

THE MAKING OF A NEW ZEALANDER :
THE IDEOLOGY AND VALUES IN SOCIAL STUDIES TEXTBOOKS :

The purpose of this research project is to investigate the content of a selection of Social Studies textbooks commonly in use in New Zealand schools with third and fourth form pupils, and which deal with the two basic social studies themes of the secondary school syllabus: social control, and social change. The investigation is not of the strict item analysis type, but is rather an impressionistic account which nonetheless periodically delves into the intricacies of the texts to reveal what is there. Some of the textbooks are critically examined in close detail, while others are only mentioned in passing at the point where an example or two from them might serve to illustrate, or broaden the scope of the issue that is being raised.

The underlying idea behind the investigation is the suggestion that, apart from their specific educative function, schools are also involved in a more general process of socialization, and that the facts, ideas and judgements presented in textbooks are part and parcel of that process. These social studies textbooks present a world view - a substantive series of statements and ideas about human behaviour and social institutions - which they encourage and predispose pupils to accept. At a more fundamental level than the mere documentation of this world view are two major concerns of this research report. Firstly, it is concerned to assess the cryptic component of social studies textbooks, and it attempts to do this by taking account of those facts and ideas which have been excluded, and by deducing those indirect inferences

that pupils might well make, through on the face of it the material does not openly encourage them to do so. In other words, the research tries to locate within textbooks some strands of that aspect of schooling which has come to be known as the hidden curriculum.

The second concern of the report is with the giving of a more structural function to this notion of hidden curriculum by subsuming it under the concept of ideology, and by enlarging upon it through an analysis of those open aspects of textbooks which transmit this ideology directly. Ideology, in this report, is the subjective presentation of social reality under the guise of objectivity. In truth, of course, ideology is much more than this, and does not really have one single discreet definition. Indeed meanings for ideology range from a sense of it as the predominating overview or ethos of a particular culture (e.g. Maoritanga) to a conception of it as an enclosed world view system (e.g. Christianity). The Marxist notion of ideology is much more specific than this, and sees it as a plethora of institutions and assertions about the nature of reality which represent the singular interests of one particular social group or class as the general and common interests of all.

It is within this Marxist tradition that much of the analysis of the ideological nature of schooling has taken place, and this analysis has taken many forms. Thus, for example, Bowles and Gintis¹ explore the ideology behind the political economy of liberalism; Harris² probes the ideology within educational philosophy; and Corrigan³ discovers an

ideology at work in psychological and sociological theories of deviance. More generally, Althusser⁴ has conceived of education as an "Ideological State Apparatus", and Bourdieu⁵ has revealed the ideological legitimation of elite knowledge and culture. Side by side with these Marxist analysis of ideology lies the work of the "radical sociologists" which suggests that the content of school subjects, and the way this content is organised and transmitted, reflects and consequently enhances the way power is organised within society.⁶ School knowledge, it is contended, is the property of dominant social groups.

This report takes different elements from these conception of ideology and applies them to the content of social studies texts. It does not attempt to build a sociological or political theory about the nature of knowledge in New Zealand schools. Nor does it try to validate a correspondent theory which relates dominant ideological mechanisms to the structures of education. In the first place, a fully coherent and comprehensive analysis of New Zealand society from which to borrow has not been produced to date, and, in the second, a brief sojourn over a few textbooks is not enough to illustrate a theory.

While this report does reveal the values which are presented to, and in many cases almost literally pushed upon, children it does not reveal them necessarily within a cohesive framework of a dominant ideology working downwards. It is left for others to make these connections. An extreme form of nationalism, for example, abounds in some of the textbooks, but it is for someone else to relate this to the

ideological function of nationalism within larger society, and possibly, perhaps, within world capitalism. The research here views social studies textbooks from the position of pupils looking upwards and outwards, and, in this sense, is more concerned with what they are prevented from seeing, than with ascertaining the direction in which they are forced to look.

At the same time, the report is not merely a catalogue of errors and omissions. Rather it argues that social studies textbooks deny children the consideration of, to borrow Scriven's phrase, "significant possibilities". They prohibit pupils from examining alternative accounts and explanations of human nature, behaviour and development, and from considering other futures for human society. It is, then, with this minimal sense of ideology that the research is concerned; a maximum account which would locate this prohibition of alternatives within the mechanisms of dominant social structures awaits further study.

WOMAN: THE NON-EXISTENT ANIMAL

If children are denied "significant possibilities" in social studies textbooks, girls are almost denied the right to exist. It is not just that all the famous people in the books are males; nor that women are seen in stereotyped roles; nor is it that we hear of "freedom for each man" or even "Man is a social animal". History and tradition are difficult to eradicate even in books which discuss social

change, and, given that many of the books are ten years old, it was expected that they would have more of a male, rather than female, orientation. What was unexpected was that the average New Zealander should turn out to be a man.

For pupils he is represented in the "Humanity of Man" series of books by Kiwi Clark, a clean-cut boy with well pressed shorts, and socks around his ankles. In a drawing entitled "Becoming a New Zealander" he is seen tramping out of the bush and into the city. He appears in Russia discussing democracy with Sovi Et, his male counterpart from the U.S.S.R.⁸ In another book he rests on a sofa made from those ideas that are the basis of New Zealand society, such as 'democracy', 'individual rights', and the 'law system'⁹ and in a further drawing he is the smiling centrepiece of a diagram entitled "Made in New Zealand".¹⁰

If the typical child is a boy, the average adult New Zealander is equally male. Some of the books are specifically concerned with delineating the national character and discussing the traits of a 'kiwi'. They find him unashamedly and aggressively a man. If the kiwi is courageous, it is the courage of the soldiers of the Second World War. If the kiwi is self-assured then:

"She's right. It's the confidence of the practical man"¹⁰

We know the New Zealander works hard because:

"Every few years the electrician will paint his own house and the painter, like as not, will build his own garage"¹¹

We are told that:

"It is through sporting activities that much of the process of socialization, that is of learning to become a New Zealander, takes place" ¹³

Yet it is a photograph of John Walker which looms large on the page, it is Bruce McLaren who is described, and it is Rugby that the spectators are shown watching.

