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Identity, Knowledge, and Curriculum:
A Sociological Study of Ethnicity in New Zealand Education

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Abstract

The purpose of this study is to examine and explain the way in which New Zealand education policy requires that student identity is acknowledged and affirmed. The research focusses on two areas. The first focus is within the area of policy specifically the New Zealand national curriculum, which sets out directives, principles, values, and goals for all students and also school level policy, which targets the educational achievement of two selected ethnic minority groups – *Ka Hikitia* for Maori students and *The Pasifika Education Plan* for students with Pacific Island heritages.

The study establishes a difference between the type of identity encoded at the policy level and that which is decoded at the level of practice. Bernstein's (2000) concept of recontextualisation is used to theorise this difference as it occurs in the space created when the discourse of identity is moved from its site of origin in national policy to school policy and then to the pedagogical site of school practice. An analysis of teachers' discourse of how they enact the curriculum 'identity directive' indicates that their practice is largely based on a culturalist ideology. In contrast, an analysis of policy shows a coupling of neoliberal and culturalist ideologies in order to accommodate the educational goals of achievement and identity affirmation. I argue that this accommodation has implications for the type of knowledge taught at school. That is, the knowledge students have access to is largely determined by how they are ethnically identified. In other words, what they learn is determined by who they are perceived to be.

A more abstracted level of theorisation is possible by locating the study within the sociology of education. At this level, the study is about the relationship between the individual and the social group. The ideologies of neoliberalism and culturalism have influenced the type of relationship promoted at school. The former seeks to distance the individual from the social group, the latter to attach the individual to the social group. However, these ideologies are not the only ontological directions available to education today. I conclude with a call for a return to a liberal humanist education; one that requires both the individualising and socialising functions of modern education described by Durkheim (1971).

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Prolegomenon: Curating the Collection

“The curator makes decisions regarding what objects to select, oversees their potential and documentation, conducts research based on the collection and history . . . and shares that research with the public and community through exhibitions and publications”

(Curator, 2017)

This thesis started with a personal curiosity that Herberg (1955) describes as the aching question of modernity: Who am I? As a person with a mixed ethnic heritage, this question is of particular interest to me on a number of levels, not least of which is that throughout my life, this question is related to one that I have been asked by others: ‘What are you?’

It has always been a difficult question to answer. Before answering, I have had to consider what I am actually being asked. Does the asker want to know what is the same or different about me? I invariably interpret this as a question about ethnicity. My answer has been variable depending upon where I am in the world and who is doing the asking. If I am asked by a non-Samoan in New Zealand, I usually answer, “I am Samoan”. If I am asked by a Samoan in New Zealand, my answer is “My father is Samoan and my mother is palagi¹”. If I am asked when overseas, I answer, “I am a New Zealander” but if the asker is a Samoan, I answer, “I am a New Zealander, but my father is Samoan”. Each of these replies is generally acceptable, though there have been the odd occasions when they have not. These include the time I told a Samoan student, when I was an undergraduate at a Hawaiian university, that while I was from New Zealand, I was not Maori (as he had assumed), but I was Samoan. When he learned that I could not speak Samoan, he was vociferous in his claims that I could not call myself Samoan, even if my father

¹ A white person.

was a matai², if I could not speak the language. I was equally vociferous in my response that he could not change my heritage based on his opinion.

For me, the question of identity has always been conditional on the context, rather than my sense of self. I simply chose to acknowledge or share those aspects of my identity that seem relevant at that point in time or space. At times, my sense of self has been sufficiently strong enough to take control of choosing my identity or the way I connect with others as in the experience described above. However, I have not always had sufficient strength in my sense of self to make that choice. There have been times when my identity has been chosen for me. I recall such a time, when I was ‘driven’ to choose how I should identify. I share it here to illustrate the difference between ‘sense of self’ or ‘selfhood’ and ‘identity’. The ‘sense of self’ is the extent of autonomy where a person chooses to identify with a community. The sense of self has to be sufficiently strong for the person to take control of driving the identity, rather than it being driven for them.

While training to be a teacher in the 1970s, I had the opportunity to participate in a noho marae³ at a prominent marae in Northland. A group of around 20 teacher-trainees (as we were known at that time) slept in the whare whakairo⁴ and were hosted by the local hapu⁵. We were given lectures about local customs and protocols. We also engaged in informal conversations with our local hosts. During one conversation, my friend and I were sitting around the table in the kitchen of the marae. Our host asked us, “What is your background?” My friend and I automatically assumed we were being asked about our ethnicity. My friend, very proudly replied “I am part Maori.” Before she could add any further, she was interrupted by our host who explained in a kind voice, “You cannot say you are part Maori. You are either Maori or not”. He went on to explain that position. When it came to my turn to reply, I answered with the only answer possible: “I am Samoan”. I have shared and reflected upon this experience many times in the

² A Samoan chiefly title.

³ A noho marae is a ‘sleepover’ at the traditional meeting place of a Maori community. It provides the opportunity to become immersed in Maori experiences, knowledge and protocols.

⁴ Carved meeting house

⁵ A sub-tribe of Maori from the local area.

intervening years and have come to the understand that which I did not realise at the time: my host had become the identifier, and I was identified!

These reflections on my personal experiences have a purpose. As a child, I understood and accepted that I was 'different'. As an adult, my identity has become more indefinite and slippery. As an educator, I have always been deeply interested in the role I could play as a teacher who understood the experiences of children who were seen in terms of their ethnic identity. However, as a researcher, my interest was stimulated by the rather sudden appearance of 'identity' in the curriculum statements released as part of the curriculum reform of the 1990s. What did this inclusion mean? What did the inclusion of identity mean for teachers who may have little interest in their students' identity? And, ultimately, who is doing the identification?

This thesis is a collection of published works and thesis chapters that have emerged as a result of this curiosity. The collection is part of a journey characterised by twists and turns that accompany the finding of established theory and research, investigating policy and practice, and the inevitable deepening of knowledge and theorising that is part of any research project.

I have taken on a dual role: that of curator and researcher. As the curator, I have collected a set of artefacts for this 'exhibition'. These include three sole authored articles. Each of these publications are complete works in their own right, but also have a contribution to make to this collection, which documents my intellectual journey related to understanding identity in educational policy and practice. Four further chapters written specifically for the thesis have been added to the collection: an introduction, two chapters that analyse and interpret empirical data, and an account of a co-authored chapter in an edited book. I have documented their selection for the collection in explanatory interludes, such as this prolegomenon. These serve as the 'explanatory label' that usually accompany artefacts in a collection. I do this in order to share with the reader their context and contribution to the collection. Each artefact captures a point of significance in understanding the relationship between identity and curriculum.

In describing my personal curiosity that set me on this journey, I declare the subjectivity with which I started. As my understanding developed and the study deepened over time, I wrestled with ideas or concepts that allowed me to become separated from my experiences. The concept of 'knowledge' itself was one that allowed me to begin the process of separation. Knowledge was deeply implicated in the relationship between identity and curriculum. The relationship between these three components became the object of my thoughts.

Where this curiosity has taken me appears in the postlegomenon.

In my beginning is my end.

(T. S. Eliot, Four Quartets)

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

This thesis is a sociological study which ultimately asks the big question of sociology: what is the relationship between the individual and the social? In making this claim, I draw on a Durkheimian perspective of sociology, which is described by Reilly (2015) as one that is the “most properly *sociological*. . . the nature of society, culture, and the complex relationship of the individual to the collective” (p. 4). The sociological character of this thesis comes from my examination of ‘identity’ in contemporary New Zealand educational policy and practice. I examine how two ideologies work through policy and in classroom practice to create *distance from* or *attachment to* the collective or social group. The concept of identity is the mechanism through which attachment or distance is enacted. By exploring the use of ‘identity’ in educational policy and classroom practice, I develop the argument that pedagogic identity has been altered by the influence of two ideological movements. My main purpose is to show how ideological forces operate in institutional policy and practices using New Zealand primary school education to illustrate this process.

The study develops three themes which are interwoven throughout the thesis. Each theme also builds on the previous theme to deepen the study. The first theme focuses on identity in New Zealand’s national curricula. The second theme explores identity types and looks specifically at how the concept of identity can be categorized and understood according to its effect on a curriculum. Third, the ideologies of neoliberalism and culturalism at the macro level of global forces are introduced to trace their operation at the meso level of policy and upon the type of identity developed and affirmed at the micro level of schooling. The themes culminate in the purpose of the study: to show how these ideologies shape the relationship between the individual and the collective at the micro level of schooling. Throughout the discussion of each of the themes, the effect on school knowledge and on student identity is addressed.

Theme One: Identity and Curriculum

The New Zealand Curriculum (Ministry of Education, 2007) contains the requirement, described as a principle, that teachers recognise their students’ identities. This curriculum

contains the official policy for teaching and learning in New Zealand. It is described as a “clear statement of what we deem important in education” (Ministry of Education, 2007, p. 4). One of the ideas considered important is “that students’ identities . . . are recognised and affirmed” (p. 9) and that students are “positive in their own identity” (p. 8). Further references to identity are included within the document which range from students’ “developing a sense of identity” (p. 18) through to learning *te reo Maori* as a way to “strengthen Aotearoa New Zealand’s identity in the world” (p. 14). Notwithstanding the prominence of this concept, no explanation is given to clarify identity nor is there included any description of how teachers might interpret the curriculum to do this.

Given the lack of any explanation about ‘identity’ and what it means to interpret the curriculum according to policy requirements, teachers and schools are left with no option but to rely on their own knowledge and judgement about how ‘identity’ is to be understood and what students should learn. Teachers, therefore, fall back on personal and social knowledge⁶ to interpret curriculum guidelines in ways that may not be intended. Furthermore, because of this lack of guidance, teachers have no standard or criteria to judge how they will enact the curriculum more broadly. If teachers are left to rely on their personal and social knowledge to interpret the curriculum, then subject knowledge or academic knowledge⁷ loses its place as the focus of the curriculum. Such privileging of social knowledge over academic knowledge is indicative of a trend to prioritise the personal and experience over the universal and the abstract in a school curriculum (Ormond, 2011; Rata, 2012a).

The privileging of social knowledge is also a consequence of the gradual withdrawal of specified knowledge from the curriculum. *The New Zealand Curriculum* (Ministry of Education, 2007) itself is the evidence that knowledge has been displaced from the curriculum. It is made up of principles, values, key competencies, and achievement objectives within learning areas, but not academic knowledge or content. Academic knowledge is implied in the achievement objectives but is not explicit in terms of the content.

⁶ This type of knowledge is that which is produced, maintained, and acquired in family, community, and other informal groups where the individual is socially connected.

⁷ Academic knowledge is drawn from the disciplines and recontextualised as school subject or core curriculum knowledge.

This has not always been the case. In the subject of social studies, for example, syllabi and curriculum statements from the 1970s through to the present day show a slow but consistent shift away from prescribed academic knowledge and towards the type of knowledge that either originates from social knowledge and experiences or pedagogical knowledge. The 1977 publication, *Social Studies Syllabus Guidelines* for Forms 1-4, sets out an overview of themes and recommends topics for study within each theme. Form 1 students across the country were to study the theme of ‘Cultural Difference’. Recommended studies included: A nomadic community (e.g. Bedouin), a village community (e.g. in Africa), a town or city in nineteenth-century Britain (e.g. London), a New Zealand settlement in the nineteenth century, an Asian city of tradition importance (e.g. Kyoto), or a large Western city (e.g. New York).

Following the policy development in the 1990s, a draft social studies curriculum was developed for programmes from J1 to Form 7 (Ministry of Education, 1994). Prescribed themes and recommended studies were replaced with Sample learning contexts, settings, and learning activities. For students in Form 1, who were studying in the strand of Cultural and Heritage, the learning context might be or ‘Living in a diverse community’ (e.g. Singapore). A revision of the draft social studies curriculum (Ministry of Education, 1996) was published two years later. Learning contexts were removed and replaced with suggested studies listed under Achievement objectives such as “Leadership within traditional communities in the Pacific” (p. 39). The final publication of *Social Studies in the New Zealand Curriculum* (Ministry of Education, 1997) replaced ‘suggested studies’ with ‘Indicators’ to show how students could demonstrate knowledge and understanding e.g. “identify needs that are common across cultural groups” (p. 35).

The current *New Zealand Curriculum* (Ministry of Education, 2007) is devoid of any prescribed themes and recommended studies; sample learning contexts, settings, and learning activities; suggested studies; or even indicators. As a consequence of emptying the curriculum of academic knowledge and including principles such as the identity directive, there is a lack of guidance for teachers about the knowledge that should be taught. They must fall back on personal and social knowledge to interpret curriculum guidelines in ways that may not be intended. Furthermore, because of this lack of guidance, teachers have no standard or criteria to judge how they will enact the curriculum more broadly. If teachers are left to rely on their personal and social knowledge to interpret the curriculum, then

subject knowledge loses its place as the focus of the curriculum. Such privileging of social knowledge over academic knowledge is indicative of a trend to prioritise the personal and experience over the universal and the abstract in a school curriculum (Ormond, 2011; Rata, 2012a).

In addition, the personal judgements made by the teachers are encouraged and authorised by guidelines within *The New Zealand Curriculum* advising that “the design of each school’s curriculum should allow teachers the scope to make interpretations in response to the particular needs, interests, and talents of individuals and groups of students in their classes” (Ministry of Education, 2007, p. 37). While this guideline has some appeal, and is supported by the school-based curricula initiatives of the current curriculum, it also raises fundamental questions about two central concepts: ‘identity’ and ‘knowledge’. How is identity understood? What role does knowledge play in the development of student identity (Bernstein, 2000; Moore & Muller, 1999)? How does teachers’ interpretation of identity shape their choice of subject content and concepts for inclusion in the curriculum? This thesis addresses these questions.

Theme Two: Pedagogic Identity

The concept of pedagogic identity is derived from Bernstein’s (2000) work in which he describes how a student’s sense of self is both related to and the result of external structures. In his writing, which he describes as an outline or sketch more than a completed composition, Bernstein proposes a typology of four pedagogic identities which represent,

through their different biases and focii different approaches to regulating and managing change, moral, cultural and economic. And these different approaches to the management of change are expected to become the lived experience of teachers and students, through the shaping of their pedagogic identity. (p. 66)

Though he does not define the concept of pedagogic identity in his (2000) publication, in earlier works Bernstein (1971) developed the concepts of classification and framing to explain the pedagogies that mediate the student-teacher relationship and which regulate access to knowledge. These concepts are fundamental to understanding the concept of pedagogic identity. In brief, classification refers to the strength of the boundary insulation between categories and contexts, for example between the academic knowledge of schools

and the social knowledge of home. This is the reason why this study has also become a study about knowledge. “Classification has to do with *power* over the pedagogic process in terms of the social distribution of category relations” at a macro level (Moore, 2013, p. 130).

Framing refers to the sequencing and pacing of knowledge acquisition and to those who control this process at the micro level. Moore explains that classification and framing “provided [Bernstein] with a *sociological* formula for the way in which social structure ... interacts with orientations to meaning, socialization, social roles and the sense of self (pedagogic identities)” (p. 59). Pedagogic identities can thus be understood as that sense of selfhood which are “projected through the classifications of disciplinary content and the framings of pedagogy and curriculum which shape students’ ways of being, becoming, feeling, thinking, relating and desiring” (McLean, Abbas & Ashwin, 2015, p. 4). This study engages with Bernstein’s sociological formula as applied to pedagogic identity in order to differentiate the identity types prevalent in educational policy and practice, and to explain their implications for the type of knowledge available to children at school. A full explanation of pedagogic identity types is given in chapter five.

Theme Three: Ideological Forces of Neoliberalism and Culturalism

I make the argument that pedagogic identity has been altered by the influence of two ideological movements. The two ideological movements that I refer to, one a socio-political movement, the other an economic movement, have altered the relative autonomy between the symbolic and economic spheres to such an extent that the ‘insulation’, in Bernstein’s (2000) words, between the two structuring spheres of society—the symbolic (or socio-political) on the one hand and the material (economic) on the other—is altered. I use the term ‘relative autonomy’ to refer to the nature and the strength of the relationship between education and these symbolic spheres, the state and the economy as described by Apple (2002), Bernstein (2000) and Moore (2013). As a consequence, the role of education in society is increasingly influenced by the newly altered relationship. Beck (2002) explains, “In the last few decades of the twentieth century, the insulations between education and production began to weaken; indeed, increasingly they were stripped away by direct intervention” (p. 621). The weakened insulation between education and the economic sphere has affected education in terms of the type of knowledge taught in schools. As the type of knowledge which is valued in the school system changes from a focus on academic knowledge to the knowledge students acquire from experience, so does the pedagogic

relationship between student and teacher alter (Bernstein, 2000). The effect is to change a student's pedagogic identity from an epistemic one to a more social and economically instrumentalised identity (Siteine, 2016).

I examine the relationship between curriculum reform and major changes to New Zealand's socio-political environment in order to show how the change to the insulation generated by two ideological movements in that country also altered the type of pedagogical identities that are created within education. The New Zealand case provides an illustration of Bernstein's (2000) theory that these identities emerge in response to the degree of insulation between education and the market. In addition to the weakened degree of insulation between education and the market theorised by Bernstein, I develop the argument in this thesis that there is an additional factor that affects the insulation between education and society. It is not only the market, but socio-political movements which act in the space between the material and symbolic spheres to alter the degree of insulation. Bernstein does acknowledge this, but I want to draw further attention to the effect the ideology of culturalism has on the nature of the insulation.

New Zealand's willingness to adopt both neoliberal and culturalist discourses from the 1980s means that this country provides a vivid example of what happens to educational policy and practice when two ideologies—one promoting the market and one promoting an ethno-cultural social identity, meet in an accommodating relationship through the shifting boundaries between the two relatively autonomous spheres. The boundary between the social group and the school has weakened to the effect that school has become the site for the maintenance of distinct socio-cultural groups. It is in making this argument that the thesis provides an original contribution to the sociology of education discipline.

The proposition that ideological forces have influenced curriculum reform is located within the more abstracted sociological issue of the relationship between the individual and the social group. Neoliberal and culturalist ideologies are, in fact, beliefs about how the individual and the group should relate. In other words, they seek to address the question 'What is the social?' according to the interests of the individual. The ideologies influence educational policy and practice. In turn, this affects the knowledge that children receive at school. I suggest that if students are identified in terms of their ethnic group heritage, the type of knowledge they engage with at school tends to be social knowledge that is relevant to that ethnic group. This occurs because these are ideologies about the identity of people in

terms of the individual-group relationship. 'Identity' is at the crux of the issue of the individual-group relationship. As culturalism and neoliberalism influence beliefs and politics about this relationship, they necessarily engage with 'identity'. This is the reason why these ideologies are revealed in identity at the level of the classroom, because they are ideologies about identity. I show that culturalism and neoliberalism are played out in ways where they connect, support, and serve each other, even though these two ideologies, at first glance, appear to be opposing forces.

Methodology

The thesis is a collection of articles and chapters unified by the focus on identity and its implication for the type of knowledge available to children. The articles and chapters examine fundamental questions about 'identity' and 'knowledge'. How is identity understood? What role does knowledge play in the development of student identity? How do teachers' interpretations of identity shape their choice of subject content and concepts for inclusion in the curriculum.

Examining empirically the ideological shaping of identity in educational policy and practice requires a methodological approach that engages with educational policy, and its school-based initiatives, as well as giving voice to the experiences and interpretations of teachers. The overarching theoretical framework for this research draws on critical policy methodology used in the sociology of education (Rata, 2014). It comprises three stages:

1. A socio-political economy theoretical framework that identifies and explains relational links between global forces and local developments.
2. An analysis of education policy within that theoretically conceptualised context.
3. Empirical research that examines the educational phenomenon within the larger context of socio-political and economic forces.

The integrated nature of critical policy methodology is reflected in this research about the nature and changes to pedagogic identity in the primary school. The theoretical framework establishes the conceptual basis for the critical analysis of both educational policy and teachers' practice in this study. It allows me to identify, analyse, and explain the issue of sociological movements and pedagogic identity by establishing a link between the macro

level of global forces (described above) and the micro level of teacher understanding and practice in schools (see Chapter four). Critical Policy Analysis makes such a link possible “by asking how the state uses policy to regulate the disjuncture between the ideals of equality that inform the national democratic polity and the inequalities produced by market forces at the global level” (Rata, 2014, pp. 347-348).

The three stages of critical policy methodology appear throughout the study. The analysis of education policy appears first. The articles presented as chapters two and three provide an analysis of *The New Zealand Curriculum* (Ministry of Education, 2007) and selected curricula from the Pacific region. They contribute to the thesis as a whole by setting out the foundation for understanding the move of ‘identity’ into the curriculum and its subsequent effects. The following two chapters present two sets of findings. The first comes from the empirical study of teachers’ understanding and enactment of what I call ‘the identity directive’ in *The New Zealand Curriculum*. The second set of data comes from an analysis of two policies designed to address the achievement of two ethnic groups of students. These chapters begin to make a link between teachers’ practice at the micro level and ideologies influencing education at the macro level. The discussion presented in chapter six brings the analysis of policy to the empirical research in order to discuss the relational links between global forces and local developments in greater detail.

In support of the overarching methodological framework of critical policy methodology, this thesis draws on and uses concepts as analytical tools. Two concepts in particular, are used in this way: *knowledge differentiation* and *identity*.

Knowledge Differentiation

The concept of *knowledge differentiation* refers to the distinction between social and epistemic knowledge. While the nature of knowledge has been an enduring question in epistemology, the French philosopher Emile Durkheim (1926) introduced a distinction between what he termed the sacred and profane: the internalised sacred and the mundane, everyday profane. Sociologists of education have drawn on this dyad to explain the differentiation of knowledge. Basil Bernstein (1999), for example, classified knowledge as horizontal and vertical discourses to distinguish common sense, local knowledge from schooled, official knowledge in order to theorise what knowledge was transmitted to particular groups of children. Michael Young (2008) proposed that knowledge could be

understood as powerful knowledge and knowledge of the powerful and, in this way, the consequences of these choices regarding types of knowledge could be more explicitly discerned. Knowledge of the powerful focuses on the knowers rather than knowledge and refers to those who have the power, or dominant groups in society, to define what knowledge is. Powerful knowledge, on the other hand, refers to the type of knowledge that gives power to students to go beyond the limits of their own experiences, to think about and better explain and understand the world. Social realist literature is also concerned with the sort of knowledge children have access with at school (see for example, Beck, 2010; Maton, 2010; Moore, 2010; Muller & Gamble, 2010; Rata, 2012a; Barrett & Rata, 2014; Wheelahan, 2012).

This thesis is also interested in what knowledge children access at school and, more specifically, the forces that allow access to a particular type of knowledge. The concept of differentiation is useful, therefore, as it allows me to analyse knowledge in this thesis and to distinguish between epistemic and social knowledge in order to explain why teachers are directed to affirm their students' identity and students are encouraged to clarify their own identities as curriculum requirements. These are tasks that draw on the teacher's social knowledge, that is, their beliefs and experiences, rather than epistemic subject knowledge. In addition, identity affirmation and clarification is a pedagogic task and I argue that its inclusion as a curriculum requirement is problematic.

Identity

The concept of knowledge differentiation and the ideology of culturalism are used to theorise 'identity' in three ways. Firstly, identity is theorised as a ubiquitous and vague concept; secondly, as a curricular goal and directive; and thirdly, as a goal and directive with pedagogic implications. As a ubiquitous concept, identity has a number of histories and meanings. It is a complex and contested concept. Some describe it as dynamic and fluid, (McIntosh, 2005; Nakhid, 2003) while others see it as subjective, unstable, and situated (Barth, 1969; Okamura, 1981; Stephan 1992, Callister, 2004). Identity has been related to individual essence (Kurkiala, 1998), and described as fragmentary (van Meijl, 1999), singular and plural (Sen, 2006). The word identity is equally ubiquitous in popular usage particularly when it comes to talking about ethnicity, immigration, or politics.

Psychological theory situates identity internally, within the deep psychic structure of the individual; it concerns a “process located in the core of the individual and yet also in the core of his [sic] communal culture, a process which establishes, in fact, the identity of those two identities” (Erikson, 1968, p. 22). Identity development occurs in “an interaction between the interior development of the individual personality . . . and the growth of a sense of selfhood that arises from participating in society, internalizing its cultural norms, acquiring different statuses and playing different roles” (Gleason, 1983, p. 914) but is essentially a continuation of inner sameness that is one’s own being. If one uses a psychological approach to understanding and explaining ethnic identity, then ethnicity could be viewed as a fundamental element in one’s personal identity. This is an essentialist view in which ethnicity is fixed, primordial, and cannot be changed (see Eisenstadt & Giesen, 1995).

A sociological understanding of identity, on the other hand, focuses on the influence of external factors on identity as a product of the interaction between the individual and society that prioritise the social and the collective where identities are socially bestowed and sustained (Berger, 1966). The continuity and inner sameness of the psychological self is challenged, as is the individualist perception of identity. A postmodern sociological approach to explaining identity is the idea that no person has only one identity but multiple identities. The inner sameness of the psychological self is replaced with an external sameness with others. Common identities are shared with others as, for example, men or women, New Zealander or British, Samoan or Japanese, heterosexual or homosexual, Christian or Buddhist. These identities are interactive and constitutive in that they are combined in ways that impact on each other where one form of identity may be foregrounded in a particular context or situation and another in a different context (Lawler, 2008). A more traditional sociological approach would explain ethnic identity as a social construction “that can be emphasized or deemphasized as the situation requires” (Gleason, 1983, p. 919), where “individuals and/or collectivities manipulate their ethnic identities to fit different social situations” (Poata-Smith, 1996, p. 38). As such, identity is viewed as fluid, situational, and multiple and is produced within social relations rather than within the individual person.

My interest is in a sociological explanation of identity; in particular, the field of Social Realism within the sociology of education. I am interested in how the social forces that surround the individual influence the way they are identified at school, and, subsequently,

how this affects the type of knowledge to which they are given access. My interest falls within recent international studies within the field of Social Realism. Social realists are concerned with exploring different forms of knowledge in the interests of recognising what knowledge may best advantage students in their present and future lives. Writers within the field of Social Realism have given consideration to the pertinent questions of how disciplinary knowledge functions in our multi-faceted world and how relevant it is within such increasingly diversified knowledge streams. The rapid rate at which knowledge is being generated and its wide availability makes it increasingly important that such knowledge is not taken for granted (Young, 2008), but instead theorised and considered in relation to students' access to it and its purposes. Social Realism has altered the lens for considering knowledge from a focus on 'whose' knowledge to 'what' knowledge (Barrett, Hoadley, & Morgan, 2018) to give consideration to the type(s) of knowledge which have explanatory potential and should be taught in schools.

Thesis Outline

The questions described above are addressed in this thesis. There are seven chapters following this introduction.

Chapter two defines concepts of identity and ethnicity and describes the history of these terms in the context of the New Zealand curriculum. 'Identity' is discussed as a social phenomenon that appears to have gained prominence in the landscape of New Zealand educational curriculum during the three decades of curriculum development, review, and change that began in the 1980s. While the *term identity* is a recent addition in national curricula, the *concept of identity* has been a constant inclusion in the goals, rationale, and purposes of state education. However, the nature and use of this concept has shifted. This chapter sets the term apart from the concept and argues that its explicit use of the term in 21st century curricula, if unchallenged, is likely to have deleterious effects for children in New Zealand schools.

Chapter three explores the influence of the curriculum reform described in chapter two by examining the inclusion of the term 'identity' as a central idea in the national curricula of three Pacific nations: New Zealand, The Republic of Nauru, and The Cook Islands. The reach of these ideas within the Pacific region is discussed to make the point that culturalism is not confined to New Zealand. The appearance of the term 'identity' in national curricula

has been relatively swift and unproblematised. This chapter sets out two problematic effects of its inclusion. First, a focus on developing dispositions related to identity has the potential to displace subject knowledge. Secondly, the view of ‘identity as ethnicity’ supports the shift to culturally responsive pedagogy and practice in the education systems of these countries. The emphasis on social or cultural identity may restrict students to their experiences and limit access to academic knowledge.

Chapter four presents an empirical study of the way in which teachers in New Zealand primary schools recognise and affirm their students’ identities. Teachers’ beliefs, understandings, and practices as they interpret the curriculum related to what I term the ‘identity directive’ are described. The findings indicate that a marked divergence exists between the identity directive encoded into the curriculum and the way in which teachers decode and enact the directive in their practice. This chapter argues that two unintended effects are produced as a result of this divergence. First, rather than promote the affirmation of student identity, the enactment of this directive may, in fact, lead to ethnic division. Second, attempts recognise and affirm identity have led to the displacement of school subject knowledge in classroom programmes. These unintended outcomes are not only unacknowledged, but they continue to disadvantage the community the identity directive was intended to support.

Chapter five analyses and interprets the findings presented in chapter four. Two arguments are advanced which form the thesis itself. The first argument is that a relationship exists between neoliberal curriculum reform at the policy level and the type of student identity that is acknowledged and affirmed at the micro level of schooling. Second, I argue that this relationship is possible because it occurs within the context of two ideologies—culturalism and neoliberalism—being aligned in an accommodating way. The chapter demonstrates, empirically, the connection between culturalist and neoliberal politics.

Chapter six provides a discussion of the findings from the empirical data presented in the previous chapter. The empirical study set out to investigate the ways in which the concept of identity is included in policy that addresses student identity and then, subsequently, enacted by teachers. In brief, the knowledge students encounter at school is determined by how they are identified. I explain this identification with reference to the two seemingly incompatible ideologies of neoliberalism and culturalism. They are brought together in policy and practice and have influenced the knowledge selected and taught to children. This

is the case for students who are from ethnic minority groups, and most particularly, in the context of this study, for Maori⁸ and Pasifika⁹ students.

