

Copyright is owned by the Author of the thesis. Permission is given for a copy to be downloaded by an individual for the purpose of research and private study only. The thesis may not be reproduced elsewhere without the permission of the Author.

'POLITICAL EDUCATION' IN A DEMOCRACY

A philosophical examination of some
interpretations of 'political education'
in New Zealand.

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree
of Master of Arts in Education
at Massey University.

Susan Mary Shone

February 1978

ABSTRACT'Political Education' in a Democracy.A philosophical examination of some interpretations
of 'political education' in New Zealand.

This thesis seeks to examine formal, informal and non-formal aspects of 'political education' in New Zealand. There is not only an attempt to expose political components of what is apparently an apolitical or non-political school system, but also to explore politically-educative characteristics of other agencies. Its aim is to clarify the relationships between politics and education.

The first chapter examines the word 'democracy' and tries to discover the kinds of functions which a democratic society might require of its education system. The idea that political education occupies a key role in the continuance of democracy is advanced, and the adequacy of New Zealand education in relation to meeting the necessary requirements is evaluated.

Further chapters deal with four possible interpretations of 'political education' in a democracy. Chapter two is concerned with the transmission of tradition and conformity. Chapter three deals with the maintenance of the system - how education serves as a recruiting agency. The fourth Chapter looks at 'political' aspects of civics and citizenship education, while Chapter five discusses political skills and knowledge - both their importance to a democratic system and their manifestation in New Zealand society. Running through the examination of these 'possible interpretations' is an evaluation of them in relation to democratic practices and ideals.

In the final chapter, it is suggested that in terms of the requirements of democratic society in a rapidly changing world, New Zealand's 'political education' might be seen as both inadequate and unsatisfactory. It is recommended that greater emphasis be placed on the development of political skills and knowledge in the school system.

PREFACE

People learn about politics in several environments. Home, school and community are among the settings from which they acquire skills, knowledge, attitudes and values that encourage or inhibit political activity.

This thesis is about some of the agencies, practices and processes involved in 'political education' in New Zealand, and in particular, about the ways in which schools and other formal, informal and non-formal educational organisations, deliberately or incidentally influence the political attitudes and activities of citizens in a democracy. Although the emphasis is upon schools, which are in a strong position to exert influence on their students - both specific and overt, as well as general and covert - other agencies are also discussed.

The approach is conceptual - in that I confine myself to ideas and arguments - rather than empirical. This does not constitute an under-playing of the importance of, or need for empirical surveys although Holly's observation (1972) that:

"The mass survey is the very stuff of one dimensional rationality, the pretence that by a streamlined technique you have captured reality....." (1)

highlights the need for thinking and analysis prior to any empirical study of political education. Furthermore, Crick (1970) says:

"Never has there been a time more ripe for constructive social and political thinking."

(2)

That the language of politics tends to be loose and confusing may act as an obstruction to clear thinking. Although there are no attempts at rigorous definition, three of the key words - "politics", "education", and "democracy" are discussed early in the thesis. The first chapter is devoted to an examination of democracy and the kinds of demands a democratic society might make on its education system.

The rest of the thesis deals with four major areas of political education, chosen to represent areas of skills and attitudes which are, to varying degrees, the concern of school and

society, and are open to educational influence. Chapter two on 'tradition and conformity', deals with transmission of culture both in and out of school. The third chapter, on 'recruitment', lays more stress on the preparatory function of schools in terms of both manpower and societal roles - the part schools play in affecting subsequent careers, occupations and social statuses. Chapter four discusses civics and citizenship programmes and their 'political' functions in a democracy, while the fifth chapter deals with the teaching and acquisition of political knowledge and skills.

Throughout, I have attempted to draw together many strands of social and political experience which may constitute 'political education' and have tried to explore some of the inter-relationships between education and politics. For as Holly (1972) states:

"Not only must politics in particular, not be taken out of education - it can't be. Nor can education be taken out of politics: they are mutually inextricable and each is bound up with society."

(3)

Because of the lack of research literature relating to New Zealand political education, sources referred to are taken from related fields. It might be objected that the use of quotations to support arguments constitutes 'arguing from authority'. However, the intention is to report (and examine) some of the published and stated observations of what is considered to be the case in New Zealand schools and society as well as some of the views of political philosophers and educational theorists. While these do not purport to be 'facts', they represent some of the assumptions, beliefs and values being discussed in this thesis.

I wish to thank my supervisor, David Stenhouse, for his valuable guidance, suggestions and criticisms.

References

- (1) Holly, Douglas "Schools Society and Humanity" (1972) p.99.
- (2) Crick, Bernard "Protest and Discontent" (1970) p.xvii.
- (3) Holly, Douglas op.cit. (1972) p.10.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | <u>Page</u> |
|--|-------------|
| ABSTRACT | ii |
| PREFACE | iii |
| TABLE OF CONTENTS | v |
| | |
| INTRODUCTION | 1 |
| Some Linguistic Considerations | 5 |
| Politics | 6 |
| Education | 6 |
| References to Introduction | 7 |
| | |
| CHAPTER 1 DEMOCRACY | 8 |
| 1.1 "Democracy" - the word | 8 |
| 1.2 What is democracy? | 10 |
| 1.3 'New Zealand Democracy' | 10 |
| 1.4 Democracy and Education | 11 |
| 1.5 Democracy in Schools | 12 |
| 1.6 Education for Democracy | 14 |
| Conclusion | |
| Interplay of aspects of political education in New Zealand | 15 |
| References for Chapter 1 | 15 |
| | |
| CHAPTER 2 TRADITION AND CONFORMITY | 17 |
| 2.1 Tradition | 17 |
| 2.2 The Hidden Curriculum | 19 |
| 2.2.1 School Uniforms | 21 |
| 2.2.2 Corporal Punishment | 22 |
| 2.2.3 School Tradition | 23 |
| 2.2.4 Religious Instruction in Schools | 24 |
| 2.3 Conformity | 25 |
| 2.4 Egalitarianism | 27 |
| 2.4.1 Equality of Opportunity | 27 |
| 2.5 Patriotism | 29 |
| 2.5.1 Acquiring the 'state ideology' | 29 |
| 2.5.2 Pride in Country | 30 |
| 2.5.3 The Use of Schools to Instil Patriotism | 30 |
| 2.5.4 The Encouragement of Esteem | 31 |
| 2.5.5 'Patriotic' Education by 'Comparison' (with other systems) | 31 |
| 2.5.6 'Exoneratation' by comparison | 32 |
| 2.6 Power | 34 |
| 2.6.1 Apathy | 34 |
| 2.6.2 'Depoliticisation' | 35 |
| 2.6.3 Identification With a Charismatic Leader | 36 |

| CHAPTER 2 (Contd.) | <u>Page</u> |
|---|-------------|
| 2.7 'Tradition' and the 'Political Education' of Females | 36 |
| 2.7.1 Background - Women and Politics in New Zealand | 37 |
| 2.7.2 Schools and 'Sexism' | 38 |
| 2.8 Indoctrination and Propaganda | 40 |
| 2.8.1 Propaganda | 42 |
| References for Chapter 2 | 43 |
| | |
| CHAPTER 3 RECRUITMENT TO, AND MAINTENANCE OF THE DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM | 45 |
| 3.1 Preparation of the Workforce | 45 |
| 3.1.1 Manpower Requirements | 45 |
| 3.1.2 'Screening' and 'Stratifying' | 46 |
| 3.2 The Recruitment of Political Leaders | 48 |
| 3.2.1 Elitism | 49 |
| 3.2.2 Developing a "Political Class" | 49 |
| 3.3 Maintaining the Democratic System - Rights and Duties | 50 |
| 3.3.1 Voting | 51 |
| 3.3.2 Participation | 52 |
| References for Chapter 3 | 56 |
| | |
| CHAPTER 4 CITIZENSHIP AND CIVIC EDUCATION | 58 |
| 4.1 Education for Solving 'Civic' Problems | 58 |
| 4.1.1 Internationalism | 60 |
| 4.2 The Use of Education to 'Produce' Good Citizens | 62 |
| 4.3 Teaching the 'Christian Heritage' | 62 |
| 4.4 Education to Produce 'Desirable Qualities' | 63 |
| 4.5 Education for 'Compliance' | 64 |
| 4.6 A 'Mechanical' View of Citizenship | 65 |
| 4.7 Education for Membership of a Community | 65 |
| 4.8 'Public Education' Campaigns as 'Citizenship Education' | 66 |
| 4.9 'Citizenship' as a School Subject | 67 |
| References for Chapter 4 | 68 |
| | |
| CHAPTER 5 POLITICAL ATTITUDES, KNOWLEDGE AND SKILLS | 70 |
| 5.1 Agencies and mediators of 'political' attitudes, knowledge and skills | 70 |
| 5.1.1 The news media | 71 |
| 5.1.2 Mass opinion | 73 |
| 5.2 Affective and attitudinal bases of political 'learning' | 75 |
| 5.3 Political 'facts', political 'information' and political 'knowledge' | 77 |
| 5.3.1 Groups dealing in political facts or political knowledge | 77 |
| 5.3.2 The 'flow' of Political Information | 79 |
| 5.3.3 Some 'complicating' factors | 81 |
| 5.3.4 Schools and 'compensatory' political education | 82 |

| | |
|------------------------------------|-------------|
| CHAPTER 5 (Contd.) | <u>Page</u> |
| 5.4 Political 'skills' | 85 |
| 5.4.1 Education for 'rationality' | 85 |
| 5.4.2 Education for being critical | 86 |
| References for Chapter 5 | 89 |
| | |
| CHAPTER 6 CONCLUSION | 92 |
| References for Chapter 6 | 96 |
| | |
| APPENDIX I | 97 |
| BIBLIOGRAPHY | 98 |

INTRODUCTION

"As is the state, so is the school.....What you want in the state, you must put into the school."

Kandel (1)

Consider the following proposals:

- (A) New Zealand should introduce a compulsory school subject entitled "Political Education."
- (B) All 'political' content and references (in history, social studies, literature, religious instruction and so on) should be banned in New Zealand schools and curricula.

Both proposals would probably be viewed by many New Zealanders as rather 'extreme', and as undesirable or unworkable. Their opposition to them could be seen as,

"based upon inferences, beliefs and assumptions - about what education is, and perhaps most important, what it should be."

Stenhouse (2)

New Zealanders do hold views about the relationships between education and politics, and this is one of the reasons that an examination of political education in New Zealand - and of assumptions, beliefs and values that are held about it - might be seen as useful, or even necessary. For these assumptions may not be appropriate for the present, and even more, for the future.

Probably few topics in New Zealand education would be as likely to arouse confusion and suspicion, as that of political education. For politics and education are viewed as unconnected. Harman writes that:

"One fascinating phenomenon is that in a number of western societies.....there is

a surprisingly widespread and deepseated belief that education and politics are separate and unrelated activities and that they should be so." (3)

Furthermore, there seems to be a notion that politics is rather sordid (not really respectable, and associated with ideas of corruption, misuse of power, etc.). This derision of politics may well have historical roots. Herron writes:

"Politics in New Zealand in the eighteenth-fifties reflects the practical and boisterous nature of a typical pioneer society. Some of the worst features of British politics took root rapidly. For example elections were often the occasion of bribery, treating, debauchery and violence....." (4)

".....indecorous behaviour was characteristic of New Zealand politics right from the start. It reflects no credit on the earliest political leaders that their successors were rough diamonds like R.J. Seddon who shocked visitors with their vulgarity and homespun oratory." (5)

However, continued acceptance of 'anti-political' feeling, and acquiescence in the (uncertain) view of education and politics as divorced from one another, might be seen as inappropriate. Their inter-relatedness needs to be both exposed and examined.

"Politics and education are of necessity closely intermeshed and intertwined. They are two basic or fundamental activities of all human societies. The one has to do with the process of the transmission of knowledge and culture, and the development of skills and training for employment,

while the other is concerned with the exercise of power, influence, and authority, and with the making of authoritative decisions about the allocation of values and resources. Inevitably these two sets of activities will be inter-related and will interact with one another....."

Harman (6)

There are at least two possible implications of the 'neglect' of discussing political education in New Zealand. One is that New Zealand may be 'stuck' with the present (largely unexamined) forms of political education. Another is that various agencies may - perhaps perceiving a 'vacuum' here - seek to use the schools to advance particular political views. Already, the New Zealand Chambers of Commerce has launched a school economics education programme which advances particular political views. Other groups and agencies may very well follow suit.

A further consideration is the realisation that New Zealanders (along with people in other countries) are being faced with new conditions and changing needs. How can they hope to deal with, or adapt to these, if the basic assumptions of their system of political education remain unexamined?

".....critical examination of basic concepts or assumptions involved in operative principles is indispensable for a clearer understanding of them....."

Mitchell (7)

Greater awareness in the community of problems in race relations, industrial relations, the economy, criminal offences and so on, may well encourage a feeling of hopelessness and apathy in people - a general disenchantment with politics and political solutions. Equally, it may precipitate an interest in politics, and foster expectations that answers to problems lie in the political domain. Is there, then, any

chance that extremist political 'remedies' will be considered or accepted? And are such remedies desirable or appropriate in a democracy? Is the New Zealand style of democracy being supported by its schools, and by other educational agencies? These are among the questions being raised.

The following assumptions might be seen as basic to this thesis:

- (A) That New Zealand has a democratic form of government.
- (B) That one function of school systems is to perpetuate the dominant political system of the society it serves.
- (C) That New Zealanders, in general, desire that the democratic form of government be maintained.
- (D) That educational practices having the intended or unintended consequences of weakening democracy do not serve a democratic society well.

This exploration of possible interpretations of 'political education' in New Zealand, is therefore combined with attempts to assess their adequacy and appropriateness in a democratic system. For as White warns:

"The political education in any given society must appropriately match the political system, if the system is to be maintained." (8)

Aspects of New Zealand's political system are discussed in Chapter one (Democracy) and these provide a 'yardstick' against which succeeding chapters may be 'matched.' The content of these chapters which concurrently explore and assess New Zealand's 'political education' is outlined in the analytical Table of Contents.

Dunfee and Sagl assert that:

"nations do not survive or progress on the quality of their children's non-political education. Rather, the critical question

all nations face, is how well the political education of their children prepares them to meet the demands of public life in that nation." (9)

While "non-political" education can hardly be dismissed as unimportant for the survival or progression of nations, neither can 'political' education be ignored. For it is clear that totalitarian societies do not leave their children's 'political education' to chance. What then, do democratic societies do to pass on their political culture? More specifically, what is New Zealand doing in this field? Is any adaptation, change or extension required?

"There can be no doubt that it is proper to a democratic society to have regard for the content of education in its schools and, where necessary, to adapt or extend it. The aims and needs of a particular society change from time to time and the schools reflect this change."

Currie Report (10)

Some Linguistic Considerations

"When I use a word.....it means just what I choose it to mean - neither more nor less."

Humpty Dumpty (11)

".....words have power to mould men's thinking, to canalize their feeling, to direct their willing and acting. Conduct and character are largely determined by the nature of the words we currently use to discuss ourselves and the world around us."

Aldous Huxley (12)

"language.....can discover meanings for its speakers which are not simply traceable to

the given quality of the experience itself, but must be explained to a large extent as the projection of potential meanings into the raw material of experience.....forms (of language) predetermine for us certain modes of observation and interpretation."

Edward Sapir (13)

Three key words which are central to this thesis are "democracy", "politics" and "education." Attempts to 'define' these words meet with endless difficulties because of the many possible (both descriptive and evaluative) definitions. While these obstacles do not constitute an excuse to 'opt out' of analysis, neither do dictionary or textbook definitions suffice to 'tidy up' the concepts.

Since the whole of Chapter one is devoted to discussion of "democracy", it will not be dealt with here. However, some general points about "politics" and "education" follow.

Politics

"Politics" as used in this thesis refers to phenomena and interactions (balances of power, conflicts, agreements, decisions, priorities, policies, etc.) between various groups within the many kinds of human communities - families, schools, towns, clubs, provinces, nations, associations, trade unions, political parties, interest groups and so on.

Education

The term "education" as used in this thesis will entail 'formal', 'informal' and 'non-formal' education - the whole spectrum of learning from birth to death.

By formal education I refer to the hierarchically structured, chronologically graded education system which runs from primary school to university.

Informal education indicates the lifelong process by which people

acquire attitudes, values, skills and knowledge, from daily experience and educative influences in the environment. This type of education is relatively unorganised and unsystematic.

Non-formal education means any organised educational activity outside the established formal system - whether operating separately or as an important feature of some broader activity. Examples include Girl Guides and Boy Scouts, Sunday School groups and sporting and recreational groups.

References to Introduction

- (1) Kandel, I.L. (1959) p.274.
- (2) Stenhouse, David (1972) p.7.
- (3) Harman, G.S. (1974) p.3.
- (4) Herron, David (1959) p.329.
- (5) Herron, David (1959) p.340.
- (6) Harman, G.S. (1974) p.5.
- (7) Mitchell, F.W. (1968) p.47.
- (8) White, Pat (1971) p.16.
- (9) Dunfee, M. and Sagl, H. (1962) p.17.
- (10) Currie Report (1962) p.17.
- (11) Carroll, Lewis (1974) p.193.
- (12) Huxley, Aldous (1940) p.9.
- (13) Sapir, Edward (1933) pp.156-7.

CHAPTER 1

DEMOCRACY

1.1 "Democracy" - the word

"Over generations men have struggled to create it, wars have been fought in its name, it is brought up in justification of many different political systems, and of quite opposite policies. The Russians and the Chinese join with the Americans and the British in describing their polities as democracies."

(1)

It will probably be readily agreed that there is no consensus about the definition of democracy - for there is no definition of democracy - only definitions.

Nevertheless, a number of points can be made:

1.1.1

'Neat' or 'snappy' definitions of democracy are not satisfactory. As Kleinberg says of the 'Gettysburg definition': "The trouble with 'government of the people, by the people and for the people', is that it is much too attractive a package to reject. All government after all, is of the people, all government is by the people (not perhaps by the people, but how can we tell who they are?) and which government, except a government of rogues, does not believe that it is for the people?"

(2)

1.1.2

Although ambiguities in the use of the word "democracy" constitute an obstacle to clarity - or at least make elucidation difficult - it is possible to distinguish 'western-style'

democracies from other forms of government (see Laqueur's conditions outlined in 1.2 below). In fact, it is often abundantly clear when a government is acting undemocratically.

1.1.3

Describing a society as democratic has become almost synonymous with attaching a label of approval to it.

"Democracy" then might well be seen as:

"merely a 'hurrah' word, a propagandist device indicating approval of whatever is the practice or policy or institution to which it is applied."

(3)

1.1.4

The 'abuse' of the word "democracy" to describe any system of government in order to appropriate the approval and prestige associated with the term needs to be noted. Some (notably Macpherson) have argued that the communist and third world single-party systems of government are justified in using the democratic title, and that they are potentially closer to:

"the original notion of democracy as rule by and for the poor and oppressed."

(4)

However, this selective use of 'democracy' as well as the appeal to some supposedly authoritative 'original notion of democracy' are questionable. As Kleinberg says:

"Democracy has certainly suffered from attempts made by its friends to give it what might well have proved a definitional kiss of death."

(5)

1.1.5

"Democracy" connotes almost universal approval, for few will take an explicit stand against it. It is difficult to imagine a government proclaiming itself to be undemocratic. In this sense, the word "democracy" in itself might be seen as having power and compulsion.

1.2 What is democracy?

It is not within the scope of this thesis to enter into what would necessarily be a lengthy discussion of the philosophical and linguistic problems associated with 'democracy.' My use of the term "democracy" will be restricted to political systems which accept certain basic assumptions - described by Laqueur thus:

"-the government should reflect the people's will and the people's choice - hence the constitutional provision of regular elections, by secret ballot, with representatives of at least two parties standing for election. Citizens, therefore, have the right to combine to achieve common aims - provided these do not jeopardise the rights of others.

