

*THE LIBERAL PARADOX FOR MUSLIMS EDUCATED
IN NEW ZEALAND*

BY
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DISSERTATION

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this thesis is to identify, describe, and explain the challenges faced by Muslim students in New Zealand's public education system. This education system is committed to the inclusion of diverse cultures and religions in government funded state-secular schools and state-integrated religious schools. However, this research shows how such a commitment can lead to a deep paradox for Muslim students. The research focuses on how the secular education system responds to a group that has fundamentally different values and practices from those recognised by the system. In turn, this study seeks to understand how Muslim schools respond to a secular education system that has fundamentally different values and practices from those recognised by the Muslim community. The effect New Zealand's public education has on a Muslim identity, a New Zealand citizenship identity, and on participation in a secular liberal society is examined. The research also addresses the challenges for liberal democracy in catering for religious diversity in a secular education system.

The empirical research included interviews with nine participants, comprising immigrant Muslim tertiary students and Muslim and non-Muslim teachers. Each participant provided insights into the ways in which schools regulate, restrict, and reproduce knowledge through their curriculum. Moreover, the participants' stories revealed tensions experienced by the students to different degrees in their schools, homes, and in the wider New Zealand society. The tension was theorised as a 'liberal paradox', one made visible in state-funded integrated Muslim schools as they attempt to design a curriculum that aligns with their beliefs and that also meets the requirements of the national democratic-based curriculum values and principles. This national requirement is in tension with New Zealand's shift to a community-responsive (i.e., localised) curriculum, a shift which gives greater weight to a school's special character.

Participants who encountered a more moderate approach to Islam at school reported experiencing less tension, and felt more confident in their personal identity and ability to integrate into New Zealand's secular liberal society. Those students who received a stricter religious education experienced considerable tension, were more conflicted in their personal identity, and more likely to withdraw from overly conservative forms of Islam. Students' university experiences appear to have helped them to develop the confidence to socialise in wider secular life, regardless of the nature of their earlier compulsory education. Although the study was small, the findings suggest that Muslim schools are experiencing considerable challenges between the recognition of Muslim religious beliefs and practices allowed for in the design of a localised Muslim curriculum and the requirements to adhere to the values and principles of the national curriculum.

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CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this thesis is to identify, describe, and explain the challenges for Muslim students' in New Zealand's public education system, a system committed to the inclusion of diverse cultures and religions in government funded schools. The research focuses on how a secular education system responds to a group that has fundamentally different values and practices from those recognised by the system and expressed in the principles of the national curriculum. It also seeks to understand how government funded state-integrated Muslim schools deal with the resulting tension between its values and practices and adherence to the democratic principles and guidelines of the education system. The effect New Zealand's public education has on a Muslim identity, a citizenship identity, and Muslim students' engagement in a secular liberal society is examined. The research identifies the challenges for liberal democracy in finding ways to most effectively cater for religious diversity in a secular education system. Should liberal democratic systems absorb "all religions by assimilating them to a democratic culture that demands fealty to individualism, formal equality, common morality, and other liberal orthodoxies", which Schuck (2011, p.10) suggests is an approach some countries take to religious diversity in society? Alternatively, as Turner (2012) argues, perhaps a more liberal democratic approach would be to "encourage a public debate in which both secular and religious citizens have to provide reasoned arguments for their worldviews" (p. 1060).

The research includes investigating Muslim student and teacher experiences in New Zealand's public education. Five immigrant Muslim tertiary students, four female and one male, all of whom attended either secular schools or integrated Muslim schools¹, and five Muslim and non-Muslim teachers, four female and one male, contribute their stories to this research. The participants' stories revealed different degrees of tension experienced by students in their schools, homes, and in the wider New Zealand society. Their narratives are pivotal to understanding the effect education has had on a developing personal identity and an identity as a New Zealand citizen, in particular when we consider that "education is a central institution for the production of identity" and in shaping patterns, control, and legitimation of socialisation and cultural reproduction (Lewis, 2004, pp. 151-2). The study makes visible what I theorise is a 'liberal paradox'. It is experienced as a tension by some of the Muslim students at school, at home, and in New Zealand society more generally. The 'liberal paradox' refers to a conflict that arises between Muslim communities' right to freedom of religious expression on the one hand and to the requirement to recognise

¹ 'State-secular schools' are also referred to as 'secular schools' or 'state schools' and are the vast majority of schools in New Zealand. 'State-integrated Muslim schools' agree to abide by the National Curriculum guidelines to become 'state-integrated' and state-funded. They are referred to as 'integrated Muslim schools' or Muslim schools throughout the thesis. Integrated schools are discussed in detail in Chapter 2 and 10.

liberal democratic principles in Muslim schools on the other hand. It is a conflict which arises when individual rights are measured against the “consequence for society as a whole, rather than the consequences for any particular individual or groups in society” (Codd, 1993, p. 81).

The responses from the Muslim students interviewed in the study suggest that that “traditional forms of collective life and solidarity [of their Muslim community] are undone by [New Zealand’s liberal] modernity” (Riley, 2015, p. 34) to varying degrees, resulting in the emergence of new Muslim identities. This led to some form of navigation by these Muslim students in attempting to manage the contradictions between the worldviews of their parents, their Muslim community, and the values and practices found New Zealand’s liberal-democratic society. Three of the five Muslim students revealed very stressful situations where their traditional Muslim families and, in some cases, their Muslim communities have shunned and excluded them for adopting a more flexible and liberal approach to Islam in New Zealand society.

Unlike other Western countries, New Zealand’s national curriculum does not have prescribed content which all schools must teach. Instead, it takes a ‘localised’ approach whereby teachers have the autonomy to determine what curriculum knowledge is valued and the pedagogical approach they will take to share this knowledge (Hood, 2019). While this autonomy allows teachers to select content that they value and is of interest to them, that level of autonomy is much more restricted in state-integrated schools because of the nature of the special character of the school. Teachers speak of a tension they experience in the education of Muslims as they navigate the expectations of a Muslim community that is itself diverse and the expectations of a secular education system. This tension was revealed in the interviews by the five participating teachers, four of whom were required to design and deliver curriculum knowledge within the regulatory boundaries stipulated by the integrated Muslim school community, regulations that contrasted a much less restrictive unprescribed approach to knowledge outlined in the New Zealand Curriculum (Ministry of Education, 2007). The fifth teacher, a Muslim convert, and his Muslim students experienced a tension at a state school when some of the more conservative Muslim parents voiced concerns about aspects of the secular curriculum that parents considered was ‘haram’ (religiously inappropriate) (see Chapters 6-11). The outcome of these tensions appears to be the liberal paradox I referred to above. It is illustrated in the design and implementation of curricula in integrated Muslim schools which is restricted when compared to the democratic guidelines which frame curriculum in secular state schools. The issue is compounded by New Zealand’s shift to a community-responsive (i.e., localised) curriculum. That shift gives greater weight to a school’s special character, something which appears to be in keeping with the

liberal allowance for religious freedom but which does in fact support a religion at odds with that very liberalism.

To understand the tension that the study found Muslim students and teachers experienced, I examined a number of social and educational policies that affects public education and school structures in relation to the curriculum, pedagogical regulations and practices, and students' access to educational knowledge. The empirical data from the studies were analysed by applying a conceptual methodology utilising the theories of Basil Bernstein, Jürgen Habermas, Jonathan Friedman, and Émile Durkheim. These are discussed in detail in Chapter 4. The sociologists' ideas were chosen as they all theorise the individualising and socialising processes which occur in modern pluralistic nations - the idea at the heart of my study of how Muslim students find their place in contemporary New Zealand society.

In the introduction I discussed the concept of a liberal paradox, which I use to explain the tension experienced by the Muslim students and teachers I interviewed, and which I apply to the situation in New Zealand more broadly. The following section, the research problem, details the complex and contradictory situation that led to the participants I interviewed experiencing ongoing tension, a tension I theorised as a phenomenon of the 'liberal paradox'. My research questions, which seek to provide insight into the relationships between the micro, meso, and macro levels of a Muslim student's educational and life experiences, are outlined in Section 1.2. In Section 1.3, I briefly describe New Zealand's political system in order to situate the liberal paradox in the context of a liberal democratic country that embraces diversity as an ideal. Changes in the New Zealand Government's social policies, and its response to religious diversity, and more recently the mosque attacks on Muslims in Christchurch, in 2019, is briefly examined in Section 1.4. An outline of important educational policy changes that directly affect the education of Muslims in New Zealand's public schools is provided in Section 1.5. The government's identity policies and its public and symbolic show of respect for Islam in response to the Christchurch tragedy are discussed in Section 1.6. A detailed discussion of social and educational policies, New Zealand society, national identity, and the implications for Muslim identity follow in Chapter 2.

1.1 THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

The motivation to undertake this research began while working in a Muslim community in New Zealand as a teacher at a state-integrated Muslim school between 2015-2017. Over that time I was involved in many informal conversations about educating Muslims in New Zealand with six senior Muslim school leaders, the school's adviser of Islam, several Muslim and Non-Muslim teachers, and a number of Muslim

students aged between 10 and 19. Those members of that integrated Muslim school spoke to me about encountering various degrees of stress at the school. This Muslim school community's concerns motivated me to undertake a masters' degree in order to study the school's 'special character'² curriculum. I wanted to identify, describe, and explain the challenges they were experiencing in the design of their school curriculum. My account of the tension they described was published in the article 'Diversity, social cohesion and the curriculum: A study of a Muslim girls' secondary school in New Zealand.' (Lomax & Rata, 2016). That research laid the foundation for this doctoral study which moved beyond the challenges experienced by one Muslim school to look more broadly at the challenges for Muslim students in New Zealand's secular education system and in its liberal society.

The liberal paradox I theorise in this thesis was made visible through the narratives of those involved in the education of Muslims in New Zealand. It was also revealed in the contradictions between the autonomy given to the Muslim schools to create their own curriculum and the democratic principles of the national curriculum which provides the framework for that curriculum. Four of the teachers who were interviewed explained that the Muslim students at their integrated Muslim schools received a restricted curriculum, despite a requirement that all public schools offer the learning areas outlined in the national curriculum (refer to Chapter 11). These curriculum restrictions created stress for the Muslim students that I interviewed. The need for a special character school to restrict their curriculum emphasises the difficulty of accommodating for a less liberal approach to education in a liberal democratic system. Currently, the education system has responded to the Muslim community by supporting special character schools (discussed in Chapter 2). The question is what type of curriculum is acceptable when the special character community has fundamentally different values and practices from those recognised by the system in education and in society more generally. This doctoral research draws attention to the issue of whether compromise is possible, and if so, to what extent, when encountering contradictory religious and secular liberal values. In particular, if religious adherents believe "they are in possession of the Truth and by definition it needs no defence" how will public debate lead to compromise (Turner, 2012, p. 1066). I was particularly interested in the place of an illiberal belief system in a liberal secular education system and in the experiences of Muslim students in that system. How do Muslims understand themselves and what is their view of the world after years of education in this system?

² "Education with a special character means education within the framework of a particular or general religious or philosophical belief, and associated with observances or traditions appropriate to that belief" (Private Schools Conditional Integration Act 1975).

The next section provides the five key questions this research sought to address in order to understand the issues and concerns that Muslim students and teachers were experiencing in New Zealand schools.

My study found that the complex and contradictory situation I had encountered during my teaching at a Muslim school was experienced by students I interviewed in both my Masters' research and my current research, as an ongoing tension. I theorised this tension as a phenomenon of the 'liberal paradox' and hypothesise that:

- A 'liberal paradox' is a source of the tension some Muslim students may experience in their homes, in their education, and in New Zealand society.
- The 'liberal paradox' is located in the design and implementation of curricula in state-integrated Muslim schools that must also adhere to the democratic principles of New Zealand's national curriculum.
- The restricted nature of the Muslim school curriculum creates tension for students seeking equitable access to wider curriculum knowledge that is more readily available in a secular school's curriculum.

The next section provides the five key questions developed from the hypotheses this research sought to address in order to understand the issues and concerns that Muslim students and teachers were experiencing in New Zealand schools.

1.2 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The research questions are:

- (i) How are Muslim students experiencing education in New Zealand?
- (ii) How does an integrated Muslim school respond to a secular education system that has fundamentally different values and practices from those recognised by that Muslim community?
- (iii) How does a secular education system respond to a group that has fundamentally different values and practices from those recognised by the system?
- (iv) In what way are Muslim identity, a citizenship identity, and engagement in a secular liberal society, influenced by the education students receive in New Zealand's public schools?
- (v) What are the challenges for liberal democracy in catering for increasingly diverse populations in the education system?

By targeting these research questions, I provide insight into the relationships between the micro individual level of a Muslim student's educational experiences, the meso level of their family, and the macro local Muslim community, the school, the New Zealand education system, and society.

1.3 LIBERAL DEMOCRACY IN NEW ZEALAND

In this section, I discuss the concept of 'liberal democracy'. I also provide a brief historical and contemporary overview of liberalism in New Zealand, because it is the political context of the social and educational policies affecting over 57,000 Muslims living in the country's secular society. This focus on liberalism is central to understanding the paradoxes emerging in New Zealand society, a society that in contemporary times, promotes inclusion, equality, tolerance, and respect for cultural and religious diversity yet also adheres to the values of individual human rights. I give a brief overview of New Zealand's political history and touch on an inequitable access to the benefits of liberal democratic rights by some citizens in society. This is discussed in more detail in Chapter 2.

New Zealand's political history echoes the type of liberal democracy that Plattner (2019) describes, with an emphasis on individual liberties and freedom in society.

Democracy" is derived from a Greek word meaning rule by the people, while "liberal" and "liberalism" derive from a Latin word meaning free. Today, however, democracy often is used as shorthand for liberal democracy and thus is thought also to incorporate the protection of individual freedom. Consequently, features such as the rule of law and the freedoms of speech, assembly, religion, and the press, though more properly categorised as liberal, are often regarded as hallmarks of democracy (p. 6-7)

An individual's freedom, however, is not unlimited in New Zealand society, as an individual's actions are measured against the consequences that action will have on society as a whole (Codd, 1993). This approach to liberal democracy is reflected in New Zealand's political leaning towards social liberalism and the greater good of society, rather than a purely classical liberal political approach to democracy. Both classical liberalism and social liberalism, have to varying degrees, dominated New Zealand politics since the mid-1800s when parliament was first established. The pre-eminence of political liberalism had replaced an earlier "dominant landed and mercantile oligarchy...[with] a more broadly based coalition of urban workers, professionals, and aspiring small farmers" (Vowles, 1987, p. 218). Early immigration policies favoured Scottish and Irish people, considered to have similar backgrounds to the English colonisers, all seeking "material security, social and political rights, and opportunities for economic

independence” (Vowles, 1987, p. 219). Consequently, New Zealand settlers favoured a political system that promoted social liberalism, equality, some state intervention, such as, taxation and a welfare system, and some public ownership (Pearson, 1987, Shuker, 1983).

New Zealand’s two main contemporary political parties, the Labour Party (established in 1916) and the National Party (established in 1936), and other smaller political parties have always promoted liberal party policies. The Labour Party became known as a ‘workers’ party’, with its members actively fighting for workers’ rights and democratic reform since the 1840s (Labour Party, 2020). Their social liberal interventionist approach to government continued until the 1980s, when they introduced significant free-market reforms, (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2018a; New Zealand Parliament, 2020) and increased privatisation of public infrastructure, damaging their image as an activist party working for the people (Labour Party, 2020). Whereas, the National Party built its reputation predominantly on free-market enterprise, self-reliance, and individual freedom, albeit these policies were mediated through a degree of social liberalism and neoliberalism. Under the current Labour coalition, the New Zealand government has publicly renounced neoliberalism as a failure of past governments (Cooke, 2017), emphasising social liberalist policies of inclusiveness, equality, and the well-being of the individual, the family, the community, and the nation. Despite a history of varying social liberal policies of equality, it is argued that the actual practice of equality did not extend to the indigenous people of New Zealand, the Māori people, until the 1970s. I discuss this in more detail in the next chapter to contextualise the education of Muslims in a bicultural society.

Moreover, the benefits of liberal democracy have also not always extended to women. The research needed to consider the case of women as only female research respondents reported experiencing tension in their education, in their homes, and in New Zealand’s wider society. Historically, like many countries in the world, liberal democratic rights were, and in some countries still are, differentiated by gender. In New Zealand, this democratic inequity stimulated years of agitation by the Women’s Christian Temperance Union, culminating in 1893, when the nation became “the first self-governing country in the world in which women had the right to vote in parliamentary elections” (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2018b, para 1). It took almost two further decades for New Zealand to appoint its first female Member of Parliament in 1919 (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2019b), and more than a century later to appoint its first female Prime Minister in 1997. Today, gender inequities still exist for women in New Zealand society, for example with only three females elected as the Prime Minister in its history compared to thirty-seven men. Moreover, women “continue to be paid less than men, [and] are more likely to be unemployed

or in unpaid work” (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2019a, para. 8). Muslim women educated in New Zealand schools are taught the history of women’s suffrage and are exposed to high-profile female activist groups (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2019a), that influence their own views on a women’s place in a liberal society.

It is against this political backdrop, that Muslims in New Zealand are able to access their liberal democratic rights, to equality in education, to determine their Muslim identity, and to practise their religious beliefs without fear of persecution by non-believers in society. The deeper, underlining reality of New Zealand’s liberal democratic policies is that they do not necessarily translate into equality in social practice, hence my discussion in the next section to understand how changes in social policies affects a Muslim identity and a citizenship identity.

1.4 SOCIAL COHESION IN NEW ZEALAND

This section provides an overview of New Zealand’s historical and current social policies that are intended to support social cohesion in society, some of which I discuss further in the following chapter. An awareness of New Zealand’s social contexts is important as these policies influence the design of the educational policies that have contributed to the tension experienced by the Muslim students in schools, in their homes, and in society. Given the contradiction between a Muslim school curriculum and the national curriculum principles it is possible that the tension experienced by those I interviewed is also experienced by other Muslim students in New Zealand. I examine the government’s response when the nation’s social cohesion is threatened, and more specifically when New Zealand’s Muslim community is threatened by extremists’ intolerant to Islam.

I begin this section by highlighting New Zealand’s shift from colonialist assimilative policies that contributed to the large socio-cultural and economic gap between many Māori and Pākehā (non-Māori) pre the 1960s to the integrative processes of social cohesion promoted in the 21st century. As Hill (2010) explains:

A balance was needed, officials and liberals argued, if New Zealand were to continue to be ‘in the vanguard of [nations] that are building multi-racial societies. This involved a way forward that would ‘give equal opportunities ... without imposing unnecessary uniformity’ upon Maori: in ‘closing the gap’ between the two ‘cultural groups’ of New Zealand, state and Pākehā needed to be ever mindful of being ‘tolerant of diversity’. The result would be a country in which ‘no citizen differs from any other citizen, because of his ethnic origin, in his economic and social rights, opportunities and responsibilities (p. 94).

Hill's (2010) comments reflect the findings of the Hunn Report (1961), which precipitated a political shift away from the systemic marginalisation of Māori through assimilative policies to an inclusive approach of respect for cultural difference in society. By the mid-1970s, the New Zealand government agreed to adopt a set of principles from the Treaty of Waitangi (considered the nation's founding document between the British Crown and Māori, signed in 1840) including 'partnership, participation and protection'. These principles have been weaved into over "30 pieces of legislation" including the Education Act 1989 (Hayward, 2012, para. 1), representing an increasingly bicultural political national identity. Over the past three decades changes in immigration policies and growing economic interests in Asia have contributed to a significant cultural shift where "there are more ethnicities in New Zealand than there are countries in the world" (Minson, 2013, para. 3), signalling a society accepting of diversity rather the promotion of a homogenous Western society.

New Zealand's diversity policies are a measure of the progress that various governments have made in their commitment to a bicultural and multicultural society. Despite this progress, the bicultural-multicultural identity is also an ongoing political dilemma as "generations of culturally diverse ethnic populations born in New Zealand grow in number, [with] questions of political identity, rights, and entitlements [that] will continue to surface" (Simon-Kumar, 2019, para. 19). The strength of multiculturalism in New Zealand is its recognition of difference (Simon-Kumar, 2019), which has been viewed paradoxically by some as a threat to liberal traditional identities, as 'cultural others' attempt to negotiate very different moral codes in a liberal-democratic society (Rata, 2006 & 2014a; Kolig, 2010). Rata (2006, 2014a) and Kolig (2010) consider New Zealand's culturally pluralistic policies a potential threat to the host society's character, its underlying principles and values, its individual liberal identities, and social cohesion. Kolig (2010) questions what identity Muslims in New Zealand are aspiring to, and asks what are the identifying icons and markers that are required to qualify as a New Zealand Muslim? He argues that some Muslims believe that New Zealand's democratic national identity is not fully accessible to them, which drives them towards a more extreme fundamentalist Muslim identity (Kolig, 2010). Nonetheless, the Muslim students I interviewed shied away from overly radical forms of Islam, rather than being drawn towards it, once they began participating in secular society.

Kolig (2010) also argues that "integration raises subtle issues of cultural blending, mutual adaptation, and changes in national identity" (p. 2). Some countries, especially in Europe, are starting to question how much "...the West's social, political, and moral dimensions [are] altered by the presence of a sizeable Muslim minority?" (Kolig, 2010, p. 5). However, New Zealand's education system continues to promote

a ‘future focused, localised and culturally responsive’ curricula (Ministry of Education, 2007), which for the Muslim community, suggests the right to influence the democratic process and to achieve some degree of cultural and religious recognition (Lomax & Rata, 2016). Nonetheless, the democratic process in New Zealand’s multicultural society is complicated by institutionalised indigenous-based culturalism and indigenous rights, whereby citizens are at times publicly challenged if their views are perceived to threaten or challenge Māori culture, values, and a bicultural national identity. Moreover, the liberal paradox of embracing culturalism in policy in a democratic multicultural society is that it threatens and challenges the individual’s right to public debate.

The dilemmas of opposing ideologies in multicultural societies have also been described by political scientist Samuel Huntington (1993) as the 21st century ‘clash of civilisations’ between the liberal West and Islamic fundamentalism. New Zealand is not immune to a ‘clash of ideologies’ as highlighted by the recent white supremacist attack on two Christchurch mosques in March 2019, killing 51 Muslims and injuring a further 48 Muslims. I use this recent event as an example of the New Zealand government’s response to opposing ideologies in society, a response that reflects the government’s intent to embrace cultural and religious diversity in order to support social cohesion.

Many of those who will have been directly affected by this shooting may be migrants to New Zealand, they may even be refugees here. They have chosen to make New Zealand their home, and it is their home...They are us. The person who has perpetuated this violence against us is not. They have no place in New Zealand. There is no place in New Zealand for such acts of extreme and unprecedented violence, which it is clear this act was (Ardern, 2019).

In the aftermath of this tragedy, the New Zealand government undertook the reform of both gun laws and people’s freedom of speech with regard to ‘hate speech’. Both of these reforms continue to be publicly debated by politicians and citizens of New Zealand who consider these reforms to be an infringement on their liberal democratic rights afforded them in New Zealand’s Bill of Rights Act 1990 (NZBORA). The proposed legal restrictions on ‘hate speech’ are currently being reviewed by the New Zealand Government in relation to the provisions of the Human Rights Act and the Harmful Digital Communication Act (Library of Congress, 2019). Needless to say, the presence of deep-seated racial hatred towards Muslims by some extremists in New Zealand society does not reflect the tolerance and respect for religious diversity needed for social cohesion in a liberal-democratic society. As Simon-Kumar (2019) argues, this tragedy “has precipitated the need for a fundamental reassessment of inclusion in contemporary multi-ethnic New Zealand” (para. 25). The responses post-Christchurch indicate that there is a shift in “everyday encounters

among diverse peoples...and a greater willingness to participate in an honest dialogue about identity and belonging for all New Zealanders, regardless of their differences” (Simon-Kumar, 2019, para. 25).

In discussing the attacks on the Muslim community, one of my participants echoed these views:

The news outlets have definitely stopped shitting on us. Jacinda’s kindness and whole hearted love for us has been passed around the nation to us. There have been good responses, people asking if I’m okay, judging less. Talking to me more. I’ve been invited to more things. Generally being more involved. The bad response is also Jacinda’s fault, I believe, although I admire her leadership, she has prioritised us over mana whenua [indigenous people (Māori)]. That has given us the backlash. I agree with mana whenua, especially because she went to the IWCNZ [Islamic Women’s Council of New Zealand] conference at Zayed College and couldn’t be bothered going to Ihumatao (land five minutes’ drive from Zayed College, that was occupied by local Māori, claiming it has been stolen by [the] Crown (Asmara, 2019).

Even after having experienced the trauma of the Christchurch tragedy where Asmara has “often had random flashes of being shot and gunned down” herself (Asmara, 2019), this young Muslim woman is able to express a sense of belonging to New Zealand with her concerns for the ‘tangata whenua’ (the indigenous people, Māori, who have rights over the land). This is a clear sign that some Muslims are integrating into New Zealand society. Perhaps this is more so now that the current government has expressed the nation’s sympathy for the Muslim community – “New Zealand mourns with you. We are one” the Prime Minister said in front of thousands of people at Hagley Park, near the Al Noor mosque where many of the victims were killed (Molyneux, 2019). This form of integration, of diversity within unity, is considered by many to be the ideal for social cohesion in a multicultural society. Nevertheless, while many people in New Zealand pride themselves on the government’s response to the Muslim community, claiming “they are us” (Ardern, 2019) it is equally important to ask who ““we” are” (Simon-Kumar, 2019, para. 25) in an effort to nurture social cohesion in New Zealand society.

1.5 PUBLIC EDUCATION IN NEW ZEALAND

This section contextualises the nature of education for Muslims in New Zealand. To begin with, the public education system in New Zealand is highly devolved and complex, with the Ministry of Education working interdependently with diverse government agencies, such as the Ministry of Health, Ministry of Social Development, ‘Oranga Tamariki’ (the Ministry for Children), and other external educational services to meet the needs of students. This network of government agencies works together to agree on social and educational policies and strategies that enable the education system to act as one of society’s

main integrative mechanisms to foster social cohesion (Tearney, 2016). Consequently, the 1980s changes in the immigration criteria that led to a 22 percent increase in the total population and increased ethnic diversity (Statistics New Zealand, 2019a) also led to the implementation of culturally responsive policies in education that have been applauded by some and criticised by others. Some commentators are concerned that policies of this nature emphasise people's differences rather than the integrative project of the nation (Rata, 2006, 2014a; Kolig, 2010; Tearney, 2016).

While religion in New Zealand public schools has been hotly debated since the mid-19th century, the introduction of the Private Schools Conditional Integration Act in 1975 enabled communities to express their religious and philosophical beliefs in government funded state-integrated schools. These schools signed an agreement with the government to offer an education with a 'special character' that also incorporates the New Zealand Curriculum principles and values considered "critical to sustaining learning and effective participation in society" (Ministry of Education, 2007, p. 4). The national curriculum was developed following educational reforms in the 1990s, which shifted the curricular control of education from a centralised system of syllabuses and guidelines to a more community-responsive system (i.e., localised). Decisions regarding the specifics of curriculum, pedagogy, and assessment can be made at the local level as long as they align with the guiding principles laid out in New Zealand's national curriculum. One national expectation is that all state-secular and state-integrated schools are required to offer the eight curriculum areas outlined in the New Zealand Curriculum (Ministry of Education, 2007).

One of the problems with a localised curriculum is the lack of explicit guidance provided to manage the ontological and epistemological differences between faith-based schooling and secularised education. In 2019, the New Zealand Government published four guide books to strengthen the design of a localised curriculum (Ministry of Education, 2019a). These guidelines recommend schools draw on the expertise of teachers, leadership, and the interests of students, parents, and local communities to design a 'localised curriculum.' Unfortunately, the 'localised curriculum tool-kit' of guidelines does not address the ontological and epistemological divide between faith-based schooling and a more secularised education needed to prepare Muslim students for a life in a liberal society. Consequently, students and teachers experience considerable tension with the restrictions the Muslim community place on an integrated Muslim curriculum. Participant responses reveal that the restrictive nature of one integrated Muslim school had become a lot more conservative following the Christchurch tragedy in March 2019. This is concerning given that all of the participants in my study spoke of the need to be more flexible in the design of a Muslim curriculum in a liberal society such as New Zealand. Concerns of this nature are similar to

those shared by the Ministry of Social Development (2008), reporting that "... too strong an affiliation with an overseas cultural identity, together with a weak link to New Zealand culture, can result in a lack of participation in the host society" (p. 36). Nevertheless, levels of conservatism in Muslim school structures, policies, and the regulations that determine curriculum constraints are often related to the lack of alignment between diverse community interpretations of Islam with the liberal democratic principles and values of the national curriculum and society.

I argue that New Zealand schools are not always able to act as integrative mechanisms if they promote values that are incongruent or intolerant of the nation's liberal democratic identity. Furthermore, the students that were interviewed recognise that New Zealand laws provide them with the individual right to choose their education, their personal and citizenship identity, and their level of engagement in society. Despite this, the power dynamics between Muslim parents, school management, teachers, and Muslim students do not always support students to access these rights. This creates intellectual and emotional tension for Muslim students who understand that as New Zealand citizens they are entitled to a wider scope of education, to explore their identity, and to choose how they participate in society and with whom.

1.6 BEING 'A GOOD MUSLIM' IN NEW ZEALAND

There are many reasons why women wear Islamic dress. There are also varying degrees of choice afforded to Muslim women as to what they wear. Women may don Islamic dress in fulfilment of what they see as a religious obligation, it can be a symbol of political conviction, a cultural practice, or a means of avoiding criticism and harassment from men. These reasons, coupled with other factors such as social class and regional or cultural background, may all influence how strictly a woman adheres to the Islamic dress code (Human Rights Commission, 2005)

This section introduces the government's approach to identity politics and the effect this has on a developing Muslim identity in New Zealand society. This is discussed more fully in the next chapter. How do young Muslims nurture a dynamic Muslim identity in New Zealand society? The ontological question of what constitutes a 'good Muslim' in a liberal democratic society was raised by all the female students who were interviewed in my research. Student participants found that it is not always possible to compromise where opposing faith and secular values exist. As a consequence, they described navigating parallel lives to enable them to negotiate different and at times irreconcilable moralities, and to address the contradictory religious and liberal values present in society (see Chapters 7-10).

The manner in which the New Zealand Government has managed the response to the attack on Muslims has had both a positive and negative effect on the Muslim community and in particular, on Muslim

women's identity. New Zealand Prime Minister, Jacinda Ardern's symbolic show of respect for Islam by wearing a hijab to address the nation following the Christchurch mosque shootings in March 2019, drew national and international praise, but also criticism from Muslims and non-Muslims (Llewellyn, 2019; Shakir, 2019; Tripathi, 2020). This one symbolic act of respect for Islam has led to unexpected reports of Muslim girls in other parts of the world being pressured to wear the hijab by families that had never required this in the past. Shakir (2019) describes the experiences of a Syrian girl, whose 'brother chided her: Aren't you ashamed to see all those foreigner girls and women honouring hijab, while you, a Muslim, aren't?' This example shows the strength of the symbolism of wearing a hijab as a representation of what some people in the 'Ummah' (global Muslim community) consider representative of a 'good Muslim', and it correspondingly is representative of the tension felt by some Muslim women.

This sight of a non-Muslim leader wearing a hijab to show respect for Islam has also affected non-Muslim teachers working in Muslim schools in New Zealand. The New Zealand Prime Minister's decision to wear a hijab while visiting an integrated Muslim school in August 2019, has led to a change in that school's dress code for non-Muslim staff. From the beginning of 2020, they were required to wear a hijab alongside their Muslim colleagues. However, the requirement that non-Muslim and Muslim females wear a hijab in a place of employment is in violation of section 28 (3) of the Human Rights Act 1993, which provides for individual choice with respect to religious observance. "Employers are obliged to accommodate the religious practice of employees unless the adjustment of the employer's activities would be unreasonably disrupted in doing so. (Human Rights Commission, 2005, p. 4). Sections 13 and 15 of the NZBORA also "affirms the rights to freedom of thought, conscience, and religion and the manifestation of religion or belief" in education and society (Human Rights Commission, 2005). In terms of women's rights, a fundamental aspect of these two Acts and article 18 (3) of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights ratified by the New Zealand Government, is "individual autonomy and choice. These are violated both where women are forced to wear a head covering and where they are banned from doing so" (Human Rights Commission, 2005, p.3). Despite these rights the individual has to express a personalised identity in New Zealand, the reality is that some families, and cultural and religious groups do not always afford minors those rights, as some of my participants mentioned in this research. In some cases, young Muslims felt guilty and ashamed that their own ideologies seemed to align with certain liberal and democratic ideologies (see Chapters 5-11).

Issues concerning sexual identity and sex in general proved to be problematic for the Muslim students interviewed. Two of the female students and a female teacher participant were concerned that their Muslim

communities' avoidance of subjects that were considered 'haram' (taboo) in the home or in education left them vulnerable and unable to express their sexuality prior to marriage (see Chapter 5). This gap in students' sex education, coupled with limited autonomy or choice regarding religious practice and identity, created tension for students. They pointed out that this tension related specifically to their awareness that New Zealand's laws afforded them their right to freedom of speech and to define their personal and sexual identity (see Chapter 5). These laws offer the individual the right to identify as gender-neutral, homosexual, bisexual, asexual, demisexual, pansexual, queer or gay without fear of discrimination. Despite these laws, there appears to be a disconnect between society's liberal approach to individual identity and faith, and some Muslim school communities' approach to identity and representation of an individual's faith. This gap between community expectations and the individual's right to autonomy and choice in New Zealand creates a tension for Muslims attempting to be 'good Muslims' in society.

1.7 THESIS CHAPTER SUMMARY

Chapter 1 has provided an overview of the issues and concerns which emerged from the interviews with the Muslim students and the teachers of Muslim students as well as from the study of the curriculum dilemma. New Zealand's liberal-democracy, secular society, and the educational context were discussed to elucidate the effects these have on the Muslim students' education, their Muslim identity, and on their citizenship identity. Chapter 2 is divided into three parts and describes the context of the research. Part I discusses New Zealand's changing demography, its immigration policies, the country's Muslim population, and people's various religious affiliations. Part II examines New Zealand's bicultural and multicultural character and considers how a nation's identity that is shaped by culture, ethnicity and secular values can impact on a Muslim citizenship identity. Part III investigates education in New Zealand and shows how secularism has served as an integrative tool for social cohesion. The section also discusses changes in public education initiatives, New Zealand's international student strategy, and more specifically religion in schools for Muslims in state and integrated schools.

I examine my empirical research in Chapter 3, starting with a description of my study aims followed by a discussion of the participants, the interviews, ethical considerations, and my approach to the analysis of the data. Chapter 4 is divided into four parts which address the conceptual methodology that I have used to explain my findings. Part I examines my application of Basil Bernstein's theories of the 'Symbolic Ruler of Consciousness' to the structure of educational knowledge, individual and social symbols,

knowledge differentiation, and pedagogic characteristics. The use of Jürgen Habermas' concepts of morality, a detranscendentalised lens, and autonomy is discussed in Part II, of Chapter 4. I discuss my theoretically informed analysis of the students' emerging identity and of the teachers' responses to education by applying Jonathan Friedman's (1994) theorisation of 'modernity as an emerging identity space' in Part III. I end the chapter by examining Émile Durkheim's (1995) interpretation of 'hermeneutics of suspicion' and his concept of the 'sacred and the profane' in Part IV. These concepts are linked to Habermas' 'moral theory' to capture the underlying rationale for students' beliefs and behaviours, and the tension they experience when their opinions conflict with their families and/or the Muslim communities' views regarding education and life in a liberal society

Chapter 5 and 6 provide a biographical narrative of the participants and their experiences. I discuss my key findings in detail in Chapter 7. Firstly, it was found that the four female Muslim students who were interviewed experienced a tension located in their homes, their schools, and in New Zealand society. However, they have found ways to negotiate this tension. Secondly, the research identified that students experienced different degrees of tension, which varied depending on the school's approach to Islam in New Zealand's secular educational context. The third finding acknowledges students' tertiary experiences appear to have helped them to develop the confidence to socialise in wider secular life, regardless of the nature of their public education. Chapters 8 and 9 examine the impact that state schools and integrated Muslim schools have had on each of the participants' development of an individual identity and of a citizenship identity. Teacher respondents' pedagogic identity, their education and social values, the tension they experience as professionals, and the influence they have on the education of Muslims in New Zealand schools are investigated in Chapter 9. Chapter 10 is a detailed discussion of New Zealand's recent educational reforms, the localised curriculum, and the official pedagogic discourse. I end my thesis in Chapter 11 by examining Muslim student autonomy and social cohesion in New Zealand's bicultural and multicultural context. This discussion contextualises the 'liberal paradox' which, I argue, underpins the tension experienced by the study's participants as they navigate the relationship between their religion and New Zealand's liberal democracy.

CHAPTER 2. RESEARCH CONTEXT

2.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter investigates the research context of the study, which examines Muslim student experiences in New Zealand's democratic education system, a system attempting to be inclusive of cultural and religious diversity. There are three parts to this chapter, starting with a discussion of the changes in immigration policies, population, and religion in New Zealand society in Part I. In this section, I examine shifts in national and regional ethnic demography and migration, and the Muslim population by age, gender, country of origin, and their settlement trends in New Zealand. I also review increases in citizens' affiliations with other religions and the overall increasing number of people who do not associate with any religion in New Zealand.

The purpose of the second part of this chapter is to investigate the historical and contemporary socio-political and cultural changes that affect religious education and Muslims in New Zealand society. This section explores New Zealand's identity as a bicultural and multicultural society, and the impact this has on immigrants, and more specifically on Muslims in relation to their development of a sense of belonging, and to the sustenance of a Muslim identity. I also examine past and present education policies and education reviews, including a contemporary national focus on cultural responsiveness and equality in both law and public discourse for all students in the 21st century. The final point of discussion in this section is an overview of the International Education Strategy that is intended to meet the learning needs of New Zealand's diverse population.

Part III of this chapter examines the cultural-religious nature of Islam in New Zealand education and the curriculum expectations for state-integrated schools that are outlined in Private Schools Conditional Integration Act (PSCIA) 1975. An overview of the contextual issues for Muslim students in New Zealand's education system is also provided in this section. This section considers the tension individual Muslim students, teachers of Muslims, and Muslim school communities experience in attempting to conform to the expectations of the principles of the New Zealand Curriculum, as outlined in the PSCIA 1975. Detailed discussion and analysis of Muslim students' experiences in the New Zealand education system is included in later chapters.

PART I. NEW ZEALAND'S CHANGING DEMOGRAPHICS

2.1.1 NEW ZEALAND'S IMMIGRATION POLICIES

Muslim immigration is set within the historical context of New Zealand as a migrant society. The country's immigration policies from the early settler period show the emergence of a national identity, favouring the British heritage through to the mid-20th century. By the 1960s, New Zealand's industrial expansion steered the way for new immigration policies that favoured skilled workers to support a growing labour shortage. In the early 1970s, the introduction of a Samoan immigration quota and “an assisted passage scheme and publicity to attract migrants [from the Pacific Islands] contributed to a record inflow of immigrants in 1973 and 1974” to support this labour shortage (New Zealand Parliamentary Services, 2018, p. 5).

Immigration policy reviews in the 1980s and 90s shifted the focus for residency from source country criteria to skills contained in an ‘Occupational Priority List’ (New Zealand Parliamentary Services, 2018). A person's educational background, business and professional expertise, financial assets, and their age, regardless of ethnicity, shaped the new criteria in the Immigration Act 1987. In the ensuing decades, New Zealand's immigration policies continued to focus on business sector needs, with the ‘Occupational Priority List’ being replaced with a ‘Points System’ (New Zealand Parliamentary Services, 2018). There were also amendments to the Immigration Act during the 1990s, which included the “abolishment of the English-language bond introduced in 1995”, which was replaced with a pre-purchased English-language training course, recognition of prior work experience, an entrepreneurial category, new long-term business visas, and a new investor category. Twenty years on from the turn of the 21st century, the New Zealand Government continues to promote migration based on talent and skills that support entrepreneurs and New Zealand's business sector.

2.1.2 NEW ZEALAND'S POPULATION

This section explores the changes in New Zealand's population to contextualise and position the Muslim community in an increasingly diverse society. Prior to the 1970s, New Zealand's five-yearly census classified people in terms of ‘race’, a notion of biologically determined identity. Post-1970, New Zealand shifted away from identification based on ‘race’ towards a concept of ‘self-defined’ ethnicity (Callister, 2011). By the 1990s, people were able to self-identify with more than one ethnic group based on some or all of a set of characteristics, such as a shared name, culture, customs, religion, language, interests, ancestry, and geographic origin (Statistics New Zealand, 2020a). However, the fluidity and mobility of

self-defined ethnicity create data reliability issues (Callister, 2011). Varying classification, coding and concatenation processes that take place from one census to the next also impact on the capacity to accurately analyse changes or trends of the ethnicity and affiliation with religions of New Zealand's five million people (Statistics New Zealand, 2020b). New Zealand's new online 2018 Census, which resulted in the lowest response rate in 50 years, required one such significant shift in the concatenation process by relying on "administrative enumeration to replace missing responses" (Statistics New Zealand, 2020c). Consequently, specific disaggregation of data on regional ethnicity, religious affiliation, age, gender of those associated with specific religions, and national languages spoken, data that was available in the 2006 and 2013 Census, is not available in the 2018 Census for comparison in the following sections.

By 2018, over 1.27 million people, 27.4% of New Zealand's population were born overseas (Statistics New Zealand, 2020c) with a significantly higher 41.6% of Auckland's 1,571,718 people registered as born overseas at that time (Statistics New Zealand, 2020f). New Zealand's changing immigration policies, discussed above, and growing economic interests in Asia contributed to the high numbers of immigrant New Zealand citizens, and a significant increase in the Asian population from 354 in 1970 to 354,552 in 2006 (Capie, 2012). By 2013 "the most common birthplace for people living in New Zealand but born overseas was Asia – 31.6 percent" (Statistics New Zealand, 2014). This sizable increase in the Asian population in New Zealand has led many to speculate that by 2026, the number of New Zealanders with Asian origin will be the same as the number of New Zealand Māori (Capie, 2012). Perhaps it is credible to suggest the population of those identifying with one of the Asian ethnic groups has already surpassed that of Māori. This suggestion is based on 15.1% of people who identified as Asian and 16.5% identified as Māori in New Zealand in 2018 (Statistics New Zealand, 2019b), with many Māori children, 58.7%, aged between 0-14 years also identified with one of the Asian ethnic groups in 2013 (Statistics New Zealand, 2014).

A much smaller proportion of New Zealand's population are refugees and asylum seekers, supported by the New Zealand Government, as signatories of a number of international conventions to protect the safety, civil, and political rights, and status of refugees (Immigration New Zealand, n.d.). New Zealand's refugee quota was set at 1,000 places annually in July 2018. An increase of the refugee quota to 1,500 annually was planned for July 2020 (Immigration New Zealand, 2018) to reflect the government's commitment to international humanitarian protection of refugees and asylum seekers. To support the transition and settlement of refugees already in New Zealand, a 'Refugee Family Support Category' quota provides opportunities for a further 300 refugee family members to become New Zealand residents (Immigration

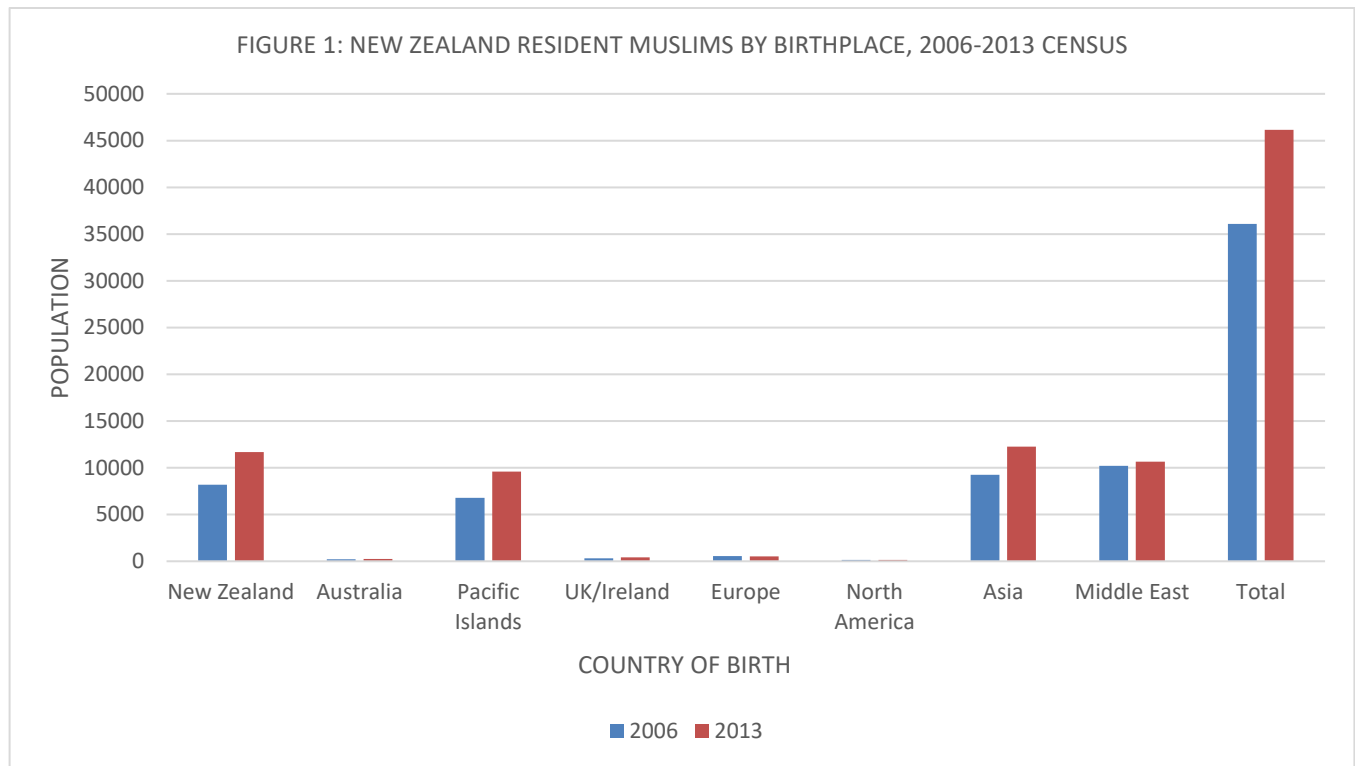
New Zealand, 2020b). The New Zealand government has also established a settlement plan to support refugees' health, housing, education, and employment needs. A large percentage of refugees originate from the Arab world, Africa, Asia, and specific countries affected by conflict, many of which are also less developed countries, heavily in debt, and the refugees tend to be from low to middle-income families (The World Bank, 2019a, 2019b). The Muslims who participated in this research arrived under the immigration 'points system' with exception of one family who arrived seeking asylum from their home in the Middle East. At the time of writing this thesis, New Zealand's borders were closed until further notice to all non-citizens, with a limited number of exceptions, due to the global Covid-19 crisis countries are still experiencing in 2021 (Immigration New Zealand, 2020b, 2021).

New Zealand's net-migration has increased significantly from 9,217 between 2009-2013 to 269,722 between 2014-2018, with more than half of the net gain in migration from Asia, in particular India and China (Statistics New Zealand, 2020c, 2000d). This significant increase in migration and ethnic diversity has been attributed to 18.6% of New Zealand residents who identified as multilingual in the 2013 Census (Statistics New Zealand, 2014). The largest percentage, 60.4% of those able to speak more than one language were born overseas, with the remaining, 39.6% born in New Zealand. The total number of people in New Zealand, who indicated on the 2013 Census that they were not able to speak English, was 87,000. The vast majority, 65.3% of these non-English speakers live in Auckland, New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand, 2014). Muslim parents' inability to speak English has continued to be problematic for one of the students interviewed in this research.

2.1.3 NEW ZEALAND'S MUSLIM POPULATION

The Muslim population was first recorded in 1874, at a total of 17, and remained below 76 until after the Second World War, when a number of Muslims who were war refugees from Turkey and the Balkans were able to immigrate to New Zealand (New Zealand Census 1874-1951, Shephard, 2002). The Muslim population trebled between the mid-1940s and the mid-1950s from 67 to 200, between 1961 and 1971 from 260 to 779, and between 1971 and 1986 to 2,544 Muslims (New Zealand Census 1961-1986). By 1991, Muslim residents had increased by a further 41% from 1986, representing 6,096 people. These ongoing increases were partly due to changes in New Zealand's immigration policies, and partly due to global events and political unrest such as the 1987 coup d'état in Fiji which led to an "influx of Fijian Indians, many of them Muslims, particularly to the Auckland area" (Shephard, 2002, p. 235). A further 2,000 Somalian refugees arrived in the 1990s, many of whom settled in Christchurch in the South Island

and Hamilton in the North Island (Shepard, 2002). Smaller numbers of Muslim refugees arrived during the 1990s from Bosnia, Kosovo, Kurdistan, and Afghanistan (Shephard, 2002). By 2001, the Muslim population had increased to 23,631 (Statistics New Zealand, 2002) and a further 208 refugees from Afghanistan immigrated to New Zealand in that year (Kabir, 2011). The country's Muslim population, which includes a growing number of Muslim converts, increased from 36,072 (8,196 of whom were born in New Zealand) in 2006 to 46,149 in 2013 (Statistics New Zealand, 2014).

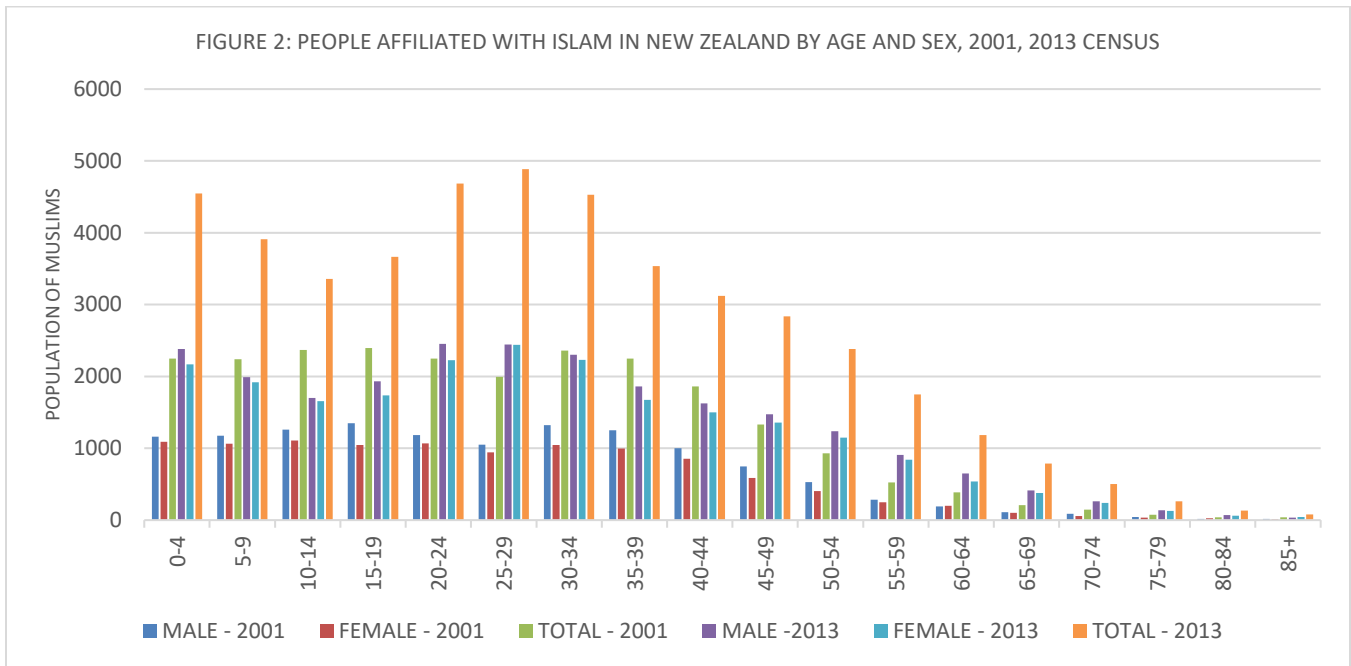


More than a quarter (11,691) of the total Muslim population in 2013 were born in New Zealand, 21% (9,579) were born in the Pacific Islands, 26.9% (12,249) were born in Asia, and 23.3% (10,617) were born in the Middle East and Africa. (Statistics New Zealand, 2014). Māori make up a growing number of Muslim converts in New Zealand from 117 in 1991, to 708 in 2001, and 1,083 in 2013 who identified as Muslims. This was an 82.3% increase in Māori Muslims over a 22-year period. The increase in Māori and Pacific Island Muslim converts parallels a global trend of conversion to Islam among indigenous people (Onnudottir, et al., 2019). Statistically, the total Muslim population increase relates to immigrant citizens, first and second-generation Muslims born in New Zealand, and increases in Muslim converts. Moreover, the increase in New Zealand's total Muslim population corresponds to a general increase in the population of the other main ethnic groups (Māori, Pacific Island and Asian people) that identify with Islam (Statistics New Zealand, 2014). Each of these ethnic groups increased in numbers identifying as Muslims in the

1991, 1996 and 2013 New Zealand Censuses. The latest population count shows an administratively enumerated (see Section 2.1.2) increase in Muslims in 2018 to 57,276 (Statistics New Zealand, 2020e).