Chapter seven shows how the ideas from this thesis can be used. The chapter gives an account of a publication, of which I am a co-author. The publication shows how the ideas of this thesis are reflected and theorised in a specific context, in this case, music education. The publication itself is about the Western canon and Pasifika children. It shows the implications for knowledge when ethnic identity is a determiner of what children learn. The publication provides an exemplar of the argument that the ideological force of culturalism has altered the type of knowledge that is available to students based on how they are identified. This is the whole point of the thesis. It allows those who are interested in the nature of knowledge in the curriculum, or questions about equitable or universal access to knowledge to come to grips with the complexities of these matters through an empirical example.

Chapter eight brings the thesis to its final conclusion. Two significant findings arise from the study. The first is the influence and unexpected coupling of two global forces in educational policy: neoliberal and cultural ideologies. The second is the incongruence between educational policy, where both ideologies appear side by side, and teachers' discourse about their practice, where teachers provide solely culturalist explanations for their practice. These findings contribute to the culminating proposition that the encoding of the identity directive in curriculum and its recontextualisation in teachers' practice is a manifestation of how the individual and the group should relate, and the identity of people in terms of the individual-group relationship. As policy and practice is re-imagined, the knowledge children have access to in school is affected, in ways which have significant impacts upon their prescribed identity.

⁸ *Maori* are the indigenous peoples of New Zealand.

⁹ *Pasifika* is a collective term used in New Zealand to describe migrants from Pacific Island nations who have settled New Zealand. It is generally not used in Pacific Island nations.

Explanatory Interlude: The Beginning

The next chapter marks the beginning place of this study. I was curious about why and how the term ‘identity’ came to be included in the national curriculum, when it had previously been conspicuously absent. I wrote this article to capture the problem, as I saw it, of the inclusion of identity in the curriculum. The problem was not that it shouldn’t be there, but with why it had suddenly appeared without explanation and in such a significant way. I admit to being suspicious about its addition, though I understood that both the goals and moral imperatives associated with national identity had been reflected in curriculum policy and practice since the beginnings of New Zealand state education in 1877.

Before I could attempt to understand how student identity was affirmed in policy and practice, I wanted to set out the current situation – what did ‘identity’ look like in the current curriculum? How was this different from what was there before? Why had such changes been made? I also wanted to establish what I saw as the ‘phenomenon’ of identity inclusion in curriculum within the context of my study. The chapter that follows was published in a journal concerned with curriculum. I reproduce it here with some changes. Curriculum is the focus of the chapter, and though this chapter marks the beginning of my thinking, the reader will identify the threads that are used to tie these ideas together in a unified study.

CHAPTER 2

Reframing, Refocusing, and Revitalising: The Inclusion of Identity in the New Zealand Curriculum

This chapter is published in *Curriculum Matters*, a New Zealand journal containing discussion, commentary and information about curriculum.

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Introduction

The term identity is ubiquitous within society and in popular culture. Phrases like identity theft, identity crisis, identity cards, and identity disorders are now common in daily conversations. In spite of its widespread and frequent usage, it is a relatively new term that gained popularity amongst social scientists in the 1950s (Gleason, 1983). The pervasiveness of its use in popular culture is reflected in its relatively recent appearance in New Zealand curricula. In fact, it appears to have gained prominence in the landscape of New Zealand curriculum during the three decades of curriculum development, review, and change that began in the 1980s. This chapter examines the inclusion of identity in curriculum and questions why it has appeared and how is to be understood? I set apart *the term* identity from *the concept* of identity and argue that the explicit use of the term in 21st century curricula signals a change in the way the concept of identity is understood and the way curriculum is enacted. The unchallenged inclusion of the term and uncritical acceptance of the concept has the potential to disadvantage all learners, but especially learners from historically marginalised groups for whom the recognition of identity is part of a plan intended to promote educational success.

Theoretical Framework

A social realist lens is used to critique the inclusion of the term identity in the curriculum and to explain the implications of this inclusion. Social Realism is a critical theory that takes as its starting point the concern that one of the most fundamental inequalities in education is access to academic knowledge. Two oppositional solutions to this concern are held within the sociology of education: constructivist/relativist and realist. Constructivist solutions give voice to historically silenced and marginalised groups in order to interrupt the reproduction

of what are seen as dominant, conservative, and elitist dimensions in curriculum. Knowledge is believed to be socially constructed, grounded in the experiences of those who hold that knowledge and, as such, it reflects the historical and social conditions under which it was produced. This view of knowledge can be understood in the context of Popper's (1945/2003) description of social constructivism as:

the theory that our thoughts and opinions are dependent on our class situation, or upon our national interests . . . It gives a determining power to forces outside our control. It is the belief that 'we think with our blood', or with our national heritage', or 'with our class'. (p. 260)

Young (2010) refers to this relativist view of knowledge as "knowledge of the powerful" a view that curriculum knowledge represents the interests of dominant groups in society (p. 11).

A social realist view, on the other hand, affirms the idea that academic or disciplinary knowledge is socially constructed but also recognises that knowledge has emergent properties that allow it to transcend the social and historical contexts of its production (Moore, 2007). As such, knowledge can be accessed by any knower, in any place, and at any time. Knowledge is public and open to critique and judgement according to methods of various disciplinary communities. A social realist approach differentiates this form of knowledge—that which is open to disciplinary critique, from social knowledge—that which is acquired in the course of one's social experiences, or closed knowledge—that which can only be known as a group 'insider'. Both social and closed knowledge are not open to critique, they are produced and understood within the confines of experience and/or culture.

This differentiation of knowledge is fundamental to the social realist position. It is based on Durkheim's (1926) theorising of the profane and sacred orders of knowledge, conceptualised by Bernstein (1999) as horizontal and vertical discourses, and more recently described by Young (2010) as 'knowledge of the powerful' and 'powerful knowledge'. Each of these binaries acknowledges but separates knowledge that is related to the experiential and everyday from disciplinary knowledge. Furthermore, Bernstein's development of the idea of boundaries is useful as a means of theorising the distinction between knowledge and experience. He explains that these boundaries are the social basis of people's identities and

that without the boundaries that exist between home and school, learners can be trapped in their experience and never move beyond it. In other words, if what students learn is determined by their social and/or cultural identities, then they will only ever be given access to the kinds of knowledge that are seen to be relevant to and that confirms their identity.

This explanation is significant for two reasons. First, it is the basis for the social realist position that the central purpose of schooling and of the curriculum is to provide access to powerful knowledge that takes learners beyond their experience. Second, the idea that boundaries exist separating knowledge from experience is central to literature on identity (see for example, Brewer 2003). This thesis supports these views by arguing that the explicit inclusion of the term identity within *The New Zealand Curriculum* (Ministry of Education, 2007) has allowed a greater emphasis on social and experiential knowledge which, in turn, is “symptomatic of a trend” (Ormond, 2011) in New Zealand curriculum that has led “to a reduction or even an ‘evacuation of content’” (Young, 2010, p. 21), namely powerful knowledge.

Methodology

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is a methodological strategy to examine contemporary curriculum change: the recent inclusion of the term identity in *The New Zealand Curriculum* (Ministry of Education, 2007). The first stage of CDA is to focus upon the problem under study and consider it within a broader social and political context. CDA asks “what changes have taken place and are taking place in forms of interaction around political and social issues?” (Fairclough, 2001, p. 230). In this study, both curriculum change and evolving conceptualisations of New Zealand identity (Callister, Didham, & Kivi, 2009) provide a wider backdrop to the study. Codd’s (1988) description of educational policy aligns with this kind of analysis:

Policies produced by and for the state are obvious instances in which language serves a political purpose, constructing particular meanings and signs that work to mask social conflict and foster commitment to the notion of universal public interest. In this way, policy documents produce real social effects through the production and maintenance of consent. (p. 237)

Beginning with the wider context rather than a specific research question makes clear the critical intent of this methodology: “the production of knowledge that can lead to

emancipatory change” (Fairclough, 2001, p. 236). The current New Zealand Curriculum (Ministry of Education, 2007) and the immediately preceding curriculum statements were examined for their use of the term ‘identity’. The text of these curricula was analysed using ‘identity’ as a marker. The number of appearances was counted but also, each time the word appeared, information was collected about where it was located, how it was used, and how it was framed. The text was also examined for the absence of the term, and questions raised about why it did or did not appear.

While CDA is concerned with textual language analysis, it is not confined to the text alone. CDA provides a way to move between the textual analysis and the social context of the problem under study. CDA draws on critical theory in the sense that it seeks to question and clarify the ways in which language can be used to obscure underlying meaning or intentions. Its purpose is “to show non-obvious ways in which language is involved in social relations of power and domination, and in ideology” (Fairclough, 2001, p. 229). This aspect of critical discourse analysis links the methodology to the social realist theoretical framework. Both the theory and the methodology raise questions about power and ideology associated with the problem under study. In the following sections, curriculum review in New Zealand and the notions of identity that are part of *The New Zealand Curriculum* are discussed in order to set out the problem of identity’s inclusion in the Curriculum. The discussion begins by focusing on curriculum review relating to the 2007 national curriculum then looks back to preceding decades in order to contextualise these developments.

Curriculum Revision and Refocusing on Identity

The most recent New Zealand national curriculum was published in 2007, following a curriculum stocktake that analysed the curriculum reform of the 1990s. The stocktake was concerned with the educational, social, and economic relevance of the curriculum as a whole (Ministry of Education, 2002). Two key ideas noted in the stocktake are germane to this chapter. First, the stocktake noted the shift in curriculum policy from a focus on content to that of outcomes. This shift is reflected in the development and publication of *The New Zealand Curriculum Framework* (Ministry of Education, 1993) and the national Curriculum Statements in each of seven essential learning areas. *The New Zealand Curriculum Framework* outlined a ‘seamless’ progression of learning through eight levels of achievement from Year 1 to Year 13 of schooling with a view to providing equal learning

opportunities for all students irrespective of “experiences, interests, and values” (Ministry of Education, 1993, p. 7) or ethnicity, gender, religion, or ability. The educational focus was adjusted from what students might learn about, as previously detailed in New Zealand school syllabi, to the processes of learning, in other words, the ‘how’ over the ‘what’ or skills over knowledge. I will return to this idea and the reasons for this change later in this chapter.

Second, the report acknowledged the influence of societal change on educational aspirations and suggested the need to balance the social outcomes of education with academic achievement. Societal changes such as increased globalisation and educational orientations towards a future focus can be linked with the recommendation that “developing self-knowledge” (Ministry of Education, 2002, p. 3) be included as an essential skill in the 2007 curriculum. While this recommendation did not survive the process of curriculum revision, the notion of selfhood itself did, and is reflected in the many references to student identity in *The New Zealand Curriculum* (Ministry of Education, 2007).

In all, the term *identity* or *identities* appears 17 times in the curriculum. The majority of references pertain to a student’s personal identity and address curriculum aspirations that students’ identities are recognised, considered, affirmed, strengthened, and understood. Further references relate to affirming and recognising a New Zealand national identity, understanding language as an expression of identity, and knowing about identity. Two single specific references are made to strengthening Maori students’ identities, and the notion of multiple identities is acknowledged (see Table 1). The significance of these references can be appreciated when compared with the usage of other terms that might be considered important in a national curriculum. The term ‘citizen’ or ‘citizenship’, for example, appears 9 times, while the word ‘learner’ features 16 times. There can be little doubt that the notion of identity holds a place of some significance in *The New Zealand Curriculum*.

To understand how identity was raised to this position in the national curriculum, examining the period of curriculum change prior to its publication is important in order to reveal its origins and the rationale for its inclusion. The next section presents data from curriculum statements immediately preceding the 2007 Curriculum to support the claim made in the introduction of the chapter that the term identity appears to have gained prominence in curriculum development. This statement suggests not just a presence of the term but also its

importance and shifting meaning. The inclusion of data in this section is given as evidence of the pervasiveness with which the term appeared.

Table 1

References to 'identity' in The New Zealand Curriculum (2007)

<i>Vision</i>	Positive in their own <i>identity</i> (p. 8)
<i>Principles</i>	The curriculum is non-sexist, non-racist, and non-discriminatory; it ensures that students' <i>identities</i> , languages, abilities, and talents are recognised and affirmed and that their learning needs are addressed. (p. 9)
<i>Key Competencies</i>	Opportunities to develop the competencies occur in social contexts. People adopt and adapt practices that they see used and valued by those closest to them, and they make these practices part of their own <i>identity</i> and expertise. (p. 12)
<i>English</i>	The study of New Zealand and world literature contributes to students' developing sense of <i>identity</i> , their awareness of New Zealand's bicultural heritage, and their understanding of the world. (p. 18)
<i>Health Education</i>	Students build resilience through strengthening their personal <i>identity</i> and sense of self-worth, through managing change and loss, and through engaging in processes for responsible decision making. (p. 23)
<i>Learning Languages</i>	As [students] move between, and respond to, different languages and different cultural practices, they are challenged to consider their own <i>identities</i> and assumptions. (p. 24)
<i>Learning in years 1-6</i>	The transition from early childhood education to school is supported when the school: fosters a child's relationships with teachers and other children and affirms their <i>identity</i> . (p. 41)
<i>Principles</i>	These principles put students at the centre of teaching and learning, asserting that they should experience a curriculum that engages and challenges them, is forward-looking and inclusive, and affirms New Zealand's unique <i>identity</i> . (p. 9)
<i>Official Languages</i>	Te reo Maori is indigenous to Aotearoa New Zealand. It is a taonga recognised under the Treaty of Waitangi, a primary source of our nation's self-knowledge and <i>identity</i> , and an official language. By understanding and using te reo Maori, New Zealanders become more aware of the role played by the indigenous language and culture in defining and asserting our point of difference in the wider world. (p. 14) By learning te reo Maori, students are able to: . . . strengthen Aotearoa New Zealand's <i>identity</i> in the world. (p. 14)

<i>English:</i>	Translation of the whakatauki: Ko te reo te tuakiri, Ko te reo toku ahurei, Ko te reo te ora. Language is my <i>identity</i> , Language is my uniqueness, Language is life. (p. 18)
<i>Learning languages</i>	Translation of a whakatauki: Ko tou reo, ko toku reo, te tuakiri tangata. Tihei uriuri, tihei nakonako. Your voice and my voice are expressions of <i>identity</i> . May our descendants live on and our hopes be fulfilled. (p. 24) Languages and cultures play a key role in developing our personal, group, national, and human <i>identities</i> . (p. 24)
<i>Social Sciences</i>	Conceptual strand: <i>Identity</i> , Culture, and Organisation – Students learn about society and communities and how they function. They also learn about the diverse cultures and <i>identities</i> of people within those communities and about the effects of these on the participation of groups and individuals. As they explore how others see themselves, students clarify their own <i>identities</i> in relation to their particular heritages and contexts. (p. 30)
<i>Official Languages</i>	By learning te reo and becoming increasingly familiar with tikanga, Maori students strengthen their <i>identities</i> , while non-Maori journey towards shared cultural understandings. (p. 14)
<i>Dance</i>	[Students] explore and use dance elements, vocabularies, processes, and technologies to express personal, group, and cultural <i>identities</i> , to convey and interpret artistic ideas, and to strengthen social interaction. (p. 20)

Identity in the curriculum from 1994 – 2000

In *The New Zealand Curriculum* (Ministry of Education, 2007) the use of the term identity is most commonly found in overarching aspirational goals related to a student's personal identity. Where it features in specific subject or learning areas, it can be found in English, Health, The Arts, and Social Science. For the most part, these learning areas present the affirmation of identity as end goals or the outcome of education. While each of these references to identity is succinct, due to the condensed nature of *The New Zealand Curriculum*, they have their genesis in preceding curriculum statements where fuller references are found (see Table 2).

Table 2

References to 'identity' in curriculum statements preceding 2007

	General- not specified	Personal	Social	Cultural	National	Linguistic	Total
The Arts in the New Zealand Curriculum (2000)	8	4	1	5	1		19
Health and Physical Education in the New Zealand Curriculum (1999)		31		2	1		34
Social Studies in the New Zealand Curriculum (1997)	9			6	9		24
English in the New Zealand Curriculum (1994)	4			2	2	1	8

In *Health and Physical Education in the New Zealand Curriculum* (Ministry of Education, 1999) particular emphasis is placed on developing “students who know who they are” (Bolstad, 2004, p. 85). ‘Personal identity’ is found in the Achievement Aims, Achievement Objectives, and Strands at all levels of learning. It is coupled with the concept of ‘self-worth’ in one of the named foci for the Achievement Objectives, a second focus being ‘identity, sensitivity, and respect’. Both foci are dispositional, emphasise the self, and are contextualised in personal experience. Each of these elements can be seen in the Achievement Objective written under focus of Personal Identity and Self-worth for Curriculum Level 7: “Students will critically evaluate societal attitudes, values, and expectations that affect people’s awareness of their personal identity and sense of self-worth in a range of life situations, for example, in relation to marital customs, child-rearing patterns” (Ministry of Education, 1999, p. 26). The fact that the term identity features 40

times in this curriculum statement is testament to the pervasiveness with which identity appeared in the newly blended learning area of Health and Physical Education.

Although appearing less frequently than in the Health and Physical Education curriculum, statement, personal identity also features in *The Arts in the New Zealand Curriculum* (Ministry of Education, 2000). The concept of identity, however, is widened beyond the personal to include national and cultural identity. In the 19 references to identity, the personal features 4 times and in 2 occurrences is coupled with cultural identity. National identity is mentioned only once as “a distinctive, evolving national identity” that incorporates and reflects “the arts of the Maori” (p. 9). More prominently featured is a cultural identity as the arts are described as “a source of cultural experience and a vehicle for cultural expression” (p. 104). Where Health and Physical Education focuses only on developing students’ personal identity, the Arts focuses on the affirmation of a cultural identity.

Fewer references to identity are found in *English in the New Zealand Curriculum* (Ministry of Education, 1994). Personal identity is not specifically named, but “a sense of identity” (p. 6) as well as a cultural, and national identity are referred to in the descriptions and explanations about the principles and characteristics of learning and teaching in the English learning area. One of the eight references to identity concerns learners’ use of first language as a means of affirming identity: “Confidence and proficiency in one’s first language contribute to self-esteem, a sense of identity, and achievement throughout life” (p. 6). Four references are general in their reference to identity, for example, “Language expresses identity” (p. 10); but the remainder are concerned with “New Zealand’s identity” (p. 7) rather than the learner’s identity. These references suggest that learning language and studying literature will lead to the development an increased sense of identity for learners or the nation.

Where Health and Physical Education and The Arts have a dispositional focus in *The New Zealand Curriculum* (Ministry of Education, 2007), Social Sciences positions identity as content knowledge. In its preceding document, *Social Studies in the New Zealand Curriculum* (Ministry of Education, 1997), identity features throughout the statement in: a description about how the Aim of Social Studies is met, concepts, settings, perspectives, the strand of Culture and Heritage, but most significantly in two areas related to content. First,

in a summary of essential learning about New Zealand Society where students will study New Zealand identity. Second, within the strands of Culture and Heritage and Place and Environment where students will develop knowledge and understanding about or related to identity. In contrast to Health and Physical Education, and The Arts, which mention personal, cultural, and national identity, Social Studies focuses solely on the development of students' cultural and national identity. Like Health and Physical Education, references to identity can also be found in the Achievement objectives signaling the intention that students should develop knowledge and understanding of their own national and cultural identity as well as New Zealand's identity. General references to identity are made, but these are most often as an expression of the contribution of culture and heritage to identity. Furthermore, Social Studies education is also concerned with the development, maintenance, expression, and challenges to New Zealand's national identity. In each of these curriculum statements, students will develop knowledge and/or dispositions that will help them know themselves, their heritage, and their national distinctiveness.

The preceding data documents the way in which the term identity has been included in recent curricula and how new conceptualisations of personal and cultural identity were included to expand the traditionally recognised view of national identity. I will now return the question of why the term identity features so prominently in the curriculum. Following 10 years of development and implementation of the curriculum statements discussed above, a stocktake was undertaken. The stocktake sought to assess the manageability of the national curriculum and the capability of teachers to implement it. Furthermore, modifications to the curriculum were considered necessary in order to meet the Government's goals for education: to "build an education system that equips New Zealanders with 21st century skills" and to "reduce systemic underachievement in education" (Cubitt, 2006, p. 196). Each of these goals, I contend, was the reason for a stronger focus on the concept of identity and the explicit inclusion of the term in recent curricula. Both required the rethinking of the established centralised model of curriculum decision-making and the acknowledgement of minority groups that would begin to expand conceptualisations of identity beyond the national to include personal and cultural identity.

'Reframing, refocusing, and revitalising' curriculum

The directive to build a 21st century education system and to reduce underachievement in education required significant change in curricula thinking. In fact, The New Zealand

Curriculum Project (NZCP) commenced in 2003 with the aim of “reframing, refocusing, and revitalising” the national curriculum (Cubitt, 2006, p. 200). One aspect of the ‘reframing, refocusing, and revitalising’ involved revisiting an idea that was raised and, for the most part, rejected in the 1980s; the notion of school-based curriculum development (SBCD). This was promoted as an alternative to centralised national curriculum decision-making or a ‘top-down’ model of curriculum design that was a feature of school curriculum since inception of universal education in New Zealand (Bolstad, 2004).

While a hierarchically organised, centralised model of school curriculum was firmly entrenched in New Zealand’s educational history, it was becoming increasingly difficult to maintain. It was being threatened from two sources both beginning in the 1970s. Firstly, it began to be challenged by writers influenced by neo-marxism, critical theorists, and sociologists in the ‘new’ sociology of education. These academics wrote a more critical analysis of the education system (see for example, Shaker, 1987) and teachers and schools sought a redistribution of power and a shift in the locus of decision making. Those calling for reform from the political left considered that the system reproduced educational disadvantage for minority groups such as the working class, women, and Maori. Maori and feminist activists called for equity and representation in what they regarded as “conservative, male-dominated Pakeha educational bureaucracy, with a view to both empowering their respective constituencies and increasing their own power base” (Codd & Openshaw, 2005, p. 158). Some twenty years later, these claims were substantiated in reports that showed marginalised groups, including Maori and Pasifika students, were overrepresented in negative educational statistics such as literacy and numeracy levels (Alton-Lee, 2003; Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2001). These students were classified as priority learners by New Zealand’s Education Review Office¹⁰ (2012a) in their attempt to recognise and address systemic underachievement. One of the principal solutions for addressing underachievement was to focus on affirming marginalised students’ identities. The Pasifika Education Plan 2009-2012, for example, specifically connects Pasifika students’ achievement with their cultural identity.

¹⁰ “Priority learners are groups of students who have been identified as historically not experiencing success in the New Zealand schooling system. These include many Māori and Pacific learners, those from low socio-economic backgrounds, and students with special education needs” (Education Review Office, 2012a, p. 4).

Success in education requires harnessing Pasifika diversity within an enabling education system that works for young people, their families and communities. This requires the education system, leadership, and curricula to start with the Pasifika learner at the centre, drawing on strong cultures, identities and languages. (Ministry of Education, 2009a)

The second attack on the established, centralised system began as an economic one. Successive New Zealand governments had attempted to control and reduce costly educational expenditure due to the unavoidably large educational bureaucracy. This unwieldy system had become overly burdensome for the centralised government agencies responsible for operationalizing government policy, and also for the government itself that had the unenviable task of trying to satisfy a growing range of diverse interest groups making their competing and contradictory educational goals and aspirations more widely and actively known. Each of these groups believed they had the right and obligation to influence education and what should be taught at school. Employers, for example, claimed rights as future consumers of knowledge acquired by learners. The perspective of this group is captured in the following way:

Few bosses are going to be interested in whether a prospective employee can paste up a montage, splice a film, paint a poster or simulate a hot cross bun! But they will certainly be interested in whether he (or she) can read, write, speak and think effectively . . . Most schools are run on public money and the community at large including parents and employers have every right to expect a well-grounded, literate and competent product. (Christchurch Press, 14 September 1977. Cited in Snook, 1985, p. 256)

Devolving these responsibilities to schools through the model of School Based Curriculum Development (SBCD) was promoted as a solution to these problems.

These [problems] included perceptions that centralised curricula were too slow to keep pace with changing social and educational environments. SBCD was also strongly tied to a view that teachers should be developers, rather than simply transmitters, of curriculum. Today, central concerns for SBCD include developing

school curricula to reflect local needs, bringing students and other people into the school curriculum development process. (Bolstad, 2004, p. 1)

Furthermore, the promotion of SBCD was seen to be more aligned with the culture of curriculum development and change in New Zealand education mentioned earlier: consultation with and participation of the voices of important stakeholders i.e. schools, teachers, and their parent communities.

Not only was this a significant shift in the way decisions about curriculum would be made but also to the way curriculum was to be understood. William Reid, from the University of Sheffield, writing about SBCD in the 1980s explained that the “means by which the curriculum is planned affects the conception we have of what the curriculum is” (1987, p. 116). SBCD promoted a shift in the location of where and who would decide what was to be included in the curriculum as well as a shift in thinking away from curriculum as “a collection of things-to-be-learned” (Reid, 1987, p. 118) and towards a view of curriculum “as a tool for shaping identity” (Bolstad, 2004, p. 85). The notion of curriculum as a tool for shaping identity has implications for the fundamental concern of social realists discussed earlier in this chapter: what is taught at school? Hipkins (2006) in a background paper exploring the nature of ‘Key Competencies’ explained the importance of the competencies to foster lifelong learning. In so doing, she argued against the practice of teaching content in favour of helping students to “become the people they aspire to be – to develop identities that last well beyond school” (p. 53). The development of identity, thus, gains prominence as the knower’s experiences are prioritised over knowledge in curriculum. This refocusing on the experiences of learners has led to what has been described earlier in this chapter as an “evacuation of content” (Young, 2010, p. 21) and more recently explained by Wood and Sheehan (2012) as a dislodging or sidelining of powerful knowledge from the New Zealand Curriculum. There is a risk in the shifting of focus on identity that learners may not be expected to engage with knowledge about identity and how personal, group and national identities are constructed and maintained. Opportunities to acquire the powerful knowledge that supports critical citizenship and critique of social developments and structures are potentially reduced.

Conclusion

The inclusion of the term identity in the national curriculum, therefore, can be understood as being integral to achieving the stated goals of developing a 21st century education system and for addressing systemic underachievement. As a result, the relatively swift and unproblematised appearance of identity in the curriculum has a two-fold deleterious effect. First, a focus on developing dispositions related to identity changes the nature of curriculum because it has the potential to displace subject knowledge in the curriculum. I have argued earlier that the displacement of knowledge undermines the central purpose of schooling, namely to provide equitable access to powerful knowledge. Those students who do not have access to such knowledge in other spheres of their lives are disadvantaged as a result of the curriculum provided at school. Secondly, I acknowledge that the inclusion of identity as a way of ensuring that marginalised groups are recognised and affirmed in the context of school is an important pedagogical practice. However, the conflation of culturally responsive pedagogies with the content of curriculum does not provide opportunities for students to move beyond their social identities. It has the potential effect of trapping them within their experiences and limiting their learning to that which they already know or have access to elsewhere.

The purpose of this chapter has been to draw attention to the changes that have accompanied the inclusion of identity in curriculum and to raise a voice of caution that these changes may disadvantage learners in general and result in greater inequality for learners who are already disadvantaged. Young and Muller (2010) warn against educational initiatives and pedagogies such as these that have the effect, despite their best intentions, “to render the contours of knowledge and learning invisible to the very learners that the pedagogy was designed to favour — namely the learners, invariably but not always those from low income homes, who fall behind their peers” (p. 19). If the use of the term identity remains unchallenged and its inclusion in curriculum is not critiqued, then not only is it likely to undermine the goals its inclusion attempts to address, but its inclusion may further disadvantage the groups it attempts to serve.

Explanatory Interlude

The last chapter provides a foundation for my claim that a focus on student identity has entered the New Zealand national curriculum with surprising swiftness and effect. The phenomenon that is the inclusion of identity in curriculum is not just confined to the New Zealand context. The next chapter may seem like a diversion from the central purpose of the thesis: to show how ideological forces operate in institutional policy and practices using New Zealand primary education to illustrate this process. But by looking at the curricula of two different Pacific nations, I was able to see how the inclusion of 'identity' in national curricula advanced an understanding of identity as an ethnic categorisation. Furthermore, I was able to align the inclusion of identity with ethnic revivalism. This is suggested in New Zealand's case, but more pronounced in the cases of The Cook Islands and The Republic of Nauru.

I acknowledge the influence of New Zealand education systems in the two Pacific nations I write about: The Cook Islands and The Republic of Nauru. My interest is in the similarities and differences in these nation's curricula. All three promote the acknowledgement and development of student identity in 21st century revisions to their nation's curricula. All three nations also believe that maintaining and sustaining students' ethnic identity is the role of schools, yet each nation purports a different purpose and range in the extent to which they prescribe what should be learnt. Nevertheless, the evolution of identity to an ethnic categorisation in each nation leads to the inevitable limited access to universal knowledge.

This chapter was published in a journal concerned with education in the Pacific-Asia region. The New Zealand data from the last chapter is repeated here for comparison with the Cook Island and Nauruan examples.

CHAPTER 3

Curriculum and Identity in the Pacific

This chapter is published in the *Pacific-Asian Education Journal*, a journal about education in Pacific Circle countries.

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Introduction

This chapter outlines a study that examines the inclusion of student identity affirmation in the national curricula of three Pacific nations with educational, political, and economic ties—New Zealand, The Republic of Nauru, and The Cook Islands—and considers the implications of this inclusion for students’ access to knowledge. The study problematised the requirement that students are “positive in their own identity” (Ministry of Education, NZ, 2007, p. 8) in order to explain and critique the changes to curriculum and the implications of the shift from a focus on academic subjects to a culturally responsive approach. In spite of their strong educational ties, each nation shows varying interpretations of the inclusion and commitment to student identity in their curricula and educational policies.

