing refurbishment and enrichment of the ties that bind members of a political community.

Recommendations

a) Government to publicly affirm the value of civic learning in the post-secondary sector in Aotearoa New Zealand;

b) Tertiary Education Commission (TEC) to support civic education by restoring appropriate levels of funding for tertiary courses and programmes in the humanities and social sciences;

c) TEC to provide funding incentives for tertiary institutions to design civic learning into all of their programmes (e.g. via joint degrees in the Arts and Sciences);

d) Government to affirm the civic learning provided by trade unions and publicly acknowledge the role it plays in fostering a vibrant polity;

e) Ministry of Education to boost the Adult and Community Education Fund in order to support the activities of adult and community education providers;

f) Government to acknowledge the contribution made by the disciplines of the social sciences and humanities to both democratic and economic well-being (see also recommendations b) and c));

g) Government and relevant departments and agencies (Ministry of Education, TEC, etc.) to publicly adopt a model of civics and citizenship learning which embraces learning across the life-span;

h) Departments and agencies (Ministry of Education, TEC, Department of Internal Affairs, etc.) to fund opportunities to learn about and engage in civic literacy for citizens of all ages through public institutions, notably libraries;

i) Ministry of Education to design and maintain a publicly-facing MOOC on political literacy and civics education;

j) TEC to explore use of micro-credentials, digital badging and other digital instruments to credentialise learning beyond certificates, diplomas and degrees.

Above: Pacific Youth Parliament 2017, hosted by Pacific Youth Leadership And Transformation.
PHOTO CREDIT PYLAT

Right: Stop Work Meeting, Mt Smart stadium, 2016.
PHOTO CREDIT FIRST UNION

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Civics, Citizenship and Political Literacy Education for a Diversifying Nation

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In the past three decades New Zealand has undergone a substantive demographic change. This is evident in the ethnic composition of the population, its age structure, and in the increase of those born outside of New Zealand. Ethnically, New Zealand has seen growth in the proportion and number of people who identify as Māori (14.9%), Pacific (7.4%) and Asian (11.8%). At the same time, like other comparatively wealthy nations, the New Zealand population has continued to age. In 2001 the median age in New Zealand was 34.8 years, and in 2013 it was 38.0 years. Ageing is taking place differently across ethnic groups, with Māori median age (23.9 years) and Pacific people (22.1 years) far younger than Pakeha (41.0 years). These demographic trends have abiding political and social effects, and civic and citizenship education needs to recognise and take account of these trends.

Civics education in a diverse society should recognize the critically different relationships that different peoples have with the New Zealand government and state. In addition to the experiences of Māori for example, (see chapter 2) specific groups of Pacific people have particular historical and contemporary relationships with New Zealand. Tokelau, Niue and the Cook Islands are a part of the New Zealand constitutional entity: Tokelau as a New Zealand territory, and Niue and the Cook Islands as independent states in "free association with New Zealand". These peoples are born as New Zealand citizens. People of the Independent State of Samoa (Western Samoa), formerly a New Zealand colony (1914-1962), though not recognised as New Zealand citizens were historically born under the New Zealand flag. Pacific peoples resident in New Zealand are thus not migrants in the same way as others who do not have similar constitutional relationships with the state of New Zealand.

In states across the world, the strains and pressures generated by economic and political paradigm shifts towards neo-liberalism and broader processes of globalisation have also challenged traditional expectations of citizen commitments to social cohesion, inclusion and solidarity (Spoonley et al., 2005; Babacan, 2005; Lazzarato, 2009). Economic, social and political fault lines have multiplied in many states, fostered by perceptions of threat from 'the other' (demonstrated, for instance, in the association frequently made between migrants and security threats) and reinforced by growing inequalities. In this context, minorities and vulnerable groups, in New Zealand as elsewhere, are at greater risk of marginalisation, discrimination and alienation from democratic institutions and practices. Our sense of social capital ("the links, shared values and understandings in society that enable individuals and groups to trust each other and so work together") is also imperilled when there is a loss of trust, sense of commonality and belief in shared values (Pinyol-Jimenez, 2012; Hickel, 2016).