Though some of the texts mention or discuss the changing role of women, the average schoolgirl reading social studies books would find it hard to be convinced. Institutions that are described as examples of the way people organise or form social groups are invariably male. So we have an excerpt from a Rotary meeting, descriptions of the Rugby Club, and an analysis of the command structure of the army (accompanied by a photograph of a gun-toting male). When an analysis of the variety of roles that people play is given it is Mr Brown, as father, freezing worker, rate payer etc., who is represented in a diagram. ¹⁴ A culture at the crossroads is depicted by a teenage boy in half native and half western dress. ¹⁵ The route from "The Citizen With Needs" to "A Healthy Environment" is illustrated by seven males. ¹⁶

There is rarely a woman or girl in sight in the drawings or photographs. The teacher is a male, the voter is a male, and the customs officer is a male. The pop singer, the bikie gang members, and the stereotyped hippie are all males. So too, is the scientist, the government official, the lawyer, the judge, and the police personnel. Business people are

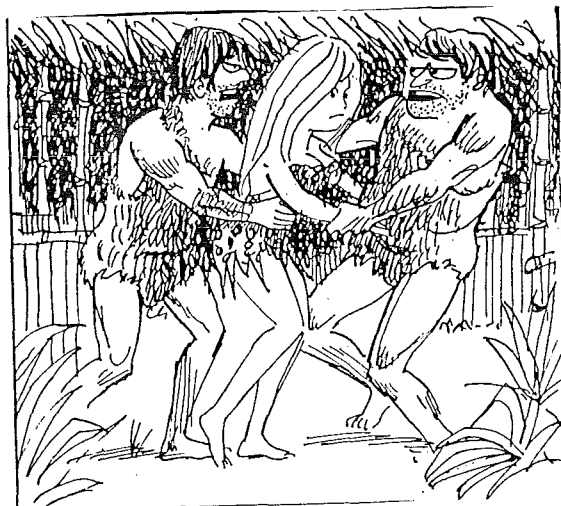
male, as is the board of directors. Even the mixed-up kid, the criminal, and the psychologist are males. In one drawing, of the seven members of the jury that can be made out, not one is a female.¹⁸ Indeed the whole courtroom scene has twenty five characters in it, yet only one, (possibly two) is female. Even this one takes no part in the scene. We see the back of her head as she sits in the public gallery. She is recognisably a schoolgirl, with ribbons and pig-tails, and that seems to be her function in New Zealand social studies textbooks: to sit quietly and watch the world of men go by. Yet in 1971, around the time when most of the books were published, females made up 36% of the total workforce,¹⁷ and presumably 50% of the citizens.

There is not even the excuse that all the women have gone abroad, for even the tourists are drawn as males, and, not surprisingly, what they discover overseas are more males. For example, one book "Social Control in Russia", has a series of what are called "Idea Equations". Free citizen plus Total War equals Total Obedience would be one of them. Each part of the equation is matched by a cartoon drawing of the ten idea equations, not one shows a female - woman or girl - anywhere.

When women do make it into the drawings or cartoons, the characteristics they display are typically stereotyped. The illustration below is meant to typify the basic human need for nourishment.¹⁹ What it really portrays is the role of woman as the servant of man.



This next cartoon is one of a series of four which illustrate four different methods of communication.

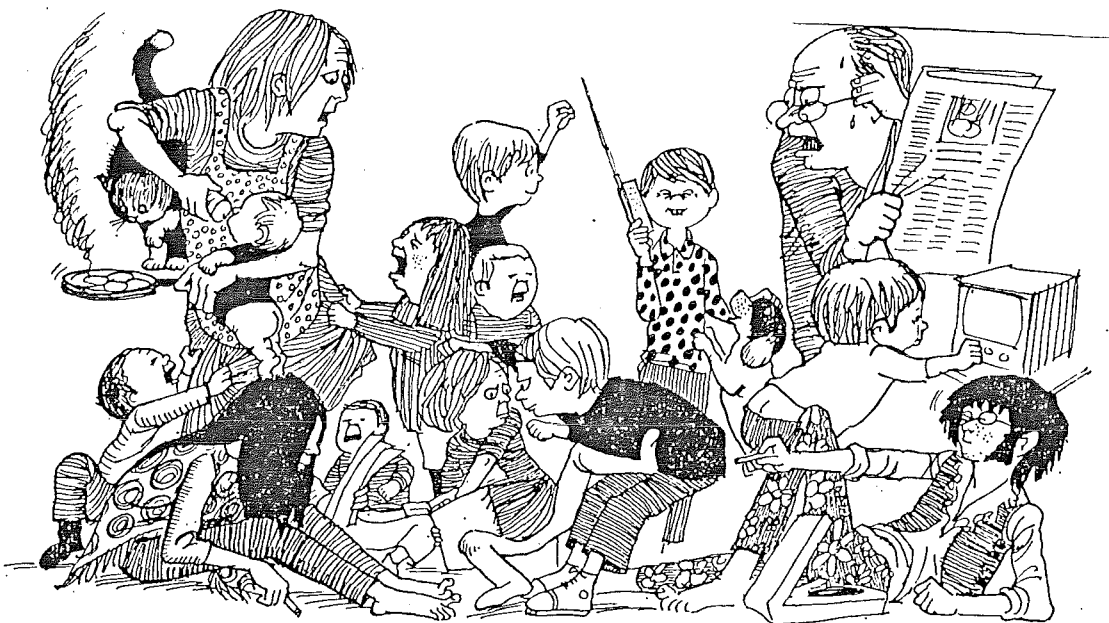


What, of course, it communicates to the pupils looking at it is that they are the playthings and property of men. They are to be fought over and toyed with; they can make no choices nor have control over their own lives. Should they dispute this set-up, then another cartoon shown below

makes it clear they are a poor second to the male in a linear hierarchy of domination. Dad can even roll up his sleeves and take his fists to Mum.²¹ sleeves and take his fists to Mum.



Mum, of course, is a harassed child-minder and cook,²² as the next cartoon shows. The male has nothing to do with the domestic scene, unless it interferes with his interests or concentration.

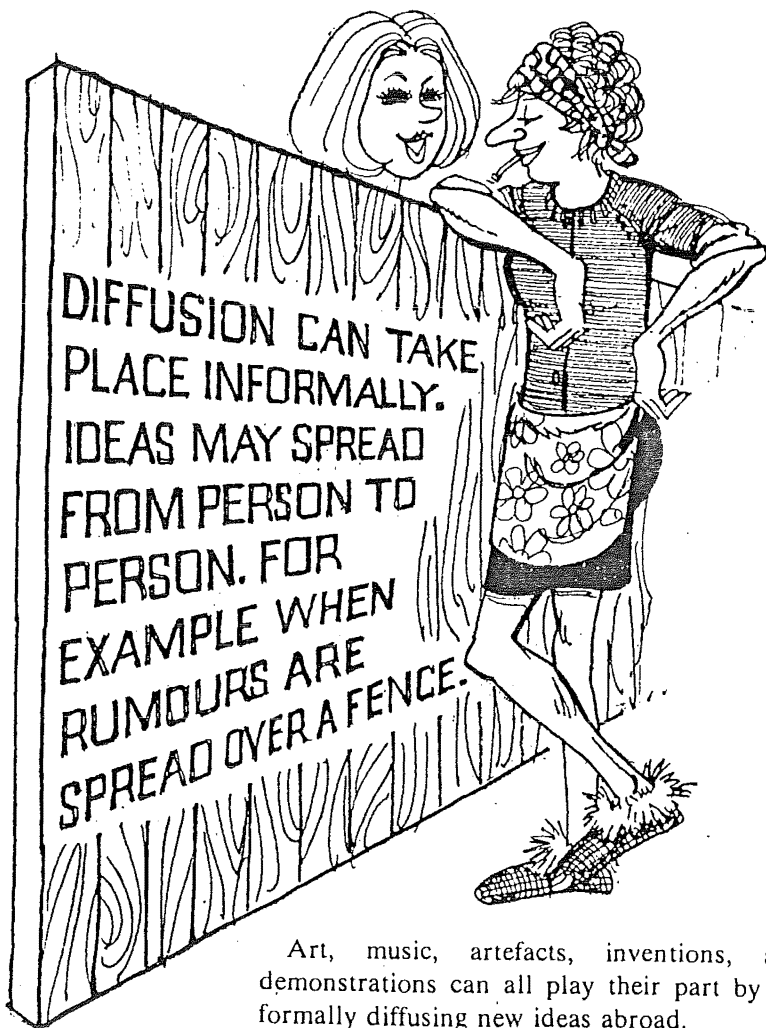


REPRODUCTION

Fig. 1. The three basic needs.