The New Zealand Curriculum

Of the three nations, New Zealand is the largest in population and landmass, and has the strongest and most stable economy. It also has considerable influence on the curricula of Pacific Island nations such as The Cook Islands and the Republic of Nauru as a provider of educational curriculum consultants in the Pacific region.

The New Zealand Curriculum (Ministry of Education NZ, 2007) directs “that students’ identities . . . are recognised and affirmed” (p. 9). While there is no further explanation of the meaning of the term or how teachers might recognise or affirm their students’ identities, the terms identity or identities appear 17 times in what is a concise curriculum document. The majority of references pertain to a student’s personal identity and address curriculum

aspirations that students' identities are recognised, considered, affirmed, strengthened, and understood. Further references relate to affirming and recognising a New Zealand national identity, understanding language as an expression of identity, and knowing about identity. Two single specific references are made to strengthening Maori students' identities, and the notion of multiple identities is acknowledged (see Table 3). The significance of these references can be appreciated when compared with the use of other terms that might be considered important in a national curriculum. The terms "citizen" or "citizenship", for example, appear nine times, while the word "learner" features 16 times. There can be little doubt that the notion of identity holds a place of some significance in *The New Zealand Curriculum*.

Table 3
References to Identity in the New Zealand Curriculum (2007)

<i>Vision</i>	Positive in their own <i>identity</i> . (p. 8)
<i>Principles</i>	The curriculum is non-sexist, non-racist, and non-discriminatory; it ensures that students' <i>identities</i> , languages, abilities, and talents are recognised and affirmed and that their learning needs are addressed. (p. 9)
<i>Key Competencies</i>	Opportunities to develop the competencies occur in social contexts. People adopt and adapt practices that they see used and valued by those closest to them, and they make these practices part of their own <i>identity</i> and expertise. (p. 12)
<i>English</i>	The study of New Zealand and world literature contributes to students' developing sense of <i>identity</i> , their awareness of New Zealand's bicultural heritage, and their understanding of the world. (p. 18)
<i>Health Education</i>	Students build resilience through strengthening their personal <i>identity</i> and sense of self-worth through managing change and loss, and through engaging in processes for responsible decision-making. (p. 23)
<i>Learning Languages</i>	As [students] move between, and respond to, different languages and different cultural practices, they are challenged to consider their own <i>identities</i> and assumptions. (p. 24)
<i>Learning in Years 1-6</i>	The transition from early childhood education to school is supported when the school: fosters a child's relationships with teachers and other children and affirms their <i>identity</i> . (p. 41)
<i>Principles</i>	These principles put students at the centre of teaching and learning, asserting that they should experience a curriculum that engages and challenges them, is forward-looking and inclusive, and affirms New Zealand's unique <i>identity</i> . (p. 9)

<i>Official Languages</i>	Te reo Maori is indigenous to Aotearoa New Zealand. It is a taonga recognised under the Treaty of Waitangi, a primary source of our nation’s self-knowledge and <i>identity</i> , and an official language. By understanding and using te reo Maori, New Zealanders become more aware of the role played by the indigenous language and culture in defining and asserting our point of difference in the wider world. (p. 14) By learning te reo Maori, students are able to: . . . strengthen Aotearoa New Zealand’s <i>identity</i> in the world. (p. 14)
<i>English:</i>	Translation of the whakatauki: Ko te reo te tuakiri, Ko te reo toku ahurei, Ko te reo te ora. Language is my <i>identity</i> , Language is my uniqueness, Language is life. (p. 18)
<i>Learning Languages</i>	Translation of a whakatauki: Ko tou reo, ko toku reo, te tuakiri tangata. Tihei uriuri, tihei nakonako. Your voice and my voice are expressions of <i>identity</i> . May our descendants live on and our hopes be fulfilled (p. 24) Languages and cultures play a key role in developing our personal, group, national, and human <i>identities</i> . (p. 24)
<i>Social Sciences</i>	Conceptual strand: <i>Identity</i> , Culture, and Organisation—Students learn about society and communities and how they function. They also learn about the diverse cultures and <i>identities</i> of people within those communities and about the effects of these on the participation of groups and individuals. As they explore how others see themselves, students clarify their own <i>identities</i> in relation to their particular heritages and contexts. (p. 30)
<i>Official Languages</i>	By learning te reo and becoming increasingly familiar with tikanga, Maori students strengthen their <i>identities</i> , while non-Maori journey towards shared cultural understandings. (p. 14)
<i>Dance</i>	[Students] explore and use dance elements, vocabularies, processes, and technologies to express personal, group, and cultural <i>identities</i> , to convey and interpret artistic ideas, and to strengthen social interaction. (p. 20)

The inclusion of identity in New Zealand’s curriculum can be viewed as a response to the claim that has been substantiated in educational reports, namely, that students from marginalised ethnic minorities, especially Maori and Pasifika students, are overrepresented in negative educational statistics (Alton-Lee, 2003). These students are classified as ‘priority learners’ by the Ministry of Education in their attempt to recognise and address systemic underachievement. One of the principal solutions for addressing underachievement has been to focus on affirming marginalised students’ identities. The Pasifika Education Plan 2009-2012, for example, sets out the government’s strategy for addressing underachievement and

improving educational outcomes. In order to do so, it specifically connects Pasifika students' achievement with their cultural identity:

Success in education requires harnessing Pasifika diversity within an enabling education system that works for young people, their families and communities. This requires the education system, leadership, **and curricula to start with the Pasifika learner at the centre, drawing on strong cultures, identities and languages** [emphasis added]. (Ministry of Education NZ, 2009a, p. 7)

Pasifika Success is characterized by demanding, vibrant, dynamic, successful Pasifika learners, secure and **confident in their identities** [emphasis added], languages and cultures, navigating through all curriculum areas such as the arts, sciences, technology, social sciences and mathematics. (Ministry of Education NZ, 2013b)

In New Zealand education, the task of ensuring that Pasifika students are secure and confident in their identities is viewed as a principal role of the school as well as the responsibility of community and family. A recent Educational Review Office (ERO) report (2012b) emphasised the importance of 'Cultural Diversity'. It is one of eight principles in *The New Zealand Curriculum* that provide a foundation for schools' decision making. This principle calls for schools and teachers to affirm students' different cultural identities, and incorporate their cultural contexts into teaching and learning programmes. The ERO reported the schools that enacted cultural diversity showed the following characteristics and recommended that schools should incorporate these practices:

- teachers were aware of students' different cultural identities;
- students' cultural contexts were incorporated into teaching and learning programmes and into the classroom environment;
- teachers provided practical opportunities for all students to be proud and share their languages and cultures through cultural groups, special events, and school festivals that celebrated cultural difference;
- all students experienced learning contexts from multiple cultures;
- there were clear expectations in schools' charters for celebration of diversity, stating the right of all children to feel culturally safe;

- boards that had developed such charters sought representation from all the cultures of their school community, and staff were representative of many cultures. (Education Review Office, 2012b)

The understanding of identity in these documents clearly means cultural and ethnic identity. Teaching and learning programmes have been developed to respond to the identity affirmation requirement. Students may participate in “cultural groups, special events and school festivals” such as *kapa haka*¹¹ or *Polyfest*¹². *Polyfest* is an annual festival that began in the 1970s as a way for students to demonstrate “pride in their cultural identity and heritage and bring schools and the different cultures between them together” (ASB Polyfest, n.d., para. 1). It is an example of how an extra-curricular activity is now included in the school curriculum. It is sufficiently embedded as valid school knowledge that the national assessment system—the National Certificate for Educational Achievement (NCEA)—awards credits for participation and achievement in this cultural activity. The assessment often involves students being filmed performing in a group. They are assessed on factors including dance choreography, movement, technique, and coordination. Students can achieve credits in year 11, 12, and 13 in Achievement and Unit Standards chosen by the teacher. For example, year 12 students can gain credits under the Achievement Standard Dance 2.4: Perform in a theatre dance work. Many schools use a level 2 Standard: Perform an ethnic or social dance to communicate understanding of the style and a level 3 Standard: Perform a group dance. However, the repertoire Standards, 2.5 and 3.5, were specifically written for this type of performance and give the students more appropriate credit value for the amount of work involved in being part of a festival performance. (Ministry of Education, NZ, n.d., para. 3)

The issue is not that the knowledge and activity itself is not a *real* school subject. Music and dance, along with other creative subjects have a justified place in an academic curriculum in that these subjects are informed by theoretical knowledge. McPhail (2014) describes this as “legitimation; [where] student interests and varied . . . skills can be utilised in assessments, broadening what knowledge can be seen and heard as legitimate” (p. 4). The problematic issue is that the purpose of studying music and dance for these students is to affirm their

¹¹ Maori performing arts.

¹² A performing arts festival for New Zealand Secondary School students to express themselves through traditional culturally based forms of Maori and Pacific Island dance.

ethnic identities by developing cultural knowledge that is restricted to a specific social group identified in terms of its ethnicity or racial origins. The inclusion of the cultural and social knowledge in these types of activities has the effect of replacing or “dislodging” (Wood & Sheehan, 2012, p. 17) school subject knowledge from the disciplines in the curriculum. New Zealand writers have noticed the changing face of knowledge in the past decade and explained it in terms of a shift from epistemic to experiential or social knowledge. Ormond (2011), for example, expresses a concern about a subtle and “surreptitious” shift away from knowledge in secondary school history (p. 1). McPhail (2013) considers similar concerns in the secondary school music curriculum as he describes the tensions that teachers face as they attempt to balance the access to music theory with student engagement. He claims that teachers’ inclination to support students’ participation in music through performance has meant, “there is a risk that students may be denied access to important conceptual knowledge” (p. 52). The same argument is made here with respect to the inclusion of identity in New Zealand’s curriculum. The desire to address concerns about educational achievement, to use culturally relevant pedagogical practices, and to support and sustain student self-efficacy through the affirmation of identity may have the effect of trapping students in their social and cultural identities and limiting access to ‘universal’ knowledge; knowledge that is developed in academic disciplines and altered for teaching in schools in the form of subjects such as mathematics, science, music and so on.

The Cook Islands Curriculum

The Cook Islands is a group of 15 islands with a total land area of 240 square kilometres spread across 800,000 square kilometres of ocean. The island population numbers 10,900, which is considerably less than the 58,000 Cook Islanders living in New Zealand. Given these statistics, the fact that Cook Islanders are New Zealand citizens, and the relationship of free association between the two countries, it is not surprising to find comparable characteristics in each country’s curricula. One of those characteristics is an increased emphasis on identity.

The term ‘identity’ appears in both *The Cook Islands Curriculum Framework* (Ministry of Education, Cook Islands, 2002) and also in *Social Sciences Curriculum* (Ministry of Education, Cook Islands, 2006). It not only appears more frequently than in the New Zealand Curriculum but greater detail is given about the reason for its inclusion, what knowledge

should be developed, and how it should be understood. Nine references to identity are included in *The Cook Islands Curriculum Framework* and a further nineteen references are made in the accompanying *Social Sciences Curriculum*. The first reference in the Framework explains that the purpose of the curriculum is to “develop students with a strong Cook Islands identity” (2006, p. 2) and further elaborates:

The school curriculum will acknowledge and value the special place that is the Cook Islands and will give students the opportunity to learn about Cook Islands culture and language. It will ensure that Cook Islands cultural traditions, spiritual beliefs, histories and events are recognised and respected. (2006, p. 5)

Further references are made to the place of language, specifically Cook Islands Maori¹³ as being vital for maintaining identity; the Arts as a means to express identity; a focus on establishing identity in early childhood education is explained, and having a positive identity is listed as an essential skill that students should develop.

The social sciences learning area is identified as the principal place in the curriculum where students will develop and learn about a Cook Islands identity. This area stresses the importance of students learning primarily about Cook Islands culture and society before exploring that of other societies. The *Social Sciences Curriculum* unequivocally states: “As many of the world’s cultures undergo dramatic change, schools have an obligation to ensure that the young have knowledge of their heritage, beliefs and lifestyle which identifies them as Cook Islanders” (Ministry of Education, Cook Islands, 2006, p. 7). The national social sciences curriculum, therefore, only stipulates knowledge from the Cook Islands context. Where another context is included, it is referred to in general terms as “overseas” as in the achievement objective at Level 4 (see Table 4).

The basis for emphasising a Cook Islands identity is made explicit in the curriculum. It has its foundations in the concern that national identity should be protected from the impact of globalisation whether it be from incoming influences or outgoing migration.

The benefit of a more global understanding is significant for Cook Islands students as most are destined to travel and live in other countries and their own country is a

¹³ Cook Islands Maori is the official language of the Cook Islands. While it shares some similarities with New Zealand Maori, it is a distinct language.

significant tourist destination where people of many cultures come together. As the prospect of globalisation of culture and economy increases, awareness becomes the greatest means of protection for Cook Islands cultural independence. (Ministry of Education, Cook Islands, 2006, p. 5)

Table 4
References to Identity in the Cook Islands Social Sciences Curriculum

Introduction (p. 5)	In the past, the people of the individual Cook Islands lived their lives largely in isolation from each other, but now there is a recognisable and flourishing national <i>identity</i> .
	Building a sense of <i>identity</i> , socially and culturally from an early age helps to provide a feeling of security and community.
Rotaianga – Unity (p. 6)	The uniting of people in a common understanding of who they are and why they are unique is the first step to creating and maintaining a national <i>identity</i> . (p. 6)
	The stars represent the equal union of the fifteen islands of the Cook Islands nation reflecting the curriculum’s emphasis on developing students’ concept of <i>identity</i> .
	The rounded bowl shape of kumete symbolises the Cook Islands society, the focus of the curriculum, and its hard wood reflects the solid cultural <i>identity</i> of the country.
Social Organisation and Identity –Aim (p. 12)	Students will know why people establish their <i>identity</i> by belonging to a variety of groups.
	They will understand that people’s behaviour and participation in the group is determined by traditions, values, beliefs, rules and laws and that from these people establish their <i>identity</i> at various levels within society.
Achievement Objectives	Students will endeavour to: Level 1: Identify and describe their own <i>identity</i> and that of others. Level 2: Describe how communities in the Cook Islands and overseas reflect their cultural <i>identity</i> . Level 4: Compare ways in which people retain and pass on their cultural and national <i>identity</i> in the Cook Islands and overseas. Level 5: Explain how and why people maintain their <i>identity</i> , individually, culturally and nationally.
Exemplar at Level 4 (p. 22)	Basic: The student can use a chart to show the similarities between the ways people retain their cultural and national <i>identity</i> in the Cook Islands and Japan e.g., Cultural clubs, farming methods, medicines, sports, language, flags. Advanced: Students can investigate and compare the similarities between the Cook Islands and 3 other societies’ ways of retaining and passing on their

	cultural and national <i>identity</i> e.g. Stories, plays, film, music, art, political systems, laws, dances, songs, crafts, ceremonies.
Exemplar at Level 5 (p. 23)	<p>Basic: The student can demonstrate they understand the concept of <i>identity</i> and their right to an <i>identity</i> at different levels of society. They can identify the way these <i>identities</i> are maintained/protected by the individual and groups. e.g., personal profiles, stories, case studies of human rights issues (child labour, racism, war).</p> <p>Advanced: The student can explain the importance of <i>identity</i> for the individual and society both <i>nationally</i> and <i>culturally</i> and how the threat to identity can be perceived in various ways (e.g., economic – globalisation; social – racism; and political – genocide) and how societies work at different levels to maintain the sense of <i>identity</i> by combating these threats by laws, organisations, alliances/treaties and wars.</p>
Glossary (p. 26)	<i>Identity</i> – the way a person or a group perceives themselves in relation to other people and groups.

Education is considered to be the last bastion for the preservation of Cook Islands identity. This role for education has its roots in 1970s educational policy which promoted the inclusion of cultural studies in the formal curriculum. Schools were encouraged to participate in “activities such as an annual schools’ cultural festival and a *Kia Orana* day each week when schools are encouraged to orient that day’s programs towards islands culture, including dress, dancing, and *umukai* (local cooking in a ground oven)” (Kennedy, 2016, p. 285). However, if schooling is to prepare Cook Islands students for their future, then schools must address the inevitable problem that faces many Pacific Island nations—preparing students for living in both a traditional society in their home islands, as well as in a contemporary society such as New Zealand. Concern for the declining island-based Cook Islands population and the diminishing use of Cook Islands Maori (McCaffery & McFall-McCaffery, 2010) are reflected in the emphasis on maintaining and sustaining a cultural identity. While other settings beyond The Cook Islands are included in the curriculum, they are not the focus. Balancing the focus on Cook Islands culture, language, and knowledge with discipline-based school subject knowledge will continue to be an issue if students are to move and find success in the professions that will contribute to a stable and successful economic, political, and democratic nation.

The Nauruan Syllabus

The Republic of Nauru is a small island nation in the Central Pacific with a population of around 10,000 people and a landmass of 21 square kilometres. Once described as being one of the world's richest nations, Nauru is now one of the poorest and receives the majority of its revenue from international aid. Like many Pacific Islands nations reliant upon international aid to fund its education system, the aid is dependent upon the adoption of a curriculum based on the "global blueprint" (Coxon, 2002, p. 9) evident in the other two curricula discussed in this study.

The term identity features as a conceptual strand in the Nauru Social Sciences syllabus. It is included in the achievement objectives, indicators of knowledge, and in examples of skills to be developed as well as possible learning experiences. In the 19 references to identity in a document of 35 pages, personal identity is mentioned most frequently, in fact, almost twice as many times as are national identity, cultural and collective identity (see Table 5). In comparison with the *New Zealand Curriculum*, the Nauru syllabus provides more detail about how teachers might enact the ideas about identity in the syllabus, but offers little rationale about why it is included as a concept. Unlike the Cook Islands curriculum, there is not a predominant concern with the preservation of a national, cultural identity.

Reports written in preparation for the Nauru Social Sciences syllabus reveal concerns about identity and education beyond the global blueprint. The *Education For All* (EFA) report, written primarily by Nauru Education Department officials following a series of reviews held in public forums, provides a unique insight into the condition of the national education system as it moves towards the nation's goals for education in the 21st century: "to prepare its citizens to cope with the changing economic and social conditions of the country" (UNESCO, 1999, p. 4). The report describes education as failing to produce Nauruans competent to deal with this vision of the future. It regarded the curriculum as culturally inappropriate and claimed that "a lack of continuity [and] relevance" (p. 37) contributed to the academic failure and a loss of identity for Nauruan students. Significant numbers of Nauruans were reported to be illiterate in English and also to have a poor command of Nauruan. Furthermore, the report declared, "Nauru does not have a learning culture. This way of life has not yet been developed in the society" (p. 39). Yet, despite the implication that "a learning culture" refers to academic knowledge, the report acknowledged the need

for education to preserve Nauruan culture, language, tradition, and identity. Ironically, then, schooling in Nauru is seen as both the reason for a loss of identity and the solution for preserving a cultural identity.

Table 5

References to Identity in the Nauru Social Sciences Syllabus

Conceptual Strand	Cultural Heritage and <i>Identity</i>
Key concept in ECE strand: Social Living	<i>Aña ijegen (identity)</i> is the formation of a confident self, based on knowledge and positive experiences in the home, community and school.
Nauru Studies	Students have opportunities to develop their knowledge and understanding of Nauru through studying: the development over time of Nauru's <i>identity</i> and ways in which this identity is expressed.
Knowledge Indicator at Level 1	Students will understand that culture contributes to personal <i>identity</i> .
Skills at Level 1	Students will be able to select things, and explain reasons for selection, that show something particular about their own and other people's <i>identities</i> .
Guidelines for Student-centred learning experiences at Level 1	Experiences that involve giving examples of factors that contribute to their <i>identity</i> (e.g., age, language, family, community, traditions, gender, where they live, stories of the past); describing and demonstrating ways of demonstrating respect for their own and others' <i>identities</i> (e.g., standing still during the national anthem, participating willingly in cultural celebrations, including others in their activities).
Knowledge indicator at Level 2	Students will understand that cultural practices reflect tradition (rites of passage, observances, protocols) that are often reflected in personal and group <i>identity</i>
Guidelines for Student-centred learning experiences at Level 2	Learning experiences that involve describing how practices, traditions and stories can indicate and/or influence an individual's or group's <i>identity</i> .
Learning Outcome at Level 3	Students will gain knowledge, skills and understanding of ways in which personal, cultural and national <i>identity</i> are developed and maintained.
Knowledge Indicators at Level 3	Students will understand that cultural practices influence <i>identity</i> ; that <i>identity</i> can be personal, group and cultural (e.g., an individual creates a sense of self, sees themselves as part of a group and/or as a member of a particular cultural group); how particular factors and practices influence personal, group and cultural <i>identity</i> ; how the development of a Nauruan

	<i>identity</i> is influenced through images and stories of historic events and of people overcoming and/or facing difficulties; how Nauruan <i>identity</i> is presented using iconic stories, events, people and symbols.
Guidelines for Student-centred learning experiences at Level 3	Learning experiences that involve analysing influences that contribute to their personal <i>identities</i> , including perceptions about being Nauruan.
Knowledge at Level 5	Students will understand that cultures exert influence on people's <i>identities</i> , their practices and behaviours.

Ethnic revivalism and identity in education

The purpose of the discussion in this section is two-fold: to describe how identity has come to be understood; and to consider the effect the inclusion of identity has had in New Zealand, The Cook Islands, and Nauru national curricula. The explanation is located in the rise of the global phenomenon of ethnic revivalism (Glazer & Moynihan, 1975) in the late twentieth century. The commitment of the three Pacific nations to identity recognition and affirmation in their curriculum has occurred with significant effects on two key areas of schooling: pedagogy and curriculum. Pedagogy in schools is now characterised by a focus on ethnic identity. There are also implications for the curriculum with a shift from a focus on academic to social knowledge in response to the deep forces of the changes to societal cultural reproduction.

The inclusion of identity in the curriculum of New Zealand, The Cook Islands, and The Republic of Nauru has been treated differently by each of these nations, although each nation understands identity in terms of ethnic categories. In the case of New Zealand, the focus on identity is justified as a means to address the underachievement of priority learners; in The Cook Islands, the survival of a Cook Islands identity is a central concern; and in The Republic of Nauru this focus is required to satisfy the prerequisites of aid donors as well as maintaining a Nauruan identity (UNESCO, 1999). In spite of these different justifications, the centrality of identity recognition is common to all three curricula. But how is identity conceptualised given the range of intentions? The type of identity that features most frequently is a cultural or ethnic identity. The descriptors 'ethnic' and 'cultural' appear to be used interchangeably with the same meaning. In this chapter, I use the term 'ethnic identity' and take it to mean belonging to a group that is understood as sharing particular values, types of social relations and practices. Rata (2017a) describes two forms of ethnic

identity. One refers to an individual's self-recognition and affiliation with an ethnic group, as is the case in New Zealand and Nauru. The second form, which refers to ethnic categorisation, that is political recognition and affirmation of an ethnically defined group, helps to explain the shift to a recognition and affirmation of ethnic identity in all three nations but, in particular, characterises the situation in The Cook Islands.

The shift to considering identity in ethnic terms was first identified in Glazer and Moynihan's (1975) edited volume, *Ethnicity: Theory and Experience*. These anthropologists draw attention to the fact that the term featured rarely in literature until the 1960s. They describe its appearance in popular usage through dictionaries of the 1960s and note two types of identity. One is an *objective* condition, which refers to belonging to an ethnic group, and the second refers to a *subjective* disposition that is associated with a sense of pride. It is no coincidence, they claim, that the term came into popular usage at a time when nations were experiencing conflict over social distinctiveness such as during the civil rights movement in the USA, religious conflict in Northern Ireland, or the Tamil Liberation movement in Sri Lanka; or when there was recognition of the depressed status of minority and indigenous groups in places like Canada; or during a time of linguistic differences such as those in Belgium. Linguistic, religious, national, and cultural conflicts were not new but they came together in the 1960s and 1970s as the result of processes associated with fundamental changes to global capitalism (Friedman, 1994).

The emergence of 'ethnicity' as a new social category, Glazer and Moynihan (1975) suggest, could be explained by three related reasons. The first is the rise of ethno-nationalism and the intensity of ethnic conflict during this period, such as that noted earlier. Ethnic identity provided an effective strategy for making "legitimate claims on the resources of the modern state" related to concerns about the equality of groups within the nation state (p. 11). Secondly, ethnicity expanded to include both a personal affiliation related to heritage and a socio-political group where rights and interests were defined and pursued by the group. Finally, ethnicity became a more relevant and important affiliation and categorisation than social class because it linked political and economic interests with emotional (affective) ties to a group. In essence, the emergence of this new social category of 'ethnic identity' was based on "tendencies by people in many countries and in many circumstances to insist on the significance of their group distinctiveness and identity and on new rights that derive from this group character" (Glazer & Moynihan, 1975, p. 3).

Similarly, the revival of a personal ethnic identity and the rise of the group categorisation is explained by Friedman (2006) as a consequence of the declining modern nation-state and the ascendancy of supranational institutions. Individuals lost faith in the nation-state as the major provider of their personal identity and retracted into the roots of their cultural identities, which had been subsumed under the nation-state. This phenomenon has signaled a “return to identifying with historical and cultural social groups . . . in a period of fundamental change” (Rata, 2017a). It is possible to trace the 21st century idea of cultural recognition and affirmation in the curriculum documents of New Zealand, The Cook Islands, and Nauru to the ethnic revivalism of the preceding three decades. The following sections will discuss the effect ethnic and cultural recognition and affirmation has had on education in these nations.

Compensatory education, Cultural relativism, Constructivism, and Culturally Responsive Teaching

At the same time that ethnic identity was emerging as a newly formed social categorisation, educators were attempting to find explanations and solutions for the educational problems caused by cultural deprivation and poverty. Scholars such as Bloom, Davis, and Hess (1965) explained the learning problems of minority children as being the result of a deficiency in their home backgrounds. Drawing on research that linked children’s intelligence scores with their home environment, they described the school as the site where this deficiency could be corrected. *Compensatory education*, if offered at school, would compensate for the low academic achievement of those with the lowest cultural and economic capital. “The schools will have to provide unequal education; they will have to devote attention to the needs of deprived children in order to compensate for lackings in their background” (Silverman, 1965, p. 490). Compensatory education focused, at least in part, on the children of ethnic minorities, who were not succeeding in schools.

This approach was soundly rejected by growing numbers of writers in the emergent New Sociology of Education, who considered the explanation or solution, rather than the children, as deficient because of its “blaming the victim” approach (Ryan, 1976). What was not rejected, however, was the relevance of cultural background. For these politicised sociologists of education, the starting place for learning was the students’ social and cultural

knowledge (Villegas & Lucas, 2002). Like the compensatory model, learners were viewed as capable, but rather than compensate for their social and cultural heritage, that heritage was given a central place in their learning. The growing influence of cultural relativism was supported by the equally influential shift to constructivism. This approach, with its progressivist roots, placed the child at the centre of learning as the “constructor” of knowledge. It was seen as a solution to the deficiencies of “transmission” pedagogies (McPhail, 2016).

In subsequent decades, multicultural scholars such as Au (1993), Ladson-Billings (1994), Delpit (1995), and Nieto (1992) went on to theorise and generate teaching applications based on acknowledging and further developing the home–school link. Rather than identifying a deficit of low cultural capital for ethnic minority students, they theorised that a discontinuity existed between school culture and the home culture of ethnic minorities. This discontinuity was considered an important factor where students displayed low academic achievement. A pedagogy that was more closely aligned and responsive to home culture was seen as a solution to the problem of academic achievement. This new pedagogy, in which teachers validated and affirmed students’ cultural identity and ways of learning, was variously termed “culturally responsive teaching (CRT)” (Gay, 2000) or “culturally relevant teaching” (Ladson-Billings, 1995). It involved pedagogies that addressed student achievement but also “help[ed] to accept and affirm cultural identity” (Ladson-Billings, 1995, p. 496). To multicultural educators, an emphasis on cultural or ethnic identity was important to distinguish the culturally based pedagogical approach from that of deficit and compensatory solutions.

Although the Cook Islands is not a multicultural society in the same way as the United States of America where culturally responsive pedagogy began, The Cook Islands curriculum, concerned with the maintenance of an ethno-national identity, rejected the disconnection between home and school. It devotes a whole page of the curriculum to an explanation of the need for a home–school relationship to support the cultural learning and identity of students. The curriculum advocates a “shared responsibility of the school and the home in the education of students and the positive impact that such relationships and partnerships can have on parents, teachers and students” (Ministry of Education, Cook Islands, 2002, p. 33).

New Zealand, the most ethnically diverse of the three Pacific nations under discussion, has embraced CRT. It is evident in the curriculum, which acknowledges “learning is inseparable from its social and cultural context” (Ministry of Education NZ, 2007, p. 34) and in educational initiatives designed to interrupt the pattern of poor engagement and underachievement of learners from ethnic minorities. *Te Kotahitanga*, for example, is a project that seeks to improve the educational achievement of New Zealand’s indigenous Maori students in mainstream secondary schools. It draws on the principles of CRT to assist teachers to become more effective in their practice with Maori students as they develop a “culturally appropriate and responsive context for learning in their classrooms” (Bishop, Berryman, Tiakiwai, & Richardson, 2003, p. 4). Writers of a report to the Ministry of Education (Bishop, Berryman, Cavanagh, & Teddy, 2007) claim that the implementation of this pedagogy of cultural relations has led to statistically significant improvement in the Mathematics and Literacy scores in standardised tests. There is considerable debate, however, concerning the ways in which these claims are substantiated (Nash, 2001; Openshaw, 2007a; Rata, 2012b).