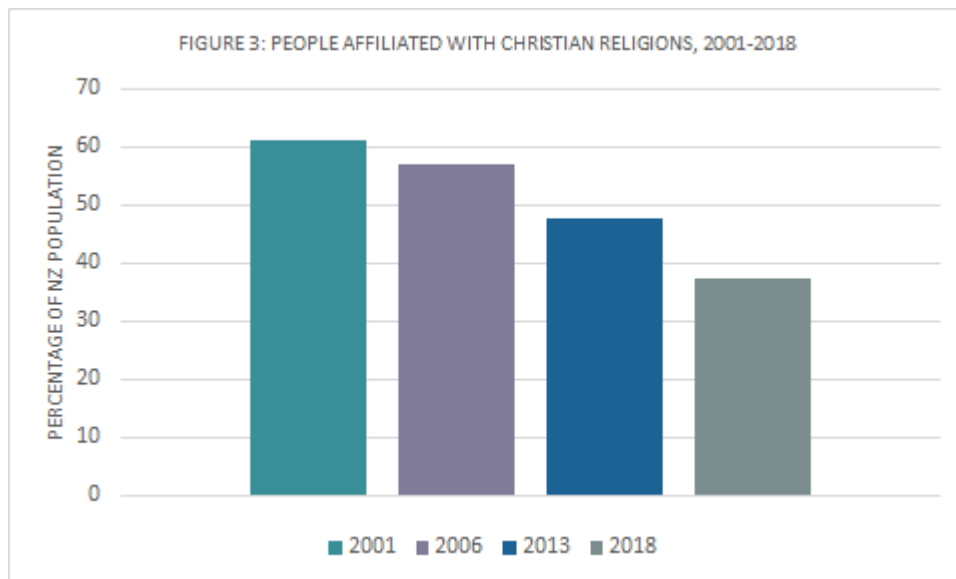
It would come as no surprise based on the significant number of Aucklanders born overseas, as detailed earlier, that 31,158 Muslims lived in Auckland in 2013, out of a total Muslim population of 46,149. The remaining Muslim population lived predominantly in other main cities, with 4,008 in Wellington, 3,075 in the Canterbury region, 2,937 in the Waikato region, and much smaller numbers of Muslims residing throughout other areas in New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand, 2014). The 1996 Census shows large numbers of Muslims tended to reside in West Auckland, Central Auckland, and South Auckland. The largest number of Muslims, 685, recorded in Auckland in 1996 resided in St Lukes, Mt Albert, Sandringham, and Owairaka, dropping to 117 living in those areas in 2006. Based on census data, there is a trend in almost all suburbs that previously had high numbers of Muslims resident in Auckland in 1996, with significantly lower numbers recorded in those same areas in 2006. The only places in Auckland city with stable Muslim resident population between 1996 and 2006 were Otahuhu and Mangere. This stability is likely representative of New Zealand's only Islamic state-integrated schools, Al-Madinah and Zayed College for Girls both being located in Mangere, which also borders Otahuhu. These schools have had significant growth in the past few years, which would suggest either a general Muslim population increase or the relocation of Muslims from other areas to Mangere and Otahuhu. The data highlights the residential shift of Muslim families from larger regional pockets of Muslims communities in 1996 to a wider spread of smaller regional communities in different parts of Auckland by 2013.

Figure 2, shows there were marginally more male Muslims compared to female Muslims at every age group in New Zealand in both the 2001 and 2013 Censuses. The numbers of Muslims in each age group in 2001 were relatively similar, with a slight increase between the ages of 15-19 and 30-34, followed by a steady fall in population from the age of 40-85+. By 2013, the Muslim population of 46,149 had almost doubled from 2001, with increases represented across all age groups in 2013 (Statistics New Zealand, 2014). The 2018 Census did not disaggregate data to reflect age and sex, however, it has reflected a further increase of 19.4% in New Zealand's total Muslim population since 2013 (Statistics New Zealand, 2020e).

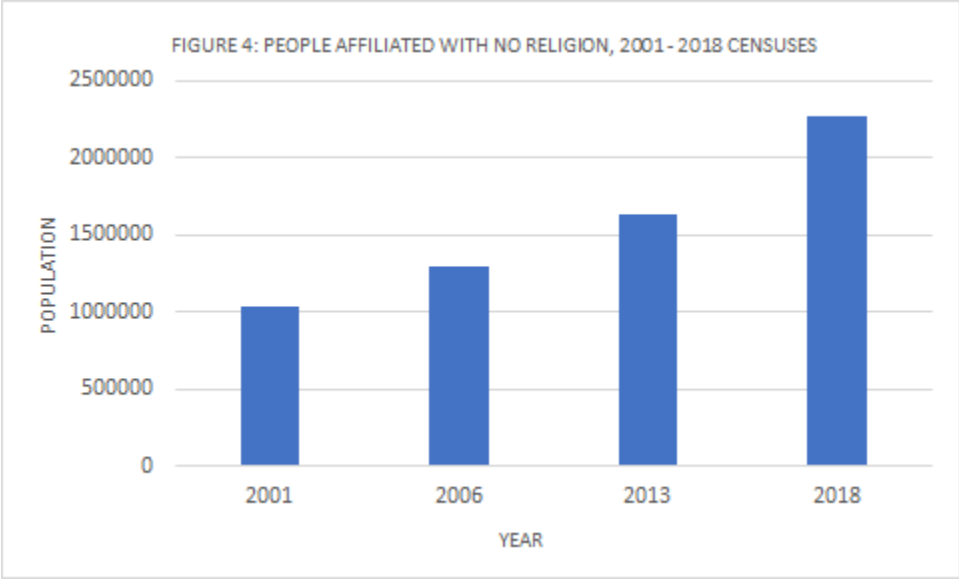


2.1.4 OTHER RELIGIOUS AFFILIATIONS IN NEW ZEALAND

The increasing Indian population in New Zealand has seen an increase in the number of people who consider themselves Hindu, with 64,392 recorded in 2006, 89,919 in 2013 (Statistics New Zealand, 2014), and 121,664 in 2018 (Statistics New Zealand, 2020e). On the other hand, there has been an ongoing decline in the number of people associating with Christianity between the years 2001 and 2018. Figure 3, indicates the decline in those affiliated with Christianity in New Zealand between 2001-2013 (Statistics New Zealand, 2014).



New Zealand’s population that associates with no religion continues to trend upwards to almost 50% in 2018, compared to 41.9% in 2013, 34.6% in 2006, and 29.6% in 2001, as represented in Figure 4.



The majority of those identifying with no religion in 2013 represent New Zealand’s four largest ethnic groups: Europeans, 46.9%, Māori, 46.3%, Asian, 30.3%, and Pacific Island people, 17.5% (Statistics New Zealand, 2014). More males than females affiliated with no religion in 2013, as indicated in Figure 5 (Statistics New Zealand, 2014).



The 2018 Census did not disaggregate ethnic group data, age and gender data with people’s preferred religious affiliation to provide this detail.

PART II. NEW ZEALAND SOCIETY

2.2.1 BICULTURAL AND MULTICULTURAL

This section examines New Zealand historical and contemporary socio-political and cultural issues that have shaped a complex bicultural and multicultural national identity based on the politicisation of culture. This national identity is on the one hand beneficial to Muslim communities, as policies of tolerance, respect, and inclusion ease the transition of migration for Muslims in a foreign society. On the other hand, the nature of this policyscape has been considered by some as a “new backward-looking nationalism and essentialist multiculturalism...in the way that the continuity of the nation-state format ... [is] predicated by identity projects...whereby some forms of culture are beneficial, and others are not” (Hedetoft, 1999). Nationally, New Zealand’s bicultural environment elevates the cultural interests of Māori, the indigenous people of New Zealand and the British Crown as the signatories of the Treaty of Waitangi. This document is widely considered by many in New Zealand to be the nation’s founding document. Since the signing of the Treaty on the 6th February 1840, Māori have struggled to hold onto their indigenous identity. Consequently, the “struggle for freedom and equality must therefore pass through a revision of these [historical] images. Multicultural curricula are meant to help in the process of revision” (Taylor, 1994, p. 66). This sentiment was shared by Muslim participants who suggested students’ cultural and historical narratives should be part of New Zealand’s curriculum as a way to unite people in society, in particular following the mosque attacks on the Muslim community in 2019.

By the 1980s, Māori had negotiated with the New Zealand Government to develop specific indigenous rights based on the Treaty of Waitangi principles (Waitangi Tribunal, 2020). Many cultural and judicial concessions “have been made for the indigenous minority [yet] the willingness to grant similar privileges to immigrant minorities does not exist.” (Kolig, 2010, p. 13). As a consequence, today’s strengthened Māori identity and status as ‘tangata whenua’ (the indigenous people of New Zealand) and the nation’s bicultural identity “can also cause animosity between Māori and immigrant groups, particularly if the latter do not accept the status of Māori as the indigenous people of New Zealand” (Ward & Liu, 2012).

The concept of biculturalism in New Zealand is problematic for people who would generally consider it a reference to two cultures, not the diverse mix of New Zealand society. This raises issues for unitary citizenship in a multicultural society that identifies in legislation as bicultural. As a result of this complexity, some immigrants in New Zealand may struggle to understand how they fit into this bicultural national identity. Furthermore, any discourse regarding multiculturalism in New Zealand must first

recognise that “the project of ‘imagining the nation’ and the hyphenation of the state [bicultural – multicultural] remains incomplete.... [in] the presence of an assertive Māori politics which posits its own Māori sovereignty (tino rangatiratanga) confront[ing] any notion that an undifferentiated nation existed” (Spoonley, 2015, p. 39).

Indigenous rights and Māori sovereignty are now inscribed into quasi-constitutional and legislative statements, with a new understanding of what constitutes the nation-state (Spoonley, 2015, p. 45). A bicultural-treaty partnership agenda is now entrenched right across New Zealand’s public sector. In state education, for example, teachers must demonstrate a commitment to a bicultural Aotearoa (New Zealand) in the design and delivery of educational programs as part of the registered teacher criteria (Teaching Council New Zealand, 2019). Vlaardingerbroek (2017) believes these new teaching standards represent a political non-democratic ideology that verges on being totalitarian as teachers lose their “rights as citizens to hold their own opinions [about public education] without interference” (para. 8). He argues that biculturalism in New Zealand “is enforced ideological conformity – the antithesis of democracy and an infringement of teachers’ internationally acknowledged human rights” (Vlaardingerbroek, 2017, para. 10). The modern development of identity recognition has perpetuated a political discourse of difference (Taylor, 1994) in New Zealand’s socio-political environment. The politics of universal dignity supports non-discrimination in such a way that it can be ‘blind’ to people’s differences (Taylor, 1994). Whereas, politics of difference, such as New Zealand’s bicultural ideology “often redefines non-discrimination as requiring that we make these distinctions the basis of differential treatment” (Taylor, 1994, p. 39). Taylor (1994) argues that:

...the most flagrant departures from ‘difference-blindness’ are reverse discrimination measures, affording people from previously unfavoured groups a competitive advantage for jobs or places in universities...Reverse discrimination is defended as a temporary measure that will eventually level the playing field and allow the old “blind” rules to come back in force in a way that doesn’t disadvantage anyone (Taylor, 1994, p. 40).

Taking the history that stands behind New Zealand’s bicultural-multicultural identity into account, a level of mutual respect and intercultural equality and fairness is required for a hyphenated society of this character to function effectively. This requires a “widespread willingness and ability to articulate our disagreements, to defend them before people with whom we disagree, to discern the difference between respectable and disrespectable disagreement, and to be open to changing our own minds when faced with well-reasoned criticism” (Gutmann, 1994, p. 24). Habermas (1994) asserts political and public discourse in a democratic society should enable citizens to clarify which traditions they want to preserve or

discontinue, and how society intends to deal with their history and with one another. Furthermore, what is considered of worth or value in “the politics of multiculturalism [is the] peremptory demand for favourable judgements of worth [which] is paradoxically...homogenising. For it implies that we already have the standards to make such judgements” (Taylor, 1994, p. 71). Who then decides what is of value in New Zealand’s bicultural and multicultural society?

In essence, the issues which arise in New Zealand’s bicultural and multicultural democratic society continue to raise important theoretical questions regarding universalist principles, cultural relativism, intercultural equality and fairness, and individual and national identity. This begs the question, “What kind of communities can be justly created and sustained out of our human diversity?” (Gutmann, 1994, p. xiii) Can people with different “moral perspectives reason together in ways that are productive of greater ethical understanding?” (Gutmann, 1994, p. xiii) Can diverse identities in New Zealand’s multicultural society be represented equally without public institutions’ recognition of their particular identities, if the emphasis is only “universally shared interests in civil and political liberties, income, health care, and education?” (Gutmann, 1994, pp. 3-4). Is neutrality in the public sphere and public institutions a requirement to protect the freedom and equality of all citizens? Is it possible, as Gutmann (1994) suggests, “that all demands by particular groups in the name of nationalism and multiculturalism are...illiberal?” (p. 4) These are some of the most salient and vexing questions on the political agenda of many multicultural democratic societies today (Gutmann, 1994). These questions are that much more complex to address in education in the context of New Zealand’s dual bicultural-multicultural national identity.

2.2.2 NATIONAL IDENTITY - CULTURE, ETHNICITY, CIVICS

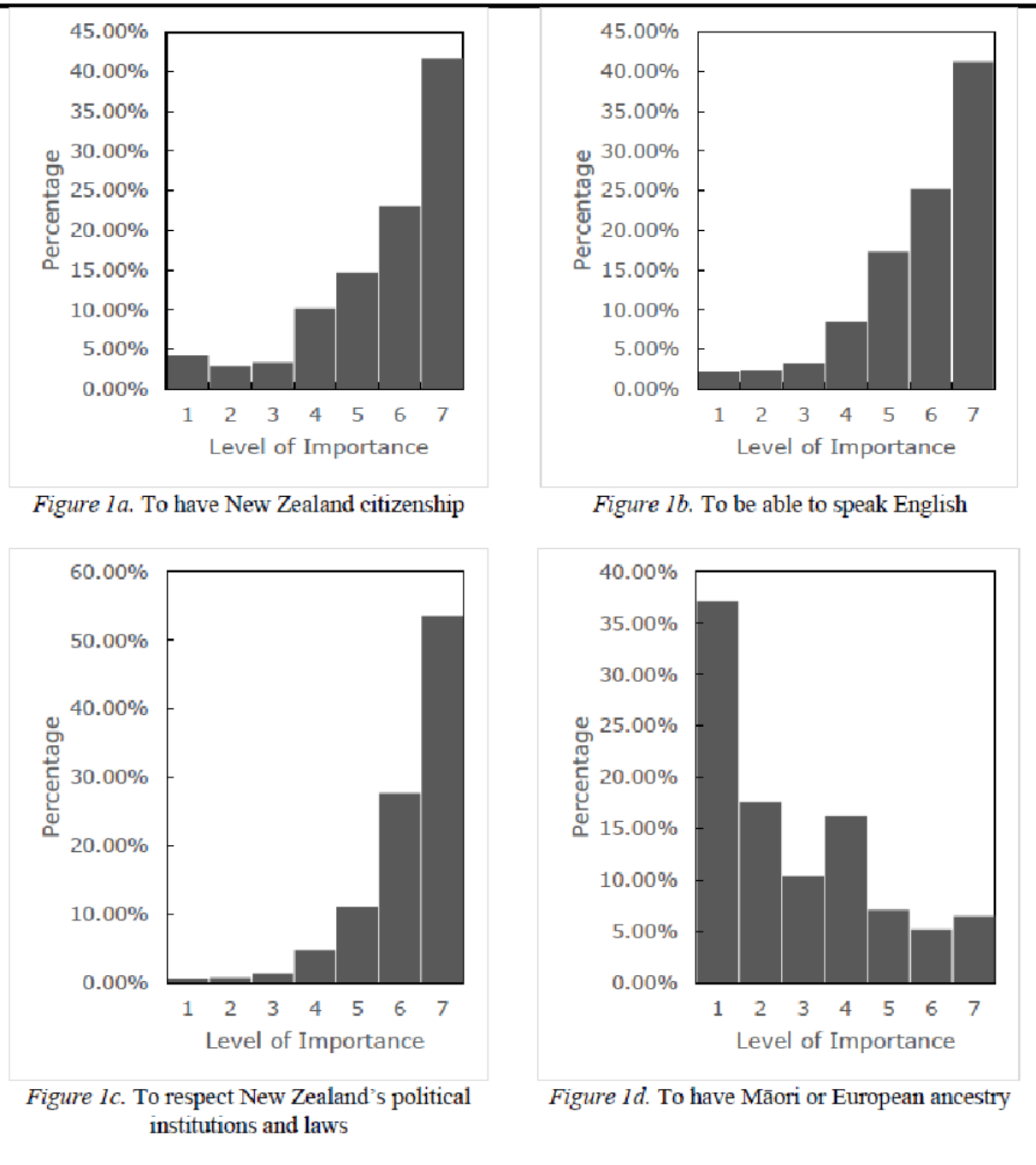
New Zealand’s national identity as described in the previous section is defined by culture and ethnicity. This section takes a closer look at New Zealand’s identity in relation to culture, ethnicity, and civility, which reveals “how we define who we are as a nation [and in turn] influences how we feel about Muslims and diversity” (Yogeeswaran et al., 2019). This is particularly pertinent as citizens beliefs about national character predicate attitudes towards Muslims in society:

In the aftermath of the horrific terrorist attack against Muslims in Christchurch, it is important to examine what psychological factors predict positive attitudes toward Muslims and acceptance of diversity, more broadly. The present work examines how beliefs about national identity predict attitudes toward Muslims and support for diversity in New Zealand (Yogeeswaran et al, 2019, p. 29).

The present work mentioned above, relates to a longitudinal national identity study, the ‘New Zealand Attitudes and Values Study (NZAVS)’ that began in 2009 to investigate “social attitudes, personality [and] values, among other factors” such as religiosity (Yogeeswaran et al., 2019, p. 30) considered determinants of a national ethos. By 2015, the NZAVS longitudinal study comprised 13,944 participants of whom 80.3% identified as European, 12.2% as Māori, 2.6% of Pacific origin, and 2.5% identified as being of Asian descent (Yogeeswaran et al., 2019). For the purposes of the study, the Yogeeswaran et al., (2019) researchers referred to civic identity in terms of “anyone regardless of their cultural, religious, linguistic, or ethnic heritage can be ‘true’ members of the nation as long as they subscribe to core ideals or principles (e.g., respecting individual liberties and freedoms) and participate in society” (p. 29).

The data in Figure 6, indicates what NZAVS research participants consider important in being a ‘true’ New Zealander. The first three civic items highlight the importance they placed on citizenship, the ability to speak English, and a respect for New Zealand’s political institutions and laws as a representation of a ‘true’ New Zealander. These three civic characteristics are achievable regardless of heritage. In contrast “a sizeable minority (35%) ...believe that having European or Māori ancestry is ‘somewhat or very important’ for someone to be a ‘true’ New Zealander” (Yogeeswaran et al., 2019, p.32). This indicates, that 35% of the respondents consider anyone that is not of European or Māori ancestry cannot be a “‘real’ New Zealander, even if they are born and raised in the country, participate and contribute to the country, and the same would apply to the children and grandchildren in the future” (Yogeeswaran et al., 2019, p.33). The implications for Muslim immigrants appear to be a denial of their right to identify as a ‘true’ New Zealander in a country that prides itself for being inclusive and egalitarian. The results emphasise the potential harm for ethnic minorities, in particular those who are second or third generation New Zealanders without a strong connection with any other country (Yogeeswaran et al., 2019; Wang et al., 2013).

Figure 6:



Figures 1a-1d. The figures presented display the distribution of responses as percentages from participants when asked how important do they personally think the following qualities are for being a true New Zealander, where 1 = not important, 4 = somewhat important, and 7 = very important.

Yogeeswaran et al., (2019, p. 32).

Given that the research cited above is representative of mostly New Zealand European participants with a mean age of “50.80 years (SD + 13.89)” (Yogeeswaran et al., 2019), it is not representative of the opinion of New Zealand’s ethnic demographic in 2021. This is a reflection of the views of a large percentage of Europeans, a smaller percentage of Māori, and a very small percentage of those of other ethnic

backgrounds. More importantly however, the study argues “that how we define who we are as a nation influences how we feel about Muslims and diversity” (Yogeeswaran et al., 2019). The question remains, how would the current population define what characteristics are important to be a ‘true’ New Zealander, if ethnic group participant numbers corresponded directly to New Zealand’s 2021 ethnic diversity?

2.2.3 ISLAM IN NEW ZEALAND SOCIETY

This section considers the challenges for Muslims as an ethnic minority group in New Zealand and for the nation as a liberal democratic society, which aims to ensure inclusivity and equality for all citizens. According to Kolig (2010), Islam’s religious influence poses challenges for a pluralistic liberal democratic society, as “a balance must be reached between the tolerance of differences and conformity for the sake of maintaining an ordered civil society and a cohesive polity” (p. 13). He argues that Muslims’ view of Islam as a way of life, governed by ritual and divine obligations, “may be at odds with [New Zealand’s] Western laws... and values” (Kolig, 2010, p. 14). Furthermore, Kolig (2010) suggests there is an “apparent unwillingness of some Muslims to adapt to Western conditions” (p.3). A different perspective is provided by Rosati (2009) who contends that “contemporary difficulties in dealing with religious collective identities may be understood as paradoxical consequences of the expulsion of ritual and the sacred from the modern horizon” (p. 8). This highlights an important question: Is Muslim resistance to adapt to Western society their liberal democratic right? Here lies the ‘liberal paradox’ in a liberal democratic society.

Further concerns have been raised by Kolig (2010), asserting that imported Iman, who do not identify with New Zealand’s secular society, negatively influence the integration process for Muslims. He claims, Iman teaching in Western mosques and institutions, have been found spreading undesirable messages, “such as instilling non-Western values, preaching anti-Western propaganda, propagating an extreme version of sharia or inciting subversive action” (Kolig, 2014, p. 110). Teaching of this nature would understandably create tension for Muslims in New Zealand’s liberal society. For example, one of the participants in the study, an immigrant Muslim teacher, who has taught at a Muslim school in New Zealand that draws on Iman to deliver religious lessons for students, expressed disapproval of many Western values and of New Zealand’s culture:

I myself am not integrated into New Zealand culture and society very well. I wouldn't be able to foster it effectively in students. I have no close friends who culturally identify as New Zealanders, and no family either....Many aspects of New Zealand society I personally do not like as it goes against my moral code - namely the degree of sexuality reflected in the media that is made casual

and inconsequential, the legalisation of prostitution as a form of labour, the degree to which alcohol consumption is made casual and acceptable, sport as occupying the place of religion with regards to public following - and many more aspects (Ablah, 2017).

While this does not suggest the teacher would propagate anti-Western views, it does reveal tension for some Muslims attempting to integrate in New Zealand society.

To support social cohesion for Muslims in New Zealand's society, Kolig (2014) questions, "whether foreign trained imams should be accepted into the West to care for the spiritual well-being of local Muslim communities or preferably only home trained ones should be accredited?" (p. 110). Alternatively, he asks, should "the state assume the right to supervise the training of imams?" (Kolig, 2014, p. 110). However, in New Zealand an approach of that nature is likely to be considered religiously discriminatory. There is the suggestion that dialogue with different segments of New Zealand society, including other religious, social, and political groups, and institutions is needed (Kolig, 2014). It may be necessary, as Kolig (2014) proposes, to establish a Muslim political body to discuss and determine Islamic leadership and the modes of producing and transmitting Islamic knowledge in a minority diasporic context in New Zealand.

Despite New Zealand society's cultural liberalism, and acceptance and tolerance of religious groups, "there remains tension between what Muslim migrants may wish and what is permitted [as] boundaries, flexible as they may be, do exist and are enforced at times" (Kolig, 2010, p. 12). For Islam to be embedded within New Zealand society, "new forms of citizenship and political participation on the basis of their religious identity" (Kolig, 2010, p. 12-13) may be required. However, as Kolig (2010) asserts, there are "forces of dissent arguing that cultural liberalism has gone too far, leading to a weakening, if not total abrogation, of New Zealand's essential, traditional identity" (p. 21). Notwithstanding widespread tolerance and indifference to religious otherness, New Zealand citizens may also not respond positively to significant changes to the criteria defining a New Zealand citizenship. However, as Seligum (2000) maintains, "if the only source of tolerance is a secular liberal political order, we may all be in for some difficult times, for secularism seems to be in retreat, and liberal assumptions of self and society are under attack in many places" (p. 131). This retreat or global 'democratic crisis' is representative of 12 consecutive years of countries suffering "democratic setbacks outnumbering those that registered gains" (Abramowitz, 2019).

Accordingly, there is public concern regarding 'cultural others' attempting to negotiate very different moral codes (Kolig, 2010). New Zealand's culturally pluralistic policies are considered by some to

potentially threaten the host society's character, underlying principles and values, individual liberal identities and social cohesion (Kolig, 2010). Questions regarding what identity Muslims in New Zealand are aspiring to and the identifying icons and markers of a New Zealand identity that are required to qualify as a New Zealand Muslim identity (Kolig, 2010) needs to be considered. Is New Zealand's democratic national identity fully accessible to young Muslims, or does its inaccessibility drive them towards an extreme fundamentalist Muslim identity? This research suggests there may be a gap in New Zealand's integrative mechanisms intended to support the development of a strong national identity for Muslims, as one participant suggests:

[A national identity is] not as important as developing a personal identity and a global identity that borrows whatever practices work for the individual (Ablah, 2017).

The New Zealand government has attempted to support "all ethnic, cultural and religious minorities to preserve their [individual and collective identities] ... But there is also a balancing awareness that different ethnicity and religiosity must not stand in the way of common citizenship or embracing national identity" (Kolig, 2010, pp. 73-74). New Zealanders' attitudes towards immigrants and their diverse cultures arguably affect their ability to maintain their own cultural and religious identity, and to develop a sense of belonging in New Zealand society (Yogeeswaran et. al., 2019). In reflection of changes to New Zealand's ethnic and religious demographic, "continuous labours of adjustment, re-definition, and reformulation of what 'the nation' is sought to stand for.... [In particular with regards to] the task of integrating ethnic minorities" is required (Baumann, 2004, p. 1).

New Zealand's response to its pluralistic society has placed increasing emphasis on the differences of respective groups rather than the integration project of the nation's first century (Tearney, 2016). Kolig (2010) argues that integration for Muslim migrants in New Zealand's bicultural-multicultural society "raises subtle issues of cultural blending, mutual adaption, and changes in national identity" (p. 2). Additional concerns relate to subjectivised media discourse "'othering' Muslims and their religion in the perception of the dominant Western society... alienating young diasporic Muslims, who become emotionally distanced from what they perceive as a hostile dominant society" (Kolig, 2014, p. 163). Moreover, the highly publicised and negative portrayal of Islam in the media does not support "a smooth ideological incorporation of a Muslim identity into national awareness, but have made minority integration a strongly contested issue" (Kolig, 2010, p. 3).

PART III. EDUCATION IN NEW ZEALAND

2.3.1 SECULARISM, AN INTEGRATIVE TOOL FOR SOCIAL COHESION

This section examines the secular nature of New Zealand's education system and the position the state and its citizens have regarding religion in public schools. Firstly, New Zealand society has a history of promoting secularism in education with degrees of tolerance towards religion in education in both legislation and public discourse. This is evident in New Zealand's first Education Act 1877, which marked the beginning of a free, secular, state education system for all New Zealand children. It has been widely accepted that New Zealand's secular education system is intended to act as an integrative mechanism to support social cohesion of cultural others in society (Tearney, 2016). Nonetheless, government funding for religious schools had been a contested issue "since the passing of this Act, which provided funding only for secular state schools" (Tearney, 2016, p. 29).

2.3.2 RELIGION IN SCHOOLS

Religious education in New Zealand state schools has been debated since the first state schools were established in the mid-19th century. The following five examples demonstrates a small fraction of this ongoing public debate:

As the State assumes an attitude of perfect toleration and impartiality, refusing to disavow the unity of national life, refusing to believe that those things which divide are stronger than those which unite.... I have tried to show that a sectarian education is not irreligious in its influence - I have tried to show that it is the best form of national education (Herbert, 1870).

In 1911, at the opening of the Grey Lynn School in Auckland, the New Zealand Minister of Education went as far as suggesting non-secular education threatened society:

The democracy of the country, would look critically at any proposal tending to take us back to the dangerous and unsatisfactory bypaths of denominationalism, from which we escaped after much tribulation in 1877 (Minister for Education, 1911).

In support of secular education in New Zealand in the early part of the 20th century, Professor Paulsen, the German educationist and moralist, expressed that modern secular pedagogy requires:

...teachers [have] absolute freedom in teaching the prescribed subjects, and for pupils' absolute freedom of enquiry...No man should be interfered with in his calling as a teacher on account of his dissenting opinions, but only on the grounds of pedagogical blunders (Historicis, 23 November 1912).

Ongoing concerns regarding the lack of religion in New Zealand's state education led the Bible-in-Schools League, formed in the 1920s, to campaign for legislation to introduce Bible reading in state primary schools (Lineham, 2019). The Archbishop of Wellington, speaking at the Archiepiscopal Silver Jubilee in Wellington in May 1945:

...attributed the troubles of the present day to the godless system of education in vogue throughout the world (Catholic University, 1945).

In opposition to religion in schools, the New Zealand's Secular Education Network (SEN), recently took a:

...case against religious education in state schools to the Human Rights Review Tribunal... [The group] wants the law that makes it possible for bible classes to be taught in State schools declared inconsistent with the Human Rights Act (Radio New Zealand, 2016).

The Human Rights Commission have supported SEN's application to be heard in the High Court. A spokesperson for the commission said, "...the court would consider human rights principles as well as the relationship between the Education Act and the New Zealand Bill of Rights Act" (Clent, 2018) when reviewing SEN's request to remove Bible studies from state education in New Zealand.

Divided public opinion regarding religion in state-funded schools is likely to have contributed to the enactment of the Private Schools Conditional Integration Act (PSCIA) 1975. This Act provides government funding for private religious schools or the establishment of new schools to become state-funded integrated schools. The Act enables integrated schools to express their religious or philosophical beliefs, and associated observances or traditions appropriate to that belief, in line with the expectations of the national curriculum. Section 7 of the PSICA 1975 requires state-integrated schools to sign an agreement with the New Zealand Government prior to their establishment. Once integrated-schools sign this agreement with the government they become part of the state system subject to the provisions of the Education Act 1964 and 1989 requiring that they adopt a set of principles which "embody beliefs about the nature of the educational experience and the entitlements of students; they apply to all schools and to every aspect of the curriculum" (Ministry of Education, 2007, p. 9).

2.3.3 CHANGING EDUCATION POLICIES

The purpose of this section is to outline the historical changes in New Zealand's education system which led to a decentralised and localised national curriculum that is required to be culturally responsive, and to position religion in that system. In July 1987, the New Zealand Government established the 'Picot taskforce' to review the education system. The 'Administering for Excellence: Effective Administration

in Education’, also known as the Picot Report “recognised significant flaws in the existing education system: ‘over-centralisation of decision-making; complexity; lack of information and choice; lack of effective management practices; and feelings of powerlessness’” (Openshaw et al., 1993, p. 268, as cited in Tearney, 2016). In 1989, the Labour Government updated the Education Act, and introduced educational reforms known as ‘Tomorrow’s Schools’ (Department of Education, 1988). Decentralised policies were introduced with the disestablishment of the Department of Education and Regional Education Boards. The philosophy of Tomorrow’s Schools was the implementation of self-managing schools responsible for their own curriculum and administration, “governed by boards of trustees consisting of the principal, a teacher and parents elected by the local community” (Tearney, 2016, p.31). The intention of Tomorrow’s Schools was to improve the quality of education in schools.

Further reforms were implemented in the Education Amendment Act 1991, abolishing school zoning, providing parents with the freedom to choose schools for their children. Schools were now in competition with each other for enrolments and funding (Tearney, 2016). By 1993, a New Zealand Curriculum framework was published, announcing “eight curriculum statements with outcomes described in terms of broad achievement objectives, indicating a policy shift from a focus on content, experiences and activities to a curriculum policy based on outcomes” (Tearney, 2016, p. 33). The New Zealand Curriculum Framework was planned to be “an integrated curriculum that would guide inquiry-based learning and produce students who left school with the knowledge needed to become responsible citizens” (Tearney, 2016, p. 33). By 2007, the National Curriculum promoted a vision of young people as lifelong learners, confident, creative, and connected, actively participating in New Zealand’s wider society and in the global community (Ministry of Education, 2007).

In April 2018, New Zealand’s new Labour Coalition Government commissioned an ‘Independent Taskforce’ to review the Tomorrow’s Schools initiative. Following extensive nationwide consultation with the New Zealand public, the Taskforce concluded “there is no evidence to suggest the current self-governing schools’ model has been successful in raising student achievement or improving equity as was intended” (Ministry of Education, 2018a). The Independent Taskforce released the initial findings of the review, along with proposed recommendations signalling “that it is time for a transformative change in our education system” (Ministry of Education, 2018a). Public consultation in response to the Taskforce’s recommendations concluded in April 2019. By 2020, new educational reforms were indicated to strengthen partnerships with families and communities, improve integration of government agencies, such

as health and social services, and educational services to meet the needs of individual students. (Ministry of Education, 2020a).

In 2020, the concept of a localised curriculum was reinforced by the government, supported by online ‘Localised Curriculum Design Tools’ and nationally distributed ‘Local Curriculum Guide’ books targeting a local curriculum, assessment for learning, technology, and building learning partnerships with young people and their whānau (Māori word commonly used in state-sector contexts, referring to family) (Ministry of Education, 2018a). By August, 2020 the Ministry of Education introduced the Education and Training Act 2020, which incorporates the new reforms and replaces the Education Acts of 1964 and 1989 (Ministry of Education, 2020g). One key reform of this new Education Act shifts participation in religious instruction in state primary and intermediate schools from an ‘opt-out’ process to an ‘opt-in’ process, “requiring signed consent from a parent or caregiver before allowing a student to participate in religious instruction” (Ministry of Education, 2020g).

2.3.4 INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS IN NEW ZEALAND SCHOOLS

The changes to New Zealand’s immigration policies, mentioned earlier, led to a significant (20 percent) rise in international students educated in New Zealand since 2010. Economically this has been an international education export success, while at the same time not socially sustainable without effective strategies in place across all government sectors (Ministry of the Education, 2018c). In response to this changing international demographic, the Ministry of Education developed an International Education Strategy 2018-2030 to support “a strong, equitable, high-quality education system with a vibrant international focus, and globally connected students, workers and education providers” (Ministry of Education, 2018c, p. 3). This new International Educational Strategy intends to strike a balance between sustainable growth in education and a commitment to student experience and well-being. The strategy espouses the development of global citizens, and a sustainable social, cultural, and economic society, where all cultures are valued for the contributions they bring (Ministry of Education, 2018c).

The Ministry of Education currently envisions an education system that enables every New Zealander to develop a strong national and cultural identity, and to be an active participant and citizen in creating a strong civil society (Ministry of Education, 2007, Ministry of Education, 2018b). To achieve this vision while acknowledging New Zealand’s bicultural identity and the needs of its growing multicultural society, the Ministry of Education is currently promoting nationwide professional development for teachers in culturally responsive pedagogy (The University of Waikato, 2019, Ministry of Education, 2020c).

Professional development of this nature in New Zealand schools could support the development of an inclusive superordinate identity that permits the maintenance of cultural heritage and hyphenated identities for migrants (Ward & Liu, 2012), such as a Muslim-New Zealander.

2.3.5 ISLAM IN NEW ZEALAND STATE-INTEGRATED EDUCATION

In this section, I provide further contextual information regarding Islam in New Zealand state-integrated education. Detailed analysis of Islam in New Zealand's education system is covered in later chapters, in discussions regarding differentiation of knowledge, pedagogic discourse, private and public autonomy, and the relationships between communication, morality, socialisation and education.

Firstly, New Zealand's Private Schools Conditional Integration Act 1975 enables state-integrated funding for "education with a special character...within the framework of a particular or general religious or philosophical belief, and associated with observances or traditions appropriate to that belief" (s 3). This Act led to the establishment of two state-integrated Islamic schools in Auckland, New Zealand, Al Madinah, a co-ed school, and Zayed College for Girls. These schools are able to design a localised curriculum (mentioned earlier, through the Tomorrow's Schools' initiative) which meets their religious needs, in accordance with an Integration Agreement made between the schools' proprietors and the Ministry of Education. This agreement enables all integrated schools to design their 'special character' curriculum, with an expectation that their curriculum includes the eight distinct learning areas and the eight principles outlined in the New Zealand Curriculum. These "principles embody beliefs about what is important in school curriculum - nationally and locally. They should underpin all school decision making" (Ministry of Education, 2017).

This autonomy creates challenges for special character schools, as they have not been provided with explicit guidance on how to manage the ontological differences between faith-based schooling and secularised education. Teachers in state-integrated Muslim schools in New Zealand are required to design and deliver a special character curriculum that somehow marries Muslim community values and beliefs with secular curriculum principles. This creates tension for integrated Muslim schools to provide a rich and balanced curriculum, as expected by the National Curriculum (Lomax, 2015; Ministry of Education, 2007). For example, the Islamic advisers for the state-integrated Muslim schools in Auckland prohibit certain aspects the curriculum to ensure Muslim students are not exposed to content considered 'haram', unacceptable in Islam. Participant examples of restraints on the curriculum are provided in later chapters.

Diverse immigrant community perspectives of the Islamic way of life and of New Zealand's democratic laws that govern state education create further challenges for an integrated Islamic school to design a curriculum acceptable to both the Muslim community and the Ministry of Education. Conservative approaches towards Islam in education in New Zealand may be reflective of the growth of New Zealand's Muslim community and their reliance on imported Iman promoting a "mainstream Islam [where] there is no question of separating politics and religion the way we have come to expect in Western liberal society" (Taylor, 1994, p. 62). Incompatibilities with some Islamic values exist, for example, the emphasis on marriage as a measure of success for Muslim girls, compared to the values and measures of success in a liberal democratic society, particularly with respect to gender equality. Muslim students educated in New Zealand experience these same pressures to marry young, with some parents arranging marriages prior to girls finishing secondary school, as a student participant describes below:

Her [the respondent's friend's] parents told her [their daughter] if she failed [at school] or tempted to commit sinful acts, such as engage in sexual acts they were going to send her back to Fiji [to be married]. She is now married (Asmara, 2018).

It is also widely accepted that Islamic views towards marriage vary depending on the cultural background of Muslims and their interpretation of Islam. This tension, however, is compounded for Muslims educated in a liberal democratic society by Islamic jurists' ongoing debates regarding the philosophical foundations of the Sunnah, which are the Islamic rules to regulate daily life, rules that are not included in the Qu'ran. The authenticity of some Sunnah, such as Bukhari's 1973 interpretation (as cited in Syed, 2004, p.23) of one Sunnah suggesting "Those who entrust their affairs to women will never have prosperity", has the potential to create further tension for Muslim girls educated in any liberal democratic society. Bearing in mind, that it is not the intention of this research to judge religious beliefs, rather to understand the complexities that many Muslim students experience in New Zealand's liberal democratic society. My research identifies that some Muslim students in New Zealand are negotiating different and often irreconcilable moralities in a similar way to minority pupils in north-western European schools, who:

...defined experiences of difference not only towards the majority population but also towards the parents...switching between the two 'worlds' or 'cultures' is not treated as trapping them or tearing them apart 'between cultures', but was seen as reflecting a factual discrepancy of expectations that could be handled situationally...most pupils were not only familiar with playing the game in two 'different worlds', but also strove to dissolve the misinterpretations of both 'camps'. (Mannitz, 2004b, p. 296)

This represents a disjuncture and a tension in the lives of Muslims educated in New Zealand, as they navigate parallel lives to manage these contradictions.

2.4 SUMMARY

The role of New Zealand's education system is to achieve integration, creating a shared collective identity that supports social cohesion. This begs the important question: How does New Zealand's education system, which embraces a 'future focused' worldview and acceptance of liberalism, interpret diverse values, morals, and principles? Does the current education system in New Zealand, enable all students, including those who may not share the same values and beliefs of a liberal democratic society, to shape a strong identity of their choosing and to be fully functioning autonomous individuals? Should New Zealand society be concerned as Kolig (2010) asserts that "integration raises subtle issues of cultural blending, mutual adaptation, and changes in national identity" (p. 2). Some countries, especially in Europe are starting to question how much "...the West's social, political, and moral dimensions [are] altered by the presence of a sizeable Muslim minority?" (Kolig, 2010, p. 5). As uncomfortable as it may be for many to accept, is a revision of the nation's identity required to reflect New Zealand's multicultural values, and correspondingly, need to be included in any discourse relating to educational reforms in New Zealand? (The University of Waikato, 2019)

Muslims' life experiences and access to education impacts on their epistemic identity, ontological and theoretical worldview, and their understanding of themselves as individuals in the 'Ummah' (collective body of Muslims) and in a liberal democratic society. Moreover, as Habermas (1989, 1990, 1996) argues, people's education and life experiences affect their ability to be fully functioning autonomous individuals in society. He argues peoples' ability to be personally autonomous depends on how they are raised, on the culture that frames their choices, and the institutional guarantees that facilitate choice to lead an autonomous life. Is it possible then, that the strength of the symbolism representative of being a 'good Muslim' advocated in state-integrated Muslim schools in New Zealand represents the strength of the tension felt by Muslims in New Zealand society? This research provides evidence that some Muslims educated in New Zealand's public education system are rationalising and redefining a modern Islam to meet their needs as modern Muslims in liberal democratic societies (Lomax, 2015). Hence this research, brings meaning to Muslim students' educational experience and to support and facilitate opportunities for them to develop their personal identity and citizenship identity as active participants in New Zealand society.

CHAPTER 3. A NEW ZEALAND STUDY

3.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter describes the New Zealand study and my research methodology undertaken for this thesis. I begin with an outline in Section 3.1 of who the participants are and how they found out about the research. Section 3.2 describes the interview process and some of the strengths and limitations of that process and of the interview questions. The ethical considerations of the research are discussed in Section 3.3. This section covers in detail the measures I have taken to provide participant anonymity, and the process I took to manage any ethical dilemmas that arose during the course of the research. The final Section 3.4 outlines the social and education policies I use to illustrate areas of contradiction and tension that affect the development of Muslim student identity and a citizenship identity. In this section I discuss the analysis of the public education that is provided for Muslims in Britain and in European schools. I use this information to understand how other liberal democratic education systems respond to Muslim students in publicly funded schools, and to compare the process of adaptation that has occurred for Muslim students educated in New Zealand. This section also discusses the use of NVivo to tease out commonly occurring themes that have been analysed using a social realism and conceptual methodology examined in Chapter 4.

3.1 PARTICIPANTS

My previous work experience as a non-Muslim teacher at one of New Zealand's Muslim schools meant that I had established trusted relationships with some members of the Muslim community prior to undertaking this research. It was important to me that I provided accurate accounts of participant experiences. I used word for word participant quotes as much as possible, and cross-checked my interpretation of their experiences with those interviewed prior to critically analysing them theoretically. It is thanks to a number of members of New Zealand's Muslim community that I am able to share the stories of nine participants, five Muslim tertiary students who were educated in New Zealand, two Muslim teachers (one of whom was interviewed as both a past secular school student and as a teacher at a Muslim school) and three non-Muslim teachers.

Participant identifiers such as gender, Muslim or non-Muslim, immigrant or non-immigrant, attendance at a state or state-integrated school are factual. To maintain anonymity, the names that have been used throughout the research are pseudonyms other than Arif who wanted to be identified. With anonymity in mind, immigrant respondents' 'place of birth' represents countries of origin that are similar in the Muslim population and political systems from their own country of origin (see Figure 7). Again, Arif chose to be

identified, hence Malaysia is his birth place. New Zealand participants were less likely to be identified, consequently I chose to retain their actual identifiers to understand a non-immigrant response to education for Muslims in New Zealand's public schools. Non-Muslim teachers were interviewed to develop an awareness of how they responded to a group of students that have different values and practices from their own values and practices and of those promoted within New Zealand's secular education system. Both students and teachers provided the empirical data to contribute to my overall examination of Muslim students' experiences and the way in which New Zealand's schools contributes to shaping students' identity. The following table provides a visual overview of the nine participants of this research.

<i>FIGURE 7: RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS</i>							
<i>NAME Pseudonyms *Actual name</i>	<i>MUSLIM (M) NON-MUSLIM (NM)</i>	<i>GENDER</i>	<i>STUDENT</i>	<i>TEACHER</i>	<i>NEW ZEALAND SCHOOL ATTENDED State-Secular (SS) State-Integrated Muslim (SIM)</i>	<i>NEW ZEALAND SCHOOLS TAUGHT AT State-Secular (SS) State-Integrated Muslim (SIM)</i>	<i>PLACE OF BIRTH Pseudonym similar Muslim population *Actual place of birth.</i>
<i>Asmara</i>	M	F	✓		SS + SIM	-	<i>Saudia Arabia</i>
<i>Ilham</i>	M	F	✓		SIM	-	<i>Trinidad</i>
<i>Menaal</i>	M	F	✓	✓	SIM	SIM	<i>French Republic</i>
<i>Ablah</i>	M	F	✓	✓	SS	SIM	<i>Cambodia</i>
<i>Arif *</i>	M	M	✓		SS	-	<i>*Malaysia</i>
<i>Wasay</i>	M	M		✓	SS	SS	<i>*New Zealand</i>
<i>Ines</i>	NM	F		✓	-	SS + SIM	<i>Europe</i>
<i>Ratnajyoti</i>	NM	F		✓	-	SS + SIM	<i>Lebanon</i>
<i>Awhireinga</i>	NM	F		✓	SS	SS + SIM	<i>*New Zealand</i>

Participant interest in the research was stimulated by various means. I placed information posters on university campus walls in areas shared by all tertiary students. I featured an online overview of the research over a six-week period in 2017 in the New Zealand Education Gazette, an educational magazine widely viewed by teachers across New Zealand. A number of educationalists across the country shared my research

information with Muslim families in both state and integrated schools, which led to further Muslim student and teacher interest to participate in the research. I also shared research information and posters by email with university and regional Muslim Associations and the Federation of Islamic Associations of New Zealand, hoping to promote this research to Muslim tertiary students and Muslim and non-Muslim teachers. I sent two further follow up emails to all of these Muslim Associations and had not received a reply from any of them by the end of my research. Although I was not able to specifically source participants through Muslim Associations, in March 2020, I finally met with a member of the board of the Federation of Islamic Associations of New Zealand, who is interested in reviewing the research findings. The total sum of the participants interviewed encapsulates all of the people who showed an interest to be part of this research. I had hoped to interview no more than five students and five teachers to allow time for deep and meaningful conversations to take place. This also enabled a deeper level of analysis of what the data illustrated through the use of the theoretical tools, discussed in the next chapter.

3.2 INTERVIEWS

The qualitative nature of the research involved a mixture of structured and semi-structured interviews with Muslim students and Muslim and non-Muslim teachers. Only Muslim students who had been educated in New Zealand primary and/or secondary state schools or at integrated schools, and who had studied at tertiary level in New Zealand were invited to participate in the research. The decision to interview only this group of Muslim students provided an opportunity for participants to make comparisons between their secondary and tertiary educational experiences. I had initially narrowed the intended participants to those who had completed their undergraduate studies. I had naively assumed that Muslim students fresh out of secondary school would not have had adequate time to reflect on how their past educational experiences in New Zealand had impacted on their developing identity and their ability to participate in New Zealand's wider society. However, the limited pool of Muslim students who had completed undergraduate studies that came forward to be part of this research meant that I included all interested tertiary students including undergraduates. All the participants provided very interesting and reflective responses to the research questions (see Appendices 5 and 7). For example, one second-year university student suggested there was a need for more flexibility in Muslim school curricula in New Zealand:

Happiness is not music, but music is part of growth. I believe putting my religion aside for one second...if I was the principal now, I would let the students participate in those classes [music] even at the [Islamic] school (Ilham, 2018).

In some cases, students reflected on the difficulty they had transitioning from a gender segregated Muslim school to mixed gender classes at university. For the Muslim students who had attended integrated schools this was the first time they were interacting with the opposite sex who were not family members, adding tension to their tertiary experience.

I was never in proper contact with any men outside my family and relative zone. So, going to the University of ... for my Bachelors was a major shock for me (Menaal, 2019).

The students interviewed were immigrants to New Zealand from the Middle East, Trinidad, Cambodia, Reunion Island, and Malaysia. Menaal, one of the student participants, who is also now a teacher in New Zealand, made the decision to respond only to the student interview questions, as her time was too limited in her teaching role to respond to both student and teacher interview questions. Ablah, a Muslim teacher participant, chose to respond to both student and teacher questions, as she was keen to share her mixed-gender secular state school experiences, and her experiences teaching at a Muslim school in Auckland. All respondents were genuinely keen to provide a frank and open account of their social and educational experiences in the hope that their stories would improve the educational opportunities and experiences of Muslim students in New Zealand.

Students and teachers were provided with the option to be interviewed in person, via Skype, by phone or by responding in writing to the research questions. Participants who chose to meet in person selected a suitable venue. Some chose to respond in writing due to their busy work and family life and others preferred phone interviews. Two student participants who were close friends chose to meet me together in person. This combined interview stimulated the opportunity for each student to reflect, respond to, and even debate each other's perspectives. It did not appear as though their responses were in any way restricted by each other's presence. However, some responses may have possibly been different if the participants were interviewed on their own. Two students and one teacher chose phone interviews, with the remaining research participants who were all teachers, choosing to respond in writing. Face-to-face and phone interviews were written up verbatim. All interviews were transcribed and sent back to participants with researcher comments added to clarify my own understanding of their views as needed.

My earlier educational experience working in a Muslim context supported the understanding that Muslim participants may prefer to start and finish interviews with a 'dua' (prayer). I acknowledged this as part of the interview process on the student and teacher participant information sheet. In an attempt to minimise participants' possible preconceived idea that I had religious expectations of them, and to avoid setting the tone of the interview as if I expected a religious response to questions, I did not reiterate this point when

face-to-face or on the phone with respondents. None of the respondents interviewed in person or by phone chose to start and/or finish the interview with a prayer. All of the face-to-face and phone interviews lasted approximately two hours, with further follow-ups by email, in person, or by phone.

The teachers' interview questions required greater reflection of education and society values, and of their pedagogic practices in New Zealand schools, which I examine in detail in later chapters. The wording of the teachers' interview questions (refer to Appendix F), which required approval by the University of Auckland Ethics Committee, tended to limit some of the teachers' written responses. For example, the first half of the teachers' interview questions required reflection of their pedagogic practice to foster the principles and values promoted in New Zealand's state and state-integrated schools. Most of the responses to these questions generally related to the practice expected of teachers in all New Zealand state and integrated schools and did not show any reflection of pedagogic practice specific to Muslim students. This may have been the result of not specifically including 'Muslim' before 'students' in the wording of the first set of questions, as all responses to questions which did refer to 'Muslim students' led to detailed reflective responses specific to Muslim students. For example:

Q: How do you foster and demonstrate positive relationships within the learning environment that are caring, inclusive, non-discriminatory, and cohesive?

A: *I approach each lesson with a positive student-centred attitude and a genuine interest in students' interests and passions (Ratnajyoti, 2018).*

Q: Would you say it is important to develop a New Zealand Muslim student identity?

A: *I'd say it's more important to develop a New Zealand Muslim identity full stop – the vast bulk of the community still cling to migrant or heritage identities. These are not in themselves a problem at all (and many kids successfully navigate both) but are often a source of tension or problems within the families they hail from (Wasay, 2019).*

The lack of the word 'Muslim' in the questions did not limit responses from all teachers. Some teachers were able to step outside the generalised framing of the questions, responding with reflective depth about their perspectives of the educational experiences of Muslim students in New Zealand schools. For example, Ablah has responded to a general question in relation to pedagogy and applied it directly to a Muslim context:

Q: How do you stimulate the curiosity of your students?

A: *Students need diversity and freedom of speech. Students need to understand that what they learn directly impacts their life choices and understandings. To facilitate this, we discuss (verbally or*

through written or visual work) controversial topics with multiple perspectives. This does not clash with Islam. Islam teaches to question and explore everything. The first command of the Quran is 'Read'.

The second half of the teachers' interview questions required reflection on education specifically in relation to Muslim students, which added depth to the analysis of how teachers' values and pedagogical identities might influence the development of a Muslim student identity. All the respondents made comparisons to their own social and educational experiences, and discussed how their experiences, values, and views were a reflection of their own education and life in general.

All of the face-to-face and phone interviews provided rich, in-depth student and teacher experiences and views that were communicated beyond the scope of the outlined questions. For example, one male student describes how:

Being in the New Zealand education system enhances what I know about myself, because the differences are clear between my past education and current education, which strengthens who I am (Arif, 2019).

Following the Christchurch attacks on the 15 March 2019, I sent all of the Muslim participants an email acknowledging their loss and offering my sympathies to their Muslim community. Six months later, I sent a further email offering all of the participants an opportunity to share their views on the following questions (see Appendix G):

1. What do you believe is needed in the education of Muslim and non-Muslim students in New Zealand schools to promote positive relationships in society, in such a way that Muslim student identities are strengthened enabling them to participate fully in New Zealand society?
2. Have you experienced any changes in the way non-Muslims in New Zealand society interact with you as a Muslim post-Christchurch?
3. Would you say the Christchurch tragedy has strengthened your autonomy in public places? If so, in what way?

The third question was slightly different for Non-Muslim teachers (see Appendix G):

3. Have you noticed any changes in Muslims in New Zealand society seeming more confident or in any way empowered by New Zealand's response post-Christchurch? Perhaps the opposite? An example if you have one.

Three of the Muslim students, two non-Muslim teachers and one Muslim teacher responded with very interesting personal accounts of their experiences and views in relation to the Christchurch tragedy. A detailed discussion of the participants' experiences and perspectives follows in biographical Chapters 5 and 6, and Chapters 8 and 9, which focuses on Muslim student and teacher identity.

3.3 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

All research undertaken through the University of Auckland that involves human participants requires the approval of the University of Auckland Ethics Committee. This requirement involved putting forward a proposal to the committee that clearly outlined an understanding of the implications of my research on the New Zealand Muslim community, and outlined the process that included provisions for research participants if they experienced adverse consequences following participation in the research. From my own background working at an integrated Muslim school in New Zealand, I understood the vulnerability of asking this group of students to reflect on their educational experiences. This heightened my awareness of the ethical considerations that needed to be made when asking Muslim students to reflect on their experiences.

Of particular concern for me as a researcher was maintaining confidentiality and anonymity to minimise potential risk to research subjects in the relatively small New Zealand Muslim community. All participants were made aware of the measures I would take in an attempt to protect their identity, which was detailed on the student participant information sheet below:

Every effort will be made to protect your anonymity including the use of pseudonyms for your name, and the omission of the courses you are enrolled in at university. However, the smaller size of the Muslim student body at a New Zealand university means that it may be possible for some participants to be identified in the completed thesis or in any subsequent presentations and publications (Appendix A).

