

Royal Society Te Apārangi

Expert Advisory Panel



# Aotearoa New Zealand's Histories

A response to  
draft curriculum

17 Haratua May 2021

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**An Expert Advisory Panel was set up in March 2020 under the auspices of Royal Society Te Apārangi to provide an independent source of expertise to the Ministry of Education on the development of a core curriculum: Draft for Aotearoa New Zealand’s Histories in Years 1–10.**

The Panel comprised Professor Charlotte Macdonald FRSNZ, Professor Michael Belgrave (co-convenors), Sir Tipene O’Regan CRSNZ, Emerita Professor Barbara Brookes, Associate Professor Damon Salesa FRSNZ, Sean Mallon, Emerita Professor Manying Ip FRSNZ, Dr Vincent O’Malley, Professor Jim McAloon, Dr Arini Loader (until June 2020), and Kahu Hotere.

The Panel conducted its work through a series of two-hour-long Zoom meetings on 20 March 2020, 27 May 2020, 14 August 2020; and intensive email exchange through October to November 2020, and on 15 February 2021 (with further email exchange following most meetings). Officials from the Ministry of Education and members of the Writers Group attended the 2020 meetings, largely in order to hear the responses of the Panel to draft materials. The Panel provided further materials following some meetings, and provided a substantial response to an earlier and much larger draft of the curriculum in early November 2020.

This Report addresses the draft curriculum dated January 2021 that was released for consultation on 3 February: <https://www.education.govt.nz/our-work/changes-in-education/aotearoa-new-zealand-histories-in-our-national-curriculum/>.<sup>1</sup>

The report has been independently reviewed by Emeritus Professor Atholl Anderson FRSNZ, Emeritus Professor Margaret Tennant FRSNZ, and Professor Tony Ballantyne FRSNZ.



<sup>1</sup> Aotearoa New Zealand’s histories in our national curriculum, Ministry of Education, Te Tāhuhu o te Mātauranga, CO2716\_MOE\_Aotearoa\_NZ\_Histories\_A3\_FINAL, 3 February 2021, <https://www.education.govt.nz/our-work/changes-in-education/aotearoa-new-zealand-histories-in-our-national-curriculum/>.

## Aotearoa New Zealand Histories in the core curriculum: welcomed and overdue

The Panel strongly supports the introduction of Aotearoa New Zealand's Histories into the core curriculum for Year 1–10 students in New Zealand's schools. We fully welcome the decision that History takes a central place in the curriculum, enabling children and young people growing up in Aotearoa New Zealand to learn about their own past. The Panel regards this development as long overdue.<sup>2</sup>

The Panel strongly commends key features of the curriculum: to place Māori history central to New Zealand's historical experience, both as histories of hapū and iwi on their own terms, and as hapū and iwi histories influenced by the impact of colonisation and responses to it. The emphasis on multiple narratives is timely. The Panel also endorses the determination to allow Schools and Boards of Trustees to interpret Aotearoa New Zealand's Histories through local experiences, particularly those of hapū and iwi. This has potential to provide much richer understandings of Aotearoa New Zealand's Histories, relevant and alive to schools and kura and the communities they serve.

The Panel acknowledges that the Aotearoa Histories Draft Curriculum forms part of the social sciences learning area within *The New Zealand Curriculum*. Learning about histories of Aotearoa New Zealand is regarded by the Panel as absolutely fundamental to the goal of the social sciences to introduce students to 'how societies work and how they themselves can participate and take action as critical, informed, and responsible citizens.'<sup>3</sup> We understand the social sciences learning area is currently being 'refreshed' and will be out for review in August 2021.<sup>4</sup>

Given that the Social Science Curriculum is currently being 'refreshed', the Panel has made no attempt to explore the relationship between the two components. The Panel notes that the Draft Aotearoa New Zealand Histories Curriculum is far more detailed in terms of context and content than the Social Science Curriculum. If this shift in level of description is carried over into the new Social Science Curriculum, then some of the recommendations in this report may well be picked up in that review.

The Panel would still expect to see History as part of the Social Science curriculum in the future. History is central to the social sciences area as a whole: it is impossible to understand citizenship without knowledge of History, and knowing our History has been identified as a priority area by New Zealanders, young and old.

This report represents the independent view of the Panel. It is submitted as part of the public feedback process on the draft curriculum that has its origin in September 2019, when the Prime Minister, the Right Honourable Jacinda Ardern, announced the introduction of a compulsory New Zealand history curriculum for New Zealand schools, saying:

**The curriculum changes we are making will reset a national framework so all learners and ākongā are aware of key aspects of New Zealand history and how they have influenced and shaped the nation.<sup>5</sup>**

The Prime Minister identified seven topics that would help ensure children's learning was 'not left to chance'.

The Panel's recommendations are aimed at ensuring the Aotearoa New Zealand Histories Curriculum will have sufficient content and context to fulfill these objectives. A 'national framework' was considered vital in ensuring Aotearoa New Zealand Histories are taught in New Zealand's schools; making that framework as robust as possible is the key goal of the Panel.

The Panel has concerns about the brevity, fragmentation, and, therefore, coherence of the curriculum draft as released on 3 February 2021. This Report identifies those difficulties and offers suggestions as to how the draft could be revised in ways that would strengthen the introduction of Aotearoa New Zealand's Histories to schools and assist teachers, schools, and Boards of Trustees to design local curriculum taught in schools, noting the 'local aspirations, students' strength and needs'.<sup>6</sup> The Panel does so in a spirit of constructive commentary.

<sup>2</sup> Charlotte Macdonald, 'Think you know your stuff? Test yourself', *Dominion Post*, 8 February 2019, <https://www.wgtn.ac.nz/news/2019/02/think-you-know-your-stuff-test-yourself>;

Mark Sheehan and Graeme Ball, 'Teaching and learning New Zealand's difficult histories', *New Zealand Journal of History*, 54: 1 (April 2020), 51–68. Jim McAloon, "'Give us our history': In support of history teachers", *New Zealand Journal of History*, 54: 1 (April 2020), 49–50 and other articles in this issue.