Culturally responsive pedagogies support the idea of a home–school connection and, in turn, this means that the child’s experience tends to be promoted above academic knowledge. This widespread shift to children’s experiential knowledge has led to increasing debate in the literature about the academic knowledge–experiential knowledge issue. At the centre of the debate is the question asked by Young (2010): What should be taught at school? Should it be knowledge from the academic disciplines, which is contextualised as school subject knowledge, or should it be from the child’s experience? Furthermore, does the recognition and affirmation of identity contribute to or diminish greater social equality? In the case of The Cook Islands, the inclusion of identity as content in the curriculum is pervasive but there are limited opportunities for students to access knowledge beyond their local context. Nauru’s experience is more complex. There is limited official or unofficial documentation available so it is difficult to assess the effects of the shift to identity. Identity is hinted at in what documents do exist, however, it is mainly found in reports written by the nation’s political leaders for global organisations such as UNESCO. In New Zealand, the inclusion has led to a widespread acceptance that the affirmation and recognition of identity is actually part of curricular knowledge itself. Despite the intention to raise the academic achievement of priority learners, there is the potential for restricting access to academic knowledge by limiting their learning to that which only has social and cultural relevance.

Explanatory Interlude

The previous two chapters helped me to establish that identity in general and ethnic identity in particular had made a swift and significant appearance in national curricula. I claimed in these chapters that this was problematic because while the direction was clear, the way to enact that direction was not, particularly in the New Zealand context. I return to that context in the next chapter to give substance to the cautions I raise.

The next chapter draws on interview data with eight New Zealand teachers. I wanted to find out what they thought about their students' identities and their own. I also wanted to know if their thoughts and beliefs influenced their selection of curriculum content or their pedagogical practice. The teacher participants were both generous and forthright about their beliefs and practices. Their contributions allowed me to move the study beyond the directives of curriculum and identify a gap between directive and practice. I theorised this gap using a multicultural framework. This was important to me for a number of reasons, but mostly because the work I am expected to do as an educator, researcher, and academic is often a consequence of my Pasifika heritage. The cautions I raise in this thesis and my critique of policy is often read as a non-Pasifika approach. Situating the problem of student identity allocation and affirmation within a multicultural framework will make this work more accessible to those who see these ideas as a threat to Pasifika education. Furthermore, the naturalisation of multicultural (and bicultural) policies and practices allows me to express these ideas within a framework that is more accessible and acceptable to the educators with whom I work.

I also introduce a discussion about knowledge towards the end of the chapter. This discussion develops into a greater focus on knowledge in subsequent chapters.

CHAPTER 4

Recognising ethnic identity in the classroom:

A New Zealand Study

This chapter is published in *International Studies in Sociology of Education*, which addresses historical as well as contemporary sociological debates in education significant to an international audience.

Siteine, A. (2016). Recognising ethnic identity in the classroom: A New Zealand study. *International Studies in Sociology of Education*, 26(4), 393-407.

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to identify the unintended effects that arise from the inclusion of identity in *The New Zealand Curriculum* (Ministry of Education, 2007). These effects are the result of a number of factors including how identity is variously understood, how teachers respond to this understanding, and the resultant interaction that occurs as teachers' practice engages with wider discourses related to cultural responsiveness and the nature and selection of knowledge in the curriculum. The issue of how the curriculum presents identity and how teachers engage with it is problematised in relation to what this means for the way identity appears in New Zealand education policy and practice. I propose that the movement of identity into the curriculum as a directive for affirmation and recognition, what I term the 'identity directive', as well as referring to a topic to be taught, creates possibilities for ethnic division within the school community and destabilises subject knowledge as a key purpose of schooling.

While this chapter discusses identity in the curriculum within a New Zealand context, the issues raised here go beyond the case of New Zealand alone. A focus on student identity exists within an extensive, but divergent, body of literature that ranges from the ways in which heritage culture and identity can be recognised within the Canadian classroom curriculum (Parker, 2010); the affirmation of ethnic identity for immigrant communities in the United Kingdom (Bracken, 2014); the proposal of frameworks for identity education (Schacter & Rich, 2011); or recognising the dilemmas raised in the area of culture and identity for educators, curriculum developers, and policy writers universally (McCarthy, Giardina, Harewood, & Park, 2003). The recent focus on identity reported on in *The New*

Zealand Curriculum (Ministry of Education, 2007) is also reflected in international curricula (Siteine, 2014) in the USA (see, for example, National Council of the Social Studies, 2010), Australia (see, for example, Board of Studies NSW, 2006), Scotland (Education Scotland, n.d.), and The Cook Islands (Ministry of Education, Cook Islands, 2006). The findings reported in this study, therefore, are offered to a global audience in the hope that what is happening of New Zealand might shed light on similar issues in other parts of the world.

Table 6

Participant Information

School	Size	Year levels	Funding Decile	Ethnic Composition ¹⁴	Teachers	Gender
1	530	1-6	4	Indian 28% Maori 16% NZ European 15% Samoan 11%	Alice Brenda Greg	F F M
2	779	7-8	9	NZ European 43% Chinese 25% Other European 10% Indian 6%	Violet	F
3	338	1-6	1	Samoan 35% Maori 20% Cook Island Maori 17% Tongan 17%	Nancy Sharon	F F
4	370	7-8	2	Maori 25% NZ European 20% Samoan 15% Indian 13%	Steven Linda	M F

Qualitative research methods (Cresswell, 2007) were used to explore and interpret the teachers' understandings of identity directives within The New Zealand Curriculum. Data were gathered in discussions with eight teachers from four primary schools. The schools are located in a specific geographical region within the Auckland metropolitan area. This area was selected as it had a dynamic population, being both the fastest-growing and younger than the national average. Furthermore, the area is ethnically and economically diverse. All the schools are fully funded by the government, are coeducational, and teach using the

¹⁴ Highest four percentages of the student population are recorded.

medium of English. The schools differ in size and are spread across the decile funding range¹⁵ (see Table 6).

An Interview Schedule (Appendix D) was devised to guide the discussions in order to ensure consistent coverage of the area being researched, but not as a prescription for the interview. During the semi-structured interviews with teachers, additional questions were asked to elaborate, probe, and expand the discussions as they developed. The analytical phase of the research began with an initial coding process using generally accepted procedures for coding and developing concepts inductively from the data (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Thomas, 2006). A second step involved relating the data to concepts developed in McCarthy's (2002) typology of multicultural education as well as Bernstein's (2000) concept of knowledge differentiation. This final step allowed moved the analysis from one of description towards one of explanation.

The New Zealand context

The chapter begins by recognising the inclusion of 'identity' and the affirmation and recognition of student identity as an important aspect of *The New Zealand Curriculum* (Ministry of Education, 2007). This policy document directs teachers to affirm and recognise identity when implementing their classroom programmes and establishing relationships with their students. I refer to this as the 'identity directive'. However, *The New Zealand Curriculum* does not explain what identity is, why it is of value, and how teachers are to interpret this directive. The absence of explanatory detail is deliberate, leaving teachers and schools to "make interpretations in response to the particular needs, interests, and talents of individuals and groups of students in their classes" (Ministry of Education, 2007, p. 37). In other words, *The New Zealand Curriculum* sets the national direction for education, but expects that teachers will "engage in the curriculum redevelopment, and . . . take more ownership and responsibility for 'translating' the curriculum from policy into practice" (Cubitt, 2006, p. 201).

The identity directive raises the question of how teachers' interpretation of identity translates into choices of learning material to be included in their class programmes and how that

¹⁵ Every school in New Zealand is categorised according to the extent the school draws their students from low socio-economic communities. Deciles are then used to target funding 'to help them overcome any barriers to learning that students from lower socio-economic communities might face' (Ministry of Education, 2016). The lower the school's decile, the more funding it receives from the government.

material is taught. In addition, what is the extent to which the directive has affected the socio-affective dimensions of pedagogy, which in turn becomes curriculum content? Trowler (2003) describes this practice as the convergence of two processes: a policy encoding process and a policy decoding process. During the initial stages of policy and curriculum development, the ideas, values, and aspirations of key actors are elicited and after struggle, compromise, and interpretation, are encoded into official policy or curriculum. The decoding process occurs as policy and curriculum implementers interpret these messages in the context of their own culture, ideology, and experiences.

The chapter examines how teachers' perceptions and beliefs about identity influence their choice of that curriculum content and their pedagogical practices. It theorises their practice regarding the relational connections between teachers' social biographies, their ideological positions about identity and what they choose to teach. On one level, the purpose is to understand the way in which teachers decode, conceptualise, and enact this directive. On another level, the chapter engages with the problem that arises for teachers when a curriculum document uses a concept that appears to be inadequately theorised and, in addition, presents the concept as a putative value that has 'content'.

Although a focus on students' identity in the school curriculum is justified in terms of inclusive and culturally sustaining practice (Alton-Lee, 2003; Paris & Alim, 2014), there is little discussion in *The New Zealand Curriculum* (Ministry of Education, 2007) about how 'recognition' and 'affirmation' will achieve this. In an earlier work (Siteine, 2010), I showed that identity affirmation often led to teachers allocating a specific form of identity to their students. The selected identity was one based on the student's ethnicity. This practice privileged ethnic identity over other forms of identity, such as national or personal. I argued that the allocation of identity along ethnic lines had a deleterious effect, particularly for students from traditionally marginalised ethnic groups.

This chapter revisits that argument, but extends it with a discussion of the type of knowledge used by those teachers who are committed to an 'identity as ethnicity' approach. Learning materials tend to be based in the students' social knowledge and experiences. This emphasis is evident in Ministry of Education materials provided as exemplars for teachers to use in their classroom programmes. For example, the unit, 'Feel the Beat' is included in a social studies resource for teachers that examines the concepts of 'belonging' and 'participating' (Ministry of Education, 2008). These concepts are described in the resource as "integral to

fulfilling the aim of social studies education, in which students explore how societies work and how they themselves can participate and take action as critical, informed, and responsible citizens” (p. 2). However, the conceptual or subject knowledge that might be developed to fulfil such an aim is absent. Suggested learning activities include asking students to bring along a cultural or family treasure “to represent how they identify themselves” or “ask[ing] the students to identify the ways each group of Pasifika people express their culture at the annual Pasifika Festival in Auckland” (p. 13). These kinds of learning activities focus on questions such as: “What are some ways that New Zealand-born Samoans express and/or celebrate their cultural identity?” and “What are some ways in which I express my own cultural identity?” (p. 11). There is no suggestion of developing conceptual knowledge about, for example, how participation or belonging was encouraged or obstructed through immigration practices in New Zealand’s history.

The absence of conceptual or subject knowledge is also evident in teachers’ practice. Chris Lynch (2017) in his research on ‘Pedagogic identities and Maori educational underachievement’ found an example of a school replacing their social studies programme with *kapa haka*¹⁶. I am not suggesting these things do not have a place in the socio-affective dimension of schools, but content that is based in students’ social knowledge and experiences has the effect of pushing disciplinary-based subject knowledge out of the curriculum in favour of experiential knowledge or what Vygotsky (1962) called ‘spontaneous knowledge’. According to Bernstein (2000), students become ‘more of themselves’ and opportunities for them to move beyond their social identities are limited. This has the potential effect of trapping them within their experiences (Bailey, 1984) and limiting their learning to that which they already know or have access to outside of the school.

The next section provides an overview of the identity directive in *The New Zealand Curriculum* (Ministry of Education, 2007) to explain why identity connotes ‘ethnicity’. It turns to the study of teacher voice to analyse the effect of ‘identity as ethnicity’ on the type of knowledge taught.

¹⁶ *Kapa haka* is Māori performing arts presented by a group.

The identity directive

Much of the literature about the recognition and affirmation of student identity in the New Zealand context tends to focus on a student's ethnic identity and particularly the ethnic identity of Māori and Pasifika students. This emphasis can be explained in the concern for the academic achievement of these groups of students. The educational underachievement of Māori and Pasifika students is a recognised concern in New Zealand education (Bishop, Berryman, Cavanagh, & Teddy, 2009; Hynds & McDonald, 2010; Middleton, 2008). Consequently, Māori and Pasifika students are amongst those who have been labelled as 'priority learners' by the Ministry of Education in a Statement of Intent, which identifies two priorities. Priority 1 is of interest here. It focuses on "Improving education outcomes for Māori learners [and] Pasifika learners" (Ministry of Education, 2013c, p. 16). The Ministry of Education explains that education for priority students "acknowledges, supports and incorporates their identity, language and culture in their learning experience" (2013c, p. 8).

As a result of these concerns, initiatives targeting priority learners have been established with an emphasis on providing success by ensuring students are "strong in their national and cultural identity" (Ministry of Education, 2013c, p. 8). *The Pasifika Education Plan 2013-2017* (Ministry of Education, 2012), for example, is a strategic plan developed by the government to improve the educational outcomes of Pasifika learners. Success for these learners is characterised as: "demanding, vibrant, dynamic, successful Pasifika learners, secure and *confident in their identities*, languages and cultures, navigating through all curriculum areas such as the arts, sciences, technology, social sciences and mathematics" (Ministry of Education, 2012, emphasis added). The strength for this approach is evidenced by the support of Pasifika researchers and educators in the development and use of Pasifika pedagogies (see, for example, Allen, Taleni & Robertson, 2009; Hunter & Anthony, 2011; Si'ilata, 2014) and Pasifika methodologies (see for example, Anae, 2010; Sauni, 2011; Vaioleti, 2006).

Similarly, *Ka Hikitia –Managing for Success* (Ministry of Education, 2009b) is a strategy that emphasises "Māori enjoying education success as Maori" (p. 18), and, as such, successful Māori learners are positioned as having a "strong sense of cultural identity" (p. 18). In this argument, the current disparities in education are explained as the school curriculum failing to recognise Māori worldviews (Smith, 1999), and the use of teaching styles not suited to Māori learners (Bishop, Berryman, Tiakiwai, & Richardson, 2003).

According to Marie, Fergusson, and Boden (2008), who argue against this view, “The result of this failure, it is claimed, has been a loss of cultural esteem and, by direct association, Maori identity, which has led to current disparities between Maori and non-Maori in education” (p. 184). This approach has a well-established history. Ranginui Walker, Māori academic and long-time activist and advocate for Māori education, argued, some 30 years earlier, that ignoring Maori identity was “the most important single factor within the school situation that incapacitates the child’s ability to relate himself to the school” (Walker, 1973, p. 113).

In the same way, another strand of research argues that Pasifika students’ underachievement can be explained by the ways in which their teachers view them. Jones’ (1991) influential work, *At School I’ve Got A Chance*, identified teachers’, non-Pasifika students’, and the school’s views of Pasifika students at an all-girls secondary school in Central Auckland as ‘deficit’, a term which characterised them as having a “problem of underachievement” (p. 143). Nakhid’s (2003) research on the self-identification process of Pasifika students in New Zealand secondary schools led her to the conclusion that teachers’ perceptions of Pasifika students adversely affected their educational outcomes. However, Ferguson, Gorinski, Samu, and Mara (2008) provided a more nuanced approach, explaining that deficit theorising was,

based on factors such as low socio-economic status of Pasifika, academic underachievement, and assumptions that many Pasifika students are recent migrants. These factors inform or shape some teachers’ perceptions of what constitutes a Pasifika identity, and is the lens through which they ‘see’ their Pasifika students. (p. 27)

These factors become the basis for explaining levels of achievement rather than through a class analysis as recommended by Nash (2000). It is not surprising, therefore, given the conflation of ethnic identity and socioeconomic class location, that an emphasis on affirming cultural identities of Pasifika and Māori learners is seen as the solution to address on-going patterns of underachievement for these priority learners.

The literature, which has influenced Ministry of Education policies, purports a causal link between achievement and recognising ethnic identity using the cultural values, language, and practices in the classroom to achieve this (for example, Allen, Taleni, & Robertson,

2009; Bishop & Glynn, 1999; Cummins, 1995; Fletcher, Parkhill, & Harris, 2011; Gay, 2000; Hawk & Hill, 2000; Hohepa, McNaughton, & Jenkins, 1996; Phillips, McNaughton, & MacDonald, 2004; Sleeter, 2005; Te Ava, Airini, & Rubie-Davies, 2011). The extent of this influence can be seen in the declared future focus of *The New Zealand Curriculum* (Ministry of Education, 2007) and is found in the Ministry of Education's Statement of Intent. Included in this statement is the hope that learners will be strong in their national and cultural identity. The Māori education strategy, *Ka Hikitia—Managing for Success* (Ministry of Education, 2013a) further explains the link between identity, well-being, and academic achievement:

Students' well-being is strongly influenced by a clear sense of identity, and access and exposure to their own language and culture. Students do better in education when what and how they learn reflects and positively reinforces where they come from, what they value and what they already know. Learning needs to connect with students' existing knowledge. Identity, language and culture are an asset and a foundation of knowledge on which to build and celebrate learning and success. (p. 17)

An emphasis on cultural or ethnic identity is seen as a means to achieve academic success and to enhance the educational experience of priority learners. This well-established government position explains the way ethnic-based initiatives, which align identity and economic goals, are found in all educational policy documents. The *Ka Hikitia* (Ministry of Education, 2013a) initiative acknowledges, 'Raising educational achievement is the single most important way to achieve the Government's ambitious goals for raising living standards through a more productive and competitive economy' (p. 45). Similarly, the *Pasifika Education Plan* (Ministry of Education, 2012) recognises that, '[a] key goal for our Government is to create the conditions for strong, vibrant and successful Pasifika communities – communities that can help build a more productive and competitive economy for all New Zealanders'. A justification for the identity directive, from the perspective of these Ministry of Education initiatives, then, is related to the achievement of the government's economic goals.

While identity directives within curriculum focus on the ethnic identity of the learner, corresponding supporting documents also draw attention to the identity of the teacher. The

Ka Hikitia strategy asserts that Māori are the *kaitiaki*¹⁷ of Māori identity. This assertion raises the question of the role for the non-Māori teacher. The strategy attempts to address this by calling on all “stakeholders . . . to develop a greater understanding of their own identity” in order to better understand how identity, language and culture impact on Māori students’ learning (Ministry of Education, 2013a, p. 17). Teachers themselves acknowledge they are more effective in their role if they possess an understanding of their own identity (Hynds & McDonald, 2010).

In light of the growing emphasis on teachers’ ethnic identity, I conducted a small study of eight teachers to find out more about this view that teachers’ awareness of their identity was significant to their relationship with students as well as how they interpreted curriculum directives. I wanted to know what these teachers thought about their own ethnic identity and that of their students. My interest was in how the identities of both affected their curriculum content and pedagogical practice in light of the identity directive.

Teachers’ understandings and curriculum intention

The findings presented in this section draw on interview data with eight primary school teachers. Each teacher was asked about his or her understandings of the curriculum directives regarding identity, and how this directive was enacted within their classroom programmes. Teachers agreed with the curriculum directive and believed that it is important to recognise and affirm their students’ identities. A major reason given by all the teachers interviewed was that it would promote *cross-cultural understanding* within the school. Interestingly, *The New Zealand Curriculum* (Ministry of Education, 2007) does not emphasise this outcome although there is a suggestion of this outcome in supporting strategy documents that focus on the ethnic identity–academic achievement link. The teachers’ views, however, appear to be based on the reality of working in schools with ethnically diverse populations. This suggests that the teachers are interpreting or decoding the curriculum requirement in relation to what is needed ‘on the ground’. If so, then affirming identity may even be seen as a school management strategy rather than the result of any real engagement with the curriculum document’s vaguely worded intentions. For the teachers I interviewed, identity recognition and affirmation took the form of respect, appreciation, and

¹⁷ Guardian or protector.

accepting of each other's culture or ethnicity.

It's understanding and appreciating each child for who they are no matter what ethnicity they are or cultural background. (Brenda)

I think it is very important that we celebrate different cultures. We learn from each other, we need to appreciate every culture, you know, once upon a time we used to hear kids saying things like you Māori, you Samoan. It's no more, you don't hear it anymore. So, it's like more accepting that we are one. We are different but we are still the same. (Sharon)

Just so that they know that they are valued here. That no matter what, they are valued here and we give them plenty of opportunities to do it too, not just in class but out of class as well with the leadership in the school and culture groups. (Linda)

The affirmation of a student's ethnic identity was promoted by celebrating ethnic identity in class programmes, which focused on festivals and outward features of cultures such as ethnic food, dress, songs, and dance:

Most years we have a culture celebration day where they wear their clothes to school . . . they come dressed in clothes that might be worn in their country of birth or their parents' country of birth and they bring food along and we all try different food from different cultural things as well. So I think that all of those sort of things are important and acknowledging and accepting them. (Brenda)

When we look at culture, we don't ask people to say what makes you a New Zealander. We say what makes you, you? We feel really badly for the New Zealanders because they haven't got anything very good. Do you know what I mean? Like if they take on the te reo¹⁸ then they have amazing stuff they could share like the Māori aspects the waiata¹⁹ and the haka²⁰. If they chose not to have that as part of their identity then they are stuck with gumboots, pavlova

¹⁸ Māori language

¹⁹ Māori song

²⁰ Maori dance

those kind of things . . . And so, when there are people from China sharing their beautiful costumes and singing and there are people from other cultures sharing their amazing things which pull them together as a nation I guess I do feel badly for the kids who chose not to take on the Māori part because then they've just got like a collection of bits. (Violet)

[In our programmes] the ethnicity gets recognised, the types of foods that they eat, you know, New Zealand born or born overseas. (Nancy)

The vagueness of the curriculum directive and the requirement that schools themselves interpret what identity means has the potential to create unintended race divisions. The most vivid illustration of the unintended consequences of an ethnic-based initiative came from Alice, an experienced teacher in a school with a diverse roll of about 500 students. Alice described a practice in her school where all children were grouped according to their ethnicity for lunch meetings. In this school, teachers saw ethnicity as students' primary identity and believed that children would have a stronger sense of belonging to the school, and be more able to advocate for, or relate to, children with the same ethnic identity. However, these meetings did not go to plan.

That didn't work because they didn't like it. They didn't like being singled out as Vietnamese or Chinese or whatever. But the idea was that we would all sit down have lunch and they talk in their own language. That is what we thought would be a nice thing for them to do and then they would know across the school who was in their ethnicity so that if they had a problem in the playground or something they could go and look for that person who could then either talk for them or solve the problem or stand up for them . . . But they didn't like it, they didn't want to go. They had to be made to go . . . and they basically sat in silence and ate their lunch . . . It was almost the Star of David thing . . . It didn't work . . . We had the best intentions but maybe it needed to be managed differently.

The 'Star of David' reference is particularly striking given the deep implication of this reference for racial division. Not surprisingly, this experience caused Alice to later reflect that, while teachers saw their students on the basis of their ethnic identity, the children might have seen themselves differently:

They might be Vietnamese but maybe they think they are New Zealanders. Maybe they don't want to be in this culture kind of thing and they don't want to know about their old culture. (Alice)

The lunchtime meeting groups were initiated by teachers who were actively attempting to provide opportunities for students to be 'more of themselves' ethnically, by speaking their heritage languages and interacting with other students of the same ethnic background. Both the type of identity that was promoted and the ways it could be expressed were selected by the teachers in this school and based upon their personal beliefs that this would be beneficial for children. While, as Alice attests, these choices were well intentioned, the effect was debilitating and perhaps even dangerous.

Confusion about the concepts of 'identity', 'race', 'culture', and 'ethnicity' led to teachers drawing on their personal experiences in attempting to make sense of these terms. Curriculum content as well as school practices were shown to be determined by teachers' personal beliefs. Greg's self-identification as a 'kiwi' influenced his beliefs about how students should identify themselves and governed his curriculum choices. He expressed great enthusiasm for a topic that developed students' understanding of their New Zealand identity, particularly for those students who were immigrants to New Zealand.

The kids should be aware of their culture, they should celebrate their culture, but now they've moved to New Zealand they need to understand what we are and how we are . . . and if they are living here I want them to experience that as well . . . In school, we talk about kiwi icons and food that we love and activities that we do in New Zealand and the history of New Zealand what we are built on. And I think all of that factors into what constitutes Kiwiana and I'm dogged determined that the kids understand what makes New Zealand special. (Greg)

The belief that building a kiwi identity, as an ethnicised referent, is an important part of the curriculum was based on Greg's personal identity. He described himself and his curriculum choices this way:

I'm quite true blue kiwi. It's a part of myself that I value and I want the kids to value that as well . . . I want my kids to understand who they are in New Zealand, how they fit into our society . . . Because they are in New Zealand and now, whether they want to or not is part of their identity. It's who they are.

Greg's choice to incorporate kiwi culture into his programme was based on his belief that students should appreciate and prioritise their New Zealand identity as their primary identity and that they should be assimilated into New Zealand society:

I want my kids to understand who they are in New Zealand how they fit into our society . . . It's a key component of building that sense of identity that they should be proud of their land and their culture and their history even if it's not there.

The valuing of New Zealand culture and developing a strong kiwi identity was Greg's personal response in his professional life to the eroding of kiwi culture as a result of an increasingly multicultural population. He felt that New Zealand was 'in danger of losing its identity' therefore:

[I] want our kids to value our country because . . . I'm worried that we could lose it. So, I don't want them to value other cultures more.

It could be argued that Greg's interest in developing a New Zealand identity addresses national rather than ethnic identity. Callister (2004), however, has described the emergence of 'New Zealander' as a valid ethnic group. Discussion about this validity hinges on two arguments. The first is the significant number of respondents who are writing 'New Zealander' or 'kiwi' as their ethnicity in census data since 1986. Secondly, Callister acknowledges New Zealand society's general acceptance that 'ethnicity is culturally constructed, even if ancestry influences many peoples' choice of ethnic group(s)' (2004, p. 6). Both arguments signal a shift towards understanding 'New Zealander' or 'kiwi' as an 'ethnic' rather than a national referent, as is reflected in Greg's descriptions above.

Personal views, such as Greg's, were a strong feature of teachers' interviews. They spoke of how their personal understandings, experiences, and beliefs influenced their curriculum choices and practices. Violet summed up this idea when she explained her beliefs about the way teachers shaped their students' identities:

I think people's own upbringing and their own values and their own experiences probably largely dictate what they share and mould with their class . . . there are guidelines put in place in terms of what should be happening in classrooms and some people say I don't really believe in that so I won't really do it or I'll

just do it if I think someone is coming round to look or I'll make sure there's a little bit in the books on that thing but it's not really what I [believe].

Similarly, other teachers spoke about their experiences and beliefs that determined the content of their classroom programmes. In response to a question about what guided his understanding about affirming student identity, Steve explained:

I don't think it is in the curriculum and I don't think even with the professional development you have . . . it's come from experiences that you've had through your life which drive your thinking and your choices . . . It comes from cultural background . . . or mostly personal experience.

Whether teachers specifically sought to promote cross-cultural understanding, affirm heritage languages and practices, or actively promote a specific view, their enactment of the identity directive followed a common-sense approach determined by their personal beliefs, experiences, and largely tacit understandings rather than from specific curriculum guidance or theoretically informed understanding.

The directive–practice gap

I have argued that teachers' practice has been shaped by a naturalised discourse of cultural responsiveness and understanding illustrated in the extracts from this research study. The discourse, one that is embedded in education policy (Lourie, 2016) and specifically in the identity directive in *The New Zealand Curriculum*, has not only shaped their practice but has also obscured an awareness of their understanding. Teachers in this study were not conscious of their practice or critical of their understandings because of the extent to which it is naturalised. Their personal beliefs, experiences and tacit understandings led to well-intentioned but, in some cases, damaging, practices. They also led to the prioritising of dispositional and therapeutic approaches to the selection of curriculum content that focussed on surface features of heritage cultures, and arbitrary selection of topics in classroom programmes.

It may be possible to understand and explain the marked divergence between the identity directive and teachers' practices in terms of an incongruity between policy and practice by utilising McCarthy's (1993) typology of multicultural education. This typology positions

teacher beliefs and practices within discourses of multicultural education. It is useful in this discussion as the recognition and affirmation of ethnic identity has its roots in multicultural approaches to education. McCarthy (1993) identifies three discourses of multiculturalism in educational practices and programmes: cultural understanding, cultural competence, and cultural emancipation. Of these, the discourse of cultural understanding can be recognised in the teachers' voices in this study.

Cultural understanding refers to an approach that recognises that all students possess an ethnic identity and that this acknowledgement could help them appreciate their own and others' cultural differences. This was evident in teachers' comments. Each ethnic group is seen as having parity with others, there is no sense of dominant or subordinate power relations; therefore, Sharon's explanation, during her interview, that "we are all different but we are all the same" is understood as an equalising approach that will improve communications and relationships as well as minimise possible tension among ethnically different groups. Teachers promoted the discourse of cultural understanding in the lunch meetings that Alice described, where students were sorted into their cultural groups in order to provide a space for talking, socialising, and developing friendships and relationships of support. This was done in the hope that individual students would feel connected with others in their own ethnic group and that the school could show that they recognised and affirmed the ethnic identity various heritage groups within the school.

Teachers also believed that students would feel valued in the celebration of their specific ethnic cultures through the sharing of food, the wearing of costumes, and other surface features of culture. McCarthy calls this a "discourse of cultural relativism" that aims to naturalise ethnic difference leading to acceptance and recognition (1993, p. 291). However, the practice has the potential for the opposite outcome, as Alice's experience showed. In this instance, rather than creating group unity and broadening cultural understanding, racial division and 'othering' (Spivak, 1985) of groups and individuals according to ethnicity was unintentionally promoted.