-the Rule of Law (i.e. no imprisonment or restriction of a citizen's liberty without a fair trial.)
The protection of civil liberties including freedom of conscience.

-the Separation of Powers - i.e. an independent Judiciary and an Executive separately elected or responsible to an elected Legislature."

(6)

Laqueur goes on to note that:

"Critics of democracy have drawn attention to its apparent contradictions - liberty of the individual versus equality, government by the majority versus minority rights - but its supporters have claimed that despite its deficiencies it remains the best defence against arbitrary government and tyranny."

(7)

1.3 'New Zealand Democracy'

It may be objected that aspects of New Zealand's political system do not exactly satisfy the conditions outlined by Laqueur. However, it is not appropriate here to establish a 'match' of ideal

democratic conditions and the reality of New Zealand's governmental system. Rather, it is stipulated (c.f. Scheffler (8)) that New Zealand is a democracy and that its political system does operate generally within the Laqueur guidelines. (This is not, of course, to deny the existence of anti-democratic individuals, ideology or institutions in New Zealand). Appendix I provides more detail on New Zealand's constitution and government.

1.4 Democracy and Education

One assumption which is central to this thesis is that there is a close bond between education and democracy - a necessary connection.

"It is quite clear that no government based on democratic principles can long endure in a nation of ignorant people."

(9)

High literacy is often cited as a necessary condition of democratic systems. It is argued that there can be no effective democracy without an educated public, and that therefore education is the state's concern. Lindsay considers that:

"An educated people is indispensable to the democratic state's fulfilling its function at all."

(10)

This kind of argument follows a valid argument form, viz:

$$\frac{\text{If } A, \text{ then } B}{\therefore \text{If not } B, \text{ then not } A.}$$

It can be expressed, more fully, in this way.

If New Zealand is a democracy, then it needs an educated citizenry who support democratic government

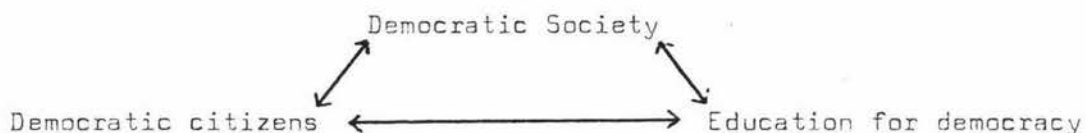
\therefore If New Zealand does not have an educated citizenry who support democratic government, then it is not a democracy.

Meikle argues this way, when she writes:

"...if one acknowledges that New Zealand is a democracy, however imperfect, and if one believes human dignity is precious and can be best maintained in a democracy, and that human longing for power over others is evil, and can be most effectively checked in a democracy, then one's educational aims must be concerned with the preservation of democracy in New Zealand."

(11)

A suggested model of the interaction between education and democracy follows:



1.5 Democracy in Schools

Do schools and other educational institutions in a democratic society need to be run democratically? Some educators argue that children need to experience democracy at first hand. A.S. Neill is among those who have promoted the idea of democratically-organised schools;

"Summerhill is a self-governing school, democratic in form. Everything connected with social, or group life, including punishment for social offences, is settled by vote at the Saturday night General School Meeting.

Each member of the teaching staff and each child, regardless of his age, has one vote. My vote carries the same weight as that of a seven-year old....."

(12)

Observers have sometimes questioned Neill's application of democracy, and it might be asked whether he would have accepted a

'democratic' decision by the school to abandon its democratic structure. Kleinberg is among those who argue that the non-democratic running of schools is not incompatible within a democratic society. Educating for democracy, in his view, does not entail an imperative that schools be democratic institutions:

"It is a condition of a democratic state that the government is answerable to the public at large for its conduct of educational policies and administration, in the same way that it is answerable for the way in which it runs the prison service; it is not a condition of a political democracy that educational institutions themselves function democratically any more than that penal institutions should so function."

(13)

An analogy with, say, hospitals rather than with penal institutions might be more comfortable for educationalists to deal with. It is nonetheless a valid argument - for a democratic school system may very well be incompatible with compulsory schooling, or with attempts to provide equality of educational opportunity. 'Democratic' schooling may even be counter-productive in serving the political system of which it is a part.

Cohen has this to say:

"We do not normally permit full democracy in the classroom, even though the stake of the pupil, in some of the decisions made, may be as great, or greater than that of the teacher. The clear inequality of status in that community justifies unequal voice in its government. Where this difference between instructor and student is enormous - as in primary school classes - we think democracy largely absurd as a way of making classroom decisions. Where the gap is greatly narrowed - university - it is likely a good measure of democracy is justified."

(14)

1.6 Education for Democracy

If democratically-run schools are perhaps not essential to a democratic society what might be the demands that democracy makes of its education system?

One possible approach to this question is to suggest some characteristics which democratic citizens require in order for the system (in terms of Laqueur's guidelines) to survive.

Elcock lists four characteristics which he considers the good citizen in a liberal democratic polity should possess:

- "1. He must know a certain amount about politics and recognise that this knowledge is of some importance to him.
2. He must believe that he can have some influence upon the course of political events.
3. He must believe that he will normally get fair and reasonable treatment from the government, both in policy-making and in his individual contacts with its servants.
4. He should hold political institutions and actors in a certain regard."

(15)

He considers that:

"If these characteristics, or any of them, are lacking among the citizenry generally, a democratic polity is unlikely to command their allegiance and will probably fail to survive the onslaughts of those demanding or promising 'true freedom' or 'clean government.'.....the system's supports are likely to be inadequate to ensure its stability."

(16)

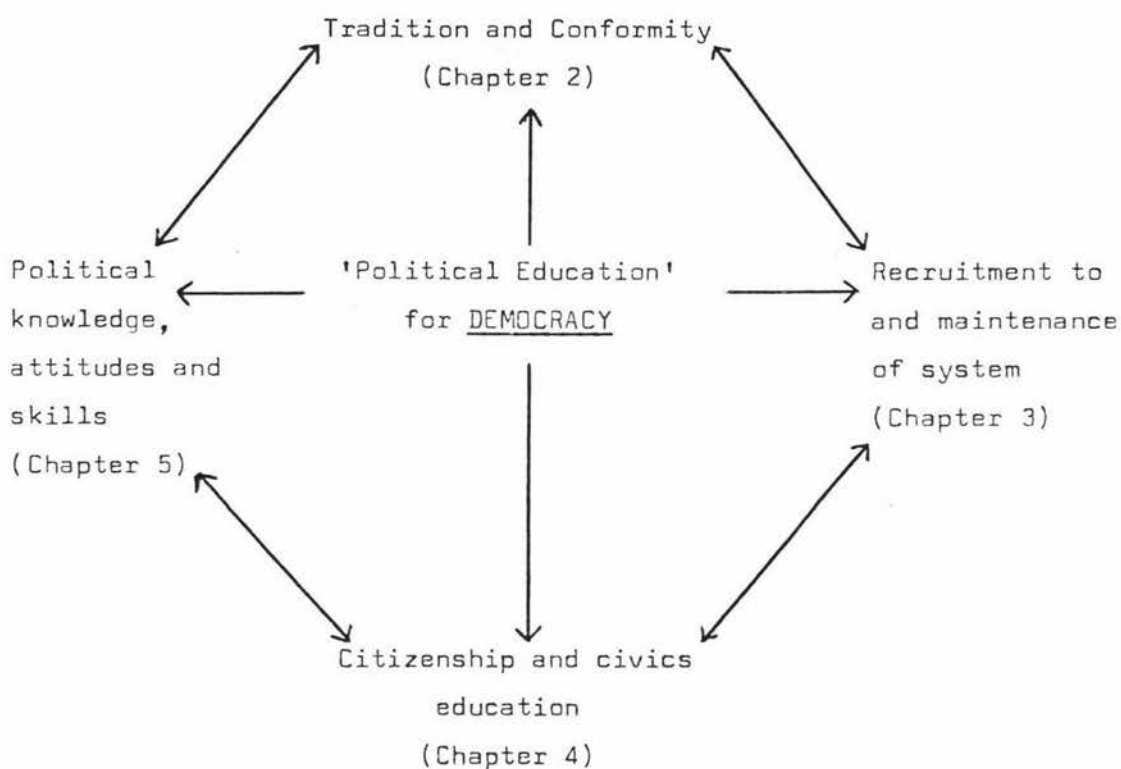
Conclusion

The following chapters will examine aspects and interpretations of 'political education' in New Zealand, and relate these both to

Lacquer's basic assumptions about democracies and to Elcock's characteristics of democratic citizens.

One way of representing this schematically would be as follows:

INTERPLAY OF ASPECTS OF POLITICAL EDUCATION
IN NEW ZEALAND



References for Chapter 1

- (1) Lively, Jack (1975) p. 1.
- (2) Kleinberg, S.S. (1973) p.48.
- (3) Lively, Jack (1975) p.1.
- (4) Macpherson, C.B. (1966) p.35.
- (5) Kleinberg, S.S. (1973) p.47.
- (6) Lacquer, Walter (1975) p.140.
- (7) *ibid.*

(8) Scheffler, Israel (1960) p.13.

"A general definition is often simply a stipulation to the effect that a given term is to be understood in a special way for the space of some discourse..... such a definition may be called 'stipulative'.

- (9) De Boer, A. (1969) p.134.
(10) Lindsay, A.D. (1962) p.246.
(11) Meikle, Phoebe (1960) p.12.
(12) Neill, A.S. (1962) p.45.
(13) Kleinberg, S.S. (1973) p.47.
(14) Cohen, Carl (1971) p.247.
(15) Elcock, Howard (1976) p.70.
(16) *ibid.*

CHAPTER 2

TRADITION AND CONFORMITY

"But for the fact that each new generation is able to learn a body of political orientations from its predecessors, no given political system would be able to persist."

(1)

This chapter focuses on aspects of tradition and conformity in New Zealand society as possible interpretations of 'political education.' It is suggested that "a body of political orientations" is learned through the 'agencies' of tradition and conformity - that the transmission of traditional attitudes, beliefs, customs and so on, as well as encouragement to conform, might be seen as 'politically educative.' For, as Allman and Anderson say:

"The institutional forms that modern democracies have inherited come down to us encumbered with a massive weight of ideology, tradition, folklore and faith."

(2)

2.1 Tradition

"For me, education is an organ of man in society, whose basic function is to ensure the continuity, and further advance of the evolutionary process on earth, by the transmission and transformation of tradition."

Sir Julian Huxley (3)

"All civilised societies seek stability and the perpetuation of beliefs and insights on which the social order is based."

Kirpal (4)

"A political tradition is simply a tradition in which things transmitted have to do with politics: attitudes and opinions about political questions, beliefs about political order, customary forms of political interaction.....The existence of tradition implies some means of transmitting ideas between generations....."

Vinokur (5)

One presupposition of education in tradition seems to be that new generations will live in societies, and face problems, similar to those of previous generations. New Zealand is often described as a young country, but links with the past and with 'oldness' are far from absent. It might even be said that there is some 'respectability' in looking to the past for direction. The laudability of the past was succinctly expressed by one political leader thus:

"If it's old, it's probably right, because it's stood the test of time."

(6)

The view that we have much to learn from the past is a highly tenable one, but it may be objected that many of

".....our present orthodoxies and terminologies and unstated/unconscious assumptions derive from the past when the world was simpler and was dealt with in simple ways....."

(7)

and that they may no longer be appropriate. Where tradition or orthodoxy dictate present or future policies and attitudes, then critical assessment of their current applicability might be desirable. Appealing to the authority of tradition could well be maladaptive.

If tradition is an 'educator' then it is likely that the stress is upon the conservative task of transmitting 'suitable' attitudes from one generation to the next. Various agencies such as the family, the school and the mass media would be involved, and implicit processes

could be differentiated as:

- developing favourable evaluations of the existing system and beliefs
- gaining some information on both the structure and functions of government
- building up some sense of loyalty and of belonging to a community and to a country.

As a distinguishable agency of transmission the school may be acknowledged to be alluded to in all three processes. One particular form of this transmission has been described as the 'hidden curriculum.'

2.2 The hidden curriculum

Much has been written in recent years about the 'hidden' or 'covert' curriculum of schools. The reference is to what happens to children in schools rather than what they are explicitly taught - and serious investigation of the hidden curriculum has only recently begun. Dreeben (1968) (8) suggests that the formal curriculum is the most insignificant of all learning that may take place in the school, and asserts that what is really important is the school's structural properties rather than its instructional programme. For the opportunities created by schools and classrooms for bringing individuals together and exposing them to the beliefs, feelings and behaviours of others are a potential source of influence. King considers that:

"concepts of conduct and manner, values and beliefs are transmitted (in schools) both implicitly and explicitly."

(9)

The 'hidden curriculum' then, involves the broader experience of schooling - where 'tradition' is transmitted in both intended and perhaps unintentional ways. Individuals might be said to learn the 'rules' of membership in society and social institutions;

"For well over a thousand hours a year, students are urged to follow routines and procedures, to get along with each other, and to respect adult authority. Every day, students' actions are praised and critic-

ised, their movements are directed, and their values and beliefs are shaped..... the hidden curriculum is made necessary by the fact that personal interests can rarely be accommodated in schools..... students have little choice but to find ways to conform to institutional expectations since they are typically represented as moral imperatives rather than as functional procedures which can be disregarded when they have little use....."

Silberman (10)

Among that which is actually learned are what might be described as the psychological capacities to participate in the demands of modern occupational and political institutions. The ways the school treats the child, the ways the teacher treats the child, and the ways children are encouraged to treat one another, are central to the 'hidden curriculum' of any education system.

At least four channels for the transmission of values may be identified within the 'hidden curriculum.'

- (a) Actual constraints - rules and punishments
- (b) Value statements (11) made by teachers in their own right or on behalf of the school
- (c) Value statements attributed by the teacher to subject matter
- (d) Values more genuinely embodied in subject matter and successfully made accessible by the teacher. (12)

'Messages' and 'values' being transmitted by the hidden curriculum of New Zealand schools would probably vary widely according to district, size of school, teacher, age group, sex, race and so on. They may at times reinforce, and at times conflict with attitudes of family and community.

Suggested features of the New Zealand hidden curriculum and

their possible 'political' role are discussed below.

2.2.1 School Uniforms

Many countries which may be counted as democracies within the guidelines set by Laqueur (see Chapter 1) do not require school uniforms. Lieberman even suggests that:

"In the United States such a proposal (to require school uniforms) would probably strike many people as totalitarian, with similarities to the "black shirts" of Mussolini and the "brown shirts" of Hitler."

(13)

'Favourable' attitudes towards school uniforms might be seen as general in New Zealand, with the alleged egalitarianism of New Zealand society given as their principal 'defence.' Their 'role' is often seen as promoting equality - or at least equality of opportunity - by concealing differences in socio-economic background and by discouraging fashion-consciousness during 'school time.' Others see them as a relatively cheap (in the long run), functional form of dress. Another argument sometimes advanced in favour of school uniforms is that they aid the recognition and identification of school-age students and thereby both deter truancy and facilitate 'control.'

However, to refer back to perhaps the 'principal' argument for school uniforms - that they conceal inequalities - this seems to imply an awareness that the widespread notion of New Zealand as a 'classless' society does not match the 'reality', but that 'appearances' need to be kept up.

Just what social, behavioural and 'political' effects the wearing of school uniforms, by intermediate and high school pupils, might have is difficult to gauge. However, some suggested outcomes are:

- (a) School uniforms may promote feelings of cohesion, group loyalty and support.
- (b) School uniforms may provide an incentive for pupils to distinguish themselves in terms of performance and ability rather than by virtue of their appearance or clothing.

- (c) The habit of wearing uniforms may encourage conformity to the dictates of the fashion industry, by preparing pupils to look for direction in clothing styles.
- (d) Aversion to the wearing of school uniforms may boost rebellion or 'control' problems in the classroom. (Teachers sometimes note (14) the 'improved' behaviour of more difficult pupils on 'mufti' (15) days). And if the compulsory wearing of school uniforms is seen as an 'irrational' rule, then a generalised disdain for authority may follow.

2.2.2 Corporal Punishment

Is the use of corporal punishment an essential facet of school discipline in New Zealand? Are some of the justifications for its use of a 'traditional' nature? Is it an established aspect of the 'hidden curriculum' in New Zealand? If what McLaren wrote in 1975 (below) is an accurate assessment, then one could answer "yes" to all three questions:

"The press showed little interest in the public hearings when the petitioners presented carefully-documented evidence to support the abolition of corporal punishment. Journalists know that many adult New Zealanders, especially the men, see nothing wrong with the continued use of corporal punishment, at least in the secondary schools. There is widespread respect for the use of physical force in the community and physical toughness and manliness are often equated (both on and off the rugby field). In any case, discipline within New Zealand homes is not unseldom heavy, arbitrary, and unreflective; teachers and classrooms merely mirror the values and attitudes of the home."

For corporal punishment does appear to be widespread in New Zealand primary, intermediate and secondary schools. And when opposition to its use was publicly expressed by the then Minister of Education, Mr P. Amos, in 1975, his view neither reflected community attitudes nor received support from parents or teachers in general.

What might be some of the effects of public acceptance of physical punishment have on the political attitudes of New Zealand school children?

Perhaps it could encourage notions of the necessity of force in the solving of disputes or in the control of people - and it may be asked how compatible corporal punishment is with the democratic ideal of resolving disputes and breaches of the law non-violently. Conversely, it might be seen as quite appropriate within the authoritarian school structure (which as has been argued in Chapter one, is not necessarily inappropriate in a democratic system) and may not run counter to democratic ideals. Furthermore, it may 'cement' the relationship between home and school, if, as McLaren asserts, such punishment is common in the former.

However, if one considers that "the less we use force the more we should reckon ourselves to be civilised", (17) then it could well be argued that it is difficult to reconcile the wealth of support for corporal punishment both within and without New Zealand's school system with a 'democratic' society. And it might reasonably be asked whether there are any links between public acceptance of corporal punishment and the many instances of child abuse, baby battering and crimes of violence.

2.2.3 School tradition

Much of what goes on in schools is legitimised by tradition. In other words because it existed in the past, it is allowed and encouraged to continue into the future. (This is not to imply that its support is solely traditional). However, school uniforms, inter-school competitions, prefectorial systems and the 'veneration' of the 'first fifteen' rugby team often have a large measure of legitimation from tradition.

'School tradition' can be a powerful influence, perhaps partly because it is not easily modified by argument - its entrenchment in the school system constitutes its authority and strength.

Where there is a school tradition of 'good academic achievement' one consequence is an exam-oriented curriculum and school organisation - what Oliver (1964) terms "a slavery to statistical pass rates, a deification of the examination system,...." (18). Questions such as "Will we get this topic in School Certificate?" and "Is this in the University Entrance syllabus?" typify a kind of one-dimensional view of secondary schooling in terms of passing exams.

2.2.4 Religious Instruction in Schools

To describe New Zealand as a Christian country is 'true' in the sense that this has been part of the country's tradition, and 'true' in the sense that Christianity is still for many purposes official. But in other respects it would be misleading, for very few go to church - except perhaps for weddings and funerals. Nevertheless, 'traditional' connections between schools and religion (in a supposedly secular education system) have survived.

The many links between schools and religious institutions (e.g. assemblies with prayers, hymns and bible readings, as well as time-tabled religious instruction programmes in many primary schools) seem likely to foster both positive feelings towards certain religious and moral beliefs and behaviours, as well as negative attitudes towards individuals, groups and societies which reject these, or appear to threaten them.

2.3 Conformity

"There is no place in normal N.Z. society for the man who is different.....It is not only difference suggesting social superiority which the New Zealander fears, it is any variation from the norm.....the New Zealander's guiding principle is: Do others do it?....."

(19)

"In their thinking, as in their methods of living New Zealanders tend to conform to type. The same convictions, prejudices and stock symbols predominate throughout the country. There is not enough internal diversity to produce a clash of opinion..... many New Zealanders when confronted with differences tend to be shocked and resentful. The equalitarianism that provides for all within the group, can be hostile towards those who reject the group standards or who are outside the membership."