See also Rachel Patrick, 'Teaching the storied past: History in New Zealand primary schools 1900–1940', MA thesis, University of Melbourne, 2009 (open access) at: <https://minerva-access.unimelb.edu.au/handle/11343/35292>;

Michael Edward Harcourt, 'Teaching and learning New Zealand's difficult history of colonisation in secondary school contexts', PhD thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 2020 (open access) at: [https://researcharchive.vuw.ac.nz/xmlui/bitstream/handle/10063/9109/thesis\\_access.pdf?sequence=](https://researcharchive.vuw.ac.nz/xmlui/bitstream/handle/10063/9109/thesis_access.pdf?sequence=);

Damon Salesa, *Island time: New Zealand's Pacific futures*, Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 2017;

Tipene O'Regan, 'Old myths and new politics. Some contemporary uses of traditional history', *New Zealand Journal of History*, 26: 1 (1992) 5–27, and anthologised in Judith Binney, ed, *The shaping of history. Essays from the New Zealand Journal of History*, Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 2001;

See 1980s' work on curriculum – for 5th, 6th and 7th forms, now Years 11–13.

See also the work of W. H. Oliver and Keith Sinclair and others in the 'New Zealand Profiles' series published by A. H. & A. W. Reed, as School readers in the 1960s–70s. One of these titles appears in Appendix 1: Keith Sinclair, *William Pember Reeves*, A. H. & A. W. Reed, Wellington, Auckland, Sydney, Melbourne, 1969;

Michael King, *The Penguin History of New Zealand*, Penguin Books, Auckland, 2003, met with great appetite from the New Zealand public: sales figures are in the tens of thousands and the work has been continuously in print.

<sup>3</sup> *The New Zealand Curriculum*, as cited in the one-page information sheet on <https://www.education.govt.nz/our-work/changes-in-education/aotearoa-new-zealand-histories-in-our-national-curriculum/>.

<sup>4</sup> Ministry of Education to Te Apārangi Royal Society, 7 May 2021.

<sup>5</sup> NZ history to be taught in all schools, 12 September 2019, <https://www.beehive.govt.nz/release/nz-history-be-taught-all-schools>.

<sup>6</sup> Ministry of Education to Te Apārangi Royal Society, 7 May 2021.

## Coverage and coherence

The 3 February draft curriculum revolves around three big ideas [Understand].

- Māori history is the foundational and continuous history of Aotearoa New Zealand.
- Colonisation and its consequences have been central to our history for the past 200 years and continue to influence all aspects of New Zealand society.
- The course of Aotearoa New Zealand's history has been shaped by the exercise and effects of power.

These have been elaborated over three national contexts, and rohe and local contexts [Know].

These are articulated in terms that are extremely broad and remain very abstract.

The general nature of these terms puts them at a distance from the people, places, times, and change over time that make up the dynamic narratives of histories in these islands. The curriculum document notes that the Histories component will 'focus on stories of interactions across time that connect us to one another and to place' [p.2]. We would like to see more of that carried through in the substance of the curriculum.

In the very broad terms in which the curriculum has now been rendered, it is difficult to clearly locate the seven indicative themes identified for the content of Histories in schools, let alone a range of other topics and themes the Panel regard as vital in conveying a cohesive and engaging study of Aotearoa New Zealand's past. Indeed, considerable content and coherence has been lost by the collapse of these themes into such broad contexts. In terms of the overarching ideas (Understand, p.2), there is little sense that Aotearoa New Zealand's Histories have been played out in connection with, and as part of, a wider world. This is a serious omission.

Reducing the content of the curriculum has led to the exclusion of many key aspects of New Zealand history, which we would expect to be included in a national curriculum for the twenty-first century. It has also led to some confusing juxtapositions of content, which has been forced into inappropriate locations. For example, 'International Conflict' is grouped with 'Migration and Mobility' and 'Identity'. What are very substantial topics are reduced to single lines.

## Taking these points in turn:

While no curriculum can be comprehensive in telling all of Aotearoa New Zealand's histories, the effect of overly compacting the curriculum has led to major gaps, which in turn may make a good deal of the existing content partial or even incomprehensible.

**The seven key theme areas announced in September 2019 were:**

1. the arrival of Māori to Aotearoa New Zealand
2. first encounters and early colonial history of Aotearoa New Zealand
3. Te Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty of Waitangi and its history
4. colonisation of, and immigration to, Aotearoa New Zealand, including the New Zealand Wars
5. evolving national identity of Aotearoa New Zealand in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries
6. Aotearoa New Zealand's role in the Pacific
7. Aotearoa New Zealand in the late twentieth century and evolution of a national identity with cultural plurality.

The 3 February draft has almost nothing on topics two and seven. The deletion of the 'contact period' (c.1769–1840), particularly as it relates to Māori innovation and exploration of the world beyond Aotearoa, the role of missionaries, Christianity, literacy in te reo, and the utilisation of introduced military technology and new agricultural resources, are critical to understanding the Treaty of Waitangi and what comes after it. This period also represents a distinctive and crucial lengthy period of interaction before a formalised colonial relationship.

When the Prime Minister announced in September 2019 that the country would be adopting a new history curriculum, the Minister of Education, Chris Hipkins, commented that:

**Our diversity is our strength, but only when we build connections to each other. We can move forward together, stronger when we understand the many paths our ancestors walked to bring us to today.<sup>7</sup>**

This emphasis on diversity in the experience of different groups within New Zealand is a key component of the Social Sciences curriculum (within which this new Histories curriculum is situated).

Much diversity has been lost in the attempt to reduce the curriculum into a compact document. While there are some specific references to 'migrants from different periods in our history', and to 'the origin and settlement stories of particular groups who have moved to Aotearoa New Zealand', the curriculum does not specifically recognise the diversity of New Zealand society and the very different experiences based on ethnicity, gender, religion, or social status. Aotearoa New Zealand's society has also come to include migrants and ancestries from English, Irish, and Scots origins; those from Dalmatia, Bohemia, Scandinavia, and Croatia; Jews and other Europeans; the different

<sup>7</sup> NZ history to be taught in all schools, 12 September 2019, <https://www.beehive.govt.nz/release/nz-history-be-taught-all-schools>.

waves of Chinese and Indian migrants; and the specific experience of Samoans, Tongans, Niueans, Tokelauans, and other Pacific peoples. It includes refugees from Poland, Hungary, Cambodia, Vietnam, Africa, and the Middle East. It is, in our view, critical that *all* New Zealand children and young people see their own histories explicitly identified in the curriculum. It would, for instance, be possible to deliver this curriculum without necessarily specifically identifying the experiences of Chinese migrants, refugees, or the variety of different Pacific peoples who have made their way to Aotearoa New Zealand at different times, and who have been central participants in its society and economy.