Again the avert purpose of the drawing is to help convey one of the three basic human needs. Its hidden significance is much more sinister.

Females appear so infrequently in the drawings that when they are seen they become doubly important, yet in general they are insignificant by-standers. When they do feature significantly, they are demeaned and their actions trivialised. They are pawns and lackeys in a male world which uses and abuses them. Sometimes, as in this drawing they are in their own world, away from male authority, yet the characterisation of them here is one drawn from a chauvinist male culture.



Art, music, artefacts, inventions, and demonstrations can all play their part by informally diffusing new ideas abroad.

As was noted above, the female in social studies textbooks is a speedily diminishing animal, she is not a New Zealander and she hardly makes it as a citizen. In the course of the research one particular series of texts, among others, was closely looked at for frequency of the appearance of females in drawings. The series comes under the general heading of "The Humanity of Man", and seven books from the series were examined. These books contained 118 drawings or cartoons. Out of these, females appeared in only 36. Of the total number of characters whose sex could be distinguished, 485 were males, and only 66 were women or girls. Only rarely does a female form an important part of the picture i.e. is actually in the foreground, and with the exception of two drawings of Queen Victoria and Catherine of Russia, only once does she appear in a dominant role, when a mother is shown boxing her son about the ears.

Many of the social studies text books do discuss the changing status of women, and one, for example, is devoted completely to the changing nature of the family. Yet these efforts are largely invalidated by the absence of females in other parts of the books. Even when the effort is made, progress for women is frequently trivialised. One section of a book, for example, which is entitled, "Equality for Women", has a photograph of a women's rugby match under the title, as if it was just a matter of which games the sexes played. This photograph is accompanied by caption which patronisingly begins with:

"They've got to be in on everything".

To resolve this contradiction between a recognition of women's rights and an absence of women, it can be argued that a typical process is at work where a liberal ideology masks an underlying repressive reality in which women are subdued, and even eradicated, if these books are anything to go by. The textbooks in general legitimate male domination, even, regrettably, its violent aspect, and help to reproduce sexual division. The schoolgirl who reads them learns that she contributes nothing of that which makes up the New Zealand character, and precious little of that which is New Zealand life. She does not even have any fun. It is the boys in the drawings who swing from trees, hit each other with cricket bats, and fire arrows at the cat. The girl, when she makes it into the text, is, as we might expect to find her, in the process of learning her servile potentiality. For example, a section from one book on socialisation, includes this illustration of how children learn through reward and punishment.^{25.}

"Peter, you little horror! Get up to your bedroom straight away, and don't come out till your father gets home!"

"What a good job you made of setting the table! It's lovely having such a nice, helpful little girl in the house"

In one book, "Made in New Zealand",²⁶ an untidy, long-haired male character called Sonny (who just happens to be the Maori one of the five characters described) is contrasted on the same page by Gabrielle, who "was neat and liked the uniform."

Predictably, "Home Economics was her favourite. She won the prize most years". It seems quite obvious why she valued Home Economics, because a few lines later her helpful nature is revealed.

"Sonny and the boys in the 1st XV liked the way she always had a plate of neatly sliced oranges for them at half-time during their rugby games"

Even at sport Gabrielle's achievements are related to a male's. Paul, another character, takes her skiing, and the reader is given an assessment of her talent.

"She was a pretty good skier, but perhaps it was Paul's weak ankle that made her look so good by comparison"

Sport, as we saw, is a male endeavour, and girls are presumably not supposed to excel at it. Beth, Gabrielle's fictitious friend, wrote a short essay for a class competition, entitled: "Sportsmanship"²⁷. The essay is written out in full in the book, and in it, characteristically, Beth is made to obliterate her own sex. Once she has described the qualities involved in sportsmanship, she is made to remark:

"Above all, a true sportsman is a gentleman and a good fellow"

This obliteration of the female in social studies texts is helped along by the continual use of the word 'Man' as a generic term. It creeps insidiously into the books on every occasion. Humanity is described as: "Man, the Learning Animal", as "Man, the Family Animal", as "Man, the Speaking Animal", or there is "Life on Man", or "Modesty makes the Man" Its use reaches its apotheosis in the book, "The Language Animal"

where it seems to appear on every page, incessantly beating out the idea that woman does not exist. It could, of course, be argued that the term is unavoidable, and is simply an historical accident of language. This might well validate the use of the term, though it cannot excuse it. That it has an ideological function as well can be shown when 'Man' becomes interchangeable with 'Men' and replaces its indication of species with a seeming identification of sex. For example: ²⁸

MAN	Begins to communicate in speech	More articulate men communicate better. Better group organisation is possible.
HUMANITY	Begins to use words as tools of thought	Better thinkers are better able to plan for the future

Clearly it would be difficult in this example for pupils to avoid the idea that it was men, as opposed to women, who furthered human development. When, later on, they read that: "All over the world, men live in groups" or "Most men, too, instinctively want to belong to groups", the indications are obvious: women are not important enough to even mention.

Women in social studies textbooks are subsumed under men. Any independent existence is really existence for the sake of men, whose beings determine their actions. Thus, in a section of a book about rules and laws, a section entitled 'Dos and Don'ts', boys are told not to herd together at parties because:

"This doesn't make a girl feel very feminine - she doesn't doll herself up and wear her prettiest dress just to swap school gossip with Joan and Sue and Angela"

She does it, presumably, to attract and to please men, and to gain her ultimate reward. One textbook on 'work' ³⁰ reprints in full a newspaper article without comment. The article describes economic prosperity, and gives a portrait of the "conglomerate New Zealander". Typically, he is a male; the article makes it explicit.

"The average New Zealander is a fellow who likes being with other people"

At the same time, the article admits - and it's the only account that does - that the New Zealander may be female as well.

"The woman is a little house-proud and prefers wall-to-wall carpet or linoleum in most rooms, and up-to-date furniture"

Cosseted by modern furnishings and kept pristine by a variety of conveniences, the New Zealand female of social studies textbooks is alone in her burrow: her mate is out in the world forming social groups, learning to vote, and generally running the country. She has not stood still, however, but has developed to the full her capacity for invisibility. She has become: Woman, the Non-existent Animal.