(20)

Whether such prejudicial views of New Zealanders are valid today (the authors wrote these comments nearly thirty years ago) is debatable, but many writers, commentators and satirists (e.g. Ausubel and Mitchell) continue to draw attention to conformist aspects of New Zealand life. If conformity is a feature of New Zealand society, what possible 'political' consequences might ensue?

- (a) Marked conformity in a society might foster conditions which militate against diversity. Do New Zealanders 'learn' from their formal, informal and non-formal education that 'the way to get on is to conform'? And is such an attitude 'healthy' in a democracy?

"A society which encourages or even merely permits diversity of behaviour among individ-

uals is providing for itself a reservoir of change, hence of progress (though of course, progress is never guaranteed). A totalitarian society, on the other hand, which imposes rigid uniformity upon the individuals composing it, is liable to become static, non-progressive and hence with reduced potential for adapting to change....."

Stenhouse (21)

- (b) Conformity may generate intolerance. In Heater's view, tolerance is vital to democracy for two reasons: "to prevent the domination of the minority by the majority and to encourage that diversity of beliefs and behaviours without which man cannot fulfil his human potential."

(22)

He further states that "democratic political institutions should provide the context in which individualism may flower."

(23)

- (c) The attitude "Do others do it?....." can have real dangers - perhaps even disastrous repercussions. It might be considered alarmist to cite Adolf Eichmann's memoirs, but after exterminating over six million Jews in Europe, and escaping to Argentina, he wrote: "It was really terrible, but quite necessary. Anyhow the Fuhrer ordered it, and I did not have anything to do with the annihilation. I was not a killer, but a man who executed orders."

(24)

This is not to deny that it may sometimes be necessary to give instructions or orders to children (especially very young ones) without full explanation, but the dangers of possible outcomes of the attitude expressed

in the imperatives "Do it because I say so" or "Do it because the others are doing it" need to be realised.

- (d) 'Counter-disruptive' elements of conformity might be construed as political. For the characteristic of conformity may be grouped with those of obedience, submission, and acceptance of the status quo. If the 'political education' of New Zealanders relies to some extent on the alleged national characteristic of conformity and counter-disruption, then it might be termed 'education for manageability.'

2.4 Equalitarianism

"It is a statue of Liberty which greets the visitor sailing toward Manhattan Island. In New Zealand, if any sculptured allegory were to be placed at the approaches of Auckland or Wellington Harbour, it would assuredly be a statue of Equality. For equalitarianism is there regarded as the core of the democratic doctrine."

(25)

Is the equalitarianism of which Lipson writes still regarded as "the core of the democratic doctrine" in New Zealand? Recent trends have suggested otherwise. An editorial in The New Zealand Listener in June 1976 pointed to growing inequalities, stating:

"In 1950, the top ten percent of male income-earners possessed a mere fifteen percent of the wealth. Today the same ten percent earns twenty five percent. The days in which New Zealand had no rich and no poor are over."

(26)

2.4.1 Equality of Opportunity

The editorial writer goes on to say:

"There are some who welcome it and argue that our egalitarian values never implied an equality of condition but merely an equality of opportunity. Yet without the former, the latter is a fiction."

(27)

The notion of equating "egalitarian values" with "equality of opportunity" resembles that which (in 1931) aroused Tawney's contempt as "the tadpole philosophy":

"It is possible that intelligent tadpoles reconcile themselves to the inconveniences of their position, by reflecting that, though most of them will live and die as tadpoles and nothing more, the more fortunate of the species will one day shed their tails, distend their mouths and stomachs, hop nimbly on to dry land, and croak addresses to their former friends on the virtues by means of which tadpoles of character and capacity can rise to be frogs. This conception of society may be described, perhaps, as the tadpole philosophy.....And what a view of human life such an attitude implies! As though opportunities for talent to rise could be equalized in a society where the circumstances surrounding it from birth are themselves unequal! As though, if they could, it were natural and proper that the position of the mass of mankind should permanently be such that they can attain civilization only by escaping from it! As though the noblest use of exceptional powers were to scramble to shore, undeterred by the thought of drowning companions!"

(28)

New Zealanders may be proud of, or at least satisfied with their image of egalitarianism, but it is uncertain how deserved this reputation is.

"Despite our open and free education system there are very few working-class children at our universities. There is rapidly coming a time, as the necessities of life rise in price, when those on the lowest rungs will descend into genuine and permanent poverty."

(29)

If egalitarianism as a condition of New Zealand life (part of its 'tradition') seems to be increasingly disputable, it might even be posited that the tendency in this country is in the direction of what Elvin describes thus:

".....less positive action by the government for the community as a whole and more reliance on individual trust, with the prizes for the most trustful."

(30)

2.5 Patriotism

Could patriotism, or the acquisition of patriotic feelings and national loyalties be part of the political education of New Zealanders? If so, how much of this education is deliberate? Five suggested interpretations of education for patriotism follow.

2.5.1 Acquiring the 'state ideology'

One of the aspects noted (particularly by people familiar with societies where there is a strong sense of national goal) is that New Zealand appears to be a country lacking a state ideology. Like Australia:

".....it stands near the end of a spectrum which runs through the quasi-official ideologies of the United States and contemporary West Germany, to the full-blown state doctrines of the Soviet Union, Nazi-Germany, and contemporary China."

(31)

Or, as Oliver says:

".....no common body of belief links our members together, and the beliefs we have are at a remove from the lives we live."

(32)

If acquisition of an official 'state ideology' is a dubious illustration of the transmission of patriotism in New Zealand, then perhaps a generalised feeling of nationalism or pride in country is more tenable.

2.5.2 Pride in country

Satirists sometimes depict New Zealanders anxiously questioning overseas visitors in efforts to elicit favourable comments about New Zealand. Pride in rugby football and other sporting achievements, in feats of famous New Zealanders or pleasure taken in hearing praise of the country's physical beauty, might all constitute instances of a kind of patriotism or nationalism. Rugby plays a particularly interesting role here, seemingly gaining 'supreme loyalty' from many New Zealanders in what might be seen as a major political row of the past decade - that of sporting contacts with South Africa. This "row" highlighted some of the inter-connections between 'democratic rights', the 'national sport', 'patriotism', 'freedom' and 'politics.'

'Pride in country' which is tempered by tolerance of criticism, ability for self-appraisal might be a 'valuable' form of 'patriotic' political education.'

2.5.3 The use of schools to instil patriotism

At various times in New Zealand's history, there have been overt attempts to encourage patriotism. One paper presented at the 1977 Massey University seminar on Education and Politics, dealt with efforts to imbue patriotism into school children after the first world war (33). The setting up of the National Efficiency Council, sponsorship of the Navy League, and the lavish celebration of Trafalgar, Empire and Anzac Days by schools, were symptomatic of an upsurge of nationalism and patriotism (and also 'pride of Empire'). Schools were furnished with elaborate instructions, from the inspectorate, on the observance of special days, and public singing of the national anthem

was made compulsory. This calculated usage of the schools reflected a strong belief in the efficacy of schools in transmitting ideology.

That schools are not currently 'used' in such a purposive way does not necessarily reflect flagging patriotism. However, the kinds of loyalties and patriotic emphases considered appropriate in modern New Zealand society would probably be ill-served by the post-World War One activities and intentions. While today's schools, perhaps chiefly through the hidden curriculum (see 2.2) almost certainly generate some patriotic feelings, overt instances of 'instilling' patriotism are difficult to isolate or identify.

2.5.4 The encouragement of esteem

If a citizen in a democracy is to "believe that he will normally get fair and reasonable treatment from the government, both in policy-making and in his individual contacts with its servants" and if he is to "hold political institutions and actors in a certain regard" (see 1.6) then it seems necessary for a society to encourage belief and trust in the efficacy of the system. For a parliamentary democratic system seems to be dependent on the continued esteem of citizens and voters.

This is not to imply that organisations or systems that are valued are necessarily stable - in fact, valued organisations may even tend to become dysfunctional, and thus unstable. An uncritical, non-adaptive esteem and belief in "the system" may, then, even contribute to the system's demise, because people may well feel that it will survive without exertion on their part.

A fundamental problem here is that of producing a 'balance' between uncritical, unquestioning esteem, and indifference to or derision of the system. However, governments would usually not attempt to have existing attitudes or activities displaced or disrupted while gaining support from the same. There is, of course, the difficulty of accurately assessing support for governments or systems, but a clear downturn in support for, say, the parliamentary system, would not augur well for New Zealand democracy.

2.5.5 'Patriotic' education by 'comparison' (with other systems)

Political language is far from neutral for political concepts are

part of our daily speech. As Davies says:

".....we abuse 'bureaucracy' and praise 'democracy' welcome or recoil from 'revolution.' Emotive words such as 'equality', 'dictatorship', 'elite' or even 'power' can often, by the very passions which they raise, obscure a proper understanding of the sense in which they are, or should be, or should not be, or have been used."

(34)

One of the possible techniques for ensuring 'patriotism' or at least committal to one's country's governmental system is that of prejudicial comparison with other systems:

"Slavery and freedom; dictatorship and democracy; communism and capitalism; collectivism and individualism; the totalitarian state and the constitutional one: how easy and appropriate it is to pin one label on the United States and its opposite on the Soviet Union."

(35)

A craving for simple distinctions may well be a universal 'failing' for it is certainly easy and convenient to divide the world into totalitarian or communist 'others' and free 'us.'

2.5.6 'Exoneration' by comparison

Such a phenomenon may constitute a form of 'political education' which might be termed 'exoneration by comparison.' For emphasis of the worst features of opposing political system (by schools, family, mass media, etc.) may contribute to a dulling of sensitivity concerning domestic New Zealand problems. One's own system, then, could be overtly, or covertly promoted by comparison with 'undesirable' aspects of others. For instance, publicity about the harsh treatment afforded to the writer Solzhenitsyn, might be seen to have the dual effect of condemnation of the U.S.S.R. and its political system, and of encouraging contentment with one's own system. Similarly, news of race riots in

Southern Africa may lull New Zealanders into a misleading sense of satisfaction with the state of their race relations. Although New Zealand may well be 'ahead' of many countries in terms of racial tolerance, individual freedoms and so on, blanket endorsement of the principles and practices of the democratic system ought not to be based on a 'relative superiority'.

Some 'evidence' that 'exoneration by comparison' might be a feature of New Zealand schools is provided by Oliver when he writes:

"A child should not have it suggested to him that it would have been impossible to be happy either before (say) 1832 or today in Russia and Indonesia. Such aims could produce a facile opinionatedness, a view that different societies were there to be made other than they are, and the sort of contempt for the past which praises it only for those ways in which it is like the present. Makers of School Certificate history will know that these attitudes are in fact mass produced in New Zealand schools."

(36)

Laudatory representation of the New Zealand brand of democracy as one of the 'best' political traditions, and the setting of it against the 'evils' of alternative governments, may be dangerously simplistic, particularly where there is ignorance or unawareness of the basic presuppositions and ideals of different forms of government. Heater suggests another approach when he writes:

"It is more profitable, though less tidy, to speak in terms of movement towards democracy or of democratic elements in a government, than to make a clear cut distinction between democratic and non-democratic regimes.....Throughout the world pro-democratic and anti-democratic forces co-exist in the same societies - not, it is true, nearly so clearly demarcated as in the 1930's, but nevertheless the tension is there."

(37)

2.6 Power

"Politics is about power. On individuals, as Acton believed, it may indeed have a malign influence; but for society at large, whether it is benign or malignant depends on the amount that is wielded. Like radiation, large doses can be indispensable in curing the cancer of social disintegration. One has only to read 1984 and Lord of the Flies to recognise the two extreme conditions."

(38)

".....the word 'politics', and its derivatives, has come to be nearly synonymous with 'power' and its derivatives. Thus when we say 'politician', we generally mean a person who is pursuing or wielding social power of some sort or other....."

(39)

If politics is concerned with power, and power relations, then it could be said that part of one's 'political education' is learning about one's power - or lack of it - in society. This section will deal briefly with three corollaries of the latter. Political scientists sometimes describe feelings of powerlessness or of the meaninglessness of politics as 'political alienation.' Three possible interpretations of 'political alienation' follow.

2.6.1 Apathy

Apathy is sometimes seen as 'desirable' in modern societies - as a sign of health and contentment with the political system. Heater considers that belief in apathy as an essential ingredient for democracy:

".....is grounded in the assumption that the engagement of the great bulk of the populace in political activity would result in one of two unfortunate conditions: either inefficiency or instability; or the surrender of power to an authoritarian regime because the mass of the

people do not want political responsibility."

(40)

Although in a pluralistic democracy, differences in feelings of political competence would in part account for differing levels of apathy or trust in the efficacy of the system, the acceptance of widespread and enduring apathy would seem to be incompatible with the requirements of a parliamentary democracy.

An apathetic electorate encourages abuses of political power. There is the danger that a view of government as unnecessary, ineffectual or even as evil or corrupt (each of which may breed apathy) may have the effect of minimising 'legitimate' government power. 'Real' power may even pass to agencies not accountable to the electorate.

Uncritical teaching which sees government as inherently fair, correct and benevolent may foster passivity and apathy. If children learn that they need not struggle for their political rights but need only maintain a low level of vigilance, then 'democracy' itself may be weakened.

2.6.2 'Depoliticisation'

Schooling seems to influence the ways a child sees him or herself as a participant in the political process. If a child grows up with a limited view of his or her capabilities to influence political decisions, then is it likely that as an adult, that person will tend to avoid participating in political or social action? Abrams and Little (41) postulate so, saying that schooling may exert what they term a 'depoliticising' function;

"In a stable society, one would expect political socialisation to be an education in traditionalism. In a society where the political temperature is low, one would expect to find the young being effectively de-politicised, learning to accept and endorse the status quo, to assimilate the orientations to politics of their elders, and in particular to share with them certain consequential perceptions of what are and are not the salient issues of politics.

So it is in Britain. The majority leave school (at fifteen) ignorant of the workings of the political system and content to be so....."

(42)

Abrams and Little go on to report that ninety percent of people (according to surveys which they cite) between the ages of fifteen and twenty-four in England and Wales, find politics a bore and have no interest in, or empathy for public affairs. It is difficult to claim that the situation in New Zealand is very different. While indifference to, or derision of politics, may be seen as satisfaction with the system, it is scarcely a sign of a healthy functional democracy.

2.6.3 Identification with a charismatic leader

One possible expression of feelings of political alienation or powerlessness is identification with a charismatic leader. In this way the individual seeks to gain a feeling of power and meaning by incorporating within himself the attitudes held by a leader he perceives as powerful. This might be seen as irrational mode of expression, being regressive in the sense that it is more characteristic of child than adult behaviour.

This is not to imply that leadership, in any political system or organisation is unimportant, but rather to intimate that attachment to or identification with a charismatic leader is suggestive of 'political alienation' rather than 'political engagement' or 'healthy' democracy.

2.7 'Tradition' and the 'political education' of females

"The assignment of the ascendant power-possessing role to men and the dependent receptive role to women has affected the area closely associated with gaining and wielding power."

(43)

".....there has been, over time, an

increasing questioning of acceptance of genetic differences as the sole determinants of sex-roles. More and more, sex roles are being seen as learned behaviour, as assigned roles acquired by social conditioning."

(44)

".....girls appear to acquire quite early the belief that political activity is generally more suitable to the male rather than the female role."

(45)

"The weight of tradition is amazingly strong against having women in office, although, on the whole, the women in the political arena have made consistently good and even excellent records. This is partly because women must be well above the average available candidate to be considered at all."

(46)

Recent years have seen a spate of material (through the media and literature) on the subject of women - feminism, sex-role stereotyping, equality of opportunity and so on. So much has been written, in fact, that there is a danger of becoming repetitive or of using what have become redundant statistics. It is suggested in this section, that attitudes about the status of women, changes on women's roles, and the images and stereotypes generated by such attitudes, all impinge on the issue of how women relate to politics, to power, and to education.

2.7.1 Background - Women and politics in New Zealand

In 1893, New Zealand became the first country in the world to grant women's franchise. Then in 1919, women were given the right to stand for election themselves. It was not until 1933 however, that the first woman Member of Parliament (Elizabeth McCombs) was elected, and since then, there have been only 15 women parliamentarians, and 3 women

cabinet ministers. At the time of writing (1978) there are four women parliamentarians in a house of eighty seven.

This pattern of low political involvement by females is reflected in most areas of public life. Women are noticeably absent from local bodies and positions of responsibility. They are scarce in almost all of the 'top' jobs - doctors, lawyers, head teachers, company directors, heads of government departments, union leaders and so on. Consequently, they are excluded from most of the political decision making.

One of the repercussions of the dearth (or sometimes absence) of politically active women, is that girls are brought up with almost no 'models' to observe or imitate:

".....images and models.....are important as they become the engines or the brakes in the transformation of family structures, relations between the sexes, and in the professions, etc. Images, then, guide both behaviour and attitudes. They generate myths, which themselves will transform the genesis of new myths."

(47)

As well, females are generally excluded from the processes of direct or indirect 'grooming' for promotion and political posts. (This is not to deny that the majority of men is excluded as well, but to note the under-representation or sometimes complete absence of females.)

2.7.2 Schools and 'sexism'

'Sexism' is a new-coined word, defined by the American Heritage School Dictionary as "discrimination by members of one sex against the other, especially by males against females." (48).

Before they get to school at all, children are well aware of the different behaviour expected from boys and from girls. What part, if any, do schools play in completing the socialisation of girls and boys into sex-roles? Can schools be held in any way 'responsible' for the

lack of female political involvement? Do they, consciously or unconsciously, discourage political activity among females? A considerable amount of the literature in the area certainly considers schools to be 'guilty' of the sexist charge;

"Schools are places where girls are trained for second class citizenship,"

(49)

"Much of the responsibility for perpetuating traditional stereotypes of men and women lies in the field of education. It follows that the education system could be used with more effect to break down these stereotypes and encourage a more enlightened view of the roles both sexes are capable of fulfilling."

(50)

A Unesco-sponsored study published in 1970 (51) maintained that the educational opportunities (both quantitative and qualitative) of girls and women remain distinctly below those open to boys and men.

Although schools are only one of the educative influences in society they seem to have supported, and to varying degrees they continue to support, the 'traditional' roles of male and female, in their curriculum, career channelling, school programmes, organisation, course content and textbooks. 'Legally' then, there is little or no sex-discrimination in schools, but in practice, there are sex-linked divergences in both the content and the use made of the education facilities available.

Whether, and just how much, schools discourage female involvement in politics, is not clear, but empirical studies (e.g. Hess and Torney (52)) fail to find consistent differences between boys and girls in their attitudes to the norm or political efficacy, though in other areas of political involvement, girls foreshadow their roles as less politically-oriented adults.

Easton and Dennis (1969) (53) suggest that something happens

between childhood and later adulthood that makes females become disenchanted with their earlier expected role in political life that they once shared with boys. It may be that a creeping disillusionment results from the gradual awareness that men's judgements do in fact command dominant attention and respect in the political sphere.

2.8 Indoctrination and Propaganda

Is 'indoctrination' simply a word which conveys disapproval of particular forms of, or aspects of education, by an observer, who holds different social, moral or political views?

"We say indoctrination about countries we don't like. In our nation, in the double talk of schools of education, we use more elegant expressions. We call it the socialising function. Socialisation is the word we use. The words are different, but the function is the same."

(54)

Many would disagree with Kozol that the "function is the same" and while the word 'indoctrination' seems to have built-in presuppositions, values and moral overtones, it would seem to express more than just what "we don't like."

New Zealanders could be said to be among those peoples who consider themselves to be 'free' of (political) indoctrination and propaganda. There do seem to be clear differences between New Zealand schools, and those in, say, the Soviet Union and The People's Republic of China, where education is consciously directed to political ends, and where the respective communist viewpoints are expected at schools. In New Zealand, children could be said to learn that 'democracy' is good, that 'New Zealand is a democracy', and that 'democratic citizens are not indoctrinated.' One might even say "New Zealanders are indoctrinated to believe that they are not indoctrinated."