Coverage of diversity may be what is *intended* in or by the curriculum, but the way it is currently written does not capture that intent. This is important, given the dramatic changes in the make-up of Aotearoa New Zealand, especially since the 1980s.

In a country where there have been, and continue to be, high levels of intermarriage and exchange across ethnic, social, and religious boundaries, the curriculum emphasises migration experiences and immigration policy at the expense of covering how Aotearoa New Zealand society was changed by the arrival of these waves of migrants. Groups appear to be identified by ethnicity on their arrival, but there is little recognition of the whakapapa relationships that are formed here, the transformation that takes place through interactions within social groups, and with Aotearoa New Zealand's environment, economy, and political systems.

Relationships, interactions, and exchanges between peoples, which make up a large part of the drama and action of history, are lost. More specificity about the range of peoples who have together made Aotearoa New Zealand, and how they relate to each other, and form and re-form communities, would enliven and populate the curriculum. Students from a variety of backgrounds should be able to find something to relate to their personal history. Too often, history in this curriculum is what is done to people – often by impersonal forces. There is not enough about how people lived their lives in good times and in bad, and faced joys and adversities, in ways that can engage us today, while also showing the difference between then and now.

Community formation introduces students to the importance of change over time. It also potentially creates the opportunity for more students to imagine a range of spaces for themselves in narratives of New Zealand history. That emphasis could potentially put the nation more firmly in its place – as one community and source of social identification among a host of others. It also opens up the key question of the inter-relationship between conflict and community, a theme that is surely central if we are to understand the impact of war, the significance of social movements, cultural change, and the evolution of our political system.

As a result of compressing the curriculum, major topics are missing or very lightly covered. For example:

- The current draft says relatively little about the twentieth century
- Women's history and wāhine Māori are only explicitly included in their relationship to political campaigning, which only implicitly includes the suffrage movement. There is nothing about the changing shape of gender in the life of Aotearoa New Zealand – in how society is organised, in the lives of women and men, or in identities.
- Welfare history is very generally mentioned only in tandem with electoral rights and the general role of the State.

- Despite the prominence given to Māori history, there is a 600-year gap between the arrival of Māori and the arrival of Europeans. It is almost as if Māori arrive in New Zealand and become instantly the victims of colonialism.
- Labour history is only included as a form of political action forcing the 'State to act'. The assumption is that the State's action recognised workers' rights, a conclusion at odds with the experience of 1890, 1912–13, and 1951. There is nothing about work or the place of unions, or the role that conciliation and arbitration played in managing labour markets for over a century.
- Economic activity as a driver of New Zealand history is largely absent. For example, the curriculum identifies environmental change (Years 4–6) as being the result of 'different values and cultures that sometimes coincided and sometimes clashed'. Surely, economic opportunities and stresses were more significant causes for environmental change. New Zealand's welfare measures from 1938 to 1984 can only be understood alongside the policy of protection, which in turn influenced migration policies, which then provided the context for migration of Pacific peoples from the 1940s to the 1970s.
- Inequality and poverty, and attempts to alleviate or eliminate it: Aotearoa New Zealand has experienced different levels of wealth and inequality. Conflict over inequality has been one of the most significant aspects of political life in New Zealand history since at least the 1880s.
- Disease and demographic history is completely absent. Thus, the impact of introduced diseases on the Māori population in the nineteenth century and its demographic recovery in the twentieth is excluded. It ignores the impact of dramatic reductions in fertility, infant mortality, and extended life expectancies on New Zealand society and their gendered dimension. It fails to place the current pandemic in historical context. What has been the impact of major diseases such as tuberculosis and polio on New Zealand society? How did rehabilitation after World War I and World War II advance medical treatment, and why is New Zealand the only country that has an ACC scheme to deal with injury and accident at home, on sports fields and at work? What is the legal and social distinctiveness of this system?
- Political conflict is included in several aspects of the curriculum, but the constitutional (other than franchise) and political frameworks for understanding these debates are missing. Such a framework would include the development of political parties and what they stand for, the shift from Crown colony to parliamentary government, provincialism and its demise, the piecemeal moves to independence from Britain, human rights legislation, and how Māori have related to all these changes and have developed separate political institutions.
- New Zealand's role in international relations is also absent. This includes its status within the British Empire, its progressive reputation for women's franchise and arbitration and conciliation, its developing alliances with the United States after World War II, and its anti-nuclear stance.
- Popular culture, the most easily accessible expression of identity, is also missing.

While all these topics cannot be included in detail, some of them are so essential to understanding those that are, particularly those that relate to economic and demographic change, that not to include them seriously compromises the proposed curriculum as a whole. The inclusion of many of these topics also has the potential to create a more lively curriculum for many students and young people.

## Aotearoa New Zealand: connected and connecting to the world

The global and interconnected nature of Aotearoa New Zealand's Histories is critical to understanding almost every aspect of our past. People have been actors on a historical stage that extends far beyond these islands.

A fourth big idea that could usefully be brought into the curriculum is:

**The course of Aotearoa New Zealand's history has been shaped by the movement of peoples, ideas, technologies and institutions across national territories and boundaries.<sup>8</sup>**

The examples are multiple and sustained over time. Te Pahi and Hongi Hika were only the most prominent of a number of Māori in Sydney and London in the first decades of the nineteenth century. New Zealanders (Māori and Pākehā) have long formed part of Sydney's population, and trade circuits took seals and whales from New Zealand coasts to China and the eastern coasts of the United States. Māori developed extensive networks of agricultural production across Aotearoa New Zealand to meet the demand for food for the Victorian gold rush in the 1850s. Mary Ann Müller corresponded with John Stuart Mill from Blenheim in the 1860s.



**Banjo player, Hosea Easton, at the home of William and Lydia Williams, Carlyle Street, Napier.**  
Williams, Edgar Richard, 1891–1983: Ref: 1/1-025620-G. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. /records/22311733

Ideas that have been important here have also had a larger ambit – whether those are the ideas of Christianity brought to New Zealand from Sydney (Marsden), England (Church Missionary Society, Wesleyan Missionary Society, Church of England through Bishop George Selwyn), Lyons (Jean-Baptiste Pompallier and Suzanne Aubert and French Catholicism), North Germany (Johann Wohlers, J. F. Riemenschneider et al., Lutheran mission societies), Michigan and Utah (Mormons), or the darker and, in our view, repugnant notions of anti-Chinese sentiments so strongly in circulation in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that were common across Pacific Rim settler societies.

