Being 'Good' in the Classroom:

Whiteness and Moral Liminality in the 2023 Aotearoa New Zealand Histories Curriculum

By

Georgia Griggs

A thesis

submitted to Te Herenga Waka – Victoria University of Wellington in

fulfilment of the requirements for the

degree of Master of Arts

Te Herenga Waka – Victoria University of Wellington

2023

Abstract

This thesis explores how Year 10 social studies students and teachers at Kāpiti College, a secondary school in the North Island of New Zealand, are affected emotionally by whiteness and the White desire to be 'good' when learning about colonisation. The influence of whiteness is invisibilised and normalised in the 2023 Aotearoa New Zealand histories curriculum, influencing students and teachers to think of whiteness as 'neutral'. The new curriculum was introduced to primary and secondary schools in 2023 and was adopted early by Kāpiti College in 2022. Emotional reactions to colonial topics and the effect of whiteness in New Zealand schools have been the subjects of previous research (MacDonald, Funaki, and Smith 2021; MacDonald 2020; Manning 2018; Bell and Russell 2021; MacDonald and Kidman 2021; Harcourt 2020). My research builds on this through an investigation of the influence of the 2023 Aotearoa New Zealand histories curriculum in maintaining and obscuring whiteness. Data was collected over eight weeks of fieldwork with five Year 10 social studies classes at Kāpiti College, using classroom participant observation, teacher semi-structured interviews, one lunchtime focus group with students, and an anonymous student survey. This thesis explores the effect that the dominance of whiteness had on the emotional responses of my participants. This included Pākehā[1] students and teachers and their desire to maintain White innocence, tauiwi students who sometimes bought into that whiteness and did not see their settler stories reflected in the classroom, and Māori students whose anger and sense of injustice were silenced by whiteness.

Using Thomassen's (2014) discussion of liminality, Fassin's (2013) discussion of resentment and ressentiment, Applebaum's (2010) discussion of whiteness, and Abraham and Torok's (1986) cryptonomy, I argue that teachers and students experience varying types of discomfort. These include the desire to be 'good' and the resulting moral liminality which influences them to self-censor and become silent. Pākehā teachers and students are unsure how to be 'good' in response to the violent histories of colonisation, attempting to suppress uncomfortable emotions within the classroom environment, thus maintaining whiteness and coloniality through silence. Māori students' emotional expressions are limited by White silences and the omission of Māori resistance histories, disregarded in the name of 'neutrality'.

[1] See Te Aka – Māori Dictionary Online for translation of Te Reo Māori words.

Acknowledgements

Researching your community and history is an unsettling, difficult, exhausting, and often overwhelming process, and I could not have done it alone. The support of my friends, family, colleagues, supervisors, and participants has buoyed me through this degree. I would be remiss to let their energies and encouragement go unacknowledged.

First, I want to thank my wonderful supervisors Lorena and Corinna. Lorena, thank you endlessly for continuing to push me to be more critical and reflect on my own assumptions, your guidance has shaped this thesis into something I think I can be proud of. Your seemingly unending energy and enthusiasm for my project have been invaluable. Corinna, thank you for paying such close attention to my writing and my ideas, you have helped me so much in extending my thinking. I feel very fortunate to have had you both as supervisors, you have both made this experience enjoyable and challenging for me. Thank you also to the other members of the wonderful anthropology department, Eli, Grant, Brigitte, and Amir, you have all made me feel very welcome during my studies.

To my friends and family who have provided support and words of encouragement throughout this degree, thank you for listening and sharing your own stories of learning Aotearoa New Zealand's histories. To April and Pasha, thank you both for our valuable discussions and commiserations about the trials of a Master's degree. Without you both, this would have been a lonely process. Thank you to my partner and fellow Master's student Oliver for keeping me grounded and always staying curious about my work. Your endless encouragement and belief in me have been indispensable.

Finally, to Kāpiti College and all my participants, thank you for your generosity and patience in letting me do fieldwork at your school. In my time with you all, I gained an appreciation of the complex difficulties faced by teachers and students dealing with violent colonial histories, and this understanding makes me even more grateful for the time each of my participants took to speak with me and allow me to observe them. The amount of time and effort my teacher participants put into delivering this new curriculum and the concern they showed for the quality of its delivery was admirable. Thank you all for letting me into your classrooms and conversations, without you this research would not be possible.

Table of Contents

Abstract 2
Acknowledgements 3
Table of Contents 4
Chapter One: Introduction 7
Motivations for the Research 9
Background to the Research 12
Research Questions 15
Theoretical Framework 15
'Good' White Silences and Moral Liminality 19
Thesis Outline 20
Chapter Two: Methodology 22
Introduction: 22
Chosen Methodology: Ethnography 23
Constructing the Field as a 'Partial Insider' 24
Data Collection: 26
Recognising Emotion and Listening to Silence 26
Participant Observation in the Classroom 28
Lunchtime Focus Group 29
Survey of Student Participants 30
Interviews with Teacher Participants 31
Data Analysis: 32
Conclusion: 33
Chapter Three: Histories of the Curriculum 34
Introduction: 34
National and Local Curriculum Histories: 35
New Zealand History in Schools from 1877 Onwards 35
The 2023 Aotearoa New Zealand Histories Curriculum 40
Content and Learning Goals 40
Mutually Incompatible Goals and Moral Liminality 43
Aotearoa New Zealand's Histories at Kāpiti College 44

Conclusion: 46
Interlude: Welcome to the Classroom 47
Chapter Four: Pedagogies of Whiteness 51
Introduction: 51
'Doom and Gloom' and White Innocence: 51
'Savages' and Civility: Counteracting and/or Reinforcing Whiteness & Coloniality 55
Simulation Games 59
Conclusion: 64
Chapter Five: Permeable and Solid 'Barriers' in the Classroom 66
Introduction 66
Solid Barriers 67
Permeable Barriers 71
Uncomfortable Students and Teachers 71
Self-Censorship and The Facts/Opinions Split 74
Finding a Way to Be 'Good' in Morally Liminal Spaces 76
Conclusion 79
Chapter Six: Emotions and Difficult Discussions 81
Introduction 81
Emotional Students and Teachers 82
'Natural' Justifications and Lovely Knowledge 82
Dispelling Discomfort: Moving 'Forward' into 'Good Atonement' 84
Settler Silences in the Classroom 89
Finding Comfort in Difficult Discussions 92
Conclusion 94
Conclusion 95
Bibliography 100
Appendices 114
Appendix A 114
Appendix B 115
Appendix C 115
Appendix D 117
Appendix E 130

Appendix F 146
Appendix G 150

Chapter One: Introduction

Georgia: "Um...how do you feel about, sort of, dealing with some of the more difficult topics?".

Brianna*[2]: "Like, you're like, ohh (makes uneasy noise), I don't wanna get it too wrong that I then don't do anything, or I don't feel confident, so, yeah. I still- and always feel mindful of how I'm teaching this topic and self-conscious to an extent, to try and feel like you're doing the right thing by students... and, yeah. It's not an easy topic when it's so close to home. And you know that the kids... yeah. You wanna allow them to develop and have their own reactions. But I guess for me, what I try and... just always make sure that everything is being grounded in evidence and historical facts and realities, and that we're testing assumptions. Um, but yeah, still tryna allow space for all views to be heard. Which is... tricky… So how do I feel? I don't know, it's hard. (laughs loudly) It's really hard!".

(Interview with Brianna* [teacher], 6 September 2022)

"I like to belive that (atleast) most things have both positive and negitive consaquens. I hoped that we would also get to learn about some postive thigns about it so that we can see both sides on whether it is a good or bad thing. Its importent to hear both sides of the arguement befor making a bold claim of whether it is good and bad."[3].

(Meredith* [student], survey)

This thesis focuses on how whiteness is invisibilised and normalised in the 2023 Aotearoa New Zealand histories curriculum, influencing the emotional reactions of students and teachers in five Year 10 Social Studies classes at Kāpiti College. Kāpiti College is a large secondary school of around 1600 students located on the West Coast of the North Island of New Zealand. My participants were Year 10

[2] Names ending in an asterisk indicate a pseudonym.
[3] All survey quotes are included unedited.

students, around 14 to 15 years old on average, and their three Social Studies teachers. A former student of the school, I returned to do fieldwork there in August of 2022, six months before the official introduction of the 2023 Aotearoa New Zealand histories curriculum. The curriculum provides a new framework for the teaching of history for students in Years 1 to 10. It makes the teaching of Aotearoa New Zealand's histories compulsory for these year groups and represents a significant shift in the approach to Māori histories in comparison to previous curricula (Ministry of Education 2022). The curriculum was originally scheduled for introduction in 2022, however, due to ongoing complications from the Covid-19 pandemic, its integration was postponed until 2023 (Ministry of Education 2023a). I spent eight weeks visiting Kāpiti College, following five different Year 10 Social Studies classes as they encountered violent stories of New Zealand's colonisation, struggled with uncomfortable and painful emotions, and tried to find the 'right' or 'good' way of talking about colonisation. During my time in the field, the five Year 10 Social Studies classes I observed were learning about what colonisation is, how it works, what it looked like in New Zealand, and what the consequences of that process have been for Māori specifically.

This thesis examines how the curriculum's maintenance of whiteness has created an environment where Pākehā students and teachers searched for a way to be a 'good white', Māori found the places their anger could be directed to be limited, and a sense of 'moral liminality' dominated discussions of colonisation. Whiteness is a social positionality used to categorise and dominate social groups and societies. Within whiteness, people and groups are racialised and dehumanised, specifically in relation to 'White people', to dominate them and order the world in a specific Eurocentric way (al-Samarai and Piesche 2018; Leonardo 2004). 'Moral liminality' is connected to whiteness because it arises from the White desire to be 'good'. I think of moral liminality as being a state of moral emotion which is 'betwixt and between' a previous state of white innocence and a new unknown environment where it is not clear how Pākehā can be 'good' (Thomassen 2014, 89). I observed that this moral liminality mostly affected Pākehā students and teachers as well as tauiwi who identified with whiteness, as they were entering a new moral space and felt unsure or challenged. They tried to be 'good' in this new space, often maintaining their White innocence in the process (Leonardo 2004; McWhorter 2005). My use of 'White innocence' is based on Wekker's (2016) discussion. Wekker, Applebaum (2010), and Sullivan (2014) describe White innocence as being contrived innocence which seeks to both centre whiteness as 'superior' and disavow the violence and racial discrimination perpetuated by it. My participants did not discuss White innocence in those terms, but they did show a preoccupation with doing the 'right' thing and avoiding being 'wrong', which indicated a need to be 'good' or reclaim White innocence.

Using Thomassen's discussion of liminality (2014), Fassin's discussion of resentment and ressentiment (2013), Dragojlovic and Samuels' (2021) discussion of silences, Applebaum's discussion of White innocence and 'goodness' (2010), and Abraham and Torok's cryptonomy (1986), I explore how teachers and students in five Year 10 classes at Kāpiti College experienced discomfort, kept silences, and tried to be 'good'. I also considered how the legacy of local and national history education in New Zealand shapes their understandings of colonisation. I focus on discomfort primarily among the other myriad emotions expressed by students and teachers in the classroom such as anger, sadness, and indifference because discomfort is closely tied to whiteness. Discomfort is tied to whiteness because it indicates the unsettling of identities based on whiteness and is also sometimes used as a way of maintaining whiteness through denial and defensiveness (Pederson, McCreanor, and Braun 2022). Discomfort also allows space for the exploration of Māori and non-Pākehā responses to the 2023 Aotearoa New Zealand histories curriculum, providing a frame to understand forms of discomfort more closely linked to hearing and learning about the historical injustices of colonisation in a Pākehā education system. I also chose to focus on the bicultural relationship between Māori and Pākehā due to the low number of tauiwi, Pasifika, or other immigrant/refugee students and the limitations of a Master's thesis. The demographic makeup of the school is 78% Pākehā, 20% Māori, and 2% Pasifika, tauiwi, or other immigrant/refugee ("Kapiti College | Education Review Office." 2019). In addition to this, some tauiwi students I talked with or observed identified with whiteness, leading me further towards a focus on whiteness in the classroom.

Motivations for the Research

In 2019, when I heard that Aotearoa New Zealand's histories would be made compulsory for Years 1 to 10, I thought back to my own primary and secondary education and the dismal amount I had been taught about my country's history. Over the next three years as the country's schools waited for the new history curriculum, others who had been through the New Zealand school system, both Pākehā and Māori, also found themselves remembering their own experiences of New Zealand history at school, and shared stories which revealed a legacy of silencing, discomfort, and whiteness in New Zealand history classrooms (Ngarewa 2021; Keenan 2022; Burns 2022; Bell and Russell 2021; MacDonald and Kidman 2021). Also shared were the perspectives of a vocal minority who took issue with the proposed curriculum, saying that it was 'divisive', pushing an 'agenda', and that we should 'move on' from the

past (Kidman et al 2022, 73-75; Quinlivan 2022; O'Malley and Kidman 2017). These perspectives aim to maintain systems of whiteness and coloniality which have been present in New Zealand classrooms since the 1877 Education Act, legislation which produced the first New Zealand national curriculum and prescribed English history as the only history which should be taught (Manning 2018). I chose to focus on whiteness in my thesis to the exclusion of other possible framings because of its centrality to Aotearoa New Zealand as a settler-colonial state, its pervasive invisibility, and the importance of addressing it to uncover systemic inequities (Pederson, McCreanor, and Braun 2022; al-Samarai and Piesche 2018; Applebaum 2010). Concern emerged from those in education that the difficult emotional aspects of Aotearoa New Zealand's histories would be ignored in the classroom and that Māori would be relied on for cultural knowledge or alternatively silenced if they tried to share their experiences in Pākehā dominated classrooms (Ngarewa 2021; Burns 2022; Russell 2022; Pederson, McCreanor, and Braun 2022). My motivation for this research is based on this concern about the difficult emotions and influence of whiteness in Aotearoa New Zealand's histories, aiming to highlight how both students and teachers experience difficult emotions in the classroom, how these experiences are influenced by the presence of whiteness, and how teachers find ways to overcome moral liminality and counteract whiteness in the classroom.

Emotionality in the classroom, and particularly moral emotions to do with colonisation, is an under-researched area in New Zealand, and the 2023 Aotearoa New Zealand histories curriculum itself adds an extra unknown component to this (Neill et al 2021; Harcourt 2020). A moral emotion or sentiment is an emotional response which is grounded in a group or individual's conception of morality. Moral emotions can tell anthropologists about the values, norms, and motives of particular social and cultural groups and help us understand what people care about and why (Throop 2012). The research which has been done on student reactions to violent New Zealand histories indicates that engagement with difficult histories and the often uncomfortable and painful emotions which accompany them can be productive for students' learning (MacDonald 2020; MacDonald et al 2022; Harcourt 2020). Research indicates that people, particularly Pākehā, find engaging with colonial histories 'unsettling', 'uncomfortable', 'difficult', and 'uncanny' among other distressing or discomfiting feelings (Bell and Russell 2021; Harcourt 2020; MacDonald and Kidman 2021; Macdonald 2013). The 2023 Aotearoa New Zealand histories curriculum unsettles a legacy of forgetting which has occurred in two loosely defined periods: one monoculturally British and the other an imagined 'bicultural' ideal. The emergence of colonial histories in the national conversation and the nation's schools after this history of forgetting is unsettling for Pākehā because it unsettles their sense of identity and place, built on ideas

of national unity, benign colonisation, and whiteness (Bell and Russell 2021). In the face of this unsettled identity, Pākehā try to find a way back to White innocence, to being 'good', and this pursuit creates a sense of moral liminality. For Māori, the emergence of colonial histories after a national history of forgetting does not necessarily have the same unsettling effect as it does for Pākehā, because their identity is not built on whiteness. Māori sometimes experience grief in response to violent colonial histories, and do not feel particularly discomfited by the introduction of an unfamiliar social or learning space, because they often move in 'uncanny' settler spaces (Harcourt 2020; MacDonald and Kidman 2021).

The politically and socially fraught nature of the 2023 Aotearoa New Zealand histories curriculum and the emergence of moral liminality offers an opportunity to witness a particular transitional period in New Zealand's classrooms. New Zealand's legacy of history education is one which covers British Empirical patriotism, colonial histories, silencing, and a long path to Māori inclusion (Manning 2018; Bell and Russell 2021). There is potential for collective mourning with the introduction of the compulsory Aotearoa New Zealand histories curriculum, but as Bell and Russell (2021) point out, 'careful' pedagogies (p.24) will be required to encourage this mourning. Whiteness and coloniality still form key cornerstones in New Zealand's national and Pākehā identities and unencrypting histories of violent injustice is not in the best interests of whiteness (Kidman and MacDonald 2021; MacDonald et al 2020; Applebaum 2010). Coloniality is the administrative continuation of colonisation which maintains the colonial domination of society after the physical act of colonisation is finished and the colonisers have (not always) left (Leonardo 2018). Recording the experiences of students and teachers in this transitional period is important because it represents a significant shift in trends in history education in New Zealand.

My own positionality as a Pākehā tangata Tiriti whose family settled in New Zealand 150 years ago also influenced my motivation for this research. My identity is entangled with whiteness, and this affects both my understanding of Aotearoa New Zealand's histories and my representational ability for my participants. I am interested in this transitional moral period for Aotearoa New Zealand's history classrooms because I was once in those classrooms and I understand on a personal level the feeling of the settler-colonial crypt, as MacDonald and Kidman (2021) identify it. The sealed crypt containing knowledge of violent histories which releases only the difficult emotions which accompany them (MacDonald and Kidman 2021). That subconscious unease, the buried generational knowledge of violence pushed me in some ways towards this research. It is a very unsettling process, and I am very

aware that my focus does skew towards the Pākehā, which is part of the reason that I have chosen to place an analysis of whiteness at the core of this thesis. My analysis of Māori discomfort and responses to the 2023 Aotearoa New Zealand histories curriculum is informed by close listening and observation of consenting Māori students in the classroom and by the work of Māori and Pākehā researchers dealing with Māori difficult emotions and Pākehā paralysis (Smith 2021; Metge and Kinloch 2014; Tolich 2002; Fabish 2014). As a Pākehā researcher doing research with both Pākehā and Māori, as well as Pasifika, tauiwi, and other immigrants who may have their own difficult histories in New Zealand, I have to sit with the fact that I will have blind spots and very likely make mistakes when it comes to my analysis and work with Māori. My own whiteness and internalised racism pose a challenge and the threat of Pākehā paralysis hangs there somewhere too, but this tangled settler identity also presents an opportunity for deeper and more critical engagement with whiteness. As Fabish (2014) says while reflecting on her own struggles with Pākehā paralysis in her PhD thesis *Black Rainbow*, "This internalised racism does not cancel out the antiracism that I am also informed by, rather the two sit together within the contradictions and dialogues of the mind. However, any racism I have absorbed is harder to look at and therefore more important to confront." (Fabish 2010, in Fabish 2014, 33).

Background to the Research

The Aotearoa New Zealand histories curriculum is the first history curriculum of its kind in New Zealand[4]. It provides structure to the teaching of New Zealand histories and pays close attention to the types of stories being told in the classroom (Manning 2018; Patrick 2011). New Zealand's treatment of history in the classroom has changed significantly in the almost 150 years since the 1877 Education Act, moving from a 'controversial' topic, as it was thought of in the 19th century, exuding British Empirical patriotism, to a largely ignored optional subject, to a contemporary 'neutral' subject taught in detail but avoiding 'opinions' or emotions (Manning 2018; Patrick 2011). The 1877 Education Act provided the structure for the first national curriculum in New Zealand, framing it as a 'vexatious subject' which caused disagreements among British settlers at the time (Manning 2018, 121). Apart from stipulating that only English national history should be taught, the 1877 Education Act also treated history as contested and controversial, excusing students from attending history classes if their parents or guardians objected to what was being taught. This part of the act was only removed in the

[4] The Aotearoa New Zealand histories curriculum is the first of its kind because of its compulsory focus on colonisation.

1964 Education Act. The introduction of the new history curriculum has been met with a widely varied array of reactions from New Zealand society reflecting the influence of whiteness. Many teachers and Māori activists have met the news of a compulsory New Zealand history curriculum with cautious optimism, hopeful about the prospect of teaching comprehensive local and national history to students but cautious about the way the curriculum will be framed and whose narratives will be privileged (Ngarewa 2021; Burns 2022; Pederson, McCreanor, and Braun 2022). Others have met the news with indifference, imagining that New Zealand schools already have 'enough' coverage of history, and that New Zealand history is 'not interesting' and better left 'in the past' (Kidman et al 2022). A small but vocal group have responded to the new curriculum with protest, accusing the New Zealand government of 'pushing an agenda' and trying to spread some kind of nefarious 'revisionist histories', feeling their national and personal identities unsettled by the suggestion that there is violence and injustice in New Zealand's past (Quinlivan 2022; Hogan 2021; Kidman et al 2022; Savage 2021).

The varied and highly emotional reactions to the 2023 Aotearoa New Zealand histories curriculum display the legacy of history as a tool of colonisation. History in New Zealand, as in other settler-colonial countries, has been used as a tool to support processes of coloniality and maintain the oppression of Indigenous groups through "the negation of indigenous views…" (Smith 2021, 70). History becomes a tool for colonisation when it is used to shape the self and group images of the colonised, changing the official narrative of events to suit the coloniser and influencing the way the colonised think of themselves and their histories, centering the coloniser's worldview (Leonardo 2018; Walker 1990). Using history as a tool for colonisation can influence everything from common sense assumptions and self-image to how land ownership is perceived, allowing colonisers to shape the land and the governing law as well as the minds and actions of both settlers and the Indigenous population (Leonardo 2018; Walker 1990). The idea that Aotearoa New Zealand histories, and specifically Māori histories, are 'in the past' or pejoratively 'revisionist histories' is a consequence of the way that history has been used as a tool for colonisation. A section of the population continues to place value in the idea that either colonisation was a 'net positive' or that it should simply be left in the past because it is not important anymore (Hogan 2021). Much of the reasoning behind the protests against the implementation of the 2023 Aotearoa New Zealand histories curriculum ironically serves as a good example of the large gaps many New Zealanders have in their local historical knowledge. Claims of 'revisionist histories', 'political agendas', and at their most openly racist, 'savage cannibals' from respondents against the 2014 Ōtorohanga petition brought by high school students for compulsory

teaching of Aotearoa New Zealand histories highlight a lack of historical knowledge amongst a sizeable section of the population (Smith 2021; Mikaere 2017; Kidman et al 2022).

Growing up surrounded by these legacies of colonisation, hearing Māori histories disparaged and carrying encrypted knowledge of the colonial violence done "...half an hour from where you live, not that long ago" (Kidman et al 2022, 70) means that Māori and Pākehā students are encountering New Zealand histories in the classroom with discomfort and pain (Ngarewa 2021; Good 2021). Even if a person grows up never learning the history of their local area, or that colonisation even happened, the encrypted knowledge sits in other spaces waiting to be absorbed; in playground jokes, in thinly veiled racism, in the ethnic makeup of towns so close together yet very far apart, and in the silences of parents, teachers, and strangers (Good 2021; Jackson 2020; MacDonald and Kidman 2021). The presence of these uncomfortable emotions in the classroom is concerning for teachers and Māori activists invested in history education because of the potential for the emotions to be overlooked or marginalised, especially in the case of Māori students (Ngarewa 2021; Kowhai 2022). Discomfort in particular holds potential for education, leading to a deeper understanding, empathy, and critical thinking when engaged in the classroom (Macdonald 2013; MacDonald 2020). For Māori, having space to express feelings of anger, pain, and resentment in the classroom represents a radical departure from classroom practices in the past (Ngarewa 2021; Smith 2021). It also provides an opportunity for Pākehā students (and teachers) to listen actively and get comfortable with being uncomfortable (Fabish 2014). Having open and potentially vulnerable discussions about histories have the potential to encourage a deeper understanding of histories and identity, both national and personal (Metge 2001; MacDonald 2020).

Despite the discomfort and emotional difficulty of talking about Aotearoa New Zealand's histories, many people are willing to talk, even eager to do so. This became clear to me in the course of my Master's degree, as I found that people, even those who didn't know me well, were eager to share their thoughts and sometimes discuss difficult topics. Encrypted knowledge about New Zealand's violent colonial past sat just under the skin of the people I talked to, Māori, Pākehā, and tauiwi, and at times it seemed as though they needed little encouragement from me to share their thoughts. I had conversations with Pākehā who questioned the validity of Indigenous histories, revealing underlying colonial ideas about 'real' 'logical' histories (Sahlins 1983; Sefa Dei 2010). I encountered questions about whether colonisation was indeed a good thing after all, because of its apparent hand in the 'development' of settler-colonial countries (Sefa Dei 2010). I talked with friends who had never learnt

about local history and felt entirely disconnected from the history of the country they had grown up in. I talked with Māori for whom thoughts of colonisation and violent histories were never far from their minds, moving in two worlds (Walker 1990). I observed Pākehā discuss their family histories with each other and discover collectively that they were connected to New Zealand in more complex ways than they had previously imagined.

Research Questions

I have three core research questions, focussing on emotions, silence, pedagogy, whiteness, and coloniality:

- How is whiteness variously maintained and counteracted in the classroom?
- What methods, pedagogical or otherwise, do students and teachers use to deal with difficult emotions and discussions around colonial history in the classroom?
- How do Pākehā students and teachers reconcile their moral selves in response to encountering violent colonial histories?

Theoretical Framework

In order to place my research questions in academic and historical context, below I describe the academic texts and theories, from anthropology, education, and occasionally history, which form the basis of my theoretical framework, considering their connections to each other and the ways they inform and relate to my research. To understand where my research fits in the New Zealand academic context, especially that of the last three years, I begin with a description of the connections between Kidman et al's (2022) book *Fragments from a Contested Past,* MacDonald's (2020) *Teaching the New Zealand Wars*, and MacDonald, Funaki, and Smith's (2021) *"When Am I Supposed to Teach Māori and Find the Time to Learn it?"*. Kidman et al explore the nature of memory as connected to New Zealand history by considering the role of public memory, denial, forgetting, and silence. Kidman et al consider how New Zealand's colonial histories are remembered or forgotten and the ways that silences and denial have shaped the country (Kidman et al 2022). MacDonald (2020) provides a detailed case

study, focusing on the ways the silences and legacies of forgetting and denial explored in Kidman et al 2022 affect young students learning about Aotearoa New Zealand's histories. This article also highlights the integral role that educators and teachers have in showing empathy and being open with emotion when teaching students about difficult and violent histories and provides an example of some student responses to colonial histories (MacDonald 2020). MacDonald, Funaki, and Smith (2021) discuss how the legacies of denial and silence affect teachers and the influence whiteness has on their approach to Māori histories in particular. Together, these three texts provide a discussion of the state of Aotearoa New Zealand's histories, how those histories manifest in and affect the present, and examples of how students and teachers have responded to learning their histories. The descriptions and theoretical analysis of racial bonding as an attempt to maintain whiteness and White dominance in MacDonald, Funaki, and Smith (2021) allowed me to recognise the lack of these settler affirmations in my own fieldwork and led me to a deeper analysis of my data, uncovering the related phenomenon of 'settler silences' which I discuss in Chapter Six.

In their article, *Uncanny Pedagogies* (2021), Kidman and MacDonald discuss the uncanny quality of violent colonial histories for Pākehā and the influence of the settler-colonial crypt. This discussion addresses many of the ideas explored in Kidman et al (2022), MacDonald (2020), and MacDonald, Funaki, and Smith (2021), such as discomfort, difficult histories, Pākehā struggles with violent colonial histories, and the legacies of forgetting and silence in New Zealand history (Kidman and MacDonald 2021). Their discussion of the settler-colonial crypt, using Derrida's (1986) metaphor of the sealed crypt, describes the way Māori histories (and the Pākehā role in those histories) are hidden and silenced (MacDonald and Kidman 2021). Abraham and Torok's (1986) book *The Wolf Man's Magic Word* discusses the idea of 'cryptonomy', which describes the ways that repressed trauma or memories can be encrypted in language or 'crypts', which can be deciphered to reveal hidden memories (Abraham and Torok 1986). Abraham and Torok's concept of cryptonomy is related to Kidman and MacDonald's use of the settler-colonial crypt in that Derrida and Abraham and Torok's discussions of crypts initially emerged together but later diverged into two distinct approaches to crypts. The former focused on hauntology and exploring everyday silences, and the latter focused on uncovering silenced historical traumas (Good 2021; Kidman and MacDonald 2021; Abraham and Torok 1986).

To recognise difficult emotions emanating from the settler-colonial crypt in the classroom, it was important for me to understand how to recognise emotion and also have an understanding of how Pākehā discomfort has previously been discussed. Beatty (2019) and Hotere-Barne's (2015)

interpretation of Tolich's (2002) Pākehā paralysis provided analyses of discomfort and a guide for fieldwork approaches. Observing patterns of discomfort in New Zealand academic institutions, Tolich (2002) initially theorised Pākehā paralysis in response to the trend among Pākehā researchers of excluding Māori participants from research in the general population because they had taken calls for research on Māori to be done by Māori to mean that Pākehā should avoid inclusion of Māori participants altogether (Tolich 2002). Since Tolich's first use of this term, Pākehā paralysis has been extended beyond research institutions to include the hesitance of Pākehā to engage with Māori or Māori culture for fear of overstepping or being 'offensive' or 'wrong' (Hotere-Barnes 2015). Offering a guide for anthropologists studying such difficult and sometimes 'hidden' emotions in the field, Andrew Beatty (2019) describes emotion as polythetic, saying that emotion is a shifting, unbounded category. Applying this approach to emotion in the field means recognising that emotion is not bounded by the 'internalised' experience of a feeling, it requires the analysis of social, cultural, historical, personal, and political contexts, which gives the anthropologist a 'way in' to analysing emotion in the field (Beatty 2019). Hotere-Barnes' use of Pākehā paralysis provides a deeper look at specific Pākehā discomfort and Beatty's polythetic emotion offers a way to observe and analyse these emotional states (Hotere-Barnes 2015; Beatty 2019).

Pederson, McCreanor, and Braun (2022), Applebaum (2010), and Sullivan (2014) discuss the White preoccupation with avoiding being 'wrong' and focusing on finding ways to be 'good' to reclaim white innocence. Wekker (2016) describes White innocence as the idea that whiteness is superior because it is 'purer' and more noble than everything else, combined with ignorance of violence done in its name. Pederson, McCreanor, and Braun describe the way that Pākehā have become focused on portraying themselves as 'good' in response to the increasing acknowledgement of New Zealand's violent colonial past and racism becoming socially unacceptable (Pederson, McCreanor, and Braun 2022). This desire to be seen as 'good' is a response that both individualises systemic racism and colonialism and maintains whiteness by allowing Pākehā to reclaim their White innocence (Pederson, McCreanor, and Braun 2022). Applebaum (2010) and Sullivan (2014) both discuss the idea of the 'good White person'. Applebaum discusses the White drive to be seen as 'good', often in response to calls for anti-racist action, as being rooted in whiteness, specifically in the construction of White innocence (Applebaum 2010). Pākehā innocence is questioned by the acknowledgement and teaching of violent colonial histories. Pākehā I observed and those analysed by Pederson, McCreanor, and Braun (2022) displayed a desire to reclaim that innocence, which they attempted to achieve by blaming 'bad' Pākehā and ignoring the systemic nature of colonialism. Sullivan (2014) addresses this denigration of White

ancestors to appear ‘good’ as a reification of White innocence achieved by distancing ‘good’ White people from ‘bad’ White ancestors (Sullivan 2014). I observed the distancing Sullivan describes in my fieldwork and her analysis allows me to place my argument about whiteness in the wider literature.

The desire to be a ‘good White’ is connected to a desire for atonement, or to ‘move forward’. Didier Fassin (2013) discusses the oppressor’s desire for atonement using Jean Améry’s concept of ressentiment. Ressentiment refers to continued anger after an injustice from the oppressed and self-doubt for the oppressor. Fassin discusses ressentiment as a reaction to the widespread narratives of atonement which erase ongoing systems of injustice (Fassin 2013). I use Fassin’s analysis of ressentiment and atonement in conjunction with Applebaum’s discussion of ‘good Whites’ to describe the way that my Pākehā participants’ desire to be ‘good’ was often connected to a desire to ‘move forward’ and find a way to atone (Fassin 2013; Applebaum 2010). I use Fassin’s (2013) broader discussion of moral emotion and moral community in conjunction with Thomassen’s (2014) discussion of liminality to describe the phenomenon I observed in the field which I termed ‘moral liminality’. Thomassen describes liminality as a state of being ‘betwixt and between’, a category which can be used to describe individuals, groups, and nations (Thomassen 2014). This describes the state I observed Pākehā teachers and students encountering violent colonial histories to be in, where their understanding of how to be ‘good’ and do the ‘right thing’ had been disrupted and unsettled by the new curriculum, creating a sense of moral liminality as they attempted to navigate a new moral space. The state of moral liminality I describe produced Pākehā silences, which I term ‘settler silences’ as an extension of MacDonald, Funaki, and Smith’s (2021) settler affirmations. I use Dragojlovic and Samuels’ (2021) discussion of silences to understand the way that silences are produced by Pākehā discomfort and silence Māori ressentiment. Dragojlovic and Samuels discuss silence as a ‘continuum between articulation and non-articulation’, and within this continuum, silence can communicate many different things, be oppressive, contain stories, and be strategic among other things (Dragojlovic and Samuels 2021). This discussion offers a theoretical understanding of silence which allows space for the varying ways it is used and interpreted. It also provides methodological guidance in that Dragojlovic and Samuels emphasise the importance of paying close attention to silence in the field and asking what qualifies as silence (Dragojlovic and Samuels 2021).

‘Good’ White Silences and Moral Liminality

I argue that teachers and students experience discomfort and other difficult emotions with colonisation due to a complex combination of historical trauma, colonial silences, domination of whiteness, and identity fragility. These difficult emotions are suppressed, silenced, and at times exacerbated by moral liminality. The 2023 Aotearoa New Zealand histories curriculum maintains the appearance of engaging with colonial histories while simultaneously maintaining whiteness by neglecting to mention Pākehā history or influence and identifying Māori history as the “...foundational and continuous history of Aotearoa New Zealand.” (Ministry of Education 2022, 2). Avoiding discussion of Pākehā histories serves to reify whiteness as normative and neutral, comparatively identifying Māori history as ‘othered’. Thus, by obscuring whiteness, the curriculum can maintain whiteness and also engage with violent colonial histories.

Pākehā students and teachers struggle to find a way to be ‘good’ in response to violent colonial histories and find themselves in a state of moral liminality, exacerbated by the ‘neutral’ presentation of the curriculum. In the classroom, Pākehā teachers strive to be ‘good’, ‘neutral’, and ‘unbiased’ by self-censoring and unintentionally reinforcing whiteness because they understand it as neutral. As a result, Māori students find themselves only able to level anger at long-dead colonisers and Pākehā students learn to keep difficult emotions quiet, re-encrypting them in settler silences. Influenced to self-censor and maintain silences by their own moral liminality, teachers display an individualised understanding of whiteness and colonialism which teaches Pākehā students to focus on being a ‘good’ White in order to find atonement, rather than being taught to recognise and challenge systemic whiteness and colonialism. During discussions of 19th-century colonial actions and figures, this individualised approach led Pākehā students to denigrate White ancestors, actively distancing themselves from ‘bad’ White people to reclaim their own status as ‘good’ White people (see also Sullivan 2014). The silences produced by moral liminality do not allow space for emotional discussions and explorations of discomfort. However, moments of moral community sometimes emerged despite discomfort and silences where students and teachers found occasional space for open discussion and showed the ability to sit with discomfort.

Thesis Outline

In **Chapter Two**, I describe my chosen methodology and data collection methods, including my reasons for using ethnography and how ethnographic research is useful in anthropology. I move on to describe my process in setting up my fieldwork plan and discuss the limitations of my plans as a first-time fieldwork researcher. Then I discuss my use of Beatty's polythetic emotion theory in the field and describe how I recognised emotion and listened to silences in the classroom. I then describe my experience with my different data collection methods, examining how I might change my approach in subsequent research. Finally, I describe my data analysis process.

Chapter Three, covers the history of the Social Studies curriculum in New Zealand, focusing specifically on the treatment of New Zealand histories in schools from the 19th century to 2023. I begin by describing the way that New Zealand history was taught, avoided, or actively silenced in the New Zealand curriculum. This discussion begins in the late 19th century with the 1877 Education Act before moving to the mid-20th century with the 1944 National curriculum, curriculum reform in the 1980s, and the 2007 New Zealand curriculum. Then I describe how different groups have fought for and against New Zealand history in schools since the 1877 Education Act and consider the role that moral liminality plays in the treatment of New Zealand histories in schools. I provide a detailed description of the 2023 Aotearoa New Zealand histories curriculum, considering how it differs from curricula before it and what kind of vision it imagines for the inclusion of New Zealand history in education. I also discuss the mutually incompatible goals present in the process of the curriculum's creation and discuss what this tension produces for teachers and students. Finally, I describe the implementation of the 2023 Aotearoa New Zealand histories curriculum as I observed it at Kāpiti College, and outline some of the challenges the school has faced during its early transition.

I then include an **Interlude**, which serves as an ethnographic break between my chapters. This describes the field in detail, illustrating the school and classrooms I spent much of my time in. I describe the students and teachers as I observed them interacting in the classroom and locate the school in its local context.

Chapter Four is concerned with pedagogy, specifically how teachers and students interacted with whiteness in the classroom and what different pedagogical approaches produced. I describe the fear of being 'wrong' I observed in the classroom and the specific aspects of Aotearoa New Zealand histories

which were omitted in the classroom. I describe the attempts made to reclaim White innocence and distance ‘good’ Pākehā from ‘bad’ White ancestors. Then I describe how teachers variously reinforced and counteracted whiteness and coloniality in the classroom. Finally, I detail historical simulation games I observed being played in the classroom and consider how they were used to maintain White innocence.

Chapter Five describes barriers, which I categorise as both ‘solid’ and ‘permeable’, that teachers and students come up against in the classroom in relation to the 2023 Aotearoa New Zealand histories curriculum. These barriers include time pressure, resource scarcity, discomfort, self-censorship, moral liminality, and silences. I describe the solid barriers teachers and students face, considering how time pressure, assignment expectations, and resource scarcity impact their abilities to overcome permeable barriers such as discomfort and moral liminality. I discuss the way that the ‘fact/opinion split’ challenged teachers in the classroom and the different ways each of them dealt with this issue. Finally, I describe the permeable barriers students and teachers faced, emphasising the ways that the desire to be ‘good’ and ‘move forward’ often created limiting silences in the classroom.