Australians appear to share similar beliefs, and yet Connell has documented the profound nationalism and anti-communism expressed

by Australian high school students, saying that they spring:

".....from a powerful tradition, communicated by several institutions, backed by influential political groups. Its leading themes are effectively conveyed to the children and are adopted by most of them in a form which appears to be permanent. This is a case of successful partisan propaganda with serious political consequences."

(55)

He makes the comment:

".....formal freedom of opinion in adult life is meaningless if opinion is substantially fixed beforehand, and the activity of various institutions we find influencing children's thought is often a variety of propaganda."

(56)

Speaking of the increased 'indoctrinability' of mankind, Lorenz remarks:

"Opinion polls, advertising, cleverly directed fads and fashions, help the mass producers on this side of the iron curtain, and the functionaries on the other side, to attain what amounts to a similar power over the masses."

(57)

It is his opinion that:

"We ostensibly free, Western, civilised people are no longer conscious of the extent to which we are being manipulated by the commercial decisions of the mass producers..... the large scale advertising of our Western producers is not unpolitical in nature..... in its own way it fulfils the same functions as posters in Eastern Europe."

(58)

To return to the problem of identifying 'indoctrination' with particular reference to education in schools, it may be helpful to look at some suggested criteria of indoctrination. Recent years have seen a growth of literature in the area of moral education and indoctrination, but the necessity for brevity and selectivity in discussing the topic are dictated both by the size and scope of this thesis.

Snook (59) considers that there are three main candidates for the criterion of indoctrination. These are intention, method, content, or a combination of two or more of them. He further considers that intention is the crucial factor, and that only it can serve as an adequate criterion for distinguishing indoctrination from education. The necessary and sufficient condition for indoctrination is described by him thus:

"A person indoctrinates P (a proposition or set of propositions) if he teaches with the intention that the pupil or pupils believe P regardless of the evidence."

(60)

If pupils in a democracy are to believe P - perhaps Laqueur's proposition that democracy "remains the best defence against arbitrary government and tyranny" (see 1.2) - then avoidance of the charge of indoctrination will be dependent on an education which provides and examines evidence for this proposition. At the very least this would seem to involve access to political information, and the acquisition of political skills (see Chapter 5).

2.8.1 Propaganda

Propaganda is a 'scare' word which shares the condemnatory overtones of 'indoctrination'. One possible reason for this is suggested by Lambert (61), who traces the development of the word from the Reformation, where it had strong religious associations, to the present century, when the word was 'revived.' He says that propaganda has become associated with periods of stress and turmoil, in which violent controversy accompanies the use of force. However, propaganda implies

persuasion rather than force and usually assumes the guise of reasoning.

It is arguable whether schools can 'protect' pupils from the propagandist, or help pupils to recognise propaganda. The topic of propaganda and the role of schools and other agencies both in providing information and aiding critical evaluation of it is more fully discussed in Chapter five.

References

- (1) Easton and Dennis (1966) p.216.
- (2) Allman, J. and Anderson, W. (1974) p.1.
- (3) Huxley, Sir Julian (1962) p.3.
- (4) Kirpal, P.N. Historical Studies and the Foundations of Lifelong Education in Dave R.H. (1976) p.110.
- (5) Vinokur, A. Lifelong Education in Dave op.cit. p.287.
- (6) Muldoon, Hon. R.D. at National Party Conference (1976) quoted in The Dominion, N.Z.P.A. 26 June, 1976, p.3.
- (7) Stenhouse, David (1976) p.3.
- (8) Dreeben, Robert (1968) Chapters 4-7.
- (9) King, Ronald (1969) p.49.
- (10) Silberman, M.L. (1971) p.1.
- (11) 'Value statements' implies that the statement asserts or defends a particular 'moral' principle or preference.
- (12) These four 'channels' adapted from Chanan, G. and Gilchrist, L. (1974) p.50.
- (13) Lieberman, Myron (1961) Equality of Educational Opportunity (pp.127-143) in Smith, B. and Ennis, R. (1961) p.136.
- (14) For instance see P.P.T.A. Journals, June, September, 1975.
- (15) mufti On officially designated days (sometimes as a fund-raising venture) pupils are allowed and encouraged - for the payment of a small amount - to wear 'civilian' clothing.
- (16) McLaren, Ian (1975) p.46.
- (17) Ottaway, A.K.C. (1962) p.122.
- (18) Oliver, W.H. (1964) p.20.
- (19) Pearson, Bill (1952) p.6.
- (20) Lipson, Leslie (1948) p.492.
- (21) Stenhouse, David (1972) p.16.
- (22) Heater, Derek B. (1974) p.69.
- (23) *ibid.*

- (24) Reynolds, Quentin (1960) p.100.
- (25) Lipson, Leslie A Universal Equality (pp.174-180) in Stone, Desmond (1959) p.174.
- (26) Phillips, Jock (1976) p.10.
- (27) *ibid.*
- (28) Tawney, R.H. (1931) p.142.
- (29) Phillips, *op.cit.* p.10.
- (30) Elvin, L. (1977) p.122.
- (31) Connell, R.W. (1971) p.239.
- (32) Oliver (1963) p.22.
- (33) Openshaw, Roger (1977) pp.1-4.
- (34) Davies, Ioan (1970) p.7.
- (35) Brzezinski, Z. and Huntington, S. (1964) p.7.
- (36) Oliver, W.H. (1972) in N.Z.E.I. Year Book No. 2, p.16.
- (37) Heater, Derek B. (1974) p.79.
- (38) *op.cit.* p.65
- (39) Czartoryski, Andrew (1975) p.22.
- (40) Heater, Derek B. (1974) p.74.
- (41) Abrams, Philip and Little, Alan (1965) pp.
- (42) *op.cit.* p.95.
- (43) Lane, R.E. (1959) p.212.
- (44) Currell, Melville (1974) p.139.
- (45) *op.cit.* p.163.
- (46) Mueller, K.H. (1954) p.171.
- (47) Currell, M. *op.cit.* p.141.
- (48) quoted in Graham, Alma (1974) p.63.
- (49) Mitchell, Juliet (1971) p.61.
- (50) Report of Select Committee on Women's Rights (1975) p.72.
- (51) Chabaud, J. (1970) p.5.
- (52) Hess, R.D. and Torney, J.V. (1967)
- (53) Easton, D. and Dennis, Jack (1967) (Their study covered 12,000 children, aged seven to thirteen).
- (54) Kozol, D. (1975) p.35.
- (55) Connell, R.W. (1971) p.239.
- (56) *op.cit.* p.237.
- (57) Lorenz, Konrad (1974) p.77.
- (58) *op.cit.* p.67.
- (59) Snook, I.A. (1972) p.152.
- (60) *op.cit.* p.154.
- (61) Lambert, R.S. (1938) Chapter 1.

CHAPTER 3RECRUITMENT TO, AND MAINTENANCE OF THE DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM

"Political education in New Zealand involves using the education system as a recruitment agency and as a means of maintaining the democratic system."

This is the proposition under discussion and examination in Chapter three.

3.1 Preparation of the workforce

Is it a primary function of schools, and other educational institutions, to equip people to do jobs - or to see education in terms of its ability to provide a workforce? Such a view of schools is sometimes termed 'accountability' - education is seen as an investment in manpower. The word seems to be used with increasing frequency in political statements and discussions on education. For where there is expenditure of public funds - and education is a considerable industry (it costs a great deal, the labour force involved is large, and the reactions on the rest of the economy are very considerable (1)) - the plea for 'accountability' is to be expected. The educational system, then, comes to occupy a strategic place as a central determinant of the structure and quality of the workforce. It might be seen as closely enmeshed with political, social and economic needs.

3.1.1 Manpower requirements

If schools function as preparation grounds of personnel for the future labour force, then how are the requirements of the latter determined? Are the demands of industry and labour finding their way back to particular distributions and re-distributions of pupils? If these factors are outside the control of teachers and other educators, and determined by requirements of the 'labour market', then how far does New Zealand differ from a planned economy such as the Soviet Union, where required numbers of doctors, engineers, farm workers and so on,

are 'produced' to meet the needs of the state? Perhaps the difference is chiefly in terms of efficiency and preciseness.

3.1.2 'Screening' and 'Stratifying'

The granting and withholding of certificates and qualifications could be said to stratify the populations of educational institutions in ways which appear to satisfy the perceived needs of employers. "Situations Vacant" columns in newspapers illustrate the tendency for industrial and professional recruiting to specify entrance requirements in terms of School Certificate, University Entrance, degrees, diplomas and so on. Is the school then functioning as a screening and stratifying mechanisation, where both the kind and quality of 'employable skills' are tested and recorded? This 'instrumental' or 'utilitarian' assessment of schools is expressed by De Fleur, who considers that the school is a rationally organised bureaucracy:

".....a social machine designed to "process" batches of human beings who are fed into the system at the bottom, and who are expected to emerge some years later with useful and socially approved modifications in their knowledge, skills, attitudes and general orientations....."

(2)

Certification requirements might have little to do with the actual performance of workers on the job, once they are hired, but perhaps employers think that a School Certificate holder (as opposed to, say, an applicant who left school as a fourth-former) will be more likely to be punctual, to be a regular worker, to submit to orders, and will not cause trouble.

Whether schools and other educational institutions function well as selectors and promoters of 'talent' is a moot point. Their role in preparing and dividing people into different labour markets might be seen as essential. Schools may be 'imperfect' assessors, but they may also reveal and develop abilities which are needed for society's development. As the Currie Report states:

".....we must make the best use of the abilities of the whole population and one of the keys to this lies with education. Equality and expediency appear, therefore, to point to the same direction....."

(3)

Ivar Berg (4), however, argues that there is little evidence that employers need to raise educational standards in the interests of efficiency and that the use of educational qualifications as a screening device might be seen as confining large numbers of people to low-skill, no-opportunity jobs. His views are reiterated by Davies, who writes:

".....'Good jobs' are not there for all. The system like a cruel sponge, soaks up excess qualifications. The school in this sense, is a channelling colony, but so is anything, potentially, that precedes job entry."

(5)

Are schools then 'politicised' in the service of existing power relations in society? Are they preserving social and economic distinctions by aiding and emphasising the selection of 'exceptional individuals' for 'elite' positions?

The problem of incompatibility between the ideal of equality of educational opportunity, and the reality of a differentiated occupational structure, which involves hierarchy and competition, and differentiated rewards, is a perplexing one. Should schools take an active role in encouraging 'social mobility' or should they promote 'positive' attitudes towards the prevailing (unequal) system, and reinforce existing social stratification? Perhaps the latter course might be seen as preferable to that of fostering expectations which cannot be fulfilled;

"A major problem of democratic society is the inconsistency between encouragement to achieve and the realities of limited

opportunity. Democracy asks individuals to act as if social mobility were universally possible; status is to be won by individual effort, and rewards are to accrue to those who try. But democratic societies also need selective training institutions, and hierarchical work organisations permit increasingly fewer persons to succeed at ascending levels. Situations of opportunity are also situations of denial and failure. Thus democratic societies need not only to motivate achievement, but also to mollify those denied it, in order to sustain motivation in the face of disappointment and to deflect resentment. In the modern mass democracy, with its large scale organisation, elaborated ideologies of equal access and participation, and minimal commitment to social origin as the basis for status, the task becomes critical."

(6)

3.2 The recruitment of political leaders

If a society is to remain autonomous, then its political leaders probably need to be selected from within it. It should then be capable of producing competent leaders. A 'political' function of the New Zealand education system then, might be the selection, recruitment and training of political leaders.

The Currie Report considers that the:

".....present needs of New Zealand society, the need for intelligent leadership, for a really well-informed democracy, for a larger infusion of knowledgeable and thoughtful citizens, call for a wider diffusion of trained ability and skill than we have ever had to call on before. All these needs are in the main intellectual needs; only

education and schools can satisfy them."

(7)

How is this "intelligent leadership" to be recruited? Are leaders produced 'accidentally' or 'deliberately'? Perhaps leadership is something which can be entrusted only to a few - to a political 'elite'?

3.2.1 Elitism

Although democracy and elitism may be regarded as distinct and conflicting, some have argued that major elitist principles can be incorporated into democratic theory. For instance, Bachrach writes:

"The exigencies of life in the industrial and nuclear age necessitate that key and crucial political decision in a democracy, as in totalitarian societies, be made by a handful of men."

(8)

and he adds:

".....the modern defence of elitism..... is based primarily on the contention that the best interest of a free people, of civilisation itself, depends upon the ability of the gifted to command the deference of the many for the well-being of all."

(9)

Is 'elitism' a feature of New Zealand political ideology, or would the notion that government functions can be carried out by any average citizen, and that politics requires no special skills or training, no expertise or ability be a more accurate reading of public attitudes? Inefficiency and ignorance are probably tolerated in politics in a way they would never be tolerated in business or other fields.

3.2.2 Developing a "political class"

Ovenden (10) refers to Britain's "political class" (11) - a

group which is highly educated, urbane, intellectually sophisticated and experienced. This "class" is by no means representative of the British Isles population (where only about ten percent of any one generation receive higher education). However, because of its educational level, and its mastery of the various political arts (such as debating, a knowledge of political history, awareness of the cultural context of politics, a passing familiarity with modern science and technology, and a grip on the problems of a modern economy) it is capable of debating serious issues in an appropriately serious way, and of communicating with the population at large on matters of public concern. It is Ovenden's contention that:

"by contrast, New Zealand has a political "class" that is poorly educated, parochial, intellectually inferior, and despite its generally greater age, inexperienced."

(12)

If Ovenden's assessment is accepted, and New Zealand "political class" is inadequate or unsatisfactory, then it might be asked whether schools share any culpability in failing to produce a competent "political class." Perhaps the time has come when New Zealand (or any country, for that matter) can ill-afford "poorly educated, parochial, intellectually inferior,.....inexperienced" politicians, and needs to require of its schools that they provide 'better' educated politicians. This task might even be seen as crucial in an era where politicians wield increasing powers.

3.3 Maintaining the democratic system - rights and duties

Voting in elections, and participating in democratic processes and decision making might be counted as both rights and duties of citizens in a democracy. The ways people view these rights and duties - whether they are encouraged to exercise or perform them - could be seen as learned. This section examines some of the possible 'learnings' or attitudes New Zealanders may hold towards voting, and towards participatory democracy.

3.3.1 Voting

Family, peers, school, mass media and political party advertising probably all contribute to people's views and information about voting and elections. Free elections are generally taken to be a central determinant of whether a democratic system, in the western sense, operates, and they can be seen as a consistent answer to the problem of legitimate power. And what might it mean to say that elections are 'free'? In Plamenatz's view:

"If elections are to be free, voters must not be bribed or intimidated, and they must be able to choose between candidates nominated by independent nominators or between policies sponsored by independent sponsors."

(13)

The criteria for free elections then, would seem to include competition for votes (choice of both personnel and programmes), regular opportunities for voting, access to information, and electorate knowledge of voting procedures. One of the implications of providing for competition and choice is the existence of a tolerated opposition.

How does actual 'voting behaviour' reflect people's 'learnings' about elections? A 'hypothetical sample' is suggested below.

- Constituent 'A' votes on the basis of 'family commitment (to a person or party)
- 'B' votes according to party affiliation
- 'C' votes for a charismatic candidate irrespective of issues
- 'D' votes on the basis of a single issue about which he/she has strong convictions
- 'E' invalidates his/her ballot paper
- 'F' does not vote
- 'G' votes after careful consideration of what he/she understands as 'the important issues'
- 'H' is disqualified from voting because he/she is not registered on the electoral roll.

Each constituent has received some 'political education' relevant to

his/her use or misuse of the vote. The divergence in their 'voting behaviours' might serve to illustrate what Lindsay terms "the paradox of democratic government" (14) - that votes are not of equal value, but that they are to be treated as such.

And it does seem to be important for citizens in a democracy to make 'considered' and careful use of their votes. Abuse of voting privileges by, say, unreflective voting, or by not voting at all can be seen as anti-democratic. For, as Plamenatz says:

"If all voters decided how to vote by tossing a coin, then no matter how free elections were, there would be no democracy."

(15)

3.3.2 Participation

According to some interpretations, 'participation' in democracy is a 'good thing' - something to be admired and encouraged:

"The essence of democratisation in our times is the measure of participation of man in all his activities, and the broadening of his scope and horizons in all the directions of his own choice."

(16)

But according to other interpretations, democracy should be representative rather than participatory:

"Ancient democracy was direct democracy, a participatory mode of government for those recognised as citizens. Modern democracies are necessarily representative democracies at best."

(17)

Entwistle sees the "current clamour for participation" as a "vote of little confidence in the traditional conception of the democratic citizen fulfilling his proper role merely as a voter." (18).

Disagreement over the value and role of participation seems to

underlie much controversy in schools, workplaces, communities, and so on. Some possible interpretations of 'participation' are considered below.

- (a) Participation is to do with decision-making. The asking of questions, and willingness and ability to take responsibility for decisions are fundamental to this view. Questions to be asked include: What decisions are being taken? Who takes them? Who is affected by them? Are people involved in the different stages of the process of decision? How deeply and how genuinely are they involved? What decisions are taken without the people who are directly affected by them? Why are they excluded? Are the reasons good reasons? Who says so?

Pateman (19) argues that if we want a society where people are able to control their own lives, we want a society which educates people at all levels, to take responsibility for the decisions which affect them - and we want this participation to be genuine.

- (b) Pateman's plea for "genuine" participation relates to the problem of what might be seen as 'pseudo-participation', or participation without power. Rowan is among those who sees much so-called 'participation' as a sham, and writes: "I participate, thou participateth, he participates, she participates, we participate, you participate, they decide. This revolutionary slogan seems to sum up a great deal of the actual research which has been done on participation in organisations....."

(20)

It seems that the concept of participatory democracy presupposes that adult citizens have developed the ability to think out where they stand in relation to the opinions of others. Rae considers that if people: ". . . . are incapable of making up their own

minds on national and local issues, then the democracy is a sham. What appears to be the participation of men and women in the democratic process becomes merely the cynical manipulations by others of uncritical minds."

(21)

- (c) Participation in itself is 'politically educative.' In this interpretation, political wisdom and mastery of the techniques of government are acquired through the practice of politics - perhaps by membership in voluntary organisations. Entwistle writes:
- "Belief in the educative value of participation in the management of political institutions is to be observed throughout the history of democracy. Students of Greek democracy have emphasised that to be a member of the Athenian state was itself a political education.....(and) historians of democracy in Britain have stressed the importance of membership of the early Methodist Church in training laymen for the responsible government of their religious societies and of contemporary non-religious associations.....In turn, Trade Unions, Friendly Societies and Consumers' Co-operatives made their contribution towards the political education of working men."

(22)

- (d) Participation may be burdensome. Lipson points to the problem of overworking of the electorate and says, of Switzerland that ".....in the majority of cantons, people are expected to go to the polls too often. As a result, they tend to become bored with the system." (23) Voting is, of course, only one facet of democratic participation, but Dunn also considers that increased participation may be cumbersome:

"Widening the opportunity to participate in public decisions has costs as well as gains.....Any new rush of political activity will probably use up substantial amounts of what is at present leisure, and is thus a consummation not likely to be wished very devoutly by any except those who already choose to devote their leisure to this pursuit."

- (e) Participation involves rights and responsibilities. Plamenatz (24) considers that democracy is a system of personal rights and responsibilities, not a machine for equalising the political influence of unequally informed or committed political consumers. He is severely critical of the idea that we have a duty to listen interminably to everyone talking whatever nonsense they wish about public matters, and asserts that many people's political opinions amply deserve their lack of influence over the opinions of others:

".....if every citizen could ensure that other citizens had to listen to his opinions, nobody would have time to think to good purpose about public issues for being overwhelmed by the views, often uninformed and ill-digested of his neighbours. Rights entail obligations. If everyone has the right to be heard, does it then follow that everyone is obliged to listen to anyone who chooses to speak?.....Rulers, even democratic rulers, need to be protected from their subjects, and citizens even in a democracy need to be able to shut their doors and their ears to one another."