Clearly social studies textbooks help to define for all pupils what it means to be a woman. They do this overtly by

describing the ways in which she functions, but also in a covert fashion by absenting her from numerous areas of human affairs. Potentialities and possibilities for development thud against the hard wall of male supremacy as ideological descriptions mould mis-shapen realities. It is here that we can, perhaps, suggest that the ideology is a dominant one working downwards, but to state this idea successfully we would have to align our observations from within books, with clear statistics from the world, detailing women in government, sport, business etc. Even, then, our view of ideology would only be a rough and ready perception, for it would only indicate a match between school texts and real life; it would not define the true purpose of this match. To do that we would have to resolve the interminable feminist wrangle between two views of oppression; one of which sees the subjection of women as a result of an historical and an ahistorical patriarchal domination, and one which sees the sexual division as another form of the general division of labour, as just another social relation of capitalism.

What can be concluded from the research into social studies texts is that they describe, promote and ultimately legitimate and possibly reproduce the sexual division of labour. Their purpose in doing that is beyond the scope of this report.

MY COUNTRY - RIGHT OR WRONG

If, at its least, ideology is a subjective representation of reality passed off objectively, then social studies textbooks

exhibit an extreme form of ideological nationalism. Bold statements are made about New Zealand which in any light are contentious and debatable. One of the general objectives of the social studies syllabus is to bring children to an "understanding of themselves and their society". It is right and proper, then, that all aspects of New Zealand should be studied.

What is odd is that a process of near indoctrination is set in motion by the texts which has a disregard for the truth.

One book on Israel³¹ which sets out to explain Jewish nationalism begins the explanation by referring the reader to his own sense of belonging to a country. It asks students to consider their own reactions to the wins and losses of national sports' teams, and to criticism of New Zealand. The book then suggests that:

"If you defend your country against such criticism, even though you might secretly agree with it; and feel proud of your countrymen for doing well and unhappy when they perform badly, you are showing a feeling of nationalism."

This really is not so much nationalism as a perverse, uncritical and unthinking variety of it, and it is typical of the attitude towards New Zealand that the text books attempt to promote. They are not so much concerned with creating a genuine pride within pupils about New Zealand achievements, but with instilling a belief in them that these achievements are always head and shoulders above other countries. Thus an achievement is not measured by any value intrinsic to it, but by its relation to a similar achievement elsewhere. So, what matters with the Plunket Society is that: "It has become world famous";³² whether it has or not. And in another book, the Soviet Union notwithstanding, we hear that:

"New Zealand has led the world in the attention it has given to young children through the Plunket Society, family benefits, nursery schools and kindergartens." ³³

When it comes to compensation for criminal injuries then:

"This was another form of Social Welfare in which New Zealand led the world."

Or votes for women:

"New Zealand became the first country in the world to grant women the right to vote."

Leaving aside their boastful nature, or the fact that some of them are not even true, what these statements conveniently avoid are all those areas in which New Zealand lags behind the rest of the world, such as the legalizing of homosexuality (which the U.K. has had since 1967) or the abolition of corporal punishment.

The social studies textbooks exude a mindless, uncritical validation of any and every fact which will place New Zealand in the centre of the world stage. For example in one book an article is quoted which tells us that people travel to attend many sporting events around the country but:

"..this is nothing to the average New Zealander. Good roads enable him to move around easily. It is claimed that New Zealanders are the most air-

minded people in the world, as they rank among the top three nations for number of flights per head of population."

What is wrong with this is that New Zealanders fly so much precisely because the roads are so bad (relatively), and alternative transport systems so poor. A Londoner will travel the two hundred miles to Manchester, on a three lane northbound carriageway, just under a speed limit of seventy miles per hour, in a time of about three hours. A person in Japan will travel the same distance in half the time on a high speed train. Flying is presumably so common in New Zealand because it is the only speedy and efficient form of transport.

Statistics are always used in the text books quite uncritically. Under the heading "The World's Biggest Eaters",³⁵ a table is provided which presents for selected countries statistics on food consumption. New Zealand is top of the league with 3,468 calories per day. This table is directly followed by the statement:

"New Zealanders eat more food than any other people in the world,"

and this is followed by a break down of consumption into 90 pounds of sugar (per year), 27 pints of ice-cream, 25 dozen eggs and so on.

What are left out, of course, are the statistics showing world ranking for incidence of heart disease, or obesity among school children. The subterfuge, however,

goes deeper than this, for after the amounts of different foods are given, this statement follows:

"Food consumption is the most obvious single measure of a country's standard of living."

Now this is plainly odd, or even untrue, for coming closely behind New Zealand at 3460 calories per day (only 8 behind) is the Republic of Ireland, which is hardly renowned for its high standard of living. This is obviously recognized by the textbook for it says:

"By this measure we rank with Americas and Britons as the best fed people in the world."

Though the U.S.A. and the U.K. are 320 and 180 calories per day respectively behind Ireland, they presumably have more glory value in the outranking stakes.

This is not the only time statistics are abused in the struggle for world supremacy. The table "Housing Standards - International Comparisons", is followed by this statement:³⁶

"New Zealanders are among the best housed people in the world. We lead in the percentage of dwellings with piped water and in the number of dwellings with baths."

Well so we do, but we also lag behind Canada, Australia and United Kingdom in the rooms per dwelling, and have more people per room and less houses with flush toilets than Great Britain. A question that follows the

statement quoted above subtly upgrade the housing achievement. Within this question the phrase "among the best housed" becomes "best housed".

This indiscriminating attempt to define the world status of New Zealand is seen in its most vacuous phrase in the textbook "Social Control in New Zealand."³⁷ Under the section headed "Being a New Zealander" the following quotations are set out. No other words, neither facts nor comment, accompany them.

"New Zealand - gem of the South Pacific"

(Tourist Department pamphlet)

"New Zealanders - the finest citizen-soldiers of the Second World War" (A German General)

"New Zealanders - right at the top in at least three sports - rugby, league and netball. Capable of inspired performances in any number of other sports" (A sportswriter)

"God's own Country" (A Politician)

Even the dead are made to count in two books³⁸ where statistics on the Second World War are given, and we discover that New Zealand had the highest percentage of her men killed in action of any of the Allied nations. Bravery is made a distinctive New Zealand characteristic. One heading tells us that "Kiwis are Courageous" which is no doubt true, but so presumably were the Russians when

they defended Stalingrad, and the British citizens when they raced to Dunkirk to rescue their troops from the beaches. Indeed it would be hard to image any troops of a country at war that did not fight bravely. Yet the attempt is made to suggest that behaviours which might be typical of all peoples is peculiar only to New Zealand.

One other example will suffice to show this. The book "Made in New Zealand" says that:

"The New Zealanders also displayed some features which made them different from men who came from other countries. Their own national character was to be seen."

A story from a British officer is then quoted as an illustration of this idea. After a particularly difficult battle for the New Zealand soldiers, the officer happened to ask a New Zealander what the strange duck-like bird was on the side of his truck. He received this reply:

"Its a Kiwi, mate. And it's like us. It can't run, it can't fly, and its bloody near extinct."