For teacher participants, the added concern was to maintain their confidentiality and anonymity if they worked in one of only two state-integrated Muslim schools in New Zealand, as detailed below on the teacher participant information sheet:

Every effort will be made to protect your anonymity including the use of pseudonyms for your name, and the name of your employer. However, it cannot be guaranteed because there is always a chance that you may be identified in the completed thesis or in any subsequent presentations and publications if you are employed at a small and easily identified New Zealand educational institution (Appendix B).

Participant anonymity was an ethical dilemma that has not been easy to resolve. I provide each subject with a degree of anonymity by using pseudonyms and changes to identifiers. However, identifiers such as gender, Muslim or non-Muslim, immigrant or non-immigrant, attendance at a state or state-integrated school were essential to the integrity of the thesis given that my focus is about how education in New Zealand shapes identity. Identifiers relating to participants' country of origin have been changed to a country that has a similar political justice system and Muslim population to their own country of birth. It was also important not to mention the names of the state-integrated Muslim schools when participants referred to them to maintain research subject anonymity and to minimise the risk to the school. University Muslim Associations and regional Muslim Associations have not been named in the research to retain the confidentiality of research subjects, although it is likely that in some cases people could be recognised by others in the Muslim community.

My ethics proposal acknowledged that some participants may question how their Islamic values and practices align with the values and principles outlined in the New Zealand education system and in society and that it may cause them varying degrees of discomfort. This was discussed with participants if it became apparent during the interview that they were experiencing tension of any kind. University student support and professional advice and guidance were recommended following an interview with one student who exhibited high levels of personal tension. I was also aware that as a result of the interview process, I may find out about certain things from individuals which concerned their well-being, but not quite to the degree of Asmara's experiences. This immigrant student from the Middle East spent her earliest years in New Zealand's state education being bullied for looking different. Sadly, she describes how the years of bullying at a secular state school were easier for her to manage compared to her experiences as a bisexual teenager at a New Zealand integrated Muslim school.

[My] spirituality got crushed every time [sexuality was discussed at the Muslim school]. I was like dang, I'm going to go to hell. Every time. I'm going to kill myself. It's better to kill myself right now than go to hell later on (Asmara, 2018).

Asmara's frank, expressive, and suicidal responses posed the greatest concern for me as a researcher, as I was very concerned about her well-being. In addition, I was concerned about the lack of trust Asmara said she had in counselling services throughout her schooling years, as this could mean that my suggestion to seek counselling may have been dismissed. Asmara presented a myriad of complex and serious concerns for me as a researcher. These included details of the prevalence of domestic violence in some Muslim communities in New Zealand, including her own. This student was by far the most concerning research

subject, which required many in-depth conversations with my research supervisors to determine how much of her story could and/or should be publicly shared to maintain the integrity of the research and at the same time not be too revealing. I did not want to put this student in a more vulnerable position than she had already presented during the interview. The ethical dilemma to maintain participant confidentiality of student homosexuality or bisexuality by not including this detail in the research was discussed with my supervisors. My concern was for the safety of the participant if her family discovered her views and bisexual orientation. Finally, the decision was made in consultation with my supervisors and as a result of Asmara's eagerness to include discussions relating to bisexuality in order to highlight serious tension other Muslims may be experiencing, and to maintain the integrity of the research focus on identity.

Furthermore, Asmara is someone who expresses the need for social justice and recognition of human rights. As an activist, Asmara felt the need to share her views with others and to advocate for her own and others' rights. Her story is an example of the ethical dilemmas this research revealed in an effort to seek, and share the truth of Muslim students' experiences in New Zealand's education system, and society more broadly. It was a privilege to have Asmara entrust her most intimate experiences and views with me. To minimise risk to her, I have made a number of changes to her identifiers in an attempt to maintain her anonymity.

My supervisors suggested that perhaps I could create a composite New Zealand Muslim school to support the anonymity of research participants. However, a quick Google search of New Zealand's education system for Muslim students would indicate there are only two state-integrated Muslim schools in New Zealand. Thankfully, both schools cater for female Muslim students providing at least some degree of anonymity for the female participants. However, there is only one state-integrated secondary school for male Muslim students. This meant that I would need to make additional changes to their identifiers as needed to safeguard their anonymity. No male Muslim students from an integrated Muslim school participated in this research, eliminating this concern for male respondents. The possibility that the measures detailed above may not guarantee participants would not be identified in the completed thesis was discussed with those interviewed. This discussion was important as the number of Muslim students enrolled at New Zealand tertiary institutions is small in comparison to the remaining student body, and as there are only two integrated Muslim schools in New Zealand.

In addition to the ethical considerations relating to confidentiality and anonymity, I provided opportunities for my participants to review their transcribed interviews and to respond to my comments in order to

clarify, correct, or add depth to their responses. At any time during the interview, participants were able to request any comments be struck off the record and excluded from the transcript, or ask for the recording to be stopped, and/or for the interview to be terminated without giving a reason. All participants were made aware that they had the right to withdraw from the study at any time, and the right to request their data be withdrawn without giving a reason up to one week following receipt of the interview transcript. The face-to-face interviews were recorded as an audio file that I transcribed and a copy was provided to the participant for checking. These audio files and transcripts will be stored in a locked cabinet in the principal investigator's office at the University of Auckland for six years and then destroyed in line with university policy.

3.4 DATA ANALYSIS

The study includes qualitative methods of data collection sourced from interviews, and social and education policies. Both national and international policies and agreements ratified by the New Zealand Government were analysed (see list below) and referred to throughout the body of the research. In some cases, the legislation provided useful evidence to illustrate areas of contradiction and tension in policies affecting the development of a Muslim student identity and a citizenship identity. The national policies and international agreements ratified by the New Zealand Government listed below were reviewed to develop a wider overview of national and global level policies impacting on New Zealand's education system, society, and on a Muslim student experience:

- State Sector Act (1988)
- Education Acts (1964, 1989)
- Private Schools Conditional Integration Act (1975)
- Tomorrow's Schools (1989)
- Education Amendment Acts (1990, 2013, 2016, 2017, 2019)
- Education and Training Act (2020)
- New Zealand Curriculum (2007)
- Immigration Act (2009)
- Immigration Amendment Act (2013, 2015)
- Universal Declaration on Human Rights (1948)
- International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966)
- International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966, 1978)

- International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (1966)
- Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (1979)
- Convention on the Right of the Child (1989)
- Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration (2018)

A comparative analysis of the relationship between religious and state education, such as the history of integrated Muslim schools in Britain and education for Muslims in European schools, assisted with understanding how the process of adaptation has occurred for Muslim students educated in New Zealand.

NVivo software was used to support the analysis of the qualitative data collected in the empirical study from interviews, academic literature, and policy analysis. This software was useful for identifying emerging themes and links between these themes. For example, in the analysis of one of my interviews, NVivo identified seventy-three nodes (themes), then linked them together under twenty-two more general nodes, and then further linked them by eight colour-coded nodes. In essence, seventy-three themes were identified and narrowed down to eight overarching linked sets of ideas (refer to Appendix H). Nivo's framework matrices aided in the summarised content of interviews, teasing out common themes that were matched to theories used to conceptually analyse the research data. Finally, NVivo's software relationship container helped to identify relational connections between people, organisations, and entities in my research data. The following chapter outlines the social realist and conceptual methodology that has been applied to the data to explain the research findings.

CHAPTER FOUR. THE CONCEPTUAL METHODOLOGY

4.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides a detailed discussion of the concepts that I have used to explain my findings. This approach is known as a realist conceptual methodology (McPhail & Lourie, 2017; Popper, 1979; Rata, 2014b; Sayer, 2000). The approach utilises disciplinary concepts from the field of sociology as the means to both identify and explain the research problem and the empirical study that illustrates that problem. The concepts are described in detail in the subsequent sections of this chapter. This realist approach involves an epistemological acceptance of two ‘real’ forms of knowledge: social knowledge acquired from culture and experiences – the knowledge and experiences as reported by the participants; and conceptual academic knowledge derived from abstract and objective ‘thought contents’ (Popper, 1979). Conceptual knowledge is also the knowledge that social realists argue must be made available in the school system to enable students to eventually be able to objectify their world. The realism of these thought concepts is derived from an understanding of thoughts existing as objects separate from the person who thought them (Popper, 1979). The objectifying of these ideas, concepts, and theories, enables them to be used to generalise and to be applied to more than one phenomenon, and then universally available (Durkheim, 2001) as conceptual tools in the analysis of research data.

The empirical data has been analysed drawing on concepts from the theories of Basil Bernstein, Jürgen Habermas, Jonathan Friedman, and Émile Durkheim. These sociologists have been chosen as they all theorise the individualising and socialising processes of modern pluralistic nations - the idea at the heart of my study of how Muslim students and teachers find their place in contemporary New Zealand society. As these theorists’ concepts crossover, I have established an epistemic structure of logically arranged concepts that link to one another to formulate an overall understanding of the research phenomena (Rata, 2017). These sociologists’ theories help to explain the interrelationships between the micro, meso and macro levels of the New Zealand education system and the individual student experience. For example, Bernstein’s (2003a) sociology of language theories provides a “way of analysing some of the interrelationships between social structure, language-use and subsequent behaviour” (p. 76) demonstrated by the participants in my study.

This chapter is arranged in four parts. Part I discusses Bernstein’s theories of the pedagogic device, classification and framing, educational knowledge codes, school structures, the structuring of pedagogic discourse, differentiation of knowledge, and pedagogic identities in education (Bernstein, 2003a, 2003b,

2003c, 2003d). This discussion also links Bernstein's concepts of knowledge differentiation to Durkheim's (1995) concept of the 'sacred and the profane.' Part II describes the application of Jürgen Habermas' theories of the 'detranscendentalised lens,' 'private and public autonomy,' and 'moral theory' to explore the relationships between communication, morality, socialisation, and education (Habermas, 1987, 1990, 2008). Part III discusses Jonathan Friedman's (1992, 1994, 2002) conceptual framework of an 'identity space of modernity', which examines the interface between global processes and identity formation. The final discussion, Part IV, describes the application of Émile Durkheim's (1995) 'hermeneutics of suspicion' to analyse the respondents' reasoning. Durkheim's (1995) concept of the 'sacred and the profane' is also linked to Habermas' (1990) 'moral theory' and Bernstein's (2003a-d) theories of 'educational codes' in the analysis of the empirical data.

PART I. SYMBOLIC RULER OF CONSCIOUSNESS

4.1.1 POWER TO DETERMINE, DISTRIBUTE, AND REGULATE KNOWLEDGE

The application of Bernstein's theories of the sociology of language, educational knowledge principles, differentiation of knowledge, and the structuring of pedagogic discourse (Bernstein, 2003a, 2003b, 2003c, 2003d) are examined in the next five sections. In this section, I discuss the application of Bernstein's (2003d) theory of the 'pedagogic device' to capture the complexities of the relationship "between power and knowledge, and knowledge and forms of consciousness" (p. 181) in New Zealand schools. The pedagogic device (see Figure 8) is Bernstein's (2003d) overarching theoretical model comprising "distributive, recontextualising, and evaluative rules for specialising forms of consciousness" (p. 181). These rules are defined as hierarchically related, in that the distributive rules regulates the recontextualising rules, which in turn regulates the rules of evaluation (Bernstein, 2003d). The distributive rules are considered a regulator of the relationship "between power, social groups, forms of consciousness and practice, and their reproductions and productions" (Bernstein, 2003d, p. 180). An examination of the distributive rules of pedagogic discourse in the education of Muslims in New Zealand enables me to assess Muslim students' access to knowledge and the power dynamics of pedagogical relationships in schools.

The analysis of these rules, also known as logics, helps to identify the regulators determining teachers' practice and the responses to these relational pedagogic determinants. For example, teachers' responses highlighted that their pedagogic discourse was structured by the macro relations of the Muslim community and the internal relations of the Muslim school management at the integrated schools they taught at in New Zealand. This meant that the distributive rules that regulated the relationships "between power, social

groups, forms of consciousness and practice, and their reproductions and productions” (Bernstein, 2003d, p. 180) were structured by the Muslim School, which constrained students access to the curriculum and the way in which it was delivered.

The official pedagogic discourse (OPD) is considered “the result of relations which are established at the generative and recontextualising levels of general regulative discourse” (GRD) (Neves & Morais, 2001, p. 15). The GRD represents the dominant principles of society, resulting from the “relations and influences between the State” the “economy (physical resources) and symbolic control (discursive resources)” (Neves & Morais, 2001, p. 15). The OPD is therefore the dominant principles of society’s (GRD) that have undergone a recontextualising process in two fields, the official recontextualising field (ORF) controlled by the State and the pedagogic recontextualising field (PRF) (Bernstein, 2000). Both the ORF and the PRF are “influenced by the economy and symbolic control and their main activity is the definition of the *what* and the *how* of pedagogic discourse” (Neves & Morais, 2001, p. 15). Moreover, the ORF and the PRF at the transmission level can undergo a recontextualising process relevant to each school context and the

FIELD OF PRACTICE	FORM OF REGULATION	SYMBOLIC STRUCTURE	MAIN TYPES	TYPICAL SITES
Production (new knowledge is produced and positioned)	distributive rules	knowledge structure	hierarchical/horizontal knowledge structures	universities, research publications, conferences, laboratories
Recontextualisation ORF and PRF (knowledge is selected and transformed into curricula)	recontextualising principles	curriculum	collection and integrated codes	curriculum policy, textbooks, CPD, review agencies
Reproduction (knowledge is recontextualised in pedagogic communications in classrooms, lecture theatres etc.)	evaluative rules	pedagogy and evaluation	visible/invisible pedagogic codes	classrooms, assessment

Figure 8: The arena of the pedagogic device (Maton, K. & Muller, J. (2007) A sociology for the transmission of knowledges. In F. Christie & J. R. Martin (Eds.). Language, knowledge and pedagogy: Functional linguistic and sociological perspectives. London: Continuum. 14-33.

preferred pedagogic practice of each teacher. In this way, (see Figure 8) “the discourse reproduced in schools and classrooms is influenced by the relationships which characterise its specific transmission contexts” (Neves & Morais, 2001, p. 15).

The hierarchical nature of the distributive rules is separate from the meaning of the ‘hierarchical/horizontal knowledge structures’ in Figure 8. The hierarchical structure “corresponds to knowledge which are characterised by integrating propositions and theories that operate at more and more abstract levels” (Neves & Morais, 2001, pp.21-22). Whereas, the horizontal knowledge structures, such as in social science, can be “characterised by a series of specialised languages with specialised modes of questioning and with specialised criteria for production and circulation of texts” (Neves & Morais, 2001, p. 22). On the one hand, the ‘visible pedagogic codes’ in Figure 8, “makes explicit the rules of its regulative and discursive order” (Moore, 2013, p. 179). On the other hand, ‘invisible pedagogic codes’ “are known only to the transmitter, and in this sense a pedagogic practice of this type is (at least initially) invisible to the acquirer, essentially because the acquirer appears to fill the pedagogic space rather than the transmitter” (Moore, 2013, p. 177). Invisible pedagogy would see the “teacher, as facilitator of this process to keep ‘the social’ (parents, peer group, media, popular culture, and so on) at bay to nurture this metamorphosis of self-actualisation” (Moore, 2013, p. 177).

4.1.2. THE STRUCTURE OF EDUCATIONAL KNOWLEDGE

This section examines Bernstein’s (2003a, 2003c, 2003d) concepts of ‘classification and framing’ and ‘educational knowledge codes’ also known as logics or principles, which I apply to education policy, school structures and regulations, and to participant responses. These concepts are used to evaluate the effectiveness of the education system in responding to a group that has fundamentally different values and practices from those recognised by the system. I use Bernstein’s concepts to determine what knowledge is valued and made available in the curriculum and to determine how that knowledge is formally transmitted by teachers in New Zealand’s public schools. According to Bernstein (2003c), educational knowledge is one of the main mechanisms for structuring consciousness. He claims that identity and consciousness are influenced by the formal transmission of educational knowledge:

It is well known that the school transforms the identities of many of the children: transforms the nature of their allegiances to their family and community, and gives them access to other styles of life and modes of social relationships (Bernstein, 2003c, p. 37).

Bernstein is arguing that schools have the power to produce, recontextualise, and reproduce knowledge and as a consequence, this contributes to shaping students' identities and the way in which the individual relates to their family, their community, and the wider society.

Bernstein (2003c) defines educational knowledge as three message codes or principles that shape: (i) curriculum, what counts as valid knowledge; (ii) pedagogy, what counts as valid transmission of knowledge; and (iii) evaluation, what counts as a valid realisation of this knowledge taught. The underlying structure of curriculum, pedagogy and evaluation in the education of Muslim students in the New Zealand schools is captured through the application of Bernstein's (2003c) concepts of 'classification and framing.' The concept of classification provides a means to consider the variations in the "strength of the boundary between educational knowledge and everyday community knowledge of [the] teacher and [what is] taught" (Bernstein, 2003c, p. 89). Bernstein's concept of framing refers to the sequence, pace, and acquisition of knowledge, and relates to who controls that pedagogic process in the classroom (Moore, 2013). The "classification and framing values of the school's organisation, pedagogic practice, and [internal and] external relations" can be classified by applying Bernstein's (2003d) formula (pp. 103-104):

$$\frac{O}{\pm Cie Fie}$$

The 'O' in the formula represents a school's orientation to meaning, which is described in the next section in relation to Bernstein's (2003a) 'elaborated and restricted' codes. The 'C' refers to the principle of classification, and the plus and minus denote the strength of 'i' the internal and 'e' the external factors determining the boundary insulation between "categories and contexts: e.g. *between* educational knowledge and everyday knowledge and the home, community, and school or 'the world of work'" (Moore, 2013, p. 129). The 'F' refers to the principle of framing, and the minus next to the 'F' denotes the strength of 'i' the internal and 'e' the external factors influencing "the sequencing and pacing of the acquisition of knowledge and who controls that process" (Moore, 2013, p. 129). For example, $\pm Fie$ could represent "how far modes of communication from external sources might be incorporated into school discourse and degrees of control over the discourse within a subject" (Moore, 2013, p. 129).

The line — indicates that meanings are embedded in power and control principles. The modality of the code is given by the values of classification and framing. The values of classification and framing can vary independently of each other. Any one set of values for classification and framing constitutes the modality of the code (Bernstein, 2003d, p. 104).

For example, Ablah, a Muslim teacher shared her pedagogic approach to educational knowledge that reflected a weak ‘classificatory and framing’ -CieFie context that enabled students to explore knowledge that was ‘orientated’ or determined to be ‘restricted’ knowledge.

I allow students to have much choice over the topics they choose to study. Sometimes they choose very controversial topics and texts that I cannot teach in class, but they examine them on their own. [For] example... Cults, Sex-slavery in 3rd world nations, race politics in New Zealand. ...education goes beyond school (Ablah, 2018).

The restrictions on Ablah’s school curriculum represented the strong classification boundaries and framing controls +CieFie set by the Muslim school and its Muslim community.

By using Bernstein’s (2003d) theory of ‘classification’ and framing’ I am able to analyse the values of school structures and pedagogic practice, students access to ‘elaborated and restricted’ knowledge (detailed in the next section), and the internal and external relations that influences Muslim students’ education in New Zealand.

It then becomes possible in one framework to derive a typology of educational codes, to show the inter-relationships between organisational and knowledge properties, to move from macro-to micro-levels of analysis, to relate the patterns internal to educational institutions to the external social antecedents of such patterns, and to consider questions of maintenance and change (Bernstein, 2003c, p. 112).

An investigation of the ‘educational knowledge codes’ theorised by Bernstein’s (2003a, 2003b, 2003c, 2003d) supports an understanding of how the education system and schools cater for Muslim students in New Zealand, by determining what knowledge the state system and schools’ value in the curriculum, and how that knowledge will be transmitted and evaluated.

4.1.3 INDIVIDUAL AND SOCIAL SYMBOLS

In this section, I examine Bernstein’s (2003a) theory of ‘elaborated code’ which refers to knowledge that is explicit enough so that it does not require the listener to read between the lines. Formal education settings provide the context for abstract knowledge to be elaborated and unpacked in order that learners develop an understanding of new concepts and knowledge. I also discuss Bernstein’s (2003a) theory of ‘restricted code’, referring to knowledge that is communicated in a way that requires some form of group membership to understand the content and language used, such as the “symbolically condensed meanings” of specific cultures, of religions, or of aspects of secular society (Bernstein, 2003a). I use Bernstein’s codes, also known as principles, to determine “what is made available for learning, the conditions of

learning and the subsequent constraints” of students’ learning (Bernstein, 2003a, p.62). This will help me to identify and explain in what way curriculum and pedagogy reinforce socially accepted knowledge and enable or do not enable students to reconstruct meaning from new knowledge. Bernstein (2003a) argues that ‘elaborated and restricted’ codes emerge from social contexts and that the different codes elicit, generalise, and provide for cumulative learning in different ways. His concepts of ‘elaborated and restricted’ codes can be defined on both a linguistic level and a psychological level (Bernstein, 2003a).

Bernstein’s (2003a) ‘elaborated’ codes originate “in a form of social relationships which increases the tension on the individual” to select from universalistic meanings (p. 59). The elaborated “code becomes a vehicle for individual responses” to create new meaning or ‘individuated’ “symbols” (Bernstein, 2003a, p. 59). Elaborated codes can be described as “pedagogic devices (see Section 4.1.4) that systematically expand meanings that are symbolically condensed within restricted codes”, whereas ‘restricted’ codes orient and sensitise the users to particularistic and symbolically condensed meanings (Moore, 2013, p. 71). Bernstein’s (2003a) psychological definition of ‘elaborated and restricted codes’ can be distinguished by:

...the extent to which each facilitates (elaborated code) or inhibits (restricted code) the orientation to symbolise intent in a verbally explicit form. Behaviour processed by these codes will, it is suggested, develop different modes of self-regulation and so different forms of orientation. The codes themselves are functions of a particular form of social relationship or...qualities of social structure (pp. 58-59).

Bernstein (2003a) “pure form of a restricted code would be where the lexicon and hence the organising structure, irrespective of its degree of complexity, are wholly predictable”, similar to the “ritualistic modes of communication - relationships regulated by protocol, and religious services” (p. 59) found in the practice of Islam. I draw on Bernstein’s (2003a) codes to evaluate the extent to which the curriculum and pedagogy facilitate or constrain Muslim students’ access to academic conceptual knowledge in New Zealand’s public schools. For example, Ablah’s pedagogic approach mentioned in the previous section, shows how she overcame the restrictions of the Muslim curriculum, and the classification and framing values of the school by expecting that her students explore and create individual meaning of new academic and conceptual knowledge at home. Ablah’s approach to teaching enabled her to provide Muslim students with a curriculum that extends beyond the reconstruction or reinforcement of the social symbols of the school’s curriculum and the Muslim community.

4.1.4 KNOWLEDGE DIFFERENTIATION

Bernstein's (2003d) theory of the 'differentiation of knowledge', which is influenced by Durkheim's (1995) concept of the 'sacred and the profane' is applied to the data to determine the source of a tension Muslim students experience in education in New Zealand. Bernstein (2003d) applies Durkheim's (1995) concept of the 'sacred and the profane' to develop the concept of knowledge differentiation, stating that "In all societies there are at least two basic classes of knowledge, the esoteric and the mundane; knowledge of the other and the otherness of knowledge" (p. 181). These two classes of knowledge or cosmological 'thought worlds' as Bernstein (2003d) refers to them, have their own principles and structures and are constituted in the social world. For example, the two students who interviewed together talked about the tension they experienced regarding a conflict between what they considered is important knowledge to access in the curriculum and what their families and the school consider is appropriate and valued in their education:

...with sexuality, not only just sexuality, anything on the subject of things taboo... There should be like, somewhere where the kids can talk about it [Ilham interjects] "Yeah, I agree" [Asmara continues] Because when they get married, sometimes parents don't tell about these things. Sometimes it goes to extremism where parents don't tell you things that you need to know. They're [parents] like oh no, that's yuck – we [parents] don't want to tell our kids these things because it's like extra [taboo] (Asmara, 2018).

Bernstein (2003d) considered that these different classes of knowledge could be further understood by examining the structure of pedagogic discourse and the pedagogic identities influencing their education.

4.1.5 PEDAGOGIC CHARACTERISTICS

In order to analyse teachers' pedagogical style and educational views that directly influences the education and development of their students, I applied Bernstein's (2000) concepts of 'decentered, retrospective, therapeutic and prospective pedagogic identities' to their responses. I specifically included interview questions that required teachers to reflect on their pedagogical style and educational views drawing on these pedagogical concepts of Bernstein's (2000) in Figure 9. During the interview process, teachers were introduced to these concepts and the related meaning attached to each pedagogic identity. This was the first time each of the participants had come across these particular pedagogical concepts. As a consequence, I initially simplified the concepts shown in Figure 9.

Rich discussion took place where clarification of these concepts was needed. Teachers interview responses also helped me to identify characteristics synonymous with the different pedagogic identities. All of the

FIGURE 9. BERNSTEIN'S PEDAGOGIC IDENTITIES		EDUCATION ORIENTED FOCUS		
IDENTITY	DESCRIPTOR	PAST	PRESENT	FUTURE
RETROSPECTIVE	Conservative, shaped by national, religious, or cultural narratives	✓		
DECENTRED	Focused on local issues, cultural and community values, boundaries are permeable		✓	
THERAPEUTIC	More emotionally engaged, boundaries are permeable		✓	
PROSPECTIVE	Enthusiastically engages with contemporary change.			✓

participants' professional identity and pedagogic practices represented a mix of Bernstein's (2000) pedagogic identities. I have also matched teachers' responses to the polar relations of Friedman's (1992) 'modern identity space', discussed in Part III, to deepen my analysis of teachers' pedagogic identities.

My study sought to identify what constitutes the pedagogic device, who determines it, what principles of recontextualisation are at play, and what constitutes the weaknesses and strengths of boundary insulation of the pedagogic device in the education of Muslim students in New Zealand. The overall analysis of the differentiation of knowledge, pedagogic discourse, the pedagogic device, a possible symbolic ruler of consciousness, and educational knowledge codes highlighted how teachers, schools, and the education system respond to a group that has fundamentally different values and practices from those recognised in New Zealand's public education system.

PART II. FREEDOM TO DETERMINE LIFE CHOICES

4.2.1 INTERSUBJECTIVITY AND MORALITY

Habermas' (1984, 1987, 1989, 1990, 1994, 2001, 2003, 2006, 2008, 2010) theories provide a framework to explore the relationship between communication, morality, socialisation, and education. This section discusses my use of these theories of Habermas' in relation to autonomy, agency, identity, authenticity, and the self that are also regarded as fundamentally intersubjective phenomena. This links to Habermas' (1984, 1987, 1989, 1990, 1996) 'moral theory', also known as 'discourse ethics', which presupposes an individual's moral domain is distinct from other areas of practical reason, and is a form of meta-ethical

cognitivism (propositions of truth) rather than moral scepticism (which infers all moral claims are false) (Rehg, 2011). I have analysed participant's responses relating to moral and ethical values from the premise that their responses represent a proposed truth and a level of intersubjectivity.

Habermas' theorisation of intersubjectivity is the central component to understanding the philosophy of consciousness and "the guiding assumption that there is something located in the individual - motivation, reflection, desires, conscience, subjective experience...that is prior to and ultimately independent of the social world it affects" (Anderson, 2011, p.93). This "subject-object dichotomy" is the internal and external source or "first-person" perspective and an outside world of affects, including other subjects that we can study from the third-person perspective of the outside observer" (Anderson, 2011, p. 93). In other words, the world consists of objects or entities that are theorised and understood by the subject, being the individual first-person perspective, but also partly to be found in the society the individual is immersed in and exposed to as a third-person perspective. All students interviewed shared various degrees of awareness of the intersubjective nature of their own moral and ethical values being influenced and/or determined by their families' religious and cultural beliefs, and their social and educational experiences.

By applying Habermas' (1984, 1987, 1989, 1990, 1996) 'moral theory' I have been able to gain an understanding of what Muslim students consider is, or is not acceptable to them in the New Zealand education system. This line of investigation helped me to understand ethical values judgements about what is considered the 'good life' or the 'good society', and at the personal level, the existentialist response to 'who I am' and 'who I want to be' (Rehg, 2011). A meta-ethical cognitivist analysis of participants' moral claims, positions their ethical statements as propositions of truth, based on participants' objective moral reality and the justifications they provide. This line of inquiry is important, as who individuals decide they are, or want to be, or what their moral reality is, affects the level of autonomy (detailed below) that they experience in life.

4.2.2 AUTONOMY

A focus on autonomy has enabled me to analyse the way in which individuals negotiate life in an increasingly complex world that requires a greater level of decision-making and reflection the more complex the society becomes. Figure 10, unpacks Habermas' (1984, 1987, 1989, 1990) terminology 'personal, private, critical, and public autonomy'. Identifying what personal, private, critical, and public autonomous relationships look like in the minds of Muslim students educated in New Zealand was difficult for some of my participants to articulate. As a result, there was a need to explain the different levels of

autonomy to some participants to help them respond to specific questions relating to autonomy. I then applied these definitions of autonomy to participants' responses to analyse the different degrees of autonomy Muslim students' experience in relation to their education, their home life, and in wider society in New Zealand.

<i>Figure 10. Autonomy</i>	Descriptor
Personal Autonomy	Individual autonomy Freely determines individual identity and personal life choices Emerges together with cultural, religious, social and political institutional practices Legitimised by national and international policies and individuals' rights
Private Autonomy	Personal autonomous disposition in the individual's private life Freely determines personal autonomy within the private domain Emerges together with cultural, religious, social and political institutional practices Legitimised by national and international policies and individuals' rights in private life
Critical Autonomy	Individual disposition that enables moral and existential self-reflection of the individual's autonomy Emerges together with cultural, religious, social and political institutional practices Legitimised by national and international policies and individuals' rights
Public Autonomy	Muslim community autonomy, New Zealand society autonomy Emerges together with cultural, religious, social and political institutional practices Legitimised by national and international policies and democratic rights of individuals and groups in public life

4.2.3 A DETRASCENDENTALISED LENS AND CRITICAL AUTONOMY

I have also investigated Muslim student autonomy through Habermas' (2008) 'detranscendentalised lens'. This concept proposes that reality consists of the mental representations and the historical experiences of the individual, a perspective that allows me to regard participant reasoning and "morality of the mind, as real-world phenomena that emerges in particular social and historical context" (Anderson, 2011, p 95). This approach involves the consideration of historicity, where the phenomena of intersubjective autonomous subjects are influenced by philosophical shifts in their own thinking, resulting from changes in their interpersonal relations and experiences (Habermas, 1987). For example, one Muslim student who was educated at a state-integrated Muslim school in Auckland, shared that:

My values have always been shaped by my religious beliefs and my future is the mix of what my identity as a young, working citizen in New Zealand is and what my values are as a Muslim married woman (Menaal, 2019).

I have taken this further and investigated whether or not Muslim students have developed sufficient autonomous dispositions to critically rationalise their own decision-making processes and personal autonomy. By analysing the participants' responses, I was able to identify where the degree of autonomy revealed by the participants' links to influences from their education, upbringing, or personal experiences. For example, Menaal rationalised that her personal and private autonomy were linked to her own historical experiences:

I choose to ask my husband or tell him where I want to go...this choice may be a result of my religious beliefs and upbringing. It is also important to understand that I do also have choice not to tell and ask anyone but I want to ask/tell...as a citizen of New Zealand, it is my right to tell or ask anyone anything (Menaal, 2019).

In rationalising her own personal and private autonomy, Menaal has also highlighted her awareness of her individual rights as a New Zealand citizen and her rights to public autonomy. I have also sought to identify if there is a merging of personal and private autonomy with public autonomy in any way. This is particularly important, as the question of whether a symbiotic relationship exists between these dispositions is central to this research. It addresses the sociological issue of the alignment between individual rights and collective group expectations in a modern pluralistic society that is secular and liberal in nature. I wanted to explore the tension in this individual-collective relationship, where individuals must negotiate their Muslim group identity alongside the individualising processes of a liberal democratic education system and society. A discussion of the tension that exists for Muslims when a symbiotic relationship does not exist between personal and public autonomy is presented in the final chapter.

In brief, Habermas' (2008) interpretation of intersubjectivity and theories of the 'detranscendentalised lens', 'moral theory', and autonomy contributes to an understanding of the processes operating in the development of individual Muslim autonomy, agency, and identity in New Zealand society. It also enabled me to recognise and theorise any tension students may experience in their personal, private and public life based on their own existential representation of themselves, their experiences, and the influences of their families, their Muslim and local communities, their education in New Zealand, and national and international policies.

PART III. A CROSSROAD OF EMERGING IDENTITIES

4.3.1 A 'MODERN IDENTITY SPACE'

In this section I discuss the use of Jonathan Friedman's (1994) theories to capture how a liberal society and teachers' responses to education impacts Muslims' developing identity. I also apply Friedman's (1994) definition of modernity as an emerging identity space, and as the interface between global processes, cultural production, and identity formation to deepen the theoretical discussion as a sociological inquiry.

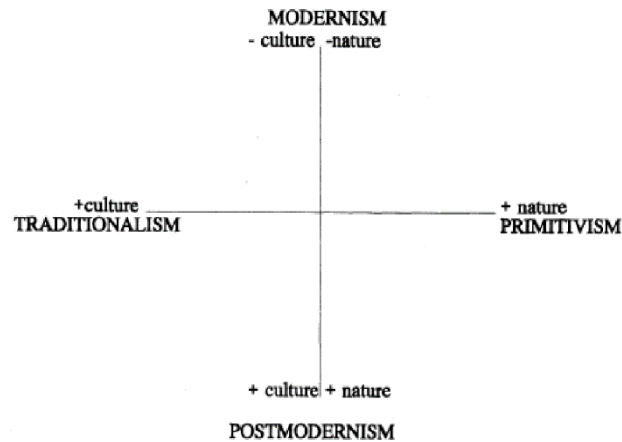


FIGURE 11: POLARITIES OF MODERN IDENTITY SPACE

Like Friedman (1994), I argue that modernity is the site of personal existence and the product of local and global systemic change. I also see sense in Friedman's argument, which considers that modernity emerges at the same time and place as its culture is produced and individual autonomy emerges (Friedman, 1994). In other words, he proposes a crossroad of change, where the individual becomes aware of their autonomy and the opportunity to develop new cultural perspectives, and at that point of intersection there is an inadvertent break down of previous hierarchical and holistic structures which had defined the individual (Friedman, 1994). In essence, he considers individualising as a defining feature of modernity. In a similar vein to Friedman, I am linking modernity to the process of subjects individualising and forming new identities in a modern society.

4.3.2 RESPONSES TO EDUCATION

Friedman's (1992, 1994) key concept of the polarities of the 'modern identity space' (see Figure 9) identifies determinant temporal-historical relations between poles that are dependent upon socio-economic factors. I use this concept to unpack student and teacher identities. I apply his theory that neo-

traditional, religious, ethnic, and other forms of cultural identity can be represented as constituent poles of an ‘identity space of modernity’ (Friedman, 1992, 1994). Moreover, the polar relations he refers to of modernism/postmodernism and traditionalism/primitivism represents a picture of responses to modernity (Friedman, 1992, 1994). I have used these polar relationship types to differentiate responses to New Zealand’s contemporary education system. By identifying and analysing these relationship types using Friedman’s ‘modern identity spaces’, I am able to offer insight into the effect teachers’ characteristics and values may have had on the development of a personal identity and a citizenship identity in New Zealand. I examine this more fully in Chapters 8 to 10.

When analysing the data, I consider a traditionalist response to education in the pedagogical context as operating in opposition to modernity’s ongoing emphasis on access to academic conceptual knowledge and rationalised thought. A teacher or an education system that operates from a traditionalist premise promotes the reinstatement of traditional values and cultural norms (Friedman, 1992) in curricula and pedagogy. A fundamentalist approach to Islam in education would be a representation of a traditionalist pedagogic space if they also oppose any modern approaches to education.

Friedman’s (1992) primitivist identity space opposes modernity’s social control over creative freedom and the expression of individuals’ potential. An example of a primitivist response to education is the North American Indian use of super-natural masks for disciplining students, and training students to become shamans (spiritual healers) (Pettitt, 1946). Interestingly, education in shamanic culture and healing is also available in New Zealand (Sanson, 2012), supporting Friedman’s (1992, 1994) claim that these polarised identity spaces are the processes of global modernity. New Zealand’s Deep Green Bush-School, established in 2017, is another example of a primitivist pedagogic context. This private school provides an education based on play and exploration in New Zealand’s native bush. Students learn at Deep Green Bush-School without classrooms, tests or homework. The school is promoted as an educational alternative “based on neuroscience, evolution, anthropology, and thousands of years of sustainable indigenous education” (Radio New Zealand, 2019b, para. 2).

The DGBS [Deep Green Bush-School] is a participatory, technology-free, evolutionary and revolutionary school for ages 5-18 designed to raise intelligent, healthy, mature, responsible young adults who can think for themselves, meet their needs, live a meaningful life and challenge the current system in order to bring about a healthy world. We are raising the dreamers, healers, rebels and the revolutionaries this world needs (para.1).

None of the students or teachers interviewed attended or taught at this particular school, which is the only one of its kind in New Zealand. Despite this, I included a description of this specific school to denote the diverse pedagogical contexts available to students in New Zealand. It is also representative of a liberal national identity accepting and tolerant of education beyond a conventional mainstream approach.

Friedman's (1992, 1994) post-modernist pedagogical contexts would be present in the empirical data if folk wisdom, creativity, and 'lost' values or heritage approaches in the education system were promoted. To a certain extent, the Ministry of Education currently promotes this post-modernist response to education through their commitment to a localised curriculum approach, and the commitment to the Treaty of Waitangi (discussed in Chapter 2) in the national curriculum and pedagogical practices that are expected of teachers in state and integrated schools. In effect, this is an educational policy approach to express a national bicultural identity promoting views of an essentialised traditional cultural revivalism. New Zealand teachers are also appraised against a set of professional standards, one of which requires them to demonstrate a commitment to the Treaty of Waitangi in the curriculum and pedagogy (Teaching Council New Zealand, 2019). This is discussed in later chapters, from the problematic described by teachers at integrated Muslim schools, where some aspects of Māori culture were considered 'haram' (taboo), such as a 'hongi' (pressing of noses when first formally meeting someone) or the exposure of arms and legs during a 'kapahaka' (a traditional Māori dance), both of which are an avenue for Māori to express their heritage and culture.

PART IV. THE 'SACRED AND THE PROFANE'

4.4.1 HERMENEUTICALLY SUSPICIOUS SENSE OF MORALITY

Finally, Émile Durkheim's (1995) interpretation of 'hermeneutics of suspicion' strengthens my analysis of a tension in the respondents' reasoning between individualised rationality on the one hand and a commitment to the collective discourse on the other hand. This concept acknowledges, "people cannot adequately account for their beliefs and actions because most people, most of the time are unaware of the nature of the social webs that surround them" (Durkheim, 1995, p. xv). Accordingly, I have investigated what Muslim students consider is acceptable knowledge, behaviour, and practice in their education in New Zealand, and their reasoning underlying those beliefs. Moreover, I have linked Habermas' 'moral theory' to Durkheim's concept of the 'sacred and the profane' to help gain an understanding of the moral and ethical values of the individual Muslim student and the "collective practices of the moral community" (Durkheim, 1995, p. xxii). Durkheim (1995, 2001) intended the concept to refer to the 'sacred'

representations of the interests of groups, which includes both religious and secular groups, and the ‘profane’ in relation to the more mundane individual concerns in life. This line of inquiry helped to identify and explain the tension students experienced at varying degrees as a result of their individual moral and ethical values, which they described as conflicting at times with that of the collective representations of the Muslim community, in their education, and/or life in secular society. For example, I apply Durkheim’s concept of the ‘sacred and the profane’ and Habermas’ ‘moral theory’ to explain the tension students experienced wrestling with what constitutes moral behaviour to be a good Muslim in a society that views morality more liberally than in traditional Islam. For example, Iham describes:

...[I] felt down. Mainly because you were told you are not good enough [at the Muslim School]. Not directly but indirectly... I was only 16. I was still trying to be a teenager and live, but the amount of pressure that I was put under indirectly (2018).

This reflective response to being a ‘good Muslim’ perpetuates an:

ethical-existential discourse (as he [Habermas] calls it) one [that] engages in an open-minded give-and-take about what one really cares about and finds important and tries to make sense of one’s personal commitments and values by fitting them into a larger sense of broader values, personal relationships, [and] life history (Anderson, 2011).

The use of Durkheim’s (1995, 2001) theories helped to identify that Muslim students’ responses reflected religious convictions that also accepted that human thought is “never fixed in a definite form. They [thoughts] are made, unmade, and remade incessantly; they vary according to time and place” (Durkheim, 2001, p. xxiv). This is evident in one of the participants’ responses during an interview in 2018, Ilham considered that by “*putting my religion aside for one second...if I was the principal now, I would let the students participate in those [music] classes*”, further suggesting that the school could integrate religious studies in the music curriculum.

All but one student interviewed had experienced tension at varying degrees as a result of the individuals’ moral and ethical values conflicting at times with that of the collective representations of the Muslim community and of New Zealand’s democratic liberal society. This tension described by students requires ongoing negotiation between the ‘sacred and the profane’, the individual and collective representations of meaning, and the influence this has on their access to knowledge and their pedagogical experiences. The application of Durkheim’s (1995) ‘hermeneutics of suspicion’ and the ‘sacred and the profane’, linked to Habermas’ (1984, 1987, 1989, 1990, 1996) ‘moral theory’ has enabled me to capture both the underlying rationale for students’ beliefs and behaviours, and the tension they experience when their attitudes and

opinions conflict with their families' and Muslim communities' attitude towards education and life in a liberal society.

4.5. SUMMARY

Bernstein, Habermas, Friedman, and Durkheim's concepts provide the methodological tools to critically analyse curriculum knowledge, pedagogy and evaluative processes in the design and delivery of education for Muslim students in New Zealand. These sociologists' theories support the development of an understanding of the internal and external factors and interrelationships affecting Muslim students' education and lives in New Zealand. The use of these concepts adds meaning to the analysis of how the New Zealand education system currently deals with a group of students who are different in significant ways from those already socialised in a liberal-democratic society. These theoretical concepts have helped to add depth to my examination of the individualising and socialising processes of New Zealand's modern pluralistic nation, which influences the development of a Muslim students' personal identity and a citizenship identity.

5.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides a biographical summary of the students' personal backgrounds, and a glimpse (not an analysis) of their educational experiences and life in a liberal democratic society. A detailed investigation of respondents' encounters in the education system, their developing identity, and their engagement in society is captured in Chapters 7 to 10. As discussed in earlier chapters, only Muslim tertiary students who were educated in New Zealand primary and/or secondary state or state-integrated schools in New Zealand were interviewed. The decision to interview only Muslim tertiary students provided an opportunity for participants to reflect on their primary and secondary education, and to make comparisons to their tertiary education in New Zealand. As discussed in Chapter 3, measures have been taken to protect participant anonymity by using pseudonyms and by making changes to identifiers where possible. Identifiers relating to country of origin have been changed to a country that has a similar political justice system and Muslim population in order to signal participants' place of origin being a minority or majority Muslim population. To strengthen the integrity of the research focus of identity, identifiers such as gender, Muslim or non-Muslim, and immigrant or non-immigrant have been retained.

This chapter is organised into two parts, focusing on female students in Part I, and the one male student in Part II, with a brief chapter summary to conclude. The interview questions (refer to Appendix 3) required students to reflect on how their education has helped them to develop their own understanding of civil liberties, democracy, personal identity, citizenship identity, national identity, their values, and engagement in New Zealand society. Some students provided additional responses to specific questions (see Appendix 4) following the March, 2019 attack on the Muslim Community in Christchurch, New Zealand, where “91 Muslims were shot, killing 51 and wounding 40” (Ministry of Health, 2019, p. 1). A live-streamed manifesto, outlining the Australian attacker's hatred towards the Muslim community added to the fear some of the respondents were experiencing. Three students responded to: i) changes in the way some non-Muslims in New Zealand society are now interacting with them. They also offered their perspectives on: ii) what is needed in New Zealand's education system to promote positive relationships in society, iii) what is needed in New Zealand's education system to strengthen individual Muslim student identity, and iv) to enable them to confidently participate fully in New Zealand society following such a tragedy.

The contribution of the following students' narratives to the study cannot be stressed enough considering that "education is a central institution for the production of identity" and in shaping patterns, control, and legitimation of socialisation and cultural reproduction (Lewis, 2004, pp. 151-2). It is respondents' narratives and their perspectives that makes visible a 'liberal paradox' that is a source of tension for them in education, in their homes, and in New Zealand society more generally. It is this tension that is the 'liberal paradox', a condition that on the one hand empowers Muslim communities to exercise their civil liberties, and on the other hand constrains them in New Zealand's education system.

PART I FEMALE STUDENTS

5.1.1 ILHAM

Ilham is an immigrant from Trinidad who grew up in New Zealand with parents who considered "*that New Zealand society...[would] not be welcoming to us Muslims*" (2018³). It is for this reason Ilham believes she had to attend only integrated Muslim schools in New Zealand. She expressed gratitude and sadness for the years she attended Muslim schools, as she was:

...able to keep my religion within me at university...[but] there were a lot of times when you felt down [at the Muslim schools⁴]. Mainly because you were told you're not good enough. Not directly but indirectly (2018).

This young Muslim woman is a high achieving academic, who articulated a pious commitment to reflect on life through the teachings of the Qur'an. She believes these personal attributes contributed to the high expectations the school placed on her to be a role model for other students, "*and if I made a mistake, I could not openly tell a teacher because I knew that I would be judged straightaway*" (2018). Ilham considered a more supportive approach from the Muslim schools towards students' behaviours would have served them better than the very reactive response the school took to student behaviour. She suggested the school should:

...help you to improve yourself.... Those struggles and those hardships... really developed our self-identity...[but] I really wanted to find out how I could be a better person, and how I could overcome these hurdles (2018).

Ilham pointed out that her experiences at the Muslim schools required that she step beyond her naturally shy personality and develop her self-confidence to speak up for her rights, "*like when you get into trouble,*

³ Participant names have been omitted at the end of quotes in the next two chapters, when the section is focused on that specific participant. Only the year is included to represent when an interview, phone, or email responses took place.

⁴The name of integrated Muslim schools is withheld throughout the thesis to maintain participant and schools' anonymity.

[and] you have to learn how to stand up for yourself” (2018). In her contemplative manner, Ilham recognises teachers are:

... not perfect. Perhaps she [the teacher] ...didn't think it through. She didn't think it would affect you this much. That's why they [teachers and leaders of schools] need to know that. Like this is the whole purpose (2018).

She clarified ‘teachers thinking it through’ related to some teachers’ very quick reactionary response to students’ behaviour, and in some cases what she considered an unprofessional approach in their teaching role (discussed below). She also clarified that ‘the whole ‘process’ related to her understanding of the purpose of this research, which she considered was to share students’ experiences in the hope of positive change for Muslim students in education and in their lives in New Zealand society. Ilham (2018) reflects on the quality of the teachers, referring to some who “*taught really well*”, others who had students “*watch movies the whole time*” reading sub-titles as a way to improve their English, to others who blurred the lines between professionalism and friendship making it difficult to “*do as well in that class*”. By ‘doing well in class’ Ilham clarifies that when teachers’ tried to be friends rather than professionals it created an uncomfortable situation for some students and made it difficult for them to focus effectively on their learning. Ilham portrays a secondary school environment with limited teacher expertise in some of the core academic subjects. This was “*a really big let-down because those [subjects] are really core things that you need to have if you want to go into [degree withheld]*” her choice of degree at university. Although she was considered one of the top academics at the Muslim school, she explains:

...if I had the chance to do it all over again, I wouldn't go to that school because I feel like I didn't get sufficient education to the level that other students at university have right now, and at university I'm an average student. I'm not above average (2018).

Ilham’s comments above reveal that her belief is that “*...at the end of the day, school is for education...the school shouldn't be held accountable for your religion, these things should be learned at home*” (Ilham, 2018). In essence, she believes that school is about access to academic knowledge not socio-cultural knowledge. Ilham expressed concerns with Muslim schools’ management and their board of trustees employing family members as teachers, in management, and in board of trustee positions, considering the practice caused:

...conflict between student and teacher, student and principal...like, the teachers they know that the student is family, and if [the teacher] invests more time with this student...the principal will acknowledge me [and the teacher] more (2018).

She elaborated on these concerns by describing scenarios where a teacher may feel pressured to give additional support, or higher grades to students who were related to management or board of trustee members. Or the teacher may be promoted or appointed based on family ties rather than merit. Moreover, these conflicts of interest were more visible in the small close-knit Muslim community Ilham described. Discussions regarding the Muslim school curriculum highlighted some of Ilham's frustrations at school. She recognised that defining a religiously appropriate curriculum to satisfy all members of the Muslim community is problematic. Nevertheless, she remained concerned that some subjects were excluded from the Muslim school curriculum, in particular she would have liked access to music and dance at the Muslim school she attended.

[I] love to dance and listen to music, but my religion says no, try to avoid it. So, that's why for me it was fine. But I know there were a lot of students [at the Muslim school] who for them, it really helps their growth... like music and health, it really boosts their confidence. I'm really conflicted Music helped me find myself... Happiness is not music, but music is part of growth. I believe putting my religion aside for one second...if I was the principal now, I would let the students participate in those classes [music], even at the [Muslim] school. (2018)

Ilham spoke passionately about the need for Muslim educational environments to include confidential spaces to discuss subjects considered haram (taboo), such as marriage and sexuality. She recognised while she has an open and honest relationship with her parents, that other Muslims do not. In her opinion, for this reason alone, confidential counselling, and safe spaces are needed at Muslim schools to enable students to have honest dialogue about personal matters of this nature.

In relation to marriage, Ilham takes a pragmatic stance, explaining that her:

...religion does say to marry early, but that is only to save yourself from sin... However, our religion also says to gain knowledge as much as you can, and if you believe you can gain knowledge and you're not going to commit sin, then go for it. If you can't control yourself, get married and you can still study (2018).

She is not afraid of marriage, explaining it is not something that can be forced upon you, *"it's actually against the religion to do that"* (2018). Having said that, she does believe that Muslim schools need to *"be a little more understanding and open-minded about the fact that people do need to know these things"* (2018).

It was not until she arrived at university that she began questioning her identity, as she considers below:

So, I've never really encountered what it feels like to stand out until I came to University and then I realised [pause] oh, I am a bit different. Perhaps it's because of my hijab? So, I feel since our parents come with that mindset and since it's so much in the media, that just correlates with [Asmara's]

story, she was wearing a hijab [and she was bullied]. We're kind of accustomed to isolating ourselves with other Muslims. So, we don't feel at the time that we are isolated until the time we come out...so until I came out from [the Muslim school], then I realised, I am different (2018).

While Ilham recognised that differences exist between herself and non-Muslims at university, she also recognised students shared academic aspirational commonalities. For example, the competitive nature of the degree she is undertaking appears to be more important amongst her subject peers than gender, culture, or religious convictions, as she described below.

[People] are judged by what degree you're taking... even though I'm like one of the 10 hijabies [Muslim women wearing a hijab] in that room they won't be racist towards me... because I'm on the same level of education as them (2018).

This young Muslim woman chose not to join the University Muslim Student Association “because of the fear of [religious] politics and possible dramas” which she experienced at the Muslim secondary school she attended (2018). She will, however, happily share her views of Islam with family friends, regarding it as “an opportunity for [self] improvement” (2018). Tertiary life has opened new doors for Ilham, as she now socialises with non-Muslim women, who accept her wearing “tights...a long top and a hijab” (2018) as a member of one of the university sports teams.

5.1.2 ASMARA

Asmara described herself as an impulsive Muslim immigrant from Saudi Arabia, who spent her primary school years in New Zealand state education being bullied for looking different, bullying that intensified once she started wearing the hijab at the age of 10. She spent many years trying to understand why her friends distanced themselves from her once she started wearing the hijab, and tried to:

...explain to them that this is my religion and they were laughing at me. I didn't get it... I was just really confused... It was like, this is normal for me, because I was going to the mosque every Saturday, and going to Arabic classes.... [I concluded] kids are ignorant...and people aren't willing to educate them. They don't really care. Even some teachers were playing into it [making her feel uncomfortable for her differences] (2018)

Her parents enrolled her at a Muslim school as a teenager, an experience she described as difficult on many levels. From the very first day, the Muslim school expected her to know her religion, while at the same time her parents expected the school to teach Asmara all aspects of Islam. The young Muslim woman spoke of how all aspects of Islam were taught in schools in the Muslim country her family emigrated from, hence her parent's expectation that all religious education is the responsibility of the school. On the flipside, this created significant tension for Asmara, as she shares below:

I don't have a lot of knowledge about haya [modesty]. To be fair, like I always do a lot of wrong things, and they [the Muslim school] are like, you have no haya. I don't get it sometimes...The religion is so broad. It's difficult to learn about everything, especially in a small school (2018).

Similarly, to Ilham, Asmara experienced feeling as though she was “not a good Muslim” (2018). She describes an extra conservative school environment that brought her “*spirituality down... They were being 'extra' about everything, like “you don't wear the hijab right”. But at least you're wearing the hijab*” (2018). By year 10, at the age of 15, Asmara had developed depression. She described herself as someone who gets “*angry quickly*”, seeing the negatives in what people say and responding negatively (2018). This brought her in conflict with her teachers and leadership at the Muslim school. In some cases, she still feels the wounds of those experiences, as she described crying regrettably and apologising to a teacher who asked her “*Are you this regretful when you go to pray, or when you forget to pray?*” Asmara recalls this teacher's comments and the guilt she still feels “*every time she forgets to pray*” (2018).