While acceptance, affirmation, and recognition feature in directives within *The New Zealand Curriculum* (Ministry of Education, 2007) and in supporting strategies and initiatives, multicultural discourse is not limited to cultural understanding and cultural relativism. The purpose of these directives reach beyond cultural relativism to what McCarthy (1993) describes as *cultural emancipation*. Underpinning this discourse is the belief that academic

and economic success will be increased for ethnic minority students, dependent upon the extent to which heritage histories, languages, and culture are included in the school curriculum. Emancipation refers to “[the reduction of] dissonance and alienation from academic success that centrally characterize[s] minority experiences in schooling” (McCarthy, 1993, p. 292).

The rationale of academic and economic success is a recurrent explanation in the policy and scholarship described earlier, particularly with regard to Māori and Pasifika learners. However, it does not appear in teachers’ descriptions of their practice. This is a significant difference between the policy discourse and the teachers’ understanding. Highlighted is a divergence, rather than a process of convergence, between policy encoding and decoding (Trowler, 2003). It is not clear whether teachers believe, that by addressing aspects of cultural understanding or cultural relativism in their class programmes, this will naturally lead to academic and economic success, or whether these goals are absent from their thinking. There is some evidence from this study that suggests teachers had not deeply considered what underpinned their practice except that they do what they believe good teachers do. When asked about why she recognised and affirmed student identity in the way she described, Brenda commented:

It’s interesting because I hadn’t analysed it at that depth before, but now you raised that question I can actually see a little bit of a pattern [in what I do].

Alice also queried her ideas about her practice related to recognising and affirming student identity:

I wonder if that’s the Ministry’s view. Is that what they mean or do they mean more than that?

Nancy suggested that teachers’ understanding was limited because of their . . .

not knowing what they don’t know. They [teachers] think they know a lot about their children but it’s that surface stuff. They will give you a good understanding of their children and their background and what they like and dislike and how their identity is important but that’s about it.

These comments not only suggest a restricted view about student identity, but also how the

discourse surrounding cultural understanding has become naturalised in practice and is no longer open to analysis and critique. The teachers just accepted as normal the idea that the identity they were required to recognise and affirm was an ethnic identity. I suggest that the views and goals of teachers, underpinned by a naturalised discourse of cultural understanding, and the purposes of the Ministry of Education, promoting the discourse of cultural emancipation, are incongruous. While they both have ethnic identity at their core, the differences between the policy goal, which reflects McCarthy's discourse of cultural emancipation and aims to 'boost school success and economic futures of students from ethnic minorities' (1993, p. 292) stands in stark contrast with teachers' practice in which the discourse of cultural understanding with its focus on 'acceptance of cultural difference and understanding' in order to improve communication between different ethnic groups is advanced (1993, p. 291).

Naturalisation of the discourse of cultural understanding (Lourie, 2016) has occurred as a result of lack of direction in national educational policy, and the absence of a theory of knowledge in curriculum. Teachers are reliant upon personal, social knowledge to enact the identity directive. There are two major effects of this naturalisation. First, it has the effect of leading to practices which are well meaning but potentially damaging in that they may *cause* ethnic division as was shown in the interviews. The second effect is not mentioned overtly by the teachers, but underpins their choice of teaching material. School subject knowledge may be replaced with topic-based material promoting ethnic and social identities understood according to the teachers' own experiences. It is the knowledge *not taught* that requires investigation. The effect of choosing topics with content about the identity–ethnicity link leads to a shift from the objective type of knowledge found in academic subjects to a social type of knowledge where the subjective experiences of culturally defined groups provide the content for teaching.

This distinction between academic knowledge and social knowledge is found in Bernstein's (1999) theory of knowledge differentiation following the Durkheimian tradition (1926). Bernstein classifies knowledge as horizontal and vertical discourses to distinguish common sense, local knowledge (horizontal discourse) from schooled, official knowledge (vertical discourse) in order to theorise what knowledge is transmitted to particular groups of children. Young (2010a) has drawn on this theory to propose that knowledge could be understood as 'powerful knowledge' or the 'knowledge of the powerful' (p. 10) and, in this

way, the consequences of these choices could be more explicitly discerned. In this chapter, I have described how teachers are given the ‘power’ to determine what knowledge comprises the content of classroom programmes related to their students’ identity.

Teachers’ explanations position themselves as the powerful, that is, those who determine school knowledge. However, the knowledge they choose is social knowledge drawn from their beliefs and experiences. In this case, it may be understood as knowledge of the powerful. Powerful knowledge is academic content, which is context-independent, but knowledge of the powerful might, or might not, be. In this study, knowledge of the powerful (or teacher-selected knowledge) was related to dispositions of self, social experiences, and surface features of culture such as heritage costumes, food, songs, and dances. This type of knowledge is all context-dependent, which is unlikely, therefore, to develop abstract thinking. Young (2010b) contrasts ‘knowledge of the powerful’ with ‘powerful knowledge’ that is, the ‘forms of knowledge that gives [sic] power to those who have access to it . . . [the power] to move beyond their experience and locate themselves in a wider context’ (p. 11). In the New Zealand case I have described, the knowledge of the powerful is the teachers’ social knowledge, which serves to reinforce the limiting effects of this type of knowledge.

This differentiation between social and epistemic knowledge (Bernstein, 1999; Rata, 2012a; Young, 2010b) is absent in identity directives in curriculum, policy, and initiatives specifically designed to address minority students’ access to successful academic and economic outcomes. This has significant implications for claims that the recognition and affirmation of identity will lead to academic success. It is not enough to assert this claim, that is, to assert a causal link between identity recognition and affirmation and academic success. The responsibility on the Ministry and authors who assert this claim is to explain the mechanisms involved. Bernstein (2000) does, in fact, draw a link between identity and academic achievement but his concept of identity refers to an epistemic identity. In addition, he explains what it is about knowledge that is linked to an epistemic identity. According to Bernstein’s theory of knowledge, academic knowledge is structured epistemically. This means that the relations between concepts are built through reference to one another and from lower to higher order. When children master these abstract relations, they take on an epistemic identity. Ironically, because *The New Zealand Curriculum* does not have a theory of knowledge, academic knowledge may be seen to have lost its ‘place’ as a specific identity. The theory of ‘culture as ethnicity’ may have taken over.

Conclusion

This chapter has drawn attention to the unintended consequences that arise from the curriculum directive that teachers should affirm their students' identities. It has used McCarthy's typology of multiculturalism and Bernstein's theorisation of knowledge differentiation to analyse teachers' understandings and beliefs about their students' identities and explain how these understandings are enacted in classroom programmes.

The well-intentioned, but potentially damaging, practices described in this study are consequences of the limited guidelines given to teachers about how to affirm their students' identities and the limited and under-theorised nature of the directive itself. Teachers have described how their school and classroom programmes focus on dispositions, values and surface features of culture that have been accessed through the teacher's social knowledge. This focus changes the nature of curriculum because it tends to displace academic knowledge in classroom programmes. The displacement of knowledge undermines the central purpose of schooling, namely to provide equitable access to powerful knowledge. Those students who do not have access to such knowledge in other spheres of their lives are disadvantaged as a result of the curriculum provided at school. This is most damaging for students who are academically vulnerable as it positions academic knowledge further from their reach. Indeed, it is possible that teachers' practice is actually producing the opposite of what the policy intends. This is the case because, if access to academic knowledge is replaced by the 'spontaneous' knowledge from everyday experience, it is likely that students will underachieve at school (Young, 2010a). While this is undoubtedly a concern, even more worrisome is the opportunity that is created for students to experience racial division at school.

Explanatory Interlude

In the preceding chapter, I identified a gap between the identity directive found in curriculum policy and the way that directive was enacted in practice. In the next chapter, I theorise this gap using Basil Bernstein's framework of pedagogic identity types. This allows me to take the ideas further and to connect and explain the incongruency found at the levels of policy and practice with the ideologies of neoliberalism and culturalism at the global level. I apply a critical policy methodology described in the introductory chapter. In so doing, the thesis becomes a sociological discussion from a social realist perspective.

In the first stage of this methodology, I use Bernstein's framework to explain the relational links between the global forces of neoliberal and cultural ideologies and the changes to New Zealand educational policy, which has been set out in the previous chapters. The second stage of the methodology is an analysis of that policy. I analyse two instances of policy, Ka Hikitia and The Pasifika Education Plan, using characteristics of the two different ideologies (neo-liberalism and culturalism) as well as Bernstein's framework of pedagogic identity types. Ka Hikitia is written specifically for Māori students, The Pasifika Education Plan for Pasifika students. In the third and final stage of the chapter, I examine the phenomenon of student identity affirmation and the curriculum identity directives. My explanation of these relationships situates the policy and practice within the larger context of neoliberal and cultural ideologies.

The following two chapters have been written to develop the thesis from the ideas that emerged in the publications reproduced in chapters two, three, and four.

CHAPTER 5

Pedagogic Identity in Policy and Practice

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to make two arguments that develop the discussion presented in the preceding chapters. These arguments form the thesis itself. The argument is first, that a relationship exists between neoliberal curriculum reform at the policy level and the type of student identity that is acknowledged and affirmed at the micro level of schooling. The second argument is that this relationship is possible because it occurs within the context of two forceful ideologies—culturalism and neoliberalism—being aligned in an accommodating way within the domain of educational thought and practice. This is an unusual and unexpected relationship, but is a key idea of this thesis as it provides an explanation of how cultural identity has been revitalised in an era of neoliberal reform, thereby demonstrating, empirically, a link between culturalist and neoliberal politics.

Bernstein's (2000) framework of four pedagogical identities is used to demonstrate the existence and nature of this relationship between these two ideologies. His concepts can be used to describe the relationship in terms of an insulation between education, the main institution of the symbolic or socio-political sphere, and the market. It is one with a porous boundary open to push and pull according to how each party to the relationship is strongly or weakly classified. Since the 1980s this insulation has weakened and as a result,

The principles of the market and its managers are more and more the managers of the policy and practices of education. Market relevance is becoming the key orientation for the selection of discourses, their relation to each other, their forms and their research. This movement has profound implications from the primary school to the university. (Bernstein, 2000, p. 86)

While writers like Beck and Young (2005) have discussed these implications in the tertiary sector, and others such as Morais (2000), McPhail (2014), and Parker (2006) in secondary schooling, there has been little discussion to contextualise the implications of this movement in the primary sector of schooling. This chapter locates the shifts in the official knowledge discourse found in educational policy, in the weakening between the productive and

symbolic spheres that Bernstein theorises. I argue that the ensuing development of ‘identity recognition’ policy in the primary school can be seen as an epiphenomenon of this shift. New Zealand education will be used to illustrate how the shifts occur at three levels of the system, identified within critical policy methodology: the socio-political economic theoretical framework, an analysis of education policy, and empirical research (see Introduction). To do this I will examine how an educational policy which asks teachers to recognise and affirm their students’ identities (Ministry of Education, 2007) sits within the larger shift of educational policy to meeting market requirements.

The first level is a socio-political economic theoretical framework that explains relational links between global forces and local developments. Drawing on Dale’s (2008) explanation that education policy is no longer an exclusively national issue, I use the concepts of neoliberalism and culturalism to refer to the global ideological forces in order to analyse the foundations for the coterminous ideological changes to national curriculum with particular respect to the ‘identity directive’. The beliefs underpin the directive in the New Zealand curriculum that states, “students’ identities . . . should be recognised and affirmed” (Ministry of Education, 2007, p. 9). The concepts of neoliberalism and culturalism capture the main economic and social ideologies which have shaped the political landscape since the 1980s. I discuss these concepts in the first section of this chapter below.

The second level is an analysis of education policy within that theoretically conceptualised context. I use Bernstein’s (2000) framework of pedagogic identities to show that a specific type of identity is encoded at the level of official policy. I argue that what he refers to as a ‘Prospective Pedagogic Identity’ is a feature of this shift of education operating in the service of the market. A Prospective Pedagogic Identity is one that is oriented towards external economic outcomes. I explain it in detail in the second section of this chapter. Neoliberal ideology can be seen in the way in which this type of pedagogic identity is encoded into the official discourse of curriculum and related educational initiatives at the policy level. Essentially, this involves selective recontextualising of features of the past, chosen for their cultural salience, with a view to raising student performance in order to “help build a more productive and competitive economy” (Ministry of Education, 2012).

However, there are unintended consequences of the policy which promotes this identity type. I will draw on empirical data to show that the prospective identity encoded into curriculum is, in fact, further recontextualised by teachers at the third level of the system,

that of teachers' practice. Teachers decode policy directives into their classroom practice and in doing so, alter the identity type to one that is more in line with Bernstein's 'Retrospective Pedagogic Identity' – an identity that draws on national, cultural, or religious narratives of the past. The findings of my study show that this double recontextualisation, created within two stages, reveals an incongruence between the two pedagogic identity types: the prospective one and the retrospective one. The first recontextualisation occurs at the encoding level of policy; the second recontextualisation occurs at the decoding level of teachers' practice. My purpose in this chapter is to not only identify the incongruence, but more importantly to explain it. The explanation lies in my recognition of two seemingly opposing ideologies, a culturalist one and a neoliberal one, that do, in fact, operate to support the same processes of the shift of education in service of the market.

The incongruence in the pedagogic identities promoted in official discourse of curriculum and the way that discourse is further recontextualised by teachers, in their practice and in the content of programmes, serves to conceal how these ideologies interact to affect the insulation between the economic and symbolic boundary. There are major implications which flow from the way in which the presence of the market has moved into education, and into the pedagogic identities at the level of classroom relations and practice. The most significant effect is related to the kind of knowledge students are given access to in the class curriculum. This is a consequence of how teachers are expected to identify their students; particularly in terms of their cultural and ethnic identities. I will argue that this change to the knowledge provided to students as a result of the intrusion of neoliberal ideas, through the weakening of the insulated boundary, has damaging implications for all students. However, it can be especially damaging for ethnic minority students because they are at risk of being given access predominantly to cultural knowledge which supports a Retrospective Pedagogic Identity. When this cultural ideology is yoked to the economic ideology which promotes neoliberalism, students identified as 'ethnics' are located within the policies of these ideologies.

Global Forces of Neoliberalism and Culturalism

My discussion of the ideological forces that have influenced education in the latter part of the twentieth century begins with the changes which grew out of the discontent of the 1970s. Many educators and academics have explained these changes. I acknowledge their work, which I use as the basis to explain the philosophical and political shifts at the macro level of

society that have led to the curriculum reform and their implications for the micro level of schooling. Jonathan Friedman (2006) described the changes of this time as a “unitary process of fragmentation” (p. xvi). The juxtaposition of the decline of Western hegemony is offset by the fragmentation of modernity, which can be seen in two contradictory forces. The first is the rise of marketisation or neoliberalism as a response to the decentralisation of capital accumulation originally held by the West, most particularly the USA; and second, the re-emergence of culturalism or cultural identity in response to the loss of the imaginary trajectory of modernity.

The rise of neoliberalism

The neoliberal reform of the 1980s could be described as revolutionary in that it signaled a radical shift in the relationship between society and the market. These radical shifts were seen across Western democracies, but most particularly in the political administrations of Ronald Reagan in the United States, Margaret Thatcher in the United Kingdom, and the New Zealand government under the leadership of David Lange and Roger Douglas. In their respective countries, these leaders ushered in political and philosophical reform which “allowed the market mechanism to be the sole director of the fate of human beings and their natural environment” (Polanyi, 2001/1944, p. 76). The view that the market should determine the position and role of society rather than the other way around was a fundamental shift in the nature of politics and also in understandings about the purpose of society. Society had become subordinated to the operation of the market as the latter was seen as a more effective way of using and allocating resources (King, 1987).

In the United States, Ronald Reagan’s neoliberal ideology led to policies that changed American income distribution in the 1980s to one of greater inequality (George, 1999). This major shift is explained by Codd (1993) as a response to the economic problems of the 1970s and as a resurgence of economic and political liberalism. The resurgence took the form of “major restructuring in order to gain more political control over the system under the rhetorical banners of decentralisation and market freedom” (p. 77). The promotion of ideas of competition, privatisation, and choice as central tenets of market reform as a driver of government policy, not only changed the fundamental nature of politics but also prioritised individual liberty over issues of social justice (Giroux, 2005). These ideas led to unprecedented reform in educational policy in New Zealand education in the 1980s.

Margaret Thatcher promoted the priority of individualism to the extent that she claimed society had not just been subordinated, it did not exist.

There is no such thing as society. There is living tapestry of men and women and people and the beauty of that tapestry and the quality of our lives will depend upon how much each of us is prepared to take responsibility for ourselves and each of us prepared to turn round and help by our own efforts those who are unfortunate.
(Thatcher, 1987)

The rise of culturalism

Accompanying the discourse of marketisation and neoliberal politics was a different response to the dissatisfaction of the economic failures of the 1970s and the loss of the imaginary of modernity: the re-emergence of culturalism or a cultural identity. Culturalism is the belief that individuals are determined by their culture and that the individual can only realise him or herself within it. Openshaw and Rata (2006) describe culturalism as “the ideology of ethnic politics . . . [where] ethnic identity becomes a type of sacred identity” (p. 4). Friedman (2006) identifies a phenomenon he describes as a “retraction into roots” (p. xiii). This ‘retraction’ occurred when the economic failure and the uncertain future orientation of modernism gave way to the appeal of a stable past, a drift towards neotraditionalism, and a turn to identity politics justified by a culturalist ideology. Regional minorities who had been committed to the project of the modern nation state and were assimilated into national communities re-emerged as ethnic groups as they became dissatisfied with the failed promises of modernity.

An accompanying change in identity occurred, from that of a sense of unity linked to national citizenship to an essentialist sense of belonging with an ethnic heritage group; that is, from a contract with the nation state to status within a bounded cultural group. In New Zealand, the influence of culturalist ideology is seen within the discourse of institutionalised biculturalism. Edwards and Moore (2009) describe biculturalism as “the recognition and promotion of Māori and Pakeha New Zealanders of European descent, culture and identity within government departments and institutions” (p. 49). It has been described as one of the most the most important social and political developments in New Zealand in the latter part of the twentieth century (Belich, 1996). Lourie (2016) identifies three significant factors as being instrumental in the rise of biculturalism, which is the New Zealand form of

culturalism. First, the [cultural] turn from class-based politics to identity politics (see for example, Friedman, 1994; Hobsbawm, 1996; Rata, 1996). Second, the influence of culturalism in New Zealand's universities – particularly anthropology and education departments (Openshaw, 2006; Rata, 2013); and finally, the radicalising of the Māori protest movement in the 1970s and 1980s.

The ethnic revivalism found in culturalism and the economic imperatives of neoliberalism are linked. Both contribute in significant ways to the breakdown of the social democratic project, that of a universal society, separately and in different ways. First, the culturalist response to the economic decline of the 1970s compromised the idea of universalism. Once culturalism undermined the universalism which underpinned working class movements, then neoliberalism was able to weaken the social democratic ideal.

What did this mean for education?

The shifts to neoliberal political ideology called into question the aims and purposes of education. Historically, the purpose of education was seen to serve the interest of the nation state – a public good (Codd, 1993). Educational reform since the 1990s has positioned education as a private commodity with an economic instrumental purpose – preparation for the job market. Dale (2008) explains that the dominant mandate of education in New Zealand since this time has been “to ensure that education contributes as fully as possible to the country's ability to participate in and benefit from the global knowledge economy” (p. 32). The shift from education as a public good to a private commodity has been described by John Codd (1993) who details the effect of neoliberal policies that promoted utilitarianism, efficiency, and competition in contrast to the promotion of social justice as fairness in education of the previous social democratic era. Codd drew on Rawls' work (1972 in Codd, 1993), which broadly described this phenomenon as a shift from understanding education as a “primary good” where educational policy was “justified by the extent to which they produce a fairer distribution of educational benefits” (Codd, 1993, p. 83) to understanding education as a “preferred good” where the “state invests in education to improve the overall productive capacity of its citizens . . . to achieve maximum return on investment” (p. 84).

In order to achieve that economic return, a highly educated workforce is required. Education policy during this period became more economically instrumental, as described above, most

notably in linking education explicitly to aims such as preparation for the job market and subsequent contribution to the economic performance of the nation. The consequences of this shift is understood by educational policy writers in New Zealand:

Educational underachievement limits the productivity of New Zealand's workforce in an increasingly competitive global economy . . . An unequal distribution of educational success across our increasingly diverse population is a risk to social cohesion and our economic performance. (Ministry of Education, 2005, p. 4).

Ironically, the notion of equity featured in the era of social democracy as well as in the following neoliberal era. In the social democratic era, equity or inequality in the distribution of resources was justified if it benefitted the disadvantaged. In contrast, during neoliberal times, the commitment to equity has a more utilitarian motive. The principle of equity was embraced as a means to "bring optimal benefits to all, even if the least advantaged become worse off" (Codd, 1993, p. 81).

These two powerful ideologies of culturalism and neoliberalism have led to a fundamental reshaping of education (Openshaw, 2009) - the culturalist discourse of identity, language, and culture in a supportive relationship to the economic discourse of neoliberalism, productivity, competition, and the market (Apple, 1990; Openshaw, 2009). This alignment has shaped New Zealand's education policy with profound implications for teaching and learning practices and for the resultant pedagogic identities created within these practices. This is a shift in the emphasis of education's function from what Durkheim (1926) theorised as the cultural reproduction of modern society's collective representation, that is, its symbolic coherence, to the post-1980s economic era where education's role is to serve the economy.

Bernstein's framework

The operation of the dual forces of marketisation and culturalisation are evident in Bernstein's (2000) framework of pedagogic identities. This framework enables me to show the effect of these forces at the micro level: students' identification within the social relations of pedagogy in primary schools. In this section, I describe each of the four identity types theorised by Bernstein.

Retrospective Pedagogic Identity

A retrospective pedagogic identity, according to Bernstein (2000), is shaped by the national, religious, and cultural grand narratives of the past. The focus is to stabilise the past and project it into the future with a view to preserving and sustaining traditional values and views of identity at both a structural and personal level. At a structural level, these values and views are embedded in policy. At a personal level, these social structures can be seen to shape learner identity (Bourne, 2008). Bernstein describes two types of retrospective identity: fundamental and elitist. A fundamental retrospective identity suggests a return to traditional learning where content is strongly framed and classified; it is hierarchically ordered, strongly bounded, explicitly stratified and sequenced in both discourse and practice. As such, a retrospective pedagogic identity is developed within what Bailey (1984) also describes as fundamental education, which favours universal epistemic knowledge in contrast to a skills-based or vocation-oriented instrumental curriculum. The former is tightly controlled by the re-centred state and is strongly framed and classified.

An elite retrospective identity acknowledges the esoteric and privileged knowledge of the British private school system, which Bernstein (2000) describes as restricted or 'old conservative'. A prominent feature of this type of identity is a collective social base that is drawn from the grand narrative of the past. This type of identity is projected and dominates "the arena" where the past is threatened. Bernstein provides examples such as the Middle East and North Africa "where the past is threatened by secular change issuing from the West" (p. 67) and where a concern for social and cultural reproduction exists. In the New Zealand context, the 'grand narrative of the past' is an ethnic cultural past drawn from students' ethnic heritage and is based on a recognition and preservation of that past. A Retrospective Pedagogic Identity in this context is fundamental rather than elite. By fundamental, I mean traditional forms of learning; however, the fundamentalism is essentialist in that it presupposes the revival of an ethnic 'essence' available to those with a genealogical connection to the ancestral ethnic group. Traditional knowledge associated with cultural or ethnic heritage is recovered, sustained and projected into the future at a policy and personal level.

Prospective Pedagogic Identity

Similar to the Retrospective Pedagogic Identity, Prospective Pedagogic Identity is also shaped by features of the past. However, unlike the former, the latter selects and recontextualises specific features of the past in order to create the dispositions, attitudes and outcomes that are required to participate in and contribute to a market-led economy and a reduced welfare state. This identity type is constructed to deal with cultural, economic, and technological change. Dispositions, attitudes, and outcomes, described by Bernstein as knowledge, moral, and locational careers, are prioritised in a Prospective Pedagogic Identity in order to focus on outcomes rather than justification. Further, the emphasis on both the selected national, religious, and cultural grand narratives of the past as well as economic imperatives creates a new collective social base that is formed by fusing nation, family, individual responsibility, and individual enterprise. This collective base “is provided by the principle of social order . . . expected to be relayed in schools and institutionalised by the state” (Bernstein, 2000, p. 66). There is a strong emphasis on performance in a Prospective Pedagogic Identity and, therefore, the state controls both the inputs to education (or content) and outputs. In this identity type, the influence of both economic and sociocultural spheres described in the introduction to this chapter can be seen.

Therapeutic Pedagogic Identity

Where the Retrospective and Prospective Pedagogic Identities draw on narratives of a collective past, a Therapeutic Pedagogic Identity is concerned with the personal and inner self of the present. It is shaped by progressive theories of personal, cognitive, and social development with a view to developing the autonomous, non-specialised and flexible thinkers, who are socially oriented towards active and cooperative participation. The concept of the self is central and development of the self is regarded as a personal project. As this identity type is concerned with personal and social dispositions, outputs are costly to produce and difficult to measure. However, in the context of this study, characteristics of a Therapeutic Pedagogic Identity emanate from both cultural and neoliberal ideology and is, therefore, supportive of their accommodation. The development of the inner self assists in the development of the individual as separate from, but able to contribute to, the collective of society.

Decentred Market Identity

The overriding feature of a Decentred Market Identity is its economic base. “The identity arises out of a projection on to consumables” where an identity has an exchange value (Bernstein, 2000, p. 73). As such, identity is a commodity. The focus is on the short term, extrinsic, and vocational. Knowledge is viewed in terms of its monetary value. This form of identity is outwardly responsive rather than emanating from an inner dedication. This is an individual construction of identity that distances the individual from the collective base.

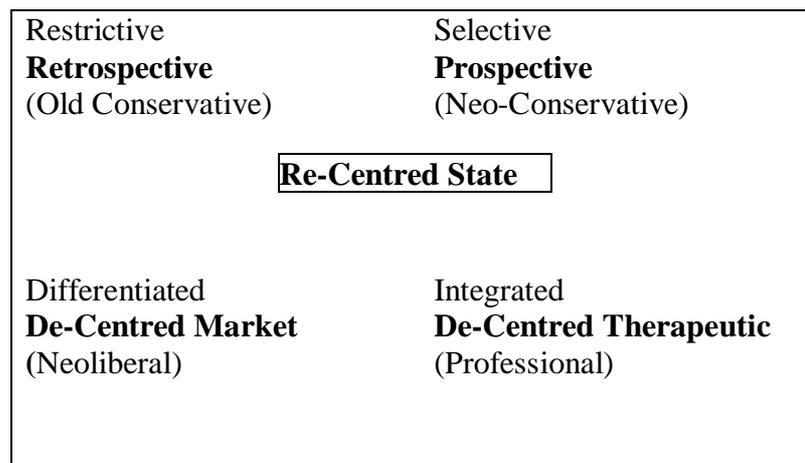


Figure 1. Framework of Pedagogic Identity Types (Bernstein, 2000, p. 67)

My use of Bernstein’s Framework

Bernstein’s framework is useful because it tracks an historical path – what has happened in educational reform and what it has led to, but it is by his own admission “no more than a sketch, no more than an embryonic outline” (2000, p. 65). Further, Bernstein makes what he describes as a “presumptuous, a dangerous prediction” (p. 65) that aspects of the framework will be recognised in the future. I refer to these claims here as I, perhaps also presumptuously, claim the recognition and use of “some of the figures, interactions and tensions” (p. 65) in my explanation of how the global economic and cultural movements have influenced pedagogic identity at the micro level of primary schooling. I am not, however, applying Bernstein’s framework wholly in the way he has presented it. In the context of schooling, Bernstein defines a Pedagogic Identity as “the result of embedding a career in a collective base” (p. 66) that is regulated by relations of classification and framing within pedagogic practice. Rather, I am applying aspects of Bernstein’s framework to show:

1. the strength of the influence of the dual forces of the market/economy and culture in the primary sector of schooling;
2. to identify the reality of how the ‘identity directive’ plays out in practice; and
3. to illustrate the theory of how Pedagogic Identity is shaped through these forces giving Bernstein’s framework an empirical dimension.

The New Zealand case provides an illustration of Bernstein’s theory that different pedagogic identities emerge in response to the degree of insulation between education and the market. However, New Zealand’s willingness to adopt both neoliberal and culturalist discourses from the 1980s means that this country provides a vivid example of what happens to educational policy and practice when two ideologies—one promoting the market and one promoting an ethno-cultural social identity, meet in an accommodating relationship through the shifting boundaries between the two relatively autonomous spheres.

The following features from Bernstein’s framework were used to identify different Pedagogic Identities (PI) in policy and practice:

Table 7

Features of Pedagogic Identity Types (Bernstein, 2000).

Retrospective PI	Prospective PI	Therapeutic PI	De-centred Market PI
Knowledge based on national, religious, or cultural narratives of the past.	Knowledge based on <i>selected</i> features of the past linked to economic imperatives	Concern with personal and social inner self	Identity as a commodity: extrinsic or vocational
Content and practices which were related to preserving or sustaining traditional values or views of identity	Focus on outcomes		Identity viewed in terms of its monetary value
Concerns for social and cultural reproduction			

Policy data

This section analyses two specific educational initiatives that address student identity for Pasifika and Māori students. These initiatives have been selected because New Zealand is a context that has two unique features. First, a strong multicultural environment that is most often understood as biculturalism, where ethnic culturalism is embedded in policy. Second, a concern for the academic achievement of two ethnic groups: Māori and Pasifika who have been labelled as priority learners (Education Review Office, 2013) and more recently, as target students (Education Review Office, 2015).