Now there is no attempt in this report to denigrate the New Zealander's ability to maintain high morale in a very perilous circumstances, but surely it is the very commonality of gallow's humour that makes it interesting. One thinks of the American general with his troops completely surrounded by the Germans in the Ardennes forest, who replied to the official German communique calling on him to surrender with one single word, "Nuts!"

Sport is another area in which general characteristics are claimed to be a distinctively New Zealand feature. For example, a fictitious speaker at a prize-giving, the supposed winner of a World Championship, gives the three ingredients of his success.

"...we set out to achieve success, and were prepared to let nothing stand in the way of achieving our best standards ...we were prepared to make great sacrifices... and we were New Zealanders and we were not prepared to let our fellow Kiwis down. We set out to get another victory for New Zealand."³⁹

This is closely paralleled by comment in another book.

"The feature common to all New Zealanders who have made an indelible mark in world sport is a burning will-to-win, an aggressive even savage desire to reach self-imposed goals."⁴⁰

While it can be argued that "an aggressive, even savage desire "to reach such goals, or a "burning will-to-win" are not necessarily laudable qualities, they are certainly attributes that appear in sportspeople all over the world. One assumes that every Olympic champion has an enormous urge to win.

The importance of sport is given prominence in several textbooks and it is usually described in relation to other countries, or the rest of the world.

So:

"In few countries of the world does sport influence the lives of young people more than in New Zealand." ⁴¹

One wonders what Carrigan⁴² would have made of this, when he has discovered the vital part soccer plays in the life of many British teenagers. Despite the fact that "an incredible proportion of the New Zealand population actively participates in sport" one book gives the statistics for the number of participants in different sports for the city of Christchurch.⁴³ When added up, the total number amounts to 15.5% of the population. A high proportion perhaps, but hardly incredible.

Two textbooks go so far as to suggest that New Zealand as a nation can date itself to the "All Blacks" defeat of Great Britain in 1905. This idea is expressed in typical "good old New Zealand" tones.

"The little nation from 'down under' was able to match itself against any opponents in the most rugged of team sports. An awareness of nationhood was aroused." ⁴⁴

The problem with all these ideas about New Zealand that have been documented in that, apart from the naive childishness they frequently exhibit, they foster an uncritical acceptance of the validity of a particular way of life, and as such serve very well the interests of ruling groups. It is here that it can be contended that

the ideology is working quite explicitly. Firstly it is a common political ploy to accuse opponents of being unpatriotic, and the unthinking nationalism of the social studies textbooks borders on a jingoism which can lead to an atmosphere where this kind of ploy is likely to succeed. Secondly, the need for a country to be best, and for an individual to acquire a "burning will-to-win", engenders a fierce competitive spirit which promotes the success of a capitalist based economy. Thirdly, the accent on the "best fed" idea, the documentation of how many washing machines and television per head, supports a materialistic philosophy which leads people to be acquisitive. This supports (and enriches) the owners of capital and legitimates their position and work by portraying it as patriotic. Lastly, it prevents the significant possibility that New Zealanders will come to see their condition as the human condition and their lot as the common lot of all people. It weakens internationalism as an idea, and positively prevents it in practice. As long as the All Blacks continue to defeat the Springboks in that "most rugged of team games" there is no possibility that the New Zealand worker will cast in his lot with the worker, black or white, of South Africa.

The textbooks, of course, do not transmit this ideology knowingly. The transmission is direct, but it is direct by effect and not through intention. Indeed at the same time as it promotes nationalism, it might also attempt to foster world unity. The book,

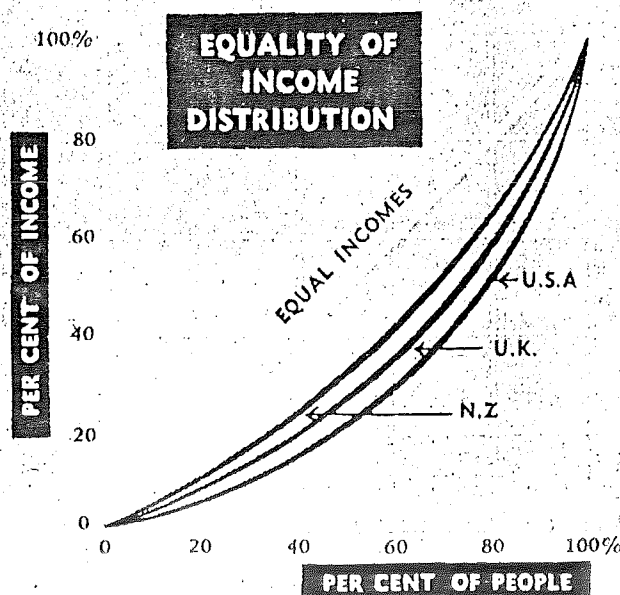
"Social Control in New Zealand", for example, on the next to last page says this:

"Perhaps as we learn more about other parts of the world we will realise that people are the same everywhere ... we have all had to learn to be good New Zealanders. It took quite a long time. Now we have to learn to be good 'Worlders'. That might take a bit longer."

If the pupils have been reading their textbooks correctly it will, of course, take for ever.

The textbooks, also simultaneously promote the idea of egalitarianism which is really a contradiction to this 'be the best' philosophy. Typically, New Zealand is the best at distribution and a double formed ideology begins to spring into operation. The book "Becoming a New Zealander" includes the graph shown below, and has this to say about it.

"Fig 35 shows that there is more equality of income distribution than in any other developed country of the world."



The book conveniently neglects to say "of any other developed capitalist country of the world", for the claim it makes is precisely that same claim made, with some justification, by the Soviet Union, which attempts to justify its own peculiar brand of inegalitarian socialism by arguing that it is, at least, more equal than capitalism.

This next table is provided, and with it is the suggestion that:

"The distribution of incomes shown in Fig 36 shows how the bulk of the people receive a similar income."

Income	Number of Persons	Percentage of all Specified cases with Income
No Income	1,445,887	...
\$ 2— 199	79,525	6.5
200— 599	108,823	8.9
600— 999	130,443	10.7
1,000—1,399	140,379	11.5
1,400—1,799	157,742	13.0
1,800—2,199	185,735	15.3
2,200—2,599	155,712	12.8
2,600—2,999	89,091	7.3
3,000—3,999	84,807	7.0
4,000—4,999	34,651	2.9
5,000—5,999	15,909	1.3
6,000—6,999	11,533	0.9
7,000—7,999	5,978	0.5
8,000 or over	16,707	1.4
Not Specified	13,997	...
Totals	2,676,919	100.0

Fig. 36. Distribution of Income, 1966.

This, in turn, shows "the importance New Zealanders attach to equality."

It does not actually show anything at all like that, for what it does reveal is a vast wage differential between say the 10.7% who earn between \$600 and \$900

and the 1.4% who earn over \$8000. If these statistics are added up they reveal that a top 9% earn \$564 million, and a middle 44% earn \$556 million, and this hardly counts as equality.

The commentary goes on to say that "these differences are reduced even more through the redistribution of wealth by taxation." The result of this is that:

"The money taken from the rich is given to those in need in the form of superannuation, pensions, family benefits, university bursaries, food subsidies and free social services such as hospitals and schools."