Environmental and economic change were driven by changing consumer demand for the country's resources, from sealing in the early nineteenth century to Hollywood films in the twenty-first century. Technological innovation went hand in hand with economic transformations, for example refrigeration, steam shipping and railways, air travel, and digitalisation.

Three examples further illustrate the vital significance of this point and how it animates history in these islands. These are not the exceptions, but part of the constant and multiple forms of global connection for Aotearoa New Zealand and its peoples: African American Hosea Easton, playing and giving banjo lessons in Napier in c.1888; and the three Māori women – Kiri Matao, Waapi, and Erana – who appeared on the Carnegie Hall stage, New York, on 25 October 1909 with Emmeline Pankhurst, at a massive rally in support of women's suffrage. On the New York stage, and to the even larger newspaper readership, the three women (part of a larger touring party) were living evidence of a country where women had gained and exercised the vote – a lesson to political establishments on both sides of the Atlantic.

The third example is that of Lydia Harvey, whose dramatic history has just appeared in Julia Laite's newly published book, *The Disappearance of Lydia Harvey*.<sup>9</sup> Lydia Harvey grew up in a cash-strapped household in Oamaru. By the time she had turned 16 years old, she had a job working in a photographic shop in Wellington. It was 1910. But she abruptly left the boardinghouse where she lived to take a passage to Buenos Aires, and then on to London with a couple who had befriended her with offers of opportunities to see the world. 'Six harrowing months later', Lydia was found 'shivering in a hand-me-down dress' trying to solicit custom on a London street.<sup>10</sup> She was soon under the 'protection' of the police and authorities who saw her as a victim of what was understood at the time as a worldwide trade in 'white slavery'.

Laite's discussion of Lydia Harvey's history is a vivid example of the high mobility of people in the early twentieth century, including working-class teens from a provincial town, but also a very careful and enticing presentation of the craft of history, historical investigation, and interpretation. Lydia Harvey was sent back to New Zealand, where she lived out her life after a highly public trial of those identified and charged with her trafficking.

<sup>8</sup> This idea was part of an earlier draft of the curriculum viewed by the Panel in late 2020.

<sup>9</sup> Julia Laite, *The Disappearance of Lydia Harvey. A true story of sex, crime and the meaning of justice*, Profile Books, London, 2021.

<sup>10</sup> Laite, 3.



Report of the Carnegie Hall meeting at which Kiri Matao, Waapi and Erana appeared alongside Emmeline Pankhurst on 25 October 1909, New York Times, 26 Oct 1909

Laité notes: 'Lydia Harvey has almost disappeared from the historical record. After the trial was over, she was sent home. Her New Zealand-bound steamship travelled down the Thames and out of sight, and she slipped off the archive page. The police officers signed off on their final reports; the newspapers reported the trial's outcome; her traffickers, once they had served their time, melted back into the underworld; and Lydia's grateful letters to her social worker dried up. For the historian, that would usually be where her story would end: a useful illustration, an anecdote, a glimpse of a life we could not know beyond the archive file in which we found her, its pages crumbling at the edge.'<sup>11</sup> But this is not the end, and Laité shows how a wider vision of the past can put us in touch with the strangeness and humanity of our forebears, and make the practice of history so compelling. Instead of ending as it might have done, Laité sets out her purpose as follows:

'This book starts with the presumption that her [Lydia Harvey's] life, as well as the lives of those who trafficked her, those who investigated the case, those who helped her and those who told her story, deserve histories of their own. It insists that these small histories can tell us just as much, if not more, about the early twentieth-century world as those sweeping histories that dominate our bookshelves ... And it shows how breathtakingly human such stories can be.'<sup>12</sup>

## How we know: History involves skills and evidence

[Do: inquiry practices, pp.2,7]

We commend the curriculum's attempt to provide children and young people with an understanding of skills used in gathering and interpreting sources in creating the narratives of the past. However, there are major limitations that need addressing to better align the 'Do' sections with the methods of History as a subject of study.

While the curriculum rightly emphasises that there are multiple narratives, there is no attention to the key skill historians practise: that of assessing evidence. In order to compose a 'frame of reference', historians have to assess which evidence is strong and which is weak. Evidence can take many forms (including mātauranga Māori evidence) but it is what anchors knowing and narrating the past.

Under 'Do', for example, a key action is described as the ability to tell a story 'using an appropriate frame of reference' (Years 1-3), and at higher levels there is acknowledgement of the possibility of a 'different frame of reference'. That is a risk if a 'frame of reference' might be the erroneous idea that all Māori arrived in New Zealand on a particular day, or the Elsdon Best/Percy Smith ideas of Aryan origins of Māori, or W. P. Reeves' remark that the New Zealand Parliament enfranchised women of its own volition, or a multitude of other notions that continue to circulate and are all too easily discovered in unguided internet searching. Or, worse, if a 'frame of reference' might be white supremacy.

<sup>11</sup> Laité, 6-7.  
<sup>12</sup> Laité, 6.

It is important that students do respect the certainty of historical events: General Cameron did lead troops across the Mangatāwhiri stream in July 1863, New Zealand was a signatory to the ANZUS Treaty in 1951, the Māori Land March did take place in September/October 1975, the initial years of the Waitangi Tribunal did not enable investigation of claims relating to events before 1975. These are events anchored in the evidence of time and place.

In an age of fake news and fake history, students should be able to not only know that histories can come from contested frames of reference, but be able to test alternative narratives on the basis of the evidence they use and the conclusions they draw from them. It is vital that students are introduced to the richness and strangeness of the past and that they have the chance to explore it, learn how to use different types of evidence, and how to build arguments and express those in writing or verbally.

## History as open inquiry

Rather than develop a curriculum that is based on a series of explorations asking questions and developing student skills as enquirers and investigators, the curriculum often presents a series of conclusions to be demonstrated. This approach has risks. These curriculum statements may be incorrect, misleading, contested, or made redundant by later scholarship.

The approach is rather closed and didactic and is in real tension with the emphasis on local histories, which of course frequently diverge from any imagined 'national pattern'.

The curriculum draft, as it currently stands, directs students to judge the past, before allowing them to ask questions, explore, and find out what that past was. These are key steps towards building historical understanding. Knowing is itself a powerful outcome, and is a critical step towards any further understanding. Allowing, and indeed encouraging, students to explore histories also makes the subject more appealing, rather than leading them down a sequence where there is only one conclusion and/or where the outcome is predetermined.