In **Chapter Six**, I discuss the emotions experienced by students and teachers in the classroom and the silences caused by moral liminality. I begin by describing the discomfort of Pākehā teachers and students, focusing on the ways they dispelled discomfort with justifications of colonisation and desires for atonement. I go on to describe settler silences in detail, discussing the way that moral liminality in the classroom and teacher self-censorship leads to settler silences among students. Finally, I describe a moment of comfort and open discussion among the discomfort and consider the potential of the school moral community in overcoming moral liminality.

Chapter Two: Methodology

Introduction:

My research is based in a secondary school with Year 10 students and teachers, which means that my methodology had to be responsive to several different types of participants. Researching with young people requires careful thinking about methodology since "Historically such research was conducted on youth, frequently vulnerable youth marginalized within educational contexts…" (Tilley and Taylor 2018, 2184). To engage successfully with my young participants, who were about 14 years old, I employed what Tilley and Taylor refer to as 'modified traditional methods' (Tilley and Taylor 2018). This involves changing traditional research methods such as interviews and participant observation so that they are more engaging and accessible for young people. For example, a standard focus group might be changed into a more informal games-based exercise where young participants can feel more at ease and not feel pressure from the researcher to say the 'right' things (Tilley and Taylor 2018). I specifically chose survey as a method for data collection with my student participants because it offered a level of anonymity which had been previously shown to encourage young people to be more open about their perspectives and feelings (Bouchard 2016).

Additionally, doing research at a public secondary school in Aotearoa New Zealand means that my participants, both students and teachers, came from many different cultural backgrounds and different life experiences. This was important for me to consider when thinking about methodology and emotional safety for participants, especially Māori participants. The legacy of the violent colonisation of Aotearoa New Zealand means that Māori participants have a particularly painful relationship with history. I knew that my methodological approach had to be responsive to the positionalities of my Māori participants, and to the perspectives of Pākehā, Pasifika, and other ethnicities and cultural backgrounds. Part of this responsiveness involved my understanding that as a Pākehā, my life experiences and perspectives diverge more significantly from the experiences and perspectives of participants who are not Pākehā, which meant that I needed to pay close attention to decolonial methodological strategies. I took guidance from Joan Metge's *Kōrero Tahi*, written to teach Pākehā how to work and talk with Māori in an effective and culturally responsive way (Metge 2001). I also found Metge and Kinloch's *Talking Past Each Other* particularly useful, especially her discussions of silence (Kinloch and Metge 2014). They highlight the ways that silence is used differently across

cultures and that it is often used by Māori to convey negative or dissenting emotions, whereas Pākehā often seek to fill silence with words, even if the words hold little meaning (Kinloch and Metge 2014).

This chapter explores how I used ethnographic data collection methods including participant observation and semi-structured interviewing and why I chose an ethnographic approach to studying student and teacher emotional reactions to New Zealand history. I discuss how I entered and worked in the field over eight weeks; a time that was affected by extenuating circumstances due to the Covid-19 pandemic. I describe my positionality in the field and think about what it means to be a Pākehā doing research in a New Zealand secondary school, especially considering my insider-outsider status as a former student of Kāpiti College. I also describe my data analysis methods, and how I transcribed and coded the data from four different sources: interviews, survey, participant observation, and a lunchtime focus group. I reflect on the limitations of the methods I have used throughout.

Chosen Methodology: Ethnography

Ethnography is a methodology and a written product produced during and after fieldwork. Ethnography has been defined in different ways by anthropologists, such as Clifford Geertz's 'thick description', and Laura Nader's 'theory of description' (Geertz 1973; Hamann 2003). Hammersley and Atkinson describe ethnography as being very similar to "the routine ways in which people make sense of the world everyday" (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995, 2). Ethnography involves paying close attention to the details of participants' lives and spending time with them in everyday situations. I structured my time in the field intentionally so that I could pay the kind of close attention that ethnography requires (Kwame Harrison 2018). I chose to spend most of my time in five different Year 10 Social Studies classes, attending eight one-hour classes per week. Attending one or two lessons for each class per week allowed me to observe these five classroom environments and their idiosyncrasies, as well as giving me a broader overview of how students and teachers behaved and related to each other daily. In addition to spending time in the classroom, I also spent many of my breaks in between class times in the staffroom, which allowed me more time with some of the teachers.

Fieldnotes and 'headnotes' are the 'raw data' of ethnography, generally written during observation in the field or immediately afterwards (Delamont et al 2020). There is little consensus in anthropology on the 'proper' way to write fieldnotes, when to write them, and what kinds of things constitute 'real data'

(Jackson 1990). Doing field research for the first time, I relied on literature on ethnography and fieldnotes (Kwame Harrison 2018; Narayan 2012; Delamont et al 2020; Jackson 1990; Hammersley and Atkinson 1995) as well as advice from teachers and fellow graduate students. I recorded fieldnotes in two places, writing in small journalist-style notebooks during my participant observation in the classroom, and filling out a daily fieldwork diary on my laptop on the hour-long train ride home each day. I also noted interactions and conversations I had outside the classroom and in the staffroom in my notebooks immediately after they occurred, using my fieldwork diary for broader reflections about the day. In my notebooks, I wrote down conversations, classroom interactions, quotes from participants, and notes about what was being taught, as well as sensory observations such as the temperature, noise levels, general mood, visible environment, and my level of comfort (or discomfort).

Ethnography suited my research for a few reasons. This methodology is useful because "...ethnography emphasizes discovery. It does not assume answers.", which makes it a useful methodological tool for people-centric research, especially that which explores a topic with a low level of previous study (LeCompte and Schensul 2010, 44). I went into the field speculating that there was a good chance I would find discomfort in some form, having seen how prevalent it was in similar research projects (Harcourt 2020; Bell and Russell 2021; MacDonald and Kidman 2021; Russell 2022). Despite having an established idea of the focus of my research going into the field, I knew that the nature of ethnographic fieldwork meant that much of what I would eventually write about and analyse was yet to be discovered and so I should therefore pay as much attention to everything in the field as I could. The complex nature of emotion and silences made ethnography a useful tool for my fieldwork as it allowed room for flexibility.

Constructing the Field as a 'Partial Insider'

I came into the field as a former student of Kāpiti College, a Pākehā, and a university student. This meant that I was not a complete outsider, I had attended the same secondary school as my student participants and therefore had more opportunities to relate to them. However, I was also susceptible to making assumptions about participants and the field. This was an important issue to consider both in the field and during coding and transcription because of my 'partial insider' status (Ergun and Erdemir 2009). The ethical and practical considerations of being an insider, an outsider, or something in between are the subject of careful consideration and discussion by anthropologists working in their own

communities, particularly 'native' and indigenous anthropologists (Ergun and Erdemir 2009; Gair 2011; George 2010). In the past, outsider status was preferred, because it was thought that researchers would be able to be more objective in their observation and analysis of their participants (Gair 2011). This assumption came with discrimination against 'native' anthropologists (non-Western researchers studying their own communities), with the assumption that not only were Indigenous researchers unable to think for themselves, but their proximity to the cultures they studied made their data unreliable and unempirical (George 2010). However, contemporary scholars argue that researchers with insider status or shared experiences with their participants can do different analyses because of their ability to empathise and use critical awareness when discussing specific experiences outsiders may not be able to understand (Gair 2011). Negotiating anthropological research as a partial insider means that the insider researcher is held to different standards than the outsider, often expected to represent their community (Ergun and Erdemir 2009). When in the field, teachers and staff members often told me what I 'should' include in my thesis and how I might represent the school. It was made clear that my alumna status was crucial in the school allowing my research to take place. Insider researchers are constantly negotiating their positions, emphasising commonalities with participants while downplaying differences so that their status as an insider is maintained and they have better access to participants (Ergun and Erdemir 2009). This research was approved by the Victoria University of Wellington Human Ethics Committee, approval number 0000030325[5]

My status as a former student of Kāpiti College was useful for establishing rapport with students. I found in the first few weeks of my fieldwork students were often reticent to talk comfortably with me and I ended up asking questions and getting short responses, not conducive to further open discussion. I began to make casual conversation with students about the school, extracurricular activities, and what they were doing at school in general. The shared experience of being a student at Kāpiti College and being no more than ten years apart in age allowed me to establish a rapport with several students in most classes and began to make other students who were less eager to interact with me more comfortable.

I had three social studies teachers as participants in the field, of whose classes I was observing one or two each. The teachers, Nadine*, Brianna*, and Harriet*[6], each had different teaching backgrounds and

[5] See Appendix G for Human Ethics Committee forms.
[6] These are pseudonyms.

perspectives on teaching. All three teachers were White women, two self-identifying as Pākehā and one as a Pākehā British immigrant. Two of the teachers had history degrees, one had a geography degree, and they had a combined 53 years of teaching experience, mostly as social studies, history, and geography teachers. I had 36 consenting student participants[7], with whom I interacted in five classes, each containing around 20 students. I chose to research Year 10 students and teachers because history is only compulsory up until Year 10, and since the curriculum was only implemented in early 2023, most of the students and teachers I worked with had little prior experience teaching or learning about colonisation in New Zealand. Each of the five classes had its own specific personality as a group, always containing varied opinions and individual characteristics, but forming a particular collective environment. Each of the three teachers had a different approach to teaching and engaged with their students differently, which influenced their different classroom environments. Nadine was energetic in her teaching, walking around the classroom and sitting or chatting with students during the lesson, laughing often and sometimes cracking jokes. As she said to me in her interview, she felt quite unprepared for the colonisation unit, and in the classroom, she was generally quite open with her students about what she felt were her shortcomings. Harriet was in contrast much less energetic in the classroom but instead devoted a lot of time to detail. She focused much less on what she called 'opinions', and instead preferred to teach historical events and the process of colonisation in a very descriptive way. Brianna approached her students in quite a formal way, often treating them as adults. Her students responded to this with a high level of discipline, often able to follow instructions quickly and efficiently.

Data Collection:

Recognising Emotion and Listening to Silence

Researching discomfort and silences in the classroom requires anthropologists to pay special attention to what people say or do, how they move in the classroom, who they sit with (or do not sit with), what they do not say, and how they react viscerally to different events, among other things (Beatty 2019). Some of the emotions my participants experienced in response to colonisation I directly observed, some were reported to me, and some appeared in responses to an anonymous survey completed by my

[7] I obtained consent from students and parents using an online consent form over several weeks before entering the field and also accepted consent forms during fieldwork.

student participants. Emotion is a difficult thing to observe in the field or analyse outside of it because of its partially interior nature. Beatty (2019) posits that the interiority of emotion is not a barrier to observation or analysis because not even the emotional subject necessarily understands the whole 'truth' of their own emotion, and theirs and others' interpretations of it are influenced by 'many voices' (Beatty 2019). Beatty says that anthropologists should observe facial expressions, gestures, and actions, listen to self-reports, and consider social, cultural, political, historical, and (if possible) personal context (Beatty 2019).

This meant that when I was in the classroom with students, conversing with teachers, or administering and reading through my survey, I thought not only about my own surface interpretation of how a participant might be feeling or acting, but also about the political, social, cultural, and historical context of that emotion. When I observed what I interpreted as a display of a particular emotion in the classroom, I would closely watch and note down facial expressions, tone, language, and the surrounding context. This would allow me to record the emotion as I observed it in the moment and later apply context during analysis. When a student blushed with embarrassment at the mispronunciation of a name and stuttered to explain themselves, I noted these things down as well as the reactions of surrounding students and teachers to revisit this moment later. In interviews with teachers, I would change my questions to focus on a particular topic if the teacher displayed a strong emotion in reaction to it. I would ask for elaboration and try to elicit more detail about how they felt, and perhaps why they felt that way. In the survey, I asked emotionally specific questions so that students could self-report their emotions. This allowed students to describe emotions in their own words and allowed me to compare what I observed from certain students in the classroom against their survey responses if they had provided their real names in the survey.

As Dragojlovic and Samuels (2021) discuss, silences can mean many different things in a multitude of varied contexts, sometimes changing from person to person. Silences can be oppressive, strategic, unavoidable, barely visible, haunting, contain stories, gentle, respectful, empathetic, connecting, or harbour meaning. Understanding silence as not a void of communication, but rather an alternative form, a 'continuum between articulation and non-articulation' (Dragojlovic and Samuels 2021, 418) is important for anthropologists observing and understanding silences in the field. In a New Zealand secondary school classroom, silence can sometimes be as simple as a teacher's command for silent work, or as complex as collective silence in response to learning about a violent or distressing incident. Harriet silenced a group of students making memes about the historical figures they were studying,

saying they ‘risked being offensive’ by not taking the task ‘seriously’. The students were tasked with finding images of historical figures connected to local historical conflicts, which the group had done, but they had switched the real names of historical figures for those from modern popular culture as a joke. I observed manifold silences in the classroom, sometimes marked by the literal absence of speech, and sometimes observable ‘between the lines’, in the things people did not say or avoided.

Participant Observation in the Classroom

When I was in the classroom, my primary observation site, I always sat at a desk with the students, either alone or next to a consenting student, depending on the classroom. Each of the five classrooms I spent time in had its own specific atmosphere, which meant that the types of interactions (or lack of interaction) I had in each were different. In some classes, I sat with talkative students who would chat with me during class and comment on what they were learning, sometimes asking for my help completing tasks or understanding questions. In others, I sat near students and observed them, taking in things they said or did, and doing my best to observe their emotional states and that of the whole class (Beatty 2019). When observing emotion, it must be recognised that emotions are not biological or innately determined, rather they are influenced by cultural and social context (Lutz 1986). However, Margot Lyon (1995) cautions against relying too heavily on a cultural constructionist approach to emotion, warning that it may reinforce stereotypes and miss key differences among individuals and in physiology. Andrew Beatty argues in *How Did It Feel For You?* that anthropologists cannot hope to understand the emotions of their participants in relation to their own emotions, rather they must use a narrative approach to both interpret and write about emotion. This means placing emotions squarely in their context because people and their feelings are much more complex than overarching ideas about cultural groups (Beatty 2010). I applied this approach in my observations of emotion in the classroom.

Each day when I entered a different classroom, I would usually wait until most of the students had arrived and chosen their seats before I found a place to sit. This allowed me to reduce the impact my presence had on the students (I wasn’t taking anyone’s chosen seat), and it also forced me to sit near different students and change my vantage point in the classroom. This was sometimes limiting when the classroom was at capacity and I needed to sit right at the front, obscuring my view and proximity to the students. Generally, when I wanted to start a conversation with students, I would introduce myself, especially during the first few weeks, ask if they would consent to talk to me, and then I would ask a

question or make a comment related to the work they were doing. Some students were very happy to talk to me and would initiate conversations with me without any prompting. I tended to stay close to these students in the classroom, even if I wasn't sitting with them because they tended to be friends with most of the other students and facilitated conversations between more hesitant students and myself.

Certain teachers included me in the lesson or in class discussions more than others. Sometimes teachers would even involve me in the class activity, asking me questions in front of the class or asking me to help them with an exercise. This inclusion allowed me greater contact with students at times when they would usually be occupied with their work and wouldn't have time to interact with me. It was also useful as, in doing this, the teachers demonstrated to the students that they approved of my presence and that I was a safe person to speak to. All the teachers acknowledged my presence in the classroom in some way, but not all actively included me in class activities, which was interesting to observe and may have been caused by a series of intersecting 'barriers', which I discuss at length in chapter five.

I observed my teacher participants both in class and in the staffroom, where I was permitted to spend break times and free periods. Teachers would chat with me before and after class, often unpacking the lesson just passed. In the classroom, there wasn't often any time to speak to teachers beyond a few brief comments, although, on a few occasions, one teacher did sit with me to talk about the topic and generally chat. I would often walk with another teacher from the classroom to the staffroom after class, which allowed some time to discuss the day's lesson and the students. My teacher participants spoke to me openly and shared insights about the students and their experience of teaching the New Zealand history curriculum. In the classroom, I was able to observe the teachers' teaching methods, pedagogy, interactions with students, and general delivery of the colonisation unit. In the staffroom, other teachers often approached me and chatted with me about the new curriculum and their thoughts on the teaching of New Zealand history.

Lunchtime Focus Group

Environmental and time-based restrictions on my interactions with students led me to organise an informal focus group at lunchtime in the second to last week of my fieldwork. I conducted this focus group with only one of the classes, partly because of budgetary constraints but also because I felt that

the class I chose would be most likely to participate in the activities I planned. I bought snack food for the students and laid it out on a table in the classroom, as an incentive to participate in the activities and because it is generally good practice and culturally responsive to provide food for research participants in Aotearoa New Zealand (Metge 2001). I facilitated a writing/drawing prompt activity by writing four prompts on the whiteboard and asking the students to draw or write their answers on the board, using the markers I provided. There were several outgoing students who answered every prompt on the board, some with quite detailed drawings. The prompts were:

- What would space colonisation look like?
- Would you sign the Treaty of Waitangi?
- If colonisation was a person, what would they look like?
- What would aliens think about colonisation?

I chose to frame two of the focus group questions around aliens and outer space in an attempt to distance the issue from a local context, in the hope that students might be more forthcoming or comfortable expressing their perspectives if the question was not specifically connected to New Zealand. This was in response to the ways teachers had talked to me about their students' discomfort with colonisation, specifically that students often struggled when the violent or distressing things they were learning about were 'too close to the bone'. Even though not all of the students responded to my prompts with drawings or writing, the questions prompted discussions between students all over the classroom. Students also made comments to me in response to my prompts instead of writing or drawing, which allowed me to gauge a more general understanding of the students' 'opinions and feelings' about colonisation.

Survey of Student Participants

I conducted the survey at the very end of my fieldwork to coincide with the end of the colonisation unit. I designed eight questions about their experience of learning about colonisation and their feelings on the topic (see Appendix A). I kept the questions simple and open-ended so that the students could answer easily and in any way they wanted. 92 students responded to my survey, and my questions were focused on the colonisation topic and pseudonyms. The surveys revealed themes which did not arise from other data collection methods (discussed further in chapter six). The online aspect of the survey,

individual responses on a computer screen, allowed these students to maintain a feeling of privacy even without the protection of anonymity (Bouchard 2016).

The survey provided me with a more general overview of the students' feelings about colonisation and the new curriculum, as well as a space for students to speak candidly and anonymously (for the most part) about colonisation. When paired with participant observation, my partially anonymous survey allowed me to gain a more nuanced view of student perspectives on colonisation. The survey is categorised as mostly anonymous because I also used it as a means of letting consenting students choose the pseudonym that would represent them if they were mentioned in my thesis. This meant that the last two questions in the survey were optional, reminding students to sign my participant observation consent form if they wished and offering them a chance to select a pseudonym. Because the students had to fill in their real names as well as their pseudonym in this optional question, the survey ceased to be anonymous for those students who gave their names as I could see their responses, 20 out of around 92 respondents. I could have maintained the anonymity of the survey by sending out a table of all the consenting participant names so they could fill in pseudonyms anonymously, but at the time, I wished to keep the number of tasks for the students to a minimum. My process for creating and assigning pseudonyms for both students and teachers is based on Savannah Shange's process described in *Progressive Dystopia* (2019). I made sure the students knew that if their pseudonym was very close to their real name or offensive in some way I would not use it and instead choose one for them. For consenting students who did not choose a pseudonym, I followed Shange's example and chose a pseudonym which corresponded to the same cultural or linguistic naming tradition, was not similar to their real name, and which shared one letter with the real name (Shange 2019). The last rule was my own addition, done to make the pseudonym-choosing process faster.

Interviews with Teacher Participants

I also conducted three 30-minute semi-structured interviews with the three teachers whose classes I was observing. I had a pre-written list of questions to provide a loose structure to the interview (see Appendix C). I asked four broad categories of questions: teaching experience, New Zealand history, reactions and opinions on the curriculum, and questions specific to observation. I wanted to get a general overview of teaching experience, knowledge of New Zealand history, teaching style and general pedagogical philosophy, and experience of teaching colonisation. I conducted the interviews in

the last few weeks of my fieldwork, which meant that I had a pre-established rapport with them, and I had already had conversations with them before and after classes and in the staffroom. During the interviews I used my questions as a guide and focused on listening to the teachers and formulating responses based on where they took the interview (Pankonien 2021; Barker 2012). I recorded each interview and took brief notes, but mostly listened and asked questions that built on what the teachers said. The semi-structured nature of the interviews meant that the teachers were able to speak about the issues most important to them and it was easier to establish a comfortable rapport which allowed space for topics the teachers struggled with or found emotional to be discussed (Pankonien 2021).

There were several things that all three teachers brought up in the interviews, sometimes without prompting. All three stated that they had noticed both for students and themselves that it was easier to learn about difficult topics such as colonisation when the context was removed from New Zealand, for example, learning about the negative effects of colonisation in Vietnam was easier for students to understand and accept. Each teacher mentioned experiencing discomfort in some way in the classroom, whether from difficult classroom discussions, specific class activities, or the confronting nature of New Zealand history. I found that my practice of giving the teachers my interview question schedule to read before we started the interview was useful in that all three of them identified sections in which they were most interested and talked at length in response to those. I noticed that teachers would focus on different aspects of their teaching practice and would avoid certain topics by occasionally taking the conversation back to their specific interests or concerns.

Data Analysis:

I began the data analysis and coding process by transcribing my interviews, recordings of two mock trial activities, and one short classroom discussion recording. I used transcription software to transcribe all three interviews and then listened back to the recordings to edit the computer-generated transcription. Listening to each interview in detail allowed me to note tone and laughter and remember behavioural cues which could be important for analysing emotional affect. Because of the noisy environment of the classroom, I transcribed the mock trial recordings and the class discussion without software, which took longer but allowed me to gain a deeper understanding of things that had been said by students and teachers. To code my survey, interviews, and fieldnotes, I used tables to separate data by core theme (pedagogy, emotions/difficult discussions, barriers to colonisation education). I

highlighted important quotes to use in my analysis and made notes of interesting details and observations, like changes in the weather correlating to class mood changes, sensory observations, and behaviour from participants. For the mock trials, I highlighted important quotes but didn't use tables since I analysed the mock trials separately from the other data.

Conclusion:

I knew going into the field that there was sure to be a certain level of serendipity in terms of what I could observe, who I would speak with, and what kinds of data would emerge from my time in year 10 social studies classrooms (Pieke 2000). Actually being in the field was very different from how I had imagined it, but at the same time, there were aspects which were familiar and allowed me to be flexible. Learning how little control an anthropologist has in the field was perhaps more surprising to me than it should have been, but that experience has taught me how important initial planning and consultation are. The amount of time I was able to spend with students was limiting for my research, but also a symptom of a fast-paced school day, beset with time pressure, homework, assignments, and 50-minute classes. I underestimated how time-poor teachers, students, and schools in general are. Using a mix of qualitative and quantitative methods (participant observation, interviews, a focus group, and a survey) was useful for this particular fieldsite, because it allowed me access to several facets of my participant's lives at school. Without this multifaceted insight, which allowed for anonymity as well as behavioural observation, I would not have collected some of the key data which drives my analysis of silences and discomfort in the classroom, particularly the phenomenon of 'settler silences' and 'moral liminality'.

Chapter Three: Histories of the Curriculum

Introduction:

In 2019, the New Zealand Government announced that Aotearoa New Zealand's histories would be taught in 'all schools and Kura' by 2022, which was later pushed to a 2023 rollout due to the Covid-19 pandemic (Government of New Zealand 2019). Before this, teaching the history of New Zealand was not mandatory, and many primary and secondary schools did not teach it, particularly pre-colonial or 19th-century history (Manning 2018; Neill et al 2021). History has been treated as a low priority in New Zealand schools since the 19th century, and despite calls for intervention from Pākehā and Māori alike (albeit for different reasons), the high-choice system for Social Studies and History subjects has allowed low levels of knowledge on Aotearoa New Zealand histories to prevail (Wanganui Chronicle 1912; Evening Post 1937; Evening Post 1936; Oliveira 2022; Neill et al 2021). This gap in New Zealand history education formed an effective tool of colonisation, one which silenced and dehumanised the Indigenous Māori population (Mikaere 2017; Kidman et al 2022; Walker 1990). The call for New Zealand history to be taught in schools has been enduring and has come from many corners, including Rangatira, scholars, historians, and students (Manning 2018; Macdonald 2020; Kidman et al 2022). The uneven delivery of New Zealand histories across primary and secondary schools in Aotearoa New Zealand combined with New Zealand's 'hidden' pre-colonial and 19th-century historical sites, often omitted from local histories or left unmarked (Kidman et al 2022), produces a country whose population has an often-tenuous understanding of their history and in which colonial myths are easily perpetuated (Manning 2018; Hogan 2021; Neill et al 2021).

Kāpiti College's relationship with the teaching of Aotearoa New Zealand histories is an example of a secondary school grappling with its desire to teach local histories while coming up against pushback from the school community, difficult emotions, and trying to 'get it right'. Stories of uncomfortable parents and students, racism in classrooms, and dismissive attitudes towards New Zealand history coloured the stories of teachers who had tried to implement New Zealand history in their classrooms in the decades prior to 2019. The 19th and early 20th centuries saw a strong push from Pākehā New Zealanders to teach New Zealand history in schools, many commenting on how history as a subject had been 'neglected' (Wanganui Chronicle 1912; Evening Post 1937; Evening Post 1936). However, this initial enthusiasm for New Zealand history was driven by a desire for students to learn about their place

in the British Empire, and to foster a patriotic feeling connecting New Zealand to far-off Britain. As New Zealand began establishing itself as an autonomous country in the mid to late 20th century (Wilson 2016), this feeling of being part of the British Empire faded and priorities around New Zealand's history changed. Suddenly New Zealand's colonial history was no longer a desirable subject for schools because learning about the violence done in the name of the British Empire did not foster the 'right' type of patriotic feeling for a new country trying to establish itself as having the 'best race relations in the world' (Revell, Papoutsaki, and Kolesova 2014, 40). Where learning about the colonial actions of the British had once been useful for maintaining whiteness, the new focus on colonial injustices in New Zealand's history presented a challenge to whiteness, containing the potential to unsettle its power, best avoided for the sake of a united 'bicultural' state (Bell and Russell 2021, 24). Alongside this evolving approach to New Zealand history from Pākehā New Zealand, there has been an unrelenting demand from Māori individuals and groups, and sometimes their Pākehā allies, to provide proper local and national history education as well as recognition of the conflicts which formed New Zealand (Kidman et al 2022; Elkington et al 2020; Walker 1990; Smith 2021). This chapter will trace the legacy of New Zealand histories in schools, explore colonial-era and modern efforts to silence violent histories, analyse the 2023 Aotearoa New Zealand histories curriculum, trace the ongoing influences of whiteness and coloniality and their effect on the new curriculum, and explore Kāpiti's College's personal history with teaching New Zealand histories as told by teachers.

National and Local Curriculum Histories:

New Zealand History in Schools from 1877 Onwards

The 1877 Education Act provided New Zealand's first national curriculum and aimed to present history in a manner which would foster feelings of patriotic pride in the British Empire. It also sought to respond to concerns about the potentially 'controversial' nature of English history for different social and religious groups among New Zealand's British settler population by making history optional (Manning 2018). Since the 1877 Education Act, Māori histories have been intentionally excluded from the curriculum and up until at least 1944, any mention of New Zealand in terms of colonisation, land wars, or other Treaty of Waitangi-era history was deliberately contextualised as part of a triumphant British imperial legacy (Manning 2018; Bell and Russell 2021). Textbooks from this era such as *Our Nation's Story* and *The School Journal* constructed an imagined unified New Zealand where, despite previous conflict, Māori and Pākehā lived together in harmonious biculturalism (Bell and Russell

2021). Kidman names this 'lovely knowledge': beliefs that New Zealand is founded on 'noble' values and that any conflict is firmly in the past (Kidman 2017). These textbooks framed Māori as a kind of evolutionary stepping-stone in New Zealand's history, including Māori pre-colonial histories only to show how 'far' New Zealand civilisation has come since European colonisation (Glowsky 2002; Bell and Russell 2021). When colonial-era wars or conflicts were mentioned, they were framed as minor skirmishes, 'fires in the fern' which ultimately resulted in an imagined unity and racial harmony between Māori and Pākehā (Bell and Russell 2021, 28) The 1944 Thomas Report, commissioned by the Labour government of the time, made secondary schooling compulsory and was part of a wider movement during the Second World War to introduce liberal social reforms. It encouraged students to become socially minded active citizens who knew their histories and wished to serve 'social purposes greater than their own' (Lee and Lee 2016). The report aimed to overhaul the examination system, make secondary education responsive to different student needs, and encouraged teachers to consider the differing viewpoints of Māori and Pākehā on New Zealand history. However, this was not compulsory, and the report did not ask for anything beyond a simple 'consideration' (Lee and Lee 2016).

Since the 1950s, Māori organisations such as the Māori Women's Welfare League, Te Ao Hou, Ngā Tamatoa, academics such as Ranginui Walker, and political and cultural leaders such as Moriori leader Maui Solomon and Te Pāti Māori have challenged the New Zealand government on their teaching policies for New Zealand history and Te Reo Māori. They have done this through the establishment of political movements, public messages of critique, protest, and academic writing among other means to demand recognition of Māori histories and support for Te Reo Māori (Manning 2018; Te Ao Hou 1955; Moffat-Young 2019; Walker 1990; Tu Tangata 1987, "Te Paati Māori - About Us" n.d.). Māori opposition to the Eurocentric 'flexible' curriculum was strong, coming to a head in 1984 with a student strike across 75 schools nationwide in protest of the marginalisation of Māori in the education system and the lack of taha Māori such as Te Reo in the curriculum. These Māori voices calling for New Zealand history in schools have been met with Pākehā opposition since the 1950s, mostly coming from National governments and conservative New Zealand, who were keen to emphasise what they saw as good race relations and little need to revisit a past that many of them saw as irrelevant to the present (Manning 2018; Te Ao Hou 1955; Kidman et al 2022). Leading up to the 1984 school strike in protest of the lack of New Zealand history in schools, the National Government education minister, Merv Wellington, commented that '...he doubts if they (the students) represent the bulk of New Zealand children…', and that he was 'disturbed' to see strong support for the strike from the PPTA (Manning

2018, 123) With support from the Secondary Teachers Union (PPTA), the 1984 protest led to a series of hui and an official review of the curriculum, eventually leading to the creation of a new curriculum in 1989 (Manning 2018). Despite the review resulting from the 1984 protest, opposition to the inclusion of New Zealand history continued. An example of this attitude from 2005 involved National Party leader at the time Don Brash saying that a question about unsympathetic National government actions during the Bastion Point occupation in a Year 11 History exam was 'brainwashing' students (Government of New Zealand 2005). In 2016, the National Government Minister of Education Hekia Parata stated that New Zealand's history, including colonisation and the land wars, should not be compulsory in schools because it 'is not the New Zealand way' (Manning 2018, 126).

This kind of dismissive attitude from Pākehā and occasionally conservative Māori authority figures on issues of colonisation and New Zealand history is not an unusual occurrence in New Zealand (Newshub 2021; Kidman et al 2022). The influence of whiteness and the erasure of past conflicts and injustices has created an environment in New Zealand where Pākehā are able to maintain conscious or unconscious ignorance of the historical injustices done to Māori in the past and their ongoing consequences (MacDonald and Kidman 2021; Applebaum 2010). By 1989, a new curriculum had been created, to be implemented over the next few years, with the goal of addressing the gaps highlighted by those working in schools and the 1984 protestors (Manning 2018). This new curriculum attempted to walk a fine line between meeting the demands of a protesting education sector by covering Aotearoa New Zealand histories comprehensively while simultaneously appeasing a Pākehā population unwilling to confront the violent history of their 'egalitarian' nation (Manning 2018; Revell, Papoutsaki, and Kolesova 2014). This iteration of the curriculum was a movement away from monoculturalism and towards biculturalism, teaching the Treaty of Waitangi but leaving any discussion of conflict or colonisation to optional inclusion by teachers (Bell and Russell 2021). The history curriculum in New Zealand has, until 2023, been high autonomy, which means that even as inclusion of Māori perspectives and histories in curricula increased during the 20th and 21st centuries, teachers still had a high level of control over what they included in the curriculum, and indeed whether they taught any New Zealand history at all (MacDonald and Kidman 2021; Neill et al 2021).

The 2007 curriculum introduced more explicit mention of key moments in New Zealand's history. It was in this iteration of the curriculum that the Treaty of Waitangi was made compulsory learning, framed as a way of explaining how New Zealand became a 'bicultural' nation (Ministry of Education 2007). While more expansive than the 1989 curriculum, the 2007 curriculum continued to treat New

Zealand history as a story of an improving civilisation, placing Māori as tangata whenua in the 'beginning', then bringing in British migration and modern cultural diversity, without any mention of the processes of colonisation or the wars which took place all over the country during the 19th century, and neglecting to mention Māori in any capacity outside of pre-colonial history (Ministry of Education 2007; Kidman et al 2022). The only mention of something close to Aotearoa New Zealand's histories apart from a mention of Māori as tangata whenua is a vague allusion to understanding "...that the causes, consequences, and explanations of historical events that are of significance to New Zealanders are complex and…contested." (Ministry of Education 2007, 27). This mention of 'historical events that are of significance to New Zealanders' leaves the topic very open and does not require a focus on local or national histories. The approach taken in the 2007 curriculum towards New Zealand history is thus reflective of late 20th century Pākehā attitudes towards our collective past, belief in an imagined egalitarian nation founded not on war and violent colonial practices, but on a 'nice' democratic Treaty signed in good faith (Bell and Russell 2022; Kidman 2017; Revell, Papoutsaki, and Kolesova 2014). Kidman (2017) discusses this idea of New Zealand as a unified, egalitarian nation founded on racial harmony as 'lovely knowledge'. The 'Signs of a Nation' exhibition at Te Papa Tongarewa, New Zealand's national museum, is used by Kidman as an example of the way that dominant discourses of New Zealand history frame our colonial past as a benign process of two cultures joining together. This allows Pākehā to think of New Zealand as a bicultural nation, founded in partnership with Māori and that the Pākehā role in this was 'benign, altruistic, and at times, even heroic' (Kidman 2017, 105).

The approach to New Zealand history has shifted over time as our national identity and connection to British colonial powers has changed. Where the history of New Zealand's colonisation was once a source of patriotic pride in the British Empire, used as an example of its power and conquest, from the mid Twentieth century to now, New Zealand's colonial past is considered best left *in the past* (Kidman et al 2022; Bell and Russell 2022; Manning 2018). History is a useful tool for the colonial machine and has been long used in New Zealand as in many other settler-colonial countries as a twofold device to both control the Indigenous population and create a narrative of justifiable colonialism for the settler population (Mikaere 2017; Smith 2021; MacDonald, Smith, and Funaki 2021).

In *Contending with the Weight of History* (2017), Ani Mikaere discusses the way that history is used by colonial powers to twist and shrink the histories of Indigenous people, justifying their oppression as 'uncivilised' anonymous collectives. Examples of the way that the use of history in New Zealand has effectively done this can be seen in the responses to the 2015 Ōtorohanga petition to teach New

Zealand history in schools. By reducing the Māori population to a 'tribal mob' of 'savage' 'cannibals' (Kidman et al 2022, 73-75) as some respondents to the Ōtorohanga petition did, detractors of New Zealand history education can justify colonisation and invalidate calls for New Zealand history to be taught. Examples of the negative responses to the Ōtorohanga petition show how those in opposition to the teaching of New Zealand colonial history accuse Māori historical perspectives and histories of 'driving racial wedges between citizens' and 'supporting a particular ideology', thereby problematising Aotearoa New Zealand's histories as anti-New Zealand and undeserving of further discussion, teaching, or mourning (Kidman et al 2022, 74-75). Reclaiming and learning histories is an important foundational step for Indigenous resistance, which offers some explanation for the motivation behind the silencing of these aspects of New Zealand history:

> The negation of indigenous views of history was a critical part of asserting colonial ideology, partly because such views were regarded as clearly 'primitive' and 'incorrect' and mostly because they challenged and resisted the mission of colonization. (Smith 2021, 70)

These explicit colonial aims to silence and bury Māori histories and construct narratives of justification for colonialism have morphed from patriotic pro-British Empire statements about the process of colonisation in school textbooks to a much more complex and deeply embedded Pākehā avoidance, denial, and discomfort (MacDonald, Smith, and Funaki 2021). This is part of the machinations of whiteness, changing the way a subject or group of people is framed depending on what serves whiteness best. In the 19th and early 20th centuries, open pro-colonial patriotism served the colony and subsequent dominion of New Zealand best, and in the late 20th and 21st centuries, silencing and denial of the past serves the new 'egalitarian' New Zealand best (al-Samarai and Piesche 2018; Castagno 2008; Buck 2012).

As Kidman et al (2022), Amanda Thomas (2020), and Alex Hotere-Barnes (2015) highlight, Pākehā often struggle with a specific discomfort connected to the legacy of colonisation, often regardless of their level of knowledge about New Zealand history. This can manifest in several different ways, such as historical denial, silencing, settler affirmations, and Pākehā paralysis. Settler affirmations are a type of 'racial bonding' observed to occur among Pākehā teachers which entrench and affirm settler-colonial viewpoints, specifically around colonisation and New Zealand colonial history (MacDonald, Funaki, and Smith 2021). Examples of this include comments from Pākehā such as "Typical Māori, getting paid big money to do such an easy job." and "Yeah, Māoris getting things for nothing. All they

have to do is cry inequality, relate it to the Treaty of Waitangi, and they get something." (MacDonald, Funaki, and Smith 2021, 171-172). These ideas, of needing to move on from the past, preferential treatment for Māori, and even of revisionist histories written specifically to be 'politically correct' (Kidman et al 2022), all stem from a specific colonial sensibility which has morphed and evolved as post-Treaty[8] New Zealand has aged. As Moana Jackson writes,

> These colonial stories may have helped explain the taking of power, but they could not give the colonisers the comfort of a place to stand. It was hard to feel at home when the descendants of those who had been killed were never far away and the smoke of the battlefield still lingered in the smoke of the forests that were being burned. In island stories, the intimacy of distance never lets memory entirely fade away. (Jackson 2020, 145-146)

The 2023 Aotearoa New Zealand Histories Curriculum

Content and Learning Goals

Written under the sixth Labour Government of New Zealand in response to growing pressure from historians, students, teachers, and Māori among others, the 2023 Aotearoa New Zealand histories curriculum was created not only with the goal of promoting 'curiosity' and 'respect' for diverse people and cultures but also to help students "...make sense of the present and inform future decisions and actions." (Ministry of Education 2022, 1). In contrast to the one or two-page accommodations made for social science in past curriculums (history is included under this subject), the 25-page Aotearoa New Zealand histories curriculum provides much more information, guidance, and structure than the little attention paid to New Zealand history in the past (Ministry of Education 2007; Ministry of Education 2022). Covering 10 years of a student's history education from Year 1 to 10, the new curriculum approaches New Zealand history using four 'big ideas':

> "Māori history is the foundational and continuous history of Aotearoa New Zealand."

[8] I use the word 'Treaty' throughout this thesis to refer to both the Māori and English Versions of Te Tiriti o Waitangi/The Treaty of Waitangi.