The logic of this argument begins to strain credibility. In the first place most of the benefits mentioned are given to the rich, as well as the poor; they also receive pensions, free schooling, child benefits and hospital services. Considering that recent research⁴⁵ reveals that the unskilled manual working class (S.E.S.G.), who represent 25% of the population provide only 1.4% of entrants to Canterbury University, it is clear that this section of the poor will receive precious little of this redistribution of wealth in the form of university bursaries. In the second place, this redistribution is not of wealth, but of income. Capital, which produces income, is not redistributed, and it is the possession of this capital (wealth) that

causes the differentials in the first place.

This is not the place to argue for a redistribution of capital, but it is the prerogative of this report to point out the ideological nature of the 'welfare state argument' as it is set out in social studies textbooks, for it safeguards the wealth it is claimed is redistributed, by equating wealth with income. The significant possibility that there is an alternative economic analysis is denied to children. Where this alternative analysis is mentioned it is trivialised.

The book from which these tables are taken, for example, points out that there are different economies from "tribal organised Maori economy, from feudal economies" to "government directed economies like those of Russia". It then suggests that:

"Each economic system has virtues and faults, but each reflects the social, political, and religious beliefs of the nation." ⁴⁶

This sort of idea is simplistic to a degree which denies pupils any understanding. Firstly, it ignores the by now well known Marxist argument that social, political, and religious beliefs are themselves simply reflections of the distribution of economic power. Secondly, it pretends that there are such things as the "beliefs of the nation", rather than recognising that nations are composed by differing groups with frequently different and often antagonistic beliefs.

Thirdly, by suggesting each economic system has faults and virtues it suggests that they are somehow the results of historical accidents, and [one] to be placed on a par with each other. In this way very real differences are masked, with the result that what is really being suggested to pupils is that they stick with what they have got.

This is further enhanced by another statement which suggests that in order to understand how the people of New Zealand make economic decisions we "must bear in mind" the "New Zealand values of equality, freedom, and security."⁴⁷ The implication is that other economic systems have different values behind them. Thus emotive terms are used to justify a system, and the very real argument between East and West (which could kill us all) are simply ignored. The regrettable conclusion is that truly ideology is being used to promote, maintain and legitimate group or class interest, and as such is a dominant ideology working downwards. The apparent openness of social studies textbooks is denying children significant possibilities for themselves, and the society they are growing up in, by stifling debate.

BEHAVIOURIST PSYCHOLOGY AND THE DOCTRINE OF ORIGINAL SIN

The report so far has shown an ideological base to social studies textbooks. The ideology has been shown to be capable of performing a centralised function, but generally to be operating imperfectly. A close analysis of texts has shown how values are suggested to pupils sometimes quite openly, but often in a hidden way. This last section adopts a more generalised analysis and tries to show the essential and fundamental ideological assertions which underpin most of the textbooks. As such, it represents only notes towards a theory of ideology; it must be repeated that no attempt is being made to trace a cohesive theory from textbook to society.

Essentially, while looking at social change the textbooks preserve the existing order, and in looking at social control they validate current mechanisms. This preservation of the status quo is supported in a variety of ways.

Sometimes the process occurs through the remarkably naive view of some of the textbook authors, who occasionally seem to have swallowed whole the lines of consumer advertising. The author of "Why Do We Work?", for example, says that:

"A factory girl's clothes can be almost as good in style and material as the clothes worn by royalty." 48

Elsewhere he remarks:

"But today, thank goodness, there is little excuse for most people not to discover their

talents and develop to their **full** capacity." ⁴⁹
Here simple ignorance of sociological theory (and statistics) is inhibiting rational thought. Occasionally, a genuine perplexity seems to operate, and results in the preservation of the status quo through a resigned acceptance to it.

FOR EXAMPLE:

"Why is it that so many people end up doing uninteresting, repetitious jobs, which give them precious little satisfaction?... thousands of people feel that they are contributing very little of any importance to anyone in this country." ⁵⁰

The only answer to the question seems to be optimism.

" Happily, thousands of people are content with their jobs. Every person must hope that he or she will find when they go out to work, the job they take up is satisfying in everyway."

This seems to suggest that it is really just a matter of luck, and prevents many of the pupils who will face a lifetime of 'uninteresting, repetitious jobs' from understanding why this will be their lot in life, or how an alternative can possibly be conceived.

A central way in which the status quo is legitimated and possibly reproduced in textbooks is through the suggestion that people can do little to alter the way society functions. This suggestion is transmitted in several ways. Firstly, the history of the ordinary person is omitted from the books. It is kings and queens who are presented as the motivating factors of history.

It is always Hitler's Germany, for example, that is described, and the heading "Hitler Imposed Nazi Society on Germany"⁵¹ not only simplifies a complex issue, but negates a historical analysis, as well as absolving people from any moral responsibility.

We hear that "Martin Luther King Demonstrated The Power of Peaceful Protest",⁵² although on the first day of the Montgomery bus boycott, only a dozen blacks took the bus to work. The terror is solely attributed to Robespier⁵³ and Mao Tse Tung and the Communists carried out a revolution, despite the half a million members of the Red Army who helped them.⁵⁴

This attitude to historical events encourages not only fatalism, but a belief that leaders are autonomous. One author almost goes as far as dismissing accountability.

"And because governing is a specialised job, and very complicated, the leaders cannot always explain in detail why they have made particular decisions. If a builder had to explain all the time he was building a house why he was building it that particular way, he would not have time to do much of the work."⁵⁵

In company with this view of leadership is the idea that people do not care about anything other than a house, a mortgage, and a job.

"Most people in any society are not really interested in influence on power, and would have little knowledge of how to use it if they had it."⁵⁶

Explanations as to why people are like this are never given, though several books propound the necessity for specialization,

and the division of labour, without obviously seeing its consequences ~~as~~ its alternatives.

There is a general acceptance within the textbooks that the particular type of democracy that functions in New Zealand is perfectly adequate; indeed is the best solution to the problem of social control. No essential discussion of democracy takes place in the sense that alternative forms of it are explored. Only one book, "The Soviet Russians",⁵⁷ in an exceedingly impartial comparison of Russian and New Zealand institutions actually mentions economic democracy. In all the other cases, democracy is a purely social and political affair. The result of this is that the idea is conveyed that channels of change are always open - one can write letters to Members of parliament and newspapers or start a protest, or form a party. The suggestion is made that the political, social or economic reforms, when traced back to source, can be revealed to be the idea of one person. Consequently an economic account of human social development is never brought to light, and again alternative forms of control are never illuminated.

Within social studies textbooks, societies are seen to be essentially the same; they differ only in specifics. Societies, as we know them, are based on the necessity for humans to group together. This invariably leads to conflict, and consequently legal and political structures are formed to mediate these conflicts. In propounding this thesis the textbooks come to have almost a cavalier disregard for the differences between legal and

and political systems of different countries. For example, a book on South Africa has this to say:

"No one 'solution' is necessarily the right or the only one. Conditions vary so much from country to country that each must work out its own answer. The South African approach to race relations has so far been given the name apartheid." 59.