Under 'Migration and mobility' [p.4] for example, we need to know who the different groups were who came to Aotearoa New Zealand, when they came, and in what conditions, in order to understand why they were treated differently. Under 'Identity', the notion of 'stereotypes' signals something that is negative, but there is no indication of who or what is purposefully 'constructing 'New Zealand'.

Under 'Know: Migration and Mobility', students are expected to learn 'a history of selective and discriminatory practices' without any link to what those histories of migration were and how they related to international contexts. It is important that students come to develop a rich sense of the histories of these islands and of the history as a practice itself.

The Panel has reservations about the third 'Do' practice, which makes 'ethical judgments concerning right and wrong' the ultimate stage in the interpretation of historical events.

## Colonisation means several things

[Idea 2, Understand]

Colonisation, as it appears in the curriculum, emphasises the meaning of the word, and its historical existence, as a power structure. That is important, and rightfully at the centre. Drivers of power that have origins in colonialism, such as race and racism, and the existence and nature of empire, could be usefully added to this aspect of the curriculum.

What is less present, yet of related and vital importance in understanding the history of Aotearoa New Zealand, is colonisation as it refers to the movement of people, and to organised plans of settlement. Using 'colonisation' for Pākehā settlement has the additional complication that it conflates a migration-related meaning with what is really intended in the curriculum, which is not so much migration as the nature, ideology, and processes of colonialism. Colonialism (and 'colonials'), not colonisation, is the predominant concern of the draft curriculum.

As Aotearoa New Zealand is a settler colony that takes a formal existence within the British Empire from 1840, it is this meaning of colonisation that needs also to be present: the process by which a large number of people, overwhelmingly, but far from exclusively, from the British Isles and Ireland arrived in Aotearoa New Zealand in the decades largely from 1840. That is a huge story of human experience, and of formative ideas that emerge from the political, industrial, and social revolutions from the late eighteenth century onwards – events that continue to shape the modern world (where 'modern' is taken to characterise the long span from the c.1780s into the late twentieth century, a period that is the context for Māori–European interaction).

This emigration of peoples to New Zealand formed part of the larger outflow of people from Europe, Britain, and Ireland to North America, Australasia, and other parts of the world. Absent from the curriculum, however, is the larger context of factors that drove this huge population movement.

There is a need to show the long period c.1760s–1840 before formal colonisation occurred, the debates around possible formal intervention in the 1830s, and Aotearoa New Zealand's interactions with other parts of the globe through this period: New South Wales, Van Diemens Land (Tasmania), the Pacific, western and eastern coasts of North America, and trade routes to China and India as well as Europe.

While government intentions in the nineteenth century were to create a British colony (though key advocacy was initially through a private entity, the New Zealand Company), the immigration schemes used to bring people to New Zealand were far more cosmopolitan and included Germans, Scandinavians, and Bohemians. Even the introduction of Chinese miners was deliberately orchestrated.

## Clarifying Idea 3 : what is meant here?

[Idea 3, Understand]

Big Idea 3: the wording of the second sentence is unclear to the Panel. A stronger formulation is required for conveying what is meant by 'Ideologies and beliefs, from within and beyond Aotearoa New Zealand, underpin expressions of power and resistance and insisting on rights and identity.'



## How has ‘New Zealand citizenship’ developed over time? What has ‘citizenship’ meant over time?

‘Critical citizenship’ is a key focus for the Social Science curriculum as a whole, within which the Histories curriculum is located [p.2]. The Aotearoa New Zealand Histories curriculum should provide students with knowledge about how that ‘citizenship’ was formed over time, and key changes it has undergone. What did Te Tiriti o Waitangi create in terms of ‘citizen’ rights or status (what did it mean for Māori to be granted the full rights and privileges of British subjects?), what was self government, how was it expressed in representative institutions, and what was the place of Māori within those institutions? Why were women (Māori and Pākehā) not generally included within such definitions? How was ownership of land connected to citizenship, and when did that cease to be so important as an eligibility for voting, yet of vital significance for Māori political interests? How did ‘citizenship’ alter in the transition from colony to dominion to nation?

When did a separate New Zealand citizenship emerge from a common British citizenship?  
When and why did New Zealand begin to issue its own passports to citizens?

What does the ‘rule of law’ have to do with citizenship? Where does New Zealand’s law come from and how is ‘the law’ put into action in courts, justice, police, and parliament (as the maker of statute law)?

What do things such as flags, currency, stamps, national anthems, and sports uniforms tell us about changing forms of citizenship?

How are citizenship rights created and denied (as in the decision in the early 1980s to disenfranchise New Zealand Samoan people)?

## State and government are not the same thing

‘The state and the people’ theme under Know: ‘Tino rangatiratanga me te kāwanatanga’ is seriously misleading in conflating ‘state’ and ‘government’. There is no single or stable ‘government’ that acts in the way suggested. Governments change every three years at the will of the voters, and often more frequently in the nineteenth century. Governments are actors, as well as acted upon. Some institutions, such as the Native/Māori Land Court, persist while governments change. Why is that?

Women’s suffrage seems to be signalled here under ‘voting rights’ (Years 7–8) and ‘actions of ... organisations of women and of wāhine Māori’ (Years 9–10) but it is not specified and is left for a teacher to discern. Yet New Zealand led the world with this action.

The expansion of suffrage is a highly important aspect of Aotearoa New Zealand’s past and deserves more prominence in the curriculum, as do the lives, existence, and experience of women as a whole. This appears to the Panel as an unacceptable absence (the 125th anniversary of women’s suffrage in 2018 might never have been, let alone the 1993 centennial, or the nearly 50 years of research since Patricia Grimshaw’s *Women’s Suffrage in New Zealand*).<sup>13</sup> Women are part of the history of this place and its people.

There is a danger that this curriculum’s definition of ‘national history’ relegates women to a silent and largely invisible place on the sidelines.