> "Colonisation and settlement have been central to Aotearoa New Zealand's histories for the past 200 years."
>
> "The course of Aotearoa New Zealand's histories has been shaped by the use of power."
>
> "Relationships and connections between people and across boundaries have shaped the course of Aotearoa New Zealand's histories." (Ministry of Education 2022, 2)

In the first idea, a change in framing is immediately clear. Where past curriculums have produced a narrative of Māori and Māori history as something firmly in the past, this curriculum makes it clear in its central ideas that Māori history is 'foundational and continuous'. This is a strong starting point, but when combined with the absence of an acknowledgement of Pākehā domination and violence in the curriculum, this big idea frames Māori histories as the 'other' and Pākehā culture and histories as 'normal'. This may not be the intention, but the lack of mention of the dominance of Pākehā culture, governance, and whiteness in the curriculum suggests that the government is attempting to achieve the seemingly mutually incompatible goal of embracing Māori histories in the curriculum while continuing to maintain the founding whiteness and coloniality at its core. The second 'big idea' stands in defiance of those who would rather imagine colonisation as a fixed moment in time, something which happened in the 18th and 19th centuries but is now long since finished. This aligns with the work of Māori and other Indigenous scholars who aim to discuss colonisation as an ongoing process which has lasting effects on the present (Smith 2021; Mikaere 2017; Elkington et al 2020; Bell and Russell 2021). As this second 'big idea' exhibits, colonisation is a continuing process which morphs into colonialism after the initial phases of settlement and violent domination (Leonardo 2018). The last two 'big ideas' frame the use of power and relationships in New Zealand's history in an extremely neutral way, making no mention of *who* has been in possession of most of the power and therefore *who* has been in charge of mediating the majority of 'relationships and connections' in New Zealand.

The curriculum frames New Zealand's history and colonisation in a broadly neutral way, avoiding the painful and violent reality (Mikaere 2017). As pointed out by Māori and Pākehā educators in the lead-up to the 2023 implementation of the new curriculum, the difficult emotional aspects of Aotearoa New Zealand histories cannot be ignored in the classroom (Ngarewa 2022; Collins 2020). The defensive and angry reactions of those against the teaching of New Zealand history, such as those who opposed the Ōtorohanga petition, show that an understanding that *something bad* happened is 'encrypted' under the surface, even amongst those who know few stories from our history (Kidman et al 2022; Good 2021;

Abraham and Torok 1986; Kidman and MacDonald 2021). Encryptment hauntology describes the way that histories, particularly difficult and violent histories, can be passed down through generations without being discussed, but the 'crypt', or in the case of New Zealand, the 'settler-colonial crypt', allows the discomfort, pain, trauma, and anger to pass down to new descendants, whether they know the stories which caused those feelings or not (Abraham and Torok 1986; Good 2021; Kidman and MacDonald 2021).

The curriculum segments the learning goals in the Aotearoa New Zealand histories curriculum into three steps: Understand, Know, and Do. The 'Understand' step of the learning process involves students having an understanding of the four 'big ideas'. This goal remains the same for each year level, grounding each unit in these foundational ideas. The 'Know' step involves learning about cultural, governmental, environmental, and economic context, becoming more detailed for each consecutive year level. The final section, 'Do', involves encouraging inquiry and critical thinking among students by teaching them how to think about history and make 'ethical judgements' about the past. This is to be achieved by 'identifying and exploring historical relationships', 'identifying sources and perspectives', and 'interpreting past experiences, decisions, and actions' (Ministry of Education 2022, 3). The curriculum document also contains expected 'progress outcomes' in each metric (Understand, Know, Do) for the end of Year 3, Year 6, Year 8, and Year 10.

While the structure of the curriculum is very detailed in terms of what types of knowledge students should be learning, how it should be framed, and how they should be able to think about it, the actual content is left for the teachers to choose, which is closer to the high-autonomy curriculum Social Studies teachers in New Zealand have historically been used to. The curriculum encourages engagement with local histories and a general overview of national histories, but which stories are chosen and what is focused on remains in the teachers' hands. The curriculum website itself contains a guide for teachers and schools to use when incorporating the curriculum into their teaching and has some example videos of teachers teaching the Aotearoa New Zealand histories curriculum (Ministry of Education 2023b). In this way, the openness of the curriculum's content combined with the rigid structure of its learning outcomes is a double-edged sword for teachers. The openness of the content allows teachers to choose very localised histories to focus on and tailor the topics for student interest, while the structure provides a clear path to follow for a topic many teachers might not have much experience teaching. However, the lack of quality resources or historical sites one might take a class field trip to means that teachers are quite limited in the content they use and focus on in class. Nadine

pointed this out to me several times, complaining specifically about a lack of historical sites which weren't 'hidden'. This resource scarcity combined with the multifaceted curriculum structure means that not only do teachers need to find good, engaging resources, but they also need to make sure those resources are fit for purpose for the curriculum's learning goals. I will discuss this in more detail in chapter five, including the way that resource scarcity results in higher workloads for teachers.

Mutually Incompatible Goals and Moral Liminality

From immediate observation, the 2023 Aotearoa New Zealand histories curriculum differs significantly from its predecessors in treatment of history as a valuable topic, clear guidelines about learning goals, and engagement with Māori histories (Ministry of Education 2022). However, the neutral treatment of history and lack of engagement with the contested nature of colonial histories, as well as avoidance of the emotional aspects betray the underlying influences of coloniality and whiteness. Whiteness does not in this case refer to skin colour or ethnicity, although it does involve processes of racialisation. The whiteness at the core of settler-colonial states such as New Zealand operates as a mechanism to make order of and dominate the world, centering the powerful and dominant classes as 'White', unmarked, 'normal', while othering those with less power or different positionalities, using their marked otherness as a point of weakness from which they can be dominated and controlled (al-Samarai and Piesche 2018; Morrison 1992). The social ideology of whiteness can be observed on a surface level in 19th and early to mid-20th century New Zealand, from openly racist xenophobic policies such as the Chinese Poll Tax, to the use of segregated 'native' schools for Māori, and most clearly the infamous 'White New Zealand' policy which prevented 'non-white' people from gaining residency in New Zealand from 1920 to 1974 (Revell, Papoutsaki, and Kolesova 2014; Calman 2012; Beaglehole 2015).

However, as New Zealand began to separate itself from the British Empire and create a new national identity for itself, such openly racist, pro-White sentiments became less acceptable for a nation which repeatedly declared itself as having the "best race relations in the world" (Revell, Papoutsaki, and Kolesova 2014, 40). This new attitude did not mean that whiteness disappeared, rather it morphed into a different form, one that rejected the past and avoided discussions of colonisation altogether (Kidman et al 2022, 76-78). The 2023 Aotearoa New Zealand histories curriculum attempts to walk a fine line between addressing the unceasing demands for proper recognition of New Zealand's violent colonial past and maintaining whiteness and coloniality. Coloniality is the continued administrative domination

and suppression of Indigenous populations after the initial stages of invasion and physical colonisation have taken place, manifesting in high rates of arrest and poverty for Māori (Leonardo 2018; "Latest Release of Child Poverty Statistics – Corrected." 2021; "Prison Facts and Statistics - December 2022." n.d.).

By providing a detailed history curriculum which encourages engagement with local histories and aims to centre Māori histories, but treating Pākehā histories as neutral and leaving little room for the painful and difficult emotions which exist, the Aotearoa New Zealand histories curriculum creates an emotional dilemma for the students and teachers engaging with colonisation. This allows for the maintenance of whiteness while appearing to respond to demands for an inclusive and compulsory history curriculum which confronts colonial injustices (Applebaum 2010; Kidman 2017). The curriculum was written and consulted on from late 2019 to 2023 by government policy workers, historians, teachers, and Māori historians, which likely accounts for the careful thinking that has clearly informed the structure of the curriculum (Ministry of Education 2023). However, this curriculum was still ultimately created in a Pākehā dominated education system, for the purposes of the settler state, and this environment does not encourage the close inspection of whiteness or continued Pākehā domination. In response to the 'neutrality' of the curriculum, Pākehā students and teachers struggle to find a new way to be 'good' in the face of the colonial violence they will learn and teach in class. Māori students are left without a living subject at which to level their anger and resentment, to mourn, because modern Pākehā are permitted to retain neutrality if not 'goodness' (Pederson, McCreanor, and Braun 2022; Applebaum 2010). This struggle to be 'good' and maintain White innocence creates a state of what I call 'moral liminality' which I discuss in chapters five and six.

Aotearoa New Zealand's Histories at Kāpiti College

Over the last five years, Kāpiti College has begun to embrace both the teaching of Aotearoa New Zealand histories and their relationship with local mana whenua, Te Ātiawa. The history of Parihaka is of particular importance to Kāpiti College because Te Ātiawa has a whakapapa affiliation to the Taranaki Rohe and the school was gifted the name 'Te Raukura ki Kāpiti' by Parihaka leaders for its new performing arts centre in 2021 (Scoop News 2021). As Dick Scott writes in *The Parihaka Story* and *Ask That Mountain,* the peaceful village of Parihaka was invaded in late 1881 by government

forces because of their non-violent resistance to land confiscation by the New Zealand government. The leaders, Te Whiti and Tohu, were arrested, 1,600 Māori residents were expelled from the land, and the village was looted (Scott 1981). Within the last five years, Kāpiti College has begun incorporating what one teacher called 'Parihaka values' into their curriculum and general school life. These Parihaka values are based on the ideals of peace and non-violence preached by Te Whiti and Tohu at Parihaka. The students I spoke to had all completed a unit on Parihaka in their previous year, which is a relatively new part of year 9 social studies. A senior staff member I spoke to, Dave*, recalled trying to introduce topics on New Zealand history in the previous two decades and coming up against several different barriers which ultimately stopped him from continuing. Students and parents reacted negatively to the introduction of local histories and topics on colonisation, so much so that Dave abandoned these attempts several times. I heard a similar story from Nadine who said that her effort to encourage parent-child discussions about colonisation resulted in some parents' negative and sometimes racist reactions, which brought that activity to an end. Nadine said that it became 'awkward' to continue running the activity because students would come to class not having done their homework, "...I remember really there was one student who said, 'I didn't ask my mom and dad, because they're racist, I was embarrassed'.".

Attempts to incorporate New Zealand history into the curriculum in the last two decades also faced the challenge of resource scarcity. Teachers continuously referenced the lack of quality, relevant resources for this topic, and ten to twenty years ago this issue was even more pronounced. Up until 2019, Kāpiti College taught the compulsory Treaty of Waitangi topic as outlined in the 2007 national curriculum document (Ministry of Education 2007). One teacher expressed to me that Kāpiti College was in a better position to receive the new Aotearoa New Zealand histories curriculum because of their strong relationship with mana whenua and Māori staff members at the school, but they were also facing challenges despite beginning the incorporation of New Zealand history into the junior curriculum a year early. Judging from the data I gathered during my time in the field at Kāpiti College, Aotearoa New Zealand histories began to be incorporated into the curriculum by teachers, particularly heads of department, for a variety of reasons, primarily because several teachers had already tried teaching local histories in past decades and were keen to try again with increased government support. Speaking to my teacher participants as well as other teachers, it appeared that the school was generally quite enthusiastic to make the change, despite the challenges it would bring, which will be discussed at length in chapter five.

Conclusion:

Aotearoa New Zealand has a complex, fraught, often painful relationship with its colonial history, and the path to the implementation of New Zealand history as a compulsory school subject has mirrored this. In the almost 150 years since the introduction of a national curriculum, New Zealand's colonial histories have been reframed, erased, and retold to serve the shifting needs of coloniality and nationalism. In its current form, the presentation of Aotearoa New Zealand's histories leans towards a level of detail and remembrance not previously seen but continues to maintain whiteness by invisibilising and neutralising Pākehā dominance and violence. The voices which have been calling out for widespread national history education for over a hundred years are getting louder, perhaps too loud for anyone to ignore. Schools are often thought of as microcosms for society or their local communities, which would mean that similar discussions as the ones now playing out on a national stage, about the effect of these histories on Māori, the potential for Pākehā discomfort, and anger from certain conservative areas that New Zealand history is being taught at all, could be expected to be observed in the classroom (Haupt 2010; Ngarewa 2022; Hogan 2021; Collins 2020). How these discussions will play out in the classroom and how both students and teachers will react is affected by social forces such as whiteness, coloniality, and moral liminality, in addition to a myriad of other factors, such as demographics, cultural backgrounds, and current events. One of the most important factors affecting the way that the new Aotearoa New Zealand curriculum will be received is pedagogy, including teaching style, attitude, general classroom environments, and actual classroom activities.

Interlude: Welcome to the Classroom

Kāpiti College is a large secondary school on the Kāpiti Coast about an hour north of Wellington. The school is located mere minutes from the local beach, which is reflected by the sandy, flat grounds the school is on, with sparse native trees and wide semi-rural roads that surround it. This whenua is claimed by Te Ātiawa ki Whakarongotai, Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga, Ngāti Toa Rangatira, and Muāupoko. The school itself is a collection of wooden prefabricated buildings spread out over concrete with one shining new performing arts centre standing over it all. The school buildings spill over onto the field, a sprawling green-grass lawn which rises steeply on one side. The balmy climate here is the pride of the locals, 'it's a microclimate!' you will hear them say with a satisfied smile, never mind the wind.

The classrooms are a collection of old and new, increasingly new to me as a former Kāpiti College student. Blue and yellow walls are overlaid with a kind of carpet-like prickly polyester wall covering. Students' desks are small and wooden, with sticky paint covering layers of graffiti carved by decades of students. Grey plastic chairs shuffle under students and a breeze blows in from the ever-curtained windows, ruffling the paper on the wall, a mix of movie and educational posters. A musty, sweet smell drifts in the space, joining the muted clicking of Chromebook keyboards and stifled yawns. In the newer classrooms, desks are a clean, smooth, white plastic paired with flexible black ergonomic chairs. Chairs creak as students lean back in them and the quiet tap-squeak-tap of the teacher's marker on the whiteboard provides background noise for the low-spoken conversations bubbling up all over the room.

In both types of classrooms, I sit amongst the students at a desk with my stationery in front of me ready, as they shuffle, chatter and giggle amongst themselves. Although the technology in these classrooms is different from the exercise books I remember, the students interact with their work in much the same way, which is for the most part reluctantly. As one teacher commented, "...they don't want to have to really work.". The atmosphere in the classroom shifts according to the weather, which is reflected in the moods of the teachers and the students. In each classroom, the desks are lined up in pairs, so that three or four rows of students face the front of the classroom, with the whiteboard in the middle and the teacher's desk in one corner. From here, the teacher can lecture, draw, or write on the whiteboard, answer and ask questions, and walk through the rows of students.

Each class had its own collective personality, influenced by the teacher, the environment, and the interactions between the types of students of whom it was comprised. There were two much quieter, more subdued classes whose general focus was fickle and where lethargic energy generally settled over the students during the class period. In these quieter classes, there often emerged a kind of deadpan exchange of jokes between the students and the teacher, forming a somewhat unstable rapport which could cross an invisible line that only the teacher could see. Another class had so much bubbling energy that it was sometimes a struggle at the beginning of the period for the teacher to pull the students' attention. This was a larger classroom, seemingly brimming with energetic students and laughter. This classroom was split down the middle in terms of energy levels, one side filled from the very front of the room to the back with noisy, chattering students who didn't always raise their hands and whose questions were work-related perhaps half the time. The quieter side of the classroom talked mostly amongst themselves and were more likely to work in silence when asked, but also had plenty to say when called on.

The last two classes did silent work in almost complete quiet but were also quick to raise their energies for a game or lively discussion when the teacher guided them to do so. They were curious, but I noticed that questions would often remain whispered among friends in case they weren't the 'right' thing to ask. One of these classes had two very confident outspoken Māori students who were unafraid to express opinions, respond to comments from other students, and answer questions with confidence even when they got the answers wrong. This was noticeable in comparison to the other classes, because of the corresponding lack of confident Māori voices. Kāpiti College is a majority Pākehā school, with 78% Pākehā students and 20% Māori, which means that there were fewer Māori students in each class and therefore perhaps less chance that those students would be confident or feel comfortable expressing themselves in a Pākehā dominated environment ("Kapiti College | Education Review Office." 2019).

Each of the three Pākehā teachers who allowed me to observe their classes over the eight weeks that I was at Kāpiti College approached the classroom environment and teaching differently. Here I will briefly describe their personalities based on their interactions with me and with students in their classrooms. I met Brianna* first, in mid-April 2022. Brianna spoke fast and walked at the same pace, always seeming to have somewhere very important to be right now, which I came to recognise as the tempo of a teacher under immense time pressure. Despite these pressures, she always managed to make time for her students' questions and my own, breaking her sometimes quite businesslike focus to let a little bit of her tiredness show, sighing or rubbing her face in exasperation at some bureaucratic

nonsense or laughing briefly at something a student said. She was quite concerned, much more than she let on in class, about the way she was teaching the colonisation topic, not that she was outwardly lacking in confidence, but that she was 'mindful' as she put it, of not doing the 'wrong' thing, or letting her Pākehā paralysis get the better of her. In the classroom, Brianna was quite reserved, only relaxing when the class played a game or discussed something other than colonisation. Her own positionality and the difficulties of teaching a topic so 'close to home' were at the front of her mind, but she generally kept these thoughts to herself in the classroom, along with any emotions or opinions she had about colonisation.

In contrast, Harriet*, who I met on the first day of fieldwork, let a lot of her personality show in the classroom, sometimes perhaps unintentionally. Harriet had a dry sense of humour, often delivering teasing comments to students in a deadpan voice with a raised eyebrow. She was someone who called it as she saw it, often speaking to her students as if they were fellow adults, which had mixed results depending on the student. Harriet felt strongly that colonisation was negative and was extremely hesitant to express that in the classroom, so much so that she would often refrain from describing an event or person in much or any detail, so as not to 'influence' her students' opinions. This often had the opposite effect, because she had a very expressive face and often made significant tone changes which communicated her feelings about the subject despite her attempts to be 'neutral'. Harriet felt quite strongly that the class should focus on issues to do with museums and the theft of historical objects, which was what she was specifically interested in, rather than the conflicts and consequences of colonisation which were being taught.

Nadine*, who I met last, was bubbly and friendly, and immediately amiable towards me when I introduced myself to her. This personality did not change much in the classroom, as she was resolutely energetic in her teaching, not spending much time sitting at her desk but rather walking around the classroom interacting with students. She, like Brianna and Harriet, struggled with self-censorship and felt unsure about how much of her own perspective she could bring into her teaching. Despite her bubbly personality, Nadine felt quite nervous about teaching the colonisation topic, a subject which for her felt 'too close to the bone'. She was a British immigrant but had lived and taught in New Zealand for nearly two decades and struggled with knowing the 'right' things to say in the classroom. Like Harriet, Nadine felt very negatively towards colonisation, particularly as it was connected to Britain, which she expressed to me and students who weren't in her class. Similarly to the two other teachers, her hesitance and nervousness seemed to originate not from a lack of opinion or knowledge, but from a

desire to do or say the ‘right’ thing in the classroom, which in her view did not involve her personal perspective.

All three teachers struggled with similar issues in their classrooms, these struggles mediated in different ways by their personalities. Each of them censored themselves to some extent in the classroom, and all three expressed a desire to do the ‘right’ or ‘good’ thing in the classroom. Pedagogical style is influenced by personality on many levels, but it is also influenced by engagement with the classroom as a whole person (hooks 1994). As students expressed difficult and sometimes uncomfortable emotional states, the teachers struggled with their own, often feeling like they had to hide this behind an imagined neutrality and finding it more challenging to engage with student emotionality as a result.

Chapter Four: Pedagogies of Whiteness

Introduction:

In this chapter, I discuss my teacher participants and their teaching styles, the classrooms in which they taught, and some of their students. I was surprised at the marked differences between the five classrooms I observed at Kāpiti College, mostly because of the way that my participant teachers and others at the school talked about the curriculum as highly prescriptive and essentially rigid. In contrast to the much more high-choice history curriculum of the past, the new curriculum must feel very restricted and prescriptive, but the actual differences I observed in topic focus and pedagogical style were such that teachers still had a good degree of flexibility in what and how they taught. I describe and analyse their personal approaches to teaching, consider what their pedagogical approaches *did* in practice in the classroom, and discuss how they reinforced or counteracted whiteness and coloniality with their pedagogies. Finally, I describe in detail three simulation games used in class and consider how students engaged with historical material through them and how these games allowed students and teachers to maintain White innocence. Using Castagno's (2008) analysis of whiteness and silencing, Applebaum's (2010) discussion of 'good' Whites, and MacDonald and Kidman's (2021) analysis of the settler-colonial crypt, I consider how the pedagogical approaches and activities used in the classroom affected student perceptions of colonisation.

'Doom and Gloom' and White Innocence:

In my interviews with each of the teachers, I asked: "Do you have a teaching philosophy or pedagogy that you use in your teaching?".[9]. My understanding of pedagogy is informed by bell hooks' discussions of pedagogy as both a conceptualisation of the classroom as a space of learning and the practice of teaching (hooks 1994). Nadine felt that it was very important to be upfront about her own positionality with the students so that was clear to the students who their teacher is and how she is connected to the content being taught. A big part of this was being open about what she saw as her limitations, "I don't pretend I'm something I'm not.". Being honest with the students about who she is

[9] Refer to Appendix C for full Interview Question Schedule

and not ‘pretending’ to be ‘something she’s not’ means that Nadine is clear with her students about her positionality as a British settler.

Brianna framed her pedagogical approach as creating a space where students are able to bring in their knowledge and experiences and everyone learns from each other.

> “...I am not the holder of all knowledge and it’s not you learning my point of view, that I need to create a space where they can explore different points of views, and test their own assumptions and build their own assumptions, or, you know, build their own ideas.”. (Brianna, interview)

Brianna emphasised that this approach was especially important for social studies, because much of what the students are learning in the new colonisation unit, and in social studies in general is very ‘doom and gloom’. She found it important to ‘build in some hope’ and show the students that “...things can be terrible, but things can always be done about... you know, they have voices and they’re active, and they are the citizens of the future, so hopefully they can change things.” Harriet also used the term ‘doom and gloom’ to refer to social studies and the colonisation unit, framing the often-violent topics covered in class as negative in the same way Brianna did.

> “...I think young people- they need to see positive stuff from not just focusing on the, the, the negative side of things, because otherwise, everybody starts piling. No, it's just all doom and gloom.” (Harriet, interview)

All three teachers talked about the difficult nature of teaching violent topics in this way, with both Brianna and Harriet referring to it specifically as ‘doom and gloom’, while Nadine used words like ‘unpleasant’, ‘heavy’, and ‘close to the bone’. Interestingly, both Brianna and Harriet implied that this was an issue they faced with social studies, dealing with often very violent and difficult topics where there was not a lot of ‘hope’ involved as Brianna put it. In some ways, the way that the teachers talked about this specific difficulty was grounded in discomfort about the violence itself. Harriet did not want to focus ‘too much’ on the violent aspects of colonisation and would have preferred to teach her students about the issues surrounding cultural objects in museums and similarly ‘safe’ subjects. Brianna also showed some discomfort when discussing the difficulties of teaching the more violent topics, but her focus was more on how to ‘find that balance’ between the violent histories and hope for the future.

Harriet and Brianna were particularly concerned with protecting their students from what they saw as the potentially distressing nature of the colonisation unit.

While history is understood to have the potential to encourage transformational thinking in students, this transformation and ability to claim agency are not generated purely from discussions of positive or hopeful historical events (Neill et al 2021; Boler and Zembylas 2003). Engagement with violent and often very difficult histories is important to mourn a past which has been encrypted (MacDonald and Kidman 2021). This could also encourage Pākehā students to confront a history of whiteness which is likely invisible to them otherwise (MacDonald and Kidman 2021; Bell and Russell 2021; Applebaum 2010). The discomfort with and avoidance of violent topics that I observed from Brianna and Harriet in particular maintained whiteness, particularly White innocence. White innocence is the idea that whiteness is innocent of any violence or racism because it is superior (Wekker 2016). Whiteness requires the maintenance of White innocence, and avoidance of violent colonial histories achieves this in two ways (Applebaum 2010). First, the White innocence of Pākehā students is maintained through their continued ignorance of the violence which founded and continues to structure their country. Second, the full extent of the violence and injustice done in the name of colonialism is allowed to stay hidden, permitting the whiteness and coloniality at the core of the nation to remain unaddressed. Māori students are not always afforded this protection from violence, they may enter the classroom with epistemological and historical knowledge of violent colonial histories (Bell and Russell 2021; MacDonald and Kidman 2021; Smith 2021).

The violence that the teachers avoided in the classroom included descriptions of physical and symbolic violence. I noticed a reluctance to engage with violence on a few occasions, one of which occurred in Harriet's classroom. The topic of the lesson was the consequences of colonisation for Māori from the 19th century onwards and was the first lesson where colonisation was discussed outside of the framework of the New Zealand wars. Harriet sat at her desk and pulled up what looked like a Word document on her laptop screen, projecting it onto the pull-down screen at the front of the class. The document was filled with bold black text which appeared to have been copied and pasted in from somewhere else, split unevenly into paragraphs and lone sentences. The text was small and almost unreadable, making me wonder why Harriet had bothered projecting it onto the screen. She then proceeded to read verbatim from this document, describing how Māori had been affected by colonisation in different ways from the 19th century until the mid-20th century. This was something interesting I noticed repeated in other classrooms, the significant gap often left between the difficult

histories engaged in class and the present day. Often descriptions of injustices against Māori would end abruptly in the 1960s or '80s, far enough away from 2022 to maintain an innocent separation.

As Harriet read from this document, she was essentially chronicling the statistical measurements of Māori health, poverty, life expectancy, and land ownership. There was no social, political, or environmental context, no mention of who was causing these issues for Māori and what kinds of structures created this inequitable environment. She read through the facts on her document; noting percentages of Māori living past 60, rates of land ownership, rates of significant health issues, speeding through the decades as if she would really rather get it over with. I watched the students, silent and gloomy, listening to all this violence which very likely affected some of them and their families. In her rush to get through these historical measurements of injustice, Harriet both reduced the long and enduring consequences of colonisation to a few pages of statistics and obscured the role of whiteness and coloniality in those injustices. She did not place any blame on Māori for these statistics, but there was also no mention of the state's specific role in these consequences or what life expectancy had to do with colonisation. Harriet mentioned to me several times over the course of the term that although the students would be watching the film Boy (2010), she didn't think they would 'get it' and they likely wouldn't be able to make the connection between what they had learned about colonisation and the poverty and violence shown in the film. From what I observed, she was right that the students couldn't make the connections, but this was not because of a lack of intelligence, focus, or understanding, it was because the way that lessons and the topics were framed meant that the systemic colonialism and influence of whiteness which created social conditions like the ones seen in the film Boy were obscured from students and left unexplored.

As discussed in chapter three, past curriculums tended to treat Māori histories as existing only pre-colonisation, framing Māori culture and history as a relic which had since disappeared or been assimilated (Manning 2018; Patrick 2011). One of the 'big ideas' in the 2023 Aotearoa New Zealand histories curriculum is that "Māori history is the foundational and continuous history of Aotearoa New Zealand." (Ministry of Education 2022, 2). This goal was partially met in the classroom, but important aspects of Māori histories such as Māori activism and histories of resistance were omitted and the Pākehā and/or British colonial role was left unaddressed past the early 20th century, invisibilising the dominant role of Pākehā in the present day. The historical role of Pākehā both in the 2023 Aotearoa New Zealand histories curriculum and in the pedagogical practices of teachers in the classroom is

presented as ‘neutral’, which allows Pākehā to maintain White innocence even in the face of discussions of Māori histories.

‘Savages’ and Civility: Counteracting and/or Reinforcing Whiteness & Coloniality

Whiteness and coloniality were woven through the canon of the colonisation unit I observed being taught in Year 10 Social Studies. They were present in old and new resources, conversations in class, the language used in the classroom, and narratives about ‘civilised’ and ‘savage’ modes of dress, among other things. Not only does the 2023 Aotearoa New Zealand curriculum itself contain an invisibilised narrative of whiteness as ‘neutral’, but decades of colonial histories, shifting public perceptions of national history, and resources informed by whiteness mean the task of counteracting or recognising whiteness at work in the classroom is difficult for Pākehā teachers. In each classroom and in each different situation, the teachers dealt with things slightly differently, sometimes counteracting and sometimes reinforcing whiteness and coloniality. Using Castagno, Diaz, and Applebaum, I will describe and analyse two instances where teachers simultaneously reinforced and counteracted whiteness (Castagno 2008; Diaz 2010; Applebaum 2010).

Whiteness as a theory and a social force does not necessarily refer only to ethnicity, although White and Pākehā people often work to uphold it in society and institutions, consciously or unconsciously. Whiteness refers to the system of domination present in settler-colonial societies which creates a hegemony of ‘White’ groups over all others (al-Samarai and Piesche 2018). In the case of history, and in particular New Zealand history, whiteness is upheld by binaries and stories of benign dominance, comparing every other culture or way of life to ‘superior’ European culture. Narratives of the ‘savage’ and the ‘civilised’ in Aotearoa New Zealand’s histories reflect this binary approach, imagining Māori as ‘savage’ so that whiteness is ‘civilised’ by comparison (Mikaere 2017; Applebaum 2010). In the classroom, teachers variously counteract and reinforce whiteness through the ways they choose to frame events and groups, the words they use to talk about certain things, and whether they actively challenge ideas which uphold whiteness. Whether teachers counteract or reinforce whiteness and coloniality should not be understood as a question of binary actions and outcomes; it manifests in the classroom as more of a shifting needle, greatly affected by slight changes in classroom dynamics, teacher comfort, student perspectives, and the topic itself. Angelina Castagno observed the reinforcement of whiteness through silence in her 2006 classroom observations in two Utah middle

schools, specifically pertaining to race. Racist ideas and comments arising in class were often left unaddressed and sometimes encouraged by teachers, meaning that through silence, teachers in the classrooms Castagno observed reinforced and maintained whiteness (Castagno 2008). Coloniality is closely related to whiteness in that colonisation as a process is informed by and informs whiteness and racism (Leonardo 2018).

One instance where whiteness and coloniality were upheld, even as a teacher attempted to undermine them, occurred in a conversation between Nadine and three students. They were discussing Hōne Heke during an exercise where the students needed to fill out a table describing the perspectives of people involved in the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. Hōne Heke was a 19th-century Ngāpuhi chief who was one of the first Māori leaders to sign the Treaty of Waitangi. An early supporter of the Treaty, he became frustrated with British actions only four years after signing it, and famously cut down a British flagpole at Kororāreka (Russell) four times in protest (Ministry for Culture and Heritage 2019). Nadine said of Hōne Heke, "he travelled… so he wasn't a savage, was he?". Nadine said that because Hōne Heke travelled, was 'educated', and wore European clothing, he wasn't a 'savage'. In this instance, by attempting to counteract a narrative of Hōne Heke as a 'savage', Nadine ended up reinforcing the idea that, firstly, there is indeed a hierarchy of people from 'savage' to 'civilised', and secondly, that there is a legitimate way to measure how 'civilised' or 'uncivilised' someone is through proximity to European ways of being. I observed that both students and teachers felt comfortable using the word 'savage' to describe Māori in conversation about the colonisation unit and would even use the word as a way to chart 'progress' from 'savage' to 'civilised' in a hierarchy reminiscent of social Darwinism (Manning 2018). Colonial-era language, specifically 'savage', was used many times in class resources, and students began to use 'savage' liberally in class. In the Treaty mockumentary *Treaty of Waitangi – What Really Happened* that all three teachers used in class, the word 'savage' was used many times by British settler characters to refer to Māori, always in a derogatory way (Burger and Strawhan 2011).

The word 'savage', used for centuries to categorise groups of non-Europeans as less than human because of their different cultural and social practices, as well as their race, has a long and complex history and cannot be used to 'invert' the coloniser/colonised relationship, as Linda Tuhiwai Smith argues (Smith 2021). The 'savage' vs 'civilised' dichotomy is one of the primary oppositional categories used to maintain and justify whiteness and white supremacy in settler-colonial contexts such as New Zealand. In the classroom, Nadine usually chastised students for using racist language or making racist comments, but she remained silent on the topic of 'savages'. Leaving this language

unaddressed led to students feeling emboldened to use derogatory and harmful language in class about Māori historical figures, and by extension, Māori in general.

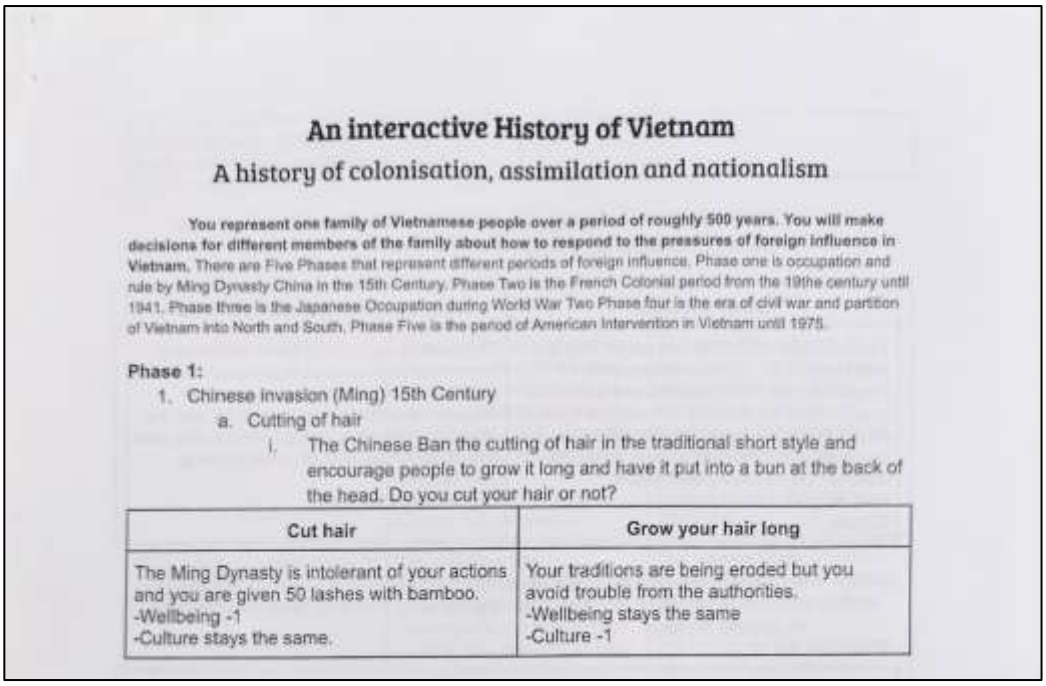
A second instance where I witnessed teachers struggling with whiteness and coloniality in the classroom was during discussions about the two versions (English and Māori) of Te Tiriti/Treaty of Waitangi. There was productive discussion in more than one class of the differences between the two treaties and the ways that the British essentially 'tricked' (as one student put it) Māori into signing the Treaty. There were two conflicting narratives present during these discussions: one, that the British presented Māori with a different Treaty to sign than the English version, and two, that Māori could not understand the complexities of signing the Treaty and what that would mean for the future. There was a definite effort from teachers to emphasise that the writing and delivery of the two treaties by the British was flawed, rushed, and misleading. But at the same time, the narrative of the inferior 'native mind' was not challenged in the classroom. From my observation, this wasn't specifically reiterated by teachers, but it was allowed to pass without scrutiny.

Racism and whiteness in New Zealand tend to be expressed in a more implicit way, centering and uplifting Pākehā while framing Māori as a group in need of British colonisation and Pākehā 'saviours' (MacDonald and Ormond 2021). The idea that perhaps Māori weren't intelligent enough to understand the Treaty only serves to absolve British settlers of the blame for their lazy and perhaps intentionally deceitful treatment of what was to be a country's founding document. Not correcting or addressing this idea of 'the native mind' being inferior means that students will learn that this idea has truth to it, but that it needs to remain unspoken (Castagno 2008). The teachers' tolerance of this idea of 'the native mind', especially when they had corrected or addressed other problematic ideas in class resources, influenced the students. I noticed that the kinds of problematic language or behaviour that teachers addressed tended to be more overtly racist or problematic, such as when Harriet explained why a student shouldn't say that a classmate 'looked like' he was from a certain country. The problematic language, behaviour, or ideas which teachers did not address tended to be implicitly problematic, reinforcing whiteness or maintaining White innocence. The teachers had a difficult time seeing and addressing the whiteness around them, which was normalised and neutralised. Avery Smith (2023) noticed a similar trend among the teachers they interviewed in two primary schools for their PhD thesis. The Pākehā teachers had difficulty identifying their own cultures but could very easily identify characteristics from other cultures (Smith 2023). In imagining itself as neutral, whiteness makes

Pākehā strangers to their own culture, unable to recognise characteristics and values those outside whiteness could easily identify.

In the classrooms I observed, particularly those which ran simulation games which I will discuss in the next section, I noticed that colonisation tended to be framed as something which had happened in the past and was done by 'bad' people. In the 2023 Aotearoa New Zealand histories curriculum, one of the four 'big ideas' identifies that "Colonisation and settlement have been central to Aotearoa New Zealand's histories for the past 200 years." (Ministry of Education 2022, 2). This idea clearly describes coloniality as an ongoing process, perhaps not highlighting the way in which colonisation continues to affect the lives of Māori in the present day, but showing that it is not a process which ended after, say, the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi or the New Zealand Wars. However, with time gaps left unaddressed between the 1960s or 1980s and the present, students sometimes came to understand colonisation as something which happened in the past, to someone else, perpetrated by 'bad' people whose motivations could not be understood by 'good' people. Sullivan (2014) discusses the way that White people often feel that they must demonise and distance themselves from their ancestors who committed violent or harmful acts, thus maintaining their White innocence by comparison. Dismissing White ancestors who committed atrocities or were involved in violence as 'monsters' ignores the ways that they as descendants continue to be complicit in and uphold systems of racism and inequality. White innocence is maintained in comparison between whiteness and blackness, and also between 'good' Whites and 'bad' Whites (Sullivan 2014; Wekker 2016).

Simulation Games



An interactive History of Vietnam

A history of colonisation, assimilation and nationalism

You represent one family of Vietnamese people over a period of roughly 500 years. You will make decisions for different members of the family about how to respond to the pressures of foreign influence in Vietnam. There are Five Phases that represent different periods of foreign influence. Phase one is occupation and rule by Ming Dynasty China in the 15th Century. Phase Two is the French Colonial period from the 19the century until 1941. Phase three is the Japanese Occupation during World War Two Phase four is the era of civil war and partition of Vietnam into North and South. Phase Five is the period of American Intervention in Vietnam until 1975.

Phase 1:

1. Chinese invasion (Ming) 15th Century
   a. Cutting of hair
      i. The Chinese Ban the cutting of hair in the traditional short style and encourage people to grow it long and have it put into a bun at the back of the head. Do you cut your hair or not?