During her senior years, Asmara took on many leadership roles, including advocating for students by meeting with school management to address students' concerns. She understood the curricular limitations the school had in not being able to offer a wide variety of subjects, was the result of the school's small student numbers, which generated less public funding to pay for expert subject teachers to teach in all curriculum subjects. To clarify this point, all state-funded schools in New Zealand with low student numbers experience the same limitations in the scope of their curriculum due to the way in which all public schools are funded based on student numbers (discussed in detail in Chapter 10). She expressed concerns when the school chose not to use student-raised funds for the purpose intended, and felt frustrated for immigrant students who she considered were not provided with regular English as a Second Language classes. Her advocacy and support for others through the multiple leadership roles she took on, eventually affected her grades. She explains being made to feel bad about herself for taking on too many responsibilities as a senior at school, rather than gratitude and support. “*It was more, you're very stupid to have done this [take on too many leadership roles] in the first place*” (2018).

Asmara commented more than once that she was made to “*feel really dumb*” at school as some teachers and leaders at the Muslim school would discuss personal and confidential information about her private life with her friends, without her permission (2018). She expressed concerns that some staff often discussed private matters about other students and teachers' well-being with her and other students, including matters such as students or teacher's attendance at counselling or with specialists. Being a strong advocate for others' rights, she was concerned “*they [the Muslim school] have little or no care for privacy*”

making her feel unsafe to share with teachers, leaders or counsellors at the school (2018). This illustrates what Asmara considered to be systemic issues at the Muslim school.

Sexuality, Asmara asserts, was managed very poorly at the Muslim school, describing a scenario where two girls were stood down for possibly being homosexual. She expresses deep-felt concern for any school that does not “*realise that it’s legal to be [of] any sexual orientation*” in New Zealand (2018). Asmara ‘came out’ to her friends as a bisexual while at the Muslim school, which branded her as someone who will bring “*shame [on] the religion*” (2018). She shares her ongoing desperation and grief, dealing with her own sexual orientation, knowing that it is in conflict with the religious tenets of Islam. Asmara describes her:

...spirituality got crushed every time [sexuality was discussed at the Muslim school]. I was like dang; I’m going to go to hell. Every time. I’m going to kill myself. It’s better to kill myself right now than go to hell later on (2018).

Asmara voiced these same distressing sentiments many times during the interview. She repeated the need for a safe place for students to openly talk to somebody, express their feelings, to share their experiences, and perhaps even provide a religious response without being judged. Most of all, this is a young Muslim woman reiterating that she does not want to be made to feel like she is “*going to go to hell*” (2018).

Asmara’s home life and Muslim community have made it difficult for her to trust others to share her personal life story. A language barrier in the home creates additional tension as her parents have not attained English language fluency after 20 years in New Zealand. Likewise, Asmara does not have the fluency to speak in their native language. She explains that this lack of communication with her family has created a chasm in her life, where “*My parents barely know me. They know a fragment of me, which sucks to be honest*” (2018). She speaks of feeling awkward around ‘guys’, as her family discourages Asmara from speaking to males, stating “*My parents would probably have a fight with me if they saw me talking to a guy or having lunch with a guy*” (2018). She described her mother and her mother’s friends as people who openly shared each other’s private family affairs, which concerns Asmara, as she is well aware of the negative consequences she would experience if her bisexual identity was exposed in her Muslim community. Furthermore, Asmara speaks of the fragility of her family’s community, where “*there’s a lot of domestic violence...and they don’t realise it’s domestic violence until I get hurt badly or something really bad happens*” (2018).

Moreover, Asmara wished she had the opportunity to learn music and play her keyboard. She commented, “*I know one song... I play at home. My family don’t like it, but they think it’s better than drum and bass, and drugs and alcohol*” (2018). Her parents’ response to Asmara’s interest in music shows some

flexibility in relation to what is accepted in a New Zealand context. Nonetheless, Asmara is a woman experiencing serious inner conflict attempting to deal with her sexual identity, in a delicate position wrestling with her politically modern mindset, and her conservative family's approach to Islam. This Muslim woman concluded her initial interview (pre-the attacks on the Muslim community in Christchurch) by sharing, that:

...studying your religion, your culture, being involved in political talk, opening your mind, whether it's online, or you go in a group or whatever, it doesn't have to be about going to a school that drains you physically, mentally, emotionally and spiritually....I think that [Muslim] high school was a cage and university is like being freed. There is a lot to see, understand, to perceive. Being at University, I'm seeing things in Auckland that I'd never really been able to - because it's like, you're at home or at school, and at school you're just caged (2018).

Concerned for the well-being of Asmara, I was provoked ethically to recommend she seek professional help, and provided her with university counsellor contacts. Following a recent interview with Asmara, I also provided her with post-Christchurch trauma counsellor contacts.

ASMARA'S REFLECTIONS AFTER THE CHRISTCHURCH TRAGEDY

Asmara shared that she has experienced a positive shift in the way non-Muslims now interact with her in New Zealand society.

Jacinda's [Ardern, New Zealand Prime Minister] kindness and wholehearted love for us has been passed around the nation to us. There have been good responses, people asking if I'm okay, judging less. Talking to me more. I've been invited to more things. Generally being more involved (2019).

Genuine appreciation was expressed by Asmara for the outpouring of support by many New Zealanders towards the Muslim community. She believes that the way in which New Zealand responded to this tragedy is far better than any other country has responded to the concerns of Muslims. With that in mind, Asmara did express concern regarding what she perceives as the New Zealand Government's prioritisation of the Muslim community over the concerns of the "tangata whenua" (Māori, the indigenous people of New Zealand). She also believes this has created a negative backlash from some members of New Zealand society towards the Muslim community.

She considers the attack on the Muslim community a reminder that racism towards Muslims does exist in New Zealand. Asmara herself was bullied and verbally and physically attacked as an immigrant educated in a state primary school in New Zealand. She provided a reminder of her experiences to help people understand the need to remove racism from New Zealand schools, and teach students about the treasures found in diversity.

Generally, Muslims in New Zealand have it better off. Even as kids when we'd get beaten and our scarves ripped off, we had it better. New Zealand is like a large pot filled with all the worlds' spices. From salt to turmeric, to hot chilli (2019).

Her story is a reminder for educators and policy-makers that it is not acceptable in New Zealand for students to be beaten and have their clothes ripped off by their peers at school or in a society that promotes tolerance towards religious and cultural diversity. Moreover, no student should feel the need to downplay this level of trauma as Asmara has done, in her comments above.

Asmara provided many suggestions to improve New Zealand's education system in a way that she believes would develop positive relationships in society. She recommended greater access to workshops that unpack cultural and religious diversity, and course content and activities that teach children at the very least about each other's religious and cultural backgrounds. She finds it "ridiculous" that the history of the "people of Aotearoa [Māori word for New Zealand], specifically tangata whenua" has taken so long to be considered an important part of New Zealand's curriculum (2019). Asmara believes openly racist teachers should be removed from the profession to avoid passing on their racist views to students. She also believes teachers need to take students' own concerns about racism in school more seriously. In her opinion, the ideal classroom environment would allow children to be open-minded and critical thinkers. Asmara argued that while she did not believe religion should be a part of New Zealand's state education curriculum, "... courses and workshops [in various religions] should be available for kids to indulge in open minded [discussions with] one another [in all schools] (2019).

Despite her positive remarks more generally about New Zealand society's response to the Christchurch attacks, at a personal level, Asmara now lives in fear of being attacked in public.

I often have random flashes of being shot and gunned down. I don't speak about it much, because I wasn't even in the actual atrocity. I am now just reliving the video, reliving his [the accused shooter's] manifesto. When I read hate comments and go out, I feel like there's a barrel right to the back of my head. When I'm alone I walk fast, look over my shoulders every five minutes. I make sure not to be out late, and I avoid going to the mosque (2019).

Asmara says she is seriously concerned for her own safety when white supremacist conversations appear on the news and online platforms. Consequently, she has chosen to internalise her emotional response to the attack on the Muslim community:

I don't think I'll ever be okay, and that's not something I feel comfortable talking about because I've changed from high school. Now when I have problems, to avoid the drama and scenes I caused in high school, I keep it to myself. If it gets bad, I deal with it professionally (2019).

Her comments above are interesting, in that she has found a more effective way to manage the stress in her life, compared to the way she managed tension during her schooling. Nonetheless, the government's announcement that 'we are one' nation, referring to the Muslim community as united as one people as New Zealand citizens, did not ease Asmara's participation in wider New Zealand society.

I don't feel autonomy in public, but realistically I don't believe I ever did feel like that. I am a non-white woman and on top of that, I'm Muslim. The situation in Christchurch only furthered me from my public autonomy (2019).

While Asmara has a genuine fear of being targeted as a Muslim post-Christchurch, she does consider it is much easier to understand and relate to others in New Zealand. She recognises the Christchurch shooter's hatred for the Muslim community is not shared by the majority of New Zealanders and is "grateful to be accepted here into Aotearoa" (2019). She added, feeling additional gratitude towards an earlier Prime Minister, Helen Clark, for providing a seamless transition for her family as refugees, and New Zealand's current Prime Minister, Jacinda Ardern for making it easier for the Muslim community to face the tragic loss of so many Muslims on the 15 March 2019.

5.1.3 MENAAL

Menaal is a vibrant married Muslim woman from the French Republic island of Réunion, in the Indian Ocean, near Madagascar. Her family immigrated to New Zealand in the 1980s. She completed her tertiary studies several years ago and has taught at Muslim schools in New Zealand. Menaal provided fewer details of her primary and secondary school experiences than the other participants have shared. This is likely the result of her being more removed from her earlier school life than the other students that were interviewed. Her responses instead reflect more of her transition to university and the impact her integrated Muslim primary and secondary schooling had on her tertiary experiences and life in general.

Menaal believes her Muslim schooling and the Muslim community norms influenced her own philosophical perspective regarding normal behaviour in New Zealand society. It was not until she attended university that she realised many non-Muslims viewed her choice to wear a hijab (head scarf) or ask her parents for permission to attend social events as a form of oppression. She spoke of feeling:

...very overwhelmed by the multi-ethnic diversity at university [as the state-integrated Muslim school she attended] has segregation for boys and girls [between the ages of 11 and 18], including the male and female staff (2019).

Menaal describes an educational and social life devoid of any male contact other than her own family and relatives prior to attending university. This lack of interaction with the opposite sex led to her experiencing major shock in her first year at university. She describes internalising her identity as a Muslim and “*being invisible*” in her first year of tertiary studies (2019). This feeling may indicate a sense of being excluded or hoping not to be noticed in her first year at university. The following year, Menaal overcame her fears and began developing her self-confidence by volunteering to mentor first-year university students.

What the university has shown me is that despite my religious beliefs, I live in a multi-ethnic society and I will have to face them [different people] on a daily basis, hence going to university had provided me with four years of ‘training’ to communicate with other genders (2019).

Her co-educational tertiary life helped Menaal to recognise that she does not have to sacrifice the tenets, beliefs, and practices of her faith when communicating and interacting with the opposite sex.

Moreover, as a teacher, Menaal identifies the influences that different teacher perspectives have on students. She emphasised this by pointing out that a student could be negatively influenced by a non-Muslim response to a student choosing to leave school to become a housewife:

...maybe one teacher will look down upon that [choice] while the other sees that as a job and encourages the student to be an educated mum. It influences the student differently (2019).

This may have been what stimulated Menaal to become a teacher, as she considers that she is “*contributing and educating the future girls of our country while teaching them their religion at the same time*” (2019).

As a married New Zealand citizen, Menaal would like people to understand that:

...it is a choice to ask my husband or tell him where I want to go... I choose to do that, and this choice may be a result of my religious beliefs and upbringing. However, it is important to understand that I do also have a choice not to tell and ask anyone, but I want to ask and tell...as a citizen of New Zealand, it is my right (2019).

Menaal believes that her education in New Zealand has helped her to understand her own identity. She recognises that she belongs to many communities as a female, academic, worker, wife, immigrant, Muslim, and as a citizen of New Zealand. Her education, her experiences, and her sense of belonging in a number of different communities in New Zealand have helped shaped her values and religious convictions, as expressed below:

My values have always been shaped by my religious beliefs and my future is the mix of what my identity is as a young, working citizen in New Zealand and what my values are as a Muslim married woman (2019).

Success for Menaal is similar to the views of many non-Muslim individuals. For her, she has succeeded in life when she has completed her university studies, found meaningful employment, purchased a vehicle and a home, and found a life partner to marry. A successful life to Menaal is also recognising “*when you are satisfied with what you have*” (2019).

5.1.4 ABLAH

Ablah describes herself as a Muslim woman comfortable with holding ideologies that on the one hand may be considered traditional in relation to certain morals and values, and on the other hand, modern in relation to her life in New Zealand society:

Many aspects of New Zealand society I personally do not like as it goes against my moral code - namely the degree of sexuality reflected in the media that is made casual and inconsequential (2017⁵)

... I found my [country's] cultural understanding very backward. I wanted to be financially independent, I wanted to choose to marry or not marry, I wanted the opportunity to experience both haram and halal things, and then learn and choose my own path (Ablah, 2019a)

Ablah shared her humanitarian interests that stem from her Cambodian immigrant background, where she described “*girls go missing if they disobeyed their parents, [and] children are beaten by parents and it is acceptable*” (2019a). Moreover, she is appreciative that “*New Zealand has protected my individual rights. I now am in heavy support of New Zealand protecting the rights of young adults*” (2019a). Accordingly, she considers the protection of individual rights needs to be clearly defined in New Zealand with regards to tolerance and people’s freedom of speech.

I am an advocate for free speech - even those who speak against Islam. Islam does not need to hide from criticism. I would like to see more of this in education - freedom to criticise, build on knowledge, and do so boldly (2019a).

Ablah (2019a) spoke of her struggles “*to build my identity as a woman*” and gratitude that she was able “*to gain [an] education and a career so I can work and not rely on family ...and also the right to self-*

⁵ Ablah was interviewed in 2015, as a participant in my Masters’ research, and for this research in 2017 as a teacher, in 2019a as a student, and also responded by email following the mosque attacks in Christchurch in 2019b.

define” her identity. Despite this, she is not so concerned with developing a citizenship identity, recognising that she is “*not integrated into New Zealand culture and society very well... [as she] tend[s] to focus on a global perspective rather*” than a national identity.

This participant was the only female interviewed that attended a secular state school from the age of 13, which was when her family arrived in the country. Her educational experiences were very different from students interviewed that had attended Muslim schools. She described her state school as comprising a diverse mix of people from different socio-economic and cultural backgrounds, with an “*extremely high proportion of foreign students*” (2019a). The school she attended “*encouraged a journey of finding one’s place*” (2019a), which while she appreciated the opportunity to define her own identity and worldview, the process created tension in her life, as she described below:

My teachers did not know my home life at all. Teachers knew me through my essays - I hardly spoke in school. I wish they knew the great cultural divide. They [the school] would tell me one thing and my parents would tell me the opposite. And I could never open my mouth to either to talk about it (2019a).

Furthermore, she speaks with admiration of her female teachers “*as they did not rely on husbands to pay their bills*” (2019a), alluding to her interest in female autonomy in New Zealand.

Tertiary education for Ablah was an easier transition than for the other female participants who attended Muslim schools. She speaks of being introduced to new concepts, such as feminism, class divide, and broad and complex theories of comparative religions:

...and all of this new knowledge and the freedom to let it shape my beliefs, made my home life difficult. I was asking my mother questions about why she never had a career, why a woman’s virginity is important, and what the difference between culture and religion was (2019a).

Ablah spoke of never questioning her own religious fundamentals or the existence of God since she has been in New Zealand. Nevertheless, she did question “*the point in dragging [her] culture to New Zealand and not allowing me to be my own person regarding culture and religion*” (2019a). Unlike the other females interviewed, Ablah chose to leave home and live on her own as an unmarried Muslim woman, which her Muslim community (represented by people from Cambodia), considered a source of shame.

I stopped engaging with my Muslim and [Cambodian] community. I came to dislike the judgmental nature of the Muslim community - which is not a fault of Islam: it’s people who enact cult-like behaviour. Islam teaches forgiveness, mistake making, questioning everything and seeking self. In New Zealand, this was legal and fine (for me to live alone at 26) (2019a).

Ablah recounts that her education in a secular school has helped shape her identity, values, and future, in that:

I can be who I choose to be. I can decide who I talk to and who I shut out. I feel safe too. If I leave my community, I will not disappear and justice will be served to my oppressors. I can now forge my own future with my own family and my kiwi husband (2019a).

ABLAH'S REFLECTIONS – AFTER THE CHRISTCHURCH TRAGEDY

Firstly, Ablah recognises that her views regarding the attack on the Muslim community would be “*very unpopular opinions!*” (2019b). She regards New Zealand society on the whole as more tolerant towards diversity, cultures, and religions, compared to:

Nations such as Saudi and Iran [that] have restrictions on foreigners to conform e.g. non-Muslim women need to cover-up. From that stand point, why should New Zealand be tolerant when Muslim countries are not?... I would go as far as to say New Zealand is better than many Middle Eastern nations that would not allow me to express my culture (Western culture) openly (2019b).

While Ablah does not “*agree with nationalist supremacy... I can somewhat see the reasoning in it - even as an Asian working-class woman*” (2019b). Despite these considerations, she does not condone violence of any kind, considering the attack on Muslims to be “*a horrific decision to express this view [white supremacy] in the form of shooting people*” (2019b).

With regards to her own personal experiences in public following the Christchurch tragedy, Ablah has observed no changes in the way the public relate to her as she does “*not present as Muslim in public and do[es] not attend community events*” (2019b) She added that five generations of females in her family do not wear a hijab. Nonetheless, she had previously taught at an integrated Muslim school and was concerned for that Muslim community's safety, as all students and staff were required to wear a hijab, leaving Muslim women visibly open to further racial attacks. When discussing education's role to support social cohesion in society post the Christchurch attacks, Ablah considers that:

I don't know if education can compete with the rhetoric pushed at home about racial divide. In my understanding, there will always be racists (in society). Events like March 15th cannot be stopped or prevented through the education system (2019b).

Lastly, in her opinion, New Zealand society needs to continue embracing diversity in accordance with New Zealand law. She adds, “*I don't think this is really 'on' New Zealand schools, as much as it is 'on' Muslim communities*” (2019b) to pave a way forward that embraces peace in diversity.

PART II. MALE STUDENT

5.2.1 ARIF

Arif is the only male Muslim who offered to participate in the research. He appeared confident in his personal identity and did not want me to hide who he was or his background. Therefore, Arif is not a pseudonym. This young tertiary student came to New Zealand from Malaysia. His parents are academics and professionals, who provided Arif with private boarding school educational opportunities in Malaysia prior to coming to New Zealand, where he attended a secular co-educational high school. He describes his education in Malaysia as an opportunity to define Islam without the daily influence of his family's interpretation of Islam.

When I was in Malaysia, I was in a boarding school so I pretty much grew up by myself and formed my own interpretation of Islam (2019).

This young man exhibits quite traditional beliefs with a strong sense of value and respect for his parents, *“they help you grow up and without them you won't be the person you are today”* (2019). Arif also elaborates on respect for teachers from his experiences in the Malaysian education system where:

...it is compulsory for all students to learn morals, and all Muslim students were required to study Islam.... In Islam it [respect] is an important part of life, so when you learn from teachers you want to get their blessing [hence the need to give respect] (2019).

Consequently, a lack of respect for others was one aspect of New Zealand state schooling that concerned Arif. He commented that respect was needed *“not only towards the older generation, [but] that everyone needs to respect one another”* (2019). To Arif's surprise, this lack of respect for others was illustrated by the way a teacher at the state school he attended in the South Island, interacted with his sister who also attended that school. That teacher had an issue with his sister's religiously required dress code which made it difficult for her to participate in that particular subject. The teacher did not understand the significance of the requirement of a dress code in Islam and doubted that that was the real reason his sister gave for not being able to participate in class. His sister felt embarrassed and insulted in front of her peers. Arif added that there was a positive outcome to this experience as discussions between the teacher concerned and the school leadership, meant that teachers took a more culturally and religious response towards students' needs at the school.

In general terms, it appears as though Arif had a reasonably stress-free school experience in New Zealand. His school provided him with a space to pray and dispensation to leave the school if needed to support his

faith. Perhaps his “*go with the flow*” (2019) approach enabled him to effectively adapt Islam to his environment, alleviating potential tension, as he points out:

...in Islam you can pray anywhere as long it's clean and the times to pray differ depending on the time of the year. I was able to be flexible with my prayer times (2019).

This flexibility enabled him to be a part of the school basketball team even though the teams' practice time clashed with his prayer time.

The school expected a high standard of achievement from Arif, which is not surprising as historical and recent evidence highlights that Asian students have the highest levels of academic attainment in New Zealand secondary schools (Ministry of Education, 2018a).

Arif identifies that his education in Malaysia and what he experienced in New Zealand's education system has helped strengthen who he is today. His responses reflect a passion for

...learning new things as long as it's not against my religion...because I want to learn about how people learn and their lives (2019).

Keen to pursue his personal interests, Arif has joined the university basketball team, the investment club, and currently rents with a diverse group of Muslim and non-Muslim students in Christchurch. This young man's success is partly related to his “*very strong character and [this enables him to] not [be] worried about going anywhere in the world*” (2019), and in his ability to adapt in a non-Muslim country, while at the same time strongly framed within his interpretation of his faith.

The purpose of my life is to worship Allah, so as long as I achieve that purpose that is success for me (2019).

ARIF'S REFLECTIONS – AFTER THE CHRISTCHURCH TRAGEDY

Arif was interviewed post-the Christchurch incident, and as a result, his comments regarding the tragedy were already weaved into his responses. In his view:

After the shooting incident, people are more aware and accepting of Muslims and we will be able to contribute more in society. It would be great for the Muslim community to have more of a say in New Zealand society. That is if most people agree (2019).

Arif's comments suggest while the tragedy led to greater awareness and acceptance of Muslim communities in New Zealand, it may not necessarily lead to Muslim people having political leverage in New Zealand society, a discussion explored in my final chapter.

SUMMARY

In the first instance, it is not my intention to analyse in any depth the participants' educational and social experiences or perspectives in this chapter, that discussion will take place in later chapters. At a glance however, the students' who were interviewed share a number of similar views regarding education and life in a liberal society. Despite some ideological commonalities, they have had significantly different encounters in New Zealand's education system, which has been influenced by their families' background, their culture, the type of schooling they received, and also in relation to their gender. Nonetheless, diverse personal backgrounds and attendance at different types of public schools will in any general situation influence the development of a student's personal ideology, their personal identity, and a citizenship identity. Moreover, these encounters created both positive and negative tension for the female students regardless of whether they attended a state school or an integrated Muslim school. The restrictive nature of the curriculum was emphasised by students as a further source of tension at Muslim schools. Furthermore, students who attended secular schools encountered tension when students or teachers did not take the time to understand their religious observances and when their new-found freedom to explore all knowledge at school created a cultural and religious ideological divide in their home. Lastly, conflicting ideologies between respondents and their families were shared as ongoing sources of tension for each of the female students interviewed. The next chapter takes a look at the biographies and perspectives of participants who have chosen to teach Muslims in New Zealand's public education system.

CHAPTER 6 *TEACHERS OF MUSLIM STUDENTS*

6.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents a biographical summary of Muslim and non-Muslim teachers who at some point in their educational career taught Muslim students in either state or state-integrated schools in New Zealand. Teachers were interviewed to understand what they value in relation to education for Muslims in New Zealand and to identify the differences in state and state-integrated school structures, curriculum, pedagogy, and practices. Detailed analysis of teachers' educational perspectives, their pedagogical identities, and how these factors directly influence the education and development of Muslim students are discussed in Chapter 9 and 11. Teachers' responses to what knowledge the state and state-integrated schools' value in the curriculum, and how that knowledge is transmitted and evaluated is touched on in this chapter, but analysed more fully in Chapters 10 and 11. As discussed in Chapter 3, measures have been taken to protect participant identity by using pseudonyms and changes to identifiers where possible. To strengthen the integrity of a research focus on identity, and to better understand teacher perspectives, identifiers such as gender, Muslim or non-Muslim, immigrant or non-immigrant have been retained.

This chapter is organised into two parts. The first part focuses on Muslim teachers and the second on non-Muslim teachers, with a brief chapter summary to conclude. The interview questions (refer to Appendix F) required teachers to reflect on how their schools' structures, curriculum, and pedagogy, helps or hinders Muslim students to develop their own personal identity and a citizenship identity with which to confidently engage in New Zealand society. Teachers were presented with Bernstein's pedagogical identities: 'retrospective, de-centred, therapeutic and prospective' in the interview questions (see Chapter 3). A descriptor was provided for teachers to self-identify their professional pedagogic approach/es (Bernstein, 2000, 2003a, 2003b, 2003c, 2003d) that they would use when teaching in New Zealand's public schools.

Three of the teachers, one Muslim and two non-Muslim, provided additional responses to specific questions (see Appendix G) following the March 2019, attack on the Muslim Community in Christchurch, New Zealand. Post-Christchurch responses were obtained by teacher participants, who shared: 1) changes in the way some non-Muslims in New Zealand society are now interacting with them if they were Muslim teachers; 2) what had changed in their school environment regarding the education of Muslim students; 3) what is needed in New Zealand's education system to promote positive relationships in society and to strengthen individual Muslim student identity; and 4) to enable Muslims to confidently and fully participate in New Zealand society following such a tragedy.

PART I. MUSLIM TEACHERS

6.1.1 IMMIGRANT MUSLIM

Ablah is a Muslim woman from Cambodia, who was educated at a large state secondary school in an affluent part of New Zealand. This married Muslim mother completed tertiary education in New Zealand, and has worked as a teacher and a leader at an integrated Muslim school. As an immigrant from a third world nation, Ablah's "*parents gave up everything to come to New Zealand for a better life and for [a] better education for their children*" (2017). She speaks of a shared common narrative of past and present generations with many of her Muslim students and their families. Ablah believes it is important to remind immigrant Muslim students of the hardships previous generations experienced to be in New Zealand, and to become educated.

Ablah's represents an interesting mix of strongly conservative views about aspects of New Zealand society that she personally does not like as it goes against her "moral code" (see Chapter 5), while at the same time she is very pragmatic "*with very little interest in maintaining traditionalism unless it is functional to the context in which*" she is living (2017). She has very strong opinions about morality, self-determinism, and women in Islam, with a desire to "*show Muslim women that they can exercise self-determinism, judge a situation morally, and stand up for what they think is correct*" (2017). Ablah is also concerned with the conflation of religion with culture impacting on Muslim women in society.

Both western New Zealand society and a fair proportion of culturally traditionalist Muslim communities, tend to undermine the individuality of Muslim women. Islam is a religion and must not be confused with culture. Too often culture impinges on the rights of women as outlined in the Quran. They do not have to marry, have children, be only with those of their culture, dress modestly in only traditional ways, or only enjoy traditional pursuits (2017).

The strength in her convictions regarding the intermeshing of culture determining religious protocols and practice can be seen in her teaching philosophy:

My teaching philosophy values education as armour, in a world conceptually at war. Education protects individuals from becoming cultural dupes. It helps them make better choices, socially, emotionally, and practically (2017).

Ablah considers her professional pedagogic approach to be mainly 'therapeutic' where she allows herself to be emotionally engaged with students, and 'prospective' with a future focused approach to the curriculum. For example, she says she selects only from the past what is "*functional to the context*" of

contemporary society (2017). Her teaching philosophy sits somewhat uneasy with an education system that promotes academic achievement ahead of students and society well-being. Ablah discusses her concern for Muslim students who:

...become bored due to seeing the same surroundings and having the same conversations (achievement focused) every day. Students need diversity and freedom of speech. Students need to understand that what they learn directly impacts their life choices and understandings (2017).

She adds that education should firstly be “*an opportunity to do better than the previous generation (financially and for social benefit), and then for the ongoing enrichment of the individual*” (2017). Ablah admits experiencing tension in her teaching work with some of the Muslim school community considering her approach to Islam is too liberal. In her view, students need to identify their individual pathway as commanded by Allah, “*not their culture, or community, or even parents, should force them into a way of life that they do not agree with in their hearts*” (2017). In addition, she supports Muslim students understanding that their “*individual identity as emerging young women, [is] about talking to Allah on a daily basis, about seeking to do what is kind and socially responsible*” (2017). To strengthen student autonomy, Ablah reminds her students that education is an opportunity “*allowing them to be the captains of their own ship when they can be financially independent*” (2017).

Despite a modern approach to Islam, Ablah states that she is “*not integrated into New Zealand culture and society very well*” (2017). In her mind, she “*wouldn't be able to foster it [integration] effectively in students*” (2017). Ablah shares that she has “*no close friends who culturally identify as New Zealanders... [and tends] to focus on a global perspective*” and issues of concerns rather than only national matters (2017). Having said this, Ablah’s responses reflect someone who has a strong sense of belonging to New Zealand as she often comments about ‘we’ in ‘our society’ as ‘citizens’ needing to support positive social change to benefit all people in New Zealand society. With a passion for social change, she articulates ‘her’ New Zealand, as a place where citizens work “*hard for the overall social benefit, earning an honest living, and having a sense of social responsibility*” (2017). On many levels, it does appear as though Ablah has integrated in New Zealand society, as many of her comments and actions indicate in this and later chapters.

ABLAH’S REFLECTIONS – AFTER THE CHRISTCHURCH TRAGEDY

Ablah’s comments regarding the attacks on the Muslim community in 2019, as discussed in Chapter 5, could be considered quite controversial in that she looks at the ‘bigger issue’ of Muslims discriminating against non-Muslims in Muslim countries, and non-Muslims discriminating against Muslims in secular

society. She considers that *“society needs to embrace diversity, but also adhere to the legal requirements...[of] New Zealand law”* (2019b). In her opinion, discrimination and the need to embrace diversity is not the responsibility of *“New Zealand schools, they do a lot already to encourage unity, rather it is 'on' [the responsibility of] Muslim communities”* (2019b). Ablah argues that what students learn at school *“compete[s] with the rhetoric pushed at home about racial divide”* (2019b). She does not believe education can compete with derisive opinions pushed in the home, which is why she encourages *“Muslim youth in New Zealand society [to] develop strength from being self-defining, not inheriting religion from their parents”* (2019b). To develop a strong Muslim identity, Ablah places importance on:

...developing one’s connection with god, not culture, not social pressure and not ethnicity. Muslim youth need to closely examine, question, and explore their connection with god and holy scripture - enacting the core of this will allow them good footing in New Zealand society as good citizens - as the core of being a Muslim is the kind heart and working towards wellbeing for all, not what one wears or says. (2019b).

With regard to tolerance towards difference in New Zealand society, Ablah regarded a nationalist attack on the Muslim community to be *“an act of protest to preserve New Zealand”* secular culture (2019b). She speaks of understanding people’s desire to preserve their national identity, their culture, and their beliefs, *“such as Saudi and Iran have restrictions on foreigners to conform, e.g., non-Muslim women need to cover-up”* (2019b). It is this national political response to difference in Muslim countries that leads her to question *“why should New Zealand be tolerant when Muslim countries are not?”* (2019b). That is not to say that Ablah condones violence, as she does not. She regards the attack on New Zealand’s Muslim community as *“horrific”* (2019b).

At a personal level, as discussed in Chapter 5, Ablah has not experienced a change in non-Muslims’ behaviour and attitudes towards her in public, as she does *“not present as Muslim in public and do[es] not attend community events”* (2019b). She considers New Zealand society to be *“incredibly tolerant...[and] support[ive of] diversity”* (2019b). Most people do not realise she is a Muslim in public as she identifies with Western culture and only wore a hijab at the Muslim school. For her safety, *“after the event of March 15th, my husband told me to remove my hijab as soon as I get out of the school gates, and not leave the house in [a] hijab either”* (2019b).

6.1.2 NEW ZEALAND MUSLIM CONVERT

Wasay was born in New Zealand and converted to Islam in his 20s. His responses to Islam in a public education system, reflect a Muslim teacher in a secular school environment attempting to be inclusive of Islam in a curriculum catering for Muslim and non-Muslim students. He is an educational leader in his subject area and a mentor for Muslim students. Wasay feels:

... blessed to work in a genuinely diverse [state] school... I see my main focus with them [Muslim students], in a state co-ed school, as helping them navigate what they're in. A few are from non-religious backgrounds, a few from fringe sects, a few from devout families, so a very mixed bunch. They are in a context where the values etc. are often vastly different from those of their home, culture or faith (2019).

This married Muslim man believes the development of positive relationships, trust, and a willingness to listen, be authentic, and vulnerable are key to supporting the success of all students.

The students respond to effort, open-mindedness, authenticity, and a willingness of you as an adult to being vulnerable – to put yourself out there and ‘look dumb’ for the sake of trying to understand them more and validate their identity and humanity (2019).

Wasay believes it is important to share his experiences and make connections with students' diverse cultures, providing a curriculum that is contextual and meaningful to the individual. He makes every effort to show his students how much he values learning from them. The development of trusted relationships is a fundamental pedagogical tool Wasay draws on to engage students in their learning. He does this by “...acknowledging every single student as an individual located within their own identity and history, whether that is Māori, Pākehā, Pacific heritage [or as a] Muslim” (2019).

He considers the non-prescriptive nature of New Zealand's National Certificate of Educational Achievement (NCEA) Standards provides him with an opportunity to include Islam in the subjects he teaches in the state-secular curriculum for Muslim students. He has been able to develop programs of learning and activities that include aspects of Islam “which helped them [Muslim students] to locate and navigate across contexts to develop their Muslim character” (2019).

He is also mindful of the different learning needs of students, their prior knowledge and experiences, and works hard to provide authentic learning opportunities for students to express themselves based on individual student needs. In this way, his educational views reflect the current orthodoxies of educational discourse in New Zealand. He describes himself as a storyteller, using “loads of analogies, yarns, tales,

examples in my teaching style, and this provides a lot of context and opportunity [to stimulate curiosity]” (2019).

He regards New Zealand’s state education system, in general, provides “*real scope for Muslim students to feel grounded, validated, and accepted*” (2019). To achieve this success for Muslim students, he believes “*it’s a case of having the right people in schools to support this, and the Muslim community itself providing ACTIVE support for this process by getting involved*” (2019). His greatest challenge at the state-school he works at and the greatest source of tension for Muslim students at that school has been “*...dealing with the (invariably excessive) expectations of migrant parents, so that becomes an added pressure to negotiate*” (2019). In his view:

...the vast bulk of the [Muslim] community [in New Zealand] still cling to migrant or heritage identities. These are not in themselves a problem at all (and many kids successfully navigate both) but are often a source of tension or problems within the families they hail from.... there’s still a lot of work to be done here, and in a lot of cases the community leadership is simply not equipped for the task (2019).

Nonetheless, Wasay views state-integrated Muslim schools as a very important “*...part of the landscape, and are essential as an option for families going forward – they just need to be run properly* (2019). Furthermore, in order to support the success of Muslim students in New Zealand schools, he believes it is important to promote a New Zealand Muslim identity. He also argues “*an increase of young Muslim teachers in state-schools that have Muslim populations [students]”* would help strengthen students’ Muslim identity and a New Zealand citizenship identity (2019).

PART II. NON-MUSLIM TEACHERS

6.2.1 IMMIGRANT TEACHER A

Ines is a non-Muslim woman, who migrated to New Zealand from Europe a number of years ago.

When my family immigrated to New Zealand, we knew about New Zealand society. I think the government did not give us as immigrants an understanding of education or social policies. I don't think that parents learn about this. I did not know much about democracy here in New Zealand. I don't think I still know what I can do or I can't do (Ines, 2018).

Ines is a married mother who completed tertiary education in New Zealand, and worked at one of New Zealand's integrated Muslim schools. Like Ablah, Ines describes tensions she experienced teaching at the Muslim school. She spoke of two underlying factors that initiated these tensions: firstly, she is a very liberal non-Muslim who felt as though she “*wasn't trusted*” as she said “*because I was different... teaching in a Muslim school...[and] I wasn't Muslim,*” and secondly she “*found it difficult when some things [Islam]were interpreted differently*” (2018).

Some Muslim students shared with Ines their frustrations with the Islamic school. Ines asserted these Muslim students shared with her their high expectations to enjoy women's rights in New Zealand, “*but the parents wouldn't let them enjoy those rights. All the students that didn't want to be in that [Muslim] school, they just left and integrated into other schools*” (2018). She was shocked to hear some of her students were engaged, arguing that the Muslim “*girls have been disappointed by their parents because they have arranged marriages*” (2018). She also expressed concerns regarding restrictions placed on the curriculum by male Muslims, leaving some female Muslim board members, teachers, leaders, and female students frustrated. Ines blames a misinterpretation of Islam as the seed of frustration in the education of Muslims at the Islamic school.

In an attempt to develop relationships with Muslim parents, Ines draws on cultural differences and her migrant status as a way to share common ground with parents:

It is really important that we present ourselves to the parents and share that I'm an immigrant, and studied here in New Zealand. And I let them know I'm interested in their culture, and see how much they want to tell me about [it]. It's really important we have that relationship with parents (2018).

Ines identified herself as a future focused practitioner characteristic of a prospective pedagogic approach (Bernstein, 2000) to education. She selects what she considers is important from the past, while at the same time engaging in and promoting contemporary change in the curriculum with her students. She considers it is important that students *“identify with who they are”* and are also able to understand and respect New Zealand society’s morals and values (2018). This liberal non-Muslim teacher shares respect for and an interest in different cultures, while at the same time positioning Islam as a religion not a culture. Her interpretation of religion is that they all *“say the same things, it’s common sense, being a good person, being acceptable in this society [and] tolerant towards others”* (2018). Her interest in culture does not extend to *“asking and putting pressure on them [students] and asking them where they come from”* (2018), adding that schools already have that type of information. Ines discussed the need for Muslim students to retain their language and culture, *“as long as it doesn’t break New Zealand law”*, and the need for them to contribute to New Zealand society, stating, *“it’s all about giving and receiving”* (2018).

Muslim community integration and student interaction in wider community activities troubled Ines, asserting *“they are not integrated in the community, they don’t have males around the girls, only people from their own society...they didn’t see other people from the wider community”* (2018). She added that she felt unease seeing Muslim girls *“isolated”* in an educational environment she considered was *“not balanced”* (2018).

Ines exhibits a sense of belonging to New Zealand and argues there is a need for immigrants to understand:

...our customs...our [New Zealand] lifestyle. It’s not from a cultural point of view, but a New Zealand society point of view. They [migrant Muslims] came to live to here...they have to adjust. It’s about learning customs in New Zealand. Like the way people live in New Zealand (2018).

Ines promotes a national identity, hoping to one day see Muslims identify with a *“New Zealand Muslim identity, like I have a New Zealand Christian identity. Because I really want my students to develop gratitude towards this country”* (2018).

INES’ REFLECTIONS – AFTER THE CHRISTCHURCH TRAGEDY

Since Ines’ first interview in 2018, when she was working at a state-integrated Muslim school, she began working at a state-school with 1,000 students. The state-school is culturally diverse, with a number of Muslim teachers on staff. The school caters for generations of non-Muslim and Muslim families who have developed trusted respect in their community for each other’s differences. Her first impressions of this

state-school were that it comprises a richly diverse student body. At the time of this second interview, only two Muslim girls wore a hijab at the state-school Ines worked at, making it difficult to recognise that there was in fact a large number of Muslims attending the school. Ines described the state-school as culturally responsive and supportive of Muslim students. Part of the school curriculum includes teaching and learning:

...about respecting each other. The Muslim students are very friendly and kind to each other regardless of their culture or faith. They are really supportive for teachers to go to the mosque, and students are provided with time to pray (2019).

There is also a more relaxed response by Muslim students and their families to music in the curriculum than the integrated Muslim school she worked at in New Zealand, as “*Muslim students ask to play the piano and guitar. They listen to music on their phone and sing*” (2019).

After the Christchurch shootings, Ines spoke of students, teachers, and a school community who:

...reinforced their respect and support for each other. They just showed more of their human side and helped each other. Muslim students have been enthusiastic to talk about their religion as people became more curious about Islam. Some students asked them why they would not want to change to being a Christian now they live in New Zealand. However, that hasn't changed them wanting to be Muslim.

Ines spoke of a Muslim school community who through the mutual respect they share, have not shown any significant changes in the way they interact with each other following the attacks on the Muslim community in Christchurch. She believes the school provides Muslim students with an education that promotes positive relationships and interaction with New Zealand's culturally diverse society, which reinforces and strengthens their Muslim identity. Ines would argue that the way in which students, teachers, school leadership, and the school community positively interact with each other post-Christchurch is evidence this school does not need to make changes in their curriculum, pedagogy or school practices. She adds:

The students, teachers, and the Muslim community know that the person responsible for the shootings was not from New Zealand. That's made it easier for everyone to deal with the situation. He was Australian, he wasn't one of us (2019).

Ines' last statement in response to the attack on the Muslim community in New Zealand, "*he wasn't one of us*" (2019) reinforces that this immigrant teacher who has taught at both state and a state-integrated Muslim schools in New Zealand regards herself as a New Zealand citizen.

6.2.2 IMMIGRANT TEACHER B

Ratnajyoti is a married, non-Muslim immigrant from Lebanon, and one of the most experienced teachers interviewed during the course of this research. Her "*teaching and management experience has been vast and varied across both single-sex and co-educational schools*" (2018). She has taught at Muslim, Catholic, and Presbyterian schools, and various public schools in New Zealand and other countries. In New Zealand Ratnajyoti has worked at decile one through to decile six schools, that draw students from low to medium socio-economic backgrounds, and in schools with predominantly Pacific Island students. The state-integrated Muslim school she taught at comprised 99% students whose families were of migrant and/or refugee backgrounds. Ratnajyoti "*found that all of these widely differing schools have one aspect that influences their outcomes the most...the establishment by the BOT [Board of Trustees] of a strong whanau-school partnership that enhances both teaching and learning*" (2018). She states:

It is vital that our students' value both their religious and cultural heritage as well as their identity as Kiwis - many [of the Muslim students] are refugees and most are migrants, all of whom have a valuable contribution to make to this country (2018).

Ratnajyoti considered that she takes a prospective pedagogical approach to her teaching and learning when asked in the interview. She explained that while she is future focused in her approach to education, she accepted that the Muslim school she had taught at required that all areas of the curriculum explicitly link to Islam. She found making explicit links to Islam difficult at times, as Muslim "*students' home life is incredibly sheltered and their life experiences are subsequently very limited... [For example] both gambling and the charging of interest are forbidden [in Islam]*" making these concepts difficult for students to understand in the curriculum (2018). Regardless of the difficulties she experienced she considered the "*continued linking of lessons in ... [the Muslim] curriculum to New Zealand, [and] the wider world whilst still ensuring ... links to Islam...assists students to see themselves and their culture as an integral part of society*" (2018).

Lack of engagement of Muslim families in New Zealand education and in making their voices heard in the school community was a concern for Ratnajyoti. She felt families were reluctant "*to volunteer for*

school-based committees and organisations, and [there was] an unwillingness to attend parent-teacher conferences” (2018). Ratnajyoti asserted:

Muslim students in general led very sheltered lives and engage in very few, if any, social, or academic interactions with non-Muslim people or even non-Muslim students until they start tertiary study (2018).

The Muslim students interviewed in this research reiterated their isolation from the wider secular New Zealand society.

Ratnajyoti suggested the Ministry of Education’s Community of Learning initiative⁶, which focuses on strengthening the transitional pathway of students from early childhood through to tertiary by supporting local collective collaboration of expertise and resources “*could provide a platform for integrated teaching between schools, thereby enabling students to engage more effectively with the wider New Zealand community*” (2018). She also asserts that the most valuable education to develop Muslim student character in a democratic society is to teach them “*to value and treasure the contribution all sectors of society make in upholding the traditional values and laws of democracy, irrespective of faith*” (2018).

RATNAJYOTI’S REFLECTIONS – AFTER THE CHRISTCHURCH TRAGEDY

Ratnajyoti was concerned with an intensified radicalisation of Muslim identity that had emerged at the state-integrated school post the Christchurch attacks, stating that she had observed a:

...turning inwards at the school. Proprietors have met to reinforce the Islamification of the school curriculum. Non-Muslim teachers are targeted by the principal, who has tugged on one teacher’s top to say it was not long enough. The expectation for Muslim and non-Muslim teachers is that all tops must be knee length. No-one, teachers included, are allowed to wear a crucifix or have a bible displayed on the school grounds...and all teachers, including non-Muslims have been told that they must wear a hijab from 2020 (2019).

Ratnajyoti described the tone of preaching Islam at the school is “*...no longer balanced and [has] become quite fanatical. There has been an onslaught of extreme views of Islam pushed by the Principal. It is a concerning way to shape the Muslim students’ identity here in New Zealand*” (2019).

⁶ Communities of Learning were established in New Zealand in 2014. This government funded initiative brings together Early Childhood Services, Primary, Middle and Secondary Schools, and Tertiary Institutions from the same local area to collaborate and support “young people's learning pathways... to help them achieve their full potential” (Ministry of Education, 2020d).

She described the school environment as “toxic”, where the principal does not observe basic human rights (2019). Non-Muslim teachers have been physically pushed and constantly harassed. Regional representatives from the Post Primary Teachers’ Association (secondary school teachers union) and the New Zealand Schools’ Trustees Association have met with the principal and the school’s Board of Trustees on a number of occasions to address these concerns. In her opinion:

It is not right that the state funds an institution that behaves in this way. As long as the principal is protected by the Board of Trustees, nothing changes. It’s not right (2019).

Ratnajyoti has also been victim to ongoing harassment as a non-Muslim teacher leaving her feeling fragile, devalued as a professional and as a human being, and physically, and emotionally exhausted. In order to work in an environment where her own identity and educational leadership can be valued, she chose to resign from her position. Ratnajyoti said that she has since accepted a role in a secular school to remove herself from the “unhealthy behaviour” of the Muslim school’s management that had directly impacted on her own well-being (2019).

6.2.3 NEW ZEALAND TEACHER

Awhireinga is a non-Muslim Māori woman, married with children, who has taught in the Middle East, in secular state schools and at one of integrated Muslim schools in New Zealand. Unlike other non-Muslims interviewed, Awhireinga’s indigenous New Zealand heritage as a Māori meant that she experienced additional tension working at the Islamic school. A tension that I myself, who also has Māori heritage, have experienced as a teacher and as a school leader when working in the public education system, with added expectations to be an expert in all things Māori. This educational cultural essentialism of individuals in the education system does not align with New Zealand’s liberal policies and freedom of self-identity (see Chapter 2), creating tension for Māori teachers in New Zealand’s public schools, as Awhireinga describes:

There have been many challenges that I have experienced teaching and as a HOLA [Head of a Learning Area at the Islamic school]. What annoys me the most is that there are hidden high expectations that all Māori staff members should [automatically] be experts in Māoritanga [Māori culture, traditions, and way of life] ...And the academic performance of Māori students who sit in your classes should gain good grades and that we are able to get Māori parents supporting their kids (2017).

I would suggest this is the result of the Ministry of Education's promotion of culturally responsive pedagogy, creating levels of cultural essentialism in the education sector. The frustration Awhireinga expresses above perhaps led to her argument that New Zealand's education system needs to *"learn to respect and embrace our differences and utilise the strengths we each have to offer"* (2017).

Awhireinga responded in her interview by saying that she takes a decentered approach to the curriculum and pedagogy, with an emphasis on local issues, and cultural and community values that she believes may have been influenced by her own educational *"experiences as a Māori"* (2017). She also considers that she takes a prospective pedagogical approach to education. Taking the curriculum outside the school gates is important to Awhireinga. She expressed shock to hear Muslim students say, *"they never go anywhere and they loved it... This [experiencing education outside the Muslim community] gave them confidence to step outside into the real world and they felt safe"* (2017). Awhireinga argued educational policy change or new initiatives are needed in New Zealand *"to allow Muslim students to partake or get involved in the wider community"* (2017). She added this would support the development of their *"confidence [and] with their own self-identity"* (2017).

To support students' integration in New Zealand's bi-cultural society, she encourages her students to *"incorporate their own personal identity into the[ir] work"* and hopes that her influence will *"help the development of a New Zealand Muslim student identity, giving them a better understanding of Māori tikanga, beliefs and way of life"* (2017). Awhireinga hopes that Muslim students will one day *"have the confidence to achieve their goals and live in a New Zealand community with an understanding of Māori tikanga, and not feel intimidated or inferior"* (2017).

Awhireinga asserted *"more support is needed for Muslim families in the education system to understand education and social policies and practices which promote social unity in the wider democratic community and nationally"* (2017). Likewise, she argues there is a need *"to help educate our New Zealand communities and societies to relate with Muslim communities in a more positive way"* (2017). Similarly, to other teacher participants, Awhireinga considered Muslim students would benefit from their school being involved in a Community of Learning (Ministry of Education, 2020d). She regarded this as a way for them to be more engaged and committed to the wider community, strengthening relationships, and to bring about *"positive change for the [development of a] New Zealand Muslim identity"* (2017).

SUMMARY

In brief, all teachers interviewed regardless of whether they were Muslim or non-Muslim or taught at a public or an integrated Muslim school experienced some form of tension in a similar manner to tension experienced by Muslim students. Teachers who taught at state-integrated Muslim schools experienced the greatest source of tension. Migrant Muslim families limited English impacts on their understanding of New Zealand's education policy, curriculum, and pedagogy. In some cases, Muslim family expectations to deliver a migrant approach to education created the same source of tension for teachers at both state and integrated schools in New Zealand. The following chapter unpacks this tension for both Muslim students and the teachers of Muslim students in New Zealand's education system.

The post-Christchurch response from one teacher that highlighted non-tolerance towards non-Muslims in a secular society is both surprising and concerning, given the government and the Prime Minister's supportive response to this tragedy stating New Zealand "mourns with you [the Muslim community]. We are one" (Ardern, 2019). This is a statement synonymous within Islam, whereby the Prophet Mohammed says, "The believers in their mutual kindness, compassion, and sympathy are just like one body. When any part of the body suffers, the whole body feels pain" (Ardern, 2019). With this in mind, education needs to continue supporting tolerance of all differences, otherwise the nation's ideal of a diverse and unified society will never be achieved.

CHAPTER 7. RESEARCH FINDINGS - TENSION IN EDUCATION

7.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines my research findings. The first finding identified that the four female Muslim student participants experienced some form of tension and they have found ways to negotiate this tension located in their homes, their schools, and in New Zealand society. Secondly, different degrees of tension were experienced dependent on the school's approach to Islam in the pedagogical context and in relation to students' access to curriculum knowledge. The approach to Islam in students' homes and at the schools they attended, affects Muslim students' confidence to define their personal identity and their ability to integrate in New Zealand society. This brings us to the third finding, that the Muslim participants' tertiary education has acted as an integrative mechanism, an experience that has nurtured students' confidence to define their personal identity, and to enjoy new levels of autonomy in society, regardless of whether they attended state-secular or state-integrated Muslim schools.

The findings are presented in three parts in this chapter. The first finding, discussed in Part I of this chapter focuses on the personal tension experienced by Muslim students, experiences often resulting from conflicting forces in students' homes, their schooling, and their lives in New Zealand society. I examine the tensions that both student and teacher participants experienced in relation to diverse migrant Muslim family approaches to Islam in New Zealand schools in Section 7.1.1. The stresses for students when parents English is limited, and the resulting misunderstandings and conflicting interpretations of New Zealand laws that provide students' access to their individual rights are examined in Sections 7.1.2 and 7.1.3. Students' relationships at home, at school, and in society, and their emotional responses to tensions they encountered are discussed in Section 7.1.4.

Part I of this chapter highlights that student participants who experienced a more moderate approach to Islam at home and at school experienced less tension than those who experienced a stricter approach to Islam at home and in their education. This discussion highlights the paradox for a liberal democratic society whose education system specifically caters for increasingly diverse populations, while at the same time promotes the individual's rights to define and determine personal identity, culture, religious beliefs and practices, and autonomy in that society.

Muslim students' experiences in secular and Muslim schools are discussed in more detail in Part II of this chapter. This discussion unpacks the second finding which draws attention to the connection between a

school's approach to Islam in the curriculum and pedagogy, and the stresses reported by the participants. This section includes interview comments from nine participants, five Muslim students, and five teachers of Muslim students⁷ who experienced some form of personal discomfort in the education of Muslims in New Zealand schools. The participants found different ways to manage the tension they experienced, stress that varied depending on whether they attended or taught at a state-secular or a Muslim school. Participants' educational experiences and their views in relation to their schools' responsiveness to Muslim students educational and personal needs are also represented in flow charts in this part of the chapter. These charts (refer to Figures 10 and 11) capture participant comments and indicate the flow-on effect for Muslim students in relation to New Zealand schools' responsiveness to Muslim students.

The third finding highlights the integrative nature of students' tertiary experiences, discussed in Part III in the final section of this chapter. This finding emphasises that while Muslim students educated in New Zealand experience various levels of tensions, their experiences at the tertiary level has helped them to more confidently manage this tension, and to interact with non-Muslim people and those of the opposite gender. This finding resulted from interviewing only Muslim students who had been educated at a state-secular or state-integrated school and who were attending or had completed studies at a New Zealand tertiary institution. This section includes students' comments regarding how their tertiary experiences have provided them with a new lens to reflect on their personal identity and their personal autonomy.

I analyse these findings which are associated with the themes of identity and autonomy by drawing on Friedman's conceptual framework of 'identity space of modernity' and Habermas' theories of the 'detranscendentalised lens,' 'autonomy' and 'moral theory' in Chapter 8. Teachers' pedagogical identities are analysed in Chapter 9, where I examine the pedagogical context, educational knowledge codes, and knowledge differentiation by using the conceptual methodology and theories of Bernstein (2000, 2003a, 2003b, 2003c) and Durkheim's (1995, 2001) 'sacred and the profane'. School structures are analysed in detail in Chapter 10 to understand in what way approaches to Islam in the pedagogical context and in relation to students' access to curriculum knowledge, contributes to tensions experienced by Muslim students. These theories enable me to explore the relationships between education, identity, morality, socialisation and autonomy, which I analyse in detail in Chapter 11.

⁷ There was a total of nine participants, with one participant choosing to respond to both the student and the teacher interview questions, hence the five students and five teachers represented nine people not ten.