Given recent growth in international migration to New Zealand, can civics, citizenship and political literacy contribute to increased political participation and support a sense of inclusion and belonging among the country's diverse communities? Can citizenship education also help overcome the time lag that can often occur between migrants arriving and fully participating politically and socially in Aotearoa New Zealand? (Barker & McMillan, 2017). While citizenship can be understood in terms of legal status or a set of rights and duties, as chapter one notes, democratic citizenship is also experienced and appreciated through everyday activity: namely, participation in collective decisions that significantly affect one's life (OECD, n.d). For many New Zealanders, voting in general elections is the key means by which they participate in political life. However, in the last two decades voter turnout in this country, as in other industrial democracies, has been declining (Electoral Commission n.d.). An added complication is that as a settler state, Aotearoa New Zealand has a large migrant population with varying experiences of politics and government in their countries of origin.

In New Zealand those identifying with an Asian ethnicity have the lowest electoral turnout of any of the broad 'ethnic' categories used by government statisticians (Barker & MacMillan, 2017). What are the reasons for this? There are some suggestions that amongst naturalised Asian-New Zealanders, prior personal experience of voting is a factor. Given there are few operating democracies in Asia, lack of previous practical democratic experience may be contributing to lower levels of voter participation in New Zealand by Asian-New Zealanders (Zhang, 2015). This underscores the correlation between individual experiences of the conduct of elections, voter confidence in the ability to effect change, and political participation. It also highlights the importance of political knowledge and lived experience. In this context opportunities for civics and citizenship education in the community and greater media access for new migrants could play a role in overcoming unfamiliarity with the New Zealand political system, alongside opportunities to engage informally in everyday public activities to develop experience and confidence in ways multiple, diverse voices can be heard in a political process. Civic engagement and political literacy education can thus serve as avenues to help create a common national identity, and a sense of belonging in a diverse democracy.

Although voting is a crucial activity in a democracy, in the absence of opportunities for wider forms of civic inclusion, participation and trust in formal politics dwindles (Hay and Stoker 2009). Citizenship thus also requires ongoing experiences of participation beyond the vote, to both enact and educate citizens. The latter is a crucial point: practical experience is essential to develop civic capabilities and skills such as perspective-taking, respect for civic duties, reciprocity, trust,

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public-mindedness, practical reason, and deliberation (Barber 2003; Dewey 1927; de Tocqueville 1831; Almond and Verba 1963; Gutman and Thompson 2004).

What forms of civic activity can support this education? Civic participation – activities that enable citizens to find common means to address collective concerns – includes traditional political participation (voting or referenda), but also extends to community service, charity, collective action, information sharing, civic dialogue (Westheimer and Kahne 2004; McCartney and Millet 2013; Ekman and Amna 2012; Adler and Goggin 2005). Examples abound that serve as resources for extending and developing skills of civic participation in Aotearoa New Zealand, but three forms are worth highlighting: (i) diverse deliberative opportunities that enable citizens to make informed and considered collective decisions regarding complex and even polarized issues (see: Dryzek 2000; Fung and Okin Wright 2001; Levin et al 2005); (ii) creative artistic forms of engagement that enhance inclusion, and help convey the expertise and insights of communities that may feel marginalised by conventional deliberation and debate (see: Haedicke and Nelhaus, 2001; Barndt 2006; Cleveland 2008; Love and Mattern 2013; Beausoleil, 2016) and (iii) indigenous alternatives to deliberation such as wānanga that offer place-based frameworks that enable meeting and learning across difference experiences and views (See: O'Brien 2001; Metge 2001; NZ Trade Consortium 2005).

Enhancing civic participation requires both government and community-led action, and a determination to create opportunities which support citizens to participate, encounter and listen to groups whose voices might not otherwise be heard. A successful example of the latter is the process of drafting a recent submission on the "End of Life Choice Bill" by Pasifika young people through the PYLAT (The Pacific Youth Leadership and Transformation) Council. PLYLAT is an initiative resulting from engaged Pasifika young people themselves, connecting formal consultation processes with grassroots networks to produce a rare, authentic contribution from a group whose views are infrequently incorporated in national legislative procedures. In the PYLAT example, Pasifika youth invited a range of experts to speak to their youth groups and then debated the topic and drafted their own submissions and presented these to the relevant select committee.