The Pasifika Education Plan 2013-2017

The Pasifika Education Plan (PEP) is a New Zealand Ministry of Education (2012) strategy designed to improve education outcomes for Pasifika learners and their families in early childhood centres, schools, and in tertiary education. The vision in the plan is to have “five out of five Pasifika learners participating, engaging and achieving in education, secure in their identities, languages and cultures and contributing fully to Aotearoa New Zealand’s social, cultural and economic wellbeing” (Ministry of Education, 2012).

The strategy shows strong alignment with features of a Prospective Pedagogic Identity, specifically linking educational achievement with economic imperatives; focusing on ethnic identity, culture, and language as a pathway to success; and consistently addressing achievement outcomes. It is predicated on the view that success is primarily measured in terms of market-led imperatives such as productivity, competition, and economic growth:

A key goal for our Government is to create the conditions for strong, vibrant and successful Pasifika communities – communities that can help build a more productive and competitive economy for all New Zealanders. (Foreword).

[The PEP] is one of the Government’s key strategies that will contribute to economic growth and social well-being. (Foreword)

Practically, this means increasing participation in quality early childhood education to drive higher literacy, numeracy and achievement of qualifications in schooling, which in turn will contribute to higher participation and completion of qualifications in tertiary education, resulting in the greatest social, cultural and economic benefits. (Foreword)

The strategy aims to promote educational success by establishing an environment that nurtures and advances success specifically for Pasifika learners. The then-Minister of Education, Hekia Parata, explained “I believe in potential and when that is underpinned by one’s identity, language and culture, along with support from parents, families, *aiga*²¹ and communities, all Pasifika children and young people will achieve” (2013b, p. 3). The PEP, therefore, concentrates on working more closely with family and community as well as acknowledging learners’ identities, cultures, and languages:

The PEP aims to promote closer alignment and compatibility between learners’ educational environments and their home and cultural environments. Implementing actions raised in the PEP will lift quality early childhood education, strengthen engagement in all areas of learning and raise achievement for Pasifika learners.

*The PEP puts Pasifika learners, their parents, families and communities at the centre, so that all activities ensure the Ministry of Education and Education Partner Agencies are responding to the identities, languages and cultures of each Pasifika group. This requires the PEP to take account of processes, methodologies, theories and knowledges that are *fa’asamoa* (the Samoan way), *faka-Tonga* (the Tongan way), *faka-Tokelau* (the Tokelau way), *faka-Niue* (the Niue way), *akano’anga Kūki ‘Āirani* (the Cook Islands way), and *vaka-Viti* (the Fijian way), for the major Pasifika populations.*

Pasifika Success will be characterised by demanding, vibrant, dynamic, successful Pasifika learners, secure and confident in their identities, languages and cultures, navigating through all curriculum areas such as the arts, sciences, technology, social sciences and mathematics.

As well as drawing on and maintaining ethnic cultural views and linking these with economic imperatives, the PEP reflects the strong emphasis on performance in a Prospective Pedagogic Identity and, therefore, promotes a corresponding interest in the outputs of education.

²¹ Samoan word for family

The Pasifika Education Plan 2013–2017 (PEP) aims to achieve optimum learning by promoting closer alignment and compatibility between:

- *the learner’s educational environment, and*
- *their home and/or cultural environment,*

so that communities, education providers and services, are using their individual, collective and cultural connections and affiliations to work together towards better outcomes and better results.

We have been working to improve outcomes for Pasifika learners through increased participation in early childhood education, enhanced school experiences, and a sharper focus on provider performance.

The message of the Pacific Education Plan links Pasifika learners’ academic achievement with the New Zealand’s economic growth. If Pasifika learners’ academic outcomes are increased, then Pasifika communities are able to contribute to New Zealand society by building of a more productive and competitive economy. This development is built on the premise that if Pasifika students’ languages, cultures, and identities are acknowledged, then improved educational achievement will follow. Such a view reflects the features of Bernstein’s Prospective Pedagogic Identity – selecting and stabilising characteristics of the past in the future with a view developing the dispositions and attitudes as well as producing the educational outcomes that are required to participate in and contribute to a market-led economy.

Ka Hikitia – Accelerating Success 2013-2017

A corresponding educational initiative has been developed that focuses on Māori learners. *Ka Hikitia* (Ministry of Education, 2013a) is a strategy “designed to make a significant difference for Māori students in education” (p. 6). While the strategy aims at lifting Māori educational achievement, the vision of the strategy is expressed as:

‘Māori enjoying and achieving education success as Māori’. This vision means ensuring that all Māori students, their parents and their *whānau* participate in and contribute to an engaging and enjoyable educational journey that recognises and celebrates their unique identity, language and culture. This journey will support

Māori students to achieve the skills, knowledge and qualifications they need to achieve success in *te ao* Māori, New Zealand and in the wider world. (p. 13)

There are two areas of emphasis in this vision statement. One is the focus on Māori ethnic identity. This focus is related to a shift in the direction of policy between 1997 and 2007 that addresses the achievements of Māori learners. In 1997, the Ministry of Education commissioned a report that became known as the 'Chapple Report' (Chapple, Jeffries, & Walker, 1997). It examined the achievement gap between Māori and non-Māori in New Zealand schools "with the ultimate aim of redressing the corresponding gap in labour market performance" (p. 126). The report had two main conclusions. First, that there was substantial diversity in the educational performance amongst Māori; and second, that there was little evidence to support the claim that the performance gap between Māori and non-Māori was widening. Interestingly, the summary of the report written by Anne Else (1997) for the Ministry of Education suggests that the original authors concluded that "Māori are more likely to be unemployed than non-Māori, and earn less than non-Māori. Finding out why there is an education gap, and how to close it, could help to close the employment and earnings gap" (Else, 1997, p. 3).

The original report is much more nuanced in its findings. While Chapple et al. (1997) agreed that in aggregate Māori performed worse than non-Māori in educational data, they argued that Māori should not be seen as "an undifferentiated mass" (p. 121); and, similarly, any differences in performance between ethnic groups could not be explained in one single independent cause. They did suggest, however, that many Māori, as a consequence of their over-representation amongst poorer groups in New Zealand society, did not have the resources to succeed in education. They also acknowledged some research where ethnicity appeared to have an impact on educational performance. Neither explanation, they claimed, was a call for action or inaction with respect to ethnicity. Nevertheless, *Nga Haerata Matauranga* (Ministry of Education, 2008b), the annual report for Māori education, appears to have interpreted the Chapple report as a call for inaction, claiming that the report states there is nothing significant about being Māori that affects Māori educational achievement.

The writers of *Ka Hikitia* compare the Chapple Report with Harker's (2007) research that suggested not only that ethnicity did have a direct effect on educational achievement, but also that an explanation for achievement could be found in the relationships between schools, teachers, and students. In the comparison, the Chapple Report was rejected for the

one which emphasised ethnic causation in education. Initiatives such as *Ka Hikitia* used Harker's research as a justification for the change of direction in the strategic intent. Education was seen as having a significant role in affirming and developing Māori identity through language and culture. Furthermore, *Ka Hikitia* (Ministry of Education, 2013a) supports the link, albeit subtler than acknowledged in the PEP, between success as Māori and economic imperatives.

Every Māori student has the potential to make a valuable social, cultural and economic contribution to the well-being of their whānau, hapū, iwi and community and to New Zealand as a whole. (p. 15)

These partnerships require understanding and acknowledgement of the value of Māori identity, language and culture, and the aspirations of Māori for culture, society, the economy and the environment. (p. 18)

Māori language and knowledge have the potential to contribute to innovation, productivity and economic growth. (p.44)

Raising educational achievement is the single most important way to achieve the Government's ambitious goals for raising living standards through a more productive and competitive economy. (p.45)

As part of the overall plan, and not solely linked to the primary sector of schooling, success is described in terms of labour market outcomes:

. . . embedding organisation-wide accountability and monitoring for raising educational and labour market success outcomes for Māori students (p. 48).

We want to enable whānau, iwi, Māori organisations and communities to influence and expect tertiary providers to be responsive to their needs in order to improve educational and labour market outcomes for Māori students. (p.48)

In the same vein as the Pasifika Education Plan, *Ka Hikitia*'s strategy aligns economic and market imperatives with an approach that concentrates on working more closely with family and community as well as acknowledging learners' identities, cultures, and languages. One of the factors deemed critical for Māori learners' success is:

Strong engagement and contribution from parents, whānau, hapū, iwi, Māori organisations, communities and businesses. (p. 6)

In fact, the strategy identifies students, parents, *whānau*, *hapū*, and *iwi* along with educational professionals, and organisations across all sectors of education as being key “stakeholders who have a role to play in supporting Māori students to succeed in education” (p. 10).

A productive partnership starts by understanding that Māori children and students are connected to whānau and should not be viewed or treated as separate, isolated or disconnected. (p. 18)

Similar to the PEP, *Ka Hikitia* couples Māori learners’ academic outcomes with New Zealand’s economy. Where the emphasis in the PEP is upon Pasifika communities contributing to a more productive and competitive New Zealand economy, *Ka Hikitia*, emphasises Māori learners’ achieving their potential as Māori within New Zealand society. The premise is the same, however. If Māori students’ languages, cultures, and identities are acknowledged and affirmed, then improved educational outcomes will follow. This view reflects the features of Bernstein’s Prospective Pedagogic Identity – selecting and stabilising characteristics of the past in the future with a view developing the dispositions and attitudes as well as producing the educational outcomes that are required to participate in and contribute to a market-led economy.

Interview data

If the ideas of a Prospective Pedagogic Identity are embedded/encoded in policy for Māori and Pasifika learners’, then does this align with teachers’ practice and their understanding or decoding of policy directives? This section draws on the same interview data presented in Chapter four. Where in the last chapter, I theorised teachers’ beliefs and experiences using a multicultural framework, this chapter uses a deductive approach to identify features of Bernstein’s Pedagogic Identity types in teachers’ interviews. Teachers’ descriptions of how they understood and enacted the ‘identity directive’ were strongly oriented towards specific features of a Retrospective Pedagogic Identity. An emphasis on ethnicity, culture, and language features drawn from what Bernstein describes as ‘grand narratives of the past’ were considered important to maintaining and sustaining a student’s personal identity at

school. Teachers showed a consistent focus on ethnicity and culture when recognising and affirming their students' identities.

We have a culture celebration day where they wear their clothes to school . . . they come dressed in clothes that might be worn in their country of birth or their parents' country of birth and they bring food along . . . those sorts of things are important and acknowledging and accepting them. (Brenda)

If we are talking about identity, you are talking about ethnicity and celebrating different cultures . . . we do that especially at the start of the year. We talk about affirming kids, forming identity so that they develop a good picture of who they are as themselves. (Greg)

Whenever we get the chance we bring in [the children's culture]. We make sure we have lots of resources here in different cultures . . . we make sure it's balanced through art, through reading, through writing, topic . . . I strongly believe our culture is our identity. (Sharon).

Awareness of identity is important because you teach what you've got . . . When we select our topics for our yearly programme we obviously want topics that the children are going to be interested in. So, ethnicity comes into that quite a lot. (Alice)

Many teachers specifically mentioned the ethnic heritage of their students when describing their identity.

When we choose our topics . . . we look for links to Māori, Pasifika . . . how we can acknowledge the Māori, Pasifika children in this topic. (Alice)

Teachers saw their students as just who they are. They are Pacific, they have a certain ethnicity, a certain culture. (Nancy)

I think [addressing student identity] is really important. I mean given that we live or we teach in a schooling environment or the system itself is based on western ideologies and you know that are quite influential in schools. It's really important for this school here because it's all Pasifika and Māori. It's 100% Māori and Pasifika and you want to be able to allow the student to be able to identify as who they are and be able to see that in a school. (Nancy)

We are affirming their identity . . . through celebrations, for Māori like Māori kids we had the hangi . . . we visit the marae and we do all the hangi and stuff. . . So that's affirming that, yes, we have Māori kids here so we are acknowledging their presence. . . And we have a unit of topic which is called Pasifika. So, we study the Pacific Islands, the islands that the kids come from in different ways and we celebrate with the feed and stuff. (Sharon)

When we started thinking about what was identity, I think it was about valuing a person for what they bring to your school and the bits and bobs (for want of a better word) that they bring with them and valuing those things and possibly also the understanding that, yes as an individual they have those things but as a collective group they bring another whole set of skills. And what I mean of that is, as a Māori they come with a history of different skills but as a collective group of Māori they are also a strong force within the school and they belong to that group as well. (Steve)

In addition to an ethnic identity, some teachers mentioned a focus on national identity as an important part of their classroom programme.

I think of New Zealand identity as encompassing anyone who chooses to embrace the New Zealand culture. You can be Māori, you can be from Ireland, or you can be Indian or whatever, but New Zealand has its own culture, it has its own ideas, and the way we do things. (Greg)

Similarly, Sharon believed that a New Zealand identity took primacy over other ethnic identities. When asked to describe the identities of her students, she replied,

We are New Zealanders . . . I think [the students] should know who they are, where they've come from, their values, their traditions at the same time be a New Zealander . . . that is my goal that we don't forget who we are and where we have come from. If that is strong then this culture we are New Zealanders and would be strong as well.

One of the strongest aspects of identity for many teachers was language. They expressed the importance of maintaining and sustaining heritage languages because that was what essentially defined and was at the core of a student's identity.

Keeping up their home language . . . it's the most important thing, I think, because language is who you are . . . and it's how you think. (Alice)

[Students] feel better because their language was acknowledged. (Alice)

People identify with language no matter what country or ethnicity they are. (Brenda)

Violet also pointed out the importance of maintaining a heritage language like *te reo Māori*:

I think the difficulty for people with te reo and Māori is that if you don't do something about it, it will be lost again whereas the Chinese and Korean you can still go back to Korea and make a go of it.

It's [Samoan] language week but what they'll be driving home is that Samoan identity for the community. (Nancy)

For Sharon, maintaining heritage languages was something she would like to see increased in schools

I strongly believe that our language is our identity, our culture is our identity . . . For example this is Samoan Language Week so through celebration . . . through acknowledging that Samoan is a language and we have Samoan kids and we [are] not letting it go by; we are actually celebrating it. We are affirming their identity. (Sharon)

Teachers believed that affirming identity occurred through including curriculum content that highlighted student ethnicity, culture, and heritage languages to develop or maintain aspects of identity for the students themselves; knowing who they are and where they come from:

The aspiration is that you actually really know who you are to the point that it gives you that confidence that level of confidence that huge self-esteem . . . You know for kids to be able to have that confidence and that mana to stand proud and to be who they are. (Nancy)

It's a key component of building that sense of identity that they should be proud of their land and their culture and their history even if it's not there you know. (Greg)

School programmes should safeguard ethnicity, culture, or language, and ensure that these features are not lost. Greg, for example, spoke about his concern that if his classroom curriculum did not focus on a New Zealand national identity then it may be lost.

I think that New Zealand is in danger of losing its identity and losing the things that make us special, the things that make New Zealand just unique . . . I don't think we should lose that specialness of who we are. So, in school we talk about kiwi icons and food that we love and activities that we do in New Zealand and the history of New Zealand.

Similarly, Sharon believed that heritage languages could only be maintained if they were promoted and taught in schools.

I would love to see the Samoan kids being taught the Samoan language by someone an adult probably a teacher or a parent and the Niuean kids taught their culture and the same with the other ethnic groups because once long time ago you know the languages got killed because suddenly English was the most important language for jobs and stuff . . . How else are these kids going to learn their language if it's not happening at school?

Nancy confirmed that the role of schools was to affirm a student's ethnic identity in light of an environment that was at least indisposed towards, if not hostile to, minority student identity

I think [addressing student identity] is really important. I mean, given that we live or we teach in a schooling environment or the system itself is based on western ideologies and you know that are quite influential in schools, it's really important for this school here because it's all Pasifika and Māori. It's 100% Māori and Pasifika and you want to be able to allow the student to be able to identify as who they are and be able to see that in a school.

A consistent theme in the interviews with teachers is their belief that their classroom curriculum content should reflect, recognise and affirm their students' identities. They overwhelmingly understand identity as an ethnic or national identity. In the previous chapter, I explained the growing acceptance of a New Zealand national identity as a selected ethnic identity for many New Zealanders. In any event, these views show a willingness to

connect with and stabilise an identity drawn from the past in order to preserve and sustain ethnicity, language, and culture at both a personal and structural level. At the personal level, teachers want to ensure that students feel confident in who they are and feel a sense of belonging. At a structural level, teachers believe their views are consistent with the national curriculum and school policies of cultural responsiveness.

These views reflect the features of Bernstein's Retrospective Pedagogic Identity – one that is shaped by the national and cultural grand narratives of the past for the purpose of preserving and sustain traditional values and views of identity. It exists because of a concern that these values and views are threatened and may be lost. Teachers' descriptions and explanations of how they affirm their students' identities reflect these ideas. They differ, however, in their enactment of these ideas in curriculum and practice. Bernstein explains that a Retrospective Pedagogic Identity suggests a return to traditional learning where content is strongly framed and classified. This is difficult in the New Zealand context given a national curriculum that is both weakly framed and weakly classified, and where progressive and culturally responsive pedagogies are promoted. I suggest that there is a double recontextualisation evident in the data from this study, where teachers recontextualise a Retrospective Pedagogic Identity in their classroom practice, while there is clear evidence of a Prospective Pedagogic Identity recontextualised in policy. I discuss this double recontextualisation in further detail in the following chapter.

Explanatory Interlude

The next chapter deepens the discussion of chapter five by offering an interpretation of the relationship between the ideologies of neoliberalism and culturalism as one of accommodation and difference. Accommodation is evident at the level of policy, while difference is apparent at the level of practice. In policy, culturalism is pressed into the service of neoliberalism as a bridge from the known of the social group into the unknown of educational outcomes associated with economic performance and participation. In the same policies, neoliberalism serves culturalism in the suggestion that success is achieved in the same way as students' ethnic heritage is affirmed. However, this accommodation is not seen in practice. The difference is evident as policy is recontextualised by teachers at the level of practice.

Further, I propose that that the ideologies of culturalism and neoliberalism are, in fact, ideologies about identity. They are revealed at the levels of policy and practice. As policy and practice is reimagined, the knowledge children receive in schools is effected, which, in turn, impacts upon identity.

CHAPTER 6

Accommodation and Difference – The Effect on Knowledge

Introduction

This chapter is about the way in which two seemingly incompatible ideologies are brought together in policy and practice and the subsequent profound effect on the knowledge taught to children. In brief, the knowledge they encounter at school is determined by ‘who’ they are seen to be, as identified by their teachers. This is the case for students who are from ethnic minority groups, and most particularly, in the context of this study, for Māori and Pasifika students.

I draw two main findings from the empirical data. The first finding comes from an analysis of school level policy: the Pasifika Education Plan and *Ka Hikitia*. The data shows the influence and unexpected coupling of neoliberal and cultural ideologies in both policies. Both policies are designed to improve the educational achievement of Māori and Pasifika students. In these policies, educational achievement, described as Māori or Pasifika ‘success’, is explicitly linked with students’ identities, languages and cultures. The previous chapter provides evidence of that link. Further evidence is found in supporting educational policy, strategies, and initiatives such as the Ministry of Education’s Statement of Intent (2013c), the *Te Kotahitanga*²² project, and the Positive Behaviour for Learning initiative (Ministry of Education, 2015).

Policy designers expected that an emphasis on students’ cultural identity would increase educational achievement. For example, in a report to the Ministry of Education on the first phase of *Te Kotahitanga*, the project designers (Bishop, Berryman, Tiakiwai, and Richardson, 2003) declared:

It is feasible within a relatively short period of time, to improve Māori students’ educational achievement. The results add to both local and international literature that shows that changing how teachers theorise their relationships with Māori

²² Māori students in mainstream classrooms at the secondary level of schooling.

students and how they interact with them in the classroom can have a major impact upon Māori students' engagement with learning and short term achievement. (p. 198)

The external measure of educational achievement is positioned alongside the intrinsic aspiration of the project, that of "Māori enjoying success as Māori" (p. 13). This coupling of educational achievement with culturalist ideology is critiqued in Openshaw's (2007a) evaluation of *Te Kotahitanga*. He explained "the project's location within the recent school effectiveness/school improvement paradigm together with its strong and uncritical adherence to a culturalist ideology render many of its assumptions and remedies highly questionable" (2007b, p. 25).

The second finding comes from interviews with primary school teachers. When asked about how they responded to the curriculum directive to recognise and affirm their students' identities, they described the inclusion of a cultural identity, which emphasises ethnicity and heritage languages as well as nationality in the classroom programme and in their interactions with students. The justification for this emphasis is their hope that students will develop a strong sense of selfhood and belonging; they also believe that this is what is expected of a culturally responsive teacher. What is significant is the absence of the educational achievement discourse that is so strong in policy. Instead the teachers rely solely on culturalist explanations for their practice.

Both findings can be located in a framework of pedagogic identities theorised by Basil Bernstein (2000). The first finding reveals features of a Prospective Pedagogic Identity, where selected cultural, national, or religious features of the past are recontextualised in policy in order to meet the outcomes of a market-led economy. The second finding exhibits aspects of a Retrospective Pedagogic Identity. The cultural, national or religious features of the past are developed to project and sustain them into the future.

In the next section of this chapter, I discuss the first finding of a coupling of neoliberal and cultural ideology in educational policy in greater detail. I theorise this coupling as an accommodation between two seemingly incompatible ideologies, one made possible by the weakened insulation between the economic and cultural boundaries at the policy level. In the following section of the chapter, I discuss the second finding. This is the teachers' enactment of the identity directive as a socio-cultural identity. I explain teachers'

understandings in terms of a ‘difference’ between identity types encoded at the level of policy and decoded by teachers at the level of practice. In the final section, I theorise the effects of these ideological processes of identification on knowledge—on what is taught, on what teachers are selecting for their class curriculum. This is the teachers’ enactment of the identity directive as a socio-cultural identity. At this point, teachers become the drivers of the identification. In other words, they allocate an identity to their students (Siteine, 2010). Finally, I conclude by returning to the concept of identity and propose an explanation of ‘distancing and attachment’ between the individual and society to theorise the accommodation of seemingly different ideologies in policy and practice.

The purpose of the chapter is to locate the process, from its starting point, the way in which student identity is recognised, through to the way knowledge is affected within the relationship between the individual and the group. The ideologies of neoliberalism and culturalism come into policy and practice and their effect is profound. Policy and practice are reimagined because these ideologies are, in fact, ideologies about how the individual and the group should relate, and the identity of people in terms of the individual-group relationship. As policy and practice are reimagined, the knowledge children receive in schools is effected, which, in turn, impacts upon identity. This is the reason why these ideologies are revealed in identity at the level of the classroom, because they are, fundamentally, ideologies about identity. As such, they work in an accommodating relationship at the level of policy with neoliberal ideas supporting culturalist beliefs and vice versa. However, at the level of practice, the difference between the two ideologies becomes pronounced.

In order to identify the processes of accommodation between the two seemingly different ideologies of neoliberalism and culturalism, I use Bernstein’s (2000) principle of recontextualisation. Bernstein’s interest in the way in which discourse is transformed from its original site of production led him to explicate the principle and processes of reproduction which he calls recontextualisation. The recontextualisation process “selectively appropriates, relocates, refocuses and relates other discourses to constitute its own order” (Bernstein, 2000, p. 33). In the process of selecting and moving a discourse from its original site to a pedagogic site, a space is created “where ideology can play. No discourse ever moves without ideology at play” (p. 32). The recontextualising principle creates two types of recontextualising fields and agents with recontextualising functions. The first

recontextualising field is dominated by the state and agents of the state such as Ministry of Education – the Official Recontextualising Field (ORF). The second recontextualising field is dominated by agents within the field of practice such as educators, professional development practitioners, and researchers – the Pedagogic Recontextualising Field (PRF). The recontextualising principle(s) selected recontextualises both the subject of pedagogic practice—the content or ‘what’ is taught—as well the theory of instruction or the ‘how’. In the next two sections, I will refer to this principle to explain the effects of the accommodation and coupling of culturalist and neoliberal ideologies.

Finding 1: An Accommodation of Neoliberal and Culturalist Ideologies in Policy

In the previous chapter, I describe how the global forces of neoliberalism and culturalism led to educational reform in the 1990s. An analysis of two school level policies—the Pasifika Education Plan and *Ka Hikitia*—within the New Zealand education system revealed both ideologies located side by side within each policy. It is expected that notions of identity, heritage, culture, and language would be found within policies designed to address the improved educational achievement of Pasifika and Māori students. Similarly, concepts of competition, individualism, and performative outcomes are expected in policies developed during an era that brought a neoliberal emphasis to education policy. However, the coupling of these ideologies in a single policy designed to meet a single purpose, though explainable, is somewhat surprising. Two explanations justify and critique this coupling.

A justification for the coupling of neoliberal and culturalist ideologies within policy is based in the idea that the development of a social identity, such as an ethnic one, provides a way of connecting to an academic identity and successful educational outcomes. As such, an emphasis on identity, language, and culture is seen as an effective pedagogical approach for Māori and Pasifika students, many of whom are found in low decile²³ schools. Thrupp (2010), explains “there is evidence that low decile schools make the best progress when they fully acknowledge and respond to cultural backgrounds from which their students come” (p.

²³ Deciles are a measure of the socio-economic position of a school’s student community relative to other schools throughout the country. For example, decile 1 schools are the 10% of schools with the highest proportion of students from low socio-economic communities, whereas decile 10 schools are the 10% of schools with the lowest proportion of these students.

40). In a similar vein, at a UNESCO regional meeting about music in the Pacific, scholars stated,

from the depth of understanding and value of traditional forms [of knowledge] students will gain a strong sense of cultural identity and an understanding of who they are ... This will provide a foundation for the development of further skills and knowledge bases, contexts and understandings for life in the twenty-first century. (UNESCO, 2002, p. 3, cited in Fairburn-Dunlop, 2014, p. 875)

As a pedagogical approach, responding to and sustaining students' cultural identity is not an end in itself, rather, it is seen to provide a bridge to further learning beyond the students' experiences or knowledge. Fairbairn-Dunlop's (2014) study of Samoan males' participation in 'Poly Club²⁴' at a New Zealand secondary school, described how participation in cultural groups and activities developed students' cultural, and in this case ethnic, identity as well as feelings of confidence and self-esteem.

The study provides an example of the use of a cultural activity working as a pedagogical tool. Fairbairn-Dunlop (2014) describes the Poly Club as a "cultural education supplementary site" (p. 874), a space that is an addition to the academic school space rather than an alternative to the schooling space. The two spaces accommodate each other. In the Poly Club space, students not only connected with each other in a way that acknowledged and affirmed their ethnic identity in a space of "extensive cultural security", Poly Club also provides a conduit whereby students can connect with "other experiences and opportunities" within the academic school environment (p. 890). The school in Fairbairn-Dunlop's study showed "Poly members gained a higher number of credits in national exams (75.3% compared to 51.4%) and registered a higher success rate in national credits attempted and credits gained than Pacific students who did not belong to Poly" (p. 891). The cultural education supplementary site worked as a pedagogical tool in providing access to or, in Fairburn-Dunlop's words "an interface between" students' inner cultural identity and the external measures of educational outcomes. Culture was not viewed in terms of the grand narratives of the past, but as an "enabler and a transformer" (p. 889).

²⁴ School Polynesian Clubs are commonly referred to as 'Poly Club' where Pacific cultural activities (such as songs, dance, protocols) and languages are taught, reinforced and showcased generally for cultural performances.

Similar claims are made for Māori students in the *Administering for Excellence* report, which heralded many of the significant educational reforms of the 1990s:

It is clear from the submissions made to us that the Māori people attach high priority to the revitalisation of the language and culture and that they are looking to the education system to assist them in the task. It is also clear that the revival of the Māori language and culture is not seen as an end in itself, but as the key of lifting the educational performance of Māori children. (Taskforce to Review Education Administration 1988, p. 65)

The assumption that affirming ethnic identity is connected to educational achievement justifies the practice of culturally mediated learning and teaching (Hollins, 1996). This is the practice of integrating cultural ‘ways of knowing’ within ethnically cultural contexts. The pedagogical relationship between teachers and students is based on an understanding of the students’ ethnic identity and cultural practices associated with the ethnic group to which the student is identified. The purpose of this approach is not to solely develop a students’ sense of an ethnic identity, but to develop what Sheets (1999) describes as “student competence, defined as positive ethnic identity development” which will lead to “accelerated achievement in school work” (p. 157).

The accommodation of neoliberal and cultural ideologies in educational policies as a pedagogical tool to enhance educational achievement does, however, have its critics. The ‘cultural solution’ to educational underachievement is viewed as framing the issue as an ethnic problem, one that labels students according to their ethnicity in a deficit way. That Māori and Pasifika students are specifically identified in Ministry of Education goals about educational achievement and reporting on underachievement tends to support this criticism of the idea of ethnicising the issue. It reveals the considerable achievement gap between those students who identify or who are identified as Māori and Pasifika and those who are not.