(25)

Plamenatz's views provide a cogent argument against the view that participation or democratic control implies the subjection of expertise and commitment to ignorance and apathy.

- (f) Extensive participation is unnecessary in democratic societies. Dahl expresses this view when he states: ".....what we call democracy - that is a system of decision-making in which the leaders are more or less responsive to the preferences of non-leaders - does seem to operate with a relatively low level of citizen participation. Hence, it is inaccurate to say that one of the necessary conditions of democracy is extensive citizen participation."

(26)

It might be objected that Dahl's conclusion that "extensive citizen participation" is not one of the "necessary conditions of democracy" is unverifiable. For how has Dahl measured the level of citizen participation to arrive at a description of it as "low"? Possible 'means' of participation are diverse, and include clubs, organisations, committees, councils, voting, referenda, and so on. How wide does participation need to be before Dahl would call it "extensive"? For if 'participation' is stipulated widely enough to include the suggested 'means' above, then one might say not only that there is extensive participation in democracies, but perhaps that in the absence of these 'means', democracy would not "operate."

It seems very probable that different viewpoints on 'participation' will continue to underlie political (and other) controversy. For in a pluralistic democracy, differing emphases on the rights and obligations, or on the costs and benefits of participation, are to be expected. Although this diversity probably does not constitute a major political problem, in areas such as industrial relations, the need for, and benefits of 'genuine' participation may well have to be stressed and promoted.

References

- (1) Vaizey, John (1962) p.169.
- (2) De Fleur, M. (1971) p.162.
- (3) Currie Report (1962) p.12.

- (4) Berg, Ivar (1970) Chapter 9.
- (5) Davies, Brian (1976) p.86.
- (6) Clark, Burton R. The "cooling out" function in higher education. (in Halsey (1970) p.515).
- (7) Currie Report (1962) p.22.
- (8) Bachrach, Peter (1969) p.1.
- (9) op.cit. p.2.
- (10) Ovenden, Keith (1975) Prospect: On the Absence of Political Ideas in Goldstein, R. and Alley, Rod (1975).
- (11) political class This term is attributed by Ovenden to Ralf Dahrendorf in his Reith Lectures. The elaboration which follows is Ovenden's.
- (12) Ovenden, op.cit. p.194.
- (13) Plamenatz, John (1973) p.188.
- (14) Lindsay, A.D. (1930) p.45.
- (15) Plamenatz, John (1973) p.190.
- (16) Kirpal, P.N. (1976) in Dave, R.H. (1976) p.102.
- (17) Dunn, John (1973) p.252.
- (18) Entwistle, Harold (1971) p.26.
- (19) Pateman, Carole (1970)
- (20) Rowan, John (1975) p.168.
- (21) Rae, John (1973) p.380.
- (22) Entwistle, Harold (1971) pp.6-7.
- (23) Lipson, Leslie (1964) p.300.
- (24) Plamenatz, John (1973) Chapter 7.
- (25) op.cit. p.185.
- (26) Dahl, Robert A. quoted in Allman, J. and Anderson, W. (1974) p.199.

CHAPTER 4

CITIZENSHIP AND CIVIC EDUCATION

"Since Plato and Aristotle, training in citizenship has been regarded as one of the main tasks of education in general, and more particularly of schools."

(1)

"Citizenship.....refers to present and future capacity for influencing politics. It implies active involvement in political life....."

(2)

Implicit in the concept of citizenship and civics education is the assumption that social, political and civic learnings are acquired deliberately through instruction in the school or in other educational institutions. The absence of an 'official' civics or citizenship curriculum for New Zealand schools does not necessarily indicate that no civics or citizenship education takes place.

This chapter posits some possible interpretations of civics and citizenship education in New Zealand.

4.1 Education for solving 'civic' problems

"What is it that can ease racial tensions, revitalise communities, transform our leisure hours, redefine woman's role in society and prepare the elderly for a happier retirement? The correct contemporary answer is not God or Socialism, but education....."

(3)

Belief in the 'power' of education to solve social, national and international problems seems to be growing. Schools, and educational institutions are seen as means of 'improving' society and preventing problems. The apparent accelerated public interest in 'citizenship' education (sometimes intended to include 'moral' education) might stem from concern with such social problems as civil violence or pollution, or social phenomena like alcoholism, drug taking or delinquency. Tension, and shifting boundaries, between the private values of the individual, and the shared values of wider society, seem to have been highlighted by the 'breakdown' of some traditional authority structures (e.g. see decrease in religious affiliation 4.3).

It could also be argued that democratic societies must be concerned with the quality of men and women as citizens, for without 'good' citizens, the state itself cannot be 'good.' However, although education, through the fostering of 'rational' conduct, may very well be relevant to these social problems, it seems that some seek an influence much more particular and powerful. Their attitude might be seen to parallel that of Frazier's in Walden Two:

"In another generation we shall do better; our educational system will see to that."

(4)

Campaigners seeking to 'use' the formal education system to advance a particular programme often point to the alleged 'social' repercussions of their programmes. If it is erroneous to take the attitude expressed in the slogan "Education makes no difference" it might be similarly questionable to see the school as the "correct contemporary answer" to social problems.

The argument form involved might be expressed thus. "People 'learn' to dislike other racial groups, to pollute the environment, to become dependent on alcohol - therefore, efforts can be made to 'teach' people 'better' attitudes to race, environmental pollution and drug dependency."

Perhaps the major 'flaw' here is involved in the learning/teaching distinction. (5). Sources of 'learning' outside formal educational institutions might be seen as 'greater' in both number and influence than those within. For 'teaching' may, or may not result in 'learning'. As influential as schools may be, it is dubious whether they are a panacea for the social ills and evils of modern society.

One of the areas where there seems to be an upsurge in the use of education, to advance particular views, is in the area of 'internationalism.'

4.1.1 Internationalism

"The only cure for the evils of nationalism is internationalism."

(6)

"The basis of internationalism should be inculcated in the minds of state school children."

(7)

The stress on "internationalism" expressed above (in 1915 and 1921) might be seen as re-emerging, sometimes expressed in phrases such as 'the global village' and 'spaceship earth.' Here it is 'citizenship of the world' which is seen as an educational aim;

"the problems of fertility, hunger, health, environmental control, employment and international harmony are so grave as to demand rapid solution on pain of world catastrophe.....Citizens hear but do not listen, continuing to act as though time to find solutions is inexhaustible."

(8)

One basic presupposition of education for internationalism or "international harmony" seems to be a realisation of the interconnectedness of nations. Perhaps, too, awareness of New Zealand's

dependence on overseas political, trading and other activities has been augmented in recent years, especially since the 'oil crisis'. As well, insular and ethnocentric attitudes have increasingly come under attack;

"Too often the approach to other ways of life has tended to emphasise attitudes whereby other peoples and cultures are looked upon as idiotic, stupid, peculiar, quaint or inferior. For instance, New Zealanders, reared in a culture stressing Christianity, monogamy and capitalism, tend to regard Mohammedanism, polygamy and communism as pernicious, immoral and evil. Ours is not necessarily the 'best', 'right', or least primitive culture.....Children must be made aware of their own natural ethnocentrism, the tendency to judge other cultures and peoples from their own viewpoint."

(9)

Whether 'education for internationalism' or attempts to break down ethnocentrism are realistic or attainable goals is questioned by Morrison and McIntyre, who consider courses with the objective of fostering 'international understanding' constitute a weakness in current educational practice:

"Pupils are exposed, through relatively short courses of glossed impressions to other countries and peoples, with the intention of reducing negative prejudices, yet these brief attacks on the affective elements of attitudes are aimed precisely at those points in the pupils' attitude systems that have existed longest, and are least susceptible to direct modification. Furthermore, if they are superficially influential it is only to have produced in many pupils a negative acquiescence: new prejudices are exchanged for old."

(10)

4.2 The use of education to 'produce' good citizens

"The school is an instrument of society. Its aims must always be those that society requires it to achieve. Our society requires its schools to produce responsible and competent citizens who will support its values."

(11)

How are "responsible and competent citizens" to be produced? What are some of the qualities or criteria of good citizens? How might such citizens be 'produced'? What, if any, are social or political mechanisms involved? Is education for citizenship a continuing process? Should schools be used for citizenship training?

Some attempts to deal with a few of the many questions which may be asked about 'citizenship' education follow.

4.3 Teaching the 'Christian heritage'

The subject of religious instruction has already been raised (2.2.4). The question to be raised here is whether religious instruction is an appropriate vehicle of 'citizenship' education. Results of the 1976 census, released in November 1977 supply this information:

"Continuing the trend experienced during the previous intercensal period, the proportion of persons recording 'object to state', 'not specified', or 'no religion' rose from 14.3 percent in 1971 to 18.5 percent in 1976. Reflecting this trend were corresponding declines within the four major churches. Their percentages (with 1971 equivalents in brackets) were; Anglican 29.2 (31.3), Presbyterian 18.1 (20.4), Roman Catholic 15.3 (15.7) and Methodist 5.5 (6.4)....."

(12)

It seems doubtful then, whether state schools in a multi-belief and increasingly non-religious society, can rely on religious education, to provide 'citizenship' education. Furthermore, 'official' religious instruction has already been 'ruled out' by the Currie Commission, who gave the following four considerations for their opposition:

- (1) that community opinion about it is not unanimous
- (2) that religious instruction is difficult to organise
- (3) that classroom teaching of religion is believed to be ineffective
- (4) that in any case, secular education already transmitted Christian ethical values.

(13)

It is not intended to comment on the 'soundness' or otherwise of the four considerations, but to note that remarks in the next section (4.4) relating to 'desirable qualities' might also apply to "Christian ethical values."

4.4 Education to produce 'desirable qualities'

Can 'citizenship' be defined in terms of broad human qualities which are assumed to be 'desirable' and acceptable to society? This seems to be a plausible interpretation of the framing of some stated Social Studies aims:

"The purpose of education through social studies is to help each child to think more clearly about social problems, to act more responsibly and intelligently in social situations, and to develop an interest in people and their problems in the local community and throughout the world: to do this they must develop an attitude of loyalty to truth above all, and a determination to behave with kindness and generosity, in spite of all. The purpose is to make a good person, a wise person, a just, and a well informed one."

(14)

"Social studies, by its approach and its content, aims to commit pupils and teachers to respect human dignity, to show concern for others, to respect and accept the idea of difference, and to uphold social justice."

(15)

Perhaps the main difficulties in seeing 'citizenship' in terms of 'desirable' attitudes, attributes and qualities are:

- (a) attributes are often stated in idealistic or persuasive language which is 'removed' from social realities
- (b) different groups emphasise and advocate different and often conflicting attributes
- (c) these attributes are often expressed in such vague and ambiguous terms that it is virtually impossible to determine whether they can be exemplified in day-to-day behaviour,

4.5 Education for 'compliance'

Could 'citizenship' education in schools be interpreted as 'education for compliance'? If social studies is one of the 'deliberate' channels of 'citizenship' training (and it might be argued that emphasis on the creation of 'good citizens' rather than on the content and discipline of the subject, has been a feature of social studies teaching) then Oliver's observations on the links the subject aims have with conformity and compliance may be pertinent;

"Certain phrases in the 1961 syllabus suggest an overdue weight upon social conformity and even timidity. It pays little respect to the need, as some would see it, to foster an individuality which is a-, extra-, non-, or even anti-social. The phrase "our society requires....." is used at one point; this means no more than that some anonymous commission thinks that our society requires. Another phrase fills one with

misgiving; society needs people "who will support its values." Why not people who will challenge them? A stable society is one whose structures include opportunities and channels of challenge and dissent. Should not the schools be among them?"

(16)

4.6 A 'mechanical' view of citizenship

It might be argued that it is 'economical' and 'efficient' for a society to favour 'mechanical' citizenship, on the grounds that the necessity of environmental constraints is lessened if society can rely on the habituated responses of citizens. Authority could then be seen as more 'stable' when obeyed automatically, than when sanctions must be employed, or threatened:

"It's simply a matter of behavioural engineering," said Frazier.

"Behavioural engineering?"

"You're baiting me, Burns. You know perfectly well what I mean. The techniques have been available for centuries. We use them in education and in the psychological management of the community.....you have to set up certain behavioural processes which will lead the individual to design his own 'good' conduct when the time comes. We call that sort of thing 'self-control'. But don't be misled; the control always rests in the last analysis in the hands of society."

(17)

4.7 Education for membership of a community

Is it appropriate for citizens in a democracy to develop ties

with their community, or should the stress be on 'individuals' rather than on 'community'? Of course the choice is not strictly an either/or choice, but it is possible to argue for the 'dominance' of the community. In fact, Cohen (18) argues that the most basic presupposition of democracy, is the existence of a community within which it may be operative. Rickman advances a similar theme when he writes:

"Men do not live alone or confined to their family circle but in society, and society involves the organisation of power which we call the State. Everyone will be affected by, or participate in, the struggle for ascendancy of groups and individuals. He depends on society for security and certain services, and, society in turn, will subject him to rules and exact obligations from him."

(19)

The problems of developing communities, and of aiding feelings of obligations and rule-following behaviour, are perhaps aggravated in New Zealand by the high level of 'residential mobility.' For there is considerable movement of families around the country, and much drift from smaller centres and rural areas, into larger cities, and these may result in loss of a sense of community. As well, the anonymity of city life, may diminish feelings of responsibility or accountability to others.

4.8 'Public education' campaigns as 'citizenship education'

Perhaps the various 'public education' campaigns conducted in New Zealand represent a form of mass 'political' or 'citizenship' education. Such campaigns are usually in the field of health and the physical environment, although they may relate to 'economic' matters such as paying taxes and licensing televisions. Recent examples include the Speak Up, Call the Police campaign against crime (sponsored by a service organisation), conservation and anti-litter advertising, and publicity about the need to vaccinate young children and about the hazards of household poisons.

The rationale might be seen as one of 'improving' society - in terms of health, road safety, comfort and so on. The alleged effectiveness of commercial advertising to sell particular products seems also to be seen as 'transferable' to the field of attitudes and responsibilities of citizens.

Generally, there is no blocking of access to the media because subject matter in the campaigns could be considered 'safe.' However, that certain kinds of 'political' advertising (20) are disallowed on radio and television illustrates awareness of boundaries between 'political' and 'apolitical' public education.

4.9 'Citizenship' as a school subject

Should New Zealand introduce a curriculum subject entitled 'citizenship'? Opinion might be described as quite divided:

".....a democracy will wither unless a good many of its citizens are responsible people; by which I mean people who are willing to take part in its affairs, and capable of doing so effectively; and people who are mentally and emotionally honest. And I think the time to begin developing the attitudes and the skills citizens of a democracy need, is while those citizens are at school."

(21)

"I believe 'education for citizenship' is likely to be a dangerous thing, dangerous in proportion to the rigidity with which the term 'good citizen' is defined."

(22)

The above statements might serve to reflect the range of viewpoints on the desirability of 'using' schools for this purpose.

An underlying obstacle is provided by the ambiguity of the term 'citizenship', which has both descriptive and normative associations. Sometimes people seem to be referring to the process through which one 'internalises' the sociopolitical beliefs and values of the 'system.' On other occasions, the reference appears to mean idealised behaviour on the part of each member of a 'civilised society.' Thus 'citizenship' could mean either a process or a 'desirable' attribute.

The assumption that 'good citizenship' is the product of rational and systematic instructional programmes, is being increasingly brought into question. For this reason alone, it is difficult to envisage the introduction of 'citizenship' into the New Zealand school curriculum.

References

- (1) Kazamias, A. and Epstein, E.H. (1968) p.73.
- (2) Thompson, Dennis F. (1970) p.2.
- (3) Irwin, Michael (1973) p.644.
- (4) Skinner, B.F. (1948) p.61.
- (5) Scheffler, Israel (1960) See Chapter 2 for discussion of 'teaching' and 'learning.'
- (6) Fraser, Peter (in 1915) - cited in Heath, R.W. (1968) p.27.
- (7) Remit approved at 1921 Annual Conference of N.Z. Labour Party - cited in Heath op.cit. ibid.
- (8) Cohen, Carl (1971) p.165.
- (9) Bassett, I.G. (1972) in N.Z.E.I. Yearbook No. 2 (1972) p.23.
- (10) Morrison, A. and McIntyre, D. (1971) pp.171-172.
- (11) N.Z. Department of Education Suggestions for Teaching Social Studies (1961) p.7.
- (12) N.Z. Department of Statistics. Information Service bulletin 77/225 (November 1977) p.2.
- (13) Currie Report (1962) p.685.
- (14) N.Z. Department of Education (1961) op.cit. p.15.
- (15) Curriculum Development Unit (1975) Social Studies Forms 1 to 4, p.2.
- (16) Oliver, W.H. (1972) in N.Z.E.I. Yearbook No. 2 (1972) p.15.
- (17) Skinner, B.F. (1948) pp.103-105.
- (18) Cohen, Carl (1971) p.41.

- (19) Rickman, H.P. (1964) p.151.
- (20) An example here is the banning of television advertisements prepared by an ecology group, which opposed nuclear power (on environmental groups). The 'political' nature of these advertisements was given as the reason for the ban.
- (21) Meikle, Phoebe (1960) p.12.
- (22) Dalziel, Margaret (1962) p.52.

CHAPTER 5

POLITICAL ATTITUDES, KNOWLEDGE AND SKILLS

Talk of political attitudes, knowledge and skills, and their acquisition in a 'democratic' society seems to require the asking of some prior questions. These may include the following:

- (1) What, or who, are some of the 'agencies' or 'mediators' in the transmission of attitudes, knowledge and skills?
- (2) What are some of the affective and attitudinal bases of political 'learning'?
- (3) What is the nature of political 'facts', and how is political knowledge acquired?
- (4) How are political skills taught and learned, and what political skills are appropriate, or necessary, in a democracy?

This chapter will examine each of these questions and offer some interpretations. It asks about the sorts of 'learnings', attitudes, opinions, dispositions, habits, concepts, theories, information, appreciations, understandings and skills which might be involved in 'political education' in New Zealand.

5.1 Agencies and mediators of 'political' attitudes, knowledge and skills

Among the informal and non-formal educational agencies and groups which might provide 'political' education are libraries, museums, news media, Sunday schools, Scouting and Guiding organisations, trade unions, families, peers and community organisations. All of these groups bring people into contact with political and social issues, with discussion and argument.

".....the aims and needs of a society are seldom explicitly stated; instead they are interpreted and expounded by sectional groups, more or less well informed, by experts, by enthusiasts, by interested parties, by all the myriad voices of a democratic society. Debate on these matters, is indeed, a sign of health in a democratic community. At the same time, it is sometimes difficult for those responsible for decisions to determine what the general will of society really is."

Currie Report (1)

Are these various agencies 'political educators'? One could stipulate a meaning for 'political education' wide enough to embrace these agencies, and although it might be objected that this may be misleading, to ignore the 'political' aspects of such agencies would probably be unrealistic.

5.1.1 The news media

Communication is essential in society; man cannot exist as a social entity without it. Communication processes can therefore be expected to have a great effect on societies, including their political systems. Media (including television, sound broadcasting, the press, films, exhibitions, books, magazines, comics, pamphlets and advertisements) are so deeply embedded in political systems that it is difficult to envisage political activity in its contemporary forms carrying on at all, without them.

The news media, then presents a 'special case' in 'political education', and many researchers have found that they seem to have a powerful effect on political attitudes and information. For instance Connell reports (of Australian research) that:

".....by far the most important influence for children studied here, is news reporting on television.....the selection of contemporary political history.....the actual personages and happenings of the day."

(2)

Speaking of mass communications, and their significance for the working of a contemporary society, Partridge asserts that:

"The political scientist cannot be indifferent to their effects because of the manner in which they now influence the conduct of politics, the contribution they may make to the fuller democratising of modern politics. They affect in one way or another popular interests, beliefs, attitudes, values and aspirations. They affect the distribution of power or influence throughout society; they affect also the conditions under which education is carried on within the more formal education system; and they attract the attention of the social psychologist because of the psychological processes that are appealed to, or brought into play by the machinery of publicity and propaganda."