Cut hair	Grow your hair long
The Ming Dynasty is intolerant of your actions and you are given 50 lashes with bamboo. -Wellbeing -1 -Culture stays the same.	Your traditions are being eroded but you avoid trouble from the authorities. -Wellbeing stays the same -Culture -1

(Excerpt from the Vietnam Colonisation Simulation)

Students in three classes played what teachers referred to as 'simulation' games, interactive learning activities which are used to help students learn about a concept or topic through interaction and action rather than reading and listening. Two of these followed the same choose-your-own path points-based system and one involved staging a mock trial. These types of games often involve simulating a situation or event relevant to the learning topic (Selander 2018) such as in the Vietnamese Colonisation Simulation (VCS)[10] where students made choices as if they were Vietnamese people living under colonisation. The VCS was played in two classes and was a simulation created by a Kāpiti College history teacher (not one of my three participants) for the colonisation unit. The simulation was separated into five phases spanning 500 years of Vietnamese history: Chinese rule, French colonisation, Japanese occupation, Civil War and partition, and American intervention/war. The students were given seven different dilemmas per phase, and they could make one of two choices in response. These included conforming (or not) to colonial rules about appearance, attending anti-government protests, converting to the coloniser's religion, and protecting cultural and historical items. Their choices affected their overall points in the simulation, which were split into categories of

[10] See Appendix D for full VCS document.

‘wellbeing’, ‘culture’, and ‘nationalism’. The wellbeing points made up a ‘personal score’, while culture and nationalism points contributed towards a collective class tally. The Māori Colonisation Simulation (MCS) game followed the same basic structure, replacing colonial phases with time periods and the Vietnamese dilemmas with ones relevant to Māori. These time periods in the MCS comprised periods of 20 years between 1900 and 1980 and posed dilemmas to students such as wearing tā moko or not, learning Te Reo Māori or not, and moving to a city or not.

Students sat in rows facing the whiteboard where Brianna had drawn a points table to keep track of collective culture and nationalism points as the class moved through the different phases of the simulation. The classroom was dark, and students moved excitedly in their seats, anticipating another session of the game they had started the week before. There was a shuffling of paper as the students got their points sheets in order and chatter filled the room. Brianna quieted the class and began to move through the dilemmas in phase one of the VCS. In this dilemma, the Chinese rulers banned the cutting of hair in the traditional Vietnamese style in favour of growing it long and wearing it in a bun. The students had to choose whether they would follow Chinese rules or cut their hair anyway. Students who chose to follow the rules lost one culture point and students who cut their hair lost one wellbeing point. Brianna explained the rationale for the loss of these points and the students exclaimed and muttered amongst themselves, frustrated that they would lose points no matter what choices they made. During the MCS when Nadine read out the point effects of students’ decisions about things like tā moko, religious conversion, and traditional food, the students also protested and said that the wellbeing points should stay the same because they hadn’t changed anything about their lives. In both games, students took issue with the way the points were distributed and became frustrated when they realised that they would often be faced with a complex situation with no clear ‘right’ choice. Some students chose to mainly assimilate to the whims of their hypothetical colonial rulers, finding it ‘easier’ and saying it would mean they would be ‘happier’. Other students approached each situation slightly differently, deciding on their actions based on how much they valued the specific freedom being lost. A few students were very sure that they would not assimilate in any way, no matter how many wellbeing points they lost as a result. The simulation aspect of the MCS, a game set in Aotearoa New Zealand, assumed that none of the students in the class already had that lived experience, which, combined with the binary way the choices were represented, created a reductive vision of Māori experiences under colonisation.

A kind of flattening occurred in both the MCS and VCS wherein choices made by Māori or Vietnamese under colonisation were split into two categories and students responded by assigning 'right' and 'wrong' values to these choices. When the students were asked during the MCS to choose between staying on their iwi land or moving to the city for work, a Pākehā student said loudly "Stay on the land people, come on". The binary structure of the game and the at times questionable point allocations created the idea amongst the students that there is a 'right' way to live under colonisation and that if Māori or Vietnamese did not make the 'right' choices then perhaps it was their fault. 'Wrong' choices, judging by some of the student's responses, meant assimilating to Pākehā (or colonial) society. This individualisation of responsibility centres whiteness and obscures the way that colonial structures create interlocking pressures which essentially create a no-win situation for the colonised (Leonardo 2018; Freire 1993). The simulation games, with their two-choice, point accumulation system, framed colonisation as less complex than it is, creating a kind of 'good Indigenous' versus 'bad Indigenous' dichotomy which arose when students asked each other why they would just go along with colonial rules or challenged each other for making the 'wrong' decision. This erased some of the complexity of colonisation, putting people under colonisation into two categories: those who resisted and those who collaborated. Harriet told me she thought students were unable to understand the complexities of many of the things they were being taught, and this might have been true, but the VCS itself offered little room for complexity.

The final 'simulation' exercise I observed was a mock trial based on the Wairau Affray of 1843. Brianna used this exercise in her two classes, and I observed both iterations. The mock trial was structured so that students were split into groups of up to four or five and each group was assigned a different historical figure involved in the Wairau Affray: Missionary Samuel Ironside, Charles Elliot, William Wakefield, Te Rauparaha, Lord Stanley, and Governor Fitzroy. The Wairau Affray, on which the mock trial was based, was a conflict in 1843 between Ngāti Toa Rangatira and The New Zealand Company over land in the Wairau Valley which had been illegally obtained by The New Zealand Company. Te Rauparaha, the leader of Ngāti Toa Rangatira, had burned down the huts of surveyors who had been conducting an illegal survey of his land in the Wairau Valley, which The New Zealand Company claimed it had bought. A group of 50 British men, led by William Wakefield, then came to Te Rauparaha's land in the Wairau Valley with a warrant for the arrest of Te Rauparaha and Rangihaeata (another chief). Te Rauparaha and Rangihaeata refused to be taken and shots were fired from the British side, resulting in a conflict in which 22 Pākehā and 9 Māori were killed, including Te Rongo, who was the daughter of Te Rauparaha and Rangihaeata's wife (Bateman 2005). The mock

trial was intended to decide whether Te Rauparaha should have been arrested for this conflict, with students debating for or against depending on the perspective of their historical character.

The students pushed their tables into a haphazard semi-circle facing the whiteboard and I found a desk outside of the semi-circle towards the back of the classroom. Students chattered excitedly amongst themselves and shuffled papers, practising their British accents for when it was their turn to speak. Brianna opened both sessions with some context about what they were there to debate and a reminder that whatever was said in character did not reflect the real opinions or perspectives of the students. To assist them in making their arguments at the trial, the students received 16 pages of biographical and contextual information about the main historical figures involved in the Wairau Affray. There was a lot of giggling as the first student, playing Missionary Samuel Ironside, stood to deliver their statement. The presenting students spoke clearly and made their points well, managing to translate complex and old-fashioned language in their information packs into comprehensive arguments[11]. The mock trials lasted around 20 minutes each, with each group being given a chance to give their statement and answer any follow up questions, culminating with the final judgement being read out by the group playing Governor Fitzroy, which was taken from the real 1844 verdict that Te Rauparaha should not be arrested for the Wairau Affray. At the end of each mock trial, as the clapping subsided, Brianna brought the students' attention back to the topic. She asked the students to reflect on what the events of the Wairau Affray mean for the colonisation of New Zealand and what the conflict indicated about the direction New Zealand would take in the future. Stepping back into their real selves, the students had a lot to say about colonisation. Two self-identified Pākehā students in particular, Liam* and Nadia* had some insightful comments to share with the class.

> "...we were talking about the flag recently, and um, changing the name to Aotearoa, and it was said that um, when there was an even-ish amount of Pākehā and Māori, if everybody could vote, it would be a higher chance that our name would have been changed to Aotearoa, and not stayed as New Zealand. And then, after the point we are now, because of colonisation, Māori have become the minority. So again, they don't really get to have a say as much as we do, as White people do. Which is unfortunate, because this is their homeland and we've come in and like, taken everything away." (Nadia, Wairau Affray Mock Trial)

[11] Refer to Appendix E for the Wairau Affray Simulation Guide.

> "... it was the start of like... not clarity between the two groups? And then theres a lot of disagreements which can lead to confusion, which can lead to uh, Pākehā justifying doing awful things." (Liam, Wairau Affray Mock Trial)

Both students show a depth of understanding about the implications of the Wairau Affray on the wider context of postcolonial New Zealand and make connections between what they have learned through the mock trial and their everyday lives. Nadia's statement stood out to me because during the mock trial she had said some fairly problematic things while speaking as Charles Elliot. Clearly, Brianna's facilitation of the mock trial and strong emphasis that nothing said during the debate was attributable to the students' real opinions allowed Nadia to inhabit a perspective vastly different from her own and use that potentially uncomfortable position to reflect on the colonial structures present in modern New Zealand, and her place within them.

Learning about the 'other' does not necessarily result in empathy or improved understanding unless this purpose is built into the curriculum (Zembylas 2013; Mills and Creedy 2019; Leibowitz et al 2010). However, the Wairau Affray mock trial involved Pākehā students inhabiting the characters of British settlers and Māori students inhabiting the character of Te Rauparaha, and at times his British supporters. If learning about the 'other' does not necessarily encourage anything more than passive sympathy, then perhaps inhabiting the 'self', a Pākehā ancestor, can facilitate deeper reflection and the development of empathy. Collective guilt and moral shame developed from learning about ancestral violence has the potential to encourage reflective thinking and a desire for reparative action (Nooitgedagt et al 2021). In her statement after the mock trial, Nadia used 'we', an inclusive plural pronoun which assigns blame to herself as well as Pākehā generally.

While Nadia was able to use her experience in the role of a colonial 'ancestor' to reflect on systems of colonialism and her place within them, other students reacted differently to this exercise. Several times during one of the two mock trials in particular, the presentations were derailed by students making comments about the historical figures or researching them and finding problematic things. This always resulted in laughter and demonisation of that historical figure. Four out of the five historical figures were British settlers, the fifth being Te Rauparaha, and the British settlers who were for the sentencing of Te Rauparaha were mocked by the students, positioning them as 'bad'. Brianna also made a point of separating student perspectives from those of the historical figures they were playing, and in one of the mock trials identified one of the 'bad' people by name.

> "What you're saying in this context is as the character you are acting, it's not reflective- please do not think of this as- this is not reflective of your actual viewpoint, that's particularly important probably for Charles Elliot (laughs). And William Wakefield." (Brianna, Wairau Affray mock trial)

Here Brianna shows the Pākehā students that they can play these colonial-era people and say problematic things about Te Rauparaha without losing their 'good White' status and extends this by verbally acknowledging the 'bad' historical figures in the exercise (Sullivan 2014). During the trials, students openly mocked the historical figures who were calling for Te Rauparaha's arrest, making jokes about their views, personal lives, and actions in connection to the Wairau Affray. The adoption of derisive British accents by some students and overacting showed that although the students were expressing the recorded views of these historical figures, they were laughing at their perspectives. Sullivan (2014) discusses the way that White people who desire to maintain their White innocence and be 'good' will demonise White ancestors to look 'good' and non-racist in comparison. By framing certain historical figures as 'bad' and allowing students to demonise them, Brianna implicitly facilitated the maintenance of White innocence in the classroom. Considering the banality of many of the people who drove colonialism in New Zealand and caused harm could allow Pākehā students to reflect on their own fallible humanity and consider how they are complicit with colonialism and whiteness in the present (Sullivan 2014). This process is referred to by MacDonald et al (2022) as 'channelling a haunting', which means that by learning about the past and the structural influence of settler-colonialism, Pākehā can channel the injustices of the past to 'haunt' them in colonial spaces and discourses (MacDonald et al 2022).

Conclusion:

In the classroom, teachers struggled to be 'good' in different ways, often unconsciously reinforcing whiteness in the process. The new curriculum, while detailed and reaching for a new kind of narrative for Aotearoa New Zealand's histories, frames itself as so stolidly neutral that teachers are left to navigate the difficult and at times politically fraught landscape of teaching colonisation in a New Zealand school. Pākehā students and teachers wanting to be 'good' struggle to find a way to maintain their White innocence in the face of the open settler-colonial crypt. Pākehā students distanced

themselves from White ancestors and moralised the choices of those who have lived under colonialism. Pākehā teachers attempted to counteract coloniality in the classroom but often could not see the influence of whiteness in their teaching and their attempts to remain 'neutral'. This results in classrooms where Pākehā students learn that Māori history is not relevant to them and that they are not implicated in the violent colonial histories being told to them. Māori students are told that the 'bad' settlers are all dead and play games which assume they are Pākehā and haven't had their lives shaped by colonialism. This struggle with whiteness and White innocence in the classroom was compounded by the lack of 'good' resources for classes, especially for young people, time pressure on teachers, and discomfort among other barriers.

Chapter Five: Permeable and Solid 'Barriers' in the Classroom

Introduction

In the classroom, both students and teachers came up against barriers, problems, and deficits which stood in the way of effective teaching and learning. Some of these barriers were specific to the incoming Aotearoa New Zealand histories curriculum, especially the colonisation unit I observed, and some were more general issues such as time pressure which limited the teachers' abilities to adapt to the new curriculum. While all the barriers brought to my attention were specifically framed as such by students and teachers, I argue that some of these barriers are permeable, in that both students and teachers could see a way 'through' them. Permeable barriers were also those most influenced by the presence of whiteness, which contributed to their 'permeability'. All three of my teacher participants used the word 'barrier' when discussing these issues with me, and this term is broadly used in education spaces when discussing limitations (Foxall 2013; Simper et al 2022; Hill and King 1993).

The solid barriers: poor resourcing, lack of training, and time pressure, are not isolated hurdles to be overcome one at a time, but symptoms of the way that education is conceptualised under neoliberalism: as a production line (Vargas-Tamez 2019). These barriers are solid because teachers have very little power to remove or move through them, that privilege lies with the institutional and governmental entities which administer education in New Zealand. Running low on time and energy, delivering a difficult and emotionally fraught curriculum with little or no training for facilitating difficult/emotional discussions, teachers become tangled in a system which asks them to sacrifice themselves or their students' learning. In this way, the neoliberal education system essentially bars teachers from engaging effectively with complex topics like Aotearoa New Zealand histories and limits the potential of the new curriculum. Despite these solid barriers, the teachers I observed in the field were resilient and creative, finding ways to soften the impact of the constraints placed on their pedagogy by the education system and the presence of whiteness and coloniality in the classroom. Marking assignments during quiet moments in class, creating new interactive resources to make up for the overall lack, and reading and researching Pākehā paralysis in their own time are just some of the ways teachers worked to lessen the impact that the solid barriers would have on their classrooms and students.

In this chapter, I discuss barriers to teaching and learning observed and reported to me by both teachers and students. I discuss the differences between permeable and solid barriers and consider whether some

of the ‘barriers’ identified can even be thought of as such. Then, I discuss the role of whiteness in creating permeable barriers. I also analyse the role that a desire to be ‘good’ and find atonement plays in limiting Pākehā teachers and students in the classroom. Finally, I consider what potentialities exist in the classroom and school community to overcome these barriers. Using Fassin’s ressentiment and Applebaum’s analysis of whiteness, I argue that the barriers experienced by students and teachers raise issues with not only the state administration of education but also the reproduction of whiteness and the effect of moral ‘neutrality’ in the classroom (Fassin 2013; Applebaum 2010).

Solid Barriers

Many of the barriers that teachers reported to me came from the institutional or governmental level, comprising poor resourcing, lack of appropriate training, and time pressure. Poor resourcing was a focus for all three teachers during interviews and in conversations. This was possibly one of the more ‘solid’ barriers teachers came up against in the classroom during the colonisation unit, because of the multifaceted origins of this problem. Teachers noted a general lack of resources on 19th and early-20th-century New Zealand history and very few high-quality engaging resources. As discussed in chapter three, the uneven inclusion of Aotearoa New Zealand’s histories in school curriculums over the past two centuries has created a corresponding lack of demand for quality school materials on New Zealand histories, particularly Māori histories (Manning 2018). The barrier of poor resourcing was also compounded by a lack of public acknowledgement of historical sites or physical ruins (Harcourt 2020; Neill et al 2021). MacDonald discusses this in *Fragments from a Contested Past*, taking a road trip around the North Island and finding only a few memorialised sites, such as Battle Hill, showing how New Zealand’s past is hidden in the landscape (Kidman 2022 et al). History and social studies teachers at other New Zealand high schools have also reported similar issues with finding engaging resources or places for field trips (Harcourt 2020; Neill et al 2021). I had a very similar conversation with Nadine during her interview, an excerpt of which I have included below.

> Nadine: “...So... I just think New Zealand- the history’s hidden. So a trip would be great, but logistically…”
>
> Georgia: “It’s hard.”
>
> Nadine: “Yeah.”

Georgia: “I mean, ‘cos obviously there’s battles nearby in like Waikanae and stuff, but there’s not really anything to see... that’s a shame.”

Nadine: “No, no. ‘Just look over there kids, and imagine...’”

Georgia: “That field…”

Nadine: “Yeah, or there’s a housing estate there now…”

Georgia: “Or a golf course.”

Nadine: “Or a golf course, yeah.”.

One of the most useful resources Nadine used in the classroom was RNZ’s series on the Battle of Ruapekapeka, including videos recreating what the site would have looked like, what happened, and who was involved (*NZ Wars: The Stories of Ruapekapeka* 2017). Allowing the students to see re-enactments like this was very engaging for them and she wished there were more resources like this available. Being able to visit pā sites, battlefields, or memorials would be an engaging exercise for students, as demonstrated in MacDonald’s observation of the effect field site visits had on social studies students in Waipā (MacDonald 2020). However, taking students to the site of a former battle or pā despite it now being a golf course or housing estate also has the potential to be a useful exercise. As MacDonald and Wallis discovered on their journey down the Great South Road, as well as visits to Battle Hill and Boulcott Farm, the current state of many important historical sites told a rich story of its own about colonial efforts to suppress the violent past (Kidman et al 2022). Nadine emphasised the importance of field trips because of the way they engage students in learning, saying, “…when you physically see that thing you’ve talked about in class, or in a book, or a photograph, it puts it in perspective.”. Nadine mentioned Britain during this discussion, bringing up how useful it was to have access to ruins, castles, memorials, and other historical sites.

Asking why Britain might have all these historical sites, so well preserved and prolific throughout the country, and New Zealand, a former British colony, does not, has the potential to be as engaging for students in some ways. The fact that many of these places where history has been silenced have ‘official’ historical narratives which begin suddenly in 1920 or 1930 shows that although these histories have been silenced, they still exist in the minds of both settlers and Māori. However, these histories have been ‘encrypted’ in intergenerational memory just below the conscious surface (Kidman et al 2022; MacDonald and Kidman 2021). Although histories may be unmarked or overshadowed by golf

courses and car parks, they still offer potential for reflection and learning, and their present unmarked state can tell us something about the way that settler-colonialism shapes the present by altering our understanding of the past (MacDonald et al 2020).

Another solid barrier for teachers was the lack of discussion facilitation training on emotional or difficult topics. Nadine was very clear that she felt unprepared and wanted much more support in this area. After looking over my interview question schedule[12], she wanted to talk about what it had been like to try and facilitate difficult emotional discussions without any training. Nadine said she found it particularly hard to know where to start with difficult emotional topics and often cut things short or did not ask students to elaborate because she did not feel comfortable delving deeper into that topic. While I categorise this barrier as solid because of the lack of government resources for training, it is also in some ways connected to discomfort and whiteness because the need for training on emotional discussions is something the teachers admitted not needing for other violent or difficult subjects. Nadine said that she felt more confident teaching the Holocaust and having potentially quite emotional discussions than she did with colonisation in New Zealand. The Holocaust is not any less violent or potentially difficult to teach to students, but a mix of the 'closeness' of Aotearoa New Zealand histories and discomfort borne out of Pākehā guilt means that teachers find that they feel even more unprepared with respect to emotionally challenging discussions about colonisation in class. Learning about violent colonial histories can challenge Pākehā identity, which rests on the maintenance of whiteness and settler-colonialism. Levstik (2001) and Harcourt (2020) both found that Pākehā often struggled more with learning about violent histories in New Zealand because colonial violence and injustices unsettled and challenged their identities. Bell and Russell (2021) call Aotearoa New Zealand's histories an 'unsettling past', in that previous understandings of New Zealand as monocultural and then bicultural have been built on the avoidance and silencing of violent colonial histories. The recent engagement with these histories nationally and in the 2023 Aotearoa New Zealand histories curriculum unsettles the national identity many Pākehā grew up with (Bell and Russell 2021).

Brianna discussed her approach to facilitating emotionally charged discussions in the classroom, expressing her own discomfort with the topic of colonisation. She spoke quite thoughtfully about her own discomfort and her positionality as a Pākehā teacher.

[12] Refer to Appendix C

> "...finding that balance is something I'm really mindful of, and I'm mindful of the fact that I am Pākehā, and I'm trying to teach, um, Māori views on things, being Pākehā, and trying to ensure we do that, and... but also, not having Pākehā paralysis, which is another aspect of it as well, right?" (Brianna, interview)

Brianna had done extra reading and research outside of normal class preparation in readiness for the incoming Aotearoa New Zealand histories curriculum and had also prepared some of these resources for other teachers in her department to read. However, in having done this, she also acknowledged that giving teachers these resources was essentially adding more work to an already long list.

The three Pākehā teachers I observed and interviewed as well as others at Kāpiti College seemed to live in a constant state of motion, never at rest even when they were sitting, supposedly on a break in the staffroom. It was disconcerting to watch the speed at which the teachers moved, the number of tabs open on their laptops matching the piles of paperwork on their desks. There was a sense of perpetual movement in the staffroom. Food was hurriedly eaten between quick conversations with other teachers, almost always about students or something else work-related. Teachers moved through the room with long strides, never sitting for more than 30 minutes between bells, the air around them buzzing with the knowledge that there was not enough time: not to get their work done, to get to class, to confer with colleagues, to think or read about anything, even if it might be useful. An example of this can be seen in the circumstances of my entry into the field, two weeks late because the teachers had run out of time to finish their topic in the previous term, so there was a spill-over period of two weeks into Term Three. These issues with overwork, time pressure, and unfair pay for those conditions are a reoccurring issue brought up by the PPTA (Post-Primary Teachers Association) in recent protests and strikes, as well as other unions such as the TEU (Tertiary Education Union) and NZEI Te Riu Roa (New Zealand Educational Institute) (Wiggins 2023).

The impact of the Covid-19 pandemic means the timing of the Aotearoa New Zealand histories curriculum is also inadvertently unfortunate. The new curriculum comes on the heels of a three-year pandemic, the effects of which the entire country is still feeling. The pandemic essentially acted as a catalyst, worsening the already difficult conditions teachers worked under. It is the aftermath of the most disruptive period of the pandemic which the Aotearoa New Zealand histories curriculum comes into, a time when teachers and students are still getting sick, gaps in knowledge because of online learning during lockdowns are still being filled, and teachers are exhausted after three years of uncertainty.

The same solid barriers which affected teachers also affected their students. The students were quite vocal about their experiences with different resources and responding negatively to the assignment-focused way their learning was structured. The most influential solid barrier I noticed affecting students was the pressure of assignments. In the classroom, the pressure of upcoming assignments was always present in some way. Teachers would often remind students that they had work due, skipping or shortening a topic in the interest of focusing on the content needed for an assignment or exam. This affected how students perceived information in the classroom and how engaged they were with the colonisation unit. I overheard one student ask Harriet, "Is this an assignment?" when they were tasked with making storyboards about the Wellington War, and there was a preoccupation with grades and assessment in the attitudes of many students in the classes I observed. Often, students were inclined to pay more attention and work harder in class if they knew they were being assessed. Blum (2016) writes about the effect of grades on learning, discussing how her own students became so obsessed with getting good grades and completing assessments that they limited their learning and did not value the knowledge. Learning to get a grade or complete an assessment means that students do not engage fully with a subject which is so closely tied to national and personal identity. The stated aims of the 2023 Aotearoa New Zealand histories curriculum include encouraging 'curiosity' and 'respect' in students, teaching them how to live in 'diverse communities', and creating a 'fair society' (Ministry of Education 2022). These aims were not made clear to students in the classroom and the pressure of completing assessments and taking exams means that students focus on their academic performance and perceived 'learning outcomes' rather than the learning itself.

Permeable Barriers

Uncomfortable Students and Teachers

The permeable barriers students came up against were discomfort, Pākehā paralysis, difficulty understanding different historical perspectives, moral liminality, and the desire to be a 'good White person'. Students experienced discomfort in the classroom, in both similar and different ways to their teachers. While many of the students who were Pākehā or non-Māori displayed aspects of Pākehā paralysis in similar ways to their Pākehā teachers, their experience of discomfort emerged from a different positionality. Students often expressed their discomfort by refusing to answer questions put to them or remaining silent when the teacher asked a question to the whole class. Māori students would

often express their frustration or anger in class with silence, crossing their arms and occasionally saying something under their breath, for example calling British settlers ‘dumb’ or ‘koretake’ (useless) and mocking them for their appearances. The different types of silences at play required close attention to pick up which silences communicated discomfort, frustration, or boredom, and which occurred simply because the students did not know the answer to a question (Dragojlovic and Samuels 2021). For example, two students had an argument about assimilation during the VCS game, one stating that he would ‘just assimilate’ because it was ‘easier’, and another student responding immediately that it wouldn’t matter whether he assimilated or not, the racist system would never allow a colonised person to be equal. The teacher remained silent after this exchange, waiting for any more contributions from students. The class was silent in that no one was speaking, but their body language and facial expressions were loud and communicated their discomfort. The students shuffled in their seats, hunching their shoulders, and ducking their heads, doing their best to avert their eyes from the teacher and the student who had just been chastised by his peer. The chastiser and her friends sat upright, looking confidently towards the teacher. At this moment, the students not involved in the argument saw that such views were not acceptable in the classroom and since a few of them held adjacent views, as I later learned in the survey, they became visibly uncomfortable. The hierarchical structure of the classroom has the potential to work in the students’ favour in this case, because they are not authority figures and have more room to make mistakes (Hemy and Meshulam 2021).

Students found it particularly challenging to hear about violent aspects of colonisation and racism. Some students reported finding it difficult to deal with the racist and ‘disrespectful’ comments of their peers, for example, Lorelei* found it challenging to hear the problematic views of early British settlers.

> “It was hard to take the place of the different people in the time period because so many people just thought the maori were savages and it was hard talking about and taking the place of people with views that were so different from my own.” (Lorelei, survey)

Sandra* expressed that she found learning about aspects of colonisation difficult and reflected on what New Zealand might have been like without colonisation.

> “It's an awful thing that a majority of countries have been through, if we hadn't been through colonisation Maori culture and Te Reo Maori would be more prominent in our society.” (Sandra, survey)

I saw this adverse reaction to hearing about problematic views in the classroom as well, particularly during the Wairau Affray mock trials. At times, as in Lorelei's survey response, discomfort with the difficult histories the students were learning about was expressed as confusion and disconnection from settler ancestors, distancing the 'good' self from 'bad' colonisers (Sullivan 2014). In other instances, such as in Sandra's, discomfort arose from the violence itself and the sense of loss associated with the suppression of Te Ao Māori under colonisation. Students expressed anger, sadness, discomfort, confusion, and indifference, but very few expressed any type of guilt or connected themselves to the processes of colonisation. Nooitgedagt et al (2021) discuss the role of guilt in collective moral responses to group wrongdoings and highlight the way that White Australians experience higher rates of guilt and moral shame when learning about colonial violence. However, since I did not observe many expressions of guilt or moral shame, this suggests that many Pākehā students do not think of themselves as being connected to the injustices of colonisation and perhaps do not understand colonisation as a continuing process. In this way, the 'neutrality' woven throughout the curriculum by whiteness acts as a barrier to students fully understanding the processes of colonisation and for Pākehā students in particular to understanding their connections to settler ancestors. This means that Pākehā students, feeling the discomfort emanating from the settler-colonial crypt, are unable to mourn and address colonisation because their understandings continue to be obscured by whiteness.

Although the students experienced discomfort, they were generally better placed to find a way through these barriers because they had the support of their teachers in many cases and a class full of peers, many of whom were on a very similar journey. I noticed that when students expressed or experienced discomfort in the classroom, they were more often able to move past it or at least begin to challenge these feelings because they had better access to a supportive learning environment. Conversely, teachers were often isolated as authority figures and did not have the opportunity to rely on the supportive ecosystem of the classroom to overcome their own discomfort. Nadine, Harriet, and Brianna did have a community of other teachers which they referred to as useful when they were struggling, however, when they were at the front of the class speaking to students they were isolated emotionally. Yukich (2021) discusses the experiences of five Pākehā secondary school history teachers and their struggles with teaching difficult colonial histories. For these teachers, having a community of other teachers who were struggling with similar things was useful and allowed room for them to develop strategies to teach colonisation (Yukich 2021). However, in the classrooms I observed, teachers became lone authority figures in classes of 25 or more students, faced with dealing with their discomfort and feelings of being unprepared while also maintaining the 'neutral' stance all three of them thought of as

crucial in their roles as Social Studies teachers. This goal of 'neutrality' manifested as what I call the 'facts/opinions split' and acted as a barrier to emotional engagement and discussion facilitation.

Self-Censorship and The Facts/Opinions Split

The name 'facts/opinions split' comes from a conversation I observed in class and seems to be a specific inhibition my teacher participants faced regarding social studies and history as a discipline. During a statement evaluation exercise called RAVEN, Harriet told students that they shouldn't use 'I think' statements in their work because, "...social studies deals with facts and evidence, not opinions.". The RAVEN exercise involves using a framework containing five questions to evaluate the reliability of statements which pose as being informative. The five questions ask what the author's reputation is, what their ability to observe the facts or evidence is, whether they have a vested interest in the topic, if they have expertise in the topic, and what their level of 'neutrality' on the subject is. Harriet gave the students several statements, made by politicians and other public figures in the last few decades, and asked them to use the RAVEN framework to evaluate how reliable they might be as perspectives on colonialism and New Zealand history. Despite being told by Harriet that they should use 'facts' and historical evidence to both evaluate the reliability of the statements and consider how accurate they might be, one student said during the exercise that they were not going to evaluate one statement in particular because it was 'too racist'.

Harriet and Nadine showed signs that they recognised the contradiction of the facts/opinions split in the classroom and Harriet referred to it in her interview, discussing a time when a Māori student called Don Brash a 'racist muppet'. Although Harriet laughed with the student (and me in the interview), showing that she understood that this analysis of Don Brash came not from a 'logical', evidence-based appraisal, but an emotional reaction, she said that she had asked the student to explain why Brash was a 'racist muppet'. Nadine also struggled with this fact/opinion split and expressed desires to express her 'opinions', but felt limited by the expectation, coming from herself, other teachers, and likely the school, that she would teach Social Studies as hard, unfeeling fact. I was interested to observe that Nadine felt much more comfortable discussing her point of view with students who were not in her class, suggesting that she felt a strong desire to bring her full self into the classroom, as bell hooks puts it (hooks 1994). While Brianna was away at one point in the term, Nadine acted as a relief teacher for one of her classes, which meant I was able to see her interact with students in an environment where

she was not their teacher, only a temporary supervisor. Nadine sat with me for a while during this class and chatted with me and three students in front of us. We talked as a group about the very recent passing of Queen Elizabeth II, and Nadine was very forthcoming about her views on the monarchy and colonialism in general, which I had not observed from her in her own class. She seemed to feel quite comfortable discussing these difficult issues with students, offering her views in a way which was not overbearing or lecturing, but rather encouraged an exchange of perspective. This barrier is created by the idea that the classroom is a neutral space and therefore emotional expression or opinion indicates 'bias' which is not acceptable. Boler and Zembylas (2003) discuss the fact that although the hesitance around teachers and students expressing emotion in the classroom is often justified with a concern for making classrooms 'safe', there are no 'safe' classrooms. In settler-colonial countries where classrooms function inside whiteness and coloniality, the classroom has never been a 'safe' space for students, especially those not in the dominant social group (Boler and Zembylas 2003).

This idea that personal opinions, 'bias', and emotionality had to be kept out of the classroom was very challenging for all three teachers, and Nadine verbalised this struggle to me during our interview.

> "You know, colonisation was bad. And I know we're meant to be... Not so- I don't know. Are we?" (Nadine, interview)

What Nadine is saying here is that she knows, she *feels* that colonisation is a negative thing. From other conversations with her, I know that she feels very negatively towards the process of colonisation in New Zealand and British colonialism as a whole, but here, she shows that she is unsure if she is 'allowed' to bring her perspective into the classroom. She wavers, saying she thinks maybe teachers are 'meant to be' neutral and 'unbiased', but then becomes unsure and asks, 'are we?', as in, are we meant to be neutral? Later in the interview, she expressed doubts about what she could say in the classroom, in fear of bringing her 'bias' into the class and 'imparting' it to the students.

> "...I think I impart my beliefs without realizing my unconscious bias is, I don't know, this is how you should feel. And this is what you will think. Right?" (Nadine, interview)

Both Harriet and Brianna expressed similar hesitancy, struggling to walk this imagined line between 'fact' and 'opinion'. The idea that 'facts' and 'opinions' or emotions are two separate categories and that there is no room for emotional or positional influence in a history classroom is one rooted in whiteness. Whiteness exists only in opposition, measuring itself on its created 'other', blackness (Morrison 1992; Buck 2012). This binary approach, splitting things into categories and creating

imagined divisions between ideas which are entangled, is the mark of whiteness and part of what maintains and reproduces it (al-Samarai and Piesche 2018). In addition to splitting ideas and people into binaries, whiteness also frames itself and that which it associates with itself as 'neutral'. For example, Eurocentric ideas about history are framed as 'neutral' 'logical' facts (al-Samarai and Piesche 2018; Buck 2012). Splitting off 'facts' and presenting Eurocentric ideas as 'neutral' in the classroom while pressuring teachers to keep their own perspectives, emotional reactions, and 'opinions' to themselves allows whiteness to reproduce in the classroom, teaching students that a so-called 'neutral' Pākehā point of view is the 'right', 'logical' one (Castagno 2008).

Finding a Way to Be 'Good' in Morally Liminal Spaces

Much of the Pākehā student and teachers' limiting discomfort was centered around the fear of saying 'the wrong thing' or facilitating a discussion about something they felt unprepared for, either materially or emotionally. Pākehā students who expressed this kind of discomfort generally did not reflect openly that being 'good' or avoiding being 'wrong' was their concern, but rather I observed them avoiding pronunciation of Māori words, expressing confusion about how they 'should' feel about colonisation, and emphasising what they saw as the importance of 'moving on'. One incident from one of the Wairau Affray mock trials stands out as an example of the discomfort felt by Pākehā students in response to learning about colonisation and interacting with 'uncanny' spaces or knowledge (MacDonald and Kidman 2021).

During the mock trial, a Pākehā student who was speaking as settler Charles Elliot began to read out their speech, adopting a British accent and gesturing theatrically to their fellow students. When they reached the middle of their statement, they stopped short of saying Te Rauparaha's name, stumbling over the pronunciation and giving up halfway through. The student said they didn't want to offend anyone with their bad pronunciation, stuttering as they tried to explain themselves and blushing a deep red. Brianna and a Māori student sitting nearby encouraged them to keep trying, and they stumbled uncomfortably through the name, quickly moving on to the rest of their statement. This student showed signs of discomfort, twisting themselves into knots over their poor pronunciation, so afraid they might offend someone that they froze instead of persevering or asking for help.

In this example, both the speaking student and the teacher, two Pākehā, felt uncomfortable and unsure of the 'right' thing to do. Having observed this discomfort around potentially causing offence through

mispronunciation from Harriet, Brianna, and other Pākehā students in the classrooms I observed, the connection between being 'good' and avoiding any possibility of causing offence became clear. Possibly salient to the teachers' sensitivities to mispronunciation is the fact that several years before my fieldwork, a particularly well-known and popular former Kāpiti College student publicly called out a board member for her poor Māori pronunciation in his graduation speech, publicly shaming this staff member. The student was Pākehā and made it clear that he thought that anything less than perfect or near-perfect pronunciation was unacceptable. It could be envisioned that this incident, which at least two out of my three teacher participants would have witnessed, could have influenced both the Pākehā students and teachers' understandings of what it is to be 'good' and how to avoid being 'bad'. The focus on being 'good' in the New Zealand media in response to the growing recognition of colonisation also has the potential of having contributed to this desire from students and teachers to be 'good', especially students for whom the last five years of national conversations in the media could have shaped much of their understandings of what it means to be Pākehā (Pederson, McCreanor, and Braun 2022).

Teachers were similarly preoccupied with being 'good' or avoiding doing the 'wrong' thing. This particular discomfort, not knowing the 'right' way to discuss colonisation or bring up difficult issues like race and conflict with students, is connected to a broader sense of what I call 'moral liminality'. Moral liminality results from the desire to be a 'good' White person in a space which threatens this status with histories of colonial violence (Fassin 2013; Thomassen 2010; Pederson, McCreanor, and Braun 2022). The presentation of whiteness as 'neutral' in the 2023 Aotearoa New Zealand histories curriculum creates an environment where Pākehā students and teachers find themselves in a morally liminal space, unsure how to be 'good' again (Ministry of Education 2022; MacDonald and Kidman 2021; Pederson, McCreanor, and Braun 2022). Brianna and Nadine expressed fears of bringing their 'bias' and 'political leanings' into the classroom when discussing colonisation which limited them in their facilitation of classroom discussions.

All three teachers tried to be 'good' in the classroom in different ways, which usually involved the avoidance of being 'wrong' or 'bad'. Nadine and Brianna spoke at length about how hard they found it teaching colonisation because they were afraid of 'getting it wrong' or doing the 'wrong' thing. Brianna was most concerned about the way her pedagogical practices affected students, particularly her Māori and Pasifika students, which was clear in the way she often took guidance from the confident Māori students in her class. When the Pākehā student playing Charles Elliot struggled with the

pronunciation of Te Rauparaha and didn't want to keep trying for fear of being offensive, Brianna told me that she felt unsure of what the 'right' way to react was until a Māori student encouraged their Pākehā peer to keep trying, making Brianna feel like she had permission to encourage the struggling student as well.

> "And in a way, that kind of gave me the right to feel like 'oh yeah, she hasn't said anything, it's ok to keep saying it' so, um, yeah, it's tricky 'cos kids come with the same baggage that we all have as well." (Brianna, interview)

Brianna demonstrated a level of self-awareness about what she referred to as her Pākehā paralysis and what I observed to be connected to a desire to be 'good' and do the 'right' thing in the classroom. This self-awareness did not necessarily mean that the desire to be 'good' went away, rather Brianna was much more reserved in the classroom than Nadine and Harriet, which may have been caused by the awareness of her own 'baggage'. Nadine had similar experiences with feeling very uncomfortable about teaching colonisation because she was unsure about how to be 'good' in response to the colonisation unit. She also spoke about the experiences of her students, saying that she thought they sometimes didn't engage in class discussion because they didn't want to say the 'wrong' thing. Nadine thought it was likely that she avoided emotional or difficult discussions about colonisation because she didn't want to get it 'wrong'.