PART I. FINDING ONE – EXPERIENCING THE TENSION

7.1.1 DIVERSITY IN ISLAM

Four of the five Muslim students I interviewed referred to various conflicting forces that created tensions for them during their schooling and in their lives in New Zealand society. These forces include diverse migrant heritages and interpretations of Islam that determine the expectations for Muslim children's education and their engagement in New Zealand society. The five student participants all responded quite differently when referring to their family's cultural and religious beliefs. Each of the students shared their family backgrounds, their parents' approach to Islam, and their own interpretation of Islam as a result of their upbringing. In all cases students acknowledged how these factors have influenced them in different ways at home, at school, and in society. The following student comments reflect their response to their families' and their Muslim communities' approach to Islam in education and in New Zealand society.

The first three students were educated at Muslim schools in New Zealand:

Most of the [Middle-Eastern] families are pretty conservative.... Some parents threaten when it comes to dating...going out without asking...doing things that are against the religion (Asmara, 2018).

Our religion says to marry early, but that is only to save yourself from sin, committing sexual acts...our religion also says to gain knowledge as much as you can...if you can't control yourself, get married and you can still study (Ilham, 2018).

I choose to ask my husband or tell him where I want to go...this choice may be a result of my religious beliefs and upbringing (Menaal, 2019).

The following two students were educated at state-secular schools in New Zealand:

When I was in Malaysia, I was in a boarding school so I pretty much grew up by myself and formed my own interpretation of Islam (Arif, 2019).

Students also need more choice and to acknowledge the presence of different world views. They should know why they have chosen an Islamic one – and not just because they were raised Muslim, but because they actively choose and seek out Islam (Ablah, 2015).

Asmara, Ilham, and Menaal's comments reflect a more conservative approach to Islam compared to the flexing approach to Islam provided by Arif and Ablah. This conservative interpretation of Islam is reflected in their families' decision to send their daughters to Muslim schools. Likewise, the more liberal

approach to Islam represented in the last two responses, is quite likely reflective of their family's decision to educate Arif and Ablah at state-secular schools in New Zealand.

Teacher participants also commented on various degrees of tension they experienced when Muslim families considered aspects of the curriculum and pedagogy were incongruent to Islam. For example, Wasay, a Muslim teacher at a state-secular school, described situations where some Muslim parents struggled to accept New Zealand's liberal approach to education. He spoke of a tension conflicting ideology created for his Muslim students, for himself, and for the Muslim parents concerned. Wasay considers that:

...the vast bulk of the [Muslim] community still cling to migrant or heritage identities. These are not in themselves a problem at all (and many kids successfully navigate both) but are often a source of tension or problems within the families they hail from (Wasay, 2019).

Wasay is arguing that a Muslim family's decision to hold onto to their heritage is not a problem in itself, unless there is a decision made by the family to impose their religious, and/or cultural practices onto their children or others, and if these practices are in conflict with New Zealand laws and social norms. Ablah, a Muslim educated in a state-secular school and a teacher at a Muslim school describes the tension she and her students experience in response to families' cultural interpretation of Islam:

Too often culture impinges on the rights of women, [rights] outlined in the Quran. They do not have to marry, have children, be only with those of their culture, dress modestly in only traditional ways, or only enjoy traditional pursuits. This is where I get into trouble in my profession: teaching Muslim girls that the Allah is the only one who is able to give them commands. Not their culture, or community, or even parents (Ablah, 2019a).

Accordingly, an imposition of culturally defined religious beliefs and practices on individuals in a liberal democratic society is a further source of tension for Muslim students in New Zealand. The next section discusses the added stress students encounter when language barriers in the home limits their ability to discuss and rationalise with their parents their position on Islam in a secular education system and society.

7.1.2 LANGUAGE BARRIERS

Parents limited English capability is a source of tension for some Muslim students, in particular when this limitation becomes a barrier for parents to understand the education system and the national and international laws that apply to New Zealand citizens. For example, Asmara, interviewed in 2018, spoke of her parents limited English capability and the stress this created for her in their home, at school, and in

her personal life in New Zealand society. She spoke of her family's frustrations and of arguments that ensued between her and her parents due to misunderstandings about her education and New Zealand laws. Asmara describes the impact her parents limited English has had on her life in New Zealand:

...my parents aren't as knowledgeable as some other parents are, and they don't speak English so much. My mum is like, very strong with the faith. But for her to explain some things to me, it's difficult because my Arabic is not very good and her English isn't so good. So, there's a language barrier at times (Asmara, 2018).

Asmara's comment highlights the stress language barriers create at home between children and their parents if they are not able to effectively communicate in a meaningful way. Limitations of this kind directly influences the way in which Muslim parents interact with schools, their expectations of what constitutes appropriate curriculum and pedagogy, and what they consider to be appropriate school policies and practices (Lomax & Rata, 2016). A lack of English proficiency after having lived in New Zealand for over 20 years also indicates that Asmara's family may have isolated themselves from English speaking communities. Language barriers further problematise the interpretation of New Zealand laws, creating further stress for young Muslims educated in New Zealand, as examined in the next section.

7.1.3 INTERPRETING INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS

Islamic education needs to recognise individuality above community in making the child the centre of the matter. The needs of the student should be put over the opinion of the community, more often (Ablah, 2015).

In his section, I provide comments from students who felt considerably more tension when their individual rights were not understood or ignored by their parents and at the schools they attended. The five students interviewed had a clear understanding of their individual rights in New Zealand, yet only the students who attended Muslim schools felt they were not able to access these rights at their schools. For example, students who attended Muslim schools spoke of their frustrations and inability to access the wider national curriculum, which all students are entitled to access in state-secular and state-integrated education. These same students also did not feel safe at school to express their own personal identity, or to form and express their own views, in particular, if those views differed from the religious beliefs and practices of the Muslims leading the Muslim schools.

Asmara is an example of how conflicting views regarding the rights of individuals creates considerable stress on an individual in the home, in education, and life in a liberal democratic society. Her stress remains

heightened as neither Asmara nor her parents are able to agree on their differences. The ongoing and serious nature of the problem she continues to experience has led to bouts of depression and her openly sharing that she has contemplated suicide on a number of occasions throughout her teens and adolescence:

At year 10, I fully developed depression. It's better to kill myself...than go to hell [referring to her bisexual orientation] (Asmara, 2018).

At year 10 (ages 13 or 14), Asmara's parents shifted her from a state-secular school to a Muslim school to complete her secondary education. As discussed, in Chapter 5, Asmara's frank and open expression of her lack of well-being posed a serious concern for myself as the researcher to ensure Asmara was accessing the support that she needed. Health and counselling services were offered to her immediately following each interview. Asmara explained that the combination of her parents' limited English, their views regarding Islam, which at times conflicted with her own, and the conservative approach to Islam at the Muslim school she attended, made it impossible for her to enjoy her rights to express herself freely.

My parents barely know me [and] ... School[s] in New Zealand should realise that it's legal to be [of] any sexual orientation (Asmara, 2018).

One of Asmara's greatest sources of tension comes from her acknowledgement of her bisexual identity, an identity that she cannot openly express in her home or her Muslim community. Needless to say, this young Muslim woman believes it is important to critically analyse social politics, culture, religion, and identity. For Asmara, the decision to critically rationalise her religion and her identity through the lens of a liberal democratic society is in itself a source of tension between her and her family.

In comparison, Ilham was able to openly communicate with her family, who supported her needs even when those needs deviated from what the family considered acceptable in the life of a Muslim.

We can talk about anything and everything all the time. There is nothing in my life my mum and dad don't know. [Her mother supported her expressed need for music and] ...she took me out that night and bought me an MP3 player in the middle of the night (Ilham, 2018).

Her parents' flexible approach to Islam and their understanding of New Zealand's laws minimised Ilham's stress when she was drawn to experiences her non-Muslim peers were enjoying. In many cases, Ilham considered that her family's interpretation of Islam and individual rights were a lot more flexible than the very conservative approach taken by the Muslim school she attended. Needless to say, misunderstandings and/or conflicting interpretations of individuals rights in New Zealand laws created considerable tension

that manifested as a myriad of adverse emotional responses experienced by the Muslim female participants, which are discussed in more detail in the next section.

7.1.4 EMOTIONAL RESPONSES TO TENSION

Students face sometimes extreme personal challenges that may bring shame to them and their families. Even when a student perseveres through this, they are not supported to share their story due to notions of shame. There are internal aspects of the Islamic experience that [the Muslim School is] passing up in favour of looking good to the community. This does not reflect the reality of our students' lives – and, again, does them a disservice (Ablah, 2015).

Ablah's concerns draws attention to the stressful emotional experiences of Muslim students in their relationships at home, at school, and in society. The four female students that were interviewed commented on the tension they encountered that either explicitly or implicitly linked to feelings of isolation, exclusion, oppression, depression, powerlessness, shame, guilt, conflict, frustration, confusion, and feeling the need to internalise their true identity. Two of the Muslim students who were educated at Muslim schools shared the intense stress and tension they experienced when their views deviated too far from what was considered acceptable as a "good Muslim" (Asmara & Ilham, 2018). The level of stress students experienced was expressed more intensely if their families and the schools they attended adopted a very strict approach to Islam in New Zealand. For example, Menaal's conservative single-sex education, and the separation of men and women in her social life created feelings of isolation and a need to internalise her identity by being the "invisible one" at university (2019).

As I studied in [Muslim] School for my high school studies, I was very overwhelmed by the multi-ethnic diversity at university. ...I was never in proper contact with any men outside my family and relative zone. So, going to the university... was a major shock for me. I was usually the 'invisible' one in the class (Menaal, 2019).

Ilham encountered similar feelings of isolation in society, recounting that "We're accustomed to isolating ourselves with other Muslims" (2018). Moreover, Asmara and Ilham remarked many times of feeling oppressed, depressed, powerless, ashamed, guilty, and unable to express themselves or their world view:

...they [the Muslim school] teach religion...in a way that brings your spirituality down. They make you think you're not a good Muslim (Asmara, 2018).

...there were a lot of times when you felt down. Mainly because you were told [at the Muslim school] you are not good enough (Ilham, 2018).

The stress some students encountered was accentuated by Muslim schools' expectations that Muslim students have already attained a reasonable understanding of Islam prior to enrolling at their schools. In Asmara's case, she had attended only state-secular schools until she was 13 years old and the language barrier at home between her and her parents meant they mistakenly assumed the Muslim school in New Zealand would teach all aspects of Islam, which was the norm in the Middle East. Asmara stated "*My parents didn't teach me these things*" about Islam (2018), which consequently led to her experiencing significantly more tension than other students who were taught Islam at home.

Correspondingly, Ilham encountered significant tension at the Muslim school to be the perfect Muslim role model for other students less knowledgeable than her in Islam, knowledge she attained through the support of her parents at home. This expectation to be a flawless Muslim created considerable stress in her daily interactions with school management and at times with her peers. Ilham managed this stress by keeping in mind that:

When I was struggling at school with all these social things – that was always in my head, I'm only here to get my grades and get out (Ilham, 2018).

The restricted nature of the Muslim curriculum troubled both Asmara and Ilham. These two students debated the merits of subjects such as music, considered 'haram' (not acceptable) at their schools.

I also love to dance and listen to music, but my religion says no, try to avoid it...I'm really conflicted [about wanting music in the curriculum] (Ilham, 2018).

Fortunately for Ilham, as discussed in the previous section, her conflicted emotional response to the lack of music as a subject at the Muslim school she attended was eased by her mother agreeing to purchase her an MP3 player to enjoy music at home.

School management processes with regards to perceived student impropriety, or more specifically the possibility that a student was not heterosexual, resulted in students being made to feel ashamed or guilty at the Muslim schools Asmara and Ilham attended:

A teacher came to me and said people are calling you gay. They shouldn't be able to say things like that to us (Ilham, 2018).

These types of student experiences at the Muslim schools left students feeling confused:

I wouldn't recommend anyone go to [the Muslim School she attended]. I was made to feel guilt and shame. It was a very confusing time (Asmara, 2018).

What was most concerning for these two Muslim students were the feeling of powerlessness, and their inability to speak up in times of need at their school, in particular with regard to matters or subjects considered 'haram' or if they had any personal issues or concerns of any kind:

There should have been a safe space [at school] ...even counselling was not a safe space (Ilham, 2018).

...we weren't that privileged to talk about [sex] because it's considered shameful (Asmara, 2018).

Ablah described very different problems and challenges that she experienced as a migrant Muslim student educated in a state-secular school in New Zealand.

I struggled to talk to my parents - but I wanted to. I wanted to talk about what I had learnt at school. My parents were ignorant to the systems of education in New Zealand and free thinking. I went from being a shy but happy kid to being extremely angry and lonely as I was changing in self-identity, but my parents didn't approve of it (Ablah, 2019a).

In comparison, Arif, the only male Muslim student interviewed who attended Buller High School, a state-secular co-educational school, spoke of positive experiences that reinforced his Muslim identity at school. He said the teachers and the leadership team at school made every effort to understand and accept students' differences:

Being in the New Zealand education system enhances what I know about myself because the differences are clear between my past education [in a Malaysian school which reinforced Islam] and [his] current education, which strengthens who I am (Arif, 2019).

Moreover, Arif added that the state-secular school he attended:

... expected me to achieve high.... They showed respect for my religion and me...one teacher had a problem with my sister's dress code. In class he doubted my sister and insulted her – he got in trouble for that (Arif, 2019).

Needless to say, Arif's education in a secular school was positive, respectful, and absent of the stress Muslim females experienced in their education. He felt satisfied that the school leadership had managed his sister's concerns in a way that would avoid similar situations from arising in the future (see the next section for more detail). Despite measures taken by the school to remedy Arif's sister's embarrassment,

the tension she experienced is shared by other female participants, as a result of other people's expectations of what constitutes being a 'good female Muslim' in a liberal democratic society.

SUMMARY

In summary, Muslim students experienced tension resulting from conflicting forces in their education and lives in New Zealand. Migrant Muslim families' choosing to hold onto their cultural heritage in itself is not a source of tension, but can be problematic if they choose not to understand aspects of New Zealand society that would support their engagement in society outside the Muslim community. Parents limited English capability adds to the tension some students experience, and in some cases, leads to misunderstandings about New Zealand's social and educational policies and laws that protect the rights of individuals. These social, cultural, religious, and communication factors emphasise the complexities that arise in a liberal democratic society that is also attempting to cater for increasingly diverse populations in its education system. I take a closer look at these complexities in the next part of this chapter, by discussing state-secular schools' and Muslim schools' responses to diverse Muslim students' education.

PART II. FINDING TWO – SCHOOLS’ APPROACH TO ISLAM

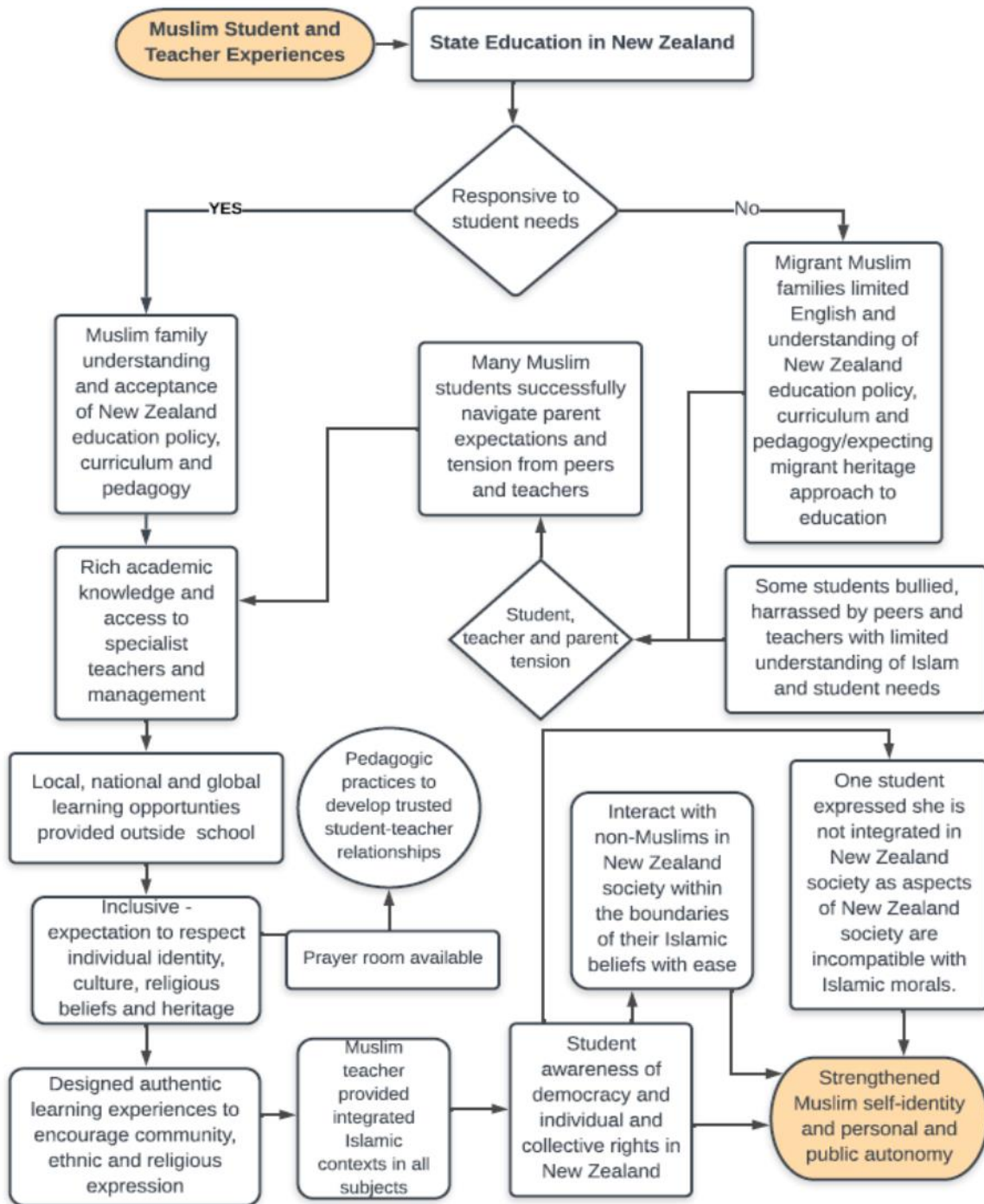
7.2 INTRODUCTION

Muslim students and teachers of Muslim students experience personal tension in the pedagogical context in New Zealand schools. The tension they experience is linked to the localised nature of schools’ curricula and the schools’ approach to Islam in education (see Chapters 2 and 10 for more detail). A comparison of education in New Zealand for Muslim students in state-secular and state-integrated Muslim schools is examined in this section. This section describes the tension students and teachers encountered and how they managed this tension at their respective schools. Participants’ educational experiences, specifically related to their schools’ responsiveness to Muslim student needs are examined. Part II of the chapter includes student and teacher views and experiences of state-secular schools’ and integrated Muslim schools’ responsiveness to Muslim students, which are further illustrated in flow charts (see Figures 10 and 11). These charts capture the interview comments and the flow-on effect for Muslim students in relation to schools’ responsiveness to their educational and individual needs.

7.2.1. STATE-SECULAR EDUCATION

The type of experience Muslim students have in New Zealand schools is impacted by the way in which schools respond to their educational and individual needs. At all schools, the parents, individual teachers, school leadership teams, and Board of Trustees who represent members of the school community, all influence the way in which a school responds to the needs of students. The students and teachers interviewed who were educated at public schools said that the more responsive their school was to their needs, the less tension they experienced (as illustrated in Figure 10). Each box in Figure 10 represents the three Muslim students who attended state-secular schools, including Asmara, who attended both public and integrated Muslim schools, Ablah and Arif, and comments from Muslim and non-Muslim teachers who had taught Muslim students in secular schools.

FIGURE 12: STATE-SECULAR SCHOOLS' RESPONSE TO MUSLIM STUDENTS



There were two key areas identified by participants where it was difficult for the state schools' they attended or taught at, to meet the needs of Muslim students, as illustrated above. Firstly, it was not always possible for state-secular schools to cater to conservative approaches to Islam in their curriculum and pedagogy (see Section 7.1.1). Secondly, sometimes students and teachers limited understanding of Islam created tension for Muslim families and students (as outlined in Figure 10), in some cases, this led to Muslim students being bullied and harassed by their peers and teachers.

7.2.1.1 MUSLIM STUDENTS' EXPERIENCES AND PERSPECTIVES

A lack of understanding of Islam by non-Muslim students and teachers meant that Asmara was bullied by her peers at the secular school, as she described 'for having a distinctly different physical appearance and for wearing a hijab'. She could not understand why people who had been her friends before wearing the hijab were no longer wanting to associate with her.

In year 6, when I didn't have my hijab and I was still developing friendships and actually starting to understand myself...everything was smooth and calm. Then I wore the hijab the year after and the same people who were my friends disassociated themselves from me. It was very strange for me because I didn't understand it. I was trying to explain to them that this is my religion and they were laughing at me. I was just really confused. I didn't get it [why the change towards her] until I was 11 or 12. So, it was like this is normal for me because I was going to the mosque every Saturday and going to Arabic classes (Asmara, 2018).

She concluded that "...kids are ignorant...and people aren't willing to educate them" (2018). This is similar to the situation Arif's sister experienced, where she was publicly embarrassed by her teacher in front of her peers over the clothes she was wearing and for not choosing to participate in some sports.

...one teacher had a problem with my sister's dress code. In class he [the teacher] doubted my sister and insulted her. He got in trouble for that. My sister is 15 in year 10. It was disrespectful [behaviour towards her], just because she can't join in, in the way he expected her to (Arif, 2019).

Arif explained that this was an isolated situation that was quite quickly managed by the school's leadership team, in a way that would better ensure school staff responded more appropriately to his sister's needs at that school.

In relation to the curriculum, the three Muslim students who attended secular schools expressed appreciation for having access to a wide range of local, national, and global learning opportunities that extended outside their own Muslim community. These same students described their educational

environment as an inclusive place of learning, where cultural differences, religious beliefs, and heritages were to be celebrated and respected. Arif spoke of his school's inclusive and respectful practices towards his faith:

They [the school staff] asked me if I needed a lunch pass to go home for prayer time and I didn't need to sign out to go and pray. They showed respect for my religion and me (Arif, 2019).

Ablah views her secular education positively reinforced people's differences. Moreover, she expressed appreciation that the secular education she received, enabled her to "be who I choose to be. I can decide who I talk to and who I shut out" (2019a). Ablah was also grateful to be introduced to new concepts, such as feminism, class divide, and broad and complex theories of comparative religions.

...all of this new knowledge and the freedom to let it shape my beliefs, made my home life difficult. I stopped engaging with my Muslim community. I came to dislike the judgmental nature of the Muslim community - which is not a fault of Islam: it's people who enact cult-like behaviour (Ablah, 2019a).

Ablah's experiences in secular education, in society, and her tertiary education in New Zealand has not weakened her Muslim identity or her views regarding Islam. On the contrary, her secular education reinforced her Muslim identity, and afforded her the right to accept that some aspects of a democratic society are not compatible with her morals.

Many aspects of New Zealand society I personally do not like as it goes against my moral code - namely the degree of sexuality reflected in the media that is made casual and inconsequential, the legalisation of prostitution as a form of labour, the degree to which alcohol consumption is made casual and acceptable, sport as occupying the place of religion (Ablah, 2017).

It could be argued that the different experiences the three Muslim students had may reflect the strength of their Muslim identity prior to attending a secular school and the age at which each student started their state education. On the one hand, Asmara, who attended only primary secular schools was also the only student who attended a secular school who spoke of being bullied by her peers. In Section 7.2.2.1, Asmara spoke of the additional stress she encountered as a teenager when her education was shifted to a Muslim school. On the other hand, Arif and Ablah started their secular education as teenagers and only spoke of positive encounters with their peers and teachers.

7.2.1.2 TEACHERS' EXPERIENCES AND PERSPECTIVES

Wasay, a Muslim teacher at a state-secular school spoke of tension he experienced when Muslim migrant families attempted to hold onto their heritage and their traditional cultural and religious values and norms in their children's education. Wasay considered that a desire to hold onto a set belief system is not directly the source of tension for Muslim students in New Zealand schools, rather the tension lies in parents' interpretation of the Qur'an, and in New Zealand laws, and in the public education system. These factors created tension for students, teachers, and Muslim parents who became frustrated if their expectations could not be met in state-secular schools. Nonetheless, Wasay witnessed many Muslim students successfully navigating the stress of peer pressure, misunderstandings from their teachers, and the tension of meeting the expectations of their parents.

Wasay describes the strategies he employs to develop relationships with Muslim students and their families, and to manage this tension:

I try and be an empathetic sounding board to specific issues they [students and their parents] have, supportive in specific contexts (like Ramadhan), and "talk to Dad" if pressures are getting too much. I'm also not afraid to have "uncle chats" if I feel they're [Muslim students are] moving into territory they shouldn't (Wasay, 2019).

Wasay used his position as a teacher and as a Muslim role model to support students when their behaviour and conversation 'moved into a territory' that could have been considered incongruent with Islam. To develop trusted relationships with his students, Wasay argues the merits of respecting their differences. He argues there is a need to acknowledge students' differences and to develop relational trust to effectively engage with all students in the teaching and learning process.

[This] starts with acknowledging every single student as an individual located within their own identity and history – identity is a spectrum, even if it sits within a 'definition' (Māori, Pākehā, Pacific heritage, Muslim etc), and so acknowledging and validating identity only comes from getting to know the individual (Wasay, 2019).

Wasay argues that getting to know his students is crucial to effectively design an inclusive educational program for the individual.

I work hard at gathering and referencing authentic experiences that allow me to connect with students – be these grounded in culture, community, ethnic or religious expression. These become valuable tools by which I am able to support and connect with students and their own contexts,

with the aim of being able to support them through a sense of validation and understanding (Wasay, 2019).

He considers New Zealand's (NCEA) Standards support his inclusive approach to education to support Muslim students:

I think NCEA is a system that can genuinely serve these needs, as the National Curriculum is so accommodating for so many things – Islamic contexts/topics within all subjects, and the scope for religious instruction (Wasay, 2109).

Wasay promotes NCEA Standards, which have the flexibility to tailor subject content to the needs of students' cultural or religious backgrounds. For example, a NCEA History Standard could focus on India's partition in the early 1900s and the conflict which arose between Hindu and Muslim people.

Ines originally interviewed as a non-Muslim teacher at a Muslim school, and a few years later she added comments in relation to the secular school she was working at, which in her opinion responded positively to students of all cultural and religious backgrounds. She witnessed that the secular school had established strong relationships with the local Muslim community and had a culture of reinforcing:

...their respect and support for each other. Muslim students have been enthusiastic to talk about their religion as people became more curious about Islam (Ines, 2019).

This state school's approach to diversity nurtured respect for "each other" (Ines, 2019), adding that:

The Muslim students are very friendly and kind to each other regardless of their culture or faith. They are really supportive for teachers to go to the mosque, and students are provided with time to pray (Ines, 2019).

SUMMARY – SECULAR EDUCATION

The Muslim students interviewed who attended state-secular schools experience various degrees of tensions and have learned to interact at a younger age with non-Muslims in New Zealand society, which I discuss in Part III of this chapter. The students' Muslim identities have been strengthened through their experiences at secular schools and each of them has found ways to participate in New Zealand society. The teachers' experiences at secular schools emphasised the flexibility to meet the needs of diverse students and the difficulties for some Muslim students and their parents when the education system is not able to offer a cultural or traditional religious approach to the curriculum.

7.2.2 STATE INTEGRATED MUSLIM EDUCATION

This section discusses state-integrated Muslim school responses to Muslim students to understand the tension students experienced. A multitude of issues were identified as sources of the tensions students and teachers encountered at the state-integrated schools, amongst these were language barriers, diverse and conflicting perspectives of Islam in public schools, limited governance capability of Board of Trustees, and the leadership of Muslim schools. Additionally, participants raised serious pedagogical concerns, dubious employment appointments, infringements on staff and students' individual rights that included an inability for non-Muslim teachers to express their own faith and for students to express their individual identity or interpretation of Islam. The challenges to design a curriculum that meets the needs of the Muslim community and the Ministry of Education created a gap between a localised Muslim curriculum and the democratic principles outlined in a national curriculum. Muslim school curriculum expectations that were incongruent with national curriculum expectations created considerable stress and frustration for students and teachers at the Muslim schools. The tension arose for students who wanted access to the same curriculum content that their peers could access in state-secular schools. The smaller student population at Muslim schools in New Zealand, also meant less public funding was available to employ specialist teachers in a wide range of academic subjects, further disadvantaging students' preparation for tertiary education. Moreover, the Private Schools Conditional Integration Act 1975 enables Muslim schools to employ predominantly Muslims in leadership and governance roles, many of whom have limited capability to lead the school (see ERO reports below), an issue that was cited as seriously concerning by many students and teachers.

Students and teachers described the flow-on effect these very serious issues had on their education and in their lives in Figure 11. It is worth mentioning at this point, that Ministry of Education has intervened on a number of occasions to support the governance and leadership of the Muslim schools in New Zealand. Schools are required to be reviewed by a government Education Review Office (ERO), who make recommendations to ensure students receive equity and excellence in their education. The following ERO reviews reinforce the concerns participants shared throughout the research.

This ERO report identified concerns about school governance, aspects of health and safety, and employment processes that were not meeting legislative requirements or good practice expectations. In addition, ERO identified concerns about school and curriculum leadership (Education Review Office, 2015).

The independent investigation, completed in November 2015, urged the board of trustees to provide effective ways for community or staff concerns to be heard and addressed...ERO recommends that the Ministry of Education provide external expertise to support the board to address the 2015 independent investigation report recommendations for improving governance and leadership practices (Education Review Office, 2016).

Ineffective board governance has been a long-standing issue for the school. Support through the Ministry of Education (MoE) statutory interventions and other professional support for trustees have not resulted in sustainable, effective governance. ERO recommends that the Secretary for Education consider continuing intervention under Part 7A of the Education Act 1989 in order to bring about the improvement in governance. (Education Review Office, 2020a).

7.2.2.1 STUDENTS' EXPERIENCES AND PERSPECTIVES

The following comments from students and teachers highlight the concerns that they raised in relation to management, which caused them considerable stress during their education at the Muslim schools.

I saw them [the Board of Trustee] fund...one teacher's [overseas] trip. [There was also] inappropriate sharing of students' and teachers' personal information. We understood she [a teacher] had problems because the principal would tell us, which was shocking – a breach of privacy (Asmara, 2018).

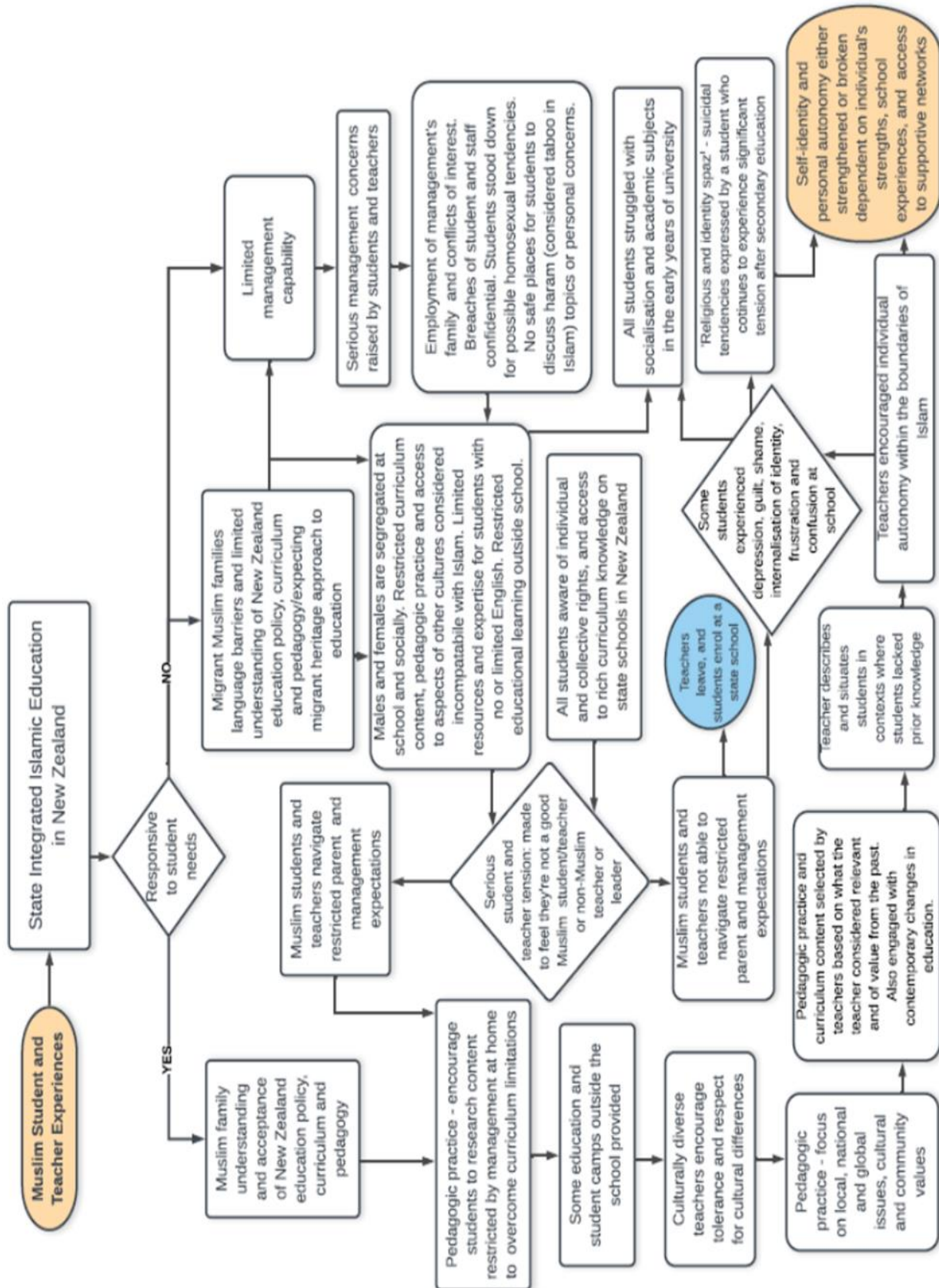
Ilham was concerned with what she described as conflicts of interest when the school Board of Trustees and leadership appointed family members to key roles in the school. She described some students and teachers encountering stress as a result of these appointments that she considered should not have taken place. *“If it was my school, I would not hire my family (Ilham, 2018).*

Breaches of student and staff confidentiality, student stand-downs for possible displays of homosexual tendencies, and the inability for the Muslim schools to provide safe places to discuss matters considered haram (taboo in Islam) or to discuss their own personal concerns created significant tension for students and teachers. Asmara and Ilham portray this below:

...we weren't that privileged to talk about [sex] because it's considered shameful (Asmara, 2018).

There should have been a safe space [at school] ...even counselling was not a safe space (Ilham, 2018).

FIGURE 13: INTEGRATED MUSLIM SCHOOL RESPONSE TO MUSLIM STUDENT



There was a general feeling of frustration and disappointment by students and teachers at the Muslim schools as they were made to feel as though they were not good Muslim students, Muslim teachers, or non-Muslim teachers, or leaders, by the school principal and at times the governance of the school. For example:

...there were a lot of times when you felt down. Mainly because you were told you are not good enough (Ilham, 2018).

...they teach religion...in a way that brings your spirituality down. They make you think you're not a good Muslim (Asmara, 2018).

Student's spoke of infringements on their basic human rights by leadership at the Muslim schools:

... they [the school] were very stupid about the way they dealt with sexuality. They even went as far as assuming someone was homosexual and stood them down for that. They did that to these two girls (Asmara, 2018).

A teacher came to me and said, do you realise students and teachers are calling you gay, bi, a lesbian with that other person? My opinion on it is, I don't like it. I was really disappointed. It made me really sad. She shouldn't have told me [what others were saying]. I could have done without knowing (Ilham, 2018).

Muslim students' understanding of New Zealand society meant that they were aware of their individual rights to enjoy the wider curriculum that is more readily available to students in secular schools in New Zealand. This awareness created further tension for the students who attended state-integrated Muslim schools where their curriculum was restricted. The restricted nature of the curriculum and the very conservative school policies and practices of the state-integrated Muslim school meant that some parents and students with a more contemporary approach to Islam chose to leave the school in favour of a secular school that offered a wider curriculum. All Muslim students interviewed expressed frustration knowing that they were not able to access equitable education and a wide and rich curriculum available in New Zealand's secular schools.

...if I had the chance to do it all over again, I wouldn't go to that school [state-integrated Muslim school] because I feel like I didn't get sufficient education to the level that other students at university have right now (Ilham, 2018).

Students' spoke of specific curriculum concerns where core English and Science subjects were not available at the Muslim school, learning that was a requirement to enrol in tertiary education. Asmara was concerned that the Muslim school did not provide adequate English lessons for students whose first language is not English, knowing that it would limit her friends career options in New Zealand.

[Her Muslim friend] has been put down [a year level] twice, because she's not understanding English. Where are the ESoL [English for Second Language] teachers? Honestly, they barely have any ESoL classes. My friend [name withheld] is struggling. She wants to go to university. How is she supposed to go to university with the level of English [she] is provided with at that school? (Asmara, 2018)

Ilham felt disadvantaged by the lack of Physics in her last few years at school, as it was a core subject required to enrol in her chosen field of tertiary study.

We were told that we needed four people [four students] to be able to take harboret [correspondence classes]. I gathered four students, and said come on guys please do physics. They said okay cool, but then we weren't offered it, and that was critical [core subjects for her university studies the following year] (Ilham, 2018).

7.2.2.2 TEACHERS' EXPERIENCES AND PERSPECTIVES

The restrictions placed on the curriculum, pedagogic practices, and access to aspects of other cultures considered incompatible with Islam, frustrated students and teachers. These restrictions partly stem from Muslim school communities' interpretation of New Zealand's social and educational policies, and of the laws that protect the rights of individuals, as discussed earlier in this chapter. However, while schools are able to design their own localised curriculum, the education policy also requires that students have access to the eight subjects outlined in the national curriculum. Despite this right, issues arise in Muslim schools when the school principal misunderstands individual rights and how that relates to the New Zealand Curriculum (Ministry of Education, 2007):

In trying to implement New Zealand Curriculum subjects like Music, Art, Drama, and Dance are areas where overwhelming majority of the parents exercise their rights under the Human Rights Act to withdraw their daughters e.g. the curriculum requires students to play a musical instrument but the parents do not want their daughters to play an instrument. (Muslim school principal, 2015⁸)

⁸The principal was interviewed as part of the Masters' research undertaken in 2015. Also refer to: Lomax and Rata (2016).

Some teachers at Muslim schools found creative ways to overcome curriculum restrictions, such as Ablah's approach below, where she directs students to choose and research topics at home that would otherwise have been considered too controversial to research at school.

From the first day I allow students to have much choice over the topics and texts they choose to study. They need to value their learning and be interested in the material they are dealing with. Sometimes they choose very controversial topics and texts that I cannot teach in class - but they examine them on their own [at home] (2017).

Ablah added that this did not always make her very popular with the management of the school she taught at, but it was her way to have students engaged in a wider curriculum that would otherwise not have been accessible to them at the Muslim school (2017).

I have learnt to be more compliant over the years at the Muslim school. This is not because it is what I truly believe, but because I am instructed to teach restricted content and I am on my last warning. I encourage students to learn beyond the classroom, where I am restricted in what I teach inside of the classroom (Ablah, 2015).

Ablah did not let the criticism she encountered from the school governance and leadership change her approach to the curriculum. Other teachers were not able to deliver their subject speciality in any meaningful way, as the subject itself was considered haram (inappropriate) to school leadership and governance.

In music, I don't think they could get much knowledge because of the limitations in the school [on their curriculum], because they can't use instruments, certain instruments were banned, only voice (Ines, 2018).

Pedagogical restrictions and concerns were raised by other teachers, who considered it was essential that Muslim students experience education outside the Muslim community to understand the social environment that they now live in, in New Zealand.

The students told me they never go anywhere and they loved it [a field trip away from school] and they couldn't thank me enough. I was shocked. This [trip] gave them confidence to step outside into the real world and they felt safe (Awhireinga, 2018).

The shock Awhireinga refers to related to students very limited experiences outside their own Muslim community. She explained that while the students were initially hesitant about how non-Muslims might respond to them in public, they were also excited to experience education outside of their Muslim community, and expressed increased confidence to engage in the secular environment after the school trip.

Harassment and intolerance towards non-Muslim teachers have been described as an ongoing issue since the Muslim schools were established. Historically there has been a sense of distrust of non-Muslim teachers as Ines (2018) and Ratnajyoti (2019) described in Chapter 6, and as discussed in earlier research (Lomax, 2015).

For me, I found it difficult when some things were interpreted differently. I felt like I wasn't trusted because I was different for example, teaching in a Muslim school, because I wasn't Muslim (Ines, 2018).

Furthermore, an expectation to integrate Islam into all learning areas in the curriculum and in teaching programs without prior knowledge or experience of the faith, creates additional and often serious tension for non-Muslim teachers. All non-Muslim teachers interviewed for this research who had taught at Muslim schools identified the myriad of issues already discussed above, a lack of trust in them as non-Muslims, and the expectation to integrate Islam in the curriculum and in their pedagogy, were the reasons they chose to leave the school. This does not support the students' concerns regarding Muslim schools' limited subject specialist expertise as these were the teachers the school desperately needed to help students meet their academic needs prior to attending university.

Ratnajyoti (2019) a non-Muslim teacher described a situation where one non-Muslim teacher was being harassed by the school's principal following the attacks on the Muslim community in Christchurch. She was disturbed to see the school principal tugging on one of the non-Muslim teacher's clothing, reprimanding the teacher publicly for dressing inappropriately.

Non-Muslim teachers are targeted by the principal, who has tugged on one teacher's top to say it was not long enough. The expectation for Muslim and non-Muslim teachers is that all tops must be knee length (Ratnajyoti, 2019).

Ratnajyoti's (2019) concerns were compounded knowing that this teacher's clothing was not flagged as a cause for concern pre-the tragic events in Christchurch, and the way in which this teacher had dressed had not changed post this tragedy, yet she was being harassed by the principal. Ratnajyoti (2019) added that the principal also notified the school's proprietors⁹ who sent this teacher a warning. This situation ended up in the hands of New Zealand's secondary school union, the Post Primary Teachers Association (PPTA),

⁹ "Proprietors of state-integrated schools own or lease their school property and are responsible for capital works" (Ministry of Education, 2020e). Proprietors are not entitled "to question the curriculum or the teaching methods adopted by the teachers, both of which are, subject to the provisions of this Act, controlled by the principal of the State integrated school" (State Integrated Education (Update) Amendment Act 2017,S456 (2)(i)).

with a regional union representative warning the principal of her inappropriate behaviour (Ratnajyoti, 2019). Ratnajyoti (2019) described a school environment of intolerance towards non-Muslim teachers, who were no longer allowed to wear a cross or have a bible visible on the school grounds as a symbol of their own faith, and they wear also required to wear a hijab, alongside their Muslim colleagues, from Term One of the school year, in January 2020.

Ratnajyoti was concerned with the post-Christchurch response at the Muslim school she taught at, observing a:

...turning inwards at the school. Proprietors have met to reinforce the Islamification of the school curriculum.... And an onslaught of extreme views of Islam being preached at the school [post-Christchurch] (Ratnajyoti, 2019).

The response described above, by the Muslim school proprietors, principal, and some family members to the tragic demise of Muslims in Christchurch has unfortunately elevated the level of tension Muslim students experience. While the reinforcement of Islam in every area of school life is quite likely intended to reinforce a strong Muslim student identity, a tension was already experienced by students at the Muslim school prior to the tragic event in Christchurch, and that tension was already described as extreme. So much so, one student described her experiences at that particular Muslim school which Ratnajyoti taught at, as a school that made her feel as though she was ‘being caged’ in comparison to her experiences at university where she felt free for the first time in her education in New Zealand (Asmara, 2018).

By reinforcing a traditional religious response to education that “is concrete and fixed irrespective of mobility, success and other external changes in social conditions” (Friedman, 1994, p. 191) students are encountering considerable stress as Ablah’s explains:

Students sometimes face extreme personal challenges that may bring shame to them and their families. Even when a student perseveres through this, they are not supported to share their story due to notions of shame. There are internal aspects of the Islamic experience that (the Muslim school) is passing up in favour of looking good to the community. This does not reflect the reality of our students lives – and, again, does them a disservice (Ablah, 2015).

Ablah has accentuated her concerns for Muslim students, when the Muslim community chooses to ignore the issues students are experiencing, in favour of an inflexible approach to Islam that lacks any desire to understand and/or accept the cultural differences, values, and norms promoted in New Zealand’s secular education system and society.

SUMMARY – INTEGRATED MUSLIM EDUCATION

The very conservative school policies and practices expected of students at the state-integrated Muslim school, and the manner in which students were often made to feel as though they were not good Muslims meant that those students often chose to disassociate themselves from Muslim associations beyond secondary school to avoid the tension they experienced at school. This evidence provided above confirms there are some serious issues the Muslim community in New Zealand need to consider if they want to meet the needs of students and their teachers in state-integrated Muslim schools. Participants were genuinely concerned about nepotism and the conflicts of interest this created at Muslim schools. Migrant Muslim parents' understanding and acceptance of New Zealand's social and education policies and laws, and state-integrated governance and leadership capability at Muslim schools were also found to be the greatest sources of tension for Muslim students. Some parents and teachers of Muslim students were equally frustrated and experienced tension with the restrictions placed on the curriculum and pedagogy. Some Muslim students and their families, and teachers who were frustrated with these restrictions chose to leave the school in preference for a state-secular school, where they can access a wider school curriculum, and more capable school leadership.

Some students who spent all their secondary school years at Muslim schools found that they struggled with socialisation outside the Muslim community and with their tertiary studies. These students also felt a need to spend additional time catching-up academically to their state-secular educated varsity peers, who they believed had received a wider and richer curriculum than they had access to at the Muslim schools they attended. This brings us back to a localised curriculum, where I argue that the greater autonomy available to Muslim schools in designing their Muslim curriculum has led to a gap between that local curriculum and the democratic principles of the national curriculum. The tension experienced by the students and teachers at the Muslim schools is also located in that gap.

PART III. FINDING THREE - TERTIARY EDUCATION AN INTEGRATIVE EXPERIENCE

7.3 INTRODUCTION

The third finding highlights that while Muslim students educated in New Zealand experience various levels of tension, their experiences at the tertiary level has helped them to more confidently manage this tension, and to interact with non-Muslim people and those of the opposite gender. This finding resulted from interviewing only Muslim students who had been educated at a state-secular or state-integrated Muslim school, and who were attending or had completed studies at a New Zealand tertiary institution. By focusing on this group of students, I was able to provide an opportunity for Muslim students to reflect on their earlier education in New Zealand schools, and to describe how these experiences have shaped or influenced their individual identity, and a citizenship identity. The students' tertiary education was on the whole very positive, yet at the same time very different. Both students who attended state school did not identify the same stresses experienced by the three students who attended an integrated Muslim school in New Zealand.

7.3.1 POST STATE-SECULAR EDUCATION

Muslim students who had attended state-secular secondary schools did not express any level of tension compared to students who had attended Muslim schools in New Zealand. Students who had attended state-secular schools reported that they had already developed socialisation skills that enabled them to interact with non-Muslims and those of the opposite gender, which supported their transition to university. It would be fair to say, that Muslim students' ability to confidently engage at university with non-Muslims and the opposite sex required an understanding of each other's differences.

Ablah's secular education at secondary school and at tertiary inspired her:

...to be financially independent, I wanted to choose to marry or not marry, I wanted the opportunity to experience both haram and halal things, and then learn and choose my own path (Ablah, 2019a).

She also chose to live on her own as a single Muslim woman after finishing her university studies, a decision that was considered unacceptable to other members of the Muslim community, and the reason she chose to stop 'engaging with her Muslim community' (Ablah, 2019a). Ablah has also chosen to marry a New Zealand born man, who converted to Islam to enable her to marry him.

Arif describes his tertiary experiences as an opportunity to learn about other people's beliefs and is keen to learn "new things as long as it's not against my religion...because I want to learn about how people learn and their lives" (2019). He considers that he has a "very strong character and I'm not worried about going anywhere in the world" (Arif, 2019). Arif has comfortably transitioned to university life, sharing accommodation with non-Muslims, and has joined the university basketball team and investment club.

7.3.2 POST STATE-INTEGRATED MUSLIM EDUCATION

The Muslim students who had attended Muslim schools initially struggled with socialisation with non-Muslims and those of the opposite gender at university. Menaal (2019) shared that she had never had contact with men outside of her own family until she entered university. Prior to attending university, she had been accustomed to an insulated life surrounded by her Muslim community.

I was never in proper contact with any men outside my family and relative zone. As I studied [at an integrated Muslim school], I was very overwhelmed by the multi-ethnic diversity at university. To add to that [the integrated Muslim school] has segregation for ...boys and girls, including male/female staff. [University] was a major shock...I was the invisible one [in her first year at university] (2019).

Menaal's tension stemmed from the insular Muslim school environment she was accustomed to, which had not prepared her for the diverse student body she was now expected to work alongside at university. It was at that point in her life, during her tertiary education that she experienced a manifestation of her own difference in New Zealand society as she had only ever socialised within the Muslim community in New Zealand. Menaal (2019) describes this time in her life as a 'major shock', where she had to overcome her fears of being different to be able to succeed at university. In her second year at university, she made a brave move to become a student mentor that helped her overcome her fears of interacting with non-Muslims. She now believes:

University has made me a stronger person.... [it showed me] that despite my religious beliefs, I live in a multi-ethnic society and have to face them on a daily basis... [it helped me] to communicate with other genders (Menaal, 2019).

Moreover, Menaal's experiences at university have strengthened her identity, and helped her to accept that she is part of a Muslim community and other groups within the wider secular society:

I can belong to many communities at one time, young educated female, working, Muslim, my cultural group, married, etc...I don't have to sacrifice any part of my identity to fit it into any community or group (Menaal, 2019).

Other Muslim students also expressed high levels of tension at the start of their tertiary education, as Asmara describes:

...now that I'm out of [the Muslim school and attending university] I'm actually in this kind of religious spaz. I'm really confused. Part of it is because of the difference in the religious sects (Asmara, 2018).

However, tertiary education was also the escape Asmara sought to free herself from the tensions she experienced at the Muslim school.

High school was a cage and university is like being freed (Asmara, 2018).

Muslim students also found ways to manage negative tension in a way that was viewed positively, as Ilham shares below:

Those struggles and those hardships [at the Muslim school] really developed our self-identity. I know who I am (Ilham, 2018).

Ilham's tertiary education and experiences are also the first time in her life that she recognised that she is different in many ways to non-Muslims. Ilham revealed how she came to the realisation that "*Oh, I am a bit different. Perhaps it's because of my hijab?*" (2018) This delay in recognising this difference she said was the result of her Muslim community being "*...accustomed to isolating ourselves with other Muslims*" (2018).

SUMMARY

Asmara, Ilham, and Arif are currently enjoying new experiences as members of their university recreation centres, university sports teams, publishing clubs, and investment clubs. Two of these students are still living with their families, while Arif, the male Muslim student, who was educated at a public school, is currently renting with Muslims and non-Muslims in Christchurch. Menaal is married and teaching, and Ablah is also teaching and married to a New Zealand Muslim convert, and she has started a family.

The two Muslim students who attended co-educational state-secular schools did not refer to any specific tension that they experienced transitioning to tertiary education in New Zealand. Whereas, university has

presented the three Muslim students who attended Muslim schools with their first opportunity to experience independence from their families and to interact with non-Muslims and the opposite sex. There is a positive response to the challenges Muslim students have experienced reflected in the sophisticated ways they are now negotiating the conflicting forces they are exposed to in education, in their homes, and in their lives in New Zealand society. Each of these students have developed the confidence to define their personal identity, and are now enjoying new levels of autonomy, regardless of their family's interpretation of Islam or whether they attended state-secular or Muslim schools.

CHAPTER 8. MUSLIM IDENTITY IN A LIBERAL SOCIETY

8.0 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapters have shown that Muslim students are experiencing a tension in their homes, their education, and in New Zealand society. This chapter describes how the tension has played out in Muslim students' lives in relation to their understanding of personal identity. Section 8.1 provides an overview of the political and social landscape that an individual Muslim encounters when defining their personal identity in New Zealand. I also examine New Zealand's liberal policies that protect individuals' rights to rationalise, redefine, and express a personalised identity in the first section. The tensions Muslim students experience in an attempt to access their individual right to freely manifest a personalised identity is examined in Sections 8.2 and 8.3. Section 8.2 analyses the developing identities of students who attended state-integrated Muslims schools. Section 8.3 examines the tensions and the developing identities of Muslim students who attended state-secular schools in New Zealand.

The empirical data presented in this section has been analysed through a social realist lens, drawing on the theories of Friedman, Durkheim, and Habermas (see Chapter 4). I also draw on the views of political philosopher, Professor Lord Bhikhu Parekh, to understand identity formation in a modern multicultural society. As a consequence of the crossover of the theorists' concepts, I have established an epistemic structure of logically arranged concepts that link to one another to formulate an overall understanding of the research phenomena (Rata, 2017). I apply Habermas' (1984, 1987, 1990, 1998, 2008) theories of the 'communicative action', 'detranscendentalised lens' and 'moral theory' to explore the relationships between communication, morality, socialization, education, and identity formation. These theories of Habermas' are drawn on in more detail in the final chapter of this thesis in relation to autonomy and social cohesion. Jonathan Friedman's (1992, 1994) conceptual framework of an 'identity space of modernity' is applied to the data to examine the interface between global processes and identity formation. Durkheim's (1995) 'hermeneutics of suspicion' has been used to analyse the respondents' reasoning. His concept of the 'sacred and the profane' (Durkheim, 1995, 2001) is also linked to Habermas' (1984, 1987, 1990) 'moral theory' to analyse students' moral reasoning. These sociologists have been chosen as they all theorise the individualising and socialising processes of modern pluralistic nations such as New Zealand society.