(3)

If mass communication influences "the conduct of politics" as well as "popular interests, beliefs, attitudes, values and aspirations" what 'safeguards' might be expected (of the mass media) in order to protect citizens from the dangers of indoctrination and propaganda? (see 2.8). Two suggestions follow:

- (a) A 'free' press and broadcasting service where the exchange of information and opinion is both valued and encouraged, and where there is evidence of investigative journalism.

Robson suggests some impediments to the existence of a 'free press' when he writes:

"Newspapers rely for their political news more and more on official handouts, background stories, official news conferences, and semi-official briefing about impending or current events. In short, the media of

mass communication rely increasingly on the official information officers, for the political news they present to the public. The information will be treated selectively according to editorial policy and readers' taste.....but basic material is derived from the government's information service, and for this reason nearly all political news has become common property."

(4)

- (b) A 'political' or 'voter protection' agency (c.f. consumer protection) to combat the danger of the biasing of public opinion through the presentation of a partial or incomplete picture of 'political' matters. It might also endeavour to distinguish between genuine and bogus claims of party political propaganda by 'objective' tests.

For the 'power' of the media includes the 'hidden' power which Rowan says is "akin to that wielded by the person at a meeting who is in charge of the blackboard or the minutes; whatever goes up for all the meeting to see, or goes out to members as a record of the meeting, acquires a level of reality which is never achieved by the material which does not go up there. Stalin, in his days as party secretary, made full use of this kind of power." (5).

5.1.2 Mass opinion

"Public opinion is inert: it reacts to new influences only after a protracted hush; moreover it loves gross simplifications, mostly exaggerations of the facts."

(6)

"the results of adult surveys.....are disquieting.....(and) indicate that the mass public is operating at lower levels

of information, 'rationality' and efficiency than even the disillusioned observer might suspect."

(7)

It is not an easy task to assess just how well informed or 'educated' mass opinion is. Cohen suggests that:

"Figures regarding literacy rates, school and university attendance, library book circulation and the like, are helpful indexes, but not conclusive....."

(8)

What might the 'politically educative' role of mass opinion be? Does a democratic society have any 'duty' to inform the general public, and if so, how might this be done? For some citizens - perhaps the 'ignorant' or the 'poor' might not be well placed to either receive or distribute information and might remain relatively 'unenlightened' and 'uninformed.' And if the "mass public" in a democracy is operating at low "levels of information, 'rationality' and efficiency" they might be described as 'politically ill-educated' or 'politically mis-educated.' As Cohen warns:

".....the split between the educated and ignorant has direct, adverse effects upon democracy. Knowledge is power; great disparity in intellectual development gives inordinate power to the educated few, increasing the likelihood that the masses will be used to the advantage of others. Campaigns by the intellectual elite to "educate" masses, frequently become covert attempts to indoctrinate them, sometimes, but not always, with good intentions. This growing imbalance between the intellectual attainments of the many and of the few, renders it increasingly more difficult for the masses to play the proportionate role in government that democracy requires of them."

(9)

5.2 Affective and attitudinal bases of political 'learning'

"I often think it's comical
 How Nature always does contrive
 That every boy and every gal
 That's born into the world alive,
 Is either a little Liberal
 Or else a little Conservative."

(10)

".....most of us 'inherit' our politics
 much as we 'inherit' our religion; in our
 earliest formative years we learn about
 political and religious matters from our
 parents and we learn that 'our kind of
 people' are X's rather than Y's or Z's."

(11)

"Long before the child knows anything about
 politics as such, he will receive guidelines
 for the development of attitudes about such
 fundamental questions as 'poverty and
 wealth', 'foreigners', 'the working man',
 and 'the boss.' And these will clearly form
 the foundation of developing political
 beliefs later on."

(12)

People seem to learn about politics through political experiences which are not intended as 'lessons' in politics, but which can exert considerable influence, and may be highly persistent. 'Family influence' could be seen as a most pervasive 'pull' because it operates intensively and continuously over a long period of time. It is not suggested that these influences define people's political attitudes for 'all time', but rather that they give them predispositions to certain political stances. Connell considers that:

"most of the political attitudes our
 children do acquire from adults are light

and tentative commitments, adopted on the 'best available authority' principle, which do not scar consciousness for life, which can in fact readily be changed at a later date."

(13)

However, the early political attitudes, values, feelings, motivations and attachments which people learn could be said to affect their tendency to support or reject the system as a whole, to shape their determination to engage in political activities like voting, and to influence their party allegiance. In this way adults might be seen as 'moulded' by their childhood experiences - possibly without realising it. Later, family, friends, co-workers and others may help to 'shape' voting and political behaviour. For people are perhaps more susceptible to the expressed opinions of 'trusted' people.

As well there are societal 'myths' which can provide political orientations and which may be selectively reinforced by mass opinion and by 'social experience.' 'Myths' about society represent deep-seated attitudes, and while they contain elements of truth, they are often misleadingly oversimplified. Harris documents three 'myths' of New Zealand society, labelling them The Farmer is the only Producer of Wealth in Society, The Self-Made Man and The Foreign-Agitator.

In his view:

"At any given time, the sum total of myths in a modern society adds up to a defence of it as it is. They are as real a part of the apparatus of social control as a secret police force. And it does not matter whether their perpetuators uphold them in good faith, as ideology, or use them consciously to manipulate. The effect is the same, for ideas control minds and people interpret and act on reality through their ideas....."

(14)

5.3 Political 'facts', political 'information' and political 'knowledge'

One of Elcock's "characteristics which good citizens in a liberal democratic polity should possess" involves knowledge about politics as well as the recognition that this knowledge is of some importance to one. (see 1.6).

The questions as to what might constitute 'political knowledge', what are some of its sources, and how it is acquired by citizens are examined in this section.

5.3.1 Groups dealing in 'political facts' or 'political information'

A number of groups in Great Britain exist specifically to disseminate information about politics and government. These include:

- NALGO (The National and Local government officers' association) which co-ordinates the supply of 'authoritative' information - particularly on local affairs - and actively pursues and encourages the teaching of civics in schools,
- HANSARD Society, which was formed to encourage the reading of Hansard, and to encourage interest in the activities of Parliament,
- CEWC (the Council for Education in World Citizenship), which works closely with UNESCO, and whose objectives are in the realm of international 'political' education.

(15)

These groups do not seem to have any exact parallels in New Zealand. Some 'political information' - usually of a tendentious nature - is provided by political parties, and other kinds of 'political information' can be gained from the mass media as well as from the agencies mentioned in 5.2 above, but the 'supply' of information seems to be haphazard. There do not appear to be any organised means of dispersing 'objective' political information or facts - other than perhaps, the provision of school 'bulletins' on, say, the workings of Parliament.

This is not to deny that some groups and agencies seek to advance and diffuse particular 'political' views. For example, a School Banking pamphlet for primary schools (16) includes stories about the virtues of "saving" and concludes each story with messages which might be termed 'political' - although not necessarily 'party-political.'

One such tale recounts the story of Reggie, a "selfish little reindeer" who "quickly spent his money," but who, after misadventure, came to learn the lesson:

".....that to make sure of getting what he wants in life, hard work and saving must take the place of idling and waste."

(17)

As well, the New Zealand Chambers of Commerce have launched a school economics education programme with the stated aims of helping people "understand the need for free, competitive enterprise and the profit motive." (18). However, as the August 1977 Consumer Report says, of the programme:

"When a group announces that it is pushing one particular viewpoint, objectivity can all too easily slide into bias."

(19)

The report further states that:

".....the first three booklets are quite heavily weighted towards commercialism, profits and business. A rather one-sided discussion of the economic market system extols its benefits but makes no mention of its disadvantages. There is, for example, no discussion of whether free enterprise can respond to some of today's most vexing economic problems: unemployment, perpetually rising prices, and preservation of resources - to name a few."

(20)

It might then be suggested that the flow of 'political information' in New Zealand would benefit from the existence of 'independent' organisations of the kind described as operating in Great Britain, which could supply 'authoritative' and 'objective' information.

Further, it could even be argued that it is a 'duty' of democracies to acquire, and put at the disposal of its citizens, accurate 'political' information. Withholding of such information might be seen as negligence, but could also be viewed as a tool of political manipulation.

5.3.2 The 'flow' of political information

"Secrecy is the enemy of democracy. Secrecy and distrust of the people become viciously self-justifying. When the people are not informed, because it is believed they cannot be trusted to act wisely with that information (or because the information is allegedly not safe to publicise) the capacity of the people to act wisely is further reduced."

(21)

"Knowledge by the people about their government is indispensable if democracy is to succeed. The government cannot operate successfully if its activities are veiled in ignorance, misunderstanding and mystery."

(22)

Recent years have seen an exponential growth of information and knowledge, with consequent far-reaching changes and developments in the political, cultural, social and economic fields. Political information and knowledge can become obsolete, and the democratic process as carried on in party, parliament, cabinet, electorate and community, can easily become blind and misleading without the aid of accurate and up-to-date information. For, as Lengrand says:

".....the notion that a man can accomplish

his lifespan with a given set of intellectual and technical luggage is fast disappearing."

(23)

How far might it be the province of governments to control the flow of information? There are probably good grounds for 'restricting' certain kinds of information (e.g. those pertaining to nuclear armaments) but the boundaries in other areas are not always clear. A report in the New Zealand Monthly Review claimed that:

"A recent DSIR circular has instructed scientists not to use their knowledge to oppose Government policies. Among subjects on which they are enjoined not to comment are such as nuclear power, beech forest preservation, chemical destruction of the ozone layer of the atmosphere and the potato cyst nematode. Scientists, so the Government maintains, are not responsible to the people, but to their employers - the Government."

(24)

It is not intended to discuss here the implications of such a circular for the 'free flow' of information in a democracy. However, it does raise some questions as to the role of governments in restricting the 'use' of new knowledge.

A related issue is discussed by Roberts when he writes that:

"Once the flow of information gets so large that only the expert can tap it, then it is the selection of the expert that determines what the policy maker can know about his situation."

(25)

Referring to information made available to policy makers during the Vietnam War, he says:

"The vested interests who controlled the information deliberately doctored it to secure the policy response favourable to their own interests."

(26)

He goes on to warn:

"What happened in the United States can happen here, and is more, rather than less, likely to have disastrous consequences for the freedom of the individual."

(27)

5.3.3 Some 'complicating' factors

Some factors which might be considered as 'complicating' to the 'flow of information' and the acquisition of 'political knowledge' are suggested below.

- (a) 'Selectivity' It may be that much material of direct relevance to politics is ignored by citizens. This may be particularly so where one point of view on an issue is over-represented, and other views come to be disregarded.
- (b) 'Background' Reception of 'political information' may be influenced by various factors in people's backgrounds (see 5.2) so that diverse kinds of 'knowledge' may result from the provision of 'common' information.
- (c) Variety of 'knowledge' or 'subject' areas Political 'information' may be drawn from a wide variety of subject areas - history, geography, economics, sociology, law, education, philosophy, morality and so on. Coupled with the 'knowledge explosion' (see 5.3.2) as well as the 'obsolescence' of knowledge, this variety creates problems for the 'information-providers.'

- (d) The wide range of 'abilities' and knowledge among citizens This diversity is to be expected in any society, but might need to be catered for by way of varying 'information presentation.'
- (e) The problem of bias 'Politics' is usually held to be a controversial subject and 'cautious' treatment of 'political information' might be expected.

5.3.4 Schools and 'compensatory' political education

"the uneducated man or the man with limited education is a different political actor from the man who has achieved a higher level of education."

(28)

Should schools, in a democracy, attempt to 'equalise' the 'political acting' of citizens by providing 'compensatory' political education? Or should schools 'ignore' or 'disregard' the varying 'political' behaviour, aptitudes, knowledge and skills of its pupils? Inequalities in the political opportunities and experiences may sometimes be obvious. For example, pupil 'A' may:

- (i) attend meetings and know meeting procedure
- (ii) meet and mix with politicians
- (iii) watch Tv. news and current events programmes regularly
- (iv) have access to large numbers of books and magazines at home, and
- (v) enjoy good medical, dental health;

while pupil 'B' may:

- (i) be unfamiliar with meeting procedure
- (ii) know no politicians
- (iii) watch few, or no Tv. news and current events programmes
- (iv) have few books and magazines at home
- ((v) be in poor medical, dental health.

Would the provision of compensatory, political instruction for 'B' achieve much in bridging the gap between their political attitudes and performance? For performance as a political 'actor' in a democracy would certainly be more difficult for pupil 'B' than for pupil 'A'.

And one of the observations Tawney makes about the essential rights of people living in a democracy is that:

".....if the rights are to be an effective guarantee of freedom, they must not be merely formal, like the right of all who can afford it to dine at the Ritz. They must be such that, whenever the occasion for their exercise arises, they can in fact, be exercised."

(29)

The right to participate 'competently' in a democratic society might, too, need to be more than merely "formal." Perhaps this would entail the provision of 'compensatory' civic or political education in schools. Research evidence about the merits or otherwise of such education is not very conclusive, and there are conflicting views about whether schools should embark on this type of programme.

However, one interesting research finding (by Langton and Jennings (30)) is that these programmes do have a 'favourable' effect on black students. In other words, the black students did "significantly increase their political knowledge toleration, sense of efficacy and desire to participate after taking the civics course." (31). The courses served to 'narrow the gap' between white and black students. In explanation of the discrepancy in impact upon white and black students, Langton and Jennings suggested a "theory of redundancy." (32). They hold that while the courses offer nothing new to white students - they succeed only in repeating things learned earlier in school or outside the school - the information for the black students is 'new.' They apparently have not previously been exposed to it, within or without the school. Hence the course that is new for the blacks, is redundant for the whites.

If democratic rights are to be freely exercised, it might be contended that the onus is on schools to provide 'compensatory political education' for the benefit of those who are not otherwise exposed to such information. This purposeful attempt to provide 'better' distribution of, and access to political information and knowledge may even be mandatory in a democratic society.

5.4 Political 'skills'

"Government, especially in large communities, if it is to be democratic, calls for skills and sentiments that are not found always and everywhere. It may be that any people could acquire them in time, that no people are by nature incapable of acquiring them, but we can hardly deny that in fact many people have not acquired them."

(33)

Political skills could be described as essential components of democratic societies. Skills are communicatory instruments which enable citizens to discuss and exchange ideas and proposals, to make decisions and to participate in their community. Such skills might include:

- (i) knowledge of meeting and committee procedures
- (ii) questioning ability
- (iii) capacity to form pressure and protest groups
- (iv) arts of negotiation, conferral, compromise, conciliation, manipulation and diplomacy
- (v) skills in discussion and conversation
- (vi) ability to think critically
- (vii) ability to locate information
- (viii) possession of general strategies and procedures for problem solving.

In Cohen's view:

"the members of a democracy must participate in their government - largely by talking, listening, reading, writing and arguing about community affairs. In unions and business organisations, clubs and fraternal orders, street cars and street fairs, at ball games and cocktail parties, in newspapers and periodicals of every stripe, in books and handbills, and letters to editors and friends - in every

reasonable way, the members of a democracy must be forever exchanging ideas and opinions, forging thereby the links of their community."

(34)

He goes on to say:

"'Idiotes' was the Greek term for one who refrains from all such participation, who lives in a community, but concerns himself with his own affairs only. He will be ignorant, dumb, truly an idiot in the pejorative sense as well."

(35)

Two suggested 'political skills' which might well be 'educated for' in a democracy are considered below.

5.4.1 Education for 'rationality'

".....intellectual development must mean also the cultivation to the appropriate degree, of aptitudes and attitudes of mind, the ability to think, communicate, judge and discriminate. It is important to realise that a democratic society requires these things of all its citizens and the fact that many - the majority of pupils even - have only an average or even an inferior facility with ideas, in no way exempts the school from the duty of playing its part in fitting them to undertake the responsibility of private judgement in all the varied affairs of life....."

(36)

It may be argued that democracy presupposes 'rationality' - that citizens of a democracy are expected to be able to look for 'reasons' for political actions and to be able to judge or assess different proposals.

This does not imply that individuals be expected to know, or need to know, all that is necessary to resolve every community problem. But it does suggest that democratic citizens' 'political education' should prepare them for the tasks that participation in democracy imposes. This skill of 'intellectual communication', of reasoning with one another, is discussed by Gellner, when he calls for the "natural selection" of ideas, and for "logical intolerance."

"Social tolerance requires that no serious non-logical pressures - violence, economic blackmail - be used in support or defence of ideas. But it does not exclude argument. The distinction between the two can perhaps best be highlighted by the most common argument in favour of toleration - to the effect that truth is best sought through a natural selection of ideas. This natural selection can only operate if there is, so to speak, free entry into the market.

But equally, no natural selection will take place if all the entrants cohabit peacefully in an unselective, eclectic, unfastidious mishmash. The selection can only operate if the ideas compete, if there is sensitivity to the implications and incompatibilities between them, and if such logical conflicts lead at least to the eventual elimination of one or other of the competing views. If a sloppy and logically unfastidious syncretism prevails, if ideas live and let live, no advance - at least, no advance by natural selection - will take place. Social tolerance is essential - but so is logical intolerance."

(37)

5.4.2 Education for being critical

".....non-reflective support would be undesir-

able for a modern political order, because it would lead inescapably to a system where the few rule, and the rest are then obedient and loyal citizens. This state of affairs would not be consistent with democratic, legal rational processes, institutions and ideologies."

(38)

"Teaching the young is no longer an end in itself (an accomplishment); it is a means of attaining ulterior ends that change ceaselessly throughout an individual's life. Since the moral and cultural values of the society are also in dispute, uncertain and in a crisis, education must enable everyone to make a critical choice of values rather than internalise "prevailing" ones. This is education to meet uncertainty."

(39)

What might 'educating for being critical' involve? Are there particular critical skills? Is 'being critical' being able to 'sort out' situations, to see what are, or are not, the salient issues of politics? Or is it - in relation to politics - the analysis of political concepts? Should educators encourage a 'critical' attitude to politicians and political parties? Might one become 'critical' by being exposed to different opinions and to 'political' discussion? Are there particular ages or stages when teaching 'critical skills' might be inappropriate? Perhaps length of education, or age, may be crucial requirements for the development of many politico - political skills. The many thorny problems associated with 'critical skills' can neither be adequately indicated or elaborated here, but some 'possible outcomes' of 'education for being critical' (which in itself does not constitute any particular process or method) are suggested.

- (a) One may become destructively critical or extremely sceptical and this might 'harm' the democratic system.

"There is plenty wrong, of course, if the

extreme individualist allows his valuable critical tendencies to degenerate into sheer destructiveness....."

(40)

".....scepticism may obstruct more than support democracy if it suggests that there is no truth, that all claims to it are equally vain."

(41)

- (b) One may come to comprehend one's social and political environment more clearly, through critical thinking, and may contribute to a more politically conscious electorate. 'Critical thought' may have a potential contribution to make to the achievement of social goals.

"An education that fosters criticism and conceptual flexibility, will transcend its environment not by erecting a mythical substitute for this world, but rather by striving for a systematic and penetrating comprehension of it."

(42)

"In the evolutionary perspective, thought is an adaptive instrument for overcoming environmental difficulties."

(43)

- (c) One may be discouraged from becoming critical, either in sense of (a) or (b) above, because criticism might be considered subversive, or undesirable, or even merely unsupportive of current values or institutions. A major concern here on the part of educators and politicians seems to be that of 'containing' criticism, of 'confining' critical skills to 'safe' areas, and of avoiding controversial 'political' topics.

- (d) One may become critical, and yet lack the knowledge or content necessary to ensure that criticisms are sound and well-founded. Peters warns against such 'critical skills' when he writes:

"Critical thought is vacuous without anything concrete to be critical about, and there are as many brands of 'critical thinking' as there are disciplines."