In short, civics, citizenship and political literacy needs to be explicitly supported, encouraged and fostered by government and community groups in practical ways in order to ensure that all groups in Aotearoa New Zealand are included and have equal opportunities to participate and have a voice in a democracy (Freiling, 2018). The measures that would enable this objective range across a wide spectrum and are mutually reinforcing and might include for example, listening to diverse New Zealand communities and proving opportunities for groups to contribute to the wider community in the development of Treasury Living Standards (Yong 2018; Thomsen 2018) or supporting the long term settlement of refugees (Labour and Immigration Research Centre.2012; NZ Red Cross 2013; O'Connor 2014). In summary, three key proposals for action are listed below.

Recommendations:

1. Acknowledge, fund and extend the vital local civic education services already provided by public libraries and museums (for instance, internet and digital literacy services; historical and community knowledge repositories and informal learning spaces).

2. Invest more funding in resources for community learning forums (such as adult community education classes, teachers and materials), in partnership with civil society (for instance, churches, trade unions, non-governmental community organisations) to enhance civic learning initiatives, including community art and cultural outreach programmes (for instance, cultural and heritage festivals) that can contribute to civic inclusion, participation and engagement.

3. Provide greater resourcing for services and programmes that enhance and accelerate the integration of migrants and refugees, beyond one year (particularly ESOL classes for refugees, and community development funding for ethnic communities) and continue this support as a vital, ongoing element of migrant inclusion in Aotearoa New Zealand.

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Education Through Citizenship: the Transformative Potential of Volunteering

Katie Bruce[1], Sam Johnson[2] and Michael Schraa[3]

Active citizenship education can enable students to apply and extend formal learning through real-world advocacy, everyday democracy, and volunteering. An active approach is already working to improve the political engagement of youth over the short to medium term in the US and the UK (McFarland & Thomas, 2006; Hart et al., 2007; Keating & Janmaat, 2016). And while we might speculate *why* it works,[1] part of the reason has to be that young people themselves have already had the experience of creating change, making decisions, organising like-minded individuals and managing conflicts with those with different views and priorities, on issues that matter to them.

Like New Zealand researchers, Bronwyn Wood and Andrea Milligan, we argue, "effective citizenship education requires active responses" (2016, p. 70). Here, active education through citizenship is distinguished from learning about civics - the formal processes and institutions that describe our system of government. The active component of citizenship education can take a number of forms: advocacy (letter-writing, awareness-raising), democracy (student elections, student councils, political debates), or taking social action through volunteering.

Incorporating volunteering into school curriculums promotes active citizenship. Ofsted, the UK equivalent of ERO, evaluated facilitated volunteering programmes in schools. Ofsted (2011) concluded that the great majority of young people developed "important skills and attributes such as advocacy, team working, motivation and resilience". The report notes that other students reflected on their developing sense of responsibility and service to others. While improving employment prospects was a key motivation for some, for others,"volunteering had helped to develop their political awareness and civic engagement" (Ofsted, 2011, p.1).

We can Embed Volunteering into Provisions in the Existing Curriculum

In 2013 the NCEA standards for social studies included Personal Social Action (PSA) at levels one, two and three. Wood et al. (2017) conclude that the standard is working well for students in relation to Hill's (1994) criteria; that is, where social actions were meaningful, where real-world understanding was gained and citizenship skills were learnt. However, only about one in ten schools offer the PSA standards at all three levels. From the teacher's perspective, it is considered "safer" and "more efficient" to do in-school learning than participate in time-consuming real-world experiences. There is a sense that the slow take-up also reflects the long-standing debate between teaching students to be "good" citizens (socialisation) and encouraging them to be "active" citizens, who actively criticise their own society (counter-socialisation).

More formal volunteering offers another alternative for teachers wishing to incorporate PSA standards. Much of the infrastructure for social action already exists in the voluntary sector although additional infrastructure may be needed to manage the additional time, work and bureaucracy involved in out-of-school activities. The example of the Student Volunteer Army demonstrates one approach for successful PSA outcomes.