> "Because, like I said, I'm afraid of how to deal with- yeah, I don't want to deal with it [difficult discussions] in a wrong way." (Nadine, interview)

For all three teachers, remaining 'neutral' in the classroom was one way they found to avoid being 'wrong' or 'bad'. This kept them in their state of moral liminality, unsure about how to behave or feel in response to colonisation. It also allowed them to feel like they weren't being 'bad' Pākehā, potentially caught in a trap of racism produced by the 'bias' that all three of them were very mindful of avoiding in the classroom. Pederson, McCreanor, and Braun (2022) discovered in their analysis of 30 news articles discussing New Zealand history that Pākehā tried to be 'good' through atonement in the face of social disapproval of racism and the increasing acknowledgement of violent colonial histories. They observed that even when the articles were sympathetic to Māori issues, they centered Pākehā and whiteness, focusing on ways Pākehā could be 'good' or atone in response to injustices against Māori, rather than focusing on systemic colonialism (Pederson, McCreanor, and Braun 2022). By focusing on individual atonement and new ways to be 'good', Pākehā recentre whiteness and maintain structural

colonialism (Pederson, McCreanor, and Braun 2022). Focusing on individual atonement instead of systemic change not only creates a barrier for teachers wanting to engage fully with the emotional and difficult aspects of colonial history, but it also robs Māori of the right to their anger, or ressentiment (Fassin 2013). Fassin describes ressentiment, related to the feeling of resentment, as being felt by those whom ongoing or systemic justice has been perpetrated against, and the perpetrators in response feel self-doubt and mistrust which allows ongoing reflection on the injustice (Fassin 2013). Ressentiment reframes the response to injustice away from atonement or 'moving on', instead creating a space where the harmed or oppressed are entitled to their anger and the perpetrators are given space to reflect on the injustices, understand the harm done, and appreciate why it was wrong (Fassin 2013).

As observed in the section above, the teachers' desire to remain neutral and restrict their own emotional expression in the classroom was severely limiting for them. It stopped them from engaging with students emotionally and trapped them in their moral liminality, trying to remain 'neutral' in the classroom. In a similar way, the desire to be 'good' and find atonement limited the teachers' abilities to engage with the diverse range of student emotions which arose in response to the curriculum, particularly anger and resentment from Māori students.

Conclusion

These barriers, whether solid or permeable, pose new challenges for teachers implementing the Aotearoa New Zealand histories curriculum and students encountering difficult histories sometimes for the first time, sometimes not. Many of the solid barriers discussed existed before the introduction of the Aotearoa New Zealand histories curriculum, but with the introduction of a whole new history curriculum, they are exacerbated. The Aotearoa New Zealand histories curriculum has the potential to lay bare the barriers in the education system which hold learning back and actively marginalise diverse historical perspectives. For students and teachers, these barriers, or 'barriers', pose particular challenges which are negotiated in the classroom in distinct ways, resulting variously in avoidance, discomfort, productive engagement, critical inquiry, and the simultaneous reinforcement and counteraction of whiteness and coloniality. The presence of whiteness and coloniality is particularly challenging for Pākehā students and teachers. The opening of the settler-colonial crypt means that new barriers and challenges are created. For Māori students, whiteness continues to shape their experiences

in the classroom and the rules about who deserves their anger and how that anger can be expressed continue to change in response to the 2023 Aotearoa New Zealand histories curriculum.

Chapter Six: Emotions and Difficult Discussions

Introduction

In this chapter I describe the emotions students and teachers expressed and think about the patterns that emerged. Discomfort was present in many different forms in the classroom. Students often blushed, stuttered, stopped speaking mid-sentence, or became defensive in response to their discomfort. Teachers avoided eye contact, spoke quickly, raised the pitch of their voice, and left sentences unfinished. I identified discomfort through these physical cues, as well as self-reports from participants, knowledge of social and cultural emotional norms, and historical context in terms of what might cause more discomfort among my participants. My focus on discomfort is driven by its connection to whiteness and Pākehā emotional responses, as well as the fact that discomfort was entangled or connected to many of the emotions I observed in the classroom.

The different types of discomfort I observed corresponded to the many different cultural and social viewpoints present in the classroom. My observations and analysis of Māori discomfort and anger in the classroom are based on close reading of work on colonisation by Ani Mikaere and Linda Tuhiwai Smith, as well as material from *Fragments from a Contested Past* and *Imagining Decolonisation* (Mikaere 2017; Smith 2021; Kidman et al 2022, Elkington et al 2020). In the classroom, I observed Pākehā discomfort with difficult and violent histories, Pākehā discomfort in response to moral liminality, Māori discomfort with the pain of hearing violent stories and harmful ideas, and Māori anger in response to historical injustices. Here I analyse and discuss discomfort and difficult emotions using whiteness, Pākehā paralysis, ressentiment, and encryptment hauntology (Applebaum 2010; Tolich 2002; Hotere-Barnes 2015 Fassin 2013; Abraham and Torok 1986; MacDonald and Kidman 2021). I give examples of different emotions expressed such as anger, sadness, or indifference, and discuss the ways that different emotions were handled in the classroom by both students and teachers. I then discuss the effects of moral liminality on participants' emotional expression, and what kinds of silences emerged (Dragojlovic and Samuels 2021). Finally, I discuss moments of comfortable discussion and ease with difficult topics and consider the potential of discomfort to be productive for learning.

Emotional Students and Teachers

‘Natural’ Justifications and Lovely Knowledge

Students in the classrooms I observed displayed and self-reported a wide range of emotions. These emotions encompassed sadness, anger, discomfort, resignation, indifference, excitement, and curiosity. In my survey, I asked several questions designed to elicit emotional responses or self-reports and most students directly expressed or alluded to their emotional experiences in the classroom in response to colonisation. Sadness, horror, and disgust were emotions felt and expressed strongly by several students, in different ways depending on their perspectives. Some students expressed their disbelief and horror about the violence of colonisation and expressed a desire to take decolonising or reconciliatory action, while others expressed sadness and disgust but followed these emotions with statements justifying colonisation. Below I list two survey responses which frame colonisation as ultimately beneficial and justify past violence through arguments of inevitability or perceived benefits.

> “I don't really know. Like it's a natural thing that was bound to happen but they did it in such a way that wasn't that good.”. (Jules*, survey)

> “I feel like in someways it good and bad, because if New Zealand hadn't been colonised then we wouldn't be here and we wouldn't have things like some of the best sports teams in the world. But then also we have lost lots of our culture since the British came and when they did come they killed lots of the Maori that lived here.”. (Paul*, survey)

These two responses display what Boler terms ‘passive sympathy’. Passive sympathy, thinking ‘that’s a shame, but there’s nothing I can do’, works to maintain whiteness by obscuring structural inequities and historical injustices (Boler 1999). Jules and Paul both expressed sympathy for the ‘not good’ colonial violence which occurred in New Zealand’s history but paired this with a justification that perhaps some things such as successful sports teams are worth the violence of colonisation. The narrative that colonisation is beneficial, benign, or ultimately justifiable is a common one in Pākehā media and narratives, reflected most recently in the rhetoric emerging from conservative groups who oppose the introduction of the 2023 Aotearoa New Zealand histories curriculum (Hogan 2021; O’Malley and Kidman 2017; Pederson, McCreanor, and Braun 2022; MacDonald and Ormond 2021). Kidman (2017) describes this idea of benign or beneficial colonisation as ‘lovely knowledge’.

While most students who justified colonisation as benign or natural did so in conjunction with passive sympathy, there were a few who were openly defensive in response to the unsettling experience of learning about colonisation. One student responded, "Why is it shooved down our throught" to my question 'Was there anything specific about colonisation that you found very difficult to understand?', and said they thought colonisation was 'pretty good' and 'in the past'. The defensive response from the student reflects the privilege blindness, colour blindness, and silencing Kidman and O'Malley observed in the 138 responses against the 2015 Ōtorohanga College petition. The 'shoved down our throat' sentiment was especially favoured by those who submitted in opposition to the petition, calling the focus on the New Zealand wars 'revisionist', 'propaganda', and 'lies' which they felt were propagated by 'greedy' Māori 'elites' (Kidman et al 2022, 74, 75). Kidman and O'Malley use Don Brash's 2004 Orewa Rotary Club speech as an example of the way these specifically anti-Treaty, pro- 'unity' views spread in conservative New Zealand. These oppositional voices drew on ideas of an imagined New Zealand as a unified community. When the whiteness and lovely knowledge which their identities were founded on were challenged by discussions of colonial violence, New Zealand wars, or the Treaty, these Pākehā reacted defensively against the unsettling of their identities.

This defensiveness is reflected in a student who may have grown up hearing similar narratives, showing how deeply uncomfortable it can be for Pākehā to face the violence and injustices of colonisation. Saying something is being 'shoved' down your throat is a visceral description which evokes feelings of being stifled, suppressed, and attacked. This defensiveness originates from a discomfort with what MacDonald and Kidman (2021) call the 'uncanny'. The uncanny describes the histories, perspectives, and violence which have been previously encrypted in the settler-colonial crypt, but which are now confronting Pākehā in the classroom and the media. These unencrypted histories are uncanny for Pākehā because they have generally not encountered them before due to them being silenced, suppressed, or misrepresented (MacDonald and Kidman 2021). This experience, of encountering uncanny histories which unsettle the foundations of Pākehā identity, is uncomfortable for Pākehā, in part, because of the unravelling of an identity without a clear idea what the alternatives are (Russell 2021). Russell (2021) suggests that a 'pedagogy of compassion' be employed in this instance in order to help distressed and defensive White students deal with the unsettling of their identities and find an alternative response to uncanny histories. However, this would require an environment where Pākehā teachers understand their own identities in relation to violent histories and are not impacted by their own sense of moral liminality.

Dispelling Discomfort: Moving 'Forward' into 'Good Atonement'

> "It doesn't really matter because it has already happened." (Robert*, survey)

This survey response to the question 'how do you feel about colonisation?' reflects a desire to 'move forward' and an understanding of colonialism as being limited to the past and irrelevant to the present. Robert seeks to dispel his discomfort with the assertion that colonisation (which he imagines as being in the past) is not relevant because it has 'already happened'. The idea that colonisation constitutes a limited historical event and does not have any bearing on the present evokes the idea that New Zealand is a bicultural nation founded on egalitarian values. This is another example of Kidman's (2017) 'lovely knowledge' allowing Robert to dismiss the importance of colonisation out of hand. Interestingly, I did not ask Robert if he thought colonisation was important or how relevant he thought it was to him, I asked how he *felt* about colonisation. Responding not with feeling words as other students did but instead taking the opportunity to dismiss colonisation as something which 'doesn't really matter' indicates a strong discomfort with the topic. Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2021) argues that understanding history and the way past injustices affect the present is crucial for any process which aims to understand and decolonise the present. Decolonisation demands the critical understanding both of Indigenous existences pre- and post-colonisation, of the mechanics of colonialism, and how the present is shaped by it (Smith 2021). This understanding of colonisation does not wish to 'move forward' or think of colonisation as being 'in the past', and the aim of learning about history is to understand and begin to untangle the many threads of colonialism which shape and provide the foundation for many violent institutional processes and systems (Smith 2021).

An anonymous self-identified Māori student expressed anger and distress at learning about the violence done to their ancestors.

> "I have a strong hating for it. Being maori and learning what happened to my ancestors was quite upsetting and I wish I could do something about it." (Anonymous, survey)

This student states that learning about historical violence was 'quite upsetting' and that they wanted to take some sort of action. From this statement, it is not clear what sort of action this Māori student wishes to take in response to the historical violence they have learned about, however, they seem to think of anti- or decolonial action as something which could have only happened in the past. As I briefly discussed in chapter four, the long history of Māori activism in New Zealand and resulting

changes in society, such as the Kōhanga Reo movement, were not discussed in class and only the violence and injustices done against Māori were covered. This omission of Māori histories of agency and activism may have taught this student that colonisation was in the past and Māori did not have power to resist it or demand changes in the present. Sitting in classrooms where colonisation was being discussed, specifically land theft and racism, I heard similar expressions of anger, resentment, and sadness from other Māori students. These students would sometimes call British settlers names, express frustration at land theft, and grief in response to hearing about large numbers of Māori dying from European diseases, remarking angrily that no one had helped them. The Pākehā preoccupation with 'moving forward' and atoning from the past, where they consider colonisation to be, not only obscures the ongoing systemic nature of colonialism, but it also works to erase histories of Māori activism and resistance to colonialism, neglecting to teach Māori students about their capacity for agency (Pederson, McCreanor, and Braun 2022). Brianna told me in her interview that in the classroom she is:

> "...just trying to let them know that things can be terrible, but things can always be done about... you know, they have voices and they're active, and they are the citizens of the future, so hopefully they can change things." (Brianna, interview)

Perhaps for Pākehā students, learning about the violence of colonisation and being told by their teachers that they can 'change things' is sometimes enough. But omitting to discuss or at least acknowledge Māori legacies of resistance denies Māori students the chance to see themselves and their ancestors as more than a group always seeming to lose the fight against colonialism and whiteness (Mikaere 2017). All three teachers felt quite strongly that showing students 'positive' things in class was important to them, to cut through the 'doom and gloom', however I did not observe any instances in class, apart from Te Reo Māori language games and activities during Te Wiki o Te Reo Māori, which told stories of Māori resistance, highlighted Māori successes, or celebrated Māori achievements. One teacher told me that these aspects had been part of the lesson plans, but that they had run out of time to cover them, meaning that structural barriers may be contributing to these omissions (see Chapter 5).

I observed and listened to various self-reports of discomfort from all three teachers, however the teachers were generally most concerned with avoiding doing the 'wrong' thing. In contrast to the small minority of their students who reacted to their own discomfort with anger and defensiveness, the three teachers responded to theirs by trying to find a way to be 'good', thereby hopefully dispelling the

discomfort they felt. During my interview with her, Nadine acknowledged that she felt uncomfortable teaching New Zealand's violent histories but not the Holocaust and was not sure why this was. Since the Holocaust did not occur in New Zealand, this violent historical event did not pose any threat to Pākehā identity or whiteness, which may explain why Nadine did not find this topic difficult to teach. Teaching Aotearoa New Zealand's violent histories, however, does unsettle the Pākehā identity and therefore causes discomfort, especially when addressing more violent or difficult topics (MacDonald and Kidman 2021; Bell and Russell 2021). The few times Nadine did try to speak on a difficult topic, such as the suppression of Te Reo Māori in schools, I observed nervousness and discomfort. Her tone would rise, she would speak faster, and she became less open to interjections from students. Despite the fact that she felt that a lot of her discomfort and feelings of unpreparedness stemmed from her status as an outsider with little experience or knowledge of New Zealand, Nadine's emotional experiences of teaching the colonisation topic were similar to that of her New Zealand-born counterparts.

Brianna expressed quite similar emotions, identifying them as 'difficult', feeling self-conscious, hesitant, and confronted. She also expressed hope for the future, talking about her students as the 'citizens of the future' who she hopes will 'change things'. Brianna had done some self-reflection on her identity as a Pākehā teacher and what that meant for her pedagogy, particularly in connection to Pākehā paralysis. Alex Hotere-Barnes defines Pākehā paralysis as being the avoidant reaction Pākehā have when faced with an issue such as race which limits them or requires them to act or think differently, extending Martin Tolich's (2002) definition. In Pākehā paralysis, the person finds the idea of changing their behaviour or thinking too difficult and reacts by becoming 'paralysed', avoiding the issue altogether (Hotere-Barnes 2015)

Brianna understood Pākehā paralysis as 'not doing anything' and 'not feeling confident' because of a fear of doing or saying something 'wrong'. For Brianna, her desire to be 'good' and avoid being 'wrong' was channelled through her understanding of Pākehā paralysis, which she understood as the 'wrong' thing to do.

> "...I don't wanna get it too wrong that I then don't do anything, or I don't feel confident, so. Yeah, I still and always feel mindful of how I'm teaching this topic and self-conscious to an extent, to try and feel like you're doing the right thing by students... and, yeah. It's not an easy topic when it's so close to home." (Brianna, interview)

She was highly avoidant of doing the ‘wrong’ thing, which she never defined, and framed her ‘mindfulness’ and self-reflection as the ‘right’ thing to do. Much of Brianna’s understanding of Pākehā paralysis, ‘good’ pedagogies, and the ‘right’ thing to do in the classroom was based on an individualised understanding of colonialism, which unintentionally on her part resulted in the reification of whiteness in her classroom and in herself. Jong Bum Kwon (2020) observed a similar phenomenon among a group of White women in the wake of the 2014 Ferguson protests. These White women held meetings to address their privilege and educate themselves in order to be ‘good’ again. However, since their understandings of privilege and racism were based on individualised notions influenced by whiteness, their attempts to educate themselves became circles of self-confession, centering their experiences and never going beyond the level of the individual (Kwon 2020).

The discomfort expressed by my teacher participants, with violence, difficult or emotional discussions, negative stories about colonisation, and unfamiliar historical perspectives, often stemmed from a desire to avoid doing or saying the ‘wrong’ thing. Harriet displayed this type of discomfort in the classroom when she avoided doing activities because they might be ‘inappropriate’, or she didn’t feel comfortable running them. Harriet did not run the Wairau Affray mock trial activity in her class because it required students to play the roles of real historical figures, one of whom was Māori. The idea of engaging with this seemed to be overwhelming for Harriet, and she responded by removing the exercise from her class plan. The teachers’ experiences of moral liminality influenced them to avoid activities or actions they might get ‘wrong’. Harriet focused quite strongly on ‘moving forward’ in her interview, which was in direct response to discussing the ‘bad’ and more violent aspects of Aotearoa New Zealand histories that she taught in class.

> “Yes, this is what's happened. And that's really bad and acknowledging that, but we need to move forward. Right? And how do you move forward? What actions can you take as an individual?” (Harriet, interview)

Harriet was quite focused on the concept of ‘moving forward’ and often became much more noticeably animated when she discussed topics such as museum reparations, the responsibilities of ‘young New Zealanders’, and possibilities for the future. This was in contrast to her affective response to teaching violent histories, which often resulted in her voice becoming quieter and her tone flattening, her face falling into a more neutral or even discontented expression. For example, when she covered violent aspects of Aotearoa New Zealand’s histories, Harriet often read aloud from a document or PowerPoint

slides, sometimes making comments to students that she thought it would be 'boring' or too difficult for them to read it themselves. Her discomfort with colonial violence was fairly clear from these actions and she avoided this discomfort by choosing to focus on 'moving forward', which I categorise as a desire to be 'good' and retain White innocence through atonement. Fassin (2013) describes atonement as a process through which both parties involved in a conflict or injustice engage in reconciliatory processes, thereby obscuring ongoing tensions, violence, and systemic injustices. He describes this process in the context of South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission, in that this process allowed the entrenched systems of White supremacy in the country to remain in place under the veil of reconciliation, "As if nothing ever happened." (Fassin 2013, 253). Atonement and 'moving forward' also limit the ability of Pākehā to reflect on their positionalities and connections to whiteness, thereby potentially gaining the opportunity to build a new identity, one not based on the oppression and colonisation of Māori (Russell 2021; Pederson, McCreanor, and Braun 2022).

The desire that the three teachers had to be 'good' and the challenge that the resulting moral liminality posed for them often resulted in silences. All three teachers had moments in class when they came close to sharing their perspectives with the students. But each time a teacher approached the point of acknowledging their discomfort openly, their desire to be 'good' by remaining 'neutral' took over and they censored themselves. The desire to be 'good' was limiting and challenging for the teachers because they had no real idea of what it meant for them to be 'good' in this new difficult environment, and so a sense of moral liminality settled over them, characterised by silence in the hopes that this would avoid the danger of them being 'wrong'. This created a strangely tangled environment in the classroom where they expressed some negative feelings towards colonisation through body language, tone, and facial expressions, but refused to express their opinions and perspectives vocally, sometimes visibly struggling to keep their silence.

The teachers' uncomfortable silences did not go unnoticed by Pākehā students. Abraham and Torok's (1986) theory of encryptment describes the way that historical trauma and memory can be passed on intergenerationally. Encryptment describes a process in which violent and traumatic histories are 'encrypted' by the generation that experienced them (or subsequent generations) and this 'crypt' of historical trauma is passed down through generations, exuding the feeling that *something bad* happened, but descendants do not know what it is because it is locked in the crypt (Good 2021; Abraham and Torok 1986; MacDonald and Kidman 2021). This theory of encryption does not necessarily apply to Māori students, who may have encountered explicit stories of colonial violence

and trauma in their families and communities. Māori histories have not been forgotten or hidden in the same way that Pākehā legacies of violence have, Māori have kept their histories alive in their own communities through storytelling (MacDonald and Kidman 2021). For Pākehā and their encrypted histories, the emotions associated with the historical trauma are passed on but the event or history itself is never mourned (Good 2021). Pākehā students, most of whom had been raised in New Zealand, would possess uncomfortable and painful emotions resulting from the encryptment of colonisation in New Zealand, and could therefore recognise this discomfort in their teachers. The fact that these students were learning about colonisation should hypothetically have 'opened the crypt', but the avoidance and silencing of the intensely emotional aspect of Aotearoa New Zealand's histories meant that the opportunity for mourning was missed. Some of the Pākehā students adopted a new type of silence in response, which I describe in further detail below. For Māori students, their Pākehā teachers' silence often had more of a silen*cing* effect, limiting their abilities to express the painful emotions they felt in response to colonisation.

Settler Silences in the Classroom

Compared to the variety of emotional responses I observed from students in my survey, the number of debates, critical discussions, and unfiltered expressions of emotion in the classroom was low. There were certainly instances where students made problematic comments or assumptions based on colonial ideas. However, these instances were relatively few, and I initially took this to signify a real shift in attitudes away from the dismissiveness, explicit anti-Māori views, and disinterest in colonial histories that teachers remembered from previous decades. But after seeing the responses to my survey and interviewing my teacher participants, I realised that there was something else at play in the classroom which created the *illusion* that student attitudes around colonisation had changed. MacDonald, Smith, and Funaki (2021) describe what they call 'settler affirmations' in their article *When Am I Supposed to Teach Māori and Find the Time to Learn It?*, which refers to the comments and implicit understandings between Pākehā educators which reinforce colonial viewpoints and the silencing of Māori perspectives. Some examples of this from MacDonald, Funaki, and Smith's article are statements such as 'it's in the past', 'Māori get things for nothing', and 'it's too hard to learn Te Reo and teach it as well' (MacDonald, Funaki, and Smith 2021). I did not observe or hear these settler affirmations in use at Kāpiti College, despite it being a majority Pākehā school, but there was perhaps a cousin of settler affirmations at play instead, what I call settler silences.

Settler silences refer to the way Pākehā who hold potentially problematic colonial, racist, or 'wrong' ideas will keep this quiet in 'progressive' spaces where they know their perspectives are not welcome and where others may label them as 'bad'. Settler silences are kept as a way to be 'good', not only silencing problematic or racist views, but also ideas Pākehā teachers and students feel unsure about expressing when they are afraid to be 'wrong'. In a way, settler silences only serve to further entrench colonial ideas, because these narratives will certainly still be discussed, but now only in private, likely safe from any potential critical scrutiny. Around 17% of the students responding to the question 'how do you feel about colonisation?' expressed colonial ideas of beneficial colonisation and passive sympathy which they had never expressed in class, likely because the anonymity of the survey allowed a feeling of privacy for these viewpoints. Despite the relatively low number of respondents who expressed these ideas, hearing them in the survey surprised me and led to deeper analysis because I never encountered these narratives in the classroom, either from students, teachers, or resources. These ideas, left unaddressed or challenged in the classroom because of settler silences, can thus continue to proliferate in the minds and private spaces of students and teachers.

I was surprised to see the amount of resignation, ambiguity, and passive sympathy which arose in the survey since the consensus in the classroom from students was that colonisation was 'bad'. In my interviews with Nadine and Brianna, they both observed that many of their students were hesitant to speak their minds or express any uncensored emotion in class, because they did not want to 'say the wrong thing'. Brianna commented that she was not sure that any students would tell her what they 'really thought'. I observed some Pākehā paralysis among the Pākehā students and teachers, hesitance with Māori words and reluctance to do some work with Māori historical perspectives, however, the stark difference between the emotions and attitudes I observed in the classroom and those in the survey signals something else at play.

MacDonald, Funaki, and Smith's 'settler affirmations' offer a potential path to understanding the forces creating these emotional discrepancies in the classroom (MacDonald, Funaki, and Smith 2021). MacDonald, Funaki, and Smith comment that they themselves were not exposed to this kind of commentary during their own teaching careers or in their fieldsites, but they surmised that this was because they are all visibly not Pākehā (MacDonald and Funaki are Māori, Smith is Black) and were therefore excluded from such racial bonding (MacDonald, Funaki, and Smith 2021). I am Pākehā, visibly white, and when I was in the staffroom or the classroom, I was sometimes mistaken for a student teacher or a relief teacher, which suggests that if such settler affirmations were to occur, my

presence would not disturb them. However, in my time in the field, I never overheard these types of comments and was not engaged in this type of discussion. Despite this, MacDonald, Funaki, and Smith's 'settler affirmations' do offer useful information for my analysis, as the inconsistencies between what people said in public and what they said in more private spaces indicated something similar to settler affirmations happening. This difference was likely due to the desire to be 'good' and the resulting moral liminality I observed at work in the classroom. Pākehā teachers and students felt unsure about how to be 'good' and silenced their views and emotions in fear of being 'wrong'. I call this cousin of settler affirmations 'settler silences' because the settler-colonial ideas remain, but they are hidden from view, deprived of the opportunity for critical discussion and allowed to stagnate in the darkness.

In response to my survey question 'How do you feel about colonisation?', 16 out of 89 total responses indicated that they thought colonisation 'was good and bad', 'natural', and 'inevitable'. There are several examples of students I interacted with in class who expressed black-and-white negative views towards colonisation in that setting but then expressed more nuanced understandings in the privacy of the survey. One of these students was Jules*, who I interacted with a few times in class. In class, Jules seemed quite certain that colonisation was bad, but in the survey, she expressed uncertainty and a view of colonisation as 'natural' that I had not heard before from her or any other student.

> "I don't really know. Like it's a natural thing that was bound to happen but they did it in such a way that wasn't that good.". (Jules, survey)

The idea that colonisation is a 'natural' or 'inevitable' process as one other student put it, was never explicitly taught or expressed by the teachers in the classroom. The role of Pākehā dominance was, however, invisibilised and colonial histories were presented as 'neutral', possibly contributing to the idea that colonisation is something which just 'happens'. Whether Jules absorbed these ideas about colonisation from the classroom, her life outside it, or a combination of both, her silence around these views in the classroom meant that there was no opportunity for the teacher or even other students to challenge them. When students adopted settler silences in response to the uncomfortable silences of their teachers, they often did so to obscure perspectives on colonisation and Aotearoa New Zealand histories which maintained and reproduced whiteness, such as the idea that colonisation was inevitable. These silences maintained whiteness by showing Pākehā that the only way to be 'good' in response to moral liminality was to be silent. These silences, held out of fear of saying the 'wrong' thing, re-encrypted the uncomfortable and unsettling feelings Pākehā students and teachers were experiencing,

meaning they could no longer be addressed or become a threat to the dominance of whiteness. Settler silences re-encrypt the uncomfortable, painful, ambivalent feelings students have about colonisation, hiding the emotional realities of Aotearoa New Zealand's histories so that historical stories can be told but whiteness can be maintained (Good 2021; Buck 2012; Pederson, McCreanor, and Braun 2022; Bell and Russell 2021).

Critical self-reflection and emotional consideration are processes to which there is no clean 'end'. Fassin's (2013) theory of ressentiment explains that discomfort and self-doubt on the part of the oppressing group and resentment, anger, and pain on the part of the oppressed group are not finite emotions which are resolved with reparations or apologies. Ressentiment and the idea that atonement is not reachable are dangerous to whiteness because they remove the possibility that whiteness is superior and infallible. In this way, the desire to be a 'good White', the resulting moral liminality, and the 'neutrality' of the 2023 Aotearoa New Zealand histories curriculum become effective tools of coloniality, maintaining colonial structures and whiteness by encouraging emotional silence among young people, modelling settler silences as the morally 'right', 'safe' thing to do (Leonardo 2018; Thomassen 2014; Diaz 2010).

These settler silences, created by compounding silences and discomfort, appear amongst a generation of Pākehā learning about Aotearoa New Zealand's histories possibly for the first time. As students learn historical details about violent and painful events in New Zealand's histories, they also learn from their teachers that their emotions and 'opinions' do not have a place in discussions of colonisation. In this way, the difficult, uncomfortable, ambivalent, and angry emotions these students have in response to colonisation are encrypted in their silences, even though the histories themselves are unencrypted (Abraham and Torok 1986; MacDonald and Kidman 2021).

Finding Comfort in Difficult Discussions

In amongst the discomfort, anger, pain, defensiveness, and fear there emerged moments of comfort, curiosity, open discussion, and reflection, where students displayed comfort with difficult topics and a willingness to learn. This was not often, but each time I observed it happening, it was almost always amongst friends when the teacher was not present. This suggests that some students have the skills to engage in difficult discussions with their peers but are perhaps reticent to do this in earshot of teachers, who might judge them as doing or saying something 'wrong'. In what follows I discuss one of these

moments and consider what it can tell us about the productive possibilities of discomfort and the potential of moral communities in overcoming moral liminality (Macdonald 2013; Fassin 2013).

I sat towards the back of the room, facing the whiteboard at the front. As I bent my head towards my notepad, I heard a student behind me begin to ask each of his friends in turn if they were a 'coloniser'. The student's tone was even, and he asked each of his friends this question in turn, betraying no hint of humour or discomfort. His friends responded with the same calm seriousness as they might if they were discussing a particularly interesting movie they had all seen. One friend responded, "I am", and another said, "No, because I was born in Italy". The questioning student responded to the second respondent, saying, "So that means you're not a coloniser? Why not?". I did not hear the response to this question if one was offered. Another student said he was not a coloniser because he was born in England and the original questioner asked again why being born overseas would preclude your status as a coloniser. I listened to this conversation facing away from the students and was struck that they were having a reflective discussion about the nature of being Pākehā in a settler-colonial society. Their use of the word coloniser to think about these concepts suggested that they had repurposed language learned in class to talk about contemporary identity. From the original questioner's response to his friend saying he was not a coloniser because he was born in Italy, it seemed as though the students were using the word 'coloniser' to mean 'settler' or 'Pākehā', rather than an ancestor who had physically colonised New Zealand. The original questioner and his friends were able to easily translate what they had learnt about colonisation to their own lives and identities. This discussion, not overheard by the teacher, seemed to be unaffected by the moral liminality present at other times in the classroom, and the students showed no discomfort or fear of saying the 'wrong' thing when having this discussion.

The comfort and reflexive ability these students displayed in this conversation was reminiscent of what Mills and Creedy talk about as 'witnessing'; active reflective thinking resulting from productive engagement with discomfort (Mills and Creedy 2019). Despite not having much modern colonial content in class or context directly linking them to the forces of colonisation, the students were able to engage the uncomfortable and violent representations of colonisation from the 19th and early 20th centuries and apply these concepts to their lives in modern New Zealand. These Pākehā students could have epistemological knowledge about their positionality in relation to the colonisation of New Zealand, in that their ancestors directly or indirectly assisted the dispossession of Māori, and some aspects of the colonisation unit may have given them the words to talk about it in a reflective way. Their newly unencrypted emotional knowledge about colonisation in New Zealand combined with the

lessons they had received on colonisation had enabled them to 'give voice' to their positionalities as settlers, encouraging this conversation about contemporary identity (Good 2021; Kidron 2020).

This example of a potentially difficult discussion displays the potential that students and teachers have as a moral community in overcoming discomfort and dealing with moral liminality together. It also shows the power that encrypted emotions about colonisation continue to have when the histories from whence they came are revealed and taught in the classroom. Despite Pākehā students and teachers' struggles to find a way to be 'good', the resulting moral liminality, and the presence of difficult, uncomfortable, and painful emotions, both students and teachers created moments in the classroom where the shared experience of living in Aotearoa New Zealand among the colonial 'afterlives of violence' was strong enough to allow critical reflection and make discomfort productive (Good 2021, 517; Mills and Creedy 2019).

Conclusion

The emotional landscapes of the classrooms I observed were complex, shifting, and often hidden. Each student and teacher brought something different with them into the classroom, a different perspective on colonisation, whether negative, positive, or ostensibly 'neutral'. The pervasive force of silence in the classroom when learning about colonisation was surprising, caused by several things such as lack of knowledge, indifference, fear of being 'wrong', Pākehā paralysis, or settler silences. Discomfort in all its forms dominated the classroom space, leaving almost no one untouched, not even myself, but confidence and reflexivity also pushed through at times, making their way into classrooms not equipped to host them. There was anger, laughter, solemnity, unease, shame, hopeful insight, fear, and confidence, sometimes all packed into one lesson, expressed in so many ways by students and teachers, too many to fit in this one chapter. However, discomfort was the most prominent of all these emotions and often sat at the root of many of them. The messy, uncomfortable, painful history of this country demands an emotional response from those who learn and engage with it, and this results in myriad reactions from students and teachers, each coming from a different emotional, geographical, and cultural place.

Conclusion

I did not initially enter the field expecting to focus on the influence of whiteness in the classroom. However, that is where following the connections between discomfort and the 2023 Aotearoa New Zealand histories curriculum led me. The influence of whiteness and settler-colonialism has been a fundamental part of the New Zealand curriculum since its inception in 1877. A national curriculum which was initially created to teach only English history to create patriotic citizens of the British Empire and implemented history as an optional subject is not one which can easily adapt to and accept the introduction of Māori histories and stories of Pākehā violence (Manning 2018). Such a curriculum, which as it has been amended and rewritten over the past 146 years has been used to exclude Māori, use history to silence Māori demands, and create an image of a unified, bicultural nation, carries within it legacies of colonialism and whiteness. A curriculum which is founded on whiteness and colonialism and yet proclaims to teach the many violent and difficult stories of Aotearoa New Zealand's past is somewhat of an oxymoron and creates a particularly uncomfortable and unsettling environment in the classrooms where it is being taught.

I discovered this environment when I began to observe and talk with the students and teachers at Kāpiti College in late 2022. The pedagogical approaches of the three Pākehā teachers were different but all centered whiteness, invisibilising it in the belief that they were acting 'neutrally' and avoiding being 'wrong' or 'biased'. This fear of being 'wrong', 'bad', or 'offensive' was something I observed often among Pākehā students and teachers, who were focused more on how they were perceived individually than addressing the often-difficult feelings they experienced in the classroom. Māori students sat silently in classrooms where colonial-era racialised language was used frequently and whiteness was reinforced as the norm. During classroom games, Pākehā students denigrated their White ancestors and distanced themselves from those 'bad' people, limiting the focus of Māori students' anger and sadness to long-dead colonisers, apparently gone with the 'end' of colonisation. Colonisation was often not understood as extending into the contemporary era (despite the new curriculum's emphasis to the contrary). Although discomfort was not often verbally addressed in the classroom, Pākehā students and teachers struggled to deal with the defensiveness, anger, confusion, hesitancy, and self-censorship which resulted from their discomfort with violent colonial histories. When the settler-colonial crypt was opened, Pākehā students and teachers were faced with histories they often found difficult to process and emotions they found unpleasant.

In response to this unpleasantness, Pākehā students and teachers tried to find ways to reclaim their White innocence. There were several ways they tried to be 'good': self-censoring to avoid being 'wrong' or 'biased', focusing on the importance of 'moving forward' from New Zealand's violent past, and paying close attention to their own 'Pākehā paralysis'. However, since these Pākehā students and teachers did not know the 'right' way to be 'good', only identifying what might be 'wrong' or 'bad', they became trapped in a state of moral liminality, searching for a way to regain their White innocence and return to being 'good'. Pākehā teachers censored themselves in fear of being 'wrong' and their Pākehā students observed this behaviour, learning that their emotions and perspectives could mean that they would be perceived as 'bad'. These students became silent, keeping their ideas, emotions, and opinions to themselves in the classroom, only expressing them in anonymous or private 'safe' spaces. These are what I call 'settler silences'. Māori students, feeling their own difficult emotions connected to colonisation and often having opinions on colonisation to express, were often met with silence from Pākehā classmates and teachers, this dominant group too preoccupied with being 'good' to engage with the perspectives of Māori students. There were a few rare instances where Pākehā engaged with their own identities and were able to connect themselves to the processes of colonisation discussed in class, however, the overwhelming whiteness of the classroom offered few chances for these moments to occur.

By invisibilising whiteness and Pākehā legacies of violence and dominance, the 2023 Aotearoa New Zealand histories curriculum maintains whiteness and coloniality while simultaneously appearing to be doing the 'right' or 'good' thing. The curriculum works to present Pākehā histories as 'neutral' and Māori histories as 'other', reifying the binary of White and 'other' which forms the basis of whiteness. In doing this, the curriculum creates the idea that there is a possibility for atonement, or even that the creation of the curriculum itself is a form of atonement. This erases the continuing injustices and violence perpetuated by colonial institutions and systems against Māori and works to invalidate Māori demands for decolonisation and co-governance in line with Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Whiteness is invisibilised in the curriculum, causing a state of moral liminality for Pākehā students and teachers and pulling them into a seemingly endless loop of trying to find a way to be 'good'. This further limits the possibilities for awareness of systemic colonialism and whiteness. The 'neutrality' of the curriculum and the approaches of the Pākehā teachers I observed created an environment where the settler-colonial crypt could be opened and the violent colonial histories observed, but instead of mourning or emotional reflection as theorised by Abraham and Torok (1986), the discomfort and other difficult emotions were

re-encrypted in the name of ‘neutrality’ and being ‘good’. Through silence, emotional encryptment, and moral liminality, the 2023 Aotearoa New Zealand histories curriculum directs Pākehā understandings of history and colonisation towards individualism and atonement, silencing Māori histories and perspectives while appearing to embrace and engage with them. In this way, the state maintains its colonial, White foundations while appearing to do the opposite.

This thesis builds on research from Liana MacDonald (2020; 2021; 2022), Hine Funaki (2021), Avery Smith (2021; 2023), Joanna Kidman (2017; 2021; 2022), Elizabeth Russell (2021a, 2021b), and Michael Harcourt (2020) in that it continues their work on the difficult emotions and silences surrounding Aotearoa New Zealand histories. MacDonald, Funaki, and Smith’s (2021) work on settler affirmations was particularly foundational to my research in that it provided context for the settler silences I observed in my fieldwork. My research also builds on Good’s (2021) analysis of encryptment hauntology, in that I demonstrate that encrypted histories can remain un-mourned when unearthed if the emotional states connected to them are re-encrypted and silenced.