## The Pacific is more than a state relationship

Aotearoa’s relationships in the Pacific have been reduced to a much more limited domain of ‘The state and the Pacific’. New Zealand’s connections in the Pacific, and the Pacific’s connections with Aotearoa New Zealand, extend well beyond that formulation. There is a richer and wider story to be told, particularly if the diverse range of school students are to find their stories here. The theme is framed in terms that are reminiscent of research produced in the 1960s, rather than that of more recent scholarship, which recognises New Zealand’s Pacificness, the cultural importance of Māori–Pacific connections, the complex and shifting patterns of human mobility and cultural practices that have laced New Zealand and various Pacific communities together, and the pivotal importance of New Zealand’s imperial aspirations and empire-building in the Pacific (which is a long way from the rather anodyne formulation of a ‘role in the Pacific’).

‘Realm of New Zealand’ relationships (Years 7–8) make sense in reference to the recent past, but carry no meaning for the period before the ‘realm’ came into being. The Panel considers that the question under example Years 7–8, asking for comparison of processes by which the Cook Islands, Niue, and Tokelau came into the Realm, is too difficult at this level.

## Making Māori history ‘continuous’

The first big idea states that ‘Māori history forms a continuous thread, directly linking the contemporary world to the past’. Despite this, there is nothing more than fleeting interest in the greater part of Māori history, i.e. the 600 years of exclusive habitation prior to Pākehā settlement. This virtual absence of interest gives the impression that any Māori history worth knowing is that defined by the colonial preoccupations of Pākehā and their consequences up to the present.

Voyaging and migration continued after arrival in Aotearoa. Which iwi/hapū were located where and for how long varied continually in most districts. Tribal traditions describe substantial migrations throughout New Zealand, especially in the 16th to 18th centuries, with profound re-working of tribal authority at local and regional levels. This process is linked plausibly to regional differentiation in long-term population growth, resource depletion, movement of agricultural margins associated with climate change, exchange relationships linked to varying demand among commodities, and perhaps to increasing social stratification. There was also a period at the very beginning of Māori settlement when movement of people and goods was extraordinarily extensive as each arriving waka contributed a new group to find its place geographically and politically in the rapidly developing society, not to mention continuing migration into South Polynesia and beyond.

In short, for 600 years before the contact-and-colonial era, Māori were highly mobile, had connections that extended well beyond iwi/hapū boundaries, and were involved in large-scale environmental and demographic processes operating throughout New Zealand. The focus on local people is necessary and desirable, and also helpful pedagogically, but the larger frames of reference, including multi-iwi regions, Māori as a whole, and very long timescales, are equally necessary to understanding our history.

<sup>13</sup> Patricia Grimshaw, *Women’s Suffrage in New Zealand*, Auckland University Press/Oxford University Press, Auckland, 1972.

The long history of Māori/iwi in Aotearoa from first settlement to the late eighteenth century is barely touched on. There is growing evidence from which to tell this as a historical story (see Atholl Anderson in *Tangata Whenua: An illustrated history*, for example).<sup>14</sup>

## Māori voyaging and migration – uneven and incomplete

Under ‘Migration and mobility’ [p.4], there is a very uneven path set out: ‘Māori voyaged across the Pacific’ (some would say these people were ancestors of Māori). At Years 4–6 these people have become ‘Polynesian voyagers’, and by Years 7–8 we are at the mid-twentieth century (with no sense of time in between), or that Māori might have been in cities prior to this time – Māori were a major population in Wellington and in the 1840s–early 1850s’ history of Auckland Tāmaki Makarau, as examples.

Not only did substantial movements of people take place prior to the arrival of Europeans, but the musket wars (1810–20s) also led to dramatic shifts in location for many iwi.

After World War II, urbanisation was also shifting from tūrangawaewae to small towns, not just cities, from Te Hapua to Kaitaia for instance.

Suggesting that urbanisation led to ‘new approaches to being Māori while retaining connections to iwi values and practices’ glosses over a substantial debate over the extent to which rangatāhi were dislocated from tūrangawaewae and the extent to which urbanisation contributed to language loss. (See Melissa Matutina Williams’ work in *Panguru and the City*, and Patricia Grace, Jonathan Dennis, and Irihapeti Ramsden, *The Silent Migration*).<sup>15</sup>

## The New Zealand Wars and land loss

The government’s determination to introduce an Aotearoa New Zealand Histories Curriculum followed a spirited campaign, led by Ōtorohanga secondary students, to have the New Zealand Wars taught in a national curriculum. Locating the New Zealand Wars in a section relating to ‘land, water, and resources, and on the history of contests over their control, use, and protection’ implicitly defines these wars as Land Wars. Almost all historians since the 1960s have regarded the wars as being at least as much about the assertion of Crown sovereignty as the acquisition of land.<sup>16</sup> While the wars were extreme and inexcusable expressions of state power, the primary intent was not the acquisition of land (although that was not unimportant) but the determination to suppress Māori leaders and tribal and pan-tribal groups judged to be challenging the Queen’s authority.

Missing from the curriculum is the recognition that the vast majority of Māori land was acquired through some form of legal process, if sometimes perfunctory, involving purchase: Old Land Claims; Crown purchasing (1840–1865); and creating transferable titles through the Native Land Court (1862 onwards). Māori engagement with the law, use of the courts, petitions and changing relationships with governors and political leaders is ignored by too simplistic an understanding of colonisation and its impact.

In terms of acquiring land, and even in asserting sovereignty, there were significant limits on what the Crown was able to do and considerable political constraints on governments in their dealings with Māori. In New Zealand, legal processes prevailed, in contrast to Australia and many other places where aboriginal title could be disregarded. Even confiscation of Māori land involved a Compensation

Court to provide a legal process for the taking of ‘rebel’ land. When government did engage in military operations against Māori, it was often attacked by Europeans, such as at Waitara in 1860, when Bishop Selwyn, Chief Judge Martin, and Octavius Hadfield (and Sarah Selwyn, Mary Ann Martin, and Caroline Abraham) all campaigned vociferously about Governor Browne’s actions. The perspectives of those hapū and iwi who chose to align themselves with the Crown is also missing.

Wiremu Tamihana was a powerful actor in these events. His political vision and negotiation could be highlighted. There were alternative courses that might have been taken. Such alternatives expose the contingency of historical events, and offer hope for futures schoolchildren might imagine.

It is probably more constitutionally accurate to use the term ‘Crown’ rather than ‘Crown and settler government’, as at different times Colonial Secretaries rejected colonial legislation. Government policy to individualise tribal resources also continued long after New Zealand was technically no longer a colony (1907).

It should also be noted that the most significant pieces of legislation, the New Zealand Settlements Act and the Suppression of Rebellion Act, were passed in 1863 and the Native Land Acts of 1862 and 1863 were passed during rather than after the New Zealand Wars.