Māori, Pasifika learners from low socio-economic areas and learners with special education needs, on average, continue to achieve at lower levels than their peers. (Sankar, Chaval, & Jenkins, 2010, p. 9)

Ministry staff discussed prioritisation criteria in relation to low school achievement, as well as schools with low achievement and high numbers of Māori and Pasifika students. (Sankar et al., 2010, p. 55)

Māori and Pasifika students are also singled out for attention in learning goals intended for all students

School principals rated their level of confidence as being ‘very confident’ or ‘confident’ with respect to their ability to: set strategic goals for their school that will enhance teaching and learning for all students (including Māori and Pasifika). (Sankar et al., 2010, p. 32)

The linking of educational achievement with ethnicity, in this way, problematises ethnic identity on a number of levels. First, ethnicity is positioned as the primary determinant of identity. This assumption persists in spite of the research which shows that not all students identify with their ethnic heritage, particularly those who are unfamiliar with traditional practices, do not speak their heritage language, or who lack cultural knowledge (McIntosh, 2005; Van Meijl, 1999). Similarly, the complexity for students who are of mixed ethnicity or for whom ethnicity is not their primary identity is not acknowledged. The Pacific National Youth Report (Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs, 2005) noted:

For some second-generation Pacific peoples, the bonds of Pacific culture are not as strong or dominant and have resulted in a loss or weakening of Pacific identity, particularly for those of mixed marriages, who increasingly do not identify as Pacific. This has implications in terms of cultural and language preservation, Pacific identity and traditional Pacific values. (p. 10)

Second, the focus on students’ ethnic identity tends to frame the educational outcomes of Māori and Pasifika students as a problem associated with not having their heritage cultures and ethnic identity recognised. Rather than a benign accommodation, the coupling of cultural solutions to neoliberal educational imperatives is seen as having negative consequences for Māori and Pasifika students and their families. Following the release of the 2013-2017 iteration of the Pasifika Education Plan, Efeso Collins²⁵ (2015), who had

²⁵ Efeso Collins is currently an Auckland City Councillor of Samoan and Tokelauan heritage. He is often called on to speak for the Pasifika community.

attended the community consultations prior to its release, made this comment about the shift in the plan's vision statement²⁶:

Whilst this vision may sound similar to the earlier one, it's significantly different. This vision puts the onus back on the learner, as if the system and those upholding it are equal and pure – befitting of a neoliberal and postcolonial theory of education Some of the issues I noted earlier such as culturally responsive pedagogy, inclusive teacher interactions, and recognition of students' prior knowledge, point to systemic failures in education that students – many of whom are Pasifika – have to 'wear' in life. The effects on their communities are enormous.

Whether the accommodation of neoliberal and culturalist ideologies in educational policy is, as Fairburn-Dunlop's Poly Club example suggests, a positive educational approach to address the underachievement of Māori and Pasifika students; or whether, as Collins suggests in the quotation above, it is indicative of systemic failure and, perhaps even racial profiling, this accommodation occurs within the Official Recontextualising Field. This first recontextualisation, at the level of policy, is the source of the accommodation. Drawing on Bernstein (2000), I explain the discourse of student identity as the recontextualisation of a *Prospective Pedagogic Identity*.

Finding 2: A Difference between Policy and Practice

The accommodation of neoliberal and culturalist ideologies in policy described in finding 1 is not evident in teachers discourse about the way they respond to the identity directive in curriculum. However, there is evidence of a strong culturalist approach. A relationship did exist between the way in which teachers identify their students and educational policy that is based on culturalist imperatives such as the sustaining of culture, language, and identity. The interviews with teachers revealed that teachers were committed to affirming their students' ethnic identities as part of the classroom practice and in the content of their programmes. They believed that knowing the ethnic heritage of their students was important to ensure that students felt a sense of belonging at school. For some teachers, developing a sense of belonging meant developing a common national identity. The growing view of a

²⁶ “Five out of five Pasifika learners participating, engaging and achieving in education, secure in their identities, languages and cultures and contributing fully to Aotearoa New Zealand's social, cultural and economic wellbeing” (Ministry of Education, 2012).

New Zealand or 'kiwi' identity as an ethnic identity has been discussed in chapter four. One of the most compelling reasons teachers gave for recognising and affirming their students' identities was to maintain and sustain ethnicity, culture and heritage languages. School was the place that this could and should happen.

Interestingly, the idea that recognition of identity could provide a bridge from students' social world to other experiences and knowledge in the world of schooling did not feature in teachers' discourse. Neither did any criticism of using cultural measures to achieve externally imposed outcomes as found in policy. Teachers were acknowledging and affirming their students' identities as part of their classroom programmes for cultural and therapeutic reasons. They wanted students to feel affirmed culturally according to their ethnic heritage as part of their inclusive teaching practices. They also wanted students to feel good about who they are. This focus on personal and emotional dimensions is described by Ecclestone (2010) as "an 'epistemology of the emotions', blurring the boundaries between formal educational settings and our interior psychic worlds" (p. 67). Teachers inevitably saw their students in terms of their ethnic heritage even if it meant that they, the teacher, must become the identifiers and allocate that identity to their students (Siteine, 2010). The acknowledgement and inclusion of culture in teachers' practice has been informed by pedagogies that have attempted to make teaching and learning relevant, such as Gloria Ladson-Billings' (1995) culturally relevant pedagogy and Geneva Gay's culturally responsive teaching (2000). In New Zealand, these practices sit within a context of bicultural educational policy (Lourie, 2016). They are enacted, however, in a way proposed by Django Paris (2012) as *culturally sustaining pedagogy*. This is an approach that "seeks to perpetuate and foster—to sustain—linguistic, literate, and cultural pluralism as part of the democratic project of schooling" (p. 93).

The way in which teachers enact the identity directive, as a culturally sustaining pedagogy, is a consequence of a second level of recontextualisation within the Pedagogic Recontextualising Field. The discourse of identity is recontextualised as a *Retrospective Pedagogic Identity* at the level of teachers' practice. This is the source of the difference between policy and practice. Economic imperatives and explanations evident at the level of policy—to do with a putative link between educational achievement and ethnic identification—are, in fact, absent, from teachers' understandings and practice about student identity.

The Effect on Knowledge

In the previous sections, I make two claims. First, that an accommodating relationship exists between neoliberal and culturalist ideologies in educational policy, which supports the development of a Prospective Pedagogic Identity. Second, that a difference exists between a *Prospective Pedagogic Identity* encoded into educational policy, and the *Retrospective Pedagogic Identity* decoded by teachers and enacted in the practice. In spite of the mismatches at these two levels, both findings of accommodation and difference have the same effect on knowledge and identity at the micro level of the classroom. In this last section of the chapter, I will explain the way in which the type of knowledge selected for classroom curricula is a consequence of both neoliberal and culturalist ideologies. It is also an affirmation of a Retrospective Pedagogical Identity type.

I propose that these processes are part of a shift away from universalism that occurred during the ‘cultural turn’ – a shift that included a change in the way in which people are identified. Universalism proposes the idea that people are equal by virtue of their common humanity and this takes precedence over differences between people based on their ethnicity, socio-economic class, religion, or gender. I argue that this shift can restrict the educational opportunities of all children by limiting their access to universal knowledge.

Finally, I locate the empirical study within the sociology of education. In essence, this study is about the relationship between the individual and the social group. The ideologies of neoliberalism and culturalism have influenced the type of relationship promoted at school. The former seeks to distance the individual from the social group, the latter to attach the individual to the social group. However, these ideologies are not the only ontological directions available to education today. I conclude with a call for a liberal humanist education. One that requires the individualising and socialising functions of modern education described by Durkheim (1971). Individualising requires each person to become autonomous through the process of ‘distancing’. However, socialisation requires that a new form of connection be made between the autonomous modern individual and the social group. This is the type of ‘attachment’ which makes possible the integration of individuals as universal beings rather than as ethnic members.

The influence of neoliberalism in educational policy has affected the selection of knowledge in the taught curriculum at all levels of education (Bernstein, 2000). This occurs where the

goal is to “produce an identity whose product has an exchange value in a market (Bernstein, 2000, p. 69). In other words, knowledge is selected, by teachers or learners, because of its extrinsic value. It is clearly evident in higher education and in the announcement by Steven Joyce, New Zealand Minister for Tertiary Education in 2016, when he announced that he would:

require universities, wānanga²⁷, polytechnics and funded private training establishments to publish information about the employment status and earnings of their graduates broken down by level of qualification and field of study. (Tertiary Education Union, 2016, para. 6)

Such a requirement, Joyce claimed, would allow prospective students to make “smart decisions” about what to study. This ‘follow the money’ approach “underlines the importance of encouraging more students to study science, technology, engineering and maths (STEM) subjects at school and in tertiary education” (Joyce, cited in Tertiary Education Union, 2016, para. 2).

While such neoliberal imperatives are obvious in student choice in the tertiary sector, the orientation towards external demands is also present in the primary sector of schooling. It was established in *The New Zealand Curriculum* (Ministry of Education, 2007) where enterprise, entrepreneurial imperatives, and economic values are included in the vision and principles structuring the curriculum. A pathway of learning from early childhood education through to tertiary study and employment culminates in an end goal of educated young people, because, “New Zealand needs its young people to be skilled and educated, able to contribute fully to its well-being, and able to meet the changing needs of the workplace and the economy” (p. 42). The emphasis on external demands was intensified with the introduction of the New Zealand National Standards in 2010²⁸. Thrupp’s (2017) work examines the impact of these Standards and identifies one aspect of change that is germane to this discussion: the narrowing of the curriculum.

The New Zealand National Standards were applied to children in state schools in the primary sector between 2010 and 2017. Teachers were required to measure student achievement after

²⁷ In the education system of New Zealand, a *wānanga* is a publicly owned tertiary institution that provides education in a Māori cultural context.

²⁸ In 2017, the newly elected Labour government announced that National Standards would be removed from 2018 (<https://education.govt.nz/news/national-standards-removed/>)

they had been at school for one year, through to the end of Year 8, against a set of standards in reading, writing, and mathematics. The measurement took the form of ‘overall teacher judgement’ rather than a standardised external test. Students were judged to be well above, above, at, below or well below standard, and schools and teachers were held accountable for ensuring that students met the standards. Thrupp (2017) explains that the curriculum in primary school classrooms has been narrowed in order to meet these accountabilities. A greater proportion of the school day is spent on literacy and numeracy with explicit time being spent on students’ demonstrating specific competencies or skills that can be used as evidence to show that they are at or above standard.

The narrowing of curriculum to skills and competencies is acknowledged in an OECD report about New Zealand:

While the national curriculum emphasises the development of broad competencies, the introduction of Standards increases the risk of a narrower focus on numeracy and literacy in primary schools. Such a trend already exists, as it is far more common for schools to identify low achievement in literacy and numeracy than in other areas (ERO, 2007). As standards are presently limited to these domains, their introduction may contribute to accentuating of such a trend. (Nusche, Laveault, MacBeath, & Santiago, 2012, p. 21 cited in Thrupp, 2017, p. 28)

The effect is not only that knowledge has been narrowed to an emphasis on the subjects of literacy and numeracy, but within these subject areas the focus is more likely to be on competencies and skills or procedural knowledge associated with literacy and numeracy rather than broader academic knowledge.

Culturalist ideology has had the similar effect on the type of knowledge taught in schools. It has been influential in promoting a ‘curriculum of relevance’. This has the effect of reducing knowledge to that of experience, either the social experience of the child or that of the socio-cultural group to which the child is assigned (Young, 2008). This idea is encapsulated in the identity directive within *The New Zealand Curriculum* (Ministry of Education, 2007). I have shown how it is recontextualised by teachers, particularly for Māori and Pasifika students, as social knowledge that comes from the ethnic group and that is responsive to the language, values and culture of each group. The knowledge or content of curriculum is determined by teachers in order “that teaching and learning is meaningful and

beneficial to their particular communities of students” (Ministry of Education, 2007, p. 37). If students are seen in terms of their ethnic identity, as this study suggests, it follows that content that is ‘meaningful’ is that which reflects students’ ethnic identity.

This emphasis on culturally relevant content has become accepted practice in New Zealand. Without exception, each of the learning areas in the national curriculum makes reference to cultural knowledge and practices. In New Zealand, biculturalism²⁹ is positioned as foundational to the nature of New Zealand as a nation and is ubiquitous in public policy (Rata & Openshaw, 2006; Lourie, 2013). Knowledge of *te reo*³⁰ and *tikanga*³¹ is encouraged in order that “Māori students strengthen their identities, while non-Māori journey towards shared cultural understandings” (Ministry of Education, 2007, p. 14). Effective teaching is measured against six dimensions, one of which describes the expectation that teachers “promote *te reo* and bicultural awareness” (Education Review Office, 2011). In spite of these curriculum guidelines and measures of teacher effectiveness, the imperative to build the bicultural knowledge of all students is more likely to be enacted in schools where there are significant numbers of Māori students (Burgon, Hipkins, & Hodgen, 2012) or Pasifika students. For these students, who they are seen to be determines what they learn.

Both neoliberal and culturalist ideologies serve to reverse the tradition of universalism in education (Openshaw, Clark, Hamer, & Waitere-Ang, 2005). Neoliberal ideology promotes economic instrumentalism as a curriculum imperative. Education tends to lose its intrinsic value and becomes a means to an end, rather than an end in itself (Young, 2008). This emphasis not only reduces the type of knowledge students have access to, but elevates economic and individual interests over socio-democratic goals. These goals have traditionally been the justification for a universal education that serves the interests of the public good. Culturalist ideology, as a global force, has led to educational change at the local level. These changes include the localisation of identity to membership of a distinctive cultural group and the accompanying proliferation of knowledges that is produced and owned by those groups (Openshaw et al., 2005; Rata, 2012a). In these ways, both neoliberalism and culturalism have led to “an increasingly personal, relevant and emotionally-tuned interpretation of knowledge” (Ecclestone, 2010) moving students further from universal knowledge and the goals of an egalitarian society. Furthermore, they have

²⁹ In New Zealand, biculturalism is understood the relationship between Māori and non- Māori

³⁰ Māori language

³¹ Māori knowledge

served to weaken the boundary between the social group and the school to the extent that the school, and by association education, has become the site for the maintenance of distinct socio-cultural groups. The next chapter illustrates this expectation, that education is the site for the maintenance of cultural knowledge and practices. It provides a vivid example of the expectation for a 'curriculum of relevance' described earlier in this chapter and that what students learn should be determined by how they are identified.

Explanatory Interlude

This chapter is a final thought before I conclude and show how the ideas raised in this thesis exist beyond the thesis itself. I wanted to include the following work as a final chapter for three reasons.

First, I want to show how the effect of culturalist ideology on knowledge is widespread and pervasive. In this case, the effect on knowledge is set within the specific context of music education.

Second, this chapter allows me to show how my work on ethnic identity in the curriculum can provide greater insight into the link between the knower's ethnic identity and the knowledge to be learned.

Finally, I am personally attached to this work. The chapter presents an account of a publication written with my supervisors – Elizabeth Rata and Graham McPhail. In this way, it represents my growth and development as a scholar and researcher in this field from one who was led, instructed, and 'presided over' to one who now can sit alongside and make a worthy contribution. But, it also represents my identity as an educator of Pacific Island heritage. I was a teacher in the community discussed in the music example for eight years. I know the families, their names, their faces. I understand the hardships and the aspirations of this community. The children described in the chapter and their families are not disconnected objects of my research interests. Nevertheless, my interest in this case is not confined to my attachment to them. It rests in the argument presented, that all children should have access to the kinds of knowledge that admit them to worlds beyond their experiences and imagination.

CHAPTER SEVEN

The effect of cultural ideology on knowledge in the curriculum:

An example from music

McPhail, G., Rata, E., & Siteine, A. (2018). The changing nature of music education. In G. McPhail, V. Thorpe, & S. Wise. *Case studies in educational change. Perspectives from music education in Aotearoa/New Zealand* (pp. 74-92). Abingdon, UK: Routledge.

Introduction

I have made bold claims in this thesis. One of the claims I have made is related to the way in which the ideological force of culturalism has altered pedagogic identity and the type of knowledge that is made available to students in schools. More specifically, I have argued that the knowledge ethnic minority students, particularly Maori and Pasifika students in New Zealand schools, encounter at school is determined by how they are identified – an identification made possible by the dominant culturalist ideology. The purpose of this chapter is to provide a justification for making these claims. I use the example of an actual situation to emphasise the fact that this thesis addresses ‘real’ questions and concerns that are frequently raised in education and in society. Decisions about what knowledge is taught are often accepted uncritically because they are raised in defense of ethnic minority children. The validation of culturalist justified knowledge is permitted because of the belief that children’s heritage is being denied when they are taught from the Western canon rather than from the pool of social knowledge from their prescribed ethnic heritage. This chapter illustrates this phenomenon by drawing on a publication that describes an example of the unquestioning replacement of socio-cultural knowledge in the context of music education. I was a contributing author to this publication, which I will refer to as the ‘music publication’ in the account below.

The Changing Nature of Music Education

The authors, of whom I am one, identify two approaches in the music curriculum of most Western countries: a traditional academic approach, and a cultural approach based on “the

cultural practice of various ethnic and other social groups” (p. 74). The description of the second cultural approach is germane to this thesis. I have included an account of this publication to make the point that a focus on a socio-cultural ethnic identity has affected the type of knowledge promoted at school. Because my purpose is to describe the details discussed in the music publication, I have used lengthy extracts which are italicised throughout this chapter.

We explain:

[In] New Zealand, there has been a transition from a discourse concerned with multicultural education, which is to recognise the rich contribution of music from many different parts of the world, to a culturalist approach (Rata, 2012). This approach goes further than recognising and including a diverse range of music in the curriculum. It takes two further steps. Firstly, a causal relationship is claimed to exist between the music and the students who are connected to the cultural or ethnic group from which the music comes. This means that the music is regarded as ‘belonging’ to students from a specific ethnic group. Secondly, the claim extends to arguing that recognising the culture of the student by recognising his or her cultural background or ethnicity will lead to increased academic achievement.

This links the ‘knower’ and the ‘knowledge to be known’ according to students’ ethnicity rather than according to the intrinsic nature of the music itself. As a result, it has become commonplace in music education to assume that music does not have a universal episteme that is independent of the musicians’ cultural context. In contrast, we recognise that music does contain universal or context-independent concepts and an epistemic structure . . .

We argue that music education would benefit from recognising both the universal characteristics of the music to be taught to students and the need to teach music in ways that use students’ sociocultural understanding to help them engage with the conceptual nature of academic music. Such a shift from the music to the student’s cultural background has, we argue, led to concerns about what is actually being recognised. (pp. 74-75)

In the same way that this thesis calls for a return to the type of education characterised by liberal humanism, the authors of this publication argue for a third approach described as a

‘progressive knowledge approach’ (Barrett & Rata, 2014). It is also being referred to by the same authors as an ‘engaging pedagogy’ (Barrett, McPhail, & Rata, under review). More recently, work which looks specifically at the subject of engineering introduces the term ‘depth pedagogy’ (Rata, McPhail, Rowe, Collis, & Wang, 2017). According to Rata (unpublished paper):

The ‘depth pedagogy’ model has four elements, all of which are familiar to education writers. The purpose of the model is to integrate each element into a structure with a determining order in which the first element creates the conditions for the second and so on. The first determining element is the curriculum. This refers to *what* is to be taught. It requires explicitly selected concepts and content; the latter referring to material which best captures the meaning of the concepts. The selection is based on explicit reasons. This is because these reasons provide the justification for the second element - ‘curriculum design’.

The second element is ‘curriculum design’. The principle underpinning curriculum design in the depth pedagogy model is that the selected concepts and the content are organised as coherent systems of meaning. Material that is selected for its internal coherence satisfies the epistemic structure of the concepts. This means that the connection between concepts already exists in the internal structure of the particular system of meaning (Rata, 2017). This is contrasted with teaching material that is chosen for external reasons, for example to motivate students or because it refers to the same topic (McPhail & Rata, 2016).

The third element is ‘pedagogy’ or *how* the curriculum is taught. It refers to all methods of teaching and learning. According to the depth pedagogy model, the pedagogy element is determined by the curriculum design. The two elements of *what* is taught is connected to *how* it is taught in a relationship that has been called an ‘engaging pedagogy’ (Barrett, McPhail & Rata, under review; Young & Muller, 2013). This may be contrasted to constructivist pedagogies where the pedagogy ‘drives’ the curriculum (Rata, 2017). The fourth element refers to ‘space’; to where the teaching and learning takes place. Is it in a lecture theatre or a classroom, either a physical or a virtual ‘room’?

This approach draws on the kind of knowledge that is both ‘universal’ and ‘powerful’ (Young & Muller, 2013). It is an abstract form of knowledge that allows the learner to think beyond the “present and particular” of their own social experiences (Bailey, 1984). Because it is ‘abstracted’ knowledge from experience, it is the type of knowledge that ‘distances’ the knower and the ‘knowledge to be known’, thereby allowing the knowledge to be both universal and an object for study which is independent from how the knower is identified. The focus is on independent concepts rather than on the experience or identity of the knower.

These are the concepts that generate the creation of music and knowledge about music such as the organisation of time, the utilisation of timbre, form, musical temperaments, and sociological concepts concerning the function and value of musics across the globe. These concepts can be explored through varied content. Thinking conceptually can provide the means for music to be realised as a form of ‘powerful knowledge’ (Young & Muller, 2013; McPhail, 2014a) – broadly, knowledge that provides us with the means to think abstractly and critically about how the world is and how it might be changed. This type of knowledge enables those who have access to it to change the way they think about the world and their place in it. (p. 75)

This third approach, with its focus on independent concepts and universal knowledge, however, does not disregard the contributions of the first two traditional-academic and cultural approaches identified in the music chapter. While not advocating the traditional elitism of music education often associated with the academic approach, or the emphasis on the cultural background of the student-knower found in the second approach, the authors argue for an accommodation of certain elements found in both types. They acknowledge the epistemic structure of music and its universal context-independent concepts as well as recognising the context-dependent cultural factors involved in the way music is created and responded to. The authors also acknowledge that using “students’ socio-cultural understandings can help them engage with the conceptual nature of music education” (p. 75).

In order to bring clarity to the argument, the authors describe a current example of music education where the difference between the Western and cultural approaches to music is treated as two opposing and irreconcilable binaries.

Sistema Aotearoa

Sistema Aotearoa is a community-based music education programme which provides western instrumental tuition, orchestral, and choral experiences for children. It is a world-wide initiative, founded in Venezuela and currently operating in at least sixty different countries. The programme has been running in Auckland since 2011 and is based at the Otara Community Centre in Auckland's southern suburbs. Otara has a high Maori and Pasifika population and is also one of Auckland's lowest socio-economic areas. The programme is administered by the Auckland Philharmonic Orchestra and is funded by national and government sources as well as private donors. The programme is both a music development and social development programme. It aims to use ensemble music as a way to help children participate and contribute to their community. From age 6, children begin learning violin and cello. Other string, woodwind, brass, and percussion instruments are learnt as second instrument options as children progress within the programme. The Sistema Aotearoa programme in Otara has been evaluated and reviews are positive about both the musical and social development of the children involved in the programme, the satisfaction of their families, and the responses of the children's schools (McKegg, Crocket, Goodwin & Sauni., 2015; Trinick & McNaughton 2013).

Recently, however, concerns were raised about the programme in a Radio New Zealand interview with academic and Pacific journalism expert Richard Pamatatau (Upbeat, 2015). Pamatatau questioned the appropriateness of the programme for Pasifika children following his attendance at the launch of the Sistema's youth orchestra, *Rangatahi Philharmonia o Tara*. His comments endorse the cultural approach to music education outlined above but also reveal an anti-Western sentiment, one seen in his comment that choral music may be understood as a colonising practice.

In his discussion with the interviewer, Pamatatau referred to aspects of the event that he described as 'deeply problematic'. Firstly, the event 'had a very Eurocentric framing to it': too many adult speeches, not enough music from the children, and Western repertoire choices. Pamatatau also found it disturbing that students were being offered choral instruction as part of the project and described this as 'choralisation', 'a riffing on colonisation'. The argument appeared to be that,

since Pacific peoples have such strong vocal/choral traditions of their own, offering Western choral experiences was both unnecessary and somewhat insulting; 'music is very much part of the Pacific way of being', and these young people have their own cultural forms to call on and celebrate. Moreover, the attributes and dispositions supposedly developed through Sistema, Pamatatau argued, are equally developed in non-Western cultural forms such as the Tongan ma ula ula or a hula or a seated haka: 'this co-operation is already there so it's not a new thing'. Such arguments are a result of people feeling like their culture is disregarded and unvalued.

On a more positive note, Pamatatau also noted the potential of 'a reverse colonisation'; 'these young people are taking over the instruments of the European orchestra . . . so there's a riffing going on there as well that could perhaps be explored and unpacked a little bit'. Overall however, it is unclear what Pamatatau's ideal scenario would be for such communities, but clearly he has strong reservations about the programme as a form of continued cultural colonisation. His view raises important questions related to cultural authority and knowledge. On one hand he noted, 'there is some literature that says looking outside of what a population group does sometimes actually diminishes the value of what's already there'. In this view, Sistema can be seen as a cultural deficit response that may not be necessary. On the other hand, Pamatatau points to the potential of cultural hybridity and exposure to other cultural practices as enriching; it opens up other life opportunities. This appears to be the view of many of the parents involved. (pp. 76-77)

The concerns raised by Pamatatau enabled the authors to ask questions about academic and cultural approaches to music education. Namely:

- 1. While music is clearly a diverse human practice, are there dimensions that may be found in all music, regardless of when the music was composed, who composed it, or how it was composed (orally or using notation) that are open to experiential and analytical consideration for the purposes of education?*
- 2. Is music at heart a cultural expression that must remain tied to its sociocultural source in order to maintain its intrinsic form and authenticity? (p. 77)*

These questions reflect the deeper interest raised in this thesis about both the nature of knowledge and the purpose of schooling and the subsequent discussion about universalism and cultural relativism. The authors of the music publication note that this is not a matter for only music education, but is part of a shift from a more universal view of education towards an education that accommodates the sociocultural identity of the knower.

The Sociocultural Turn

Using an explanation similar to that concerning the influences of global forces provided in chapter five of this thesis, the authors of the music publication explain the influence of the sociocultural turn beginning in the 1970s. The focus is on forces in the sociocultural sphere, which led to the promotion of cultural and intellectual relativism (Bernstein, 2000; Rata, 2012).

These influences saw a shift from valuing what is generalisable and therefore universalisable in knowledge to placing greater value on the type of knowledge located in the sociocultural context. (p. 77)

Accompanying the relativist view of knowledge was the view of knowledge as a tool of colonisation. It is evident in Pamatatau's claims about music education in the Sistema programme and promotes the idea that education—in this case, music education—is based on Western cultural content knowledge rather than in disciplinary universal concepts. As such it is seen as a tool of ongoing oppression of ethnic cultural knowledge and minority ethnic students. The notion of music as a form of colonisation is related to the idea of knowledge as power that reproduces rather than interrupts society's inequities in education. The authors of the music publication explain,

Since the 1970s, sociologists of education who promoted knowledge as 'the ideology of the powerful' rather than as 'powerful knowledge' have tended to look at schools as agencies of cultural reproduction and purveyors of a 'hidden curriculum', enacting 'symbolic violence' in the form of Western hegemony. Education began to be understood in terms of power, politics, and ideology (Apple, 1979; Bowles & Gintis, 1976; Young, 1971). This 'deconstruction' of the curriculum in the 1970s claimed to reveal 'an alienated relationship between pupils and school knowledge' (Philpott, 2010, p. 83). One of the key outcomes of this analysis was to question the

taken-for-granted or assumed differentiation between school (i.e. academic) and non-school or sociocultural knowledge, the distinction that we refer to as context-independent and context-dependent knowledge types (Young, 2009).

The differentiation between knowledge as ‘the ideology of the powerful’ and ‘powerful knowledge’ also provides a way for distinguishing between what “we deem is important in education” (Ministry of Education, 2007, p. 4) and “what the knowledge can do – for example, whether it provides reliable explanations or new ways of thinking about the world” (Young, 2009, p. 14). The former allows knowledge to be linked to whichever ideologies are currently powerful.

In this thesis, I have described how the ideologies of neoliberalism and culturalism have affected the type of knowledge available to students at school. The authors of the music publication also take up this argument with respect to the influence of culturalist ideology on music education as they deepen the distinction between context-independent academic knowledge and context-dependent sociocultural knowledge. The justification for a shift to context-dependent sociocultural knowledge was that it would make education more inclusive and democratic. This approach was underpinned by the claim that rather than the ‘**distance**’ described in this thesis as a process of individualisation and separation from the social group, an ‘**alienation**’ existed between the individual and society that was manifest in the estrangement between ethnic minority students and official school knowledge. The shift to context-dependent sociocultural knowledge not only addressed the claim of estrangement but reflected the emergence of culturalist discourse in educational theory and practice.

The authors also acknowledge how the identity directive from *The New Zealand Curriculum* (Ministry of Education, 2007), as discussed in this thesis, puts these ideas into classroom practice. The identity directive was the catalyst for the research that followed (see chapters one and two). In addition to the identity directive, the influence of Bishop’s work (see for example, Bishop et al., 2012 and <http://tekotahitanga.tki.org.nz>) has advanced the commitment to culturalist ideas in New Zealand education. The following excerpt from the music publication explains the effect of these influences on the academic knowledge of schools.