This research project was limited by several factors, including the length of fieldwork permitted by a one-year Master’s degree, my inexperience with ethnographic fieldwork, and the continuing effects of the recent Covid-19 pandemic. The new curriculum was originally planned for release in 2022 but this date was pushed to 2023 due to the detrimental effects of the Covid-19 pandemic on schools (Ministry of Education 2023a). More time would have allowed me to make connections with other teachers, perhaps meaning that I could have interviewed the entire Year 10 Social Studies teacher cohort and spoken with school leadership. More fieldwork experience in schools might have helped me develop a plan more aligned with the reality of classroom life. I spent the first few weeks mostly figuring out *how* to do participant observation, which truly is a unique process of navigation with the participants, the environment, and yourself as a researcher (Jackson 1990). I entered the field two weeks later than expected because of the after-effects of Covid-19. The added stress and time pressure from the delays in teaching caused by the Covid-19 pandemic affected everyone I interacted with and put my teacher participants under much more pressure than they otherwise might have felt, which made speaking with me at length a low priority.

Students and teachers carry the discomfort and pain from their histories into the classroom, sometimes encrypted and sometimes openly mourned. These difficult emotions, so personal and yet so frequently shared within cultural and social groups, create a specific kind of unspoken tension in classrooms

where ‘opinions and feelings’ are not welcome but are nevertheless intensely felt. Although these emotions often remain unspoken, they are visible in the body language, facial expressions, actions, and silences of both students and teachers, creating a shared understanding that we all feel uncomfortable in some way about colonisation but that it is not ‘right’ to talk about it out loud. Pākehā students retreat into settler silences and Māori students are taught again, as they have been for generations, that their anger is not welcome in the classroom (Ngarewa 2021). In the moments when emotion breaks through the bounds of moral liminality and restrictive silences, the potential of a moral community prepared to deal with the difficult emotions under the surface emerges and both students and teachers can be seen to engage completely with the process of learning about our history and themselves in the process. Each student and teacher bring different emotional ‘baggage’ with them into the classroom, and each has a slightly different understanding of Aotearoa New Zealand and their place in it. In the moments when the expectation of ‘neutrality’ and moral liminality is lifted, the silent tension releases a little and the class can briefly mourn the histories that surround them.

There is an opportunity for further research to be done on the 2023 Aotearoa New Zealand histories curriculum, particularly the emotional experiences of students and teachers. Not only is the curriculum brand new, but there is little research on discomfort in New Zealand history classrooms (Harcourt 2020 and MacDonald 2020 are notable exceptions). There is concern from some groups in New Zealand that the 2023 Aotearoa New Zealand histories curriculum will not provide the emotional support and guidance which students and teachers grappling with difficult violent legacies of colonisation will need (Ngarewa 2021). The moral liminality, settler silences, omissions, and self-censorship I observed in the field indicate that there is reason to be concerned and that more research should be done to understand how these issues appear on a broader level in New Zealand, as well as how students and teachers find moments of connection and understanding amidst discomfort. The compulsory inclusion of Aotearoa New Zealand’s histories in New Zealand’s education system is a long time coming, and this opportunity to not only teach students (and sometimes teachers) about their own history but also to unsettle ideas of Pākehā identity based on whiteness is not to be underestimated. The concept of moral liminality is something deserving of more inquiry, as it illustrates something interesting about the state of Pākehā moral emotions in response to Aotearoa New Zealand’s violent colonial histories. It also highlights the effect Pākehā emotionality can have on Māori classroom experiences, especially considering Pākehā dominance of New Zealand society and in the classrooms I observed. Continuing to investigate student, teacher, and community understandings of colonisation and New Zealand’s colonial past as the curriculum is rolled out and embedded nationally will provide a clearer picture of

the moral emotional landscape of New Zealand 183 years after the Te Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty of Waitangi was signed.

Bibliography

2018 Census Place Summaries | Stats NZ." n.d. https://www.stats.govt.nz/tools/2018-census-place-summaries/kapiti-coast-district.

Abraham, Nicolas, and Maria Torok. 1986. *The Wolf Man's Magic Word: A Cryptonomy*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

al-Samarai, Nicola and Peggy Piesche. 2018. "Whiteness." *Krisis* (2). https://go.openathens.net/redirector/wgtn.ac.nz?url=https://www.proquest.com/scholarly-journals/whiteness/docview/2291069458/se-2.

Applebaum, Barbara. 2010. Being White, Being Good : White Complicity, White Moral Responsibility, and Social Justice Pedagogy. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books. Accessed April 27, 2023. ProQuest Ebook Central.

Barker, Joshua. 2012. "The Ethnographic Interview In An Age Of Globalization". In *The SAGE Handbook Of Social Anthropology*, 2nd ed., 55 - 68. London: SAGE.

Bateman, David. 2005. "Wairau Affray." *Bateman New Zealand Encyclopedia*, 6th ed., 701-702. Auckland, New Zealand. *Gale eBooks* (accessed December 12, 2022). https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CX2896402397/GVRL?u=vuw&sid=bookmark-GVRL&xid=bf0b36b5.

Beatty, Andrew. 2010. "How Did It Feel for You? Emotion, Narrative, and the Limits of Ethnography." *American Anthropologist* 112, no. 3: 430–43. http://www.jstor.org/stable/40801599.

Beatty, Andrew. 2019. "Emotions in the Field: Recognition and Location." Chapter. In *Emotional Worlds: Beyond an Anthropology of Emotion*, 25–45. New Departures in Anthropology. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi:10.1017/9781139108096.003.

Bell, A., Russell, E. 2022. Aotearoa New Zealand's New National History Curriculum and Histories of Mourning. NZ J Educ Stud 57, 21–35. https://doi.org/10.1007/s40841-021-00231-2

Blum, Susan D. 2016. *I Love Learning; I Hate School*: *An Anthropology of College*. 1st ed. Cornell University Press. http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7591/j.ctt20d8b00.

Boler, Megan. 1999. *Feeling Power: Emotions and Education*. New York: Routledge.

Boler, M. and Zembylas, M. 2003. "Discomforting Truths: The Emotional Terrain of Understanding Difference". In Pedagogies of Difference: Rethinking Education for Social Change, Edited by: Trifonas, P. 110–135. New York: Routledge.

Bouchard, Karen. 2016. "Anonymity As A Double-Edge Sword: Reflecting On The Implications Of Online Qualitative Research In Studying Sensitive Topics". *The Qualitative Report*. doi:10.46743/2160-3715/2016.2455.

Buck, Pem Davidson. 2012. "Whither Whiteness? Empire, State, and the Re-Ordering of Whiteness." Transforming Anthropology 20 (2): 105–17. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1548-7466.2012.01155.x.

Burns, Christopher. 2022. "Te Tiriti History Can't Be 'Left to Chance,'" September 13, 2022. https://www.newsroom.co.nz/ideasroom/te-tiriti-history-cant-be-left-to-chance?utm_medium=Social&utm_source=Facebook&fbclid=IwAR0Lvh3CJL8G3yammnmaM5Ofqim_QRcoY6b_9_gdnXDfQZu6tpNz-rGVIuA#Echobox=1663010331.

Calman, Ross. 2012. 'Māori education – mātauranga - The native schools system, 1867 to 1969', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/maori-education-matauranga/page-3 (accessed 26 February 2023)

Castagno, Angelina E. 2008. "'I Don't Want to Hear That!': Legitimating Whiteness through Silence in Schools." *Anthropology & Education Quarterly* 39, no. 3: 314–33. http://www.jstor.org/stable/25166671.

Collins, Simon. 2020. “Students Face Emotional Challenge Confronting NZ History, Study Warns.” *NZ Herald*, December 21, 2020. https://www.nzherald.co.nz/kahu/students-face-emotional-challenge-confronting-nz-history-study-warns/HDBYZZZOWNKE2QOH6CCSJTWOMQ/.

Court, Deborah, and Abbas, Randa Khair. 2022. *Insider-Outsider Research in Qualitative Inquiry : New Perspectives on Method and Meaning*. Milton: Taylor & Francis Group. Accessed May 27, 2023. ProQuest Ebook Central.

Delamont, Sara, Paul Atkinson, Alexandru Cernat, Joseph W. Sakshaug, and Richard A. Williams. 2020. *Ethnographic Fieldwork*. Edited by Alexandru Cernat, Joseph W. Sakshaug, and Richard A. Williams. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Diaz, Vicente M. 2010. *Repositioning the Missionary: Rewriting the Histories of Colonialism, Native Catholicism, and Indigeneity in Guam*. University of Hawai’i Press. http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt6wqhck.

Dragojlovic, Ana, and Annemarie Samuels. 2021. “Tracing Silences: Towards an Anthropology of the Unspoken and Unspeakable.” History and Anthropology 32 (4): 417–25. https://doi.org/10.1080/02757206.2021.1954634.

Elkington, Bianca, Moana Jackson, Rebecca Kiddle, Ocean Ripeka Mercier, Mike Ross, Jennie Smeaton, and Amanda Thomas. 2020. Imagining Decolonisation. 1st ed. Wellington: Bridget Williams Books.

Eramian, L. 2018. “Participant Observation”. In The International Encyclopedia of Anthropology, H. Callan (Ed.). https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118924396.wbiea1357

Ergun, A., & Erdemir, A. 2010. “Negotiating Insider and Outsider Identities in the Field: “Insider” in a Foreign Land; “Outsider” in One’s Own Land”. Field Methods, 22(1), 16–38. https://doi.org/10.1177/1525822X09349919

Evening Post. 1936. “A Plea For History,” March 19, 1936.

--- . 1937. “Interesting Opinion: Lack of Historical Teaching,” May 7, 1937.

Fabish, Rachael. 2014: “Black Rainbow: Stories of Māori and Pākehā working across difference.” Open Access Te Herenga Waka-Victoria University of Wellington. Thesis. https://doi.org/10.26686/wgtn.17009195.v1

Fassin, Didier. “On Resentment and *Ressentiment*: The Politics and Ethics of Moral Emotions.” *Current Anthropology* 54, no. 3 (2013): 249–67. https://doi.org/10.1086/670390.

Foxall, Donna. 2013. “Barriers in Education of Indigenous Nursing Students: a Literature Review.” Nursing praxis in New Zealand inc. 29, no. 3: 31–37.

Freire, Paulo. 1993. “Pedagogy of the Oppressed”. New rev. 20th-Anniversary ed. New York: Continuum.

Gair, Susan. 2012. “Feeling Their Stories: Contemplating Empathy, Insider/Outsider Positionings, and Enriching Qualitative Research”. *Qualitative Health Research*. (1):134-143. doi:10.1177/1049732311420580

Geertz, Clifford. 1973. “Thick Description: Towards an Interpretive Theory of Culture”. In The Interpretation of Cultures. Basic Books.

George, Lily. 2010. “Tradition, Invention, and Innovation: Multiple Reflections of an Urban Marae.” PhD Dissertation, Massey University.

Glowsky, David. 2002. Social Amnesia and the Eclipse of History in New Zealand School Syllabi 1947-2002. E-book. https://www.grin.com/document/20228.

Good, Byron J. 2021. “Afterword: Haunted Histories and the Silences of Everyday Life.” History and Anthropology 32 (4): 516–26. https://doi.org/10.1080/02757206.2021.1954635.

Government of New Zealand. 2005. “Watch out Dr Brash, the paranoids are after you!”. https://www.beehive.govt.nz/release/watch-out-dr-brash-paranoids-are-after-you

--- . 2019. "NZ History To Be Taught In All Schools". https://www.beehive.govt.nz/release/nz-history-be-taught-all-schools.

Hamann, Edmund T. “Imagining the Future of the Anthropology of Education If We Take Laura Nader Seriously.” *Anthropology & Education Quarterly* 34, no. 4 (2003): 438–49. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3651325.

Hammersley, Martyn and Paul Atkinson. 1995. “Ethnography: Principles in Practice”. 2nd Edition, Routledge.

Harcourt, Michael. 2020. “Teaching and Learning New Zealand’s Difficult History of Colonisation in Secondary School Contexts.” PhD Dissertation, Te Herenga Waka - Victoria University of Wellington.

Haupt, Paul M. “The school as a microcosm of communities and their heritage and the need to encapsulate this in the writing of school histories.” Yesterday and today, no. 5 (2010): 15–21.

Hemy, A. D., & Meshulam, A. 2021. “‘Is that okay, teacher?’ The camera as a tool to challenge power relations in a participatory action research classroom”. Qualitative Research, 21(5), 750–767. https://doi.org/10.1177/1468794120952008

Hogan, Finn. 2021. “Colonisation a Good Thing for Māori 'on Balance' - National MP Paul Goldsmith.” *Newshub*, June 5, 2021.

hooks, bell. 1994 “Teaching to Transgress : Education as the Practice of Freedom”. New York: Routledge.

Hill, M. Anne, and Elizabeth M King. Women’s Education in Developing Countries : Barriers, Benefits, and Policies. Place of publication not identified: Published for the World Bank by the Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993.

Jackson, Moana. 2020. “Where to Next?: Decolonisation and the Stories in the Land.” Essay. In *Imagining Decolonisation*, edited by Anna Hodge, 1st ed. Vol. 1. Wellington: Bridget Williams Books Ltd.

Jackson, Jean E. 1990. "'I Am a Fieldnote.'" In Fieldnotes: The Makings of Anthropology. Cornell University Press.
"Kapiti College | Education Review Office." 2019. May 2, 2019. https://ero.govt.nz/institution/247/kapiti-college.

Kidron, Carol A. 2021. "Emancipatory Voice and the Recursivity of Authentic Silence: Holocaust Descendant Accounts of the Dialectic between Silence and Voice." History and Anthropology 32 (4): 442–61. https://doi.org/10.1080/02757206.2020.1726907.

Keenan, Lauren. 2022. "Parihaka vs the 'Primo' Tudors: Why History in Schools Needn't Be a Battle." *The Spinoff*, April 5, 2022. https://thespinoff.co.nz/books/05-04-2022/parihaka-vs-the-primo-tudors-why-history-in-schools-neednt-be-a-battle.

Kidman, Joanna, Vincent O'Malley, Liana MacDonald, Tom Roa, Keziah Wallis. 2022. "Fragments from a Contested Past: Remembrance, Denial and New Zealand History." 1st Edition, Bridget Williams Books Ltd. Wellington.

Kinloch, Patricia, and Joan Metge. 2014. Talking Past Each Other: Problems of Cross Cultural Communication. Victoria University Press.

Kowhai, Te Rina. 2022. "New History Curriculum Welcomed by Principal, Māori Historian." Newshub, March 18, 2022. https://www.newshub.co.nz/home/new-zealand/2022/03/new-history-curriculum-welcomed-by-principal-m-ori-historian.html.

Kwame Harrison, Anthony. 2018. "Ethnography: Understanding Qualitative Research". New York, 2018; online edn, Oxford Academic, 24 May 2018. https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780199371785.001.0001
"Land of the Long White Cloud." 2019. Online Video. NZ on Air.

Kwon, Jong Hwa. 2020. "Paradoxes of White Moral Experience." American Ethnologist 47 (2): 184–91. https://doi.org/10.1111/amet.12900.

"Latest Release of Child Poverty Statistics – Corrected." 2021. Https://Www.Stats.Govt.Nz/News/Latest-Release-of-Child-Poverty-Statistics. Stats NZ.

LeCompte, Margaret D., and Schensul, Jean J.. 2010. "Designing and Conducting Ethnographic Research: An Introduction". California: AltaMira Press. Accessed November 22, 2022. ProQuest Ebook Central.

Lee, G. & H. Lee. 2016. "Thomas Report, and William Thomas (1879-1945)". *Dictionary of Educational History in Australia and New Zealand (DEHANZ)*, 9 February. Available: http://dehanz.net.au

Leibowitz, Brenda, Vivienne Bozalek, Poul Rohleder, Ronelle Carolissen, and Leslie Swartz. 2010. "'Ah, but the Whiteys Love to Talk about Themselves': Discomfort as a Pedagogy for Change." *Race Ethnicity and Education* 13 (1): 83–100. doi:10.1080/13613320903364523.

Leonardo, Zeus. 2004. "The Color of Supremacy: Beyond the Discourse of 'White Privilege.'" Educational philosophy and theory 36, no. 2: 137–152.

--- . 2018. "Dis-Orienting Western Knowledge: Coloniality, Curriculum and Crisis." Cambridge anthropology 36, no. 2: 7–20.

Levstik, L. 2001. "Crossing the empty spaces: perspective taking in New Zealand adolescents' understanding of national history". In O. L. Davis, E. A. Yeager, & S. J. Foster (Eds.), *Historical empathy and perspective taking in the social studies*. Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield.

Lutz, Catherine. 1986 "Emotion, Thought, and Estrangement: Emotion as a Cultural Category." *Cultural Anthropology* 1, no. 3: 287–309. http://www.jstor.org/stable/656193.

Lyon, Margot L. 1995. "Missing Emotion: The Limitations of Cultural Constructionism in the Study of Emotion." *Cultural Anthropology* 10, no. 2: 244–63. http://www.jstor.org/stable/656335.

Macdonald, Helen Mary. 2013. “Inviting Discomfort: Foregrounding Emotional Labour in Teaching Anthropology in Post-Apartheid South Africa.” *Teaching in Higher Education* 18 (6): 670–82. https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/13562517.2013.795938

MacDonald, L. 2020. “Teaching the New Zealand Wars: Iwi- and hapū-led histories”. *Set: Research Information for Teachers,* (2). doi:10.18296/set.0170

MacDonald, Liana, Avery Smith, and Hine Funaki. 2021. *“When Am I Supposed to Teach Māori and Find the Time to Learn it?“:* Settler Affirmations in Aotearoa New Zealand Schools”. 56 ed, New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies.

MacDonald, Liana, and Joanna Kidman. 2021. “Uncanny Pedagogies: Teaching Difficult Histories at Sites of Colonial Violence.” Critical Studies in Education 63 (1): 31–46. https://doi.org/10.1080/17508487.2021.1923543.

MacDonald, Liana, and Adreanne Ormond. 2021. ‘Racism and Silencing in the Media in Aotearoa New Zealand.’ AlterNative 17 (2): 156–164. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F11771801211015436

MacDonald, Liana, Kim Bellas, Emma Gardenier, and Adrienne J. Green. 2022. “Channelling a Haunting.” Public History Review 29 (December): 142–55. https://doi.org/10.5130/phrj.v29i0.8218.

Manning, Richard. 2018. "The New Zealand (School Curriculum) ‘History Wars’: The New Zealand Land Wars Petition and the Status of Māori Histories in New Zealand Schools (1877–2016)." The Australian Journal of Indigenous Education 47 (2) (12): 120-130. doi:http://dx.doi.org.helicon.vuw.ac.nz/10.1017/jie.2017.13. https://www-proquest-com.helicon.vuw.ac.nz/scholarly-journals/new-zealand-school-curriculum-history-wars-land/docview/2139189544/se-2?accountid=14782.

MCWHORTER, Ladelle. 2005. “Where Do White People Come from? : A Foucaultian Critique of Whiteness Studies: Special Issue Commemorating the 20th Anniversary of Foucault’s Death.” Philosophy & social criticism 31, no. 5-6 (2005): 533–556.

Metge, Joan. 2001. *Talking Together*. Auckland University Press.

Moffat-Young, Caitlin. 2019. “Tama Tu, Tama Ora, Tama Noho, Tama Mate, Tamatoa! Ngā Tamatoa and the Treaty of Waitangi”. Histeria! 30-37.

Morrison, Toni. 1992. “Playing in the Dark : Whiteness and the Literary Imagination”. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.

Micky Savage. 2021. “Reality Has a Left Wing Bias.” The Standard, May 20, 2021. https://thestandard.org.nz/reality-has-a-left-wing-bias/.

Mikaere, Ani. 2017. "CONTENDING WITH THE WEIGHT OF HISTORY: POWER, PRIVILEGE AND THE PREDILECTION FOR PRESUMPTION". In *History Making A Difference: New Approaches From Aotearoa*, 1st ed. Cambridge Scholars Publisher. https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/vuw/detail.action?docID=4857991.

Mills, Kyly, and Debra Creedy. 2019. “The ‘Pedagogy of Discomfort’: A Qualitative Exploration of Non-Indigenous Student Learning in a First Peoples Health Course.” The Australian Journal of Indigenous Education 50 (1): 29–37.

Ministry for Culture and Heritage. 2019. “Hōne Heke: Biography.” URL: https://nzhistory.govt.nz/people/hone-heke., updated 8 April 2019

Ministry of Education. 2007. “The New Zealand Curriculum.”

--- . 2022. “Aotearoa New Zealand’s Histories in the New Zealand Curriculum.” 90252. Https://Aotearoahistories.Education.Govt.Nz/.

--- . 2023. “Introducing Aotearoa New Zealand’s Histories | Aotearoa NZ’s Histories.” Aotearoahistories.Education.Govt.Nz. 2023. https://aotearoahistories.education.govt.nz/about/introducing-aotearoa-new-zealands-histories.

---. 2023a. “Aotearoa New Zealand’s Histories and Te Takanga o Te Wā.”. February 10, 2023. https://www.education.govt.nz/our-work/changes-in-education/aotearoa-new-zealands-histories-and-te-takanga-o-te-wa/.

--- . 2023b. “Teaching Resources | Aotearoa NZ’s Histories.” https://aotearoahistories.education.govt.nz/resources.

Narayan, Kirin. 2012. “Alive in the Writing: Crafting Ethnography in the Company of Chekhov”. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Accessed November 22, 2022. ProQuest Ebook Central.

Neill, Carol, Rachael Bell, Michael Belgrave, Peter Meihana, and Geoff Watson. 2022. “What for the Future, from Learning the Past?” The New Zealand Annual Review of Education 27 (November): 5–24. https://doi.org/10.26686/nzaroe.v27.8029.

Ngarewa, Airana. 2022. "Learning Our History Is Painful For Māori. The New Curriculum Will Be No Different". *The Spinoff*. https://thespinoff.co.nz/atea/22-03-2022/the-new-history-curriculum-will-still-be-painful-for-maori-to-learn.

Nooitgedagt, W., Martinović, B., Verkuyten, M. et al. 2021. “Autochthony Belief and Making Amends to Indigenous Peoples: The Role of Collective Moral Emotions”. Soc Just Res 34, 53–80. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11211-021-00362-3

NZ Wars: The Stories of Ruapekapeka. 2017. RNZ. https://www.rnz.co.nz/programmes/nz-wars.

Oliveira, Genaro. 2022. “Learning in and from Primary Schools: Teaching Aotearoa New Zealand’s Histories at Years 1 to 6.” National Library of New Zealand.

O’Malley, Vincent, and Joanna Kidman. 2017. “Settler Colonial History, Commemoration and White Backlash: Remembering the New Zealand Wars.” Settler Colonial Studies 8 (3): 298–313. https://doi.org/10.1080/2201473x.2017.1279831.

Pankonien, Dawn. 2021. "Research Methods: The Ethnographic Interview (Course Content)". *Medium*. https://pankonien.medium.com/research-methods-the-ethnographic-interview-course-content-909da6d74cf.

Patrick, Rachel. 2011. "'An Antidote to Bookishness' LOCAL HISTORY, EDUCATIONAL PRACTICES AND COLONIALISM IN NEW ZEALAND PRIMARY SCHOOLS, 1900-1940." New Zealand journal of history 45, no. 2: 192–208.

Pedersen, Rachelle, Tim McCreanor, and Virginia Braun. 2022. "'Māori History Can Be a Freeing Shaper': Embracing Māori Histories to Construct a 'Good' Pākehā Identity." Sites: A Journal of Social Anthropology and Cultural Studies 19 (2): 1–29. https://doi.org/10.11157/sites-id516.

Pieke, Frank N. 2000. "SERENDIPITY: REFLECTIONS ON FIELDWORK IN CHINA." In *Anthropologists in a Wider World: Essays on Field Research*, edited by Paul Dresch, Wendy James, and David Parkin, 1st ed., 7:129–50. Berghahn Books. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv287sdrb.12.

"Prison Facts and Statistics - December 2022." n.d. Department of Corrections. https://www.corrections.govt.nz/resources/statistics/quarterly_prison_statistics/prison_stats_december_2022.

Quinlivan, Mark. 2022. "New NZ History Curriculum 'not Pushing Agenda or Narrative' - Teachers' Association Chair." Newshub NZ, March 17, 2022. https://www.newshub.co.nz/home/new-zealand/2022/03/new-nz-history-curriculum-not-pushing-agenda-or-narrative-teachers-association-chair.html.

Revell, E. Papoutsaki, E. & Kolesova, E. 2014. "Race, racism and everyday communication in New Zealand". In G. Dodson, & E. Papoutsaki (Eds.), Communication issues in Aotearoa New Zealand: A collection of research essays (pp 38-51). Auckland, New Zealand: Epress Unitec.

Roulston, Kathryn. 2019. "Ethnographic Interviewing." In *SAGE Research Methods Foundations*, edited by Paul Atkinson, Sara Delamont, Alexandru Cernat, Joseph W. Sakshaug, and Richard A. Williams. London: SAGE Publications Ltd. https://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781526421036769245.

Russell, E. 2022. Crossing the Minefield of Anxiety, Guilt, and Shame: Working With and Through Pākehā Emotional Discomfort in Aotearoa New Zealand Histories Education. NZ J Educ Stud 57, 37–52. https://doi.org/10.1007/s40841-021-00233-0

Sahlins, Marshall. 1983. "Other Times, Other Customs: The Anthropology of History." *American Anthropologist* 85, no. 3: 517–44. http://www.jstor.org/stable/678658.
Scoop News. 2021. "Te Raukura Ki Kāpiti: Parihaka Gifts Name To Kāpiti Performing Arts Centre". Scoop.Co.Nz. https://www.scoop.co.nz/stories/AK2002/S00342/te-raukura-ki-kapiti-parihaka-gifts-name-to-kapiti-performing-arts-centre.htm.

Scott, Dick. 1981. *Ask That Mountain: The Story of Parihaka*. Auckland: Reed/Southern Cross.

Sefa Dei, G.J. 2010. "History as Tool of Colonialism". In: Teaching Africa. Explorations of Educational Purpose, vol 9. Springer, Dordrecht. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4020-5771-7_1

Selander, Staffan, Victor Lim Fei, Mats Wiklund, and Uno Fors. 2018. "1. Digital Games and Simulations for Learning". In Games and Education, (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill) doi: https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004388826_002

Shange, Savannah. 2019. "Progressive Dystopia: Abolition, Antiblackness, and Schooling in San Francisco". Durham: Duke University Press. Accessed November 22, 2022. ProQuest Ebook Central.

Simper, Natalie, Katarina Mårtensson, Amanda Berry, and Nicoleta Maynard. 2022. "Assessment Cultures in Higher Education: Reducing Barriers and Enabling Change." Assessment and evaluation in higher education 47, no. 7: 1016–1029.

Smith, Avery. 2023. "STORIES ALL OVER THE SCHOOL: PRIMARY SCHOOLS, PĀKEHĀ TEACHERS, AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF 'CULTURE.'" PhD dissertation, Te Herenga Waka - Victoria University of Wellington.

Smith, Linda Tuhiwai. 2021. "Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples." London: Bloomsbury Academic & Professional. Accessed November 22, 2022. ProQuest Ebook Central.

Strawhan, Gavin. 2011. *Treaty of Waitangi - What Really Happened*. Directed by Peter Burger. *YouTube*. TVNZ. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YFSRodFrNZo&ab_channel=CBHSHistory.

Sullivan, Shannon. 2014. Good White People : The Problem with Middle-Class White Anti-Racism. Albany: State University of New York Press. Accessed April 27, 2023. ProQuest Ebook Central.

Te Ao Hou. 1955. “The Parihaka Story: Books Today,” September 1955.

“Te Paati Māori - About Us.” n.d. Te Pāti Māori. https://www.maoriparty.org.nz/about_us.

Thomas, Amanda. 2020. “Pākehā and Doing the Work of Decolonisation .” Essay. In *Imagining Decolonisation*, edited by Anna Hodge, 1st ed. Vol. 1. Wellington: Bridget Williams Books Ltd.

Thomassen, Bjørn. 2014. Liminality and the Modern : Living Through the In-Between. London: Taylor & Francis Group. Accessed February 25, 2023. ProQuest Ebook Central.

Throop, Jason. 2012. “Moral Sentiments.” In A Companion to Moral Anthropology, edited by Didier Fassin, 1st ed. John Wiley and Sons.

Tilley, Susan, and Leanne Taylor. 2018. "Qualitative Methods and Respectful Praxis: Researching With Youth." *The Qualitative Report* 23, no. 9: 2184+. *Gale Academic OneFile* (accessed November 21, 2022). https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/A568570143/AONE?u=vuw&sid=bookmark-AONE&xid=6c017b12

Tolich, Martin. 2002. "Pakeha 'paralysis': cultural safety for those researching the general population of aotearoa." Social Policy Journal of New Zealand: 164+. Gale Academic OneFile (accessed October 18, 2021). https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/A99849276/AONE?u=vuw&sid=bookmark-AONE&xid=104aff56.

Tu Tangata. 1987. “Moriori Start to Unveil a Myth,” February 1, 1987.

Vargas-Tamez, Carlos. “Leaving No One behind: Bringing Equity and Inclusion Back into Education.” In *Resisting Neoliberalism in Education: Local, National and Transnational Perspectives*, edited by

Lyn Tett and Mary Hamilton, 1st ed., 239–52. Bristol University Press, 2019. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctvnjbdm2.22.

Waititi, Taika, dir. 2010. *Boy*. DVD. New Zealand: Whenua Films.

Walker, Ranginui. 1990. *Ka Whawhai Tonu Mātou*. Penguin Books.

Wanganui Chronicle. 1912. "The Study of History : An Important Subject Discussed By University Senate," January 26, 1912.

Wekker, Gloria. 2016. "INTRODUCTION." In *White Innocence: Paradoxes of Colonialism and Race*, 1–29. Duke University Press. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv11cw6fs.4.

Wiggins, Amy. 2023. "More Teachers' Strikes for Secondary Schools." NZ Herald, March 23, 2023. https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/more-teachers-strikes-for-secondary-schools/J7CUGQYRVJAGXMLLBQZXJGXFIU/.

Wilson, John. 2016. "From Colony to Nation." In. https://teara.govt.nz/en/nation-and-government/page-2.

Yukich, R. 2021. Feeling Responsible Towards Aotearoa New Zealand's Past: Emotion at Work in the Stance of Five Pākehā History Teachers. NZ J Educ Stud 56, 181–199. https://doi.org/10.1007/s40841-021-00218-z

Zembylas, Michalinos. 2013. "The Emotional Complexities of 'Our' and 'Their' Loss: The Vicissitudes of Teaching about/for Empathy in a Conflicting Society." *Anthropology & Education Quarterly* 44, no. 1: 19–37. http://www.jstor.org/stable/23359090.

Appendices

Appendix A

Survey:

1) How much do you feel you have learned about colonisation this term?
   (answered on a scale from 1: I have learned a lot, to 5: I have learned nothing)

2) Have you enjoyed learning about New Zealand history and colonisation? Why/why not?

3) What did you find most challenging about the topic of colonisation?

4) What did you find most interesting?

5) How easy did you find the topic of colonisation?
   (answered on a scale of 1: Very easy, to 5: Very difficult)

6) Was there anything specific about colonisation that you found very difficult to understand?

7) How do you feel about colonisation?

8) Do you have any other comments?

9) If you have not signed a consent form and would like to be included in Georgia's report, please find the consent form link below. Signing this will mean your opinions or conversations with Georgia may be included in her university research.

10) If you have consented and would like to choose your own pseudonym, please enter both your real name and the pseudonym you would like me to use in my report. Disclaimer: if your pseudonym is very close to your real name or is inappropriate, I will not use it. (a pseudonym is a fake name used in place of your real name)

Appendix B

Survey Blurb:

Here is a brief survey asking 10 questions about your experience of learning about colonisation. If you have consented to being included in my report, you can choose a pseudonym that I will use to refer to you instead of your real name. Thank you for filling this out, and thank you for a great term!

- Georgia

Appendix C

Interview Question Schedule:

Intro:

- How long have you been teaching?
- Have you taught social studies or history before? If so, for how long?
- How do you identify yourself? For example are you Pākehā, Māori, tauiwi, Pasifika, or another identity?

Teaching Experience:

- Have you ever taught New Zealand history before this year?
    - If yes: What did you teach? Was it your decision to teach that particular topic?
    - If no: Did you have any say in the topic you taught?
- Do you feel confident teaching New Zealand history? Why/why not?
- Have you ever had to deal with emotionally difficult topics in class?
    - If yes:
        - How did you feel about it?
        - How did you help the students deal with the topic?
    - If no:
        - How do you think you might handle a situation like that?
        - Do you ever share your feelings on a topic with the class?

- How do you feel about addressing emotionally difficult things in class?
- Do you have a teaching philosophy or pedagogy that you use in your teaching?
- Have you ever had to incorporate a new topic into your curriculum before?
    - If so, how difficult did you find it?
    - What kind of support have you received in the past with big curriculum changes?

New Zealand History:

- What would you say your level of knowledge about New Zealand history was prior to this year?
- Have you needed to do any extra learning in preparation for this topic?
    - If so, how much have you needed to do?
- How comfortable would you say you are discussing New Zealand history?
    - What kinds of feelings come up for you when discussing New Zealand history?

Reactions to and Opinions on the Curriculum:

- Have you felt supported by the school to begin teaching New Zealand history? Why/why not?
- Have you felt supported by the Ministry of Education? Why/why not?
- How has it been for you teaching the new curriculum so far?
    - Have you enjoyed it?
- How do you think your students have reacted to it?
- Have you found New Zealand history more difficult to teach than other subjects? Why/why not?
- Have your students learnt New Zealand history faster or slower than other subjects? Or would you say it's about the same learning speed?
    - Have you found it more challenging to get your students to understand certain topics?
    - If yes, what are the more challenging areas for them to understand?
- Has your overall wellbeing been affected in any way teaching and maybe learning about New Zealand history? If so, in what way?
- Have you discussed emotions around New Zealand history with your students?
    - If so, what effect did you find that it had on the students?
    - If not, have you observed any emotional reactions in students?

Questions Specific to Observation:

- How difficult have you found it to find good resources for the colonisation topic?
- Were there any resources you deliberately didn't use? Why?
- Have you noticed any different reactions or moods among your students during this topic?
    - What have you noticed in particular?
- How much communication do you usually have with other social studies teachers when planning a topic?
    - Did you find it helpful to communicate with other teachers when planning this topic?

- How did you find teaching with the 'colonisation simulation game'?
    - How effective do you think it was?
    - Why?

Appendix D

'An interactive History of Vietnam' Simulation Game: School Resource

An interactive History of Vietnam

A history of colonisation, assimilation and nationalism

You represent one family of Vietnamese people over a period of roughly 500 years. You will make decisions for different members of the family about how to respond to the pressures of foreign influence in Vietnam. There are Five Phases that represent different periods of foreign influence. Phase one is occupation and rule by Ming Dynasty China in the 15th Century. Phase Two is the French Colonial period from the 19the century until 1941. Phase three is the Japanese Occupation during World War Two Phase four is the era of civil war and partition of Vietnam into North and South. Phase Five is the period of American Intervention in Vietnam until 1975.

Phase 1:

1. Chinese invasion (Ming) 15th Century
   a. Cutting of hair
      i. The Chinese Ban the cutting of hair in the traditional short style and encourage people to grow it long and have it put into a bun at the back of the head. Do you cut your hair or not?

Cut hair	Grow your hair long
The Ming Dynasty is intolerant of your actions and you are given 50 lashes with bamboo. -Wellbeing -1 -Culture stays the same.	Your traditions are being eroded but you avoid trouble from the authorities. -Wellbeing stays the same -Culture -1

   b. The Chinese Administrators encourage you to wear chinese style clothing instead of the traditional style.

Adopt Chinese Clothing	Keep your traditional Vietnamese Clothing
Your traditions are being eroded but you avoid trouble from the authorities. -Wellbeing stays the same -Culture -1	The Mandarins are angry with your style of dress and you are made an example of. -If this is your first punishment it is bamboo lashes Wellbeing -1 -If this is your second punishment you are sentenced to "Penal Servitude" for one year and receive 100 lashes with a heavy bamboo stick. Wellbeing -2 Culture stays the same.

   c. The Ming soldiers have been told to burn Vietnamese books and destroy stelae that relate to traditional culture. They have come to your village to destroy these things do you:

Hide the stelae and books from them	Hand over the items meekly.
You manage to keep some books hidden which enables you to keep teaching some of your traditions to future generations. However the soldiers are furious when they discover the hidden stelae. They destroy them anyway and punish you with a bamboo beating. Wellbeing -1 Culture -1	The soldiers destroy the items and you find it more difficult to teach future generations. However your village is favoured by the Ming administrators and new opportunities for trade and work enable your family to flourish. Wellbeing +1 Culture -1

d. The Ming Officials encourage you to study the Classics of Chinese History including Confucius. Do you?

Study the texts	Refuse to learn Chinese philosophy.
You learn about the Chinese ways. This is really helpful as you understand what is required by the administrators and learn how to stay out of trouble and to make the most of opportunities. However, traditional philosophy becomes less important as your behaviour matches the chinese expectations. Wellbeing +1 Culture -1	The chinese are annoyed and keep trying. You refuse and continue to practice and behave as you would have before their invasion. You find it hard to interact with the Ming administrators and get into trouble from time to time from lack of understanding. Wellbeing -1 Culture stays the same.

e. Your Children are at an age when they would traditionally receive tattoos in various places on their body including the face. The Ming have banned these tattoos. Do you?

Get your children the tattoos	Follow the Ming ban and not get them
Having tattoos helps people in the community and family to keep contact with their traditions and stories. However the Ming administrators are furious with you as the parent and you are made an example of with a severe punishment of 100 lashes with the heavy bamboo. You nearly die. Wellbeing -1 Culture stays the same.	Everything stays the same but your culture is not passed on. Wellbeing stays the same Culture -1

f. Though they are also Buddhist (Like you) the Ming introduce new forms of worship. These are focussed on the worship of spirits including ritual sacrifice. Do you adopt these or not?

Adopt new forms of worship	Continue with the old ways.
The new systems of thinking are introduced from traditional chinese religion and are not part of Vietnamese thinking. Your culture is changing. If this is the 6th time you have followed the requirements of the chinese you are now assimilated into chinese culture and receive benefits for yourself and your family through respect and connections with the Ming system. Culture -1	Things stay as they are and your religion maintains its integrity Wellbeing stays the same Culture stays the same

Wellbeing stays the same If 6th conformity = Wellbeing +1	

g. There is a rebellion against the Ming dynasty. They want to re-establish an independent nation: Dai Viet. Do you join the rebellion or fight against it?