(44)

- (e) One may acquire critical skills, but have no inclination - or perhaps be afraid - to apply them, or use them. Fromm (45) is among those who has written about the psychological strains inherent in increasing individual freedom, choice and discretion. If the restraints of school, government and society prevent the exercise of critical powers, then is there any point in acquiring them? They may even make life less 'bearable.'

- (f) Educators may wish to encourage critical skills but be unsure how to proceed. For the art or skill of being critical may not be particularly amenable to instruction. Oliver seems to consider so, when he asserts that ".....it is easier to teach boys to run and pass, than to stop and think." (46). Booth shares this view, saying that:

".....the goal of learning to think, is even more difficult than the goal of learning to learn....."

(47)

References

- (1) Currie Report (1962) p.18.
- (2) Connell, R.W. (1971) p.237.
- (3) Partridge, P.H. (1969) pp.5-6.
- (4) Robson, W.A. (1964) p.42.
- (5) Rowan, John (1975) p.170.

- (6) Lorenz, Konrad (1974) p.37.
- (7) Morrison, A. and McIntyre, D. (1971) p.159.
- (8) Cohen, Carl (1971) p.161.
- (9) Cohen, Carl op.cit. p.282.
- (10) Gilbert, W.S. Iolanthe, Act I quoted in Heater, D.B. (1974) p.108.
- (11) Bone, H. and Ranney, A. (1963) p.9.
- (12) Jones, Grace A. (1976) p.38.
- (13) Connell, R.W. (1971) p.239.
- (14) Harris, Paul (1975) p.38.
- (15) Notes taken from Heater, D.B. (1969) Chapter 8, The Work of Organisations, pp.145-163.
- (16) Post Office Savings Bank pamphlet MB18 School Banking with the Post Office.
- (17) op.cit. p.2.
- (18) Good Life Hinges on Profit Motive in Manawatu Evening Standard, 7 April, 1976.
- (19) Consumer 142 (1977) p.202.
- (20) *ibid.*
- (21) Cohen, Carl (1971) p.161.
- (22) Robson, W.A. (1964) p.36.
- (23) Lengrand, Paul (1970) An introduction to lifelong education (in Dave, R.H. (1976) p.44).
- (24) The Government versus Scientists in New Zealand Monthly Review: October, 1976, p.16.
- (25) Roberts, J.L. (1975) p.41.
- (26) *ibid.*
- (27) *ibid.*
- (28) Almond, G. and Verba, S. (1963) p.387.
- (29) Tawney, R.H. (1964) p.167.
- (30) Langton, K. and Jennings, M.K. (1968) cited in Porter, Paige, (1975) p.29.
- (31) Porter, P. op.cit. p.29.
- (32) *ibid.*
- (33) Cohen, Carl (1971) p.9.
- (34) op.cit. p.168.
- (35) *ibid.*
- (36) Currie Report (1962) p.21.
- (37) Gellner, Ernest Myth, Ideology and Revolution (in Crick, B. and Robson, W. (1970) p.211-212).

- (38) Massialas, B. (1969) p.145.
- (39) Dave, R.H. (1975) p.153.
- (40) Stenhouse, David (1972) p.25.
- (41) Shaw, G.B. (1944) pp.173/4.
- (42) Scheffler, Israel (1973) p.112.
- (43) op.cit. p.113.
- (44) Peters, R.S. (1966) pp.53-54.
- (45) Fromm, Erich (1942)
- (46) Oliver, W.H. (1964) p.20.
- (47) Booth, Wayne p.22 in Banks, A. (1975)

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

"which comes first.....the hen or the egg? Men build society and society builds men. Where do we start?

It isn't a question of starting. The start has already been made. It's a question of what's to be done from now on!"

Walden Two (1)

'Political education' may be said to 'occur' in New Zealand, no matter what kinds of experiences citizens have. The question, however, is not so much whether political education is 'done' at all, but whether it is done well or badly. Are the current formal, non-formal and informal patterns of 'political education' satisfactory? Could the basing of the complex machinery of a modern democratic state, on what might be termed 'haphazard' political education result in inadequate functioning of the system?

The questions of what might be done or of what should be done in terms of political education in New Zealand are questions which can only be raised here. For their 'solutions' depend on a number of factors, including:

- how much citizens in a democracy 'need' to know
- what, if any, weight 'political education' should have in relation to other curricular demands and priorities in the state schools and other educational institutions
- whether 'political education' should be a separate or integrated topic.

The only general 'conclusions' which might be made are these:

- (a) The view that all that is needed for 'democratic political education' to take place, is a citizen, and a democratic society, is questionable. For can we be

satisfied with things the way they are? Delay in dealing with political education may have its effects on the next generation. If we are 'choosing' not to choose, then is 'political literacy' not considered to be a need in New Zealand society? Heater is among those who contends that 'political literacy' is of great importance:

"Knowing one's own mind, being politically literate, is particularly important in the contemporary world. It is important for the recognition of political danger signals. Perhaps the rights of the individual are being endangered by creeping bureaucratic technocracy; if so the values that are being threatened and the perils that loom should be fully and widely appreciated. It is important also for intelligent participation in the political process and the exercise of judicious choice. In order to accomplish this it is necessary to penetrate the smokescreen of slogans and media - processing that often cloaks the true ideas and motives of politicians and parties, not to mention the skill that is required to make a responsible choice from the cacophany of voices peddling a bewildering variety of political wares."

(2)

- (b) Schools might be in a strong position to have a 'favourable' or 'strengthening' effect on democracy, through the 'teaching' of politics. They may even act as innovators. And as Crick says, it is: ". . . . all too easy to exaggerate the difficulties of a reasonably objective teaching of politics. . . ."

(3)

For instance, it could be argued:

- (i) that politics is not all disagreement and controversy
- (ii) that much reliable and 'true' information about mass communications, political parties, pressure groups, trade unions and so on can be taught
- (iii) that many people 'left to themselves' will be unlikely to increase their 'political literacy'
- (iv) that since New Zealand is among those nations whose daily lives are sharply affected by politics, 'education' in this field is crucial.

- (c) Wider knowledge of the strengths and weaknesses of 'democracy' as a political system may provide a safeguard for New Zealand society. White claims that: "One wants to avoid at all costs children coming to believe, e.g. that what it means to decide something democratically, is to take a vote on it."

(4)

For it might be seen as vital to note that democracy carries within itself the 'seeds' of its own destruction - a majority may choose to end the democratic system - to opt, perhaps, for a totalitarian state. How, if at all, is awareness of democracy's inbuilt weaknesses being transmitted? The virtues of democracy and democratic institutions are exalted in New Zealand. But are citizens made conscious of democracy's 'vulnerability' and of the ever-growing need for democracy to clarify its procedures and its methods if it is to survive?

- (d) Within New Zealand there appears to be a need for further research into 'political education'. Some suggested 'particular' areas include:
- (i) political and party political aims for schools
(in terms of manpower, skills, leadership and so on)

- (ii) the numerous 'political' facets which are involved in the hidden curriculum
- (iii) the 'political' role of the mass media
- (iv) analysis of New Zealand 'political myths'
- (v) variations in 'political education' of females and males, and of Maoris and Pakehas.

This thesis has attempted to examine some of the possible interpretations of 'political education' in New Zealand society. If one 'recommendation' might be anticipated at the end of such an examination, then it is this -

that greater emphasis and attention be given to the 'teaching of politics' and to the development of political skills, knowledge and competence, in the school systems of the New Zealand 'democratic' society.

Jarolimek promotes broadly similar views in the following words:

"The student of political science and history cannot help but be saddened by the tremendous amount of human energy and the colossal quantities of the earth's resources which have been dissipated in attempts to resolve political conflicts throughout human history. If man is a rational creature, his best hope for more enlightened approaches to political affairs would seem to be education. All indications suggest the need for such education to begin early, to be carried on systematically, and to be extended upward as high as society can reasonably afford."

References

- (1) Skinner, B.F. (1948) p.273.
- (2) Heater, D.B. (1974) p.110.
- (3) Crick, B. in Heater, D.B. (1969) p.13.
- (4) White, Pat (1971) p.21.
- (5) Jarolimek, Professor, quoted in Heater, D.B. (1969) p.x.
(my underlining).

APPENDIX IGeneral notes on New Zealand's constitution
and government

New Zealand's political system is closely patterned on that of Britain and there is no written constitution. It has retained the monarchical form of government, and the Queen is represented by a Governor-General, who performs the largely ceremonial functions of Chief of State. Executive authority is vested in a Prime Minister, who is the leader of the majority party in the House of Representatives. The Prime Minister is assisted by a cabinet whose members are also members of the House and are collectively responsible to it. The House of Representatives is a unicameral body elected by universal adult suffrage for a normal term of three years. Of the 87 seats, four are reserved for Maori representatives and are filled from a separate electoral roll. Women became eligible as members of the House of Representatives in 1919. The House in 1978 contains four women members.

Local government is based on cities, boroughs, town districts, and counties. The first three of these administrative entities are found in the urban areas, while the rural areas are divided into counties. Urban areas are governed by elected councils and mayors, while counties are governed by county councils which select their own chairmen. The judicial system is headed by a Supreme Court and a Court of Appeal; lower courts are referred to as Magistrates' Courts. Since 1962 there has also been an Ombudsman, who investigates citizen complaints about governmental administration.

- adapted from Banks, 1975, p.243.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books

- ADORNO, Theodor W. et al.
The Authoritarian Personality. New York: Harper and Row, 1950.
- ALLMAN, Joe and W. Anderson
Evaluating Democracy: Introduction to Political Science. California: Goodyear, 1974.
- ALMOND, Gabriel A. and S. Verba
The Civic Culture. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1963.
- APTER, David E.
Political Change. London: Frank Cass, 1973.
- AUSUBEL, David
The Fern and the Tiki. Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1960.
- BACHRACH, Peter
The Theory of Democratic Elitism. London: University of London Press, 1969.
- BANKS, Arthur B. ed.
Political Handbook of the World: 1975. New York: McGraw Hill, 1975.
- BARRY, Brian M.
Political Argument. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965.
- BARRY, Brian M.
Sociologists, Economists and Democracy. London: Collier-Macmillan, 1970.
- BATES, Richard J. ed.
Prospects in New Zealand Education. Auckland: Hodder and Stoughton, 1970.
- BELL, Roderick ed. et al.
Political Power. New York: The Free Press, 1969.
- BENN, S.I. and R.S. Peters
Social Principles and the Democratic State. London: Allen and Unwin, 1959.
- BENSON, Charles S. and H.L. Hodgkinson
Implementing the Learning Society. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1974.
- BEREDAY, George Z.F. ed.
Essays on World Education: The Crisis of Supply and Demand. New York: Oxford University Press, 1969.

- BERG, Ivar
Education and Jobs. Harmondsworth: Penguin Education, 1970.
- BERNBAUM, Gerald
Knowledge and Ideology in the Sociology of Knowledge. London: MacMillan Press, 1977.
- BESSANT, B. and A.D. Spaul
Politics of Schooling. Carlton, Victoria: Pitman, 1976.
- BEYER, Barry K. and Anthony N. Penna
Concepts in the Social Studies. Washington: National Council for the Social Studies, Bulletin No. 45, 1971.
- BLONDEL, Jean
Comparing Political Systems. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1973.
- BLONDEL, Jean
Voters, Parties and Leaders. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1963.
- BLOWERS, Andrew and Grahame Thompson
Inequalities, Conflict and Change. Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1976.
- BONE, Hugh and Austin Ranney
Politics and Voters. New York: McGraw Hill, 1963.
- BOWLES, S. and G. Gintis
Schooling in Capitalist America. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1976.
- BOYLE, Edward and Anthony Crosland
The Politics of Education. Harmondsworth: Penguin Education Special, 1971.
- BRAMELD, Theodore ed.
Education for the Emerging Age. New York: Harper and Row, 1965.
- BREWER, Garry D.
A Policy Approach to the Study of Political Development and Change. New York: Southeast Asia Development Advisory Group of the Asia Society, 1972.
- BROGAN, D.W. and Douglas V. Verney
Political Patterns in Today's World. New York: Harcourt Brace and World, 1963.
- BRONFENBRENNER, Urie
Two Worlds of Childhood. Harmondsworth: Penguin Education, 1974.
- BROWN, Bruce
The Rise of New Zealand Labour. Wellington: Price Milburn, 1962.

- BRZEZINSKI, Z. and S. Huntington
Political Power: U.S.A./U.S.S.R. New York: The Viking Press, 1964.
- BUCHANAN, William
Understanding Political Variables. 2nd ed. New York: Scribner, 1974.
- BUCK, Philip W.
How Conservatives Think. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1975.
- CARNOY, Martin ed.
Schooling in a Corporate Society: the political economy of education in America. New York: David McKay Co., 1972.
- CHABAUD, J.
The Education and Advancement of Women. Paris: Unesco, 1970.
- CHANAN, Gabriel and Linda Gilchrist
What School Is For. London: Methuen, 1974.
- CHAPMAN, Robert ed.
Ends and Means in New Zealand Politics. Auckland: University of Auckland, 1961.
- CHAPMAN, Robert et al.
New Zealand Politics in Action. The 1960 General Election. London: Oxford University Press, 1962.
- CHAPMAN, Robert and Keith Sinclair ed.
Studies of a Small Democracy; essays in honour of Willis Airey. Hamilton: Paul's Book Arcade for the University of Auckland, 1963.
- COCHRAN, Thomas C.
Social Change in Industrial Society. London: Allen and Unwin, 1972. Chapter 4.
- CODD, John and G. Hermansson ed.
Directions in New Zealand Secondary Education. Auckland: Hodder and Stoughton, 1976.
- COHEN, Carl
Democracy. Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1971.
- COLEMAN, James S. ed.
Education and Political Development. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1965.
- CONNELL, R.W.
The Child's Construction of Politics. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1971.
- CRICK, Bernard
Basic Forms of Government: A Sketch And A Model. London: MacMillan, 1973.

- CRICK, Bernard
In Defence of Politics. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1964.
- CRICK, Bernard
Political Theory and Practice. London: Allen Lane, 1971.
- CRICK, Bernard and William A. Robson, ed.
Protest and Discontent. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970.
- CURRAN, James ed. et al.
Mass Communication and Society. London: Edward Arnold (Open University Press), 1977.
- CURRELL, Melville
Political Woman. London: Croom Helm, 1974.
- CURRIE, G.
Report on the Commission on Education in New Zealand. Wellington: Government Printer, 1962.
- CURTIS, Michael
Comparative Government and Politics. New York: Harper and Row, 1968.
- CZARTORYSKI, Andrew
Education for Power. London: Davis-Poynter, 1975.
- DAHL, Robert A.
A Preface to Democratic Theory. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956.
- DAHRENDORF, Ralf
The New Liberty. Reith Lectures 1975, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975.
- DALG, Roger ed. et al.
Schooling and Capitalism. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul and Open University Press, 1976.
- DAVE, R.H. ed.
Foundations of Lifelong Education. Oxford: Pergamon Press for UNESCO Institute for Education, 1976.
- DAVIES, Brian
Social Control and Education. London: Methuen 1976.
- DAVIES, Ioan
Social Mobility and Political Change. London: MacMillan, 1970.
- DEARDEN, R.F. ed. et al.
Education and the Development of Reason. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972.
- DEBDER, John James ed. et al.
Secondary Education: a textbook of readings. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1969.

- DECRESPIGNY, Anthony and Kenneth Minogue, ed.
Contemporary Political Philosophers. London: Methuen, 1976.
- DEFLEUR, Melvin L. et al.
Sociology: Man in Society. Glenview, Illinois: Scott
Foresman, 1972.
- DEUTSCH, Karl W.
Politics and Government. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1970.
- DOWNS, Anthony
An Economic Theory of Democracy. New York: Harper and Row,
1957.
- DREEBEN, Robert
On What Is Learned in Schools. Reading, Massachusetts:
Addison-Wesley, 1968.
- DUNFEE, Maxine and Helen Sagl
Social Studies Through Problem Solving. New York: Holt,
Rinehart, Wilson, 1966.
- DUVERGER, Maurice
The Study of Politics. Translated by Robert Wagoner, London:
Nelson, 1972.
- DYSON, A.E. and A.E. Lovelock
Education and Democracy. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul,
1975.
- EASTON, David
A Framework for Political Analysis. Englewood Cliffs, New
Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1965.
- EASTON, David
A Systems Analysis of Political Life. New York: Wiley, 1967.
- EASTON, David and Jack Dennis
Children in the Political System. New York: McGraw Hill, 1969.
- EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT CONFERENCE
Talkback. A report on the outcome of group discussions, group
meetings, public forums and regional seminars held during the
period November 1973 to May 1974, Wellington: Government
Printer, 1974.
- ELCOCK, Howard J.
Political Behaviour. London: Methuen, 1976.
- ELKIN, Frederick and Gerald Handel
The Child and Society. New York: Random House, 1960.
- ELLIOTT, Florence and Michael Summerskill
A Dictionary of Politics. 5th ed. Harmondsworth: Penguin,
1966.
- ELLIS, B.D.
The Philosophy of Uncertainty. La Trobe University Inaugural
Lecture Victoria: La Trobe University, 1970.

- ELVIN, Lionel
The Place of Commonsense in Educational Thought. London:
Allen and Unwin, 1977.
- ENTWISTLE, Harold
Political Education In A Democracy. London: Routledge and
Kegan Paul, 1971.
- ETZIONI, Amitai
The Active Society. New York: The Free Press, 1968.
- EULAU, Heinz
The Behavioural Approach in Politics. New York: Random House, 1963.
- EYSENCK, Hans J.
The Psychology of Politics. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1957.
- FOWLER, Gerald et al.
Politics, Philosophy and Economics in Education. Milton Keynes:
The Open University Press, 1974.
- FREIRE, Paulo
Pedagogy of the Oppressed. Harmondsworth: Penguin Education,
1972.
- FROMM, Erich
The Fear of Freedom. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1942.
- GOLDSTEIN, Ray and Rod Alley
Labour in Power - Promise and Performance. Wellington: Price
Milburn for N.Z. University Press, 1975.
- GREENSTEIN, Fred I.
Children and Politics. rev.ed. New Haven: Yale University
Press, 1969.
- HALSEY, A.H. ed. et al.
Education, Economy and Society. Glencoe: Free Press, 1961.
- HAMILTON, Richard F. and James Wright
New Directions in Political Sociology. Indianapolis: Bobbs:
Merrill, 1975.
- HARCOURT, D.
Everyone Wants to be Fuehrer. (National Socialism in Australia
and New Zealand). Cremorne, New South Wales: Angus and
Robertson, 1972.
- HARMAN, Grant S.
The Politics of Education: A Bibliographical Guide. St. Lucia:
University of Queensland Press, 1974.
- HEATER, Derek B.
Contemporary Political Ideas. London: Longman, 1974.
- HEATER, Derek B.
Political Ideas in the Modern World. 4th ed, rev. London:
Harrap, 1971.

- HEATER, Derek B. ed.
The Teaching of Politics. London: Methuen Educational, 1969.
- HELD, Virginia ed. et al.
Philosophy and Political Action. New York: Oxford University Press, 1972.
- HESS, Robert D. and Judith V. Torney
The Development of Political Attitudes in Children. Chicago: Aldine, 1967.
- HOLLY, Douglas ed.
Education or Domination? A Critical Look at Educational Problems Today. London: Arrow Books, 1974.
- HOLLY, Douglas
Schools, Society and Humanity. London: Paladin, 1972.
- HOLMES, F.W.
Planning for Growth in a Freer Economy. Sir Sidney Holland Memorial Lecture Third Lecture, 1962. Wellington: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1962.
- HONDERICH, Ted ed.
Social Ends and Political Means. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1976.
- HOSPERS, John
An Introduction to Philosophical Analysis. 2nd ed. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1967.
- HOUSTON, Stewart ed.
Marriage and the Family in New Zealand. Wellington: Hick Smith and Son, 1970.
- HUNTINGTON, Samuel P.
Political Order in Changing Societies. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968.
- HUXLEY, Aldous
Vulgarity in Literature. London: Chatto and Windus, 1940.
- HUXLEY, Sir Julian
Education and the Humanist Revolution. Southampton: University of Southampton, 1962.
- HYMAN, Herbert H.
Political Socialization: a study in the psychology of political behaviour. New York: Free Press, 1969.
- INGLIS, B.D.
The Family, The Law and the Courts. Wellington: Victoria University, 1973.
- INNES, Harold
The Status Quo Seekers. Wellington: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1963.
- IPPOLITO, Dennis S. et al.
Public Opinion and Responsible Democracy. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1976.