Further on it says:

"In all societies there will be people who do not like what is being done. As a result the government must have ways of dealing with law-breakers. This diagram shows the main law-enforcing agencies in South Africa ."

As we saw in the last section one author suggested that different countries simply have different methods of organising production. As a consequence, frequently in social studies textbooks, very real and relevant differences are fudged over for the sake of a vague generalisation about human society. What this leads to, of course, is a willingness to accept one's own system on the grounds that it is as good as any, and all the others have problems anyway.

Underpinning all these suggestions which tend to sanctify the status quo are two fundamental premises

which are found in a variety of textbooks. On the one hand is a rough version of behaviourism which sees people motivated by reinforcers provided by the environment; on the other is the anthropological version of original sin which sees a person as fundamentally an aggressive and dominant animal who has adopted rules and laws to control the excesses of his behaviour.

The depressing feature of the behavioural line is that it allows for no independent moral action based on justice, but rather promotes a materialistic assessment as the indicator of legitimate social direction.

Kiwi Clark, as we can see, is happy with his lot,⁵⁹ but he seems to be a rather shallow version of a good citizen. Certainly in this situation he is an individual on whom society works; there seems no place for him to effect society. Group norms seem artificial structures designed to induce conformity. A two way social process is replaced by a linear hierarchical one.

SOCIAL CONTROLS

are the

Laws, Rules, Regulations, Customs, Traditions,
Morals, Beliefs, Manners, Mores

by means of which New Zealand groups
gain the conformity of members to desired norms

through

REWARDS

If you behave in the way we
want you to you'll get :

At Home

Praise Love Favours

At School

Smiles A prefect's badge
A good report

At Work

A good job Promotion
Salary increases

On the Sportsfield

Applause Prizes Selected

In Society

Acceptance Elected
Knighthood

PUNISHMENTS

If you don't behave in the way
we want you to you'll get :

Criticism Ridicule Strap

Frowns Lines, detention,
the cane A bad report

'The Sack' No promotion
No rises

Boos Penalties Dropped

Rejection Defeated
Imprisonment

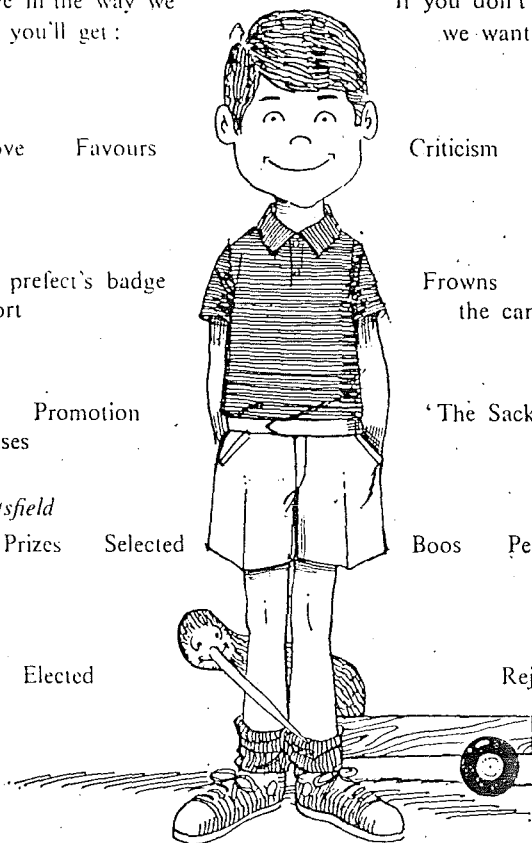


Fig. 6. Made in New Zealand.

When pupils are told that:

"The control of New Zealand groups is based on the belief that through the offer of rewards and the threat of punishments individuals will behave in a manner required by the group." ⁶⁰

Then surely they are being introduced to the philosophy of capitalism. If this claim is too strong then the weaker claim might be made that within the structure of a capitalist society the reward-punishment theory of action provides a surprisingly convenient mechanism with which to explain human behaviour. The disturbing thing is that such a debatable piece of psychology should be passed off to children as an established fact of human nature.

When the textbooks turn to the basis of social control we see that, in a similar fashion, a rather dubious anthropological theory is given the status of truth. In general the texts prefer a hard, unforgiving view of human nature. People are aggressive by nature and will form dominance patterns like animals. People form groups, and leaders are necessary to help the group co-ordinate activities. Once again it can be argued that if a dominant ideology is not working downwards, it is certainly convenient for the current political and economic system to have such a theory to hand for promulgation in schools. The danger of the theory is obvious as this drawing ⁶¹ shows.

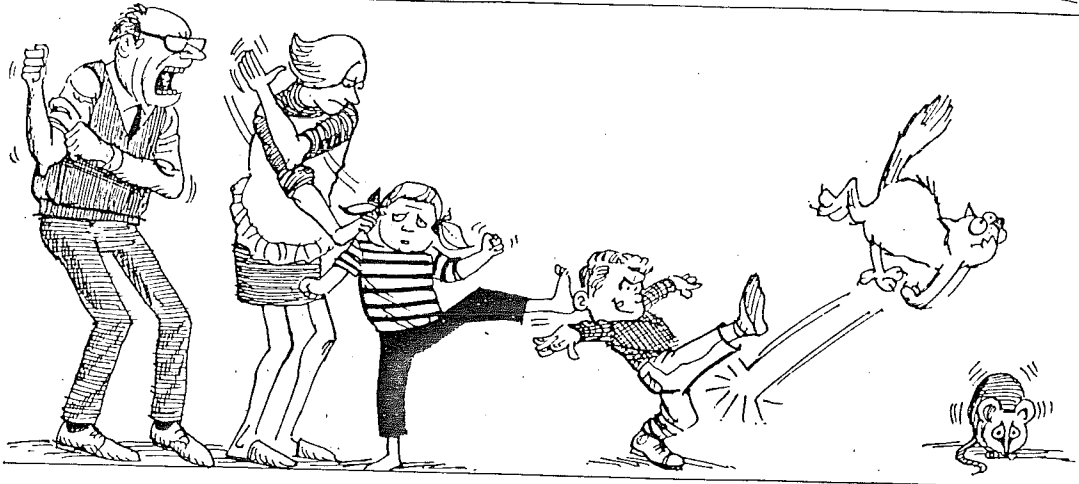
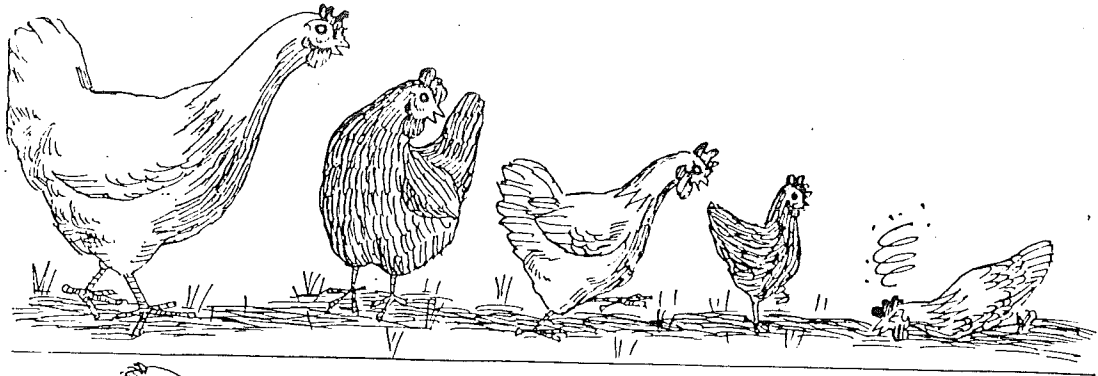


Fig. 3. Pecking order. Do all three scenes show the same basic situation? What is the situation?