8.1 IDENTITY IN NEW ZEALAND SOCIETY

Personal identity provides the norms by which individuals judge themselves and is the basis of their integrity (Parekh, 2008). The opportunity to develop and express personal identity aids the individual to set their own moral compass, based on their personal choices and actions. A society that enables authentic self-expression supports the individual to plan and structure a life based on personal needs and beliefs without the constraints of other people's expectations. Nevertheless, personal identity does not exist in a vacuum. Rather, Muslim identity is "shaped by, on the one hand, discourses long associated with Islamic ethics and law, and, on the other hand, circumstances extrinsic to this normative tradition that inform the way in which those internal discourses are selectively reconstructed in the face of modern plurality" (Hefner, 2014, p.131). Moreover, New Zealand's modern society influences Muslim identity formation by exposing them to social media, "advertising, fashion, consumption, television, and popular culture [which] constantly destabilise [a traditional Muslim] identity and contribute to producing more unstable, fluid, shifting, and changing identities in the contemporary scene" (Kellner, 1992, p. 172). It is not surprising, given discordant social mores that some Muslims experience tension in a liberal society and choose to hold fast to 'traditional-religious-ethnic' identities as the:

...solution to lack of identity, [and] the [perceived] failure of the modern project. The individual feels the acute need to engage himself in a larger project in which identity is concrete and fixed irrespective of mobility, success and other external changes in social conditions" (Friedman, 1992, p. 361).

This traditional-religious-ethnic identity provides comfort in the familiarity of tradition. Given the divide between traditional-religious identities and the modern fluidity of identity in New Zealand, it is understandable that tension exists for some Muslims living in New Zealand.

In order to understand identity formation and the tensions Muslim students experience in their lives, there is a need to understand the social and political environment and the laws that individuals encounter when determining and expressing identity. As discussed in detail in Chapter 2, New Zealand's liberal policies of tolerance and acceptance of religious, cultural, and individual diversity are intended to promote an inclusive and united society, as New Zealand's current Prime Minister suggests:

Many of those who will have been affected by this shooting [Christchurch attack against Muslims] may be migrants to New Zealand, they may be refugees here. They have chosen to make New Zealand their home, and it is their home. They are us (Ardern, 2019).

Nevertheless, a united society is not represented by an Islamophobic tragedy of this nature:

Such an attack...indicates both an atomised society on the one hand and a divided society on the other. The atomization is apparent through the destructive capability of individual interconnection through social media. On the surface, a single individual acted to produce destruction but was, in fact, bolstered by an atomised 'audience' (Peace & Spoonley, 2019, p. 117).

The Christchurch tragedy may very well represent an ideologically divided nation with regards to the acceptance of Muslims in New Zealand. With this tragedy in mind, it is little wonder Muslims experience tension regarding a personalised identity in a society where some people view them as a threat to the country's national identity. Identity formation is further problematised for Muslim students' experiencing a homogenised version of Islam and Muslim identity that is taught at integrated Muslim schools when that version differs from their own and/or their family's interpretation of Islam and identity.

Participants regarded diverse interpretations of New Zealand laws in students' homes and by school leaders at the Muslim schools as a source of personal stress for students' attempting to define and express an individual identity. Moreover, denial by parents and school leaders who have control over an individual's right in New Zealand to self-identify and to choose, for example, their preferred sexual orientation, creates significant stress for Muslims, as Asmara (2018) describes in the next section. The issues that arise in some cases result from a misunderstanding by members of the Muslim community of modern law (see below) in a liberal democratic society, laws that protect the rights of the individual to define their identity and to 'live Islam' on their terms.

Modern law is formal, because it rests on the premise that anything that is not explicitly forbidden is permitted. It is individualistic, because it makes the individual person the bearer of rights. It is coercive, because it is sanctioned by the state and applies only to legal or rule-conforming behaviour - it permits the practice of religion but it cannot prescribe religious views. It is positive law, because it derives from the (modifiable) decisions of a political legislature; and finally, it is procedurally enacted law, because it is legitimated by a democratic process (Taylor, 1994, p. 121).

Furthermore, New Zealand's laws offer individuals freedom and protection to self-identify and the fluidity to change how they identify themselves at any given time. These laws protect the individual's right to challenge and disregard a traditional identity in preference of a self-determined personal identity. Gender identity for example, has been officially defined by Statistics New Zealand, the government's official data agency, as:

...each person's deeply felt internal and individual experience of gender, which may or may not correspond with the sex recorded at birth (adapted from International Commission of Jurists, 2007, p. 6). A person's gender identity can change over their lifetime, and can be expressed in a number of ways and forms. This expression includes outward social markers, such as name, clothing, hairstyles, mannerisms, voice, and other behaviours...Gender diverse is having a gender identity or gender expression that differs from a given society's dominant gender roles (Statistics New Zealand, 2019).

Accordingly, there are a wide range of laws in New Zealand that protect an individual's right to self-identify. New Zealand's Bill of Rights (NZBORA) 1990 sets out a range of democratic civil and political rights intended to i) "affirm protect, and promote human rights and fundamental freedoms in New Zealand; and ii) to affirm New Zealand's commitment to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights 1966" (NZBORA, 1990, s. 1). The NZBORA protects people's rights of freedom of expression, freedom of movement, their religious beliefs, and their right to live freely without discrimination. New Zealand's Human Rights Act 1993 also protects individual's rights and all of these Acts stipulate it is unlawful to discriminate or treat people unfairly or less favourably based on identity signifiers.

New Zealand's basic rights and freedoms require that people cannot be discriminated against on the grounds of age, colour, disability, employment status, ethical belief, ethnic or national origin, family status, marital status, political opinion, race, religious belief, sexual orientation, or gender identity (New Zealand Government, 2019). These rights extend to public places, where it is also unlawful to discriminate against people based on identity in government departments, educational institutions, in places of employment, and in matters of housing and accommodation. Additionally, the New Zealand Government has ratified a number of international conventions and agreements to further protect human rights, women's rights, disabled people, indigenous rights, economic, social, and cultural rights, and the rights of migrants.

Over the past decade, New Zealand's Human Rights Commission has also supported various global attempts to obtain a United Nations resolution to affirm and protect all people's human rights regardless of their sexual orientation or chosen individual identity. The Human Rights Commission issued the following statement in support of globally adopting principles of non-discrimination at the 61st United Nations Annual Conference in Geneva on the 14 April 2005:

Sexual orientation is a fundamental aspect of every individual's identity and an immutable part of self. It is contrary to human dignity to force an individual to change their sexual orientation or to discriminate against them on this basis. And it is repugnant for the State to tolerate violence

committed against individuals because of sexual orientation. ...we recognise that sexuality is a sensitive and complex issue. But we are not prepared to compromise on the principle that all people are equal in dignity, rights and freedoms. The Commission must uphold the principle of non-discrimination. We urge all states to recognise this common ground and to participate in debate (Human Rights Commission, 2005).

In 2006, a group of international Human Rights experts met in Indonesia and developed the Yogyakarta Principles as an international standard to measure State human rights performance. The New Zealand Bill of Rights Act, 1990, the Human Rights Act 1993, and the Yogyakarta Principles, 2006, includes the protection of gender minorities in New Zealand and their choice of preferred sexual orientation (Human Rights Commission, 2019a, 2019b, 2019c).

It is against this socio-political backdrop that the Ministry of Education encourages New Zealand schools to implement policies of inclusiveness, such as gender-neutral uniforms and uni-sex lavatories in schools. Despite this, challenges remain for Muslims who prefer traditional forms of collective life to the interests of individuals that are promoted in New Zealand's democratic society. The challenge for traditional solidarity in a heterogeneous liberal society such as in New Zealand is that tradition becomes undone by new structures of modernity, where the individual is freer, the role of the family and church have been weakened, and the sole collective identity that emerges stronger than before, is the State (Durkheim, 1995, 2001; Riley, 2015).

Taking liberal identity policies into account, how then does a Muslim identify themselves in a society where there is growing awareness and acceptance that modern and postmodern identity is chosen by the individual and is reflexive? The individual's rights to choose their ethnic identity (see Chapter 2), religious or non-religious identity, gender diversity, gender neutrality (as neither male nor female), and their sexual identity without fear of persecution in New Zealand, is however constrained by power and control relationships in the individuals' lives. The reflexive notion of identity in New Zealand enables individuals to interrupt the traditional norms of identity and create contemporary norms of personal identity. This modern approach to identity in New Zealand is a source of tension for Muslim students in their homes, their schools, and in society.

8.2 IDENTITY SHAPED BY MUSLIM SCHOOLS

Individual identity has an inescapable historical dimension, and is best accounted for in the form of a story, a narrator, of how one came to construct one's world in this way... [It is] a site of many overlaps and crossings-over. It has its centre, which also falls within the ambit of other centres located in other identities. (Parekh, 2008, p. 29)

This section is an analysis of the narratives of the students who attended Muslim schools in New Zealand. I examine students' frustrations and tensions, and some of the internal and external factors impacting on their ability to express a personalised identity (the factors relating to schools are examined in more detail in Chapter 10). The empirical data presented in this chapter has been analysed through a social realist lens, drawing on the theories of Friedman, and Durkheim, Habermas, and the views of Parekh to understand students' identity formation in New Zealand society.

8.2.1 ASMARA

Asmara was by far the most personally and socially challenged student interviewed due to her bisexuality, which conflicted with her Muslim education, and her family and community's traditional view of what constitutes an acceptable Muslim identity. Her bisexual identity is considered by her Muslim community too far out of step with what they consider acceptable, leaving her burdened with an "unsustainable identity" (Parekh, 2008, p. 14). Asmara's narrative below is a reflection of an identity that is in a state of unsustainable tension:

When they [the Muslim School] approached me about it, they asked me if I was gay. And you can't say "I'm gay". So, I said, "No, I'm not". But coming to the end of [year 13], I kind of announced it to the class and the teacher was there. I kind of wasn't worried - some students took it as a joke. I thought great...I didn't care. But the teacher...said something [to the school Principal] and I had to sit in counselling. I was like, fine yeah, I'm leaving anyway...If you guys think I'm going to go out and shame the religion or whatever, that's your view.... from there I was shut down.

I'm bi and I don't act upon it, because that's against my religion. Sometimes it's a struggle for me, and I respect my religion enough to say this is not what I'm going to carry on with in my life. At least I have a chance of liking guys in my life. So, I'm just going to stick to that. So, look and not act on it (Asmara, 2018).

Her narrative demonstrates the 'liberal paradox' an individual may experience attempting to express a personal identity in a modern society that presents the conditions that empower people while at the same time that constrain them (Berman, 1992). In this case, Asmara expresses tension experienced when

identifying herself as bi-sexual. The tension highlights the constraints that are placed on Asmara by her family and a schools' traditional religious beliefs regarding sexual-identity. The difficulty Asmara and others like her are confronted with is their inability to access their right to express an authentic personal identity. This is evident with some gay Muslims in New Zealand sharing that their families remain a source of conflict in relation to their homosexual identity, which they say is "temporarily resolved through pretence" ("Muslim and Gay", 2016).

Asmara believes students should be free to explore religion, culture, and politics beyond the boundaries set for acquiring knowledge by Muslim schools. She contested that the Muslim school she attended placed too much emphasis on restricting access to knowledge that they considered 'too liberal' and too much time imposing strict regulations on how to be a 'good Muslim'.

If someone asked me if developing yourself is to go through hardship, [I would say] it's different for me. I feel like studying your religion, your culture, being involved in political talk, opening your mind, whether it's online or you go in a group or whatever [is important], it doesn't have to be about going to a school that drains you physically, mentally, emotionally and spiritually especially (Asmara, 2018).

Asmara is literally at a crossroad of an emergent culture, aware of her individual identity, and the degrees of autonomy she can enjoy, while at the same time she is experiencing a breakdown of her previous hierarchical and holistic structures (Friedman, 1994). The conflicting forces she was exposed to at secondary school and in her home were the main source of her extreme tension, leading to her depression and suicidal tendencies (Asmara, 2018). I would argue that Asmara's drive for self-knowledge forces her to view the world through a new world lens. It requires her to search for her place in it, bringing her face-to-face with the constraints on her newly developing ontological world view.

The traditionalist response to education, which Asmara experienced at the Muslim school she attended, opposes aspects of Western modernity and its ongoing desire for rationalised development in preference to a reinstatement of traditional values and cultural norms (Friedman, 1992) in curricula and pedagogy. It was this traditionalist approach to Islam in education, and the school's inability to support Asmara's modern sense of identity that left her confused and in a "kind of religious spaz" (Asmara, 2018). It could be argued that she is experiencing something similar to what Marcus (1998) describes, the "...identity processes in modernity [that] concern a 'homeless mind' that cannot be permanently resolved as coherent or as a stable formation in theory or in social life itself" (p. 60). I would also argue that Asmara's tension resides in "the fundamental religious dichotomy between the sacred and the profane [that] is parallel to

the social dichotomy between the common life of the community in the private life of the individual” (Durkheim, 1995, p. xxii).

8.2.2 ILHAM

Students are going through a lot at that age [at 16]. You're like trying to fit in [at school and in life]. You're like, some people are going through full-blown depression. Perhaps there is a smile on their face. Perhaps they look like the most responsible student. But no... (Ilham, 2018).

Ilham struggled to feel comfortable in her own skin while at the Muslim school. She clarified, the “*But no...*” comment above, by analogising to the ‘brave face of responsibility’ she put on to appease others in her attempt to be the very best Muslim role model at school. Her responses emphasise her consideration of the interests and values of individuals and the collective Muslim community. Ilham’s ethical deliberation draws on individuals’ and collective traditions, history, and values to arrive at an authentic interpretation of identity and religion in a secular society. Her concerns for individual and collective interests, and the school’s response to what constitutes Muslim identity contributed to her struggles to feel as though she was a ‘good Muslim’. She articulated that there were many times:

...when you felt down. Mainly because you were told you are not good enough [at the Muslim School], not directly but indirectly... I was only 16. I was still trying to be a teenager and live, but the amount of pressure that I was put under indirectly. You have to be this perfect role model. The students look up to you, and if I made a mistake, I could not openly tell a teacher because I knew that I would be judged straightaway (Ilham, 2018).

Ilham’s rationalises her identity through a type of ethical-existential discourse engaging in:

...an open-minded give-and-take about what one really cares about and finds important and tries to make sense of one’s personal commitments and values by fitting them into a larger sense of broader values, personal relationships, [and] life history (Anderson, 2011, p.98).

Her piety for Islam seems to exist in parallel to an understanding that human thought is not fixed indefinitely. Like Durkheim (1995) she suggests that the way we view things (in this case, in education) can change and varies “according to time and place” (p. xxiv). Ilham takes the fixed beliefs of Islam and flexes those beliefs to adapt to modernity by suggesting the integration of music in a Muslim curriculum to support the development of a student’s personal identity.

Music helped me find myself and now I don't need it to be happy. Happiness is not music, but music is a part of growth. I believe putting my religion aside for one second, I believe if I was the

principal now, I would let the students participate in those classes [music], even at [the Muslim School]. Because if they integrated that music class and the religious studies, I feel like by the time the students got to year 12 and 13, they themselves would feel like they don't need the music...they just wanted it (Ilham, 2018).

An integrative education approach such as Ilham suggests shows she has the ability to rationalise a way forward for the profane (individual interests of students) to coexist with the sacred (collective interests of the Muslim school) (Durkheim, 1995, 2001). Ilham is able to identify and explain the tensions that students experienced at varying degrees as a result of her individual moral and ethical values, which she described conflicted at times with that of the collective representations of the Muslim community in respect to an education and life in secular society. Needless to say, she considered her education played a significant role in shaping her personal identity, by suggesting that:

...those struggles and those hardships [at the Muslim school] ... really developed our self-identity. I know who I am. Because when I was going through stuff like that, I really wanted to find out how I could be a better person, and how I could overcome these hurdles (Ilham, 2018).

She also understands that her personal identity and what she considers acceptable moral norms have been intersubjectively influenced by her family, religion, culture, and education. Accordingly, she only came to recognise a difference between herself and non-Muslims in New Zealand society while she was at university, which was when she considered “*Oh I am a bit different. Perhaps it's because of my hijab?*” (Ilham, 2018). Her separation from the opposite gender and from non-Muslims during her Muslim school education and in her social life created an insular world of sameness. Ilham views her world through the familiar lens of the Muslim community, not the liberal secular society that she was insulated from in the home and at school. It could be argued that she sees her world through Habermas’ (2008) ‘detranscendentalised lens’. This concept proposes that reality consists of the mental representations and the historical experiences of the individual, a perspective that allows me to regard her reasoning and “morality of the mind, as real-world phenomena that emerges in particular social and historical context” (Anderson, 2011, p 95). Hence, her surprise that she was different from her peers, an identity recognition that was only made visible to her when she entered a secular life at university.

Similarly, to the other Muslim students interviewed, Ilham is at a crossroad of an emergent culture, aware of her individual identity and the degree of autonomy she is able to enjoy, and at the same time she is experiencing a breakdown of her previous hierarchical and holistic structures through her experiences in secular society (Friedman, 1994). The tension she experienced at the Muslim school to be a ‘good Muslim’

has been eased by her ongoing rationalisation of knowledge, religion, and secular life, all of which influences her new world lens and developing Muslim identity.

8.2.3 MENAAL

Menaal, like the other two female students who had attended a Muslim school was not able to adequately account for her beliefs and actions because she was not always aware of the nature of the social webs that surround her in her Muslim community (Durkheim, 1995, 2001). It could be argued that prior to university life, these three students' identities were framed within the context of a traditional Islamic ideology with "its authority exist[ing] external to the human subject" (Friedman, 1992, p. 337). Consequently, Menaal's university life was a "major shock" for her as she had only ever studied at a Muslim school, leaving her feeling "*very overwhelmed by the multi-ethnic diversity at university*" (2019).

She speaks of being the "invisible one" in her first year at university (2019). Without clarification from Menaal this could be interpreted in two ways: firstly, in the literal sense, as someone who nobody noticed, or secondly, as an introspective response in the hope of appearing invisible, possibly in an attempt not to stand out and be noticed by others. As Menaal wears a hijab in public, it would be unlikely that she would not have been noticed in a secular classroom as a minority Muslim student. Perhaps students in her university classes did not know how to interact with her, which could have made her feel invisible. The idea of an 'invisible identity' could also represent Menaal's lack of confidence during her first year at university. In particular, as she also shared, she had "*never [been] in proper contact with any men*" other than relatives before university, and the Muslim schools she attended also had "*segregation for ...boys and girls, including for male and female staff*" (2019). Menaal recognised that she needed to develop the skills and confidence to come out from behind her 'invisible cloak' to interact with males and non-Muslims. Her resilient approach to her new environment was to overcome:

...my fears and I joined a volunteer group (first year mentoring) at the university. Because of that programme, I was able to build my self-confidence and now, I have no problems communicating professionally with anyone (Menaal, 2019).

I would suggest that Menaal has moved beyond Friedman's (1992) crossroad of modern identity and developed a modern 'identity as a proposition' (Kellner, 1992). Identity in this sense "has a twofold meaning: identity is ascribed, attributed, and it is a proposition of external origin" (Hoffman-Axthelm, 1992, p. 202). Menaal's perception of identity can be attributed to the external factors in her life, such as

academia, education, the workplace, her family, her cultural and immigrant status, Islam, and to New Zealand society.

I can belong to many communities at one time (young female' educated, working, Muslim, [cultural group], married, etc.) ...I don't have to sacrifice any part of my identity to fit it into any community or group (Menaal, 2019).

Menaal appears to be indicating that her social “identities do not co-exist passively” (Parekh, 2008. p. 24). I would also argue that her active association with multiple social groups in a secular and religious context has the potential to “discourage their [each of her social identities] essentialisation and reification” (Parekh, 2008, p. 24). Nevertheless, her social identities and loyalties are linked to specific groups and their historical narratives. This gives her a sense of belonging in her life that has helped shape her values and religious convictions, as she reflects:

My values have always been shaped by my religious beliefs and my future is the mix of what my identity as a young, working citizen in New Zealand is and what my values are as a married Muslim woman (Menaal, 2019).

This could be interpreted as a Habermasian ‘strong communicative action’ whereby Menaal agrees to cooperate and let her will be “bound by intersubjectively shared value orientations, which are set to be superior to private preferences and choice of [religious] goals” (Eriksen & Weigård, 2003, p.41). Menaal appears confident with her hyphenated Muslim identity and in the values she considers are important to her, and has no intention of setting “them aside in order to find out what the world looks like without...[the] cultural [and religious] presuppositions [she is familiar with]. They are what we call transcendentally given entities” (Eriksen & Weigård, 2003, p. 47). Keeping this in mind, New Zealand laws are intended to protect Menaal to enjoy her hyphenated Muslim identity without persecution from others in society, and that includes the 35% minority (mentioned in Chapter 2) who may not afford her the right to call herself a New Zealand citizen based on her immigrant status.

8.3 IDENTITY SHAPED BY SECULAR SCHOOLS

8.3.1 ABLAH

Ablah was the only Muslim female that I interviewed that had attended a state-secular school in New Zealand. Her educational experiences were very different from the other female students interviewed. Ablah's school environment included a diverse mix of people from different socio-economic and cultural backgrounds, with an "*extremely high proportion of foreign students*" (2019). Diversity was the norm and channelled positively at the school she attended. Her secondary school "*encouraged a journey of finding one's place*" (2019). As a descendent of generations of Muslim women who have chosen not to wear a hijab, her Muslim identity was not recognised by her peers or teachers until they read about her through her school essays (Ablah, 2019). This lack of outward appearance as a Muslim by not wearing a hijab also left her feeling a "*great cultural divide*" between herself, her peers, and her teachers (2019). Ablah was initially torn between the education she received at school where "*They would tell me one thing and my parents would tell me the opposite*" (2019). Similar to the other female students, Ablah had arrived at a crossroad of change where she had become aware of her autonomy and the opportunity to develop new religious and cultural perspectives. This crossroad was at a point of intersection where there was a breakdown of Ablah's previous hierarchical and holistic structures, which had previously defined her, and her newly formed identity (Friedman, 1994). In contrast to the other female participants, Ablah arrived at this crossroad earlier in life while attending a secular school.

I struggled to build my identity as a woman, as I found my...cultural understanding very backward. I wanted to be financially independent. I wanted to choose to marry or not marry. I wanted the opportunity to experience both haram and halal things, and then learn and choose my own path. I envied New Zealand teens as they have choice and support from their parents. They can make mistakes and not be reminded of it by their community every day. I wanted the opportunity to make mistakes (Ablah, 2019).

The secular educational environment made way for knowledge exploration, and afforded Ablah the right to question her personal identity and the collective identity of her family's culture and religion. This exploration led her to recognise a potential danger of collective identity if it leaned towards essentialising identity and/or the imposition of collective views and expectations onto others. Ablah "*came to dislike the judgemental nature of the Muslim community, which [she considers] is not a fault of Islam [but] its people who enact cult-like behaviour*" (2019). Ablah's concerns regarding essentialising identity are further exacerbated by New Zealand's multicultural policies that promote the strengthening of cultural and

religious identities. Eisenberg (2013) proposes various approaches to avoid essentialising of identity, such as “favouring individual self-identification over collective identity markers to establish the importance of a practice or tradition to an individual’s identity” (Eisenberg, 2013, p. 159). He further suggests an approach that “asks that individual equality rather than cultural difference is the focus of protection” (Eisenberg, 2013, p. 159). Moreover, Eisenberg (2013) proposes an approach that “situates minority rights in a framework of collective self-determination rather than cultural accommodation” (p. 159) to avoid essentialising identity. Needless to say, New Zealand’s culturally responsive approach to identity politics is by default a ‘liberal paradox’ enabling the essentialisation of identity by nurturing the entrenchment of cultural collective identities, creating further tension for individuals to express an identity outside the collective norm.

Ablah speaks with admiration of the independent female teachers at her secondary school who played a significant role in shaping her identity. She learned she could:

...be whom you please, as long as you live by the law...I had one teacher (who didn't even teach me) praise me in the hallways for an alternative reading [review] of a film and a greatly useful perspective. That moment changed my whole world. I felt like I could DO things in New Zealand society. My mission was to make sure that no foreign woman coming to New Zealand was ever trapped by her culture or human interpretations of her religion again. This is why I went on to become a teacher. So that I can make the experience of being a Muslim or a foreigner in New Zealand an empowering situation, rather than an alien one (Ablah, 2019).

Ablah’s personal identity that emerged separate from her family, and her cultural and Muslim collective consciousness, led to very different experiences for her at university compared to the other female students. Her immersion in a secular secondary educational context meant she was spared the ‘liberal ideological shock’ at university. Instead, she was already questioning almost everything in life other than the fundamentals, stating “*I have never questioned the existence of God - as I am happy 'feeling' his presence (2019)*. She questioned her family’s cultural and religious idiosyncrasies, why women’s virginity was so important, even the grades university lecturers awarded. In her view, New Zealand’s tertiary education seemed less tolerant towards an individual’s perspective than her secondary education, in particular if those views were deemed ‘too conservative and out of step’ with a purely liberal worldview:

On some accounts, I had grades appealed as the lecturers gave me C's which were later reviewed and A's were awarded. This happened with three staff members over two years (all women) ... as I had some unpopular opinions that aligned with conservative perspectives (Ablah, 2019).

Ablah is implying that her freedom to express a conservative opinion was curtailed and downgraded by female lecturers who held more liberal views. New Zealand's emphasis on educationalists to strengthen an individual's cultural identity may have also contributed to the change in grades to avoid appearing biased in any way. Possible biases may also be reflected in "the condition of possibility of tolerance is intolerance or a limit to tolerance" by others (Thomassen, 2008, p.70). That is not to say that some university lecturers are intolerant of views they do not agree with, rather that the condition of tolerance requires the possibility of some degree of intolerance. Nevertheless, institutional constraints are not so surprising if you reflect on New Zealand universities key functions and focus that shouts employment, investment, gross domestic product, and government policy (Universities of New Zealand, 2020). In addition, freedom of speech in New Zealand universities continues to generate heated debate amongst politicians, academics, and society in general, as Dr Johnston, Associate Dean from Victoria University in Wellington says "institutions must not obstruct the freedom of others to express their views, even if they are ideas they reject or loathe" (Radio New Zealand, 2019a). I explore this in more detail in discussions regarding social cohesion in New Zealand society, in Chapter 11.

Unlike the other female students interviewed, Ablah chose to live on her own, away from her Muslim community in a secular life as an unmarried woman, regardless of the shame she was branded with by her Muslim community. She developed a distrust for exceedingly judgmental people, including those in her own Muslim community, and distanced herself from those whose views did not align with her modern approach to Islam. Perhaps it is little wonder that someone who has the strength of character to stand up for her personal beliefs and to press others to acknowledge that right regardless of the tension it brought her, has developed such a strong personal identity and political views. I would argue that Ablah's mindfulness, and strong personal identity has developed from the freedom she experienced during her secondary school years which led to her 'ethical existential' questioning about 'who she is', 'who she wants to be', and 'how she should lead her life' (Habermas, 1996). By providing a safe educational space to rationalise her existence, Ablah was able to question who she wanted to be and how to lead her life. This journey of self-discovery, which she says started at secondary school, led to her marrying a non-Muslim, and breaking all the Western stereotypes of being a Muslim woman by partaking in:

...dance, weightlifting, video-gamers club, and chess in non-Muslim contexts. I also like rock concerts and heavy metal and have played the drums (Ablah, 2019).

I would argue, Ablah has experienced the paradox of a liberal Western-dominated culture:

...both marked by stereotypes and rendered invisible...defined by the dominant culture, which...[she] both internalise[s] and reject [s at times] and... thus [she] experience[s] a kind of 'double consciousness' (as Gramsci noted) ...[a] sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that devalue and stereotype the members of a group (Lukes, 2003, p. 140).

Ablah recognises education, culture, religion, tradition, liberalism, and secular society all influences how she chooses to identify herself. It is the 'liberal paradox' of identity politics that has Ablah viewing herself through others' eyes, measuring herself against their ideals, while at the same time she says she attempts to express a personalised Muslim identity that has been determined by her communication with Allah, not her family, or her culture, or the Muslim community, or secular society.

8.3.2 ARIF

I have a very strong character and I'm not worried about going anywhere in the world. My education [in New Zealand] won't influence my identity. I'm open to learning new things as long as it's not against my religion, even if something is different to my religion because I want to learn about how other people learn and their lives (Arif, 2019).

Arif, the only male Muslim student that participated in this research, presented a confident and mixed traditional and liberal Muslim identity. His traditional approach to Islam is intersubjectively grounded in his boarding school education and life experiences in Malaysia where he was able to "*Pretty much grow up by myself and form my own interpretation of Islam* (2019). Arif's 'detranscendentalised lens' (Habermas, 2008) is evident in his strong perspectives regarding traditional social mores, customs, and practices of Islam such as daily ritualistic self-cleanliness, and avoidance of haram foods, such as pigs, which he considered as '*filthy animals with huge sexual appetites*' and "*the only animal that call their mates to watch sexual activity*" (2019). His comments reflect a degree of 'hermeneutical suspicion' (Ricoeur, 2006; Durkheim, 1995, 2001), for example, as pigs' "sexual behaviour is unconscious" negating the idea that they have a conscious sexual appetite (Teng & Yu, 2017, para. 5). The concept of 'hermeneutics of suspicion' originally coined by Ricoeur (2006) acknowledges "people cannot adequately account for their beliefs and actions because most people, most of the time are unaware of the nature of the social webs that surround them" (Durkheim, 1995, p. xv).

Arif regards his experiences in the Muslim majority country of Malaysia and his secular life in New Zealand has reinforced his Muslim identity "*This makes me more grateful to my religion as I can see the difference and benefits [of Islam] such as cleanliness*" (2019). He is also very proud to belong to a

religious community that practices their “*religion more than other people do*” (2019). He also believes that it is “...*important knowledge to learn, but [he] is not sure if it is emphasised in other religions. Knowledge of your own religion and knowledge in Islam* (2019). He strongly communicates his ideal to act in accordance with his religious convictions and lets his will be bound by intersubjectively shared religious values, which he considers superior to individual or personal values. This is similar to Ilham and Menaal who are also bound by intersubjective shared religious values, unlike Asmara who has chosen to explore and accept knowledge that is not shared or accepted by her traditional Muslim community.

Arif also showed signs of a liberal and flexible approach to Islam, quite likely influenced by his secular education at secondary school and university. His liberal take on Islam comes through his conversations about his prayer times, his living arrangements, and his participation in clubs outside the Muslim community:

In Islam, you can pray anywhere as long it's clean and the times to pray differ depending on the time of the year... I was on the basketball team [at school]. My prayer time clashed with the basketball time...it was okay as I was able to be flexible with my prayer time...I'm in the basketball club and the investment club [at university]. I wear tights and singlets (Arif, 2019).

Additionally, he shared that he is currently renting with a diverse group of people both Muslim and non-Muslim in Christchurch. Arif's choice to live with non-Muslims enables him to fulfil one of his goals in life, “*to learn about how other people learn and live*”, however it is not clear what learning he will receive as he only chooses to ‘*learn things as long as it's not against his religion*’ (Arif, 2019). Subsequently, it is also not clear how he will respond to new knowledge and experiences that appear to be incompatible with Islam.

I suggest that Arif is at a ‘crossroad of change’ (Friedman, 1992) as he is aware of his autonomy and the opportunity to develop new cultural perspectives and at a point of intersection that potentially could break down some of the traditional religious structures that have defined his identity. In addition, if we consider Durkheim's (1995, 2001) ‘facts of modernity’ with older, traditional forms of collective life and solidarity being undone by new structures of modernity, ‘individual variations’ become too strong to be limited as they were previously. With this in mind, Arif's education and home life is now predominantly in a secular environment that reflects different worldviews, whereby his consciousness will quite likely differ from one person to next ((Durkheim, 1925/1973; Riley, 2015). What is clear from the interview with Arif is that he is a devout Muslim whose main purpose in life is to “*worship Allah*” (Arif, 2019).

SUMMARY

There is a significant difference in students' confidence in their identity between the respondents who attended secular schools in comparison to the three females who attended Muslim schools. The three female Muslim students who were educated at Muslim schools spoke of many restrictions and frustrations that they had experienced in education, in their homes, and in their lives in a liberal society. These restrictions made it impossible for them to develop or express a personalised identity other than an identity determined for them. Two of the students have chosen to dissociate themselves from any Muslim Associations or groups that appear fundamentalist or too conservative. They expressed a clear need to avoid the extreme version of Islam they had experienced at their respective Muslim schools. Their devotion to Islam remains with a new found freedom to develop their own Muslim identity, without being made to feel like 'bad Muslims' by those in power, such as they experienced at the Muslim schools they attended. One of these three female students understands her acceptance of these restrictions is driven by her family's beliefs. She also reminds the reader that New Zealand is a liberal society with laws that protect her individual right to choose to adopt her family's beliefs and their respective restrictions.

Both students who were educated in secular schools were able to decode their religion on their own terms and had a lot of freedom both in school and in society to determine the best fit with Islam for their lives. They resolved to be flexible in relation to Islam in a modern-day society, and they embraced a future filled with change, while at the same time remaining devout Muslims. The sole male Muslim participant limits the conclusions made in relation to the impact education in New Zealand has on the identity formation of Muslim males. Nonetheless, Arif spoke of no frustrations in his life either before or after coming to New Zealand. The absence of tension in his education and life may relate to the opportunity he had to personalise his Muslim identity while at boarding school in Malaysia, his education at a secular school in New Zealand, and what appears to be fewer restrictions placed on him as a male Muslim. Similarly, Ablah was the only female student interviewed who attended a secular school, which may be considered a limitation in relation to the impact secular education in New Zealand has on the identity formation of Muslim females. Nevertheless, Ablah, explained that her restrictions were felt predominantly in the home, in particular when she questioned her parents regarding her previously introspectively accepted cultural and religious norms, some of which no longer made sense to her in a modern secular society.

While the small number of participants may be considered a limitation of the present study, there is plenty of evidence to conclude that life experiences and access to education impacts on some Muslims' personal identity formation, their ontological world-view, and understanding of themselves as individuals in the

collective body of Muslims in a liberal democratic society. Furthermore, as Parekh (2008) argues if the identity the individual seeks is too far out of step with what their Muslim community expects of them, the individual sets themselves an impossible or extremely arduous task and burdens themselves with an unsustainable identity. Additionally, the risk for an individual aspiring to maintain a collective Muslim identity is that the collective often “tends to essentialise identity and impose on the relative groups a unity of views and experiences they do not, and cannot [necessarily] have” (Parekh, 2008, p. 35). Moreover, an integral part of Islamic jurisprudence is to respect all human beings (Ahlul Bayat DILP, 2019), therefore, “if we ignore the diverse ways in which individuals appropriate, define, and order social identities, we violate their integrity and do them an injustice” (Parekh, 2008, p. 21).

The evidence does suggest students have developed a sense of belonging to their adopted home, New Zealand. Consequently, they are all in some way developing hyphenated identities linking their culture and their Muslim identity to a national identity. If we consider students’ hyphenated identities from a Bernsteinian perspective we could conclude that the characteristics of “the profane could coexist with the sacred within the same individual in the same modalities of identity” (Beck, 2002, p. 619). I argue that, regardless of the idea that a secular and religious identity coexisting within the same individual on the face of things appears to be an antagonistic paradox, it is possible with degrees of flexibility on both sides. Nonetheless, in some cases, as Asmara communicates, the coexistence of a traditionalist and modernist identity in the same individual is simply not possible if there is no room for flexibility to meet the needs of the individual.

Furthermore, as an individual’s social identity represents a specific world lens, this aspect of their identity represents to a degree the plural identities of that world lens. An individual’s plural perspectives then have the advantage of “supplementing the insights and correcting the limitations of others, and collectively they all create the possibility of a broader and more nuanced and differentiated view of the world.” (Parekh, 2008, p. 24). By embracing a hyphenated identity that connects Muslim students to their adopted country’s identity, students may have an opportunity to be part of that country’s historical narrative. Moreover, Muslim students are being provided with opportunities in New Zealand schools to develop plural identities that have “the additional advantage that one [identity] does not, morally and emotionally, over invest in (or become overwhelmed by) any one of them, and thus get it out of perspective” (Parekh, 2008, p. 25).

I argue that the tension Muslim students experience expressing a personalised identity results from invoking Durkheim’s (1922/1956) “notion of homo-duplex, the idea that the human individual is two

beings united in one. The one is purely individual, guided by mental states and life events specific to each of us as individuals, while the other has to do with “ideas, sentiments and practices which express in us...the group...which we are part” of in society (Riley, 2015, p. 135). I would take this metaphor a step further and argue that many Muslims in democratic societies are quite likely experiencing a type of homo-triplex. With this notion, I propose that there are three individuals united within the one being. The first individual is guided by their own rational thought processes, the second individual, guided by the collective consciousness of their cultural-religious group, and the third individual, guided by the collective consciousness of the liberal democratic society they live within. Perhaps it is fortunate for Muslims in New Zealand that they have the right to identity fluidity, as it would not be a simple feat to have all heads within the one homo-triplex agree to one homogenous identity.

CHAPTER 9. PEDAGOGICAL IDENTITIES IN NEW ZEALAND SCHOOLS

9.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines teachers' pedagogic identities, their pedagogic discourse (see Chapter 4), and their social and educational values in order to understand the influences teachers may have on Muslim students' education and their developing identity. The analysis of teachers' pedagogy takes into consideration 'The Code of Professional Responsibility and Standards for the Teaching Profession' that outlines the professional guidelines required of teachers in public schools in New Zealand (Education Council, 2017, p.16). Teachers are appraised against the code and its six professional responsibilities and standards listed below (Education Council, 2017, p.20):

- (i) A commitment to New Zealand's bicultural 'Treaty of Waitangi partnership'
- (ii) 'Professional learning' to develop teacher capability
- (iii) 'Professional relationships and behaviours' to improve student achievement and wellbeing
- (iv) 'Teaching' that is adaptive to learner's individual needs
- (v) 'Learning-focused culture' that is inclusive of diversity and uniqueness
- (vi) 'Design for learning' curriculum and pedagogy that understands learner's strengths, interests, needs, identities, languages, and cultures

The teachers' pedagogic discourse during the interviews mirrored the professional standards listed above. Consequently, it is not possible to accurately assess whether the educational values reflected in the teachers' responses is an accurate representation of their personal values or simply a representation of the values expected of them in the curriculum, in their pedagogic discourse, and in their practice in schools. In order to analyse teachers' pedagogical style and educational and social values, I applied Bernstein's (2000) concepts of 'decentered, retrospective, therapeutic and prospective pedagogic identities' to their responses (see Chapter 4). Teachers were introduced to Bernstein's (2000) pedagogic identities as part of the interview process and required to 'best describe their professional identity and pedagogic practice' from one of Bernstein's four pedagogic identities (Appendix F). The teachers' interview responses helped me to identify teaching characteristics synonymous with their self-identified pedagogic identities and pedagogic practices which represented a mix of Bernstein's pedagogic identities. I have also matched the teachers' responses to the polar relations of Friedman's (1992, 1994) 'modern identity space' discussed in Chapter 4, to deepen my analysis of the teachers' pedagogic identities and practice.

I analyse the teachers' pedagogy as the relationship "between power and knowledge, and knowledge and forms of consciousness" (Bernstein, 2003d, p. 181) defined as the pedagogic device. As discussed in Chapter 4, this pedagogic device comprises "the distributive, recontextualising, and evaluative rules for specialising forms of consciousness" (Bernstein, 2003d, p. 181). It is through the pedagogic device that Bernstein (2003d) argues a symbolic ruler of consciousness is generated, and through which the educational knowledge as curriculum, pedagogy, and evaluation in education are determined, a conversation I continue in Chapter 10. Bernstein's (2003a, 2003b, 2003c, 2003d) concepts of 'elaborated and restricted codes', 'classification and framing,' 'knowledge differentiation' and 'educational knowledge codes' also known as logics or principles, are also used to analyse the teachers' responses. I use these concepts to theorise what knowledge is valued and made available in the curriculum and to theorise how that knowledge is formally transmitted by teachers in New Zealand's public schools. An analysis of the structure of educational knowledge is particularly important if we consider, as Bernstein (2003c) does, that identity and consciousness are influenced by the formal transmission of educational knowledge:

It is well known that the school transforms the identities of many of the children: transforms the nature of their allegiances to their family and community, and gives them access to other styles of life and modes of social relationships (Bernstein, 2003c, p. 37).

Bernstein is arguing that schools have the power to produce, recontextualise, and reproduce knowledge (see above), and as a consequence this contributes to shaping students' identities and the way in which the individual relates to their family, their community, and wider society. The analysis of the teachers' pedagogic identities helps to identify what constitutes the pedagogic device in the education of Muslims in New Zealand. It also helps to identify who determines the weaknesses and strengths of boundary insulation of the pedagogic device in students' education. This chapter is divided into two sections. I examine the pedagogic identities, practices, and social and educational values of the Muslim teachers in Section 9.1 and non-Muslim teachers in Section 9.2. Section 9.3 provides a summary analysis of the teachers' pedagogic identities, practice, and their social and educational values. I also summarise the link between pedagogic identities and the expectations outlined for teachers in relation to the curriculum and pedagogy as contained in the New Zealand Curriculum (Ministry of Education, 2007) and in accordance with the 'Professional Teaching Standards' (Education Council, 2017). A detailed analysis of the differentiation of knowledge, pedagogic discourse, a pedagogic device, a possible symbolic ruler of consciousness and educational knowledge codes is also examined in the following chapter.

My intention was to provide responses from three Muslim and three non-Muslim teachers who taught Muslims students in state-secular schools and state-integrated Muslim schools in New Zealand. While I was able to achieve responses from six teachers comprising three non-Muslim and three Muslim teachers, only two Muslim teachers chose to be interviewed as teacher participants, and the remaining female teacher chose to be interviewed only as a student participant.

9.1 MUSLIM PEDAGOGIC IDENTITIES

This section draws on the narratives of two Muslim teachers, their views on the curriculum, pedagogy, and their social and educational values, which I theorise to understand the influence they may have on Muslim students' education and identity formation. I analyse the first Muslim teacher, Ablah, who worked for many years at one of the Muslim schools in Auckland, in Section 9.1.1. The pedagogic identity and practices, and social and educational values of Wasay, a New Zealand born Muslim teacher, who taught at a secular school are examined in Section 9.1.2.

9.1.1 ABLAH

On the surface, Ablah appears to have an ambivalent personal identity, as some of her comments may suggest in Chapter Six. On the one hand she projects an outward appearance of being very liberal by wearing secular clothing and by having tattoos and multiple ear piercings. On the other hand, she considers many aspects of New Zealand's liberal society to be inconsistent with her "moral code", such as legalised prostitution, over-consumption of alcohol, reverence for sport over religion (Ablah, 2018). I would argue Ablah's identity is not necessarily ambivalent, rather it reflects her flexible approach to Islam through adoption of some aspects of liberal society, while at the same time she expresses concerns for other aspects of liberal society. If we consider that religion has historically provided moral solidarity, it can be assumed that her moral judgments as a practising Muslim are likely to have influenced by her concerns regarding the morality of a liberal society (Durkheim, 1995, 2001). Accordingly, I suggest an analogy of Ablah's moral values in society to Durkheim's (1995, 2001) consideration that the sacred rights of the individual exist "within the moral idiom of social traditions and commitment to a common good (p. xv). It is perhaps important to consider at this point that while religious phenomena are:

always...a bipartite division of the whole universe, known and knowable, into two classes which embrace all that exists, but which radically exclude each other ...this interdiction cannot go so far as to make all communication between the two worlds impossible" (Durkheim, 1995, p. 40).

In relation to Ablah, she confidently negotiates this divide in the pedagogical context by promoting the development of students' personal identities while at the same time emphasising the need to hold onto their faith:

We speak a lot about individual identity as emerging young women, about talking to Allah on a daily basis, about seeking to do what is kind and socially responsible...We also talk about education allowing them to be the captains of their own ship when they can be financially independent (Ablah, 2018).

Ablah's responses during the interview were characteristic of Friedman's (1992, 1994) 'modernism' ideology, as she articulates "*I am an immigrant with very little interest in maintaining traditionalism unless it is functional to the context in which I am living (2018)*". She deliberately distances herself from culture when determining the content and the delivery of the curriculum, as she states:

My teaching philosophy values education as armour in a world conceptually at war. Education protects individuals from becoming cultural dupes. It helps them to make better choices, socially, emotionally, and practically (Ablah, 2018).

Her responses indicate a 'prospective' approach to education by choosing to select only what is beneficial from the past to support contemporary change in the future. Ablah uses pedagogical strategies such as setting home-based research projects for students to explore knowledge that would otherwise have been considered 'haram' (inappropriate) in the school curriculum. She is attempting to remove barriers to knowledge acquisition for Muslim students. She wants to create an educational process for students whereby the 'invisible restricted symbols' of secular society and knowledge considered inappropriate by the school is 'elaborated' and made 'visible' for students to form their own personal meaning (Bernstein, 2000a). Her modern pedagogic approach is in contrast to a:

'traditional' mode (+ C+ F) [that] will tend to identify with the subject and have authority by being an expert on the subject, whereas [hers is] one operating in a 'progressive' mode [that] will [prefer to] gain authority as an expert on 'the child' and will appeal to their knowledge of, say developmental child psychology and an intuitive, professional sense of 'readiness'" (Moore, 2013, p. 130).

To clarify, 'C' and 'F' refers to Bernstein's (2000d) pedagogical concepts of 'classification and framing' discussed in Chapter 4. The plus next to the C (Classification) denotes the strength of the boundary insulation between "categories and contexts: e.g. *between* educational knowledge and everyday knowledge and the home, community and school or 'the world of work'" (Moore, 2013, p. 129). A minus

would indicate weak boundary insulation. The plus and/or minus next to the F, (Framing) denotes strong and /or weak regulations and structures imposed on the pacing and acquisition of knowledge. The ‘i’ and ‘e’ represents the internal and external factors determining, for example “how far modes of communication from external sources might be incorporated into school discourse and degrees of control over the discourse within a subject” (Moore, 2013, p. 129). Hence, framing can be written $\pm Fie$, where ‘i’ and ‘e’ represents the internal and external factors influencing “the sequencing and pacing of the acquisition of knowledge and who controls that process” (Moore, 2013, p. 129). The internal and external factors are examined in more detail in the analysis of school structures in Chapter 10.

Ablah’s progressive pedagogic approach provides students with comparatively weaker classificatory and framing contexts, enabling her to make the unknown ‘visible’ for students to explore knowledge otherwise restricted by the strong classification boundaries and framing controls set by the Muslim school, discussed in more detail in Chapter 10.

I allow students to have much choice over the topics they choose to study. Sometimes they choose very controversial topics and texts that I cannot teach in class, but they examine them on their own. [For] example... Cults, sex-slavery in third world nations, race politics in New Zealand. ...education goes beyond school (Ablah, 2018).

The strength of this approach hinges on students’ families enabling the student to access knowledge in their homes and in a wider societal context. Ablah’s modern-prospective pedagogic approach acknowledges “an important dimension of continuity: the modern *transformation* of the sacred into secular forms” (Moore, 2013, p. 40).

Not their culture, or community, or even parents, should force them into a way of life that they do not agree with in their hearts. My mission was to make sure that no foreign woman coming to New Zealand was ever trapped by her culture or human interpretations of her religion again. This is why I went on to become a teacher: so that I can make the experience of being a Muslim or a foreigner in New Zealand, an empowering situation - rather than an alien one (Ablah, 2018).

Ablah is attempting to liberate access to educational knowledge and the thought processes of her students by enabling the ‘invisible restricted knowledge’ to be rendered ‘visible’ and by weakening the ‘classification and framing structures’ of knowledge in the curriculum and in her pedagogy. As Ablah said earlier, she wants her students “*to be the captains of their own ship*” in order that they develop a personal identity that is shaped by the individual (2018).

9.1.2 WASAY

Wasay is a New Zealand Muslim convert teaching in a secular school in Auckland. He regards it important that his students understand that he:

[Doesn't] know what it's like to be a Muslim teenager (as I converted in my 20s), but I think on the whole they [Muslim students] appreciate that there is at least one teacher around who "gets" at least some of it. I am also very vocal about Kiwi identity and the place of Islam in New Zealand, and how they need to be proud of that (Wasay, 2019).

With twenty years' experience in New Zealand's education system, Wasay has developed and chosen to apply a mixture of modern and post-modern approaches to the curriculum and pedagogy. He considers himself to be a combination of all four Bernsteinian (2000) pedagogic identities, 'decentred market oriented, therapeutic, prospective and retrospective'. The benefit of having met Wasay and to have received his detailed responses to the interview question, is that I would suggest (based on his responses) that the one pedagogic approach he does not exhibit is a retrospective identity, as he is concerned that:

...the vast bulk of the [Muslim] community [in NZ] still cling to migrant or heritage identities. These are not in themselves a problem at all (and many kids successfully navigate both) but are often a source of tension or problems within the families they hail from.... there's still a lot of work to be done here, and in a lot of cases the community leadership is simply not equipped for the task (Wasay, 2019).

Nonetheless, his responses show that he values a 'decentered, therapeutic and prospective pedagogic' approach to education (Bernstein, 2000), and as a consequence he also represents a mixture of Friedman's (1994) polar identities of modernism and post-modernism in his approach to education. For example, he applies a 'prospective and modern approach to education' by emphasising students' access to academic conceptual knowledge and rationalised thought to help them navigate their way in a liberal secular environment. Wasay adopts this approach in recognition that his students "are in a context where the values [of society] are often vastly different from those of their home, culture, or faith" (Wasay, 2019). He presents a 'decentred and therapeutic' approach to education by acknowledging and celebrating the diverse cultural and religious backgrounds of his students, and by actively working to develop relationships with them by exposing his own vulnerabilities as a New Zealand Muslim convert.

I think my willingness to listen, be authentic and be vulnerable resonates with the kids, and those connective relationships become essential (they see you on a human rather than teacher level). I'm also vocal in sharing my experiences of connecting with new cultures and contexts, as a way

of them seeing/understanding how it can be done. I also make it really clear how much I value learning from them (Wasay, 2019).

This is a teacher who reinforces his interest and acceptance of students' diverse cultural and religious backgrounds by spending a lot of time developing resources, curriculum content, and school activities that connect to students' life experiences and beliefs. These resources and the curriculum that he provides to both Muslim and non-Muslim students in a secular classroom environment enables what was once restricted and 'invisible' to non-Muslims through non-association with Islam, 'visible' (Bernstein, 2000, 2003a). For example, Wasay asserts that by incorporating Islamic content into selected National Certificate Educational Achievement Standards, he has been able to make Islam 'visible' to some non-Muslim students, and teachers, and his school's Board of Trustees, those who are tasked with governing the school.

While cognisant that I am not an expert on Islam, yet intend to present a non-secular interpretation when possible, I would suggest Wasay takes a pedagogic approach to Islam in the curriculum that adopts the Qur'anic verse 5:48, rendering the 'invisible – restricted' knowledge of Islam 'elaborated and visible' to non-Muslims in secular education.

In this verse, the Qur'an affirms that the problem of religious and moral diversity is not a hindrance to be overcome, but an advantage to be embraced - a necessary facet of God's unknown plan for humanity.... To the Muslims, the message of Qur'an 5:48 is... a humbling one. They cannot claim any exclusive righteousness in this life, just as they cannot claim exclusive salvation in the next" (Hashmi, 2003, pp. 100-1).

Wasay embraces a 'therapeutic' approach to help Muslim students avoid secular temptations considered 'haram' in Islam, and to support them wrestling with a secular education that may appear out of step with a traditional version of Islam in education. He regards emotional engagement with students necessary to offer:

...an empathetic sounding board to specific issues they have, supportive in specific contexts (like Ramadhan), and [by] 'talk[ing] to Dad' if pressures are getting too much. I'm also not afraid to have 'uncle chats' if I feel they're moving into territory they shouldn't (Wasay, 2019).

The forbidden territory Wasay refers to is quite likely the temptations of secular life that in his view Muslim students should be avoiding. I would interpret Wasay's 'dad and uncle' chats as the 'student – teacher' and 'teacher-parent' informal 'open-door policy chats' common in New Zealand public schools, empowering students and parents to openly discuss concerns with teachers. Needless to say, Wasay

considers the development of trusted relationships between teachers and students is fundamental to better guarantee student engagement and to improve academic achievement. He makes a concerted effort to acknowledge “...every single student as an individual located within their own identity and history... (Māori, Pākehā, Pacific heritage, Muslim, etc)” (Wasay, 2019).

When asked if he considered that it was important for students to develop a New Zealand Muslim identity, he replied, “I’d say it’s more important to develop a New Zealand Muslim identity full stop” (2019). He balances his ‘post-modern’ focus reinforcing cultural identity in the curriculum to meet the needs of his diverse Muslim student body, with a ‘prospective’ pedagogic emphasis on supporting students into a future where they can develop a hyphenated New Zealand Muslim identity.

Wasay’s ‘post-modern, modern, decentred, therapeutic and prospective’ pedagogical approach to education is achieved through a loosening of strong ‘classification’ boundaries (Bernstein, 2000, 2003d) that insulate students’ access to abstract educational and everyday knowledge. He is able to operate in this mixed pedagogic manner, as all state-secular schools and integrated faith-based schools are required to deliver a curriculum that is culturally responsive, student-centred, attentive to the individual’s identity and learning needs, and at the same time future focused (Ministry of Education, 2007; Education Council, 2017). Essentially, this mixed pedagogic approach to education in New Zealand leads to an education system that requires structurally weakened ‘classificatory and framing’ (Bernstein, 2000, 2003) school platforms, discussed in detail in the next chapter. Accordingly, the ‘distributive’ internal rules (Bernstein, 2003b, 2003c, 2003d) regulating Wasay’s pedagogic discourse are structured within New Zealand’s weak ‘classificatory and framing’ educational context. Moreover, if we consider Wasay’s pedagogic discourse as a principle rather than simply as communication, it would appear that his pedagogic principles bring together other people’s discourses for the purpose of acquiring and sharing both ‘sacred and profane’ knowledge (Durkheim, 1995) in a way he selectively incorporates and re-contextualises into formal pedagogic discourse (Moore, 2013).

At the core of this teacher’s pedagogic identity and educational values is a converted Muslim, who like his students works to strike a balance between his devotion to Islam and education in a liberal secular context. While Wasay has been a Muslim longer than he was non-Muslim, he is fully cognisant that his version of Islam is influenced to a degree by the secular lens of his upbringing, and that:

The students respond to effort, open-mindedness, authenticity, and a willingness of you as an adult to being vulnerable – to put yourself out there and ‘look dumb’ for the sake of trying to understand them more and validate their identity and humanity (Wasay, 2019).