The draft curriculum mentions the Taranaki and Waikato wars, with Rangiaowhia and Ōrākau as examples under this topic [p.5]. The Panel is concerned that, while these are undoubtedly important, the mention of these examples will obscure other parts of this important history, such as the northern wars of the 1840s, Gate Pā – Pukehinahina, the events of the late 1860s, Parihaka, and armed invasion of Urewera in 1916. To identify some may be to lead to examples that become the total. The local histories here are very particular and will pose difficulties for some school communities, particularly in the South Island.

## Youth challenging norms

The idea of youth ‘challenging social norms’ is a prominent part of the outcomes to the end of Year 10, but does not connect with any other aspects of the curriculum. Young people taking an active role in political activity is something almost completely limited to the period after World War II, and mostly from the beginning of the 1960s. A rare example from an earlier period is the involvement of the Te Aute students (who became known as the Young Maori Party) in promoting health reforms.

Through behaviour, some groups, such as those described as larrikins, did challenge social norms, but for every larrikin there were many, many more enthusiastic attendees of Sunday schools. To look at the way young people debated and chose roles that challenged expectations for young men and young women can only be appreciated if we understand what these norms were in the first place. To do this, students would need to consider what it was like to be a young person and how this changed over time. This would have been a more appropriate topic in itself.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Atholl Anderson, Judith Binney, and Aroha Harris, *Tangata Whenua: An illustrated history*, Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 2014.

<sup>15</sup> Melissa Matutina Williams, *Panguru and the city: Kāinga Tahī, Kāinga Rua*, Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 2015; Patricia Grace, Jonathan Dennis, and Irihapeti Ramsden, *The Silent Migration: Ngāti Pōneke Young Māori Club, 1837–1948: Stories of urban migration*, Huia Publishers, Wellington, 2001.

<sup>16</sup> See for instance, Alan D. Ward, ‘The origins of the Anglo-Māori Wars: A reconsideration,’ *New Zealand Journal of History* 1: 2 (1967); James Belich, *The New Zealand Wars and the Victorian interpretation of racial conflict*, Auckland University Press, Auckland, 1986.

<sup>17</sup> Chris Brickell is just one of a number of historians who has written very productively about the history of ‘young people’ and youth culture across New Zealand history. For example: Chris Brickell, *Teenagers: The rise of youth culture in New Zealand*. Auckland University Press, Auckland, 2017.

## The Waitangi Tribunal

While Waitangi Tribunal investigations and Treaty settlements have led to 'economic, political, social, and cultural growth for iwi', this has not been the experience of all. Settlements have also been a source of conflict within and between iwi. The extent to which the size of settlements compares with the resources lost remains a source of controversy. All settlements should not be treated as the same.

## Clarifying the role of examples that appear under 'Examples of questions to guide inquiry'

The role – and risk – of examples. The curriculum identifies some particular events and subjects in what is largely a highly general description. There is a danger that these specifically named examples become the sole examples.

## History can hurt: taking care of students and sites

In putting the curriculum into action in schools, care will need to be taken to recognise that History can hurt. The discovery of events in the past, and connections with people and places, can impinge directly on current lives. With site visits to waahi tapu, for example, provision should be made to ensure the cultural safety of Māori students especially through adherence to appropriate protocols (karakia, water, etc.) While site visits have a lasting impact on children and young people's learning, there are significant risks to the sites themselves if they suddenly become points of pilgrimage for vast numbers of children and young people and their teachers.

Students learning about the loss of the Ventnor, which sank off the Hokianga coast in 1902 with the remains of 499 Chinese on their way home for burial, may well discover a personal connection and be disturbed by the loss and discovery of human remains. In sites where loss of life and land has taken place, and in learning about legislation that diminished people (the poll tax, for example), there can be hurt extending over time and generations. Similarly, there can be different meanings for loss. We are familiar with war deaths (especially in the twentieth century) being remembered in prominent war memorials, or through the laying of poppies on war graves in cemeteries, but how have we remembered the deaths of many women in childbirth, or the deaths from disease of events such as the 1918 Influenza Pandemic (9,000 New Zealand people died in under six weeks)?

By its very nature, history in a society shaped by empire and colonialism is going to require scholars, teachers, and students to engage with a range of materials that represent past events and actors whose values and actions are often far removed from current values. In the current cultural context, some students can find this challenging and frame this in terms of trauma. More significantly still, thinking historically in the wake of empire often entails encountering, thinking about, and discussing cross-cultural conflict, violence of various sorts, the alienation of sovereignty, land, resources, and racism. There are real pedagogical challenges in exploring these dynamics and teaching these histories requires careful planning and framing in the classroom. We need to recognise that some teachers are anxious about how best to design activities and moderate classroom discussions that deal with these weighty histories, but which also avoid creating pain and conflict. History can embitter and create division, whereas the Panel would wish that the teaching of history could create greater understanding and cooperation. How it is taught is crucial to which outcome emerges.

## Resources needed

The curriculum leaves much for schools to develop, especially in regard to the rohe/local contexts. It is vital that schools and teachers are adequately resourced to enable this to occur. Many local groups – iwi, museums, etc. – have very limited or non-existent funding and rely on the work of volunteers. Their capacity to assist schools may be constrained. Not all local histories are easy or agreed ones – schools may find themselves in awkward navigations between groups in their own communities.

## Conclusion

The Aotearoa New Zealand Histories draft will make a significant contribution to providing children and young people with historical knowledge that has an intrinsic value in and of itself, as well as providing an informed knowledge of the past that they, as active citizens, can apply in debates in the present. The curriculum gives an introduction to the diversity of New Zealand's past and its present, and acknowledges the central place of Māori history in Aotearoa New Zealand in that history. It also recognises the diverse experience of iwi and hapū. The curriculum gives historical context to contemporary demands for mana Māori motuhake and mātauranga Māori. It also allows children and young people to engage with some of New Zealand's difficult histories. The curriculum includes an introduction to New Zealand's role in the Pacific. Environmental history will help inform current decisions about climate change and sustainability.

However, there are also significant gaps that should be addressed. More attention needs to be given to the skills used by historians to assess the value of evidence.

Aotearoa New Zealand's responses to environmental challenges inevitably require a series of economic choices. Economic change and new technology are not new and they have driven social, environmental, and colonising forces in the past. That experience is critical to debating economic and environmental priorities in the present. Understanding the influence of global currents in ideas, imported technologies, changing markets, and international conflicts requires an understanding of these influences on Aotearoa New Zealand's past.