	Yes	No
7/10 people or more join the rebellion.	The rebellion is successful. As one who fought with the rebellion you are able to go back to a traditional lifestyle. Though some of the benefits of the chinese system are lost. Wellbeing Stays the same. Culture + 2 per person	The rebellion is successful but you are identified as an enemy of the new state. You are publicly shamed and punished with a facial tattoo to warn others of your treachery. Culture stays the same Wellbeing -2
6/10 people or less join the rebellion.	The rebellion fails. As one of those who rebelled you are made an example of. Your receive the punishment of exile. You are sent to inner mongolia and are banned from ever returning home. Your family must now move on without its important cultural figurehead. -Wellbeing -1 -Culture -1	The rebellion fails. You are rewarded for fighting alongside the Ming soldiers and for passing on information to the authorities about rebel movements. You have helped guarantee the ongoing rule of the Ming and the steady reduction in traditional culture. -You receive land confiscated from rebels. -Wellbeing -1 Culture- 1

Eventually a rebellion with support from neighbouring states is successful in shaking off the Ming. A relatively independent state of Amman existed for several hundred years until the arrival of European explorers and then Colonists in the 18th and 19th Century. The Culture has been re-established but is now more of a mix with the Chinese Culture: add 50 (depending on the group size) to the overall culture score. Add two to the wellbeing of each person below 10 after the first round.

Phase 2:

2. French Colonisation
   a. It is the early 19th century in Vietnam which is ruled by the Nguyen Dynasty (Vietnamese). Your village is visited by French Catholic Missionaries several times. They encourage you to adopt this new religion and abandon traditions in order to seek salvation and live a moral life. Do you…?

Convert to Catholicism	Politely decline and keep to tradition
While you get a new vision of the world around you not many other people are converting and the government is actively trying to get rid of Catholic influence. Some people in your area target you and your family as traitors and you suffer as a result. Wellbeing -1 Culture -1 Nationalism +10 -1 for each who choose this	Life continues as it was. Wellbeing no change Culture no change.

   b. France has imposed its control over all of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia and changed their names to "French Indochina". The French are investing in roads, rail and irrigation. They are looking for locals in your area to show support for their investment and to trade with them and spread their influence. Do you…?

Welcome the French and Trade with them	Continue on with your traditional life and try to ignore the changes
You benefit from increased incomes and relationships with important people making decisions. However you are increasingly focussed on western ideas about business and become distant from your own culture. Wellbeing +1 Culture -1 Nationalism +10 -1 for each who chooses this.	You do not benefit from the French money but you manage to keep your own identity intact… for now. Wellbeing and culture stay the same.

   c. The French have introduced a new system of schools. Do you send your children to one?

Yes	No
Your children gain an increased understanding of the French Language and ideas and can get on well with the new authorities. This dilutes some of their focus on their traditional culture. Wellbeing +1 Culture -1	It is increasingly difficult for your family to interact with the new authorities. However you continue with your traditional schooling and they keep their culture. Wellbeing stays the same. Culture stays the same. Nationalism +1 for each.

d. The French are introducing a new system for farming. They are combining many small farms together into plantations. The high taxes mean it is hard for you to afford your family's traditional farm. You have four choices...

Sell your farm and work as a labourer on a plantation.	Sell your farm and move to a quieter rural area further from the French.	Continue to farm the traditional way.	Move to the city
You get a small amount of money and move to a rubber plantation. The working conditions and pay are poor. Sometimes you are paid in rice instead of currency. The loss of your family farms disconnects you with some places of importance to your culture. Wellbeing -1 Culture -1 Nationalism +1	You get a small amount of money and move away from the French. Eventually though the new ways of farming get to you again and no matter what the taxes are high. Life is increasingly hard. Wellbeing -1 Culture stays the same Nationalism +1	This becomes increasingly hard because you have to go into debt to pay the taxes. Eventually you have to sell your land and get a job on one of the plantations. You are worse off than some others because the sale of the land goes to pay your debt and you have less to live off. Wellbeing -2 Culture -1 Nationalism +1	You move to the city and get a job in a factory. Initially this is positive but as more and more move to the city the cost of living increases and you have to work longer hours to survive. You lose contact with your traditional rural culture due to distance and time. Wellbeing -1 Culture -2 Nationalism +1

e. Life is close to intolerable and you must make a choice about how to survive. You could become a servant for a wealthy French Colonist on his plantation or could get a job working on the huge Hanoi-Yunnan railway development. Or stay where you are and fight it out against rising debt and decreasing living standards. What do you choose...?

Servant	Railway worker	Stay as you are
Life as a servant is not easy but it is relatively comfortable. You feel like you have lost status but at least you have a steady income. Wellbeing +1 Culture -1 Nationalism +1	You and your family move to the north to help with the construction. Conditions are terrible. Some of your relatives are amongst the 25,000 people who die during the construction. You increasingly resent the French rule and start to organise with others to fight it. Wellbeing -1 Culture stays the same.	You manage to fight on for a while but life remains miserable as it was and you start thinking about protesting. Wellbeing stays the same. Culture stays the same. Nationalism +1

	Nationalism +2	

f. Many people are fed up with French rule and a protest about the monopoly on Salt (traditionally people collected their own salt) is planned for tomorrow. Do you ...?

Attend	Stay away
The French shoot some of the protestors and arrest many others including yourself. You are subjected to brutal punishment and lose your job. Wellbeing -2 Culture stays the same Nationalism +1	Things stay as they were for you while other people get punished. You feel ashamed for not being involved and decide that you will join in future. Wellbeing stays the same Culture stays the same Nationalism +1

g. It is the 1930s. There is increasing talk of rebellion against French Rule. People are disgusted with the brutality of French Rule. There is a discussion group who read revolutionary papers and talk about how to respond to the French that meets locally. Do you join them...?

Join	Stay at home to avoid attention
You and your new friends become increasingly interested in open rebellion against the French. You learn about new ways of thinking including communism that make your radical and make you question your traditional way of thinking. Eventually your group is discovered by the authorities and you are exiled along with several others. Wellbeing -1 Culture -1 Nationalism +2	Things continue to be crappy. Your traditional culture is gradually being eroded as the French keep trying to "civilise" the population. Wellbeing stays the same. Culture -1 Nationalism +1

Phase 3:

3. Japanese Occupation and the Dirty War.
   a. The Japanese have occupied Indochina and are using it as a base for their military. The French Administration remains but they follow orders from the Japanese. A new group has been established to fight both the French and the Japanese. They are called the Viet Minh and are based in the mountains in the north of Vietnam. Do you join them or keep your head down and stay out of trouble?

Join	Head down
You join the organisation and immediately get a boost in your sense of purpose in life. You get access to care packages from the American OSS (the old CIA). You move to the mountainous region and find a thriving community led by Ho Chi Minh. It is not easy to survive with ongoing pressure from the Japanese and French. Wellbeing stays the same Culture +1 Nationalism +1	You are frightened of the prospect of revolution because the Japanese and French are so powerful. You decide it would be best to just follow orders and hope that they eventually leave. Life continues to be tough. Wellbeing stays the same. Culture stays the same. Nationalism stays the same.

   b. The Japanese have been defeated following the atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Ho Chi Minh, the leader of the independence movement has called for a rally in Hanoi in the north to declare independence. Many people feel optimistic about an end to nearly a century of colonial control. Some people fear that the Americans will not support the move to independence and that the French will return. Do you join the rally? Or move to the south in the hopes you will avoid a war fought in and around Hanoi?

Join the Rally	Move to the South.
There is a great celebration on the streets and independence is declared by Uncle Ho. However within a short time the French return and attempt to re-impose their control. Conflict increases and pressure on revolutionaries in the north is intense. You once again move out into the mountains but this time the Americans decide not to support you out of fear of communism. Wellbeing -1 Culture stays the same Nationalism +1	You move south and within a short time you see the north go up in flames with conflict. You find a place to live with relatives and try to keep out of trouble. Wellbeing stays the same. Culture stays the same Nationalism stays the same.

Phase 4:

4. Partition:
   a. The Viet Minh have defeated the French in the 1953 Battle of Dien Bien Phu. In the following peace treaty the country is divided into two halves. The North becomes an independent state Democratic Republic of Vietnam led by Ho Chi

Minh and is supported by communist neighbours China and the USSR. The South became an independent Republic of Vietnam under the leadership of Nho Dinh Diem; a Catholic with allegiance to and support from the USA. You must decide if you will move to the north or south as part of an organised swap of allies.

	Move to the North	Move to the South
Have fought with the Viet Minh	You find the north is a positive place to be. While you disagree with some of the communist reforms being introduced and the punishment of supposed "traitors" you are not targeted and life gets better in a number of ways. Wellbeing +1 Culture +1 Nationalism +1	People in the south do not trust you. The new government is looking for northern spies and think you could be one. You spend some time in prison and under interrogation. Wellbeing -1 Culture stays the same Nationalism +1
Have not fought with the Viet Minh	You find the reforms in the north are very extreme. Some do not trust you as you have never shown an interest in the Viet Minh before. The communist reforms make people equal in some ways but also limit your freedoms. Wellbeing -1 Culture stays the same Nationalism -1	You find life in the south is pleasant and look at the changes in the north as awful and extreme. Wellbeing +1 Culture stays the same. Nationalism -1

b. Part of your family lives in North Vietnam. The new government is bringing in some major reforms. These include the government taking land from wealthy landowners and giving it to the poor. They also want to get rid of some traditions and increase equality. Do you support or oppose the communist reforms?

More than half support	More than half oppose
The reforms are brought in and while some people suffer (opponents wellbeing -1) from having their land ripped away and being labelled "enemies of the people" many in the population feel better off (supporters wellbeing increases +1). While the new government allows some traditions they do actively try to discourage "old ways of thinking". Culture -1	There is a struggle for power as many people try to prevent the land reforms. The Communists use their military support and determined followers to crush the opposition in a short but effective war. They eventually make all the reforms they had originally planned. Some people start to want foreign intervention to protect them from the communists. Supporters wellbeing -1 Opponents wellbeing -2 Culture -1

	Nationalism -1

c. The Viet Minh is looking for volunteers to move down the Ho Chi Minh Trail to South Vietnam to start to recruit spies and militia to rise up against the South Vietnamese Government and their American Allies. Do you volunteer?

Yes	No
You spend months travelling to the south along the border with Laos and Cambodia. It is a difficult trip but you eventually get established with a group of radicals living in hard conditions in tunnels in the south and recruit supporters from the farmers. Wellbeing -1 Culture no change Nationalism +1	You decide to stay put and things do not change for you. Wellbeing stays the same Culture stays the same Nationalism stays the same.

d. Another part of your family is living in a rural community in South Vietnam. The Government and Americans are afraid that many farmers are joining the Viet Cong and so they establish a strategic hamlet system. Farmers are moved into communities that are surrounded by armed forces to protect them from the rebels. You have the choice of either moving to a strategic Hamlet or moving to the city, they will not let you keep farming outside the hamlets.

Move to the local Hamlet	Move to the City
You find life in the hamlets is very challenging. You have limited freedoms and it feels more like a concentration camp. You are also exposed to the Viet Cong in the camp as it is infiltrated. Many people are joining the Viet Cong and there is an environment of fear and mistrust. Traditional forms of farming are changed. Wellbeing -1 Culture -1 Nationalism +1	You move to the city and find that there are increased business opportunities and a number of foreign traders are around. There is a culture of fear in the cities as the South Vietnamese government uses secret police to spy on everyone. Wellbeing +1 Culture stays the same Nationalism stays the same.

e. The leaders of South Vietnam are openly Catholic and there is a major celebration on a Catholi Holiday. It seems like there is a new era of tolerance in South Vietnam, not like in the north. There is a buddhist holiday today that involves a celebration in the streets. Do you attend?

Yes	No
The celebration is going well until it is shut down by the police. The government claims	You hear about the shutdown of the event and are increasingly angry with the

that the Buddhists are breaking the law by waving buddhist flags instead of the flag of South Vietnam. Wellbeing stays the same Culture -1 Nationalism +1	government. Culture stays the same. Nationalism +1

Phase 5:

5. American Intervention
   a. After Diem is assassinated South Vietnam becomes more and more like a police state with a military government backed by the USA. Nonetheless the Americans begin to send more and more troops and start large scale bombing in rural areas dominated by the Viet Cong. You have moved back to a rural part of Vietnam and are farming again as far from the Strategic Hamlets as possible. Its 1965 American soldiers visit, hand out food and have a friendly attitude. They ask for any information about Viet Cong activity in the area. Do you lie that there is none? Or give them the location of an old Viet Cong hideout to put them off the scent? Or do you tell them the truth that there are Viet Cong in the hills that sometimes visit the village for supplies?

Lie	Give them old info	Tell the truth
The Americans accept your answers with a polite smile and leave. You are rewarded by the VC. Wellbeing stays the same. Culture and nationalism stay the same.	The Americans are very pleased and thank you for the information. They find the base and report back that it has been abandoned and the immediate threat has passed. They set up a firebase closeby to monitor VC movements and this leads to increased trading opportunities. Wellbeing +1 Culture stays the same nationalism -1	The Americans are very pleased with your support and immediately send squads into the local hills and thank you profusely. They find nothing and depart the area. The village is visited by the VC a few weeks later and they beat you when they find out you ratted them out. Wellbeing -1 Culture stays the same. Nationalism -1

   b. It's 1966 The Americans are back. This time they smile a lot less and get straight to the questions about VC. Do you lie again? Give them old info? Or tell the truth?

Lie	Give them old info	Tell the truth
The yanks do not appear to trust you and do a thorough search of the local area. They leave when they find nothing. Wellbeing, culture and nationalism stay the same.	The Americans have a good look and find no soldiers. Wellbeing, culture and nationalism stay the same.	The Americans believe you but when they find nothing in the hills they come back and turn over the village destroying some crops and ruining some houses. Wellbeing -1 Culture stays the same

		Nationalism +1

c. It's 1967 and the Americans return again. This time they are aggressive and threatening. How do you respond Lies, Old info or the Truth.

Lie	Give them old info	Tell the truth
The Americans do not trust you. They flip over the village, burn down huts and assault a number of villagers no matter what you say. The whole village is pissed and starts more actively working with the Viet Cong. Wellbeing -1 Culture stays the same Nationalism +1		

d. The Viet Cong and Viet Minh have planned a coordinated attack on the South Vietnamese Government that is timed to happen on the first day of the National Tet Holiday. The plan is to conduct a series of attacks across the cities of the south and encourage the general population to rise up and throw out the Americans and the puppet government. Do you join the uprising? Or lay low and avoid the conflict?

Majority Join	Majority lay low
The rebellion is met with overwhelming force by the Americans. Several cities are successfully liberated for a few weeks but eventually all of them are re-captured. 50,000 die in the conflict. The american determination increases and they plan to stay for a long time. Those who join -2 wellbeing. Those who do not join Wellbeing stays the same. Culture stays the same. Nationalism +1	The rebellion is short lived and while it makes a serious effect on the Americans it is defeated and tens of thousands killed. In the long run the American public starts to oppose the war and US intervention decreases. Those who join wellbeing -1 Those who do not join wellbeing stays the same. Culture stays the same. Nationalism +1

e. The Americans troops have departed and the North has invaded the south. You are in Saigon watching the Americans Depart. You have one last chance to depart the country with the US diplomats on the last flight and ship out. You need to think about your actions so far and how they will affect you after your decision.

Stay in Vietnam		Depart Vietnam	
More collaboration than resistance.	More resistance than collaboration.	More collaboration than resistance	More Resistance than Collaboration
After the Americans leave the new communist government and radical supporters	After the Americans leave the new communist government celebrates the	The Americans let you on the helicopter and you move to the USA. While you continue to celebrate	The Americans reject your request to leave. Communists see you attempting to depart and you are singled

root out collaborators and have them punished with jail time and public shaming. Wellbeing -1 Others stay the same.	people's heroes and names you one. Wellbeing +2	some aspects of your vietnamese heritage future generations identify as american first and Vietnamese second. Wellbeing stays the same. Culture -1	out as a traitor and collaborator despite your ongoing resistance. You are executed. Wellbeing drop's to **zero.**

Name:

Phase and turn.	**Personal Score** (changes only affect you)	**Collective Scores** (changes affect everyone)		**Collaborator, bystander or resistor action**
	Wellbeing	**Culture**	**Nationalism**	
1a			-	
1b			-	
1c			-	
1d			-	
1e			-	
1f			-	
1g			-	
2a			0	
2b				
2c				
2d				
2e				
2f				
2g				
3a				
3b				

4a				
4b				
4c				
4d				
4e				
5a				
5b				
5c				
5d				
5e				

Appendix E

Wairau Affray Simulation Guide: School Resource

3/8

Wairau Incident Simulation:
Response Template

1. Which Historical figure are you?

2. Do you think Te Rauparaha should be arrested or not?

3. What are your reasons for the above?

4. What information or evidence do you have that could influence the Governor's decision?

Wairau Affray Simulation

Governor Fitzroy

In 1843 Robert FitzRoy was appointed Governor of New Zealand, replacing Governor Hobson, who had died in 1842.

Task:

1. Your job is to listen to the evidence given about whether Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata should be arrested for the killing of 22 Europeans in the Wairau Incident.
   a. You should make a decision based on the information below.
   b. You will give a speech to conclude the meeting in which you give your judgement and explain why you have made that decision. (100 + words).
2. You will also run the event by asking different people to speak.

Background:

- At that time the colony was virtually bankrupt, and there had been a serious conflict between Maori and Pakeha at **Wairau.**
- War was also threatening in the far north.
- But the new Governor was not given funds or troops.
  - Instead he was to rely upon 'moral suasion' to resolve the problem.
- Because of a lack of funds the Crown was unable to purchase land for resale to settlers.
  - This resulted in settler and Maori agitation, and an ever-worsening economic situation.
- The New Zealand Company settlers, who formed the bulk of the European population, possessed organised leadership, the most influential newspapers, powerful friends in the political arena in London and a determination to acquire land.
- Fitzroy had no money, resources or military and no material power. The Colonial office did not give him any freedom and all he was able to do was based on his own skills and knowledge.

Fitzroy's point of view on Wairau incident:

1. He was not certain that the New Zealand Company had acquired the land legitimately.
2. He realised that without a military force it would be impossible to engage in warfare.
3. He also insisted on investigating the Company's land purchases and confirming them only if they were valid.
4. There was no evidence that the land had been sold; it would be impossible to protect our-settlers against hostile Māori.
5. Treated Māori land claims as if there were Māori legal rights.
6. Fitzroy understood that in the long run everyone would benefit if there were good relations between the races and no-one thought they had been ripped off or treated unfairly.

Fitzroy's Character:

- He introduced the Native Exemption Ordinance of 1844. Partly a concession to Maori opinion, this was an early, and brief, attempt at a law enforcement system which took some account of Maori custom. Rather than suffer culturally unacceptable imprisonment, Maori who had committed offences were to pay compensation. Chiefs were also given an important role in settling disputes.

Quotes from Governor Fitzroy:

- On the burning down of the Surveyors huts:
  - *"Arson is burning another man's house, it is not arson to burn your own house. The natives had never sold the Wairau, the hut which was burned was built on ground which belonged to the natives, and of materials which belonged to them also; consequently no arson was committed and therefore the warrant was illegal."*
- Opening the meeting in 1843:
  - *"When I first heard of the Wairau massacre ... I was exceedingly angry ... My first thought was to revenge the deaths of my friends, and the other Pākehā who had been killed, and for that purpose to bring many ships of war ... with many soldiers; and had I done so, you would have been sacrificed and your pa destroyed. But when I considered, I saw that the Pakeha had in the first instance been very much to blame; and I determined to come down and inquire into all the circumstances and see who was really in the wrong."*
- His decision about whether to punish Te Rauparaha for the Wairau Incident.
  - *"In the first place, the white men were in the wrong. They had no right to survey the land ... they had no right to build the houses on the land. As they were, then, first in the wrong, I will not avenge their deaths."*
- Talking to the chiefs about the killings at Wairau
  - *"You have committed a horrible crime, in murdering men who had surrendered themselves in reliance on your honour as chiefs. White men never kill their prisoners".*

Wairau Affray Simulation
Missionary Samuel Ironside

Samuel Ironside was a Wesleyan (Christian) missionary based in Cloudy Bay near Nelson during the Wairau Affray in 1843.

Task:

- Prepare a statement explaining your point of view on the Wairau incident and whether Te Rauaparaha should be arrested. (100 words).
  - Use the information and quotations below for ideas.
- Share your point of view in a short speech.

Background:

- On arrival at Cloudy Bay, the Ironsides were in for a shock. The lack of shelter meant they were confined to a disused cooking facility which it is said that through the roof *"he could contemplate the stars, while on the dirt floor he could study natural history"*
- Established a Church at Cloudy Bay that had a congregation of 800 people both Maori and Pakeha.
- Immediately after the killings at Wairau Ironside travelled to see Te Rauparaha and asked for permission to bury the bodies of the victims. Which he gained despite being told "it would be better to leave them to the pigs".

Ironside's View on the Wairau Massacre:

1. The killing was the result of confusion caused by a gun going off during discussions.
2. The NZ Company and their posse were wrong to try to arrest Te Rauparaha for burning the surveyors' huts. They should have waited until the meeting between Te Rauparaha and the land Commission and the results of its investigation.

3. The Nelson Settlers were trying to introduce British Justice (Arrest and Courts) and the Māori were using their system of justice (Mana and Utu). The conflict of cultures is an important cause.
4. The Government must protect Māori rights to their land and culture. In this case the Company and the settlers were not following the Treaty of Waitangi.
5. Māori were already confused and frustrated as the result of court decisions they thought were wrong. One Richard Cook had been accused of raping and killing Rangihaua Kuika and was found not guilty. While at Hokianga earlier a Māori man had been charged and found guilty of the murder of the European Man. This meant some Māori did not trust British Justice and questioned the Treaty of Waitangi and the British commitment to Māori rights. (see article below).

Character:

- He was a trusted mediator between Māori and settlers during his ministry at Wellington from 1843 to 1849.
- He witnessed the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi at Waitangi and defended its integrity all his life.

Quotations:

- William Williams (another Missionary) talking about who was to blame for the killings
  - *"our countrymen (The British), who began with much indiscretion & gave much provocation to the natives"*
- Ironside talking about the court decision to find Richard Cook Not Guilty for the murder of Rangihaua Kuika (just months before the Wairau Incident).
  - *"There were grave reasons why the natives were dissatisfied with this acquittal. They had grounds for believing that had it been a white man who had been murdered, Cook would not have been acquitted. Here are some of these grounds: A native man was executed at the Hokianga some months before for the supposed murder of a European. The evidence against him was wholly circumstantial but all the natives approved of his execution. Another native was executed at Auckland later on, for a similar crime, and though no person saw him do the deed yet all the Maoris believed him guilty, and acquiesced in his sentence. Now, they were morally certain that Cook was guilty of murdering Kuika, and the reason given for his acquittal was want of evidence. But they knew that evidence could have been obtained by sending over to Cloudy Bay."*

An account of the Murder of Te Rangihaua Kuika in December 1842. Taken from Waitangi Tribunal Submission.

- *"Murder of Rangihaua Kuika: In December 1842 a young Maori woman named Rangihaua Kuika, wife of the whaling boss James Wynen, was 3 Himatangi case, (1868) 1 C Otaki MB 397. 4 (1868) 1 C Otaki MB 203. 5 Ibid 207. 6 Evidence of Rawiri Te Whanui, Himatangi case, (1868) 1 C Otaki MB 231-2. 4 gruesomely murdered at Cloudy Bay, along with her little boy aged 18 months. Samuel Ironside, the Wesleyan missionary at Cloudy Bay, was in little doubt as to what had happened: From all the circumstances, I should judge some European has lusted after her, and finding her unwilling to consent had forced her, and found it necessary to murder her in order to conceal the crime. Rash attempt! The God of Heaven saw him. The principal suspect was a man named Richard Cook, one of John Guard's employees. Cook was denounced to the Cloudy Bay community by his own Maori wife, Kataraina, as the murderer. The local Maori community wished to exact utu on the spot, but Ironside and others managed to persuade them to let the Queen's justice take its course. Local Maori and Pakeha leaders collaborated to take depositions from a number of people, which were then forwarded to Michael Murphy, the Police Magistrate at Wellington. Murphy arrived with two constables on 7 January 1843, arrested Cook and took him to Wellington to stand trial in the Supreme Court."*

- *Trial of Richard Cook: The case, as the first trial of a European for the murder of a Maori in the Cook Strait region, naturally attracted intense interest. When J W Barnicoat arrived at Cloudy Bay with the New Zealand Company survey party on April 22 he noted in his journal that not only had Ironside and some local Maori gone to Port Nicholson "as evidence in the affair" but also that "a great many Maoris also went from curiosity and are said to take a great interest in the result".7 Certainly much was at stake with this trial. Ironside's biographer has written that the Crown as the essence of justice, Ironsides' own credibility and the Treaty of Waitangi itself were all "on trial with Richard Cook".*

Wairau Incident Simulation: Colonel William Wakefield

Colonel William Wakefield was the person in charge of the New Zealand Company in New Zealand: it's 'Principal Agent'. His brother Arthur was killed in the Wairau Incident.

Task:

- Read the quotations and sources below
- Write a statement of at least 100 words that explains your view on the Wairau Incident.
- Your argument will need to explain why:
  - You think Te Rauparaha must be arrested.
  - What you think will happen if he is not arrested.

Point of view on the Wairau Incident:

1. The Land in the Wairau was legitimately purchased by the New Zealand Company. Ngati Toa were compensated for the land several times.
   a. Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata never mentioned that the land in the Wairau Valley was not part of previous land deals.
2. In the Treaty of Waitangi it was agreed that British Sovereignty and laws be introduced into New Zealand. The killing of these men was murder, plain and simple.
   a. Te Rauparaha and Te Rangiaeata were responsible for the killings and must be arrested and charged as they would if we were in England.
3. There is a history of brutish behaviour from these men they have damaged lands and properties that do not belong to them. They are a menace and should have their freedom ended to protect the settlers and others from them.
4. Arthur Wakefield and Henry Thompson were good men. They did not provoke this outrage and definitely did not deserve death for trying to apply the law. To not arrest Te Rauparaha would be to blame them for their own deaths.
5. It will be better for Māori if these laws are applied.
6. British Law and culture is superior to the Stone Age traditional values of Māori. Most Maori recognise this and are adopting our culture and ways. We must arrest and deal with these two to better put in place British Culture and bring about the end of the Barbaric Māori system of justice.

7. Te Rangihaeata and Te Rauparaha are violent and dangerous men who have done untold harm to both Māori and Pakeha alike. They need to be arrested to prevent future violence.
8. Māori culture demands that Utu be taken in the case of harm caused. Since they have destroyed houses belonging to our surveyors they must be punished according to their own culture: for utu.
    a. In the past Captain Cook failed to take utu local Māori for the massacre and cannibalism of his crew at "Massacre Bay". His failure to get Utu led to more violence and destruction as he lost Mana in the eyes of Māori and they treated him and his crew with contempt, stealing much from onboard.

Quotations:

- "God ordered and made the law...that man should work, and that the right of property be given by labour expended...and that all the chaffer about rights of the natives to land, which they have let lie idle and unused for so many centuries, cannot do away with the fact that, according to this, God's law, they have established their right to a very small proportion of these islands. (Nelson Examiner 1842)"

Additional Sources and Background:

- The loss of Capt Wakefield was felt keenly by all classes . . . . . His death said the Examiner2 left a void a hiatus in the settlement which to us, it appears vain to hope to see adequately supplied . . . . The life he had lived . . . . . had developed in him all that one most desired to see in a man occupying the post he did. It had made him in a few words, a man of the world, not in the mere ordinary sense, but in the larger and completer one which embodies the knowledge and practice of the right, the true, and the good is much as the knowledge of life and humanity . . . . . His character was the very practical businesslike turn which everything took with him. There was no beating about the bush no circumlocutory display, but straightforward intelligible action in all his proceedings. His judgement, indeed, in all matters of practical life, was remarkably sound . . . . . He was humane, amiable, and kind to all alike, poor or rich, and always accessible to the humblest applicant. Everything he did was with that ease, quietness and gentleman like manner, so desirable in such a responsibility as he was entrusted with."
-

That the Court further deems it an act of justice to the memory of those estimable and ill-fated individuals to declare its conviction that, whatever opinion may be entertained of the prudence of the expedition, no blame can be justly attributed to those high-spirited men who accompanied the magistrates in their private capacities only, and who fell victims to their anxiety to vindicate the supremacy of the law, and, at whatever personal hazard, to support the constituted authorities in its execution.

That, with respect to Captain Wakefield in particular, it is impossible that the Court should be unmindful of the intrepidity tempered by prudence, the forbearance, the generosity, and kindness by which his character was distinguished; and especially of his uniform anxiety to promote the welfare of the natives, by whom he was both respected and beloved: and that, in these qualities, the Court would, under any deficiency or inconsistency of information, find abundant assurance that he never would have been a voluntary party to any rash or intemperate measures, or to any acts of tyranny or cruelty towards the aboriginal inhabitants of New Zealand.

We look with considerable anxiety for the return of the brig, as we feel assured that, if the chiefs are captured, such an outrage will not again occur. We cannot have a better example of the benefit of prompt measures with the Maories than in the little outbreak which took place at the commencement of the survey at Massacre Bay. The slight punishment which was then inflicted on the chief has been sufficient to deter the natives in that district from repeating their annoyances.

Wairau Incident Simulation:
Te Rauparaha

Te Rauparaha was Rangatira of the Iwi Ngati Toa. He had led his Iwi south from Kawhia during the Musket Wars and established control over a huge area in central New Zealand. He was one of if not the most powerful chief in New Zealand around the time of the Treaty of Waitangi. Te Rauparaha was directly involved in the Wairau Incident. He and Te Rangihaeata burnt the surveyors Hutts at Wairau. He was the target of the settler posse when they returned for his arrest. He was a witness to the execution of European Settlers by Te Rangihaeata and did not intervene to stop it.

Task:

- Read the quotations and sources below
- Write a statement of at least 100 words that explains your view on the Wairau Incident.
- Your argument will need to explain why:
  - You think the settlers and the New Zealand Company were more responsible for the incident.
  - Why you do-not think that you should be arrested for the killings.

Point of view on the Wairau Incident:

1. The Wairau incident was an unfortunate tragedy that was caused by the NZ Company Settlers trying to steal the Wairau Valley from Ngati Toa.
2. The New Zealand Company claimed the had bought the land in 1839 and sealed the trade in 1840 and 1841. That is not accurate.
3. The Wairau Valley was some of the best land in the Northern South Island: why would Ngati Toa sell that valuable land?
4. Te Rangihaeata did kill the surrendered men but his killing of them was justified under Māori tradition based on Utu. The settler posse had killed his wife.
5. We wanted to follow British Law in the weeks before the killing but we were frustrated that the settlers were trying to undermine the law by surveying the land before the land commission had investigated it.

a. Were were also angry that Richard Cook had been found not guilty of Murdering Rangihoua Kulka and her son. There is a strong feeling among Māori that the British do not really care about the law and only want to use it to punish us but not white people.

6. The Treaty was supposed to protect our rights to our land not help the government take it away. We are frustrated that the British crown does not care about our tights like it should.

Quotations:

- Te Rauparaha's account of the Wairau Incident to Land Commissioner William Spain.
  - *"Mr Spain you have heard the Pakeha's story - not mine. Listen I will tell you how it all began ...*
  - *Rangihaeata persisted in going to Wairau, which we did. We told the surveyors not to work any more and go away; that we would not allow them to do anything more till we were paid for our land but they took no notice of us.*
  - *We went again to their stations and told them to take their things out of the house. They would not - but we did, and put them in their boat, burnt the house and took the white people to the entrance of the river and left them at the Pa."*
  - Te Rauparaha's account continues:
  - *"We went up to the river to a creek Tua Marina and were there clearing the land for potatoes when I saw the* Victoria *laying off the mouth of the Wairau. Next morning when we had done eating some of my men said there were Pakeha coming towards us. We assembled men, women, and children on the bank of the river to see and hear what the Pakehas wanted. They all got on the brow of a fern hill and stood.*
  - *Then part of them came to the bank of the river and called for a canoe which was given them. Mr Thompson, Capt. Wakefield, Capt. England, Mr Cotterill, Mr Tuckett, Brook the interpreter, the Constable and others came over to us.*
  - *I told him [Thompson] I burnt nothing of theirs; it was my own; the grass and wood that grew on my land! And I would not go with him. It would be good to talk of the matter there - what odds if it did occupy two or three days - I would let them have the land when they paid me for it.*
  - *He [Thompson] would not listen to me he turned away to the constable and got handcuffs, and then came to me taking me by the hand. When I found what he wanted I snatched my hand away from his. He got very angry and said if I did not come he would fire on us. I said don't be foolish we don't want to fight" ...*

- *Puaha (Rawiri) rose with a testament in his hand saying to the Pakehas: "Don't fire on us; we are Christians and do not want to fight".*
- Te Rauparaha went on to state:
- *"When the Pakehas got to the top of the hill they waved a white handkerchief to make peace. I could not get up the hill fast - the young men ran before me, shooting and cutting down Pakehas as they ran away. I called to them to spare the gentlemen, but Rangihaeata coming up behind me at the time said "why save them - they have shot your daughter." When I heard that my voice failed me. Rangihaeata got up the hill and all the Pakehas were killed."*

- Te Rangihaeata speaking to Henry Thompson during the Wairau incident as he attempts to arrest Te Rauparaha.
  - *"Have I stolen a single nail, that you should come and imprison me? Have I injured a European, or touched anything in his tent, although pitched upon lands you are plundering me of? May I not do as I please with my own blanket? You, and your own people are the robbers, and not me; go and manacle them, I will not go with you."*

Additional Sources and Background:

- *"Maori disillusionment concerning British law was irreparably deep by the clash at Wairau over land. They saw in this most melancholy & tragic affair how the white man had deceived them, in going through the forms of a bargain. The result was a great exodus of Maoris, many to the North Island."*
- *"It is significant that when Samuel Ironside asked Rangihaeata to explain his actions after the battle one of the reasons he gave was that the Pakehas "did not punish the murder of Kuika". (referring to the murder at Cloudy Bay).*
- *The murder of Kuika and the acquittal of Samuel Cook: (Local Maori lost faith in the British System) contrasted with the execution of a Maori man in Hokianga (which had community support).*
- *To put the incident into context the Treaty of Waitangi had been signed three years prior, meaning local iwi should have had the same sovereign rights of any New Zealander at the time.However, some weeks before the Wairau Affray, there was an incident where a settler raped a Māori woman and murdered her child at Port Underwood. The tribe was persuaded by the local missionary to seek justice through the Pākehā courts. Unfortunately, the settler walked free, and not surprisingly these events overshadowed the land dispute.*
- *"Later in his life Ironside summarised the affair as follows. There were grave reasons why the natives were dissatisfied with this acquittal. They had grounds for believing that had it been a white man who had been murdered, Cook would not have been acquitted. Here are some of these grounds: A native man was executed at the Hokianga some months before for the supposed murder of a European. The evidence against him was*

wholly circumstantial but all the natives approved of his execution. Another native was executed at Auckland later on, for a similar crime, and though no person saw him do the deed yet all the Maoris believed him guilty, and acquiesced in his sentence. Now, they were morally certain that Cook was guilty of murdering Kuika, and the reason given for his acquittal was want of evidence. But they knew that evidence could have been obtained by sending over to Cloudy Bay."

- *Carpenter (An historian) said that the narrative of European civilisation versus indigenous savagery was ironic, because in this instance it was Ngāti Toa chief Te Rauparaha who called for the rule of law (he had signed Te Tiriti o Waitangi three years earlier), and the Europeans who were doing their best to subvert and avoid it. "The Wairau was all about us [Ngāti Toa] trying to follow the articles of the Treaty, and the settlers desperate to set them aside … The rule of law was held by the 'savages' and set aside by the Europeans."*

Wairau Incident Simulation:
Nelson Settler Representative
Charles Elliott

Charles Elliott established the first Newspaper in Nelson; the Nelson Examiner in 1842. He was involved in reporting and publishing communication about the Wairau Incident among the settlers in Nelson. The Nelson Examiner was strongly in favour of arresting Te Rauparaha for the incident and this can be seen in its reporting.

Task:

- Read the quotations and sources below
- Write a statement of at least 100 words that explains your view on the Wairau Incident.
- Your argument will need to explain why:
    - You think Te Rauparaha must be arrested.
    - What will happen if he is not arrested.

Point of view on the Wairau Incident:

1. Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata must be arrested and charged with murder immediately.
2. Te Rangihaeata killed as many as nine european men who had already surrendered.
3. This behaviour is barbaric and unacceptable in a British Colony.
4. The law must be upheld. When we settlers decided to come to New Zealand four years ago we trusted that we would come to a colony of laws that protected our rights as citizens of the British Empire.
5. The Statements made by the government (Mr. Shortland and Mr. Clarke) are completely unacceptable and undermine the rule of law in this colony.
    a. They have claimed that the NZ Company and settlers who went to arrest Rauparaha were "trouble making".
    b. These words have led to more aggressive actions from local Māori in different parts of NZ. They have been working to drive good European people off the land and steal their goods.
        i. This was not an issue before the massacre as Māori had shown respect for the law.

6. Failure to arrest these men will lead to a larger conflict between Māori and Pakeha in New Zealand.
7. Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata are bloodthirsty savages. They are responsible for the deaths of hundreds if not thousands of other natives. They are a threat to peace.

Quotations:

- *"those who had died had been discharging their duty as magistrates and British subjects ... the persons by whom they were killed are murderers in the eyes of common sense and justice"*
- *"British citizens being murdered by barbarous natives"*
- *"God ordered and made the law...that man should work, and that the right of property be given by labour expended...and that all the chaffer about rights of the natives to land, which they have let lie idle and unused for so many centuries, cannot do away with the fact that, according to this, God's law, they have established their right to a very small proportion of these islands. (Nelson Examiner 1842)"*
- "I crave permission at the same time to enter my solemn protest, on behalf of myself and fellow-settlers, against those papers in the last *Government Gazette*, relating to the massacre at the Wairau, which have inspired me with horror at the infatuation of their authors. Their tendency, I conscientiously believe to be, to bring about a war of extermination between the Europeans and the native races."