Wasay’s pedagogical identity is focused on the apparent simplicity of developing relationships, authenticity, open-mindedness, accepting vulnerability, validation of identity and humanity, qualities that are needed to better ensure social cohesion in New Zealand’s culturally and religiously diverse society.

9.2 NON-MUSLIM PEDAGOGIC IDENTITIES

The following section examines the three non-Muslim teachers’ pedagogic identities and practices, and their social and educational values. Non-Muslim teachers were interviewed to develop an understanding of how they responded to a group of students that have fundamentally different values and practices from their own, and of those promoted within a secular education system. The teachers’ empirical data contributes to my overall examination of Muslim students’ experiences and the way in which New Zealand schools contribute to shaping students’ identities, a discussion I continue with in the next chapter. The three non-Muslim teacher participants all worked for a number of years in Muslim schools in New Zealand. Two of the teachers are immigrants and the other teacher is a New Zealand Māori. I begin by analysing the New Zealand born teacher’s pedagogic identity, practice, and values, in Section 9.2.1, followed by the remaining immigrant teachers’ responses to education in Sections 9.2.2 and 9.2.3.

9.2.1 AWHIREINGA

Awhireinga, a non-Muslim New Zealand Māori who taught at a Muslim school describes her pedagogy in a manner that reflects a mix of ‘decentred, prospective, post-modern, and modern’ pedagogical approaches to education (Bernstein, 2000, Friedman, 1994). If we refer back to Chapter 6, Awhireinga’s indigenous Māori heritage is noteworthy as this has created a personalised tension for her in the education system. The tension she described is quite familiar in schools across New Zealand, where students and teachers of Māori ethnicity have often been painted with the same cultural identity brush. Māori have been essentialised as a homogenous ethnic group intent on reclaiming their traditional culture as equal partners of the Treaty of Waitangi. While a modern concept of identity in New Zealand society accepts and acknowledges individual difference, this uniqueness is often lost in a political focus on cultural identity.

The development of the modern notion of identity, has given rise to a politics of difference.... Everyone should be recognised for his or her unique identity. With the politics of equal dignity, what is established is meant to be universally the same, an identical basket of rights and

immunities; with the politics of difference, what we're asked to recognise is the unique identity of this individual or group, their distinctness from everyone else. The idea is that it is precisely this distinctness that has been ignored, glossed over, assimilated to a dominant or majority identity (Taylor, 1994, pp. 38).

With this national cultural political drive comes the expectation that all teachers demonstrate a commitment to a bicultural Aotearoa, New Zealand in the design and delivery of educational programmes as part of the registered teacher criteria (Teaching Council New Zealand, 2019), as discussed in Chapter 2. While Awhireinga is proud of her indigenous heritage, she does not profess to be a font of all knowledge in relation to 'te ao Māori' (the world of Māori), which is often expected of Māori teachers. Nevertheless, she recognises the intersubjective value she places on the curriculum content and the teaching strategies she chooses for her students "*may have been influenced by [her] own school learning experiences as a Māori*" (2018). Moreover, she adopts a 'decentred and post-modern' approach to education by emphasising the importance of her students' cultural and linguistic diversity, a value she regards as:

...due to my own cultural background as a Māori. I like to share my culture and language with the students and that allows the students to share theirs. I like students [to] incorporate their own personal identity into their work (Awhireinga, 2018).

Awhireinga applies an integrative pedagogical approach to incorporate her Māori culture into a Muslim curriculum, in a way that 'elaborates' Māori culture, making it 'visible' to Muslim students, and at the same time she requires students to reflect on their personal identity and place in society. Her 'decentred' approach focuses on cultural values, while her 'prospective' approach helps shape a new identity that incorporates the contemporary changes in students' lives in New Zealand. For example, she "*incorporated [her] professional identity and pedagogic practices supporting Muslim student's critical thinking*" (2018) to a unit of work titled 'My Personal Identity' to specifically help students identify who they were in relation to the New Zealand context. Awhireinga was able to incorporate her knowledge of 'te reo Māori' (the Māori language), 'te ao Māori', and 'tikanga' (the protocols of Māori culture) into the curriculum and her pedagogy at the Muslim school.

I hope that the influences I bring will help the development of a New Zealand Muslim student identity, giving them a better understanding of our Māori tikanga, beliefs, and way of life. There are some similarities which they can relate to. Hopefully they will have the confidence to achieve their goals and live in a New Zealand community with better understanding of Māori tikanga and not feel intimidated or inferior (Awhireinga, 2018).

Awhireinga, like the other teachers who taught at a Muslim school recognised that they were required to act in accordance with more than the official pedagogic discourse (OPD) outlined in the New Zealand Curriculum (Ministry of Education, 2007) and the ‘Code of Professional Teaching Standards’, but additionally within the constraints set by the Muslim school management (discussed in detail in Chapter 10). This meant that the distributive rules that regulated the relationships “between power, social groups, forms of consciousness and practice, and their reproductions and productions” (Bernstein, 2003d, p. 180) were structured by the Muslim school, which restricted students access to the full intent of the New Zealand Curriculum (Ministry of Education, 2007) and the way in which it was delivered. Consequently, Awhireinga found creative ways to minimise the power relationships that took place inside the classroom by adjusting ‘framing’. For example, she supported students to develop the ability to critique each other’s work to remove the power relationship between herself and the students.

At junior levels I like to get the students to critique each other’s work in pairs. By the time they are in the seniors [year levels] they already have the confidence and dialogue to critique each other’s work... Allowing each student to make improvements and set higher standards for themselves and each other (Awhireinga, 2018).

Despite the fact that the Muslim school she taught at enforced strong internal ‘classificatory boundaries and framing regulations’ (Bernstein, 2003d) in relation to the curriculum content and pedagogy, Awhireinga’s preferred that her students had open access to all curriculum content, and at the students own pace. She successfully pushed back against some curriculum boundaries, such as in areas of extracurricular activity, offering some education outside of the school environment. In her opinion, education outside the Muslim school grounds is an important part of the curriculum to develop students’ confidence beyond their own community:

The students told me they never go anywhere and they loved it, and they couldn’t thank me enough. I was shocked. This gave them confidence to step outside into the real world and they felt safe (Awhireinga, 2018).

Awhireinga strongly believes that it is her role to “introduce new ideas for them to explore” (2018), in contexts that they may never have or possibly will not be exposed to in the future. With this in mind, perhaps it is not surprising that Awhireinga would want to make the ‘invisible’ and perhaps otherwise ‘restricted’ access to Māori culture, ‘visible’.

9.2.2 INES

Ines' passion regarding local issues, in particular sustainability, the environment, and her interest in other people's culture, and community values is the reason she self-identified as a 'decentred' pedagogical practitioner (Bernstein, 2000). She is also very open about her very liberal views regarding education and society. Ines' focus on selecting from the past only what serves to improve the future of the environment and humanity positions her as having a 'prospective pedagogic' identity with a mix of both 'modernism and post-modernism' approaches to education (Bernstein, 2000, Friedman, 1994).

I don't want to be emotionally engaged... [she wants her] students to identify with who they are. I really encourage their values. I feel honestly that future focus on values is really important. So many people are divorced over here [in New Zealand]. I want them to hold onto their values from their families, but I also want them to [accept/adopt] New Zealand values. They need to keep their languages and culture and be proud of it. They have to keep their culture as long as it doesn't break New Zealand law (Ines, 2018).

As an immigrant to New Zealand, Ines has adopted the philosophy 'when in Rome do as the Romans do', with an expectation that people regardless of their cultural or religious background, need to adopt the host society's values.

My concern was that they learn about pollution, recycling, and our everyday life. What are our customs? So, they need [to learn] about our lifestyle. It's not from a cultural point of view, but a New Zealand society point of view. They came to live here...they have to adjust. It's about learning customs in New Zealand. Like the way people live in New Zealand (Ines, 2018).

Perhaps it is not surprising, that this particular teacher experienced a lot of tension teaching at one of the Muslim schools in New Zealand. She related this tension to her liberal views, views that she concluded were deemed potentially threatening to the conservative Islamic ideology and personalities at the school. It could be argued that Ines' liberal views characterise her acceptance of the collective solidarity and national identity that she has adopted in New Zealand. Ines argues that all immigrants need to embrace a liberal national identity, and society's moral ideals and values as adopted citizens of New Zealand. However, the Muslim school community are also entitled to embrace a different collective identity, and uphold their moral ideals and values to strengthen and empower their belonging to a wider Muslim community.

People value their collective identity for several reasons: it is the basis of their sense of self-worth and social standing; it bonds them to those sharing it, and generates a sense of belonging in the

collective empowerment that accompanies it; and it gives them a moral anchor, a sense of direction, and a body of ideals and values (Parekh, 2008, p. 50).

Nevertheless, a clash of ideologies between Muslim school leaders and Ines left her feeling as though she was not trusted as a non-Muslim, making her time at that school very difficult. The divide between non-Muslim and Muslims driven by Muslim school management is a point that I pick up on in the following chapter. Moreover, Ines' focus on values, morality, integration, and social cohesion are examined as part of the final discussion in Chapter 11.

Ines utilised pedagogical strategies similar to the other teachers in this study in an attempt to work around the restrictions placed on the Muslim curriculum. In areas of the curriculum that may have been potentially 'haram' (unacceptable), she would advise her students to research the subject at home. In saying that, there were many aspects of her own subject speciality that were considered 'haram' to the point that the subject would not have been possible for any students to achieve NCEA Standards at that school¹⁰. Nonetheless, access to the curriculum in a broader context is examined in detail in the following chapter.

In the same vein as some of the other teacher and student participants, Ines regards a hyphenated identity that links students to a national identity as an important part of being integrated into society. She states that *"It would be good to have a New Zealand Muslim identity, like I have a New Zealand Christian identity. Because I really want my students to develop gratitude towards this country"* (Ines, 2018). This immigrant teacher's previous life experiences in her home country, a non-democratic society that historically exposed its people to ethnic cleansing, is a key reason that she presses students to show gratitude for a country that promotes liberalism, democracy, and cultural diversity. I daresay that this teacher would also promote to her students an ideal that "modern men and women must become the subjects as well as the objects of modernisation; they must learn to change the world that is changing them, and to make it their own" (Berman, 1992, p. 33). She certainly is suggesting that a secular and religious identity should be reflexive enough to coexist in the one hyphenated identity.

9.2.3 RATNAJYOTI

Ratnajyoti, an immigrant from a culturally divided country, adopts a combination of 'decentered, prospective, modern, and post-modern' approaches to education to integrate Islam and cultural content into the curriculum that she delivers (Bernstein, 2000; Friedman, 1994). For example, she adopts

¹⁰ The teaching subjects of participants from the Muslim schools is withheld to retain teachers' anonymity as much as possible.

‘decentred and post-modern’ approaches to education by suggesting students need to value their culture and religion, and a ‘prospective’ approach by suggesting students must also value the secular identity of the host country:

It is vital that our students’ value both their religious and cultural heritage as well as their identity as Kiwis [colloquialism for New Zealander]. Many [students at the Muslim school] are refugees and most are migrants, all of whom have a valuable contribution to make to this country. (Ratnajyoti, 2018).

Ratnajyoti is suggesting that ‘their identity as kiwis’ is a given. However, a national identity is not always adopted or valued by immigrants in New Zealand, as Ablah suggested in her interview responses. Ratnajyoti says that she models culturally responsive practices in her teaching, incorporating “*students’ languages and cultural backgrounds*” into her lessons (2018). She believes that her:

...continued linking of lessons in the...curriculum to New Zealand, the wider world, whilst still ensuring I make links to Islam...assists students to see themselves and their culture as an integral part of society (Ratnajyoti, 2018).

To stimulate curiosity in students learning, Ratnajyoti uses a ‘modern’ ‘flipped-classroom approach’¹¹ to encourage students to explore the historical background of topics which link Islam to her curriculum area. The ‘Four Pillars’ of a FLIP approach require ‘flexible’ learning, a student-centred ‘learning culture’, ‘intentional’ content determined by students, and a ‘professional’ educator who provides feedback and feed forward to guide students to take ownership of their learning (Flipped Learning Network, 2014). The FLIP approach also aligns with five of the professional responsibilities and standards that are required of teachers in New Zealand (Education Council New Zealand, 2017). By adopting this pedagogical approach to education, Ratnajyoti has created a weakened ‘classificatory and framing’ structure to determine the most appropriate curriculum and pedagogic practices students need to support their learning. There was not enough evidence in Ratnajyoti’s interview responses to detail how she differentiated knowledge, or if or how she would make ‘restricted’ or otherwise ‘invisible’ knowledge ‘visible’ for students (Bernstein, 2003a, 2003c).

¹¹ A flipped classroom is a “...pedagogical approach in which direct instruction moves from the group learning space to the individual learning space, and the resulting group space is transformed into a dynamic, interactive learning environment where the educator guides students as they apply concepts and engage creatively in the subject matter” (Flipped Learning Network, 2014).

9.3 SUMMARY

Figure 14, summarises teachers’ responses to questions reflecting their pedagogical approaches to education, their pedagogic identities, and their pedagogic practice as theorised through Bernstein’s (2000) and Friedman’s (1992, 1994) concepts.

FIGURE 14. TEACHERS’ PEDAGOGIC IDENTITIES									
TEACHER M- Muslim NM - Non-Muslim	BERNSTEIN’S PEDAGOGIC IDENTITIES			CLASSIFICATION FRAMING		FRIEDMAN’S POLAR IDENTITIES		TEACHING EXPERIENCE	
	Decent ered	Therap eutic	Prospec tive	Teacher	School	Moder n	Post- Moder n	Secular	Muslim
I- Immigrant F – Female M - Male									
M -F (I)	✓	✓	✓	-C-F	+C+Fie	✓	✓		✓
M- M	✓	✓	✓	-C-F	±C±Fie	✓	✓	✓	✓
NM -F (I)	✓		✓	-C-F	+C+Fie	✓	✓	✓	✓
NM -F (I)	✓		✓	-C-F	+C+Fie	✓	✓	✓	✓
NM – F	✓		✓	-C-F	+C+Fie	✓	✓	✓	✓

The strength and weakness of schools’ ‘classification’ and ‘framing’ boundaries and regulators that structure what curriculum is acceptable, and how, and when curriculum content can be accessed, is included alongside the teachers’ emphasis regarding the strength of these boundaries and regulators in education (Bernstein, 2000, 2003d).

First and foremost, two teachers expressed the need to apply a ‘therapeutic’ (emotionally engaged) approach to teaching, one of which, the sole male teacher placed a lot of emphasis on this approach. This

suggests a break in the stereotypical discourse that ‘females are the emotional ones’ not males, as the remaining female teachers interviewed did not identify themselves as ‘emotionally engaged practitioners’ and in some cases, they specifically stated they did not want to be emotionally engaged with their students. Whether that aspect of the female teachers’ pedagogical identities relates to media and academia that links emotional characteristics in business to a characteristic of weakness or not, is a question more aptly answered by a researcher in gender studies.

Furthermore, the results reflect New Zealand’s Curriculum principles of the ‘Treaty of Waitangi, cultural diversity, inclusion, community engagement, and a future focus’ that requires teachers to adopt ‘decentred, prospective, post-modern, and modern’ pedagogical approaches to the curriculum and pedagogy (Ministry of Education, 2007). In addition, New Zealand schools are required to develop and deliver a localised curriculum, focused on local and cultural community characteristics that requires a decentred pedagogical approach to the curriculum and its delivery. Moreover, the buzz phrase in New Zealand pedagogy is a ‘student-centred’ education that requires flexibility to meet students’ individual needs. This approach is a national expectation of schools when designing and delivering their curriculum. Teachers are also required to show evidence of ‘student-centered pedagogy’ in annual school reviews to maintain their teaching registration. Therefore, it is not surprising all the teachers’ approaches to education represent the national expectations of teachers in New Zealand schools.

In this regard, to meet the Ministry of Education’s aspirations there is a need for flexible boundaries and regulations of the curriculum and pedagogy that enable teachers to meet an individual student’s needs. Nonetheless, the teachers interviewed who taught at Muslim schools in New Zealand described very strong school classification of curriculum and pedagogical boundaries and framing regulations that structure how and when students access the curriculum (Bernstein, 2003d), examined in detail in the next chapter. Each of the teachers at the Muslim schools either refrained from teaching parts of or all of their speciality subjects to teach within the boundaries and in accordance with the regulations set by those schools. Teachers chose to be creative in their pedagogical approach to make restricted knowledge that was otherwise required by school management to remain ‘invisible’, ‘visible’ to the students. Perhaps their creative approach to skirt the restraints of a Muslim curriculum could be considered rebellious from a Muslim school management perspective. Nevertheless, non-Muslim and Muslim teachers all agreed there was a need for students to have access to all knowledge to enable them to personalise who they are and who they aspire to be in the future, values that they are expected to promote, as outlined in the New Zealand Curriculum and the ‘Code of Professional Responsibility and Standards for the Teaching

Profession' (Ministry of Education, 2007; Education Council, 2017; Teaching Council New Zealand, 2019).

All of the teachers implemented teaching strategies that nurtured students' religious and cultural identities. Moreover, only one teacher, Ablah, regarded a personalised Muslim identity and global identity to be more important than a national identity. This particular teacher says she does not have a personal affinity to a national identity even though she has lived in New Zealand for over a decade. She also admits that she has no idea how she would nurture Muslim students to aspire to identify with New Zealand's national identity. The remaining teachers that were interviewed all believed that students should be developing a hyphenated identity that represents a personal Muslim identity and a national identity. Furthermore, three of these five teachers are immigrants who have developed their own hyphenated national identity linking them to New Zealand.

One teacher ventured further and intimated that Muslim students should have already adopted a hyphenated Muslim 'kiwi' identity as a consequence of living in New Zealand, and she believes this new identity needs to be recognised by parents, teachers, and students to enable them to participate and contribute in society. Nonetheless, based on the narratives of both Muslim students and teachers that were interviewed, I would suggest that it is unlikely that migrant and refugee students would naturally adopt a 'Kiwi' identity if they are immersed only in Muslim environments in their homes, their education, and in their community life. The evidence from this research would suggest that is not necessarily a given that all students will choose to accept a hyphenated identity linked to New Zealand's national identity. What is clear is that all but one of the participants firmly believes an individual's connection to New Zealand's national identity is important to develop a sense of belonging to an individual's adopted country.

CHAPTER 10. A LIBERAL EDUCATION SYSTEM

10.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines the education system, a system committed to the inclusion of diverse cultures and religions in government funded state-secular schools and state-integrated Muslim schools. My research shows how such a commitment can lead to a deep paradox for Muslim students. The chapter focuses on how the secular education system responds to a group that has fundamentally different values and practices from those recognised by the system. In turn, I discuss how Muslim schools respond to a secular education system that has fundamentally different values and practices from those recognised by that Muslim community. My research findings identify various internal and external factors contributing to tensions some Muslims encounter in education (see Chapter 7). These tensions differ in nature depending on school structures, regulations, governance, and management capability to design and deliver a curriculum that aligns the school's religious values and beliefs with the requirements of the national democratic-based curriculum values and principles. Adding a further layer of complexity and ambiguity concerning the level of school autonomy, this national requirement is in tension with New Zealand's shift to a community-responsive (i.e., localised) curriculum, a shift which gives greater weight to a school's special character.

Section 10.1 examines a recent review of the 1989 Tomorrow's Schools' educational reform to better understand some of the contributing factors that lead to the tensions some Muslims experience in New Zealand schools. The Tomorrow's Schools' educational initiative enabled school communities to operate as "autonomous, self-managing entities, loosely connected to each other" which has resulted in "slow and uneven transfers of professional knowledge and skills", and wide variability in learner performance across schools (Ministry of Education, 2019a, p. 10). Additionally, the autonomy of school governance is problematic as it requires school Board of Trustee members to have exceptionally high skill-sets to perform "a wide variety of complex roles" and the expertise and familiarity to work within the boundaries of multiple New Zealand laws (Ministry of Education, 2019a, p. 10). Accordingly, the shift to a decentralised education system presents internal challenges for schools that "are too often isolated and unable to access adequate networks of support" (Ministry of Education, 2019a, p. 10). This is the case for Muslim schools in New Zealand. School governance and management capability at participants' schools are examined in Section 10.2 to understand the impact leadership has on school structures, curriculum, and pedagogy, and ultimately on students' educational experiences.

Specific challenges for schools in the design and delivery of a localised curriculum is examined in Section 10.3. This section includes a discussion of the challenges that arise for special character schools as they have not been provided with explicit guidance on how to manage the ontological differences between faith-based schooling and a secularised educational context. The ‘liberal paradox’ for Muslim schools to incorporate the official pedagogic discourse (OPD) of student-centred learning within a post-modern and culturally responsive bi-cultural/multicultural context is discussed in Section 10.4. The Ministry of Education requirement “that Boards must give effect to Te Tiriti [the Treaty] of Waitangi and relevant student rights” (Ministry of Education, 2019a, p. 36) in curriculum and pedagogy is also explored in Section 10.4. Section 10.5 summarises the factors contributing to the tensions Muslims experience in New Zealand’s schools.

I have theorised the tensions in the education system through a social realist lens (see Chapter 4). I apply Bernstein’s (2003a) theories to analyse “How a society selects, classifies, distributes, transmits and evaluates the educational knowledge it considers to be public, [which] reflects both the distribution of power and the principles of social control” (p. 202). Bernstein’s (2003d) theory of the ‘pedagogic device’ captures the complexities of the relationship “between power and knowledge, and knowledge and forms of consciousness” (p. 181) in schools. The pedagogic device comprises distributive rules which regulate the recontextualising rules, which in turn regulate rules of evaluation (Bernstein, 2003d). The distributive rules are considered a regulator of the relationship “between power, social groups, forms of consciousness and practice, and their reproductions and productions” (Bernstein, 2003d, p. 180). The analysis of the pedagogic device helps to identify the regulators determining teachers’ practice and the responses to these relational pedagogic determinants. For example, the teachers’ responses highlighted that their pedagogic discourse was structured by the external relations of the Muslim community and the internal relations of the Muslim school management and governance at Muslim schools. This meant that the distributive rules that regulate the relationships “between power, social groups, forms of consciousness and practice, and their reproductions and productions” (Bernstein, 2003d, p. 180) are structured by Muslim schools, which constrained students access to a wide range of curriculum knowledge and the way in which it was delivered.

I theorise the education system by applying Bernstein’s (2003c) educational knowledge concepts comprising (i) curriculum, what counts as valid knowledge; (ii) pedagogy, what counts as a valid transmission of knowledge; and (iii) evaluation, what counts as a valid realisation of this knowledge taught. The underlying structure of curriculum, pedagogy, and evaluation in the education of Muslim

students in schools is captured through the application of Bernstein's (2003c) concepts of 'classification and framing' (see Chapter 4). The concept of classification provides a means to consider the "strength of the boundary between educational knowledge and everyday community knowledge of [the] teacher and [what is] taught" (Bernstein, 2003c, p. 89). Bernstein's concept of framing supports the analysis of the sequence and pace determined appropriate for students to acquire knowledge in schools (Bernstein, 2003c). His theories provide a "way of analysing some of the interrelationships between social structure, language-use, and subsequent behaviour" (Bernstein, 2003a, p. 76) demonstrated in schools.

10.1 TOMORROW'S SCHOOLS

Since the Tomorrow's Schools' reform of 1989, schools have operated as self-managing statutory Crown Entities "with responsibility for a wide range of functions that were previously centralised, such as employing staff and developing school policies" (Ministry of Education, 2019a, p. 8). This highly devolved education system requires both unity in policy, outlined in the New Zealand curriculum, and diversity in the practice of local curriculum and pedagogy (Ministry of Education, 2007, 2019b). An education system of this nature creates the condition for schools to have power and control of the pedagogic device to determine what curriculum is valid, what counts as a valid transmission of knowledge, and what counts as a valid realisation of this knowledge taught (Bernstein, 2003c). Consequently, a decentralised education system permits schools to determine the distributive rules that regulate the relationships "between power, social groups, forms of consciousness and practice, and their reproductions and productions" (Bernstein, 2003d, p. 180). In this regard, to operate in a way that supports "unity in policy and diversity in practice" (UNESCO & International Bureau of Education, 2020) there is need for flexible boundaries and regulations of the curriculum and pedagogy to meet national, school, and individual student needs. Nonetheless, the teachers interviewed described very strong school classification boundaries regarding what was acceptable educational knowledge and everyday community knowledge at Muslim schools. Strong framing regulations that structure how and when students access the curriculum (Bernstein, 2003c) at Muslim schools also made diversity in teaching practice problematic.

In 2018, the New Zealand government funded an independent taskforce to determine if the Tomorrow's Schools initiative is still fit for purpose in state and state-integrated schools. The taskforce undertook a year-long nation-wide public consultation at 100 public meetings attended by 3,000 people and analysed responses from 2,263 submissions and 3,338 online surveys to identify if there is need for change in schools and the wider education system (Ministry of Education, 2018a). The Taskforce reviewed the "ability of school governance, management and administration to respond to the education needs of the

future and to ensure flexibility to meet the needs of local communities and their children” (Ministry of Education, 2019b, p. 7). The review concluded that school communities are operating as “autonomous, self-managing entities, loosely connected to each other” which has resulted in “slow and uneven transfers of professional knowledge and skills” and wide variability in learner performance across schools (Ministry of Education, 2019b, p. 10). The taskforce’s findings led to the Ministry of Education’s (2019b) five key objectives which now frames the next steps in educational reform in New Zealand (see Appendix L):

- i. Learners at the centre of education
- ii. Barrier-free access to education for every learner
- iii. Quality teaching and leadership
- iv. Future of learning and work relevant to the lives of New Zealanders
- v. World-class and inclusive public education

One of the outcomes of the ‘Tomorrow’s Schools’ review has been that:

The government will reset the governance, management and administration of the schooling system - moving from a highly devolved, largely disconnected and autonomous set of institutions, to a much more deliberately networked and supported system that is more responsive to the needs of learners/ākonga and their whānau [family] (Ministry of Education, 2019b, p. 12).

The systemic educational changes highlight the need for “more responsive, accessible and integrated local support” for schools, strengthening of governance and principal leadership, and “a better balance between local and national responsibilities for school property” (Ministry of Education, 2019b, p.12). A newly established Education Service Agency and redesigned Ministry of Education is intended to function as the accessible integrated local support to meet “the needs of teachers, leaders, students, whānau and their wider communities, to support equity and excellence of learning outcomes” (Ministry of Education, 2019b, p.14). Furthermore, the government recognises the need to establish minimum eligibility criteria for principals to better ensure schools are led by “leaders with the right skills and expertise” (Ministry of Education, 2019b, p.18). The government now recognises the need to tighten the current education system, which relies on the capability and expertise of Board of Trustee members “to identify, attract and employ highly effective principals” (Ministry of Education, 2019b, p.18). In response to nation-wide concerns regarding a number of schools’ governance capability, the Ministry of Education intends to create a ‘Code of Conduct for school Board of Trustees’ to encourage good practice, and “more transparent accountability” (Ministry of Education, 2019b, p.31).

Measures are also being taken by the Ministry of Education to ensure that where interventions are needed in schools, “this is identified in a timely way and acted on immediately in order to preserve the rights and interests of learners/ākonga and their whānau [family] to a high-quality education” (Ministry of Education, 2019b, p.31). Targeted educational reforms that upskill and provide ongoing support and guidance for school leadership and governance, as well as minimum professional criteria for principals, and more accountability from the Board of Trustees may start to address some of the participants’ concerns regarding education for Muslims in New Zealand. Nonetheless, “system change of this nature and scope does not happen overnight, and in other countries, such as Finland, it has evolved over decades” (Ministry of Education, 2019b, p.12), which is concerning considering the serious issues participants raised regarding Muslim school leadership and governance.

10.2 SCHOOL LEADERSHIP AND GOVERNANCE CAPABILITY

This section focuses on school governance and management capability and the impact this has on school structures, curriculum, pedagogy, and ultimately on students’ educational experiences. Firstly, the decentralisation model of Tomorrow’s Schools requires schools to have high governance capabilities to undertake “a wide variety of complex roles” requiring expertise and familiarity of multiple New Zealand laws (Ministry of Education, 2019a, p. 10). Furthermore, many schools became isolated under the Tomorrow’s School model and are often “unable to access adequate networks of support” (Ministry of Education, 2019a, p. 10). Moreover, the difficulties with New Zealand’s current education model is that there have been “limited opportunities for intervention [by government] even when things are going wrong” (Ministry of Education, 2019a, p. 10). The absence of a ‘minimum principal criterion’ and a ‘Code of Conduct for school Board of Trustees’ to ensure schools have access to expert leadership and capable governance, along with ineffective Ministry of Education interventions has led to a multitude of issues arising at a number of schools in New Zealand.

Participants identified limited principal and governance capability at the Muslim schools in New Zealand. Students and teachers cited concerns with curriculum restrictions, dubious employment appointments, and infringements on staff and students’ individual rights. These breaches of human rights at Muslims schools included prohibiting non-Muslim teachers from expressing their own faith, requiring them to wear a hijab, and restricting students from expressing their individual identity. In 2015, 2016, and 2020 the Education Review Office (ERO) also identified concerns regarding the governance and leadership of New Zealand’s two Muslim schools, as discussed in Chapter 7. The Muslim schools required Ministry of Education appointed intervention to address “concerns about school governance, aspects of health and safety, and

employment processes that were not meeting legislative requirements or good practice expectations” while there were also “concerns about school and curriculum leadership” (Education Review Office, 2015, para. 2). The most recent Education Review Office report undertaken for one of the Muslim schools in New Zealand reiterated “Ineffective board governance has been a long-standing issue for the school. Support through the Ministry of Education statutory interventions and other professional support for trustees have not resulted in sustainable, effective governance” (Education Review Office, 2020a, para. 5).

The power and control of schools to determine the educational knowledge codes, of what curriculum is valid, what counts as a valid transmission of knowledge, and what counts as a valid realisation of this knowledge taught (Bernstein, 2003c) is precarious in a school with limited principal and governance capability. The restrictions placed on the curriculum, pedagogic practices, and access to aspects of other cultures considered incompatible with Islam, partly stem from Muslim school communities’ interpretation of New Zealand’s social and educational policies, and of the laws that protect the rights of individuals, as discussed Chapter 7. Furthermore, while schools are able to design their own localised curriculum, they are still required to provide an education that is student-centred, and reflects students’ diverse needs and their individual identity. Despite this, issues arise when school principals misunderstand or ignore the rights of individual students and misunderstand how that relates to public education in New Zealand:

In trying to implement New Zealand Curriculum subjects like Music, Art, Drama and Dance are areas where [the] overwhelming majority of the parents exercise their rights under the Human Rights Act to withdraw their daughters e.g., the curriculum requires students to play a musical instrument but the parents do not want their daughters to play an instrument (Muslim School Principal, 2015)

The principal of the Muslim school, above, recognised the need to deliver eleven subjects, comprising eight New Zealand Curriculum (Ministry of Education, 2007) subjects and three special character subjects was difficult, adding that “staffing all the learning areas in a small school with a small staff while ensuring that all legal requirements are met, is challenging” (Muslim school principal, 2015). The Muslim schools’ decision to ignore the rights of students is problematic, in particular as the first objective of the reform of the Tomorrow’s Schools initiative reemphasises students’ rights and requires schools to seek “learners’ participation in school governance” (refer to Appendix L). Moreover, the strong classification boundaries between abstract academic knowledge and everyday knowledge of the teacher and what is taught, and the strong framing regulations of the sequence and pace determined appropriate for students to acquire knowledge (Bernstein, 2003d) in Muslim schools is in conflict with a national public education that

requires weak classification and framing in local curriculum and pedagogy. In effect, Muslim schools in New Zealand are strongly regulating the relationships “between power, social groups, forms of consciousness and practice, and their reproductions and productions” (Bernstein, 2003d, p. 180). The very conservative and strongly regulated approach to the curriculum and pedagogy at the Muslim schools (see Chapter 7) is also linked to leadership and governance misunderstanding and/or acceptance of New Zealand’s social and education policies and laws. Some Muslim parents and teachers were equally frustrated and experienced tension with the restrictions placed on the curriculum and pedagogy. In some cases, Muslims students and their families, and teachers who were frustrated with these restrictions chose to leave the school in preference for a state-secular school, where they can access a wider school curriculum, and work alongside more capable school leadership.

Participants’ responses emphasise there are some serious issues that the Muslim community in New Zealand need to consider if they want to meet the needs of students and their teachers in state-integrated Muslim schools. Students and teachers were genuinely concerned about nepotism and the conflicts of interest at Muslim schools. Furthermore, some students who spent all their secondary school years at Muslim schools found that they struggled academically at tertiary level due to gaps in their education. These students felt a need to spend additional time catching-up academically with their state-secular educated varsity peers, who they believed had received a wider and richer curriculum than they had access to at the Muslim schools they attended. This brings us back to a localised curriculum, where I argue that the greater autonomy available to Muslim schools in designing a Muslim curriculum has led to a gap between that local curriculum and the democratic principles of the national curriculum. The tension experienced by the students and teachers at the Muslim schools is also located in that gap.

10.3 LOCALISED CURRICULUM

New Zealand’s localised curriculum shifts the curricular control of education from a centralised system of syllabuses and guidelines to a more community-responsive education system. Decisions regarding the specifics of curriculum, pedagogy, and assessment can be made at the local level as long as the detail aligns with the guiding principles laid out in the New Zealand Curriculum (Ministry of Education, 2007). The Ministry of Education has outlined the national curriculum comprising eight learning areas, New Zealand’s official languages of English, Māori, sign language, and specific values and principles (listed below) that are required to be incorporated in all local school curriculum (Ministry of Education, 2019a).

What is a local curriculum?

The New Zealand Curriculum is a clear statement of what we deem important in education. It takes as its starting point a vision of our young people as lifelong learners who are confident, creative, connected, and actively involved, and includes a clear set of principles on which to base curriculum decision making.

I see the (national) curriculum as the bones and what schools have to do is put the meat (the muscles) around them and then get the heart pumping.
Principal

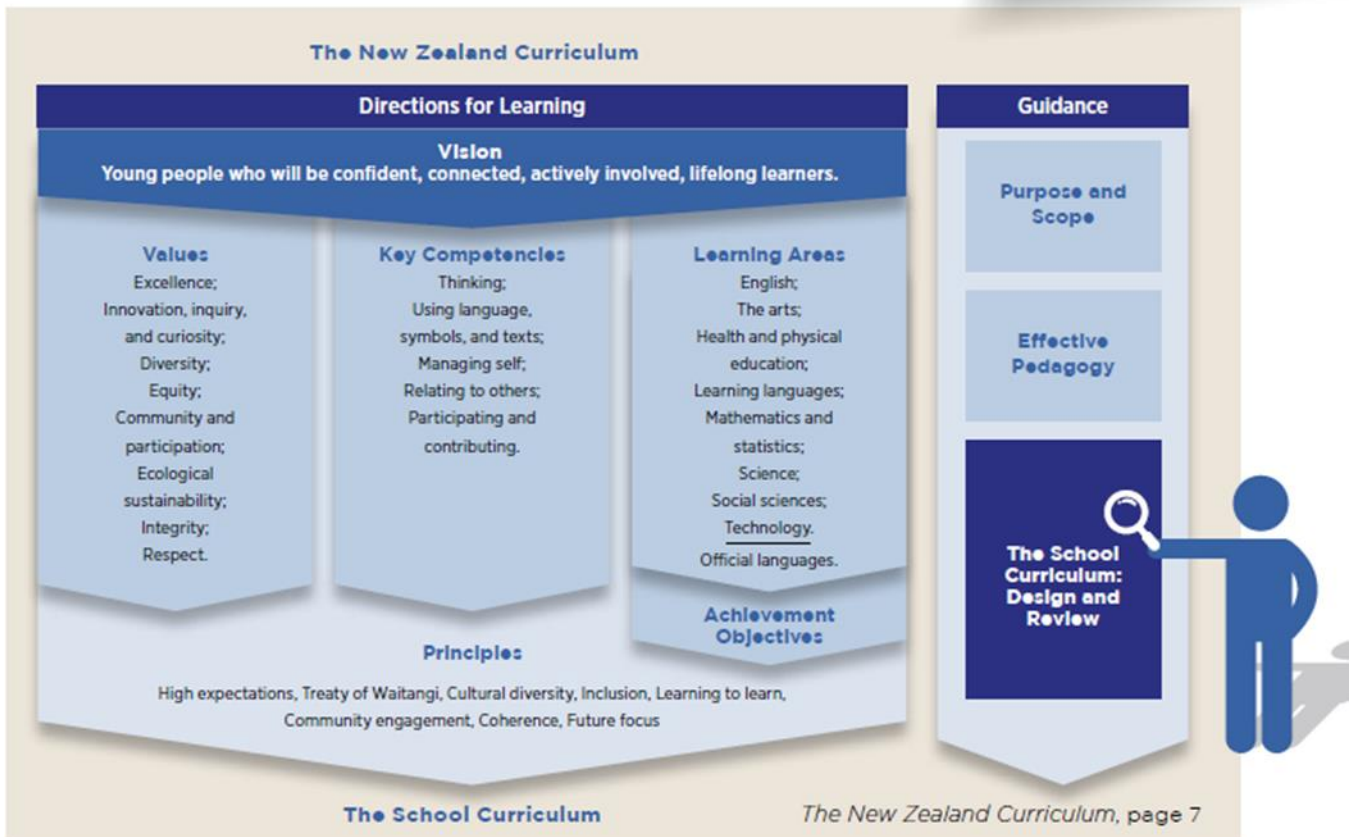
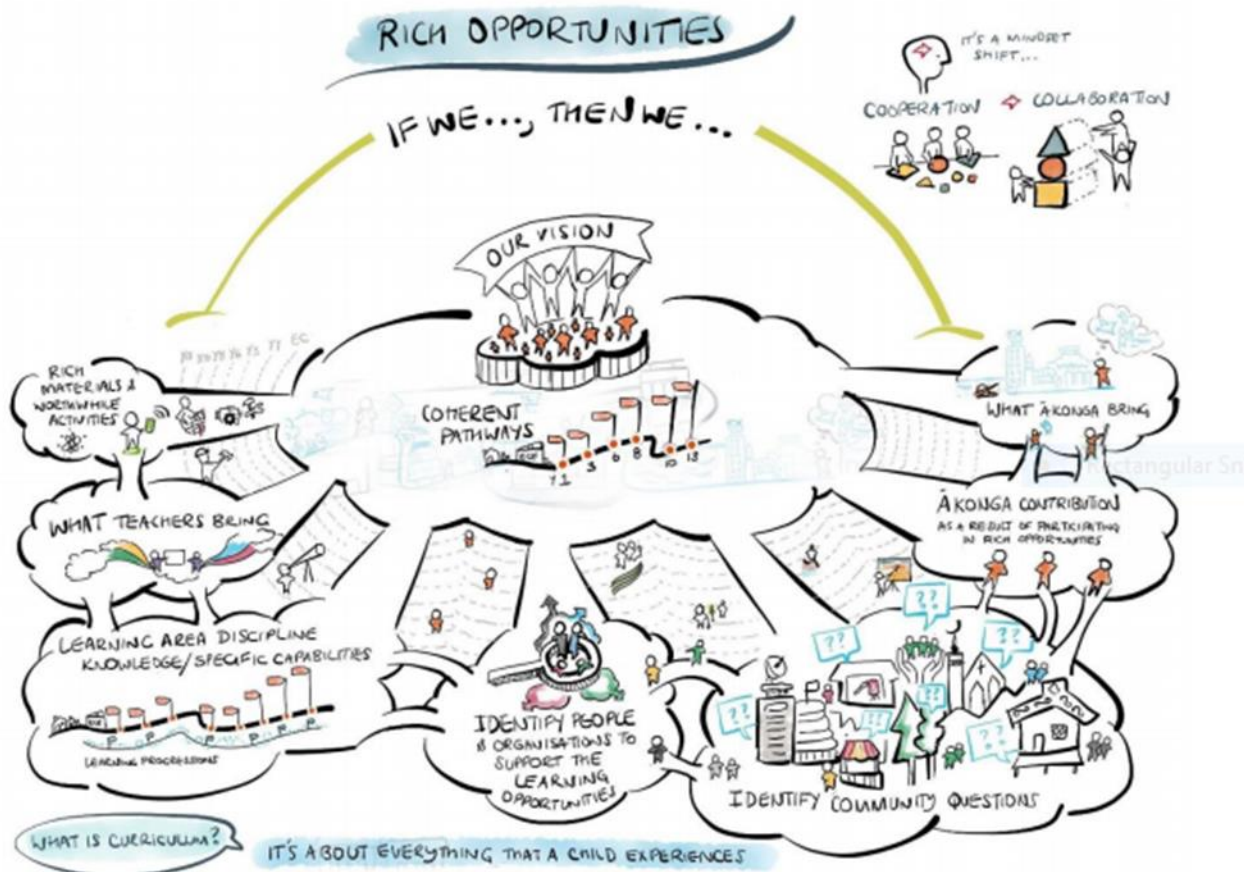


FIGURE 15. THE NEW ZEALAND LOCAL CURRICULUM

One of the problems with a localised curriculum in the context of this research, as discussed earlier, is the lack of explicit guidance provided to manage the fundamental differences between faith-based schooling and secularised education. In 2019, the New Zealand government published four guide books to support schools to design a local curriculum, assess learning that responds to student progress, and to reinforce learning partnerships with parents and whānau (families) (Ministry of Education, 2019a). These guidelines recommend schools draw on the expertise of teachers and leadership, and that they collaborate with

students, parents, and local communities to design rich learning opportunities in a localised curriculum. The recommendation to rely on the expertise of local communities to help design a curriculum remains problematic for Muslim schools, as there is still no direct national guidance provided to explicitly bridge the gap between a ‘special character’ curriculum and the national curriculum.

FIGURE 16. LOCAL CURRICULUM DESIGN TOOL



Rich opportunities support a curriculum vision with cooperation and collaboration

The ‘Rich Opportunities to Learn’ are intended to “increase the breadth, depth and complexity of the learning experience” by drawing on the contribution of local communities as demonstrated in Figure 16 to design a local curriculum (Ministry of Education, 2019c). Despite a government requirement to offer rich learning opportunities which requires collaboration with students, parents, and local communities, participants in this study were clearly experiencing considerable tension due to lack of collaboration which resulted in very restricted curriculum and pedagogy at Muslim schools. Moreover, participant responses highlighted that the regulatory boundaries regarding curriculum and pedagogy (Bernstein, 2003c) at one

Muslim school had become a lot more conservative following the Christchurch tragedy in March 2019. Teachers at the Muslim schools described an expectation to integrate Islam into all learning areas in the curriculum and in teaching practice, regardless of teachers' prior knowledge of Islam, creating additional tension for Muslim and non-Muslim teachers. For example, one non-Muslim teacher was unaware that students at the Muslim school were prohibited from drawing eyes. This resulted in senior students being required to redo a term's (ten weeks) school work to ensure their learning was in line with the school's special character curriculum. More recently, that particular Muslim school developed 'Special Character Requirement' policies for specific learning areas. In relation to visual arts, "painting, drawing, printmaking pictures of humans and all other animate beings, such as animals and birds" is prohibited in the curriculum (Muslim School, 2020). As a result of Muslim schools' imposing strong boundaries on the curriculum and regulations on pedagogy, a number of experienced teachers chose to leave the school, as discussed above. This exacerbates students' concerns regarding Muslim schools' limited subject specialist expertise, experts that the school desperately needed to help students prepare for university. The strong classification boundaries that determine when students can access educational knowledge (Bernstein, 2003c) is concerning given that all of the participants in the study spoke of the need to be more flexible with the curriculum in a liberal democratic educational context.

Furthermore, creating a state-integrated Muslim curriculum which meets the needs of the whole school community is challenging. Sanjakdar's (2001) research undertaken in Australia emphasised a school's desire to integrate Islam across every area of the curriculum, similar to New Zealand Muslim schools. She discussed "Teachers' concern for priority of Islamic education in the curriculum, and the lack of formative research on what framework for curriculum development is appropriate for Australian Islamic schools" (Sanjekar, 2001, p.5). Similarly, a number of participants interviewed from Muslim schools in New Zealand discussed the difficulties they experience in responding to conservative Muslim views restricting students' access to wide experiential learning opportunities and rich curriculum content. The concerns from many of my research participants were less about a 'priority of Islamic education in the curriculum' and more about Muslim schools' restrictions on secular educational learning opportunities. Sanjakdar's (2001) three-year research, 'Core Curriculum of an Islamic school in Australia' concluded:

While College curriculum and policy documents claimed a curriculum that reflects Islamic values and beliefs, extensive school document analysis cross-checked with rich discourse from the participants, revealed the opposite. The gap between school subjects and an Islamic framework and context is very large, causing many pedagogical problems (p.5).

This was also the case at Muslim schools in New Zealand with the study identifying a similar gap between the New Zealand Curriculum (Ministry of Education, 2007) and a localised Muslim curriculum. In order to close the educational gap between an Islamic framework and the New Zealand curriculum, the Muslim community may first need to acknowledge that “Islam is a universal religion, Muslims do not constitute a homogenous group and whilst some Muslims views of education are strict, others can be quite liberal” (Sanjakdar, 2001, p. 5). The Muslim school community also need to acknowledge that their agreed special character curriculum is required to align with the learning area requirements, and the values and principles of the New Zealand Curriculum (Ministry of Education, 2007). Drawing on the Ministry of Education’s new Education Service Agency expertise and the local curriculum guide book (Ministry of Education, 2019a) that specifically targets the development of learning partnerships with parents and whānau (families) would be a starting point to initiate conversations regarding the diversity of Islam in Muslim school communities and how that diversity can be accommodated in a local Muslim curriculum.

10.4 OFFICIAL PEDAGOGIC DISCOURSE

The New Zealand Curriculum (Ministry of Education, 2007) and the ‘Code of Professional Responsibility and Standards for the Teaching Profession’ (Education Council New Zealand, 2017) (see Chapter 9) outline the official pedagogic discourse (OPD) and professional guidelines required of teachers in public schools in New Zealand (Education Council New Zealand, 2017, p.16). The OPD reflects the values (see Figure 15) of the New Zealand Curriculum (Ministry of Education, 2007) which are considered to be society’s “deeply held beliefs about what is important or desirable...[and] the ways in which people think and act” (Ministry of Education, 2017a, para. 1). Moreover “every decision relating to curriculum” is expected to reflect the “values of the individuals involved and the collective values of the institution” (Ministry of Education, 2017a, para. 2). The national curriculum principles (see Figure 15) are regarded as the beliefs that are “important and desirable in school curriculum – nationally and locally [and] should underpin all school decision making” (Ministry of Education, 2017b, para. 1). These principles place “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 identity” (Ministry of Education, 2017b, para. 2). Moreover, an inclusive ‘student-centred’ education requires flexibility to meet students’ individual needs.

New Zealand’s OPD also embodies the principles of the ‘Treaty of Waitangi, cultural diversity, inclusion, community engagement, and a future focus’ requiring teachers to adopt ‘decentred, prospective, post-

modern and modern' pedagogical approaches (Bernstein, 2000; Friedman, 1992) to the curriculum and pedagogy (Ministry of Education, 2007). This post-modernist (Friedman, 1992) response to education is recognised through the government's commitment to the Treaty of Waitangi, considered New Zealand's founding document that has shaped a bicultural nation (discussed in Chapter 2). This post-modernist response to education positions Māori cultural values and practices in partnership with the British, while at the same time that partnership is responsive to multicultural values and practices in education. The reform of Tomorrow's Schools draws attention to a "need to improve equity and excellence for all learners...[and] calls for the school system to be founded on the rights of the child and te Tiriti o [the Treaty of] Waitangi...[and requires] localised support and decision-making" (Ministry of Education, 2019a, p. 9). Nonetheless, securing the rights of the child seems alarmingly impossible in one Muslim school where their proprietors¹² consider:

[That the proprietors have the] right to determine what is necessary to preserve and safeguard the Special Character of the education provided by the school shall have precedence over the requirements of other legislation like the Bill of Rights and the Human Rights Act (Muslim School, 2020)

A decision to override the rights of individuals is particularly concerning in a liberal democratic society, and reemphasises the urgent need to provide guidance to some school leadership and governance.

In order that schools are able to meet aspirations outlined in the New Zealand Curriculum (Ministry of Education, 2007), 'Code of Professional Responsibility and Standards for the Teaching Profession' (Education Council New Zealand, 2017), and the objectives of the reform of the Tomorrow's Schools', schools need flexible boundaries and pedagogy to meet individual student's need. Despite this need for flexibility in education, the teachers interviewed who taught at Muslim schools described very strong school classification of curriculum and framing regulations that structures how and when students access the curriculum (Bernstein, 2003d) making offering the nation's OPD problematic.

I have learnt to be more compliant over the years at (the Muslim School). This is not because it is what I truly believe, but because I am instructed to teach restricted content and I am on my last warning. I encourage students to learn beyond the classroom, where I am restricted in what I teach inside of the classroom. (Ablah, 2015)

¹²Private Schools Conditional Integration Act 1975. Part 6. "The proprietors of an integrated school shall, subject to section 3, exercise such powers and accept such responsibilities as may be specified in any integration agreement to which they are a party". Proprietors' rights must also comply with the provisions of the Education and Training Act 2020, the State Sector Act 1988, Bill of Rights Act 1990, and the Human Rights Act 1993.

The restrictions placed on a Muslim curriculum, meant that teachers were not able to offer some or all speciality subjects, such as both Ablah and Ines describe.

In music, I don't think they could get much knowledge because of the limitations in the school [on the curriculum], because they can't use instruments, certain instruments were banned, only voice (Ines, 2018).

Where possible teachers used creative pedagogical approaches to make restricted knowledge that was otherwise required by school management to remain 'invisible' 'visible' to the students (Bernstein, 2003a). However, no measure of creativity can stand in the way of 'special character curriculum' requirements at one Muslim school in New Zealand. That particular school has gone beyond placing restrictions on specific subjects to disparaging aspects of the OPD of tolerance, inclusion, respect, integrity, diversity, and a student focus, by prohibiting dance on the grounds that "all dance performances by current Bollywood and Western artists are considered obscene and vulgar from the Islamic perspective" (Muslim School, 2020). Needless to say, non-Muslim and Muslim teachers all agreed students should be able to have 'barrier-free' and equal access to all knowledge to enable them to offer the OPD defined by the principles and values of the New Zealand Curriculum (Ministry of Education, 2007).

10.5 SUMMARY

This chapter examined the education system and identified that while the system is committed to the principles and values of inclusion, tolerance, respect, integrity, diversity, and student-centred learning, this is simply not happening in Muslim schools in New Zealand. The reform of the Tomorrow's Schools initiative, brings to light serious concerns regarding school leadership and governance in schools in New Zealand. In respect to Muslim schools, they have found it difficult, if not impossible to align Islam in a 'special character' curriculum with the requirements of the New Zealand Curriculum (Ministry of Education, 2007). The very strong classification and framing in Muslim schools have led to a deep paradox for students unable to exercise their individual rights afforded to them in New Zealand's social policy. Rigid school structures and regulations, and limited governance and management capability to design and deliver a curriculum that aligns a schools' values and beliefs with the national democratic-based curriculum requirements is an ongoing concern for Muslim schools. The paradox for Muslim schools is that the requirement to adhere to the learning area requirements, and the values and principles of the New Zealand curriculum is in tension with New Zealand's shift to a community-responsive (i.e., localised) curriculum, a shift which gives greater weight to a school's special character – making unity in policy and diversity in practice impossible. Muslim schools' response of intolerance towards secular education in

certain learning areas that are highly valued in Western society, such as art, music, and dance, labelling them 'vulgar and obscene' (Muslim School, 2020) is concerning as it does not promote any level of integration or acceptance of people's diversity in New Zealand society. Intolerance towards individual student interests in education is in conflict with New Zealand's OPD and contributes to tensions some Muslims encounter in education (see Chapter 7).

CHAPTER 11. AUTONOMY AND SOCIAL COHESION – A LIBERAL PARADOX

11.0 INTRODUCTION

This thesis has sought to identify, describe, and explain the challenges faced by Muslim students educated in a liberal secular education system, a system committed to the inclusion of diverse cultures and religions in state-funded schools. I have argued that a ‘liberal paradox’ is a source of the tension the female Muslim students interviewed experienced in their homes, in their education, and in wider New Zealand society. The tension students experience is grounded in their attempts to bridge the gap between religious and secular worldviews, and their recognition that their individual right to choose their education, their personal and citizenship identity, and their level of engagement in society is protected by national and international laws. New Zealand’s secular education system is a source of the ‘liberal paradox’ located in the localised ‘special character’ curricula that must also adhere to the democratic values and principles of the New Zealand Curriculum (Ministry of Education, 2007). The response from the Muslim community has been to design a curriculum based on community agreed religious values, beliefs, and practices, which research participants considered created inequitable access to wider curriculum knowledge that is more readily available in a secular school curriculum. Moreover, the autonomous leadership and governance of public schools in New Zealand does not guarantee that all schools are able to act as integrative mechanisms if they are also able to promote values that are incongruent or intolerant of the nation’s liberal democratic identity. Needless to say, I also argue that ‘unity in policy and diversity in practice’ (UNESCO & International Bureau of Education, 2020) characteristic of New Zealand’s localised ‘special character’ curriculum policy, is a paradoxical anomaly of liberalism, a paradox that has negative consequences for some students.

This final chapter ties together the concepts of secularism, pluralism, and post-secularism, and the influential role families, communities, culture, education, and national policy plays in the development of Muslim autonomy in Section 11.1, and citizenship, participation, and social cohesion in New Zealand society are discussed in Section 11.2. The challenges for liberal democracy in catering for an increasingly diverse society, and the challenges for Muslims to live in accordance of Islam and to be socially cohesive in a secular or post-secular society is examined in Section 11.2. A comparative understanding of social cohesion and integration of Islam in other Western multicultural societies is examined in Sub-section, 11.2.1. The British and New Zealand response to social cohesion and integration of Islam in society is examined in Sub-section 11.2.2. The limitations of this study are discussed in Section 11.3, and the

implications of the findings and the many questions the research raises are considered in my concluding statements in Section 11.4.