Active citizenship requires a sense of inclusion in an increasingly diverse society. First and foremost, Māori must be acknowledged as tangata whenua. Aotearoa New Zealand's society also has come to include migrants and ancestries from English, Irish, and Scots origins, as well as those from across Europe, the Middle East, Asia, Africa, and the Pacific. These people have come to Aotearoa New Zealand in different waves of migration or as refugees. The curriculum needs to include those from a range of different communities across the globe who have made Aotearoa New Zealand home in recent decades. Women's experience and contribution needs far more prominence. Other forms of identity need to be also recognised, including those relating to class, religion, disability, and gender.

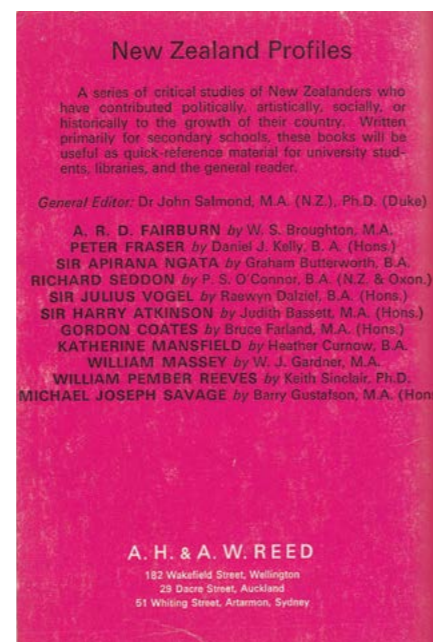
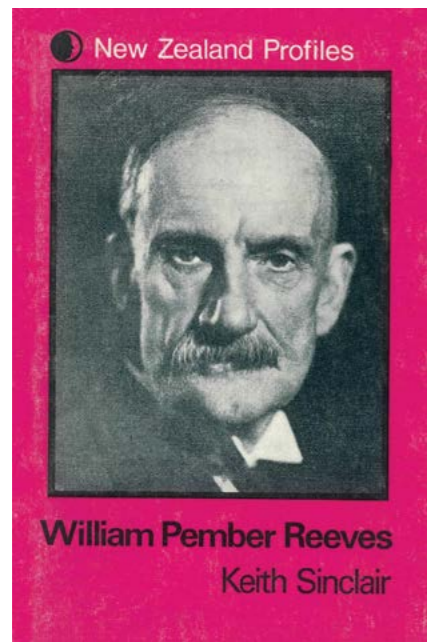
Inclusion does not simply require an understanding of the unique experiences of different migrant communities, but understanding of their relationships with each other and the communities they form together occupying the same places.

The drama and constantly changing nature of the circumstances in which people in Aotearoa New Zealand lived their lives is at the heart of an exciting History curriculum. How people navigated the constraints and opportunities of their times, and the meaning we make in the present about those who are both linked to us yet distanced by time, should lie at the heart of a powerful curriculum.

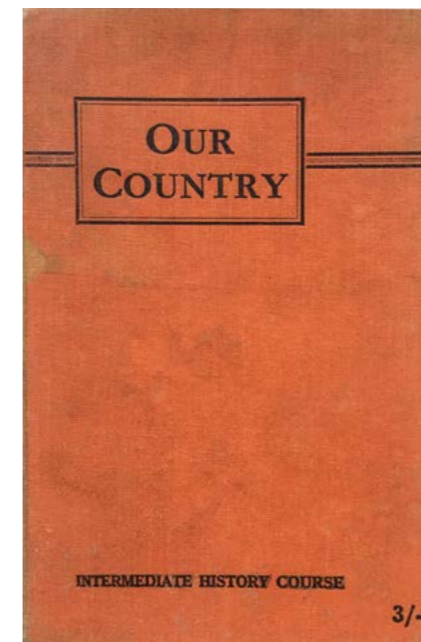
## Appendix 1: History teaching has its own history

A. Keith Sinclair, *William Pember Reeves*, New Zealand Profiles series, A. H. & A. W. Reed, Wellington, Auckland, Sydney, Melbourne, 1969.

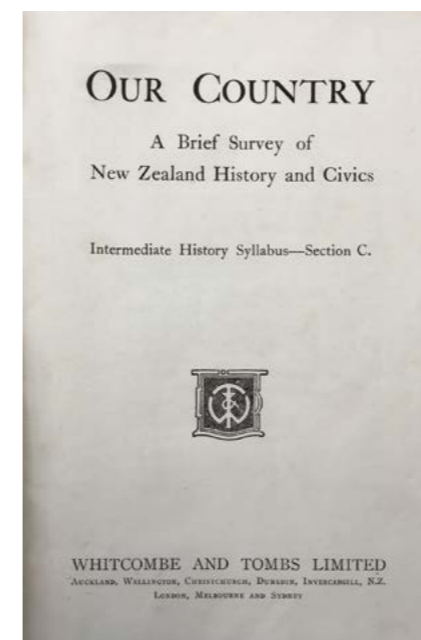
One of the titles published in the 'New Zealand Profiles' series by A. H. & A. W. Reed in the 1960s to support the New Zealand content in the school History curriculum.



B. K. C. McDonald, *Our country: A brief survey of New Zealand history and civics*, Whitcombe and Tombs, Auckland, 1937 and subsequent editions (latest identified to date, 1960). This volume is marked as intended for use with 'Intermediate History Syllabus – Section C.'



Chapter	Page
I. The Foundation of the Colony	5
II. Crown Colony Period	21
III. Provincial Government, 1853-1876	49
IV. The Maori Wars	68
V. How We Are Governed	83
VI. Hard Times, 1876-1891	95
VII. The Rule of the Liberals, 1891-1912	110
VIII. The Last Generation	129
IX. New Zealand and the Empire	141
X. New Zealand and the Pacific	154
Appendices—	
Text of the Treaty of Waitangi	175
Men of Mark in New Zealand	177
Time Chart, 1840-1936	195
Successive Prime Ministers	197
Vice-Regal Representatives	198
Questions	199
Suggestions for Projects	206
Index	212





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11 Turnbull Street,  
Thorndon, Wellington 6011  
PO Box 598, Wellington 6140,  
New Zealand

**Email** [info@royalsociety.org.nz](mailto:info@royalsociety.org.nz)



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