  "Had it the power of law," says the *New Zealand Gazette*, of Mr. Shortland's proclamation, "its effects would be not only to enable the natives to prevent any further occupation of land, but to require the settlers who have already cleared and cultivated to any extent, however great, to turn off at a moment's notice."
-

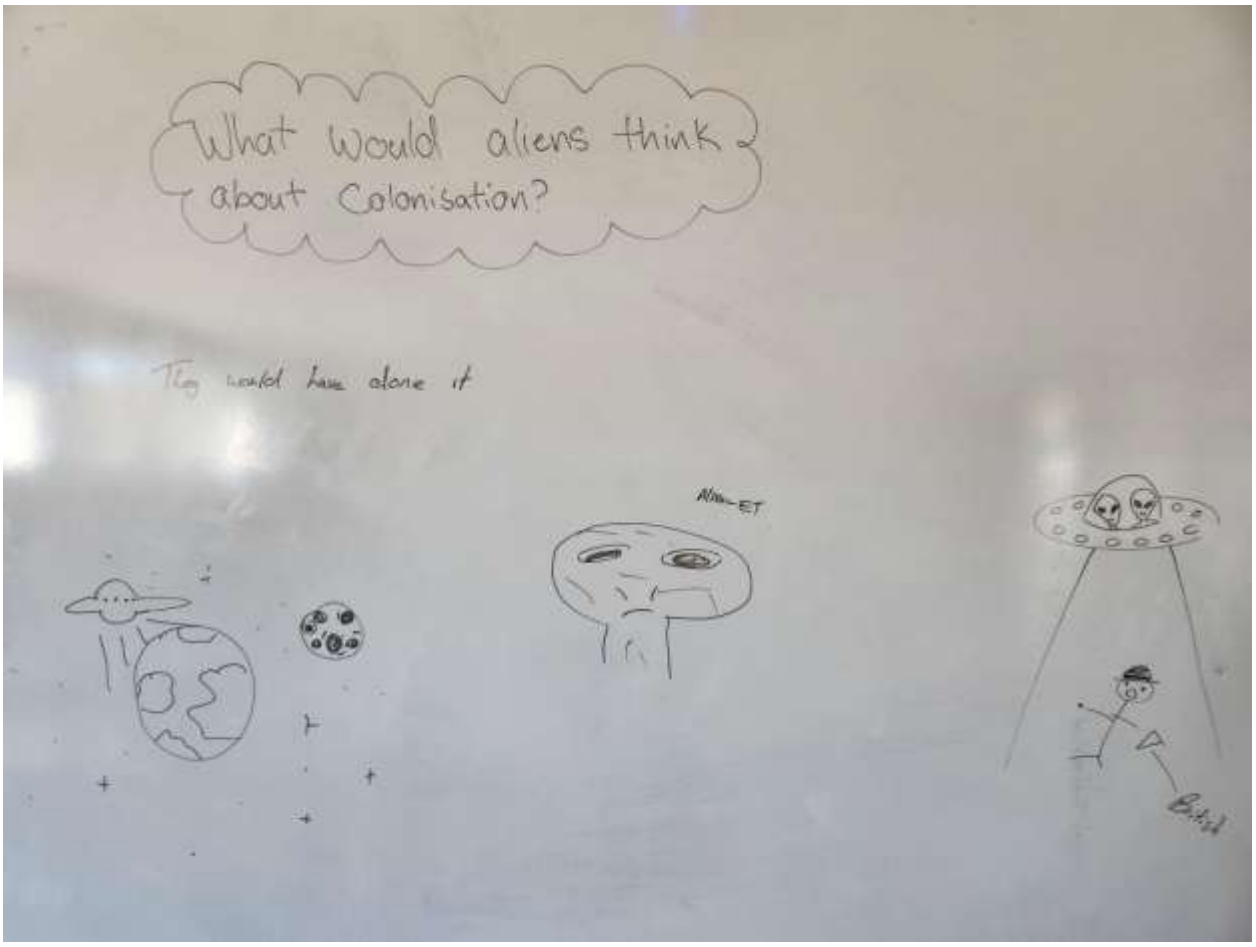
Additional Sources and Background:

- This was the story settlers told about themselves on their arrival and as they built towns and killed Māori who tried to stand in their way: they were the representatives of law and order, Queen and country, taming native "savages" and civilising them, often violently.

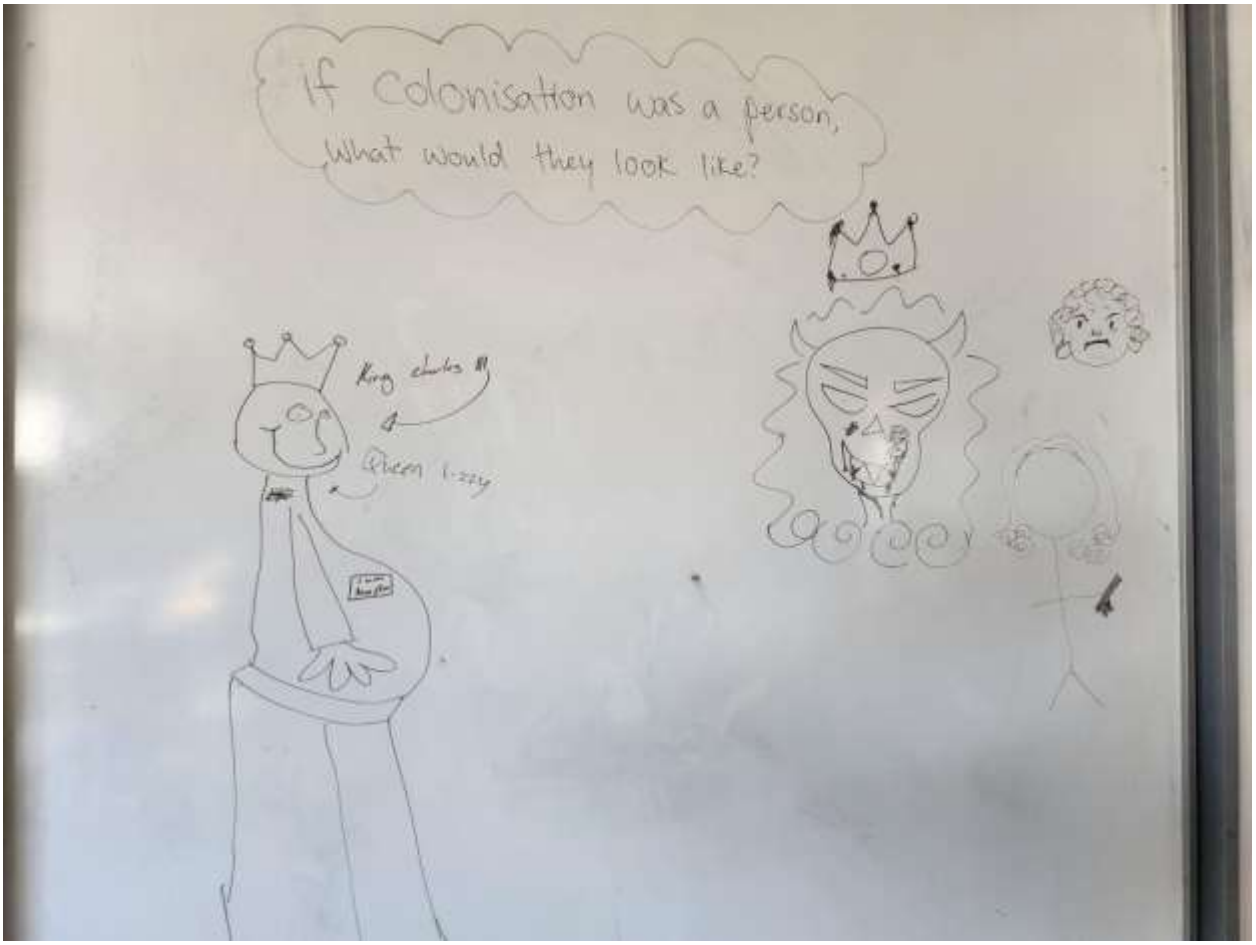
That such opinions were correct, is proved by the consequences. The natives saw the proclamations in the light the colonists did. Their acts of aggression upon the settlers increased immediately. We give an instance or two:—"Four labouring men, named Manson, who have been for six months past clearing section No. 59, in the Hutt, which they had a twenty-one years' lease of, were visited on Tuesday, August 1, by about eighty or a hundred Maories, who informed them that, unless they quitted the land, they would 'make a tie of them, and carry them to the Governor.' They reappeared the following day, and threatened to destroy their property unless they departed, which, thus compelled, they were obliged to do. They had worked hard, their wheat was in the ground. The Police Magistrate said he considered the land had not been paid for (which it was the Commisioner's office, by the way, to decide), and would give them no assistance."—*New Zealand Gazette*, August 5.

Appendix F

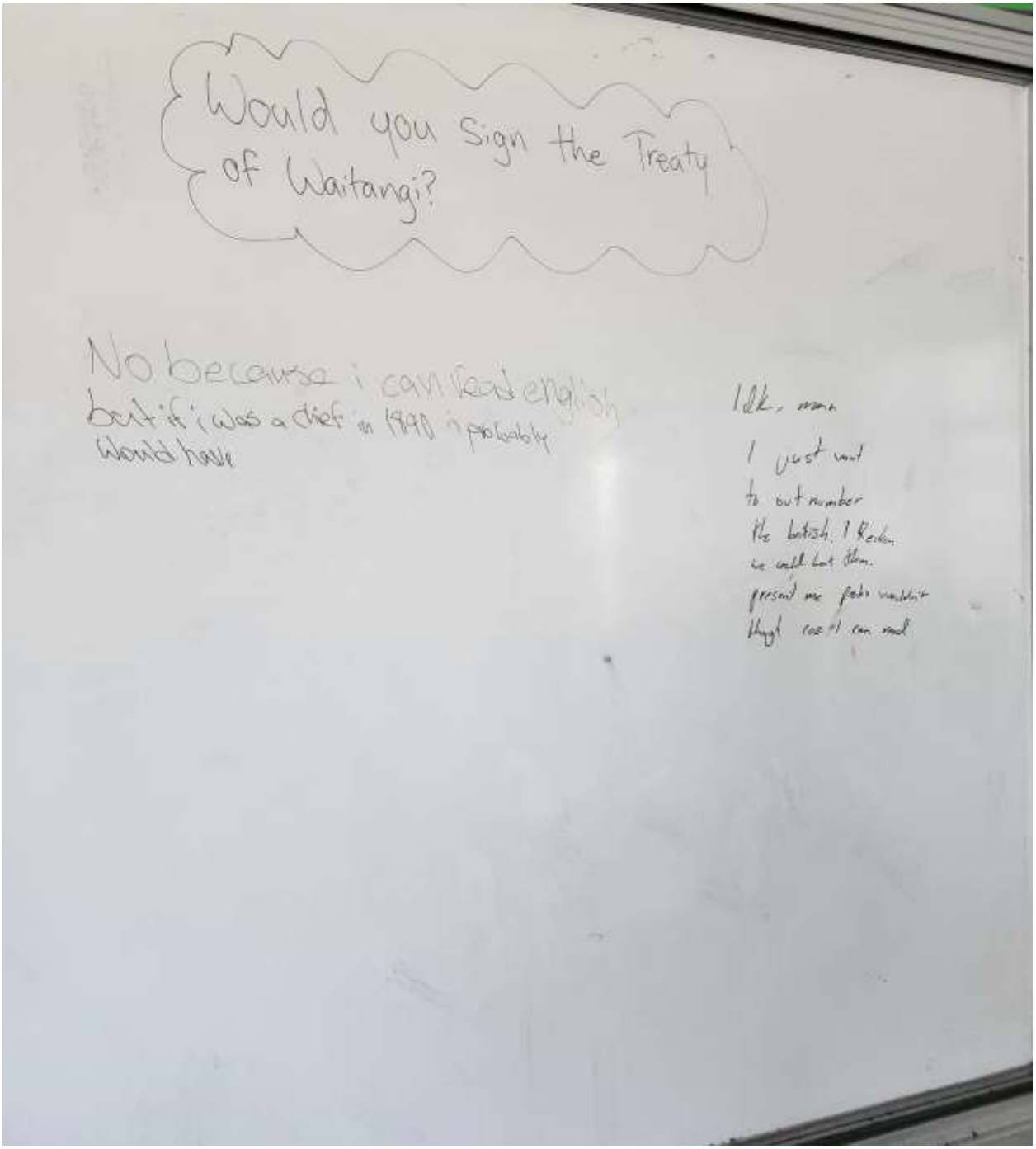
Lunchtime Focus Group Drawings



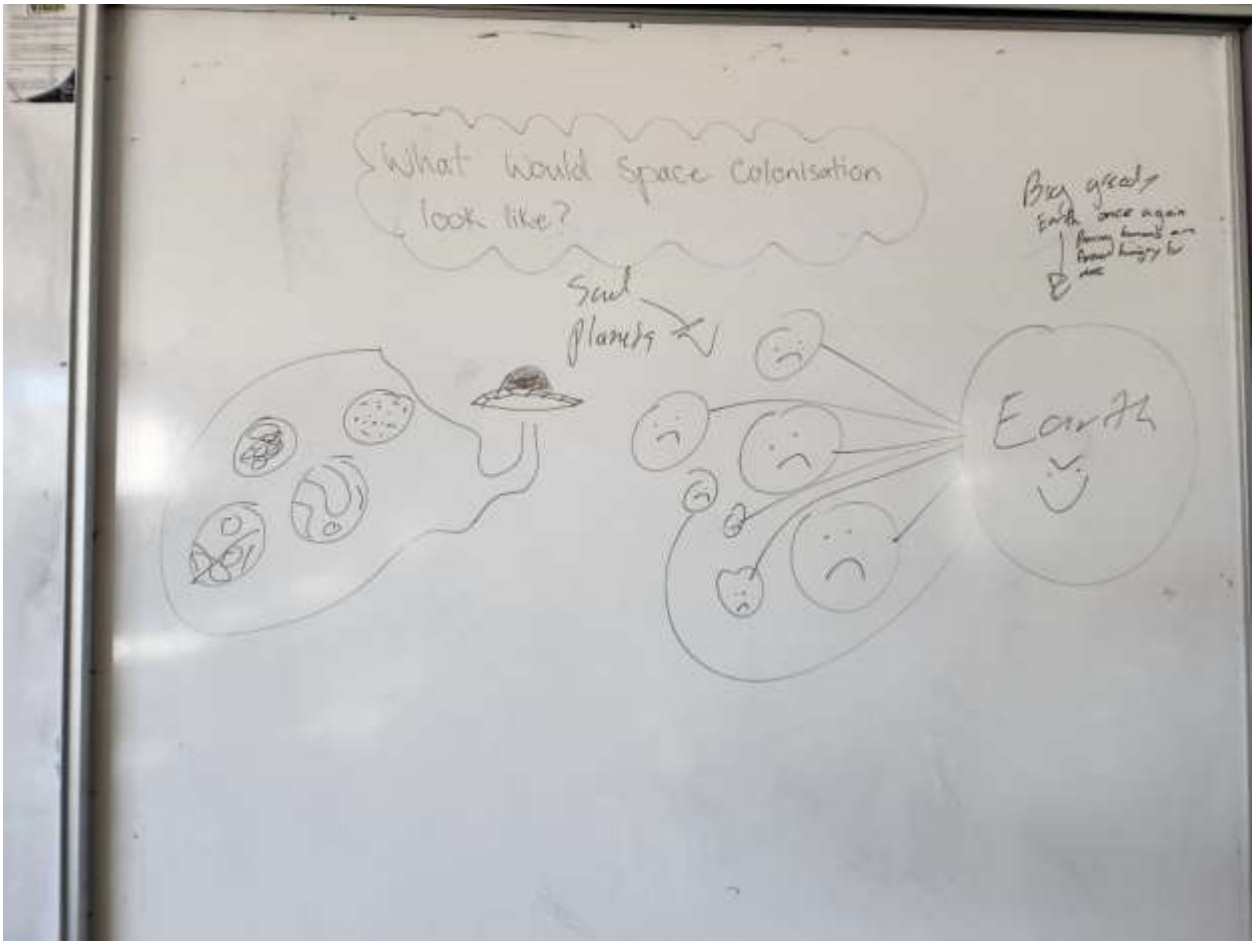
Description: The question “What would aliens think about colonisation?” is written on the whiteboard. Underneath are three drawings and one sentence, which says ‘they would have done it’. The drawings depict two spaceships abducting Earth and a British person, as well as a drawing of E.T.



Description: The question “If colonisation was a person, what would they look like?” is written on the whiteboard, with four drawings underneath. The drawings are a caricature of King Charles III of England, a demon-like character with a crown and a British colonial-era wig, a figure with similarly curly long hair holding a gun, and a grumpy-looking face drawn with short curly hair.



Description: The question “Would you sign the Treaty of Waitangi?” is written on the whiteboard with two sentences underneath. These responses read “No because I can read english but if I was a chief in 1840 I probably would have.”, and “Idk, man I just want to out number the british. I reckon we could beat them. Present me probs wouldn’t though coz I can read.”



Description: The question “What would space colonisation look like?” is written on the whiteboard with two annotated drawings underneath. In one, a spaceship abducts four planets in a tractor beam. In the other, Earth has a cruel smile as it captures seven other planets, labelled as ‘sad planets’. Written above Earth is the caption “Big greedy Earth once again proving humans are forever hungry for more”.

Appendix G

Human Ethics Approval (participant consent forms)

VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON
TE HERENGA WAKA

Emotional History: Classroom Experiences of New Zealand History

MA Research Project

INFORMATION SHEET FOR TEACHERS

Tēnā koe/Hello

You are invited to take part in my research. Please read this information before deciding whether or not to take part. If you decide to participate, thank you. If you decide not to participate, thank you for considering this request.

Ko wai ahau / Who am I?

My name is Georgia Griggs and I am a Pākehā Masters student in Anthropology at Te Herenga Waka—Victoria University of Wellington. This research project is work towards my thesis.

Ko Whitireia te maunga
Ko Raukawakawa te moana
Ko Te Herenga Waka te kura
Ko Piritana Nui me Wītana ngā whenua ō ōku tīpuna
Ko Chris tōku matua
Ko Miriam tōku whaea
Ko Francesca tōku taina
Ko Georgia tōku ingoa

He aha te whāinga mō tēnei rangahau /What is the aim of the project?

This project is about how students and teachers react emotionally to learning about New Zealand History in the classroom. I am interested in whether the emotions students and teachers feel in discussions of New Zealand history can help the learning experience.
Your participation will support this research by allowing me to observe and discuss with you the things you experience teaching New Zealand history. I am interested in talking through the things you learn and teach, and hearing your opinions and reactions.

This research has been approved by the Te Herenga Waka—Victoria University of Wellington Human Ethics Committee Application 30325.

Ka pēhea tō āwhina mai / How can you help?

You have been invited to participate because you are a teacher in a Year 10 social studies class at Kāpiti College.

If you agree to take part you will be part of my project and I will interact with you and your students in class time. I will ask your students questions about the things they learn in social studies class and have group discussions about their reactions and thoughts about the things you learn. I will be participating in your class and holding discussions like this for three months during term three. I will take notes during class with your permission and write them up later.

The research is not confidential, and pseudonyms will be used in the final report. However, if you want your real name to be used in the final report, you will have an opportunity to choose this after my work at the school is finished.

You can withdraw from taking part in the project at any time before it begins. You can also withdraw while the project is in progress. However, it will not be possible to withdraw the information you have provided up to that point as it will be part of a discussion with other participants.

Ka ahatia ngā kōrero ka tukuna mai / What will happen to the information you give?

You will not be named in the final report but the school will be named and pseudonyms will be used if any students are quoted. However, if you want your real name to be used in the final report, you will have an opportunity to choose this after my work at the school is finished.

Myself along with my supervisors will be the only people who have access to my notes before they are written up into more detail. When I write my notes up, any names I have recorded will be replaced with pseudonyms.

He aha ngā hua o te rangahau / What will the project produce?

The information from my research will be used in my Masters thesis, potentially published in the form of a journal article and possibly presented at a conference.

Ki te whakaae mai koe, he aha ō mōtika hei kaitautoko i tēnei rangahau / If you accept this invitation, what are your rights as a research participant?

You do not have to accept this invitation if you don't want to. If you do decide to participate, you have the right to:

- choose not to answer any question;
- withdraw from a discussion or the project while it is taking place. However, it will not be possible to withdraw the information you have provided up to that point;
- ask any questions about the project at any time;
- read over and comment on a written summary of the discussions;
- be able to read any reports of this research by emailing the researcher to request a copy.

Mehemea ngā pātai, he raruraru rānei, me whakapā ki a wai / If you have any questions or problems, who can you contact?

If you have any questions, either now or in the future, please feel free to contact either myself or my supervisor:

Student: **Supervisor:**

Name: Georgia Griggs

University email address:
[redacted]

Name: Lorena Gibson

Role: Senior Lecturer

School: Social and Cultural Studies

[redacted]

He kōrero whakamārama mō HEC/ Human Ethics Committee information

If you have any concerns about the ethical conduct of the research you may contact the Te Herenga Waka—Victoria University of Wellington HEC Convenor, Associate Professor Rhonda Shaw, by emailing hec@vuw.ac.nz

VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON
TE HERENGA WAKA

Emotional History: Classroom Experiences of New Zealand History

MA Research Project

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN CLASSROOM DISCUSSIONS

This consent form will be held for five years.

Researcher: Georgia Griggs, School of Social and Cultural Studies, Te Herenga Waka—Victoria University of Wellington.

- I have read the Information Sheet and the project has been explained to me. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I understand that I can ask further questions at any time.
- I agree to take part in classroom based discussions for this project.

I understand that:

- The research is not confidential, and pseudonyms will be used in the final report.
- I can withdraw from the classroom discussions while they are in progress. However, it will not be possible to withdraw the information I have provided up to that point as it will be part of a discussion with other participants
- The identifiable information I have provided will be destroyed on March 31st, 2023.
- The findings may be used for a Masters thesis, publication, and/or conference presentation.
- Research notes will be kept confidential to the researcher and the supervisor.
- Organisational consent has been provided and the organisation may be named in the final report (Depending on final consent)
- I consent to information or opinions which I have given being attributed to me under a pseudonym in any reports on this research. Yes ☐ No ☐
- I would like a summary of the classroom discussions. Yes ☐ No ☐
- I would like to receive a copy of the final report and have added my email address below. Yes ☐ No ☐

Signature of participant: _____

Name of participant: _____

Date: _____

Contact details: _____

Emotional History: Classroom Experiences of New Zealand History

MA Research Project

In-Class Discussion Information and Consent Form for Students

Disclaimer: You can stop engaging with the discussions at any time, but once they have begun, I can't remove your contribution. Whatever you say up until the point that you decide to leave will be considered part of the general discussion. If your parent or guardian does not consent to your participation in this project, you will not be able to take part.

In-class discussion guidelines

The research is not confidential, and pseudonyms will be used in the final report.

- *You do not need to agree with others, but you should listen respectfully as others share their views.*
- *I would like to hear a wide range of opinions: please speak up on whether you agree or disagree.*
- *There are no right or wrong answers, every person's experiences and opinions are important.*
- *The meeting is audio recorded, therefore, please allow one person at a time to speak.*
- *Normal classroom rules will apply during these discussions*

Emotional History: Classroom Experiences of New Zealand History

MA Research Project

INFORMATION SHEET FOR STUDENTS

Tēnā koe/Hello

You are invited to take part in my research. Please read this information before deciding whether or not to take part. If you decide to participate, thank you. If you decide not to participate, thank you for considering this request.

Ko wai ahau / Who am I?

My name is Georgia Griggs and I am a Pākehā Masters student in Anthropology at Te Herenga Waka—Victoria University of Wellington. This research project is work towards my thesis.

Ko Whitireia te maunga
Ko Raukawakawa te moana
Ko Te Herenga Waka te kura
Ko Piritana Nui me Wītana ngā whenua ō ōku tīpuna
Ko Chris tōku matua
Ko Miriam tōku whaea
Ko Francesca tōku taina
Ko Georgia tōku ingoa

He aha te whāinga mō tēnei rangahau /What is the aim of the project?

This project is about how students and teachers react emotionally to learning about New Zealand History in the classroom. I am interested in how both students and teachers react to learning about New Zealand's difficult past and whether the emotions they feel can help the learning experience.
Your participation will support this research by allowing me to observe and discuss with you the things you learn about New Zealand history in class. I am interested in talking through the things you and your classmates learn and hearing your opinions and reactions.

This research has been approved by the Te Herenga Waka—Victoria University of Wellington Human Ethics Committee Application 30325.

Ka pēhea tō āwhina mai / How can you help?

You have been invited to participate because you are a student in a Year 10 social studies class at Kāpiti College.

If you agree to take part you will be part of my project and I will interact with you in class time. I will ask you and your classmates questions about the things you learn in social studies class and have group discussions about your reactions and thoughts about the things you learn. I will be participating in your class and holding discussions like this for three months during term three. I will take notes during class with your permission and write them up later.

The research is not confidential, and pseudonyms will be used in the final report. However, if you want your real name to be used in the final report, you will have an opportunity to choose this after my work at the school is finished.

You can withdraw from taking part in the project at any time before it begins. You can also withdraw while the project is in progress. However, it will not be possible to withdraw the information you have provided up to that point as it will be part of a discussion with other participants. If you or your parent/guardian do not consent to you participating in this project you will not take part and anything you say to me will not be recorded as part of this project.

Ka ahatia ngā kōrero ka tukuna mai / What will happen to the information you give?

You will not be named in the final report but the school will be named and pseudonyms will be used if any students are quoted. However, if you want your real name to be used in the final report, you will have an opportunity to choose this after my work at the school is finished

Myself along with my supervisors will be the only people who have access to my notes before they are written up into more detail. When I write my notes up, any names I have recorded will be replaced with pseudonyms.

He aha ngā hua o te rangahau / What will the project produce?

The information from my research will be used in my Masters thesis, potentially published in the form of a journal article and possibly presented at a conference.

Ki te whakaae mai koe, he aha ō mōtika hei kaitautoko i tēnei rangahau / If you accept this invitation, what are your rights as a research participant?

You do not have to accept this invitation if you don't want to. If you do decide to participate, you have the right to:

- choose not to answer any question;
- withdraw from a discussion or the project while it is taking place. However, it will not be possible to withdraw the information you have provided up to that point;
- ask any questions about the project at any time;
- read over and comment on a written summary of the discussions;
- be able to read any reports of this research by emailing the researcher to request a copy.

Mehemea ngā pātai, he raruraru rānei, me whakapā ki a wai / If you have any questions or problems, who can you contact?

If you have any questions, either now or in the future, please feel free to contact either myself or my supervisor:

Student:

Name: Georgia Griggs

University email address:
[redacted]

Supervisor:

Name: Lorena Gibson

Role: Senior Lecturer

School: Social and Cultural Studies

[redacted]

He kōrero whakamārama mō HEC/ Human Ethics Committee information

If you have any concerns about the ethical conduct of the research you may contact the Te Herenga Waka—Victoria University of Wellington HEC Convenor, Associate Professor Rhonda Shaw, by emailing hec@vuw.ac.nz

Emotional History: Classroom Experiences of New Zealand History

MA Research Project

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN CLASSROOM DISCUSSIONS

This consent form will be held for five years.

Researcher: Georgia Griggs, School of Social and Cultural Studies, Te Herenga Waka—Victoria University of Wellington.

- I have read the Information Sheet and the project has been explained to me. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I understand that I can ask further questions at any time.
- I agree to take part in audio recorded classroom based discussions for this project.

I understand that:

- The research is not confidential, and pseudonyms will be used in the final report. However, if you want your real name to be used in the final report, you will have an opportunity to choose this after my work at the school is finished
- I can withdraw from the classroom discussions while it is in progress. However, it will not be possible to withdraw the information I have provided up to that point as it will be part of a discussion with other participants
- The identifiable information I have provided will be destroyed on March 31st, 2023.
- The findings may be used for a Masters thesis, publication, and/or conference presentation.
- Research notes will be kept confidential to the researcher and the supervisor.
- Organisational consent has been provided and the organisation may be named in any reports (depending on final consent)
- I consent to information or opinions which I have given being attributed to me under a pseudonym in any reports on this research. Yes ☐ No ☐
- I would like a summary of the classroom discussions. Yes ☐ No ☐
- I would like to receive a copy of the final report and have added my email address below. Yes ☐ No ☐

Signature of participant: _____

Name of participant: _____

Date: _____

Contact details: _____

Emotional History: Classroom Experiences of New Zealand History

MA Research Project

INTERVIEW INFORMATION SHEET FOR TEACHERS

Tēnā koe,

You are invited to take part in this research. Please read this information before deciding whether or not to take part. If you decide to participate, thank you. If you decide not to participate, thank you for considering this request.

Ko wai ahau / Who am I?

My name is Georgia Griggs and I am a Pākehā Masters student in Anthropology at Te Herenga Waka—Victoria University of Wellington. This research project is work towards my thesis.

Ko Whitireia te maunga
Ko Raukawakawa te moana
Ko Te Herenga Waka te kura
Ko Piritana Nui me Wītana ngā whenua ō ōku tīpuna
Ko Chris tōku matua
Ko Miriam tōku whaea
Ko Francesca tōku taina
Ko Georgia tōku ingoa

He aha te whāinga mō tēnei rangahau / What is the aim of the project?

This project is about how students and teachers react emotionally to learning about New Zealand History in the classroom. I am interested in how both students and teachers react to learning about New Zealand's difficult past and whether the emotions they feel can help the learning experience. Your participation will support this research by allowing me to observe and discuss with you the things you teach about New Zealand history in class. I am interested in talking through the things you will teach and hearing your opinions and reactions.

This research has been approved by the Te Herenga Waka—Victoria University of Wellington Human Ethics Committee Application 30325.

Ka pēhea tō āwhina mai / How can you help?

You have been invited to participate because you are a teacher in a Year 10 social studies class at Kāpiti College. If you agree to take part, I will interview you in an agreed upon location likely on school grounds. I will ask you questions about your experience of teaching the New Zealand history portion of

the new national curriculum. The interview will take up to 50 minutes. I will audio record the interview with your permission and write it up later. You can choose to not answer any question or stop the interview at any time, without giving a reason. You can withdraw from the study by contacting me at any time before 15th September 2022. If you withdraw, the information you provided will be destroyed or returned to you.

Ka ahatia ngā kōrero ka tukuna mai / What will happen to the information you give?

The research is not confidential, and pseudonyms will be used in place of real names in the final report. However, if you want your real name to be used in the final report, you will have an opportunity to choose this after my work at the school is finished.

Only my supervisors and I will read the notes or transcript of the interview. The interview transcripts, summaries and any recordings will be kept securely and destroyed on 31st March 2023.

He aha ngā hua o te rangahau / What will the project produce?

The information from my research will be used in my Masters thesis, potentially published in the form of a journal article and possibly presented at a conference.

Ki te whakaae mai koe, he aha ō mōtika hei kaitautoko i tēnei rangahau / If you accept this invitation, what are your rights as a research participant?

You do not have to accept this invitation if you don't want to. If you do decide to participate, you have the right to:

- choose not to answer any question;
- ask for the recorder to be turned off at any time during the interview;
- withdraw from the study before 15th September 2022;
- ask any questions about the study at any time;
- receive a copy of your interview recording;
- receive a copy of your interview transcript;
- read over and comment on a written summary of your interview;
- be able to read any reports of this research by emailing the researcher to request a copy.

Mehemea ngā pātai, he raruraru rānei, me whakapā ki a wai / If you have any questions or problems, who can you contact?

If you have any questions, either now or in the future, please feel free to contact either myself or my supervisor:

Student:	**Supervisor:**
Name: Georgia Griggs	Name: Lorena Gibson
University email address: [redacted]	Role: Senior Lecturer
	School: Social and Cultural Studies

[redacted]

He kōrero whakamārama mō HEC / Human Ethics Committee information

If you have any concerns about the ethical conduct of the research you may contact the Te Herenga Waka—Victoria University of Wellington HEC Convenor, Associate Professor Rhonda Shaw, by emailing hec@vuw.ac.nz

Emotional History: Classroom Experiences of New Zealand History

MA Research Project

CONSENT TO INTERVIEW

This consent form will be held for five years.

Researcher: Georgia Griggs, School of Social and Cultural Studies, Te Herenga Waka—Victoria University of Wellington.

- I have read the Information Sheet and the project has been explained to me. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I understand that I can ask further questions at any time.
- I agree to take part in an audio recorded interview.

I understand that:

- I may withdraw from this study at any point up to two weeks after the interview, and any information that I have provided will be returned to me or destroyed.
- The identifiable information I have provided will be destroyed on 31st March 2023.
- Any information I provide will be kept confidential to the researcher and the supervisor.
- The findings may be used for a Masters, academic publications, and/or presented to conferences.
- The interview notes and recordings will be kept confidential to the researcher and the supervisor.
- Organisational consent has been provided and the organisation may be named in any reports (Depending on final consent).
- I consent to information or opinions which I have given being attributed to me under a pseudonym in any reports on this research: Yes ☐ No ☐
- I would like a copy of the recording of my interview: Yes ☐ No ☐
- I would like a copy of the transcript of my interview: Yes ☐ No ☐
- I would like a summary of my interview: Yes ☐ No ☐
- I would like to receive a copy of the final report and have added my email address below. Yes ☐ No ☐

Signature of participant: _____

4

Name of participant: _____

Date: _____

Contact details: _____

Emotional History: Classroom Experiences of New Zealand History

MA Research Project

In-Class Discussion Information and Consent Form for Students

Disclaimer: You can stop engaging with the discussions at any time, but once they have begun, I can't remove your contribution. Whatever you say up until the point that you decide to leave will be considered part of the general discussion. If your parent or guardian does not consent to your participation in this project, you will not be able to take part.

In-class discussion guidelines

The research is not confidential, and pseudonyms will be used in the final report.

- *You do not need to agree with others, but you should listen respectfully as others share their views.*
- *I would like to hear a wide range of opinions: please speak up on whether you agree or disagree.*
- *There are no right or wrong answers, every person's experiences and opinions are important.*
- *The meeting is audio recorded, therefore, please allow one person at a time to speak.*
- *Normal classroom rules will apply during these discussions*

Emotional History: Classroom Experiences of New Zealand History

MA Research Project

INFORMATION SHEET FOR STUDENTS

Tēnā koe/Hello

You are invited to take part in my research. Please read this information before deciding whether or not to take part. If you decide to participate, thank you. If you decide not to participate, thank you for considering this request.

Ko wai ahau / Who am I?

My name is Georgia Griggs and I am a Pākehā Masters student in Anthropology at Te Herenga Waka—Victoria University of Wellington. This research project is work towards my thesis.

Ko Whitireia te maunga
Ko Raukawakawa te moana
Ko Te Herenga Waka te kura
Ko Piritana Nui me Wītana ngā whenua ō ōku tīpuna
Ko Chris tōku matua
Ko Miriam tōku whaea
Ko Francesca tōku taina
Ko Georgia tōku ingoa

He aha te whāinga mō tēnei rangahau /What is the aim of the project?

This project is about how students and teachers react emotionally to learning about New Zealand History in the classroom. I am interested in how both students and teachers react to learning about New Zealand's difficult past and whether the emotions they feel can help the learning experience.
Your participation will support this research by allowing me to observe and discuss with you the things you learn about New Zealand history in class. I am interested in talking through the things you and your classmates learn and hearing your opinions and reactions.

This research has been approved by the Te Herenga Waka—Victoria University of Wellington Human Ethics Committee Application 30325.

Ka pēhea tō āwhina mai / How can you help?

You have been invited to participate because you are a student in a Year 10 social studies class at Kāpiti College.

If you agree to take part you will be part of my project and I will interact with you in class time. I will ask you and your classmates questions about the things you learn in social studies class and have group discussions about your reactions and thoughts about the things you learn. I will be participating in your class and holding discussions like this for three months during term three. I will take notes during class with your permission and write them up later.

The research is not confidential, and pseudonyms will be used in the final report. However, if you want your real name to be used in the final report, you will have an opportunity to choose this after my work at the school is finished.

You can withdraw from taking part in the project at any time before it begins. You can also withdraw while the project is in progress. However, it will not be possible to withdraw the information you have provided up to that point as it will be part of a discussion with other participants. If you or your parent/guardian do not consent to you participating in this project you will not take part and anything you say to me will not be recorded as part of this project.

Ka ahatia ngā kōrero ka tukuna mai / What will happen to the information you give?

You will not be named in the final report but the school will be named and pseudonyms will be used if any students are quoted. However, if you want your real name to be used in the final report, you will have an opportunity to choose this after my work at the school is finished

Myself along with my supervisors will be the only people who have access to my notes before they are written up into more detail. When I write my notes up, any names I have recorded will be replaced with pseudonyms.

He aha ngā hua o te rangahau / What will the project produce?

The information from my research will be used in my Masters thesis, potentially published in the form of a journal article and possibly presented at a conference.

Ki te whakaae mai koe, he aha ō mōtika hei kaitautoko i tēnei rangahau / If you accept this invitation, what are your rights as a research participant?

You do not have to accept this invitation if you don't want to. If you do decide to participate, you have the right to:

- choose not to answer any question;
- withdraw from a discussion or the project while it is taking place. However, it will not be possible to withdraw the information you have provided up to that point;
- ask any questions about the project at any time;
- read over and comment on a written summary of the discussions;
- be able to read any reports of this research by emailing the researcher to request a copy.

Mehemea ngā pātai, he raruraru rānei, me whakapā ki a wai / If you have any questions or problems, who can you contact?

If you have any questions, either now or in the future, please feel free to contact either myself or my supervisor:

Student:

Name: Georgia Griggs

University email address:
[redacted]

Supervisor:

Name: Lorena Gibson

Role: Senior Lecturer

School: Social and Cultural Studies

[redacted]

He kōrero whakamārama mō HEC/ Human Ethics Committee information

If you have any concerns about the ethical conduct of the research you may contact the Te Herenga Waka—Victoria University of Wellington HEC Convenor, Associate Professor Rhonda Shaw, by emailing hec@vuw.ac.nz

Emotional History: Classroom Experiences of New Zealand History

MA Research Project

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN CLASSROOM DISCUSSIONS

This consent form will be held for five years.

Researcher: Georgia Griggs, School of Social and Cultural Studies, Te Herenga Waka—Victoria University of Wellington.

- I have read the Information Sheet and the project has been explained to me. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I understand that I can ask further questions at any time.
- I agree to take part in audio recorded classroom based discussions for this project.

I understand that:

- The research is not confidential, and pseudonyms will be used in the final report. However, if you want your real name to be used in the final report, you will have an opportunity to choose this after my work at the school is finished
- I can withdraw from the classroom discussions while it is in progress. However, it will not be possible to withdraw the information I have provided up to that point as it will be part of a discussion with other participants
- The identifiable information I have provided will be destroyed on March 31st, 2023.
- The findings may be used for a Masters thesis, publication, and/or conference presentation.
- Research notes will be kept confidential to the researcher and the supervisor.
- Organisational consent has been provided and the organisation may be named in any reports (depending on final consent)
- I consent to information or opinions which I have given being attributed to me under a pseudonym in any reports on this research. Yes ☐ No ☐
- I would like a summary of the classroom discussions. Yes ☐ No ☐
- I would like to receive a copy of the final report and have added my email address below. Yes ☐ No ☐

Signature of participant: _____

Name of participant: _____

Date: _____

Contact details: _____