A Decentralised, Low-Touch High-Impact Student Volunteering Model is already Demonstrating Significant Outcomes in New Zealand

To promote youth-led active citizenship, Student Volunteer Army Foundation (SVA) created a resource for New Zealand primary school teachers with lesson plans, teaching guides, and tools (badges, cards, posters, high-vis vests) to engage a class of 30 students in an inquiry learning process. This inquiry learning has volunteering in the students' community at its core. In 2017, 1000 classrooms and 32,000 students participated. The key aspects of the SVA ethos are that students lead, adults and kids volunteer together, fundraising is avoided, and activities takes place outside of school property.

One example was a group of students who met with their community in the lead up to the 2017 general election to find out what they thought about voting and what made a difference to them. They were stunned at the number of people who were not planning to exercise their right to vote so they decided to do something about it, recognising that their own futures would be affected by the voting habits of the adults around them.

The students created a video to encourage adults to vote that was delivered through a number of channels including: school website, Facebook page, visits to local schools to encourage students to tell their parents to vote and also to local community groups.[2]

Feedback from the teachers in 2017 engaged across country was very positive, with a number of teachers remarking that they "underestimated their students' ability to imagine, plan and execute a volunteering project themselves". Projects broadly focused on four areas: environmental, social connection, beautification or creative projects.[3]

As one teacher noted:

During this project, the students have developed a sense of empathy and community spirit...we carried out a survey on the domain.... what we found was... 342 pieces of rubbish and 92 animal droppings. What was worse was that a lot of this rubbish was observed to be

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very near rubbish bins (which were under half full). The classroom wrote to the council with their recommendations and survey results and are now engaged on seeing and contributing to progress in their area (Student Volunteer Army, 2018).

Enabling volunteering through a decentralised, low-touch high-impact model such as the SVA is already demonstrating significant education, wellbeing and community outcomes two years in. The model will soon be extended to high schools with a focus on wellbeing after a shock or disaster.

What is missing in New Zealand, however, is a national citizenship strategy as recommended by the Constitutional Advisory Panel (2013) and The McGuinness Institute (Tavich & Krieble, 2018) that incorporates volunteering.

Youth-Led Active Citizenship is Vital to Address Civic Disadvantage in New Zealand

Youth-led programmes would enable active citizenship to be enacted in ways meaningful to young people's heterogeneous lives, and have the potential to address social inequities. "Civic disadvantage mirrors, in many ways, wider advantage and disadvantage" (White, 2014) and New Zealand has the widest gap between those with the highest and lowest civic understanding (Schlutz et al., 2010).[4]

Māori and Pasifika men show the lowest levels of engagement but also higher rates of participation in cultural and religious organisations (Schlutz et al., 2010). Engaging young Pasifika and Māori through community groups with which they already connect is likely to be more meaningful to them and therefore more successful (White, 2014).

Youth-led civics education and volunteering would start with the issues that young people experience and care about. From there, not only can they learn about civics, citizenship and political literacy – they can put this into action through finding their voice and making a difference to something they really care about.

Recommendations

- Support a national strategy for civics and citizenship education in schools and in the community (as recommended by the Constitutional Advisory Panel in 2013) that incorporates opportunities for community volunteering.

- Incorporate a measurement mechanism of social action performance in ERO's inspection framework that recognises the different ways that young people are engaging, participating and mobilising.

- Fund the development of infrastructure to facilitate and support youth volunteering that supports young people to engaging, participating and mobilising in diverse ways to make a difference in their local, regional and national community.

Above: Kris and Trevor on the Mycare 'LiveLife' intergenerational mentoring programme.
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[4] New Zealand did not participate in the latest International Civic and Citizenship Education Study in 2016.