I have analysed Muslim student autonomy through Habermas' (1990, 2008) theories of 'detranscendentalised lens', and through his definition of 'personal, private, public, and critical autonomy' (refer to Chapter 4). Habermas' (2008) 'detranscendentalised lens' proposes that reality consists of the mental representations and the historical experiences of the individual, a perspective that allows me to regard participant reasoning and "morality of the mind, as real-world phenomena that emerges in particular social and historical context" (Anderson, 2011, p 95). This approach involves the consideration of historicity, where the phenomena of intersubjective autonomous subjects is influenced by philosophical shifts in their own thinking, resulting from changes in their interpersonal relations and experiences (Habermas, 1984, 1987). By using Habermas' (1990, 1994, 2001, 2003) theories, I have also sought to identify where Muslim students have developed sufficient autonomous dispositions to critically rationalise their own decision-making processes and personal autonomy. These concepts of autonomy are drawn on to identify, describe, and explain if there is a merging of personal and private autonomy with public autonomy in the lives of Muslims educated in New Zealand. I refer to the research of a number of Muslim academics regarding education, autonomy, community life, and reasoning in an attempt to present a religious perspective and more nuanced response to the research phenomena.

11.1 AUTONOMY

To understand the influence education in New Zealand has had on Muslim autonomy, there is a need to position autonomy in terms of its context, that of secularism, pluralism, post-secularism, and in the context of Islam. In terms of secularism, I refer to the commonly understood state position of political neutrality, which most often includes the legal separation of the church from the state. I also refer to a Habermasian (2003, 2006) perspective of secularism, whereby it is not a one-way process from the religious to secular reasoning, rather secularism is a learning process through the engagement with diverse perspectives as part of the democratic self-empowerment of citizens. This brings me to pluralism, which is a fundamental element of democracy that recognises and affirms diverse worldviews within the political and public sphere. The consideration of a post-secular public sphere, acknowledges the social visibility of religious communities in a secular context (Habermas, 2006, 2008). To further understand autonomy in a post-secular context I draw on Katlas' (2019) proposal that the public sphere as a common and organised social space mediates between universal justification and open and legitimate reasoning, contestation, and re-organisation of set "boundaries and established distinctions, such as the private/public, religious/secular,

or moral/legal distinctions” (p. 17). Nonetheless, these distinctions are not so clearly defined in Islam, as the Qur’an is the reference point for universal truth, behaviour and conduct in all areas of Muslim life comprising “the individual, the social, the economic, and the political” (Waghid & Davids, 2016, p. 2).

Muslim student autonomy in a secular, pluralist, and post-secular context which also considers a Qur’anic response to autonomy, is extremely complex. Consequently, identifying what autonomy meant for Muslim students educated in New Zealand was difficult for some of my participants to articulate. An understanding of autonomy required students to first reflect on the existential question of ‘who I am’ in relation to their own beliefs, their family’s religious convictions, the ‘ummah’ (global Muslim context), and the national and global secular context. Reflecting on the existential question, students interviewed for this study presented a homo-triplex existence, whereby three individual perspectives of life appeared united within the one being. The first individual, guided by their own rational thought processes, the second individual, guided by the collective consciousness of their cultural-religious group, and the third individual, guided by the collective consciousness of the liberal democratic society they live within. Consequently, family, community, education, and wider society influences how an individual self-identifies and how they interpret autonomy. In essence, an individual’s disposition that enables moral and existential self-reflection of their individual autonomy emerges together with cultural, religious, social, and political institutional practices, and is legitimised for Muslims by religious doctrine, and national and international policies.

Furthermore, the increasingly complex world people live in today requires a greater level of decision-making and reflection regarding autonomy, which for Muslims also requires consideration of the universal truths of the Qur’an and the Sunnah¹³ or Hadiths¹⁴. Moreover, the *ijihād*¹⁵ of individual autonomy in Islam incorporates more than the individuals’ right to make their own choices; it also requires measured engagement in society (Waghid & Davids, 2016). This measured approach to individual autonomy is “aimed at affording a Muslim her [his] positive right to exercise her [his] freedom in the pursuit of knowledge” while at the same time recognising that “such autonomy cannot be left unconstrained” (Waghid & Davids, 2016, p.3). The measure of constraint however, creates tension for some individual Muslims educated in a liberal secular society, as they wrestle with the limits placed on their autonomy by

¹³ Sunnah refers to a path, a way, a manner of life; all the traditions and practices of Islam.

¹⁴ Hadiths are a collection of traditions containing sayings which constitute the major source of guidance for Muslims.

¹⁵ Ijtihad (in Islamic law) refers to the use of reason to arrive at a knowledge of truth in religious matters.

a Mujtahid¹⁶ which at times do not align with the liberal laws of less constrained autonomy in a secular society. Furthermore, the measure of constraint on an individual's autonomy is subjective to the interpretation of the Qur'an.

Too often culture impinges on the rights of women as outlined in the Quran. They do not have to marry, have children, be only with those of their culture, dress modestly in only traditional ways, or only enjoy traditional pursuits (Ablah, 2017).

A further consideration is that the limitations of individual autonomy in Islam are not intended to constrain the individual from exercising their hisbah¹⁷ insomuch as their "right and responsibility to oppose oppression, tyranny, and offensive displeasures" rather to "fail to act against injustices is not only deeply offensive for a Muslim community but also ethically irresponsible" (Waghid & Davids, 2016, p.3).

A measured approach to individual autonomy, therefore suggests Muslims' personal and private autonomy to freely determine their personal and private life choices will be constrained in some way. Nonetheless, constraints imposed by Islam also recognises that ijihad (rational consensus) must take place to determine measures of constraint and an individual is expected to have an opportunity for ikhtilaf (disagreement) if the limitations on their life choices seem tyrannical or oppressive (Shah, 2016). For some participants of this study who attended Muslim schools, the opportunity for ikhtilaf was not provided by the school, leaving one student feeling drained "*physically, mentally, emotionally, and spiritually*" (Asmara, 2018). This particular student engaged in moral and existential self-reflection concerning her own autonomy in a secular society, and acknowledged that her critical autonomy sits outside the boundaries of Islam. She was also aware that her autonomy as a bisexual person is legitimised by national and international policies and her democratic and individual right to self-expression. Subsequently, she identified that she does not have the personal and private autonomy to express her bisexual identity, regardless of liberal laws that legitimise this freedom, as this level of autonomy conflicts with the religious tenets of Islam. Moreover, she considers that she has never "*realistically*" ever felt "*autonomy in public*", which she regarded as the result of being "*a non-white woman and on top of that, I'm Muslim*" (Asmara, 2019).

Menaal, is an example of a Muslim student educated at a Muslim school in New Zealand capable of critically identifying and explaining that her autonomy is reflective of her family's religious beliefs. Her criticality reflects an autonomy through an intersubjective and a 'detranscendentalised lens', whereby she

¹⁶ Mujtahid is an individual who is qualified to exercise ijihad in the evaluation of Islamic law

¹⁷ Hisbah is an Islamic doctrine which means accountability.

rationalises her reality and thoughts based on her historical and religious experiences (Habermas, 2008). Moreover, her reasoning and real-world phenomena (how she views her world) emerges in a Muslim social and historical context, as she describes below:

I choose to ask my husband or tell him where I want to go...this choice may be a result of my religious beliefs and upbringing... I can belong to many communities at one time (young female' educated, working, Muslim, married, etc.) ...I don't have to sacrifice any part of my identity to fit it into any community or group (Menaal, 2018).

Menaal's comments suggest that her autonomy is intersubjectively influenced by philosophical shifts in her own thinking, resulting from changes in her own interpersonal relationships and experiences, (Habermas, 1987) and her education in New Zealand. Similarly, Ilham, who was also educated at a Muslim school in New Zealand was guided by her faith to determine her personal, private, and public autonomy, explaining that:

[My] religion does say to marry early, but that is only to save yourself from sin... However, our religion also says to gain knowledge as much as you can, and if you believe you can gain knowledge and you're not going to commit sin, then go for it. If you can't control yourself, get married and you can still study (Ilham, 2018).

Arif's personal, private, and public autonomy is guided by and based on his interpretation of Islam. He embraces many of the traditions of Islam, while at the same time he is open to "learning new things as long as it's not against my religion," to understand "how people learn and live" (2019). Arif's decision to learn only things that are "not against his religion" (2019) shows his acceptance of a measured approach to autonomy as a Muslim. Whereas, Ablah's secular education enabled her to explore "new knowledge and the freedom to let it shape...[her] beliefs" in Islam and to guide her personal, private, and public levels of engagement (2019a). She has developed a critical autonomy that recognises she can choose who she wants to be, who to "shut out", and how to design her "own future with...[her] own family and...[her] kiwi husband" (2019a).

This research has shown that despite the type of education each of the student participants experienced in New Zealand, they were able to engage in moral and existential self-reflection to arrive at a critical autonomy (Habermas, 2008). Four student respondents, whether consciously aware or not, critically determined their levels of autonomy through a detranscendentalised and intersubjective lens which reflected in some way their religious and family upbringing. The five Muslim students interviewed have in some way been able to merge their chosen levels of personal and private autonomy with their public

autonomy. For example, Ilham and Asmara have joined non-Muslim sports teams and clubs at university, Arif rents with non-Muslims, Menaal works alongside non-Muslims, and Ablah lived on her own out of wedlock and enjoys rock concerts. This measured approach that merges personal, private, and public autonomy is a step towards a symbiotic relationship that addresses the sociological issue of whether an alignment between individual rights and collective group expectations in a modern pluralistic society, that is secular and liberal in nature is possible. The evidence from this research would suggest that tension exists for Muslims who are not provided with opportunities for ikhtilaf (disagreement) regarding some constraints placed on their autonomy. Nonetheless, according to Shah (2016) the philosophy of Islam in education is a “holistic development of the self and the society” (p. 2). The “Quran stresses inquiry and reflection while emphasising shura (consultation) and ijihad (rational consensus), and creates space for ikhtilaf (disagreement)” (Shah, 2016, p. 2). This would suggest that depending on the shura, ijihad, and ikhtilaf, and the resulting and varied measured constraint imposed on individuals, there will continue to be problematic issues arising in the individualising and socialising processes of Muslims in a liberal democratic education system and society.

11.2 SOCIAL COHESION

This section ties together the role families, communities, culture, education, and national policy plays in shaping citizenship and in supporting social cohesion in a bicultural and multicultural society. The challenges for liberal democracy in catering for increasingly diverse populations in society, and the challenges for Muslims to live in accordance of Islam and at the same time to be socially cohesive in a secular or post-secular society is examined. To begin with, I will consider the political theory of multiculturalism and the increasing challenges for both secular society and Muslims living in a secular society, in Sub-section 11.2.1. I draw on research from other Western societies to better understand how they have catered for Islam in a liberal society. This discussion follows, in Sub-section 11.2.2, with a focus on New Zealand’s bicultural and multicultural context, and education policies which influence the shaping of citizenship and social cohesion in a liberal secular society.

11.2.1 SOCIAL COHESION IN WESTERN MULTICULTURAL SOCIETY

The political theory of multiculturalism emerged in the 1990s, initially as an extension of debates about liberal democratic society concerned with the impact on the legitimating principles of democracy and liberalism. The theoretical challenges of an increasing presence of Islam in Western society “forces us to re-examine almost all the traditional categories that have helped to describe and explain a liberal

democratic tradition” (Modood, 2006a, p. 4). This raises questions concerning who decides the nature, character, and structure of the public sphere in a multicultural society. Public spaces are structured through collective discourses, which at times and more so since 9/11, represents Islam in terms of fear and hostility (Bousetta & Jacobs, 2006). Bousetta and Jacobs (2006) reminds us that to a varying degree “individual and social identities are shaped through dialogical processes and their encounter with the Other” (p. 32). Hence, public fear and hostility towards Islam may also lead to an “internal debate that Muslims are feeling about citizenship, political participation, transnationalism and the accommodations of Islamic orthodoxy as a result of their minority position in” a multicultural Western society (Bousetta & Jacobs, 2006, p. 32). Consequently, Bousetta and Jacobs (2006) suggest, the appearance of Islam in public spaces “unavoidably provokes internal consequences for both the classical boundary between state and Church and the identity of Muslims and their conception of citizenship” (p. 32).

Baumann (2004) suggests integrating ethnic minorities in North-Western European nation-states has required ongoing discourse, “adjustment, re-definition, and reformulation of what ‘the nation’ is sought to stand for” (p. 1). This brings to mind that integration is intended to incorporate an autonomous entity into the fabric of another pre-existing and predefined whole (Baumann, 1987) and “most European nation-states have certainly addressed the challenge as fully-fledged national characters, if not self-perpetuating structures” (Baumann, 2004, p. 1). These structures are reinforced within public education, the prime site for “integrating social and cultural differences into a predefined national whole...[By] reproducing recognisably nation-specific structures and routines... [while at the same time] recognising and engaging with cultural differences and socio-cultural inequalities” (Baumann, 2004, p. 1).

Moreover, a country’s history and political ideology impacts on their vision and approach to social cohesion and multiculturalism. Belgium’s vision of multiculturalism, for example, has been stalled by the “complex decision-making procedures devised to pacify the tensions between the two dominant communities” [the Flemish and French] (Bousetta & Jacobs, 2006, p. 28). Bousetta and Jacobs (2006) consider integration in Belgium society is a process, which takes time, supported by successive generations promoting the “alignment of the religious practice of immigrants along the pattern of nationals.... [They also regard] religious identity has progressively moved towards a communitarian identity” (p.29). Furthermore, Belgium’s diverse Muslim communities are expressing “a range of claims for public recognition... [Including] inclusiveness of certain social structures ... (for example, wearing the headscarf at school and in the workplace) but also the segmentation of the public space in other respects (for example, organisation of Islamic schools)” (Bousetta & Jacobs, 2006, p. 30). However, there seems

to be little progress regarding the social cohesion of Muslims in Belgium, as a recent Flemish government commission's study on integration highlighted "only 18% of native Flemish Belgians consider Muslim values to be compatible with their way of life" (Galindo, 2018). This is in stark contrast to the view of "Belgians with a Moroccan background, [where] 60% said they thought Muslims adapt well to Western life" (Galindo, 2018).

Unlike France where a deeper concern for an outward expression of Islam, by wearing hijabs, niqabs, burqas, and burkinis are banned in public spaces, individual Belgium schools are given the mandate to permit or disallow the wearing of these Islamic symbols. Nonetheless, in 2013 stricter reforms prohibiting religious symbolism in schools in the "francophone Belgian region of Verviers ultimately [has] increase[d] hostility and local tensions" (SETA | Foundation for Political, Economic and Social Research, 2016). Ongoing debate regarding wearing headscarves in schools and public places continues across Europe (Jan, 2008; Grillo & Shah; 2012; Osman, 2014; Cetin, 2019). France takes a much harder line towards integration policies, viewing immigrant community identity formation as a threat rather than an opportunity to embrace diversity. "The French concept is to emancipate individuals from these parochial cultures and thus allow them to participate in the sense of 'culture ≠ Civilisation universelle'" (Mannitz & Schiffauer, 2004, p. 83). Cultural relativism is not promoted in French schools or in public spaces. In Paris students "are not expected to develop a respect or recognition for the cultural differences of others, as their peers are in London; rather, they ... [are encouraged to] try to forget about all potential differences and perceive each other simply as equal individuals" (Mannitz & Schiffauer, 2004, p. 83). Universal rationality takes precedence over any form of integration of cultural diversity in French society, which in "practice leads to a clear separation between the private sphere... and the public sphere" (Mannitz & Schiffauer, 2004, p. 83).

11.2.2 SOCIAL COHESION IN A BICULTURAL-MULTICULTURAL SOCIETY

New Zealand society has developed from a British colonialist model, hence I examine a British approach to education and Islam in a multicultural society first, followed by a more detailed discussion of education and Islam in New Zealand society. The British Government has adopted much more liberal integration policies than other European countries, "where not only individual[s] but also collective rights and claims of ethnic and religious groups are recognised and accommodated" (Modood, 2006a, p. 2). Cultural differences in Britain are approached in a similar manner to New Zealand, with an emphasis on anti-discrimination and consideration made of the child's home, language, culture, and community context in schools. State funded Muslim schools in Britain (Modood, 2006a) parallel state-integrated education in

New Zealand, both requiring schools to align their special character curriculum to the national curriculum. However, British education supports the “use [of] assessment tools which are culturally neutral and useful for a range of ethnic groups” (Mannitz & Schiffauer, 2004, p. 61) in contrast to New Zealand, which currently emphasises a culturally pedagogic approach to education.

British schools have not been successful at engaging immigrant parent participation in their child’s education, in particular with regards to Turkish parents. School staff are expected to identify student and family ethnic differences and develop trusted relationships with families, which have included taking “measures such as hiring translators for parents’ group meetings” (Mannitz & Schiffauer, 2004, p. 61). This is a similar approach used in New Zealand schools which are able to access a bilingual fund provided by the Ministry of Education’s Refugee and Migrant Services (Ministry of Education, 2020f) to employ local immigrants with bilingual skills to work specifically with students in classes and to engage with their families in schools. Parents’ decision to not directly participate in their children’s schooling may be similar to the reasoning some immigrant Middle Eastern parents at a Muslim school in New Zealand offered, as they considered all education is the role of the school not the parents (Lomax, 2015).

Britain’s multicultural approach to immigration focuses on accepting diverse communities as participants in society and accepting hyphenated identities as legitimate, “if not necessarily expected on the basis of institutionalised recognition” (Mannitz & Schiffauer, 2004, p. 82). There appears to be strong support for multiculturalism in Britain amongst moderate Muslim activists and academics, as long as it includes faith as a dimension of difference. However, some argue that historically Islam has been a powerful source of superior multiculturalism than the multiculturalism offered in contemporary Western societies (Modood & Ahmad, 2007). Furthermore, these same academics would argue that since 9/11 and the Rushdie affair, there has been a retreat from multiculturalism in Britain, with many Muslims questioning the viability or their willingness to be integrated in British and European society (Modood & Ahmad, 2007). Other academics debate the validity of multiculturalism suggesting it has “evolved from an inclusionary project aimed at meeting the needs of ethnic minorities in an aggressive ideology opposed to essential Western values...[using] the framework of liberal democracy to promote [illiberal] practices” (Bousetta & Jacobs, 2006, p. 33).

As discussed in Chapter 2, successful social cohesion in New Zealand starts by recognising that the country’s national policies reflect the idea that society values biculturalism and multiculturalism. Perhaps it is important to point out that biculturalism is not favoured by all New Zealand citizens, as some

academics would argue identity politics based on culture is ideologically divisive and does not support social cohesion (Rata, 2006; Newman, 2017; Vlaardingerbroek, 2017). The concept of ‘biculturalism’ in New Zealand (as discussed earlier) is problematic for immigrants to understand, as the idea generally refers to two cultural groups, not the diverse mix of people in society. This raises issues for unitary citizenship in a multicultural society where identity in legislation is recognised as bicultural. For this reason alone, it is understandable that immigrants to New Zealand may struggle to understand how they fit into this bicultural national identity. Paradoxically while multiculturalism is intended to support social cohesion through recognition of different ethnic cultures in modern society it has also been described as “the imposition of some cultures on others...with the assumed superiority that powers this imposition” (Taylor, 1994, p. 63). Western liberal societies are considered the guilty party, “partly because of their colonial past, and partly because of their marginalisation of segments of their populations that stem from other cultures” (Taylor, 1994, p. 63). Consequently, the strengthening of Māori identity and the bicultural status of New Zealand society needs to be understood by Muslim immigrants as this “can also cause animosity between Māori and immigrant groups, particularly if the latter do not accept the status of Māori as the indigenous people of New Zealand” (Ward & Liu, 2012, para.10).

In education, a commitment to biculturalism and ‘cultural competency’ is expected of early childhood, primary, and secondary school teachers through their code of professional conduct. Professionals must demonstrate a commitment to a bicultural Aotearoa New Zealand in their teaching and learning programs as part of the registered teacher criteria. Some consider “this is where the new standards leave the democratic domain and enter the totalitarian realm ...[as] teachers’ [lose their] rights as citizens to hold their own opinions without interference (Vlaardingerbroek, 2017, para. 8). Further described by Vlaardingerbroek (2017) as the “imposition of a political ideology” that has the potential to divide a country (para. 8). Newman (2017) also argues that biculturalism in New Zealand “is enforced ideological conformity – the antithesis of democracy and an infringement of teachers’ internationally acknowledged human rights” (para.19). She supports her claims by adding that “instead of unifying the country to move forward on solving problems, it [bicultural policies] divides neighbour from neighbour” (Newman, 2017, para. 15).

I argue that multicultural societies require the politically led acceptance of mutual respect, intercultural equality and fairness, while at the same time recognising that there will be diversity of intellectual, political, and cultural differences. Gutmann (1994) contends that globally social cohesion requires a “widespread willingness and ability to articulate our disagreements, to defend them before people with

whom we disagree, to discern the difference between respectable and disrespectable disagreement, and to be open to changing our own minds when faced with well-reasoned criticism" (p. 24). Discussions should enable citizens to clarify which traditions they want to preserve or discontinue, and how society intends to deal with their history, with one another (Habermas, 1994). A further point to consider in relation to social cohesion could be the subjectivist, neo-Nietzschean theories frequently derived from Foucault or Derrida "claim[ing] that all judgements of worth are based on standards that are ultimately imposed by and further entrench structures of power" (Taylor, 1994, p. 70). A further issue of what is considered of value in "the politics of multiculturalism [are that the] peremptory demand for favourable judgements of worth is paradoxically...homogenising. For it implies that we already have the standards to make such judgements" (Taylor, 1994, p. 71). Who then decides what is or is not of value in New Zealand's bicultural-multicultural society? Currently, it appears that the political partnership between the government, which is representative of every ethnic background and New Zealand Māori hold this right to decide what is of value or worth in New Zealand society.

Globally, New Zealand is regarded as one of the most culturally liberal and tolerant countries towards cultural and religious diversity in the world, "second to Iceland as the most immigrant-accepting country based on the Migrant Acceptance Index used in a Gallup poll of 138 countries" (Ward, et. al., 2019, p. 42). Cultural tolerance, and reasonable equality, both in law and public discourse towards minorities are considered by many as a national norm. However, there still exists "forces of dissent arguing that cultural liberalism has gone too far, leading to a weakening, if not total abrogation, of New Zealand's essential, traditional identity" (Kolig, 2010, p. 21). Kolig (2010) argues that "many cultural and also judicial concessions have been made to the indigenous minority [Māori, yet] the willingness to grant similar privileges to immigrant minorities does not exist" (p. 13). Earlier research undertaken at one Muslim school in New Zealand showed clear confusion by the principal who thought the rights provided to the indigenous people of New Zealand set a precedent for Muslims to receive similar privileges as an ethnic minority in New Zealand (Lomax, 2015). This misunderstanding by a leader of a Muslim school of the privileged position Māori are in as 'Treaty' partners (see Chapter 2), reiterates the need to provide school leaders with further education in New Zealand's social and education policies.

Needless to say, the religious influence of Islam poses challenges to New Zealand's pluralistic liberal democratic society, in particular as the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of New Zealand Muslims are ethnically and culturally diverse (Foroutan, 2017). Foroutan (2017) emphasises that to understand Muslims in any community, people need to recognise that the Muslim population is not

homogenous. Moreover, while Kolig (2010) may be accurate in saying that some Muslims' "view of Islam as a way of life, governed by ritualistic observations and meeting divine obligations, may be at odds with [some] Western laws... and values" (p. 14), it is important not to essentialise all Muslims' approach to Islam as contradictory to Western law and values. Furthermore, recent research undertaken by Ward, et. al., (2019) found that the "majority of identity maps generated by young adults...portrayed integration...while Islam is central to Self...the map also depicts national identities in the ...flags of New Zealand and Pakistan" (pp. 37-38). However, as research has identified, families have the capacity to foster or inhibit social cohesion. Incongruent values and expectations between parents and children, sometimes referred to as the 'acculturation gap' do exist and have been associated with individuals experiencing depression and anxiety (Ward, et. al., 2019, p. 40). The 'generational gap' is perhaps reminiscent of Kolig's (2014) concerns regarding "some [adult] Iman teaching in western mosques and institutions [who] have been found to spread undesirable messages such as instilling non-Western values, preaching anti-Western propaganda, propagating an extreme version of sharia or inciting subversive action" (p. 110). This intolerance towards some Western values is represented in the 'special character' curriculum recommendations (discussed in Chapter 10) made by those governing Muslim education in New Zealand. An incongruence between Western and Islamic values was also expressed by one Muslim teacher participant who taught at the same Muslim school that relied on Iman to provide guidance for living Islam in New Zealand society.

I myself am not integrated into New Zealand culture and society very well. I wouldn't be able to foster it effectively in students. I have no close friends who culturally identify as New Zealanders, and no family either....Many aspects of New Zealand society I personally do not like as it goes against my moral code - namely the degree of sexuality reflected in the media that is made casual and inconsequential, the legalisation of prostitution as a form of labour, the degree to which alcohol consumption is made casual and acceptable, sport as occupying the place of religion with regards to public following - and many more aspects (Ablah, 2017).

This raises the question of "whether foreign trained imams should be accepted into the West to care for the spiritual well-being of local Muslim communities or preferably only home trained ones should be accredited" if there is no desire to be integrated into secular society (Kolig, 2014, p. 110). Parekh (2008) contends that immigrants "need to acquire the cultural competence necessary to find their way around the [adopted] society's way of life. This involves learning its language, understanding and observing its rules of civility and norms of behaviour, and acquiring reasonable familiarity with its traditions and history" (p. 89). Social cohesion for Muslims in New Zealand society may require "new forms of citizenship and political participation on the basis of their religious identity" (Kolig, 2010, p. 12-13), and a "reciprocal

commitment” from the adopting society (Parekh, 2008, p.89). There needs to be recognition that many immigrants are confronted with a “variety of challenges as they adjust to their new living arrangements and unfamiliar social context... a new language, dealing with homesickness, facing discrimination and marginalisation” (Ward, et. al., 2019, p. 39). These challenges “impede their settlement, and tackling them calls for a comprehensive and coherent public policy” (Parekh, 2008, p. 90). Moreover, residential concentrations of immigrants in one area “can even facilitate it [social cohesion], because personally and socially secure individuals are more likely to have the confidence to reach out to the wider society and experiment with its ways of life and thought” (Parekh, 2008, p. 90).

Islam in the public and political sphere poses “new challenges for ... [New Zealand society], since a balance must be reached between the tolerance of differences and conformity for the sake of maintaining an ordered civil society and a cohesive polity” (Kolig, 2010, p. 13). Despite a widespread perception of tolerance towards difference, New Zealand citizens may not necessarily respond positively to significant changes to the criteria defining citizenship, as discussed in Chapter 2. Additionally, recent research suggests a large number of New Zealand citizens are only “moderately accommodating” towards difference with “44% agreeing that Muslim values are not compatible with New Zealand values and 52% agreeing Muslims do not share our worldview” making the ideal of social harmony more difficult (Ward, et. al., 2019, p. 43). While diversity is valued as a general principle by many in New Zealand, there is a noticeable difference with how people apply these principles in practice. Media discourse for example, often frames “Islam negatively and almost exclusively link[ing] Islam with terrorism” (Rahman & Emadi, 2018) in Western society, “alienating young diasporic Muslims, who become emotionally distanced from what they perceive as a hostile dominant society” (Kolig, 2014, p. 163). Rahman and Emadi (2018) liken the media’s negative portrayal of Muslims to the ethnocentric ‘othering’ of indigenous people considered ideologically inferior by their colonisers. Taking this into account, highly publicised and negative portrayal of Islam in the media does not support “a smooth ideological incorporation of a Muslim identity into national awareness, but have made minority integration a strongly contested issue” (Kolig, 2010, p. 3).

Finally, perhaps Kolig’s (2014) suggestion to establish a Muslim political body for internal purposes and to engage in wider public discourse about Islamic leadership, and the production and transmission of Islamic knowledge in schools is sensible and timely. Public discourse is particularly important considering the concerns participants have raised in this study and in light of the recent attack on the Christchurch Muslim community in 2019. I argue that any form of social harmony in New Zealand society starts through

a shared understanding of the concepts of universal values, such as human rights, democracy, secularism, pluralism, tolerance, and civility, and by engaging in public discourse about cross-cultural morality and shared values. It is also important to consider that while the “first generation of immigrants sometimes resist participation in the common life of society and deliberately keep their distance” from non-Muslims “the young Muslims who participated in our research appeared highly skilled in broadly achieving balance” making social cohesion that much more likely in New Zealand (Ward, et. al., 2019, p. 37).

11.3 RESEARCH LIMITATIONS

One of the main limitations of the present study could be considered the small number of Muslim student and Muslim teacher participants, and that the students’ interviewed were only those who had attended tertiary education in New Zealand. External validity or the potential for generalisation with a study of only ten participants may be a concern for some readers of this study. However, rather than generalising to a large number of people, as in quantitative study, my approach has been to generalise to theory by making a number of warranted assertions (Stake, 1995; Phillips & Burbules, 2000) derived from a cross-analysis of student and teacher responses. Stake (1995) argues that readers will form their own ‘naturalistic generalisations’ from the findings of this research and their own knowledge and experience. Similarly, Merriam (1998) contends that natural generalisation is an acceptable form of external validity in quantitative research. The validity of generalising the qualitative data relied on a robust process of triangulation of participant responses, participant validation of my interpretation of their responses, conversation with supervisors, data analysis methods such as NVivo to tease out reoccurring themes, and analysis of social and educational policy as it relates to the data, as a form of internal validity. The social realism approach I have taken to this research is based on the concept of thoughts existing as objects separate from the person who thought them (Popper, 1979). The objectifying of these ideas, concepts, and theories, enables them to be used to generalise and to be applied to more than one phenomenon, and then universally available as conceptual tools in the analysis of research data.

It could be argued that the smaller number of participants was not a limitation, in that it enabled a more focused and deeper analysis to take place of individual student and teacher experience. Similarly, deeper analysis of students’ transitional experiences from secondary education to university was possible by narrowing student participants to only those students who attended university. Nonetheless, one of the limitations of narrowing the student focus group to only tertiary students, is that the research findings cannot speak to the impact education has on Muslims who do not engage in life in New Zealand beyond

the Muslim community. Further research could be undertaken in collaboration with a Muslim researcher, to ensure a more balanced interpretation of the research phenomena. However, this could also be perceived as a strength of the research, in that Muslim participants did not feel the need to give a Muslim response when interviewed, and they may have been more open and franker as a result of the absence of a Muslim researcher. Similarly, a non-Muslim teacher may not have been as frank in their responses with a Muslim researcher.

11.4 CLOSING STATEMENTS

This research raises many questions that require further investigation. Future research needs to comprise Muslims educated in New Zealand who do not attend university to understand the influence public education has on the development of their personal identity, their levels of autonomy, and their participation and social cohesion in secular society. What are the experiences of Muslims educated in New Zealand who remain segregated in all aspects of their lives from secular society? Do Muslims who remain segregated from secular society experience similar tensions to those students interviewed in this research? Or do Muslims who remain segregated from wider society experience less tension as a consequence of not being in a position where there is a need to align their religious beliefs and values alongside the liberal values of a secular society? How do people who have chosen to segregate themselves from the national society contribute to that society other than in an increasingly online forum? Do all adults need to be contributing to society if at least one adult in the family contributes in some way to New Zealand society? Who determines who must participate in society, and what level of participation is regarded as an acceptable contribution to society?

This research highlights that a localised education system has the potential to promote intolerance towards secular, liberal, and Western values. This is problematic for the social fabric of society when intolerance towards others differences is asserted in schools. Will educational leadership and governance training provided by the Ministry of Education (2019a) include workshops that reinforce an understanding of tolerance, an understanding that accepting other people's differences does not mean the need to agree with those differences? Will the Ministry of Education (2019a) provide targeted professional training to support school leadership and governance to better understand the key social and education policies that schools are required to abide by to promote nationally agreed values and principles as outlined in the New Zealand Curriculum (Ministry of Education, 2007)? There is definite room for improvement considering that schools are operating "largely on their own and without sufficient support...[with] slow and uneven

transfers of professional knowledge and skills, and wide variability” of student “performance across schools” (Ministry of Education, 2019a, p. 10). It does appear as though the government’s reform of the Tomorrow’s School initiative has identified how to start addressing inequity in education by seeking to strengthen school leadership and governance, and by attempting to strike “a better balance between local and national responsibilities” in schools (Ministry of Education, 2019a, p. 4).

Concerningly however, robust discussions regarding the ontological and epistemological divide that exists between a faith-based ‘special character’ curriculum and the requirements of the national curriculum requirements are still absent in New Zealand’s educational discourse. Perhaps there is no way to ever align the two systems of thought in education. Perhaps that misalignment needs to be accepted, yet managed in a way that still ensures individual Muslim students can access their individual rights to equity in education, to self-identify, and to be autonomous participating citizens outside their Muslim community. What is evident from this research is that the current education system models a deep liberal paradox contributing to significant tension experienced by some Muslims in New Zealand. The ‘liberal paradox’ however is the conflict which arises between Muslim communities’ right to freedom of religious expression on the one hand and to the requirement to recognise liberal democratic principles of the individual on the other hand. It is a conflict which arises when individual rights are measured against the “consequence for society as a whole, rather than the consequences for any particular individual or groups in society” (Codd, 1993, p. 81).

I argue that public debate and further development of this research phenomena is necessary to design more effective education policies and strategies that accommodate the ‘liberal paradox’ and at the very least acknowledge it, and tighten ‘unity in policy and diversity in practice’ in New Zealand’s schools (UNESCO & International Bureau of Education, 2020). Perhaps as Turner (2012) argues, a more liberal democratic approach would be to “encourage a public debate in which both secular and religious citizens have to provide reasoned arguments for their worldviews” in relation to education and participation in a secular or post-secular society (p. 1060). The importance of a public debate of this nature cannot be underestimated in light of the intolerance shown towards the New Zealand Muslim community in March 2019, an intolerance which existed alongside the outpourings of tolerance and compassion at that time. This research has identified that there are degrees of intolerance that is also promoted in some Muslim schools in New Zealand towards the national identity founded on liberal and Western values. An ongoing national discussion about tolerance and the means by which society addresses the liberal paradox is to be encouraged.

APPENDIX A. EMAIL TO POTENTIAL PARTICIPANTS

Dear (respondents name),

You have received this email and the attached forms in response to your interest in the following research project.

Project Title: Muslim Students in the New Zealand Education System

I have attached a Participant Information form, which will help you decide if you would like to take part in the research. This form includes the purpose of the research, participation procedures, data storage and dissemination of the findings at the end of the research project, and measures taken to protect your anonymity and confidentiality if you choose to participate in this research project.

The Consent form attached, is to ensure you have read and understood the Participant Information form, and asked any questions you may have prior to signing the consent form.

If you agree to participate, please:

1. Sign the Consent form and email it back to me. Alternatively, I will collect the consent form from you at the interview.
2. Identify a suitable time and place for the interview when you return the signed Consent form.
3. Identify if you have any interview procedural religious and cultural needs when you return the signed Consent form.

Please contact me in the first instance, and then my supervisors listed on the Participant Information form if you have any further queries or wish to know more about the research.

Thank you very much for considering this invitation.

Kind regards,

Researcher: Deborah Lomax
Faculty of Education and Social Work
Epsom Campus
The University of Auckland
Private Bag 92 601, Auckland
Email: dlom690@aucklanduni.ac.nz

Approved by the University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee on 7 June 2017 for three years.
UAHPEC Reference Number 019066.

APPENDIX B. PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

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

Project Title: Muslim Students in the New Zealand Education System

Supervisor: Associate Professor Elizabeth Rata

Supervisor: Dr Graham McPhail

Researcher: Deborah Lomax

I have read the Participant Information Sheet. I understand the nature of the research and why I have been invited to participate in the project. I have had an opportunity to ask questions and have them answered.

- I am willing to make the time for a one-hour interview.
- I am able to identify a suitable time and place for the interview.
- I will inform the researcher if I have any interview procedural religious and cultural needs prior to being interviewed, and understand that the researcher will try to meet these needs.
- I understand the interview will be recorded as an audio file on the interviewer's phone or laptop.
- I understand at any point in the interview, I can ask for a comment to be struck off the record, without giving a reason, and it will not be transcribed.
- I understand at any point in the interview, I can ask for the recording to be stopped, and/or for the interview to be terminated without giving a reason.
- I understand I may request my transcript to be changed or withdrawn, without giving a reason, up to two weeks after receiving the transcript.
- I understand the recording of the interview will be securely stored on the researcher's personal laptop until the thesis is completed in March of 2020, and then stored only on an external storage device, which will be locked in the principal investigator's cabinet at the University of Auckland for six years, and subsequently deleted.
- I understand that I will not be identified in any written report or oral presentation arising from this research. However, I understand that anonymity cannot be guaranteed.

Signed: _____

Name: _____ [please print carefully]

Date: _____

If you would like to receive a Summary of Findings, please include your email address here _____

Approved by the University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee on 7 June 2017 for three years. UAHPEC Reference Number 019066.

APPENDIX C. MUSLIM STUDENT PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

Project Title: Muslim Students in the New Zealand Education System

Supervisor: Associate Professor Elizabeth Rata

Supervisor: Dr Graham McPhail

Researcher: Deborah Lomax

Degree: Doctor of Philosophy in Education

Researcher Introduction

My name is Deborah Lomax. I am a Doctor of Philosophy in Education student in the School of Critical Studies in Education, in the Faculty of Education and Social Work at the University of Auckland.

Project Description and Invitation

The research focuses on academic identities and the way in which they are shaped through the relationships of the school community, the wider local community, nationally, and at the state level. The focus on identity will enable me to explore the extent to which academic identities within the New Zealand education system contributes to the construction of a New Zealand Muslim identity, and enables students to take up citizenship in the wider context of New Zealand society.

I am seeking permission to interview you about your involvement in the New Zealand education system. I would be very grateful if you would consider this request. The research will provide a forum for Muslim student voice, and for ongoing academic discussion regarding Muslim students' social and epistemic identity in the wider context of New Zealand society.

Participation Procedures

Please identify a suitable time and place for the interview. Skype interviews can be arranged if you would prefer not to meet in person. Interviews will start and finish with a 'dua' and take approximately 60 minutes. At any point in the interview, you can ask for a comment to be struck off the record and it will not be transcribed, or you can ask for the recording to be stopped and/or for the interview to be terminated without giving a reason.

The interview will be recorded as an audio file, transcribed by me, and a copy provided to you for checking. You have the right to withdraw from the study at any time and to request your data be withdrawn, without giving a reason, up to one week following receipt of the interview transcript. A \$20 supermarket or book voucher will be offered to you in appreciation of your time.

Data Storage

The audio file and transcript will be stored in a locked cabinet in the principal investigator's office at the University of Auckland for six years and then destroyed.

Anonymity and Confidentiality

Any personal or identifying information you provide is confidential to the interviewer and my supervisor. Every effort will be made to protect your anonymity including the use of pseudonyms for your name, and the omission of the courses you are enrolled in at University. However, the smaller size of the Muslim student body at a New Zealand university means that it may be possible for some participants to be identified in the completed thesis or in any subsequent presentations and publications.

Data from the research project will be used for my thesis and may result in academic presentations. No identifying information will be included in any reporting of the findings of the research, and pseudonyms will also be used in any reporting or publications. A summary of the final dissertation and any subsequent publications will be emailed to you if you have requested this on the Consent Form.

If you agree to participate, please sign the consent form and email it back to me, alternatively, I will collect the consent form from you at the interview.

Please contact me in the first instance, and then my supervisors if you have any further queries or wish to know more about the research.

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For any concerns regarding ethical issues, you may contact:

The Chair
The University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee
The University of Auckland
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Email: ro-ethics@auckland.ac.nz

Approved by the University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee on 7 June 2017 for three years. UAHPEC Reference Number 019066.

APPENDIX D. TEACHER PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

Project Title: Muslim Students in the New Zealand Education System

Supervisor: Associate Professor Elizabeth Rata

Supervisor: Dr Graham McPhail

Researcher: Deborah Lomax

Degree: Doctor of Philosophy in Education

Researcher Introduction

My name is Deborah Lomax. I am a Doctor of Philosophy in Education student in the department of Critical Studies in Education, in the Faculty of Education and Social Work at the University of Auckland.

Project Description and Invitation

The research focuses on academic identities and the way in which they are shaped through the relationships of the school community, the wider local community, nationally, and at the state level. The focus on identity will enable me to explore the extent to which academic identities within the New Zealand education system contributes to the construction of a New Zealand Muslim identity, and enables them to take up citizenship in the wider context of New Zealand society.

I am seeking permission to interview you about your involvement in the New Zealand education system. I would be very grateful if you would consider this request. The research will provide a forum for participant voice, and for ongoing academic discussion regarding Muslim students' social and epistemic identity in the wider context of New Zealand society.

Participation Procedures

Please identify a time and place for the interview. Skype interviews can be arranged if you would prefer not to meet in person. Interviews with Muslim participants will start and finish with a 'dua.' Other participants need to identify their own religious and cultural needs to ensure a smooth and respectful interview process has been considered prior to the start of the interview. The interview will take approximately 60 minutes. At any point in the interview you can ask for a comment to be struck off the record and it will not be transcribed, or you can ask for the recording to be stopped and/or for the interview to be terminated without giving a reason.

The interview will be recorded as an audio file, transcribed by me, and a copy provided to you for checking. You have the right to withdraw from the study at any time and to request your data be withdrawn without giving a reason, up to one week following receipt of the interview transcript.

Data Storage

The audio file and transcript will be stored in a locked cabinet in the principal investigator's office at the University of Auckland for six years and then destroyed.

Anonymity and Confidentiality

Any personal or identifying information you provide is confidential to the interviewer and my supervisor. Every effort will be made to protect your anonymity including the use of pseudonyms for your name, and the name of

your employer. However, it cannot be guaranteed because there is always a chance that you may be identified in the completed thesis or in any subsequent presentations and publications if you are employed at a small and easily identified New Zealand educational institution.

Data from the research project will support for my thesis and may result in academic presentations. No identifying information will be included in any reporting of the findings of the research, and pseudonyms will be used in any reporting or publications. A summary of the final dissertation and any subsequent publications will be emailed to you if you have requested this on the Consent Form.

If you agree to participate, please sign the consent form and email it back to me, alternatively, I will collect the consent form from you at the interview.

Please contact me in the first instance, and then my supervisors if you have any further queries or wish to know more about the research.

Researcher: Deborah Lomax

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For any concerns regarding ethical issues, you may contact:

The Chair

The University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee

The University of Auckland

Research Office

Private Bag 92019

Auckland 1142

Telephone 09 373-7599 Ext 83711.

Email: ro-ethics@auckland.ac.nz

Approved by the University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee on 7 June 2017 for three years.
UAHPEC Reference Number 019066.

1. In what way has your education in New Zealand provided you with opportunities to:
 - a) Develop your own understanding of what society should be like in New Zealand
 - b) Develop your own understanding of participating and contributing in the wider context of New Zealand society, and social justice in New Zealand
2. In what way [if at all] has your education in New Zealand influenced your views on:
 - a. Individual rights
 - b. Group rights
3. In what way has your education in New Zealand supported your understanding of:
 - a) Self-identity
 - b) Your own community
 - c) Your place in New Zealand society
4. In what way has your education in New Zealand created challenges or tensions in relation to your understanding of:
 - a) Self-identity
 - b) Your own community
 - c) Your place in New Zealand society
5. In what way [if at all] would different teachers influence your understanding of:
 - a) Self-identity
 - b) Your own community
 - c) Your place in New Zealand society
6. In what way has education in New Zealand shaped your identity, values, and future?
7. How do you define success in your life?
8. What non-Muslim organisations or clubs are you actively involved in/ or have you been involved in, in the past?

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APPENDIX F. TEACHER INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

The questions below relate your own reflection of your pedagogic practice.

Creating a supportive environment

1. How do you foster and demonstrate positive relationships within the learning environment that are caring, inclusive, non-discriminatory, and cohesive?
2. How do you value and attend to the cultural and linguistic diversity of all your students?

Enhancing the relevance of new learning

3. How do you stimulate the curiosity of your students?
4. How do you challenge them to use and apply what they discover in new contexts and new innovative ways?

Facilitating shared learning

5. How does your teaching foster and demonstrate learning conversations and partnerships where all contributions are valued?
6. How are all members of the classroom encouraged to give constructive feedback on learning?

Making connections to prior learning and experience

7. What are some deliberate strategies you use to build on what students know and have experienced?
8. How do you support students to make connections across learning areas, home experiences, and the wider world?
9. How would you say students learn to think about experiences or concepts they have not yet encountered, or may never experience?
10. How would you best describe your professional identity and pedagogic practices? Why?
 - a) Retrospective pedagogy – conservatism, shaped by national, religious or cultural narratives to stabilise the past in the future
 - b) Decentred market identity – focused on local issues, and cultural and community values
 - c) Therapeutic pedagogy – more emotionally engaged
 - d) Prospective pedagogy – future focused by selecting from the past and engaging with contemporary change
11. What challenges or tensions have you experienced teaching or in educational leadership roles in New Zealand, working with different professional identities and pedagogic practices?

12. In what way would you consider your professional identity and pedagogic practices supports Muslim students' critical thinking of:
- Knowledge
 - Democratic values and morals
 - Social cohesion
 - Self-identity
 - Relationships in the wider community
 - Their place in New Zealand society
13. In what way would you say your professional identity and pedagogic practices influences the development of a New Zealand Muslim student identity?
14. Would you say it is important to develop a New Zealand Muslim student identity?
15. What would you consider essential education needed for the development of Muslim student character in a democratic society?
16. Can you explain how educational policies, reforms or initiatives in New Zealand have or have not served the needs of Muslim students to develop:
- Self-identity
 - Relationships in the wider community
 - Their place in New Zealand society
17. In what way would you say Muslim families have been supported by the education system to understand educational and social policies and practices which promote social unity in the wider democratic community and nationally?
18. In what way would you say the 'Community of Learning' process will/will not help support Muslim students to:
- Feel more engaged in the wider community
 - Develop a New Zealand Muslim Identity
19. Is there anything further you feel is important to share to support the education and well-being of Muslim students in the New Zealand education system?

Approved by the University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee on 7 June 2017 for three years. UAHPEC Reference Number 019066.

APPENDIX G. POST-CHRISTCHURCH PARTICIPANT QUESTIONS

MUSLIM – STUDENT/TEACHER

1. Post Christchurch - what do you believe is needed in the education of Muslim and non-Muslim students in New Zealand schools to promote positive relationships in society, in such a way that Muslim student identities are strengthened enabling them to participate fully in New Zealand society?
2. Have you experienced any changes in the way non-Muslims in New Zealand society interact with you as a Muslim post-Christchurch?
3. Would you say the Christchurch tragedy has strengthened your autonomy in public places? An example either way would be good.

NON-MUSLIM TEACHER

1. Post Christchurch - what do you believe is needed in the education of Muslim and non-Muslim students in New Zealand schools to promote positive relationships in society, in such a way that Muslim student identities are strengthened enabling them to participate fully in New Zealand society?
2. Have you noticed any changes in the way non-Muslims in New Zealand society interact with Muslims post-Christchurch?
3. Have you noticed any changes in Muslims in New Zealand society seeming more confident or in any way empowered by the New Zealand's response post-Christchurch? Perhaps the opposite? An example if you have one.

APPENDIX H. NVIVO THEMATIC CODE

EDUCATION

Curriculum

Knowledge

Values

Principles

Religion

Secularism

School structures

School regulations

PEDAGOGY

Cultural diversity

Experiential learning

Linguistic diversity

Pedagogic device

Relationships

Stimulating curiosity

Student-centred

Teacher's pedagogic identity

Teacher experience

SOCIETY

Assimilation

Biculturalism

Multiculturalism

Liberalism

Democracy

Integration

Social cohesion

Moral and ethical values

Discrimination

Segregation

STUDENT

Experience

Identity

Autonomy

Citizenship

Family expectations

MUSLIM STUDENTS IN THE NEW ZEALAND EDUCATION SYSTEM

SEEKING MUSLIM UNIVERSITY STUDENT VOICE

Aim: To examine Muslim student views and experiences in the New Zealand education system. Does true equity in NZ's education system exist? What does it look like for Muslim students?

Please email Debbie Lomax for further information at: dlom690@aucklanduni.ac.nz

Approved by the University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee on 7 June 2017 for three years. UAHPEC reference number 019066

DOCTORAL RESEARCH

Are you a Muslim who has been educated in a NZ primary or secondary school?

Are you also studying at a tertiary institution or now employed here in NZ?

Can you spare one hour to share your experiences?

Interviews arranged to suit your needs.

**MUSLIM STUDENTS IN THE NEW ZEALAND
EDUCATION SYSTEM**

SEEKING TEACHERS VIEWS

Aim: To examine the views and experiences of Muslims students and teachers of Muslim students in the New Zealand education system. Does true equity in NZ's education system exist? What does it look like for Muslim students?

Please email Debbie Lomax for further information at: dlom690@aucklanduni.ac.nz

Approved by the University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee on 7 June 2017 for three years. UAHPEC reference number 019066

**DOCTORAL
RESEARCH**

Have you taught Muslim students in a New Zealand secondary school?

Can you spare one hour to share your experiences?

Interviews arranged to suit your needs.

APPENDIX K. NATIONAL NOTIFICATION OF RESEARCH – SEEKING PARTICIPANTS

The Role of Education in Shaping a NZ Muslim Student Identity

Listed by: **University of Auckland**

 Share  Print  Email

ACADEMIC SUBMISSIONS

NEW ZEALAND (NATIONWIDE)

Posted: 30 August 2017

Notice reference #: 1H9eFq

New Zealand, as a modern, pluralist society built on liberal principles and values, has a long tradition of integrating diverse groups in order to create a cohesive society with the education system serving as the main site for integration.

Doctoral research undertaken at the University of Auckland seeks to understand the role New Zealand's state and state-integrated education system has in shaping a New Zealand Muslim identity, in a secular democratic society. The researcher seeks interested teachers to share their teaching and learning experiences catering for the needs of Muslim students in the New Zealand education system.

Further information

Contact: Deborah Lomax

 (09) 373 7599 extn 46315

 dlom690@aucklanduni.ac.nz

APPENDIX L. KEY OBJECTIVES – REFORM OF TOMORROW’S SCHOOLS

Key:

Policy decisions	Legislative process	Implementation	Consultation
Policy development	Establishing partnerships	Budget decisions	Design phase

* = Dependent on future policy and/or budget decisions

Objective 1: Learners at the centre	<p>New objectives that Boards must give effect to Te Tiriti o Waitangi and relevant student rights</p> <p>Legislative provisions for a complaints/disputes resolution service in the schooling system</p> <p>Invite Children’s Commissioner to review requirements for learners participation in school governance</p> <p>Disputes resolution service, including a mediation service</p>
Objective 2: Barrier-free access	<p>Shift responsibility for developing and consulting on enrolment schemes from Boards of Trustees to the Ministry of Education</p> <p>Develop national guidelines for full-service school sites</p> <p>Review balloting criteria and enrolment scheme management</p> <p>Implement Learning Support Action Plan 2019 – 2025</p> <p>Adopt the Equity Index</p>
Objective 3: Quality teaching and leadership	<p>Establish a mandatory Code of Conduct for Boards of Trustees</p> <p>Mandatory training for Boards of Trustees members</p> <p>Enabling legislation to set eligibility criteria for school principal roles</p> <p>Shaping Leadership Advisor roles to provide support to Boards & principals</p> <p>Review factors taken into account when determining principal incentives</p> <p>Strengthen initial teacher education</p> <p>Support greater engagement by Māori in school governance</p> <p>Invite the Teaching Council to establish a Leadership Centre</p> <p>Establish eligibility criteria for principal appointments</p>
Objective 4: Future of learning and work	<p>Development of a Curriculum Centre (with alignment to assessment function)</p> <p>Strengthen the Māori medium pathway</p>
Objective 5: World class inclusive public education	<p>Strengthen collaborative networks across the system</p> <p>National strategy for school network planning – National Education Growth Plan</p> <p>Establish an Education Service Agency</p> <p>Re-design the Ministry of Education</p> <p>Improve efficiency of school property management while preserving schools autonomy/input</p>

GLOSSARY

Arabic	English
Abaya	A loose over-garment, a robe-like dress, worn by some Muslim females
Allah	God
Al Madh'habs	School of thought
Al Hanafi	Referring to the school of thought of Hanafi
Al Hanbali	Referring to the school of thought of Hanbali
Al Maaliki	Referring to the school of thought of Maaliki
Al Shafi'i	Referring to the school of thought of Shafi'i
Assalamualaikum	Islamic greeting -Peace be upon the person being greeted
Fiqh	The theory or philosophy of Islamic law, based on the teachings of the Qu'ran
Hadith	A collection of traditions containing sayings which constitute the major source of guidance for Muslims
Hajj	Annual pilgrimage to Mecca
Halal	Accepted in Islam
Haqooq al abaad	Obligations to others
Haram	Forbidden in Islam
Hijab	Islamic female head scarf
Hijra	Islamic year
Ijtihād	Rational Consensus
Ikhtilaf	Disagreement – open for debate
Iman	A concept of faith; or a prayer leader in Islam
Izzat	Izzat refers to the concept of honor
Mazaihab	Way of thinking
Mus'nad of Ibn Hanbal	A collection of 40,000 hadiths
Mujtahid	An individual who is qualified to exercise ijtiḥād in the evaluation of Islamic law
Qu'ran	The book of divine guidance revealed from God to Prophet Muhammad
Qijas	Analogy
Raa'y	Personal opinion
Salat	Prayers
Shariah	Sunni Law
Shura	Consultation
Sunnah	A path, a way, a manner of life; all the traditions and practices of the Islam
Ta'dib	The social dimensions of a person's development
Ta'lim	To be aware, to perceive, or to learn
Tarbiyyah	The purposeful intention of putting affairs into a right and proper state or order
Ummah	A unifying concept of diverse Muslim perspectives
Zakat	Charity

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