This commitment to culturalist ideas justifies the use of culturally responsive pedagogies for all subjects, not only music. However, as one of the authors of this chapter has shown (Siteine, 2016), the movement of identity into the curriculum as a directive for affirmation and recognition, as well as referring to a topic to be taught, can create possibilities for ethnic division within the school community and destabilise subject knowledge as a key purpose of schooling. Although a focus on students' identity in the school curriculum is justified in terms of inclusive and culturally sustaining practice (Alton-Lee, 2003; Paris & Alim, 2014), part of the regulative discourse of the school, there is little discussion about how 'recognition' and 'affirmation' will achieve this. In an earlier study, Siteine (2010) showed that identity affirmation had the effect of pushing disciplinary-based subject knowledge out of the curriculum in favour of experiential knowledge or what Vygotsky (1986) calls 'spontaneous knowledge' (this is what we refer to as 'context-dependent' or sociocultural knowledge). According to Bernstein (2000), students become 'more of themselves', and opportunities for them to move beyond their social identities are limited. This has the potential effect of 'trapping them within their experiences (Bailey, 1984) and limiting their learning to that which they already know or have access to outside of the school' (p. 3). In other words, the 'particular' was promoted over the 'universal' to the point where students no longer engaged with context-independent concepts in subjects like music. The effect is to deny students access to the means by which ideas about music can be generalised, but the approach has wider implications in that the ability to generalise is a pivotal component of cognitive development. (p. 80)

The publication then turns to the challenges for teachers' practice when implementing the ideals of culturally responsive practice and sociocultural knowledge. The authors begin by identifying three key ideas found in the literature about multicultural education:

- (i) *that affirmation and acknowledgment of ethnicity should be a regulative ideal for education in general;*
- (ii) *that teachers need to be culturally responsive in relation to their pedagogy (the instructional discourse); and*

- (iii) *that various non-Western world views or ‘ways of knowing’ represented in curricular content should be given credence by inclusion in the curriculum. (p. 81)*

In response to these ideas, the authors propose the inclusion of diverse musics and music practices within the class programme for all students. The content would be chosen for its educative potential and include both context dependent knowledge, acknowledging the music’s sociocultural history and context, as well as context independent knowledge, which recognises the conceptual generalisability of the music.

More problematic is the selection of content based on the ethnic identification of students, such as that proposed by Pamatatau when he suggested that the Pasifika children in the Sistema programme should be learning and performing traditional music from their Pacific heritages. One of the concerns raised in the music publication reflects the findings of this thesis related to ethnic self-identification. The authors suggest that the identification of students according to their ethnic heritage may be too intrusive. While there are some students who have a strong sense of selfhood based on their ethnic identity, there are others for whom their ethnic heritage is not their primary identity at school. Sheets (2005), for example, explains that some students “go out of their way not to exhibit ‘cultural displays’ and sometimes even refuse to acknowledge their ethnic ancestry” at school (p. 58). In addition, Green (2002) notes that some teenagers want to keep their ‘out of school’ cultural knowledge private for a variety of reasons.

The most convincing reason for suggesting that selecting content based on students’ ethnic identification comes from this thesis. It is that,

Well-meaning attempts at cultural inclusion can have unintended and undesired effects, as one of us found in the study referred to earlier (Siteine, 2016). Siteine found a vivid illustration of the unintended consequences of an ethnic-based initiative. It included a school’s practice of grouping students according to their ethnicity for lunch meetings. In this school, teachers saw ethnicity as students’ primary identity and believed that children would have a stronger sense of belonging to the school and be more able to advocate for or relate to children with the same ethnic heritage. However, these meetings did not go to plan:

That didn't work because they didn't like it. They didn't like being singled out as Vietnamese or Chinese or whatever. But the idea was that we would all sit down, have lunch, and they would talk in their own language. That is what we thought would be a nice thing for them to do and then they would know across the school who was in their ethnicity so that if they had a problem in the playground or something they could go and look for that person who could then either talk for them or solve the problem or stand up for them. . . . But they didn't like it, they didn't want to go. They had to be made to go . . . and they basically sat in silence and ate their lunch. . . . It was almost the Star of David thing. . . . It didn't work. . . . We had the best intentions but maybe it needed to be managed differently. (Teacher participant)

The 'Star of David' reference is particularly striking given the deep implication of this reference for racial division. The lunchtime meeting groups were initiated by teachers who were actively attempting to provide opportunities for students to be 'more of themselves' ethnically by speaking their heritage languages and interacting with other students of the same ethnic background. While the ideals underpinning choices such as these are well intentioned, the reality can be both unanticipated and unacceptable, leading to assumed cultural identity or racial profiling. (p. 82)

These unintended outcomes as well as the difficulty of providing authentic multicultural experiences for all learners make the task of culturally relevant content, selected on the basis of students' ethnic heritage, "simply not possible" (Siteine, 2016, p. 83) What is possible, as suggested by the authors, is the recognition of the sociocultural context within which music is created, but also an understanding of its emergent properties. In this way, universal concepts can be applied, examined, and understood in various contexts by selecting content that has educative potential from a diverse range of music.

What are schools for?

The music publication concludes by returning to the question of the purpose of schools. With respect to music education the authors argue for a return to placing "*music's inherent dimensions . . . at the centre of the music education*" (p. 87). In essence, this recentring requires two processes: a shift of emphasis from knower to knowledge as well as the

‘retrieving’ of universal concepts. The ‘retrieving’ of the universal concepts for music education, and, indeed, education in general, is developed by the authors by differentiating between the sociocultural approach within the regulative discourse of the school and the instructional discourse of the curriculum. The shift of emphasis from knower to knowledge can be addressed within the regulative discourse, which refers to “*those aspects concerned with values and imaginaries of how the school wants its students to be, [as well as] the affirmation and legitimation of who students are, to give them sufficient confidence and belief in themselves*” (p. 82), while the instructional discourse refers to “*the actual nitty-gritty of what goes on in the classroom in terms of knowledge selection, sequence, pacing, evaluation, and approaches to pedagogy*” (p. 76). The sociocultural turn is addressed rather than reversed by retrieving universal concepts for inclusion in the instructional discourse while, at the same time, acknowledging and using students’ ethnic identities and cultural heritages in the regulative discourse. This provides all students access to powerful knowledge irrespective of, but with respect for, their ethnic identities and cultural heritages.

The authors of the music publication conclude:

Our argument appears to go against current trends in that we argue that schools are not primarily places concerned with encouraging students to become more of who they are but with providing access to a discursive gap – an interruption in the life trajectory – that points to possible futures, possibly unimagined. While the regulative discourse of the school, those aspects concerned with values and imaginaries of how the school wants its students to be, must incorporate the affirmation and legitimation of who students are, to give them sufficient confidence and belief in themselves, the school’s ultimate aim is that of enhancement (McPhail, 2014b). This is Bernstein’s third pedagogic right: ‘the right to the means of critical understandings and to new possibilities’ (2000, p. xx). So music may indeed hold the potential to realise ideals of intercultural understanding, empathy, and the reduction of prejudice; however, our argument is that it will do this through the power of abstraction, of context-independent thinking, rather than through the more limited context-dependent drive for ethnic identity making:

if schools are to play a major role in promoting social equality, they have to take the knowledge base of the curriculum very seriously – even when this

appears to go against the immediate demands of pupils (and sometimes their parents). (Young, 2009, p. 152). (pp. 87-88)

As a co-author of the music publication, my contribution comes from and feeds into this thesis. The music publication's purpose in this thesis is to show how student identity is linked with the type of knowledge students have access to at school. It provides a further opportunity to describe and discuss the key ideas of this thesis—knowledge and identity—within a specific context, that of music education, and within a real example, that of Sistema Aotearoa in the community of Otara, Auckland.

CHAPTER 8: Conclusion

The Individual and the Social

Introduction

This thesis is a sociological study. It is ultimately concerned with the nature of the relationship between the individual and the social, and with the role education plays in shaping this relationship. The first section of this chapter discusses this complex relationship. It begins by returning to the ideological forces described in previous chapters in order to explain the sociological processes of ‘attaching’ and ‘distancing’ in the individualising and socialising of humans that Durkheim identifies as the role of education in modern societies. The final section explains the connection between these ideas and the themes developed in this thesis.

In order to understand the complex relationship between the individual and the social, I have examined how two currently powerful ideologies—neoliberalism and culturalism—work in educational policy and classroom practice to create distance from or attachment to the social group in terms of identification. Why does this matter? Is there any actual significance attached to the influence of these global ideological forces? The answers to these questions start with a different question: What is it about the two ideologies, which are central to understanding this study, that make them fundamentally different? The obvious difference is the economic and market-drive expectations apparent in neoliberal ideology and absent in cultural ideology. However, this is not the fundamental difference as they are still similar enough in expectations or aspirations for learners to serve each other in an accommodating relationship. The fundamental difference is a sociological one: the role they play in defining the relationship between the individual and society. Is this relationship one of distancing, dealt with by saying we are individuals and we can only exist as a collective by recognising our distance from each other? Or is this relationship dealt with by locating the individual within the social group, by saying you only exist in that you are within this group? The former emphasises individual autonomy; the latter requires greater conformity to the group.

Distancing and Attaching

The ideology of neoliberalism promotes a relationship that can be characterised by distance. Distancing is an individualising process that allows one to separate from society. Thatcher's (1987) statement, that "there is no such thing as society" is often cited as the rallying cry of the neoliberal imperative. Not only is the individual distanced from society, but society is seen not to exist except as a collection of individuals. In contrast, the ideology of culturalism sees the individual as encompassed in the social world to the extent that individual autonomy is lost. One only exists as a social being as part of the ethnic group.

The way educational policy and practice have been influenced by these ideologies and the way they have altered the type of knowledge that is taught to children can be understood within the purpose of the ideologies themselves; to promote a certain relationship between the individual and the group. For neoliberalism, where the individual is more separated from the group, children are learners who "are enterprising, resourceful, reliable, and resilient. They establish personal goals, make plans, manage projects, and set high standards. They know when to lead, when to follow and how to act independently" (Ministry of Education, 2007, p. 12). For culturalism, where the child is encompassed by and exists within the group, educational success is attached to the ethnic group. For Maori students, that means "ensur[ing] Maori students are enjoying and achieving education success as Maori" (Ministry of Education, 2013b, p. 5). Similarly, for Pasifika students,

Academic success is not only about the success of the individual but is also reflective of the success of the family and the community from which they come. To be deemed fully successful in Pasifika contexts, Pasifika children are encouraged to strengthen and build capability in the 'valued knowledges', and 'ways of being' of their family/community domains, as well as the valued knowledge of school. (Si'ilata, Samu, & Siteine, 2017, p. 7)

This contradictory 'distancing and attaching' provides both a dilemma and a role for education in modern societies. Because modern societies are pluralist, they have no single, common means of connecting people. Traditional societies connect through their mythologies or shared beliefs. Neoliberal societies do not have the imperative to connect because they are not viewed as a society, but a collection of individuals united only by their relationship to the market – either producers or consumers. With respect to the relationship

between people in New Zealand society, Rata (2017b) explains “We are a country of diverse groups. What unifies us if not the education system? We do not share the same religion. We do not share the same history. We do not share the same experiences. Only at school can we gain a sense of ourselves as a unified people” (p. A34).

The task for education in a liberal democracy is to connect people because democracy requires both the individual and a unified society. This duality is captured in the traditional motto of the United States of America: *E pluribus unum*, out of many, one. Individualism and unity are in constant tension, as noted by Cortes (1994).

Pluribus values such as freedom, individualism and diversity live in constant and inevitable tension with such unum values as authority, conformity and commonality . . . Some emphasize pluribus, giving primacy to the defense of individual freedom and social diversity. Others emphasize unum, arguing that the maintenance of societal unity reigns as the more essential value, often superseding the protection of pluribus rights. (p. 6)

Both values are required in a modern nation state in order to protect and uphold individual rights, as well as providing the freedom for people to connect with the state and with social groups of their choosing. Education can play a significant role in protecting both sets of values.

New Zealand education was founded on beliefs about the universal nature of the human being, who is both separate from, and part of the group. Durkheim (1971) explains how this duality exists within individuals and is reflected in education.

Education, far from having as its unique or principle object the individual and his interests, is above all the means by which society perpetually recreates the conditions of its very existence . . . In each of us, it may be said, there exist two beings which, while inseparable except by abstraction, remain distinct. One is made up of all the mental states which apply only to ourselves and to the events of our personal lives. This is what might be called the **individual** being. The other is a system of ideas, sentiments and practices which express in us, not our personality, but the group or different groups of which we are part; these are religious beliefs, moral beliefs and practices, national or occupational traditions collective opinions of every kind. Their

totality forms the **social** being. To constitute this being in each of us is the end of education. (pp. 79-80, emphasis added)

Both identity and knowledge are implicated in Durkheim's explanation. My purpose has been to argue that the process of identification that focuses solely on either the individual being or on the social group does not fulfil the promise of education. 'The end of education' cannot be fully realised if access to knowledge is limited to either that which is relevant to the learner by virtue of membership in a social group or that which is expected to be achieved as a consequence of curriculum performativity or individual educational outputs. Neoliberal and culturalist ideologies have had the effect of positioning children either as one of a collection of individuals whose educational potential and sense of self is measured in economic terms or as ethnics within the social group. Similarly, these ideologies have limited the type of knowledge children have access to in schools. Children become more of 'who they are' by having access to knowledge of the social group or to the kind of procedural knowledge that is easily measured as skills and competencies that individuals can achieve.

In contrast, the purpose of a liberal humanist education is to benefit both the individual and society; to distance or individualise and to attach or socialise. The individual is not fully separated from the group nor is the individual fully enclosed within the group. Individuals are to be responsible for their own lives but they must also contribute to the social group (Siteine, 2017b). It is for these reasons that liberal educators are committed to socialising children to become citizens and to providing access to what has been referred to as "powerful knowledge" (Young & Muller, 2013). This is the sort of knowledge found in academic subjects which provides a way to imagine the world beyond that which one has not yet experienced.

The Culmination

In this final section, I summarise how these themes have developed and contributed to the final proposition.

The thesis begins by examining the inclusion of the term 'identity' in the curriculum of New Zealand and two other Pacific Island nations. This examination established the swift and unproblematised inclusion of identity within curricula. It also drew attention to the changes to knowledge accompanying this inclusion, most particularly the displacing of academic knowledge in favour of 'relevant' knowledge related to the student's ethnic heritage. I raised

a caution that these changes may disadvantage students in general and result in greater inequality for ethnic minority students.

The thesis went on to discuss ‘Pedagogic Identity’ in two ways. First, as an incongruity found between the way identity was encoded in policy and how it was subsequently decoded by teachers. McCarthy’s (1993) typology of multicultural education was used to explain the directive-practice gap in teachers’ discourse. A discourse of cultural understanding evident in teachers’ discourse was found to be incongruous with the discourse of cultural emancipation found in educational policy.

Second, the difference between policy and practice was further expanded by using Bernstein’s (2000) framework of pedagogic identity types. Bernstein’s description of a *Prospective Pedagogic Identity* was evident in two educational policies specifically designed to raise the achievement of Maori and Pasifika students in New Zealand schools. In contrast, a *Retrospective Pedagogic Identity* appeared in teachers’ descriptions of how they enacted the identity directive. Bernstein’s framework allowed for my theorising using the ideologies of neoliberalism and culturalism to explain their influence on identity types. Neoliberal ideology was seen in the way in which a *Prospective Pedagogic Identity* was encoded into the official discourse of curriculum and related educational initiatives at the policy level. This involved selective recontextualising of cultural features of the past with a view to raising student performance in order that they participate in and contribute to a market-led economy. In contrast, culturalist ideology was evident in the way in which a *Retrospective Pedagogic Identity* was decoded from policy by teachers for enactment in their classroom programmes. Teachers tended to focus on the ethnic cultural identity of their students as a way of sustaining traditional values and views of identity. Teachers did this in the belief that these values and views are threatened and may be lost. The role of the school was seen as both sustaining these cultural heritages and also providing a strong sense of ethnic identification. I used Bernstein’s (2000) concept of ‘recontextualisation’ as a theoretical tool to show how ideology can ‘play’ in the spaces created in the recontextualising process. Where McCarthy’s multicultural framework allowed me to identify the ‘directive-practice’ gap, Bernstein’s concept of recontextualisation allowed me to explain it.

The influence of these ideologies contributed to two arguments made in the thesis. First, that a relationship exists between neoliberal curriculum reform at the policy level and the type

of student identity that is acknowledged and affirmed at the micro level of schooling. Second, that this relationship is possible because it occurs within the context of culturalism and neoliberalism being aligned in an accommodating way. These claims provide an explanation of how cultural identity has been strengthened in an era of neoliberal reform.

The accommodation of neoliberal and culturalist ideology in policy and practice has had a profound impact upon knowledge and identity in education. In chapter six, I extend the explanation about how these ideologies are apposite to a study about identity. I argue that these ideologies are, in fact, ideologies about how the individual and the group should relate, and the identity of people in terms of the individual-group relationship. These claims link the empirical data and the themes of the study: as policy and practice is reimagined, the knowledge children receive in schools is effected, which, in turn, impacts upon identity. This is the reason why these ideologies are revealed in identity at the level of the classroom, because they are, fundamentally, ideologies about identity; that is, about how the individual identifies with, and is identified by, the social. As such, they work in an accommodating relationship at the level of policy with neoliberal ideas supporting culturalist beliefs and vice versa.

While teachers may want to acknowledge and affirm the ethnic identities of their students as part of a welcoming and inclusive classroom environment, it is my view they should also understand the complexity of the task. The nuances associated with identification, the effect upon knowledge available in the curriculum, and ultimately the role of schools are all matters for serious and further consideration. My purpose in this thesis has been to engage with this complexity as a contribution to the sociology of education.

Postlegomenon

In writing this thesis I have been inspired by Immanuel Kant's creed that captured the spirit of the Enlightenment, "Sapere aude! Dare to know!" (Kant, 1784/1995, p. 1). I borrow from Kant's creed here to express my final thoughts and challenges as I conclude this thesis:

Dare to think! Dare to Change! Dare to Be!

Daring to Think

I certainly expected to have to think, rethink, and think again as part of the intellectual work of this thesis. I knew it would be hard, but I expected to be assisted by the great intellectuals who had thought longer and harder than I had. I did not expect to be obstructed by elusive descriptions and vague definitions, but I was. During the course of this thesis, I have grappled with the ideas of many scholars, but none more than the ideas of Basil Bernstein. I wrestled with descriptions, definitions, and explanations related to pedagogic identities and fields of their recontextualisation to the point of frustration. However, towards the end of this process, I found that what initially appeared to me as elusiveness, I now understand as rigorous intellectual exercise. I now have a deep respect and gratitude for Bernstein's work and for the intellectual 'workout' that was possible because of the breadth and potentiality of his theoretical work. The complexity of Bernstein's theories, frameworks, and concepts has forced me into the hard thinking that has given me intellectual muscle to understand and use conceptual tools in a way that offers deeper meaning and theoretical justification for my own empirical study. I borrow Joseph Solomon's words from the postscriptum of Bernstein's book 'Pedagogy, symbolic control and identity', which is frequently cited in this thesis, to capture these thoughts:

Much more than simple answers to questions . . . the questions have become vehicles for a reflexion . . . (In Bernstein, 2000, p. 212).

Of course, Solomon and I are talking about different things – he about Bernstein's body of scholarship and me about how Bernstein's work led me to think more clearly and differently about the student identity in this thesis. Nevertheless, the sentiment is the same – the questions raised by Bernstein and answered about his work give opportunities for others to recognise, use, and apply his ideas in their own work, as I have in mine.

Daring to Change

I began this study from an interest in ethnic identity emanating from my own experiences. My work as a teacher with a Pacific Island heritage teaching Pasifika children led me to believe first, in the transformative power of education and second, that students should be able to 'see' themselves in the content of the curriculum. By the latter, I meant that curriculum content should be authentic and relevant to those who were learning it. I still believe in the first idea, but I now understand transformation in terms of the freedom from 'the present and particular' of a person's social circumstances described by Bailey (1994) in his work on a liberal education. However, I became more troubled about my beliefs related to authenticity and relevance. The responsibility of being an educator with a Pacific Island heritage weighed heavily upon me. As a classroom teacher, I responded positively and eagerly to the expectations that I would plan 'Pasifika topics', be responsible for hosting Pasifika guests in the school, organise Pasifika languages weeks, and tutor the Pasifika cultural group. As an academic, I have been increasingly uncomfortable with the expectation that I would serve on committees to represent a Pasifika view, that I would examine Pasifika students' research irrespective of their thesis topic, or that I would 'do' Pasifika research using a Pasifika methodology. I have been influenced by scholars who count themselves amongst those concerned with knowledge in education within the sociology of education – Michael Young, Johan Muller, John Beck, Leesa Wheelahan, Elizabeth Rata, Graham McPhail, and Brian Barrett. I recognise that initially my concern with the ways in which students' ethnicity was recognised in school was underpinned by the idea of cultural relevance. My recognition of the limitations of this position have been detailed in this thesis. This has allowed me to focus on the relationship between the identification of students at school and the effect on knowledge – a social realist concern. While writing about the sociocultural turn in society and education, I have undertaken my own turn from a culturalist to a social realist position.

Daring to be

Writing a thesis such as this requires objectivity if the work is to stand on its own merits. However, there is a limit to the extent that one can remain objective when one is caught up in the context. I am amongst those counted as Pasifika. When I write about Pasifika initiatives, experiences, and statistics I am both object and subject. I take up Kant's

challenge to 'dare to know' in a different way – I dare to know, critique, and to make the arguments I have in this because I am both subject and object. I claim the right to say these things without representing or abandoning my membership in the group. I stand by my original premise of universal access to knowledge irrespective of ethnic heritage.

In my end is my beginning.

(T. S. Eliot, Four Quartets)

Appendix A: Participant Information Sheet and Consent form for Principals



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The University of Auckland
Private Bag 92601, Symonds Street
Auckland 1150, New Zealand

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET: PRINCIPAL

Project Title: The Affirmation of Identity in New Zealand Primary Schools

Researcher: Alexis Siteine

Degree: Doctor of Philosophy

My name is Alexis Siteine and I am seeking permission to include teachers from your school in my doctoral research. I would like to interview a classroom teacher and a member of the management team. I am undertaking this research in partial fulfilment of the Doctorate of Philosophy at the University of Auckland.

This research aims to examine the processes by which identity is conceptualized and manifested in teachers' beliefs and in educational programmes. The study will investigate the historical, political and personal factors that inform teachers planning and implementation of programmes that affirm students' identity.

Your participation in the research will involve, if you wish, giving me permission to:

- invite teachers to participate in the research. This participation will involve a one-to-one interview that will last approximately one hour.
- use an agreed upon space within the school to carry out the interviews
- allow access to school policy or planning that is discussed in the course of the interview

Participants have the right to withdraw from the research at any time but information that they provide cannot be withdrawn once data analysis has commenced. The time frame for withdrawal from the research is 14 days following the interview. After that time, information they provide cannot be withdrawn. The audio file and transcripts will be stored in a locked cabinet within the University premises for a period of six years for the purpose of further research. The consent forms will be stored in my principal supervisor's office on the campus. After the six year period the information provided will be destroyed.

If you agree to give permission, I would appreciate it if you could sign the enclosed consent form and return to me in the enclosed stamped and addressed envelope to Alexis Siteine at the University of Auckland.

Should you give approval I request your assurance that any teachers approached for participation in the study will not have their standing within the school affected in any way, regardless of whether they participate or not.

Thank you for your time and help in making this study possible. Enquiries about the research can be made to:

Researcher:

Alexis Siteine

a.siteine@auckland.ac.nz
623 8899 ext 48508

Principal Supervisor:

Associate Professor Dr Elizabeth Rata

School of Critical Studies Education, Faculty of Education
Faculty of Education, The University of Auckland,
Private Bag 92 601, Symonds Street, Auckland 1035
Ph :(09) 6238899 x 46315
Email: e.rata@auckland.ac.nz

Head of School:

Dr Airini

School of Critical Studies in Education
Faculty of Education, The University of Auckland,
Private Bag 92 601, Symonds Street, Auckland 1035
Ph: (09) 623 8899 ext 48826
Email: Airini@auckland.ac.nz

For any queries regarding ethical concerns you may contact the Chair, The University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee, The University of Auckland, Office of the Vice Chancellor, Private Bag 92019, Auckland 1142. Telephone 09 373-7599 extn. 83711.

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS
ETHICS COMMITTEE ON 10 September, 2010 FOR (3) years, Reference Number
2010/417



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PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM: PRINCIPAL

THIS CONSENT FORM WILL BE HELD FOR A PERIOD OF SIX YEARS.

Project Title: The Affirmation of Identity in New Zealand Primary Schools

Researcher: Alexis Siteine

- I give permission for this research to be carried out as outlined in the participant information sheets.
- I have been given and understand the Participant Information Sheets for this research project. I have had an opportunity to ask questions and have had them answered.
- I understand that I may withdraw approval at any time up to the day before the arranged interviews, without giving a reason.
- I am granting the researcher permission to interview teachers from this school.
- I understand that neither the participants nor the school will be identified in any written report or oral presentation arising from this research however I understand that anonymity and confidentiality cannot be absolutely guaranteed.
- I give an assurance that teachers will not be disadvantaged by participation or non-participation in this research.

Signed: _____

Name: _____ [please print carefully]

Date: _____

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS
ETHICS COMMITTEE ON 10 September, 2010 FOR (3) years, Reference Number
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Appendix B: Participant Information Sheet and Consent form for Teachers



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Auckland 1150, New Zealand

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET: Teacher

Project Title: The Affirmation of Identity in New Zealand Primary Schools

Researcher: Alexis Siteine

Degree: Doctor of Philosophy

My name is Alexis Siteine and I would like to invite you to participate in my doctoral research. This research aims to examine the processes by which identity is conceptualized and manifested in teachers' beliefs and in educational programmes. The study will investigate the historical, political and personal factors that inform teachers planning and implementation of programmes that affirm students' identity. Participation will involve you taking part in a one-to-one interview that will last approximately one hour.

The interview will be recorded. I will then transcribe the interview with the assistance of a transcriber who will have signed a confidentiality agreement. In addition, I will record my own observations and reflections during and after each interview. During the interviews, the recorder will be turned off at any time if requested and you may leave the interview or refrain from answering a question if you wish.

Once the interview has been transcribed you will have an opportunity to check your transcript if you indicate on the consent form that you wish to do this. The audio file and transcripts will be stored in a locked cabinet within the University premises for a period of six years for the purpose of further research. The consent forms will be stored in my principal supervisor's office on the campus. After the six year period the information provided will be destroyed.

You have the right to withdraw from the research at any time up until and during the interview. You also have the right to withdraw your transcript until the time when the data has been analysed. Information cannot be withdrawn once this stage is reached because there will be no identifiers enabling the researcher to link any information with any teacher or school. The time frame for withdrawing your transcript is 14 days following the interview.

I will make every effort to ensure the reporting of information in my thesis or any subsequent publication of information will be done in a way that protects the identity of both you and the school, however, I cannot absolutely guarantee anonymity.

Thank you for your time and help in making this study possible. Enquiries about the research can be made to:

Researcher:

Alexis Siteine
a.siteine@auckland.ac.nz
623 8899 ext. 48508

Supervisor:

Associate Professor Elizabeth Rata,
The School of Critical Studies in Education
Faculty of Education
The University of Auckland
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E-mail: e.rata@auckland.ac.nz

Head of School:

Dr Airini,
Head of School: Critical Studies in Education
Faculty of Education
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Ph: (09) 6238826
E-mail: airini@auckland.ac.nz

For any queries regarding ethical concerns you may contact the Chair, The University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee, The University of Auckland, Office of the Vice Chancellor, Private Bag 92019, Auckland 1142, Telephone 09 373-7599 extn. 83711.

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS
ETHICS COMMITTEE ON 10 September, 2010 FOR (3) years, Reference Number
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PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM: Teacher

THIS CONSENT FORM WILL BE HELD FOR A PERIOD OF SIX YEARS.

Project Title: The Affirmation of Identity in New Zealand Primary Schools

Researcher: Alexis Siteine

- I agree to participate in this research project.
- I agree to being audiotaped during the interview and understand that the recorder will be turned off at any time if requested and I may leave the interview or refrain from answering a question if I wish.
- I have been given and understand the Participant Information Sheet for this research project. I am aware that I can ask questions at any point in time and I am aware to whom these questions should be addressed.
- I understand that I may withdraw approval about participating any time up to the day before the arranged interview, without giving a reason.
- I understand that I have the right to withdraw my interview transcript up to fourteen days following the interview.
- I understand that neither the school nor I will be identified in any written report or oral presentation arising from this research, however I understand that anonymity and confidentiality cannot be absolutely guaranteed.
- I understand that the Principal has given an assurance that I will not be disadvantaged by participation or non-participation in this research
- I understand that the data from this research will be kept for six years then destroyed.

I am requesting the opportunity to check the transcribed interview

Signed: _____

Your name: _____ [please print carefully]

Date: _____

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS
ETHICS COMMITTEE ON 3 September 2010 FOR (3) years, Reference Number
2010/417

Appendix C: Transcriber Confidentiality Agreement



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TRANSCRIBER CONFIDENTIALITY AGREEMENT

Project Title: The affirmation of identity in New Zealand primary schools

Researcher: Alexis Siteine

Supervisor: Associate Professor Elizabeth Rata

Transcriber:

I agree to transcribe the audiotapes for the above research project. I understand that the information contained within them is confidential and must not be disclosed to, or discussed with, anyone other than the researcher and her supervisor(s).

Name: _____ (please print clearly)

Signature: _____

Date: _____

Appendix D: Interview Guide

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

The following questions are indicative of the kinds of questions and prompts that participants will be asked in a semi –structured interview grouped under ‘themes’.

Discourse about identity:

- Is the identity of the students in your school/class a topic that you have discussed with your colleagues?
- Is student identity part of any school policy?

Personal Beliefs and Experiences:

- How important is it to you, as a teacher/principal, that you address children’s identity? Why?
- What are the aspirations that you hold about for your students about their identity? What does this look like?
- Is there anything else that you would like to see happen in your class/school that would affirm student’s identity?
- Is there anything that you, personally do in your class/school to affirm students’ identity?

Implementation:

- Is the concept of your student’s identity something that you try to address in your teaching plans? In the goals or values that are emphasised in the school? How does this happen?
- Where is this most likely to happen in a particular subject/topic/unit, in school life generally?
- Do you collect any information about the children’s identity in the school/class? How do you use this information?
- What have you got planned for this year that focuses on identity?
- Are there any specific resources or programmes that you use or have developed that address students’ identity?

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