Beyond political literacy:
Media and the politics of listening

Tara Ross[1] and Donald Matheson[2]

News media have traditionally been seen as key places where formal politics and citizens meet. But although there is a strong case that political and media institutions are closely intertwined, the link through to citizens themselves is less clear. News media's capacity to foster the political literacy of citizens, whether that is defined as the ability of people to understand political processes and actions or their ability to take part in politics, is weakened by the realities of the news business. Many have argued that a mediated public sphere largely controlled by corporate interests drowns out other forms of public deliberation, feeding a mass audience with the agendas of a small elite, as well as spectacle and personality politics, leading to a weak and largely passive public (Garnham 1992). There is empirical evidence (e.g. Curran et al 2009) that citizens of countries where the market plays a greater role in shaping media tend to have lower levels of knowledge about public affairs and international news than those in countries with more developed public media systems – particularly citizens who already have less access to knowledge by other means. Even before we ask questions about the impact of digital communication on how individuals engage with politics, then, we would stress that political literacy cannot be left to market-dominated media spaces

Seen through a communication lens, political literacy is much less about individual competencies than it is about the way political communication is structured and whose interests that serves. The era of high choice opened up by the internet has benefitted those who are already well served (Brundidge & Rice 2009). A high degree of choice may, perversely, lead many others to narrow their information choices, by seeking out the familiar or perspectives they already agree with or the loudest voices (Prior 2007). Individuals have a greater role to play in contemporary political communication because they have become gatekeepers of information themselves on social media platforms, through what they make available to others in their networks. Yet we should be cautious in concluding that most individuals are failing to engage in political communication. Livingstone reminds us the digital literacy debate over-emphasises both individual agency and a moralising discourse of dutiful citizens who behave well online and avoid harm. That leaves individuals to deal with:

> the explosion of complexities, problems and possibilities of our digital society… Since, of course, the individual can hardly succeed where governments cannot, the politics of media literacy risks not only burdening but also blaming the individual for the problems of the digital environment. (Livingstone 2018)

It is important to think of media for a literate citizenry in two ways. Firstly, we would prioritise discussion and education that fosters listening across difference and across power differentials rather than on Netsafe-style filtering out of harm. In a digital media environment characterised by fragmentation, noise and dialogue on a large-scale, individuals will need critical skills and strategies for receptivity and selectivity (Macnamara 2013, p. 171). Secondly, we would direct attention to communicative power on the 'supply side' of political communication. If we follow Dobson's (2012) call to attend to listening, then it is the institutions, conventions and privileges that shape who and what can be heard in the media that demand our attention (Dreher 2009). This is particularly important, in the context of claims about the capacity of digital media to ensure increased opportunities for voice (Dreher, McCallum and Waller 2016). As the volume of citizen media participation increases, the questions we must all ask about 'democratic' media participation can no longer be limited to 'who gets to speak?'; we must also ask 'who

is heard, and to what end?' (ibid. p. 28). That requires closer critique of communicative structures, and state and news media practices.

In Aotearoa New Zealand, high news use combines with an oligopolistic news market. Nielsen NZ estimates that 84 percent of the population watches television content (an average of three hours a day, via television sets or other devices) and 78 percent of the population over 16 reads a newspaper at least weekly (in print or via a digital device). The same number of people access social media monthly. Across these media, there is less diversity than in nearly any comparable country – two newspaper companies, Stuff and NZME, and two television companies, TVNZ and Mediaworks, dominate the news. As elsewhere, Facebook and Google dominate online advertising, so that the audience shift from print to digital has led to a haemorrhaging of income and a loss of journalist jobs in the past decade. Media producers and entrepreneurial journalists have set up new online outlets, including Newsroom, The Spinoff, E-Tangata and Thecoconet.tv, some of which now have large audiences.

As the larger news providers pursue high ratings through consumer-oriented content, many of the newer media outlets have an explicit emphasis on filling gaps in public debate, though, often with precarious and limited resources. As such, complex questions arise about the capacity of a depleted and more fragmented media environment to inform and educate about politics. The 2017 general election suggested journalism retains its commitment to in-depth, well-resourced reporting at moments of political importance. But the near-demise of television documentaries, the inability of news media to cover much court news and the existence of 'news deserts', or parts of the country or of government that go almost unreported, suggests a thinness of mediated politics.

Community media, by contrast, is stronger. From the strongly localised Otago Daily Times to the rapid growth of community news groups and pages on Facebook, news about neighbours, schools and local streets combines well with local business activity to produce a mix that serves immediate needs but also feeds community cohesion. But, as Williams (2015) notes in the UK, many of these media rely on volunteer editors and many avoid politics. We would therefore caution against romanticising media that serve geographic communities as bases from which to build political knowledge and activity.