- JEFFREYS, M.V.C.
Education: Its Nature and Purpose. London: Allen and Unwin, 1971.
- JENCKS, Christopher et al.
Inequality: A Reassessment of the Effect of Family and Schooling in America. New York: Basic Books, 1972.
- JONES, Grace A.
The Political Structure. 2nd ed. London: Longmans, 1976.
- JORDAN, Bill
Freedom and the Welfare State. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1976.
- KATZNER, Louis I.
Man in Conflict. Traditions in Social and Political Thought. Encino, California: Dickenson, 1975.
- KAZAMIAS, Andreas M. and Erwin. H. Epstein ed.
Schools in Transition. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1968.
- KELLY, A.V.
The Curriculum: Theory and Practice. London: Harper and Row, 1977.
- KIMBROUGH, Ralph B.
Political Power and Educational Decision-Making. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1964.
- KING, Edmund J.
Other Schools and Ours. 4th ed. London: Holt Rinehart and Winston, 1973.
- KING, Edmund J.
World Perspectives in Education. London: Methuen, 1962.
- KING, Ronald A.
Education. London: Longmans, 1969.
- KNUTSON, Jeanne N. ed.
Handbook of Political Psychology. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1973.
- LAMBERT, Richard S.
Propaganda. London: Thomas Nelson, 1938.
- LANE, Robert E.
Political Life. (Why and How People Get Involved in Politics). New York: Free Press, 1959.
- LANE, Robert E.
Political Man. New York: Free Press, 1972.
- LASKI, Harold J.
An Introduction to Politics. London: Allen and Unwin, 1931.
- LASKI, Harold J.
The State in Theory and Practice. London: Allen and Unwin, 1935.

- LASLETT, Peter ed. et al.
Philosophy, Politics and Society. 4th series. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1972.
- LASSWELL, Harold D.
Politics: Who Gets What, When, How. New York: World Publishing Co., 1958.
- LAQUEUR, Walter ed.
A Dictionary of Politics. New York: The Free Press, 1971.
- LEVINE, Stephen and Alan Robinson
The New Zealand Voter - A survey of public opinion and electoral behaviour. Wellington: Price Milburn for N.Z. University Press, 1977.
- LEVISON, Arnold B.
Knowledge and Society. New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1974.
- LINDSAY, A.D.
The Essentials of Democracy. London: Oxford University Press, 1930.
- LINDSAY, A.D.
The Modern Democratic State. New York: Oxford University Press, 1962.
- LIPSET, Seymour M.
Political Man. New York: Doubleday, 1960.
- LIPSON, Leslie
The Democratic Civilisation. New York: Oxford University Press, 1964.
- LIPSON, Leslie
The Great Issues of Politics. 4th ed. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1970.
- LIPSON, Leslie
The Politics of Equality. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948.
- LIVELY, Jack
Democracy. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1975.
- LIVINGSTON, John C. and Robert G. Thompson ed.
The Dissent of the Governed. Readings on the Democratic Process. New York: MacMillan, 1972.
- LORENZ, Konrad
Civilized Man's Eight Deadly Sins. London: Methuen, 1974.
- MACGREGOR-HASTIE, Roy,
The Mechanics of Power. (On Government in Spite of the People). London: Frederick Muller, Northumberland Press, 1966.
- MACPHERSON, C.B.
The Real World of Democracy. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966.

- MASSIALAS, Byron G. and Andreas M. Kazamias
Crucial Issues in the Teaching of Social Studies. Englewood
 Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1964.
- MASSIALAS, Byron G.
Education and the Political System. Reading, Massachusetts:
 Addison-Wesley, 1969.
- MCLAREN, Ian A.
Education in a Small Democracy: N.Z. World Education Series,
 London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1974.
- MCNALLY, Ward
New Zealand The Which-Way Country. London: Robert Hale, 1966.
- MEGILL, Kenneth A.
The New Democratic Theory. New York: Free Press, 1970.
- MELANSON, Philip H.
Political Science and Political Knowledge. Washington D.C:
 Public Affairs Press, 1975.
- MERCURIO, Joseph A.
Caring: Educational Rite and Tradition. New York: Syracuse
 University Press, 1972.
- MILLER, Brown et al.
Innovation in New Communities. Cambridge, Massachusetts:
 M.I.T. Press, 1972.
- MILNE, R.S.
Political Parties in New Zealand. London: Oxford University
 Press, 1966.
- MITCHELL, Austin
Government by Party: parliament and politics in New Zealand.
 Christchurch: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1966.
- MITCHELL, F.W. ed.
New Zealand Education Today. Wellington: Read, 1968.
- MITCHELL, Juliet
Women's Estate. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1971.
- MORRISON, A. and D. McIntyre
Schools and Socialisation. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1971.
- MUELLER, K.H.
Educating Women for a Changing World. Minneapolis: University
 of Minnesota Press, 1954.
- NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF EDUCATION - SEVENTY SIXTH YEAR BOOK.
The Politics of Education. Chicago: University of Chicago
 Press, 1977.
- NETZER, Lanore A. et al
Education, Administration and Change. New York: Harper and
 Row, 1970.

NEW ZEALAND DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

The Administration of Education in New Zealand. Wellington: Government Printer, Public Relations Section, 1975.

NEW ZEALAND EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTE, YEAR BOOK OF EDUCATION, NUMBER TWO.

Social Studies and the Disciplines. The Exceptional Child. Wellington: Deslandes Ltd., 1972. (Part One).

NICOLSON, I.F. and Colin A. Hughes

Pacific Politics. Carlton, Victoria: Pitman, 1972.

OLIVER, Donald W. and James P. Shaver

Teaching Public Issues in the High School. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1966.

OLIVER, W.H.

The Inadequacy of a Dependent Utopia. Anderson Memorial Lecture, 1963. Hamilton: Paul's Book Arcade for Massey University, 1964.

OLIVER, W.H.

The Story of New Zealand. London: Faber, 1960.

Olsen, Marvin E.

Power in Societies. London: MacMillan, 1970.

OPEN UNIVERSITY URBAN EDUCATION COURSE TEAM

Whose Schools? Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1974.

OPPENHEIM, Abraham N. and Judith Torney

The Measurement of Children's Civic Attitudes in Different Nations. Stockholm: Alqvist and Wiksell, 1974.

OTTAWAY, A.K.C.

Education and Society. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1953.

PARKIN, Frank

Class Inequality and Political Order. London: Paladin, 1972.

PARKYN, G.W. ed.

Administration of Education in New Zealand. Wellington: New Zealand Institute of Public Administration, 1954.

PARSONS, Talcott

Politics and Social Structure. New York: The Free Press, 1969.

PARSONS, Talcott

The Social System. New York: The Free Press, 1951.

-PARTRIDGE, P.H. et al.

Social Science for the Secondary School. Sydney: Ian Novak, 1969.

PATEMAN, Carole

Participation and Democratic Theory. London: Cambridge University Press, 1970.

- PEARSON, William H.
Fretful Sleepers and Other Essays. London: Heinemann, 1974.
- PETERS, R.S.
Ethics and Education. London: Allen and Unwin, 1966.
- PHILIP, W. and R. Priest
Social Science and Social Studies in Secondary Schools. London: Longmans, 1965.
- PHILLIPS, D.C.
Theories, Values and Education. Melbourne: Melbourne University 1971.
- PICKLES, Dorothy
Democracy. London: Batsford, 1970.
- PITT, David and Cluny MacPherson
Emerging Pluralism. The Samoan Community in New Zealand. Auckland: Longman Paul, 1974.
- PLAMENATZ, John
Democracy and Illusion. London: Longman, 1973.
- PLAMENATZ, John
On Alien Rule and Self-Government. London: Longmans, 1960.
- POLASCHEK, R.J. ed.
Local Government in New Zealand. Wellington: New Zealand Institute of Public Administration, 1956.
- PYE, Lucian W.
Communications and Political Development. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1963.
- RAMSAY, Peter D.K.
The Family and the School in New Zealand Society. Carlton Victoria: Pitman, 1975.
- RENSHON, Stanley Allen
Psychological Needs and Political Behaviour. New York: Free Press, 1974.
- REPORT OF SELECT COMMITTEE ON WOMEN'S RIGHTS.
Wellington: Government Printer, 1975.
- REVEL, Jean-Francois
Without Marx or Jesus. London: Paladin, 1972.
- REYNOLDS, Quentin et al.
Minister of Death: The Adolph Eichmann Story. New York: The Viking Press, 1960.
- RICKMAN, H.P.
The Use of Philosophy. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964. Chapter 5.
- ROBINSON, John P. et al.
Measures of Political Attitudes. Michigan: Ann Arbor, 1968.

- ROBSON, J.L. ed.
New Zealand. The Development of its Laws and Constitution.
2nd ed. London: Stevens and Sons, 1967.
- ROBSON, William A.
The Governors and the Governed. London: Allen and Unwin, 1964.
- ROTH, Herbert
Trade Unions in New Zealand. Wellington: Reed, 1973.
- RUSH, Michael and Phillip Althoff
An Introduction to Political Sociology. London: Nelson, 1971.
- SCHEFFLER, Israel
Reason and Teaching. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973.
- SCHEFFLER, Israel
The Language of Education. Springfield, Illinois: Charles
C. Thomas, 1960.
- SCHUMPETER, J.A.
Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy. London: Allen and Unwin,
1943.
- SCHWARTZ, David C. and Sandra K. Schwartz ed.
New Directions in Political Socialisation. New York: The Free
Press, 1975.
- SCUTT, C.W. ed.
The Great Debate: Our Schools in Crisis. New Jersey: Prentice-
Hall, 1959.
- SCOTT, K.J.
The New Zealand Constitution. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962.
- SEAMAN, Peter et al.
Innovation and Ideology. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972.
(School and Society, Units 11-14).
- SEYMOUR-URE, Colin
The Political Impact of Mass Media. London: Constable, 1974.
- SHANE, Harold G.
The Educational Significance of the Future. Bloomington,
Indiana: Phi Delta Kappa, 1973.
- SHAVER, Oliver
Teaching Public Issues in the High School. Boston: Houghton
Mifflin, 1966.
- SHAW, G.B.
Everybody's Political What's What. London: Constable, 1944.
- SHIVE, R.J.
Social Studies as Controversy. California: Goodyear, 1973.
- SHORT, Edmund C. and George D. Marconnit
Contemporary Thought on Public School Curriculum. Iowa:
Wm. C. Brown, 1968.

- SINCLAIR, Keith
A History of New Zealand. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1959.
- SKINNER, B.F.
Walden Two. New York: MacMillan, 1948.
- SMITH, B. Othanel and Robert H. Ennis
Language and Concepts in Education. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1961. Chapter 9.
- SMITH, Thomas B.
The New Zealand Bureaucrat. Wellington: Cheshire Publishing Pty. Ltd., 1974.
- SMITH, T.R.
Parliamentary Government in New Zealand. Wellington: Owen, Government Printer, 1965.
- SMOOT, Dan
The Invisible Government. Boston: Western Island, 1962.
- SNICK, I.A.
Indoctrination and Education. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972.
- SOLTIS, Jones F.
An Introduction to the Analysis of Educational Concepts. Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-wesley, 1968.
- SPENCER, Matta
Foundations of Modern Sociology. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1976.
- SPRAGENS, Thomas A.
The Dilemma of Contemporary Political Theory. New York: Dunellen Publ. Co., 1973.
- STENHOUSE, David
Unstated Assumptions in Education. Wellington: Hicks, Smith and Sons, 1972.
- STONE, Desmond ed.
Verdict on New Zealand. Wellington: Reed, 1959.
- SUTCH, W.B.
Education for New Zealand's Future. Wellington: Department of Industries and Commerce, 1961.
- SUTCH, W.B.
Local Government in New Zealand - A History of Defeat. Wellington: Industries and Commerce Report, 1964.
- SUTCH, W.B.
Takeover New Zealand. Wellington: Reed, 1972.

- SUTCH, W.B.
Who Owns New Zealand? Liberal Studies Brief. Wellington: New Zealand University Press, 1973.
- TAWNEY, R.H.
Equality. London: Allen and Unwin, 1931.
- TAWNEY, R.H.
The Radical Tradition. London: Penguin, 1964.
- THOMPSON, Dennis F.
The Democratic Citizen. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970.
- THOMSON, David ed.
Political Ideas. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1966.
- TUFFLER, Alvin ed.
Learning for Tomorrow the Role of the Future in Education. New York: Random House, 1974.
- TOWN, G.A. ed.
Policies for Regional Development in New Zealand. Wellington: New Zealand Institute of Public Administration, 1972.
- TYNBERG, Arnold
A Study of History. Volume 4, London: Oxford University Press, 1939.
- TRILIN, A.D. ed.
Social Welfare and New Zealand Society. Wellington: Methuen, 1977.
- TURNER, Barry
Equality for Some. The Story of Girls' Education. London: Ward Lock Educational, 1974.
- VAIZEY, John
The Control of Education. London: Faber, 1963.
- VAIZEY, John
The Economics of Education. London: Faber, 1962.
- WASSERMAN, L.
Modern Political Philosophies. Philadelphia: Blakiston, 1944.
- WEISSBERG, Robert
Public Opinion and Popular Government. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1976.
- WELDON, T. D.
The Vocabulary of Politics. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1953.
- WHITEHEAD, Alfred North
Adventures of Ideas. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961.

- WIRT, Frederick M. ed.
The Polity of the School; new research in education politics.
 Lexington, Massachusetts: D.C. Heath, 1975. Chapter 16.
- WITTGENSTEIN, Ludwig
Philosophical Investigations. 3rd ed. Oxford: Basil
 Blackwell, 1974.
- YABLONSKY, Lewis
Robopaths People as Machines. Baltimore, Maryland: Penguin,
 1972.
- YOUNG, George K.
Masters of Indecision. London: MacMillan, 1962.
- YOUNG, Michael ed.
Knowledge and Control. London: Collier-MacMillan, 1971.
- YOUNG, Michael
The Rise of the Meritocracy. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books,
 1970.

Articles

- ABRAMS, Philip and Alan Little
 The Young Voter in British Politics. British Journal of
 Sociology. 16: 92-103, 1965.
- ADAMSON, Walter L.
 Marx and Political Education. The Review of Politics. 39:
 363-385, 1977.
- BIGGS, J.B.
 Content to Politics. Australian Journal of Education. 17:
 225-238, 1973.
- CARNOY, Martin
 The Political Consequences of Manpower Formation. Comparative
 Education Review. 19: 115-128, 1975.
- CHAPMAN, Robert
 New Zealand Since the War. Landfall. 16: 252-276, 1962.
- CONSUMERS' INSTITUTE
 School Economics From the Chambers of Commerce. Consumer.
 142: 202-204, 1977.
- CRICK, Bernard
 Political Education Today. Trends. 1: 12-17, 1975.
- DALZIEL, Margaret
 Disaster in the Primary School. Landfall. 16: 49-60, 1962.

- DATOR, James A.
The Pedagogy of the Oppressed: North American Style.
McGill Journal of Education. 12: 57-72, 1977.
- DENNIS, Jack et al.
Support for Nation and Government among English children.
British Journal of Political Science. 1: 25-48, 1971.
- DUNN, John
Differing Democracies. The Listener. 252-253, 23 August, 1973.
- FORD, W.F.
Religion and Education - Four Views. Comment. 3: 13-27, 1962.
- HARRIS, Paul
Mythology and Society: Three examples from New Zealand
politics and culture. Political Science. 27: 25-39, 1975.
- HESS, Robert D. et al.
Discussion: Political Socialisation in the Schools. Harvard
Educational Review. 38: 528-557, 1968.
- HOLLIS, Martin
The Pen and the Purse. In Proceedings of the Philosophy of
Education Society of Great Britain, 1971 5: 153-169, 1971.
- IRWIN, Michael
The Left and Education. New Statesman. 644-645, 4 May, 1973.
- KANDEL, I.L.
The Methodology of Comparative Education. International Review
of Education. 5: 273-289, 1959.
- KARIER, Clarence
Making the world safe for democracy: an historical critique
of John Dewey's pragmatic liberal philosophy in the warfare
state. Educational Theory. 27: 12-47, 1977.
- KLEINBERG, S.S.
A democratic education. Scottish Educational Studies. 5:
47-54, 1973.
- KOZOL, Jonathan
The Public School as Indoctrinator. Post Primary Teachers'
Association Journal. 34-35, November, 1974.
- LANG, R.E.
Political Education in the midst of life's struggles. Harvard
Educational Review. 38: 468-494, 1968.
- LITT, Edgar
Public Knowledge and Private Man: Political Impact in the
Post-Kerr Era. Harvard Educational Review. 38: 495-505,
1968.

- MASSIALAS, Byron G.
Some propositions about the role of the school in the formation of political behaviour and political attitudes of students: cross-national perspectives. Comparative Education Review. 19: 169-178, 1975.
- MEIKLE, Phoebe
Education for democracy. Post Primary Teachers' Association Journal. 6: 11-13, 1960.
- MERELMAN, Richard M.
Social Stratification and Political Socialisation in Mature Industrial Societies. Comparative Education Review. 19: 13-30, 1975.
- NEELSEN, John P.
Education and Social Mobility. Comparative Education Review. 19: 129-143, 1975.
- OVENDEN, Keith
The Changing Face of Politics. New Zealand Listener. 16, 6 May, 1976.
- PORTER, Paige
Political Socialisation and Alternative Schools. Education Research and Perspectives. 2: 25-36, 1975.
- RAE, John
On Teaching Independence. New Statesman. 380-381, 21 September, 1973.
- ROBERTS, J.L.
Information and Society (What Price Privacy?). In Victoria University Extension Department Publication. No. 13. 39-64, 1975.
- ROSENBERG, Wolf
Towards the twenty first century: Parliamentarianism is not democracy. New Zealand Monthly Review. 16: 1-3, August, 1975.
- ROWAN, John
The Power to Decide. New Behaviour. 168-171, 15 May, 1975.
- SCRIBNER, Jay D. and Richard M. Englert
The Politics of Education: An Introduction. National Society for the Study of Education. 76: 1-29, 1977.
- WARNOCK, Mary
Education and its purposes. New Society. 38: 353-355, 1976.
- WHITE, Pat
Education, Democracy and the Public Interest. In Proceedings of the Philosophy of Education Society of Great Britain. 1971, 5: 7-28, 1971.
- WIRT, Frederick M.
Theory and Research Needs in the Study of American Educational Policies. Journal of Educational Administration. 8: 53-87, 1970.

Unpublished Sources

HEATH, R.W.

Labour politics and education in New Zealand 1904-1935; a study in the origins of the Labour Party education policy.
M.A. thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 1965.

INGLE, Stephen J.

The Politics of Education: A study of attitudes, pressures and relations in the New Zealand education system. Ph.D. thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 1967.

PALMER, J.G.

Political Socialisation in New Zealand. M.A. thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 1965.

PRICE, Douglas Gordon

A study of the philosophy underlying Labour's education reforms in New Zealand, with particular reference to the period 1935-1940. M.A. thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 1965.

STENHOUSE, David

Time and Change. Massey University, 1976.

TOWERS, Marion J.

The Political Socialisation of New Zealand School Children. B.Ph. dissertation, Waikato University, 1974.

WADSWORTH, Edmund James

Social Education in the Secondary School. Dip.Ed. investigation, Massey University, 1971.