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Rather than searching for solutions in a particular mode of media (such as local or social media) we might follow instead Dobson's call for 'listening' to consider the dual obligations of news media to listen to citizens and enable policy-makers' capacity to listen to citizens. In that vein, what more, then, might we expect of producers, funders and regulators of political media content? For instance, research on New Zealand's Pacific audiences (Ross 2017a) reveals participants' strong sense of alienation from mainstream news media, clearly suggesting a need for mainstream media to do more to foster inclusive practices and content, and to build trust between marginalised communities and newsrooms.

Dobson argues (2012) that a focus on empowerment and inclusion also requires us to distinguish between listening to and listening out for – with the latter enabling us to listen out for silences. This must include listening out for the ways in which voices are constrained in the media or emerge only in particular ways. Again, research on Pacific media in New Zealand (Ross, 2017a) found few Pacific media had a strong presence in the social and digital spaces where Pacific people, especially Pacific youth, are looking for content. Yet the same research found Pacific audiences wanted more news online, news alerts on their phones, Pacific news apps, and a more sophisticated social media presence (ibid.). Marginalised groups require separate specialist media where they can work out internal issues, debate issues of identity and express politics that are oppositional to the dominant mainstream. However, the democratic potential of such media is significantly constrained when they are limited to legacy and marginal spaces (for example, the graveyard slots of a television schedule). It is also unlikely that political leaders and their bureaucrats are attuned to these marginal spaces. Indeed, among the reasons Pacific audience research participants gave for following Māori (in some cases, instead of Pacific) media was the fact that it was there that they could see ministers held to account on issues that mattered to them (Ross 2017b, p126).

The existence of a separate ethnic media is clearly no guarantee in itself of an empowering, accountable public sphere, which raises important questions about how mediated citizenship is funded, supported and who benefits. NZ on Air research (2012) for example found Pacific peoples had a stronger preference for news and current affairs than language and culture per se, yet many of the structural features of Pacific media, including contracted language targets and cultural priorities, that favour a cultural focus (where 'culture' is interpreted in ethnic categorising terms) are at odds with the self-declared news and information needs of Pacific audiences. State funders and policy-makers' narrow 'cultural' view of Pacific media is problematic, and begs questions about the extent to which marginalised groups in society are being heard on their own terms. In this respect, there is clearly a need for systematic data gathering and analysis of the organisational barriers to listening practices, policies and cultures within our political communication structures. Indeed, coupled with this report's underlying concern to empower active citizenship, better attention to the politics of listening may help us, as O'Donnell, Lloyd & Dreher (2009, p.423) suggest, to think in new ways about media reform that can redistribute communicative power and encourage new ways of listening and responding to each other in public.

Recommendations

- Better support for public service media/journalism, particularly in emerging digital spaces where youth, Māori and Pasifika are more active.

- Funding and support beyond media content to support newsroom initiatives that enhance community engagement, mutual connection and understanding.

- A review of state organisational practices, policies and cultures relating to political communication and disparities in the distribution of media resources.
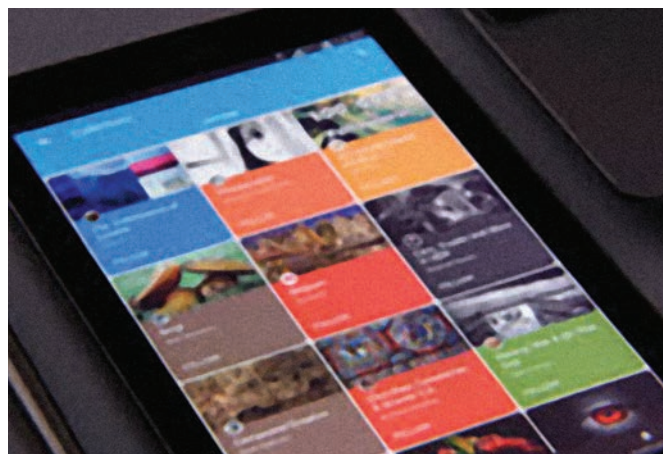

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