Not only are human relationship shown to be based on a natural order of dominance but the relationship of work, the social relation of production in other words, can be seen to be a natural fact of life, rather than construed as depending on the mere possession of capital.

Such is the strength of the belief in leadership that questions about it ask pupils for explanations

rather than evaluations. For example:

"Why do there have to be bosses?

Even a game of hockey has a boss -
the referee. " ⁶²

This is in place of the more normal type of question which would have asked "Do we have to have bosses?"

Another example from a different book is:

"Why is this pyramidal structure (army ranking) the most efficient form of group organization?" ⁶³

Invariably the textbooks see groups needing to depend on hierarchical division of role; the possibility of a group being composed of members with equivalent functions never raises its head.

One consequence of this kind of view is that serious alternatives to current society are dismissed or trivialised. Hippies, for example, are lumped together with bikies and both groups are categorised as the result of urban alienation. Freedom is seen in all its negative aspects; as shown in this excerpt from a discussion about the necessity for rules.

"You could knock people down for their money
and they could run you over in their car.

You could beat up old ladies, and drink
whiskey - ... Would this be freedom?" ⁶⁴

The author has obviously never read Orwell's description of Barcelona after the Anarchists took over, ⁶⁵ or heard of the network of village communes in Andulasia.

When textbooks refuse to take freedom seriously, when they assume innate aggression despite contrary evidence from some 'modern' Stone Age tribes, when they

adopt a crude psychology of human behaviour, when they accept role division and labour division, without argument, then one can begin to suspect that a comprehensive ideology is at work which has the function of legitimating existing social structures. Despite the fact that he is told he can write letters to his M.P. a student is presented with the idea that he is born into a fixed society which he is unable to alter in any fundamental sense. Progress becomes a matter of tinkering with specifics. 'A group needs', 'society demands', 'a country wants' - these all suggest to pupils that cultures have an entity in space and time which will always be divorced from his own individual entity.

What is particularly disappointing is that textbooks which deal with social change and social control should have in general such a limited presentation of social development. Apart from its relation to the Russian Revolution, the historical materialist view of human society is never mentioned. It is, of course, still a controversial and debateable idea, but it is peculiar that books about social change should not adopt or borrow a few theoretical explainers, or utilise some of the heuristic potential of a cohesive and coherent theory of social development which has attracted considerable attention for over a hundred years. The book, *The Victorian English*, for instance, deals with the "Trinity of the Middle Class - Respectability, Deference, and Diligence".

It suggests that:

"Victorian respectability... was actually a major weapon in the continuing battle towards civilisation and refinement." 66.

And that:

"Diligence was a quality generally admired among the middle classes."

It is surely apparent here, that "Class Consciousness" and "Class Differentiation" would explain more adequately this Victorian trinity, and a reference to it would not commit the author to a wholesale acceptance of a general class theory of social development. As we saw above, different economic systems are said to depend on the social, political and religious beliefs of a nation. Not to have mentioned a well known theory which suggests that the opposite relationship is exactly true, is to suggest to pupils that a belief about reality is an objective description of it. This is ideology and its function, whether accidental or predetermined, is to help reproduce the acceptance of the idea, and in turn, the society which promotes it. The point about the psychological and anthropological theorising in social studies textbooks is that while it can be said to explain social change or control, at the same time it can be argued that it is itself, merely a reflection of the often dominant ideas and beliefs about society. In such an atmosphere of ambivalence, it seems wrong for textbooks to assert rather than merely propose, a particular explanation of human development. In the end pupils are denied rational processes for understanding their society,

and the significant possibility of an alternative future is eradicated.

CONCLUSION

Put crudely, the prevailing mood of social studies textbooks is male, nationalist, and politically conservative. There is a very real sense in which a syllabus designed to help students understand their own and other peoples' values is countermanded by texts which attempt to inculcate correct values and attitudes. There is a sense in which a one line description of the world works to prevent any real understanding of it, and there is a sense in which social progress is viewed through a mirror which reflects back the prevailing ethos. To look through the glass is the business of "education", and so the suggestion remains that there is the possibility of a conservative ideology which is working to interfere with this process. It is, perhaps, a dominant ideology specifically operating to reproduce the status quo, and preserve the normal social order. To express this strongly is to suggest that perhaps textbooks are ideological mechanisms which help to legitimate and reproduce the prevailing social relations.

THE TEXTBOOKS

HUMANITY OF MAN SERIES:

The Victorian English - Erik Laytham
The New Guineans: Jet - C.A. Wright
Age Tribesmen
Nigeria: Communities In - Barry Calvert
The Poeples of The Nanyang - J.R. Spence
The Soviet Russians - Barry Brailsford
Becoming A New Zealander - Colin L. Knight
The Language Animal - John Fletcher

THE HUMANITY OF MAN:

PROGRESSIVE UNITS:

Social Control - B. Brailsford, J.
In New Zealand Fletcher, Colin Knight
Stanley Newman.
Social Control In Russia - Barry Brailsford

CHALLENGE AND CHANGE SERIES:

Arrows of Plague - Barry Brailsford
The Instant Society - Colin L. Knight
Revolution, War and Society - J. Fletcher
The Family in Change - C.A. Wright
Process of Renewal

CHALLENGE AND CHANGE PROGRESSIVE UNIT:

Change 1 - Barry Brailsford

ACTION SOCIAL STUDIES:

Made in New Zealand - Ken Nichol
Race, Culture, Control - J.R. Pepper
People, Purpose, Power - J. Rosanowski

HEINEMAN SOCIAL STUDIES UNITS:

Why Do We Work? - T.E. Clark
This Is Good. That Is Bad. - T.E. Clark

SOCIAL STUDIES RESOURCE UNIT:

Towards a New World - Jules Hight
The Kibbutz
The Way We Were - Harry Mills
Late Victorian New Zealand
The Urban Challenge - John Renner

DISCOVERY RESOURCE BOOKS:

South Africa. Conflict - P.R. Gulley
Of Co-operation - K.E. Hayward
China and Ourselves - E.R. Bloomfeild

HEINEMANN EDUCATIONAL BOOKS:

The People Of Isreal - Ruth Naumann

SCHOOL PUBLICATIONS:

Crime And The Law - Bernard Brown

7. Becoming a New Zealander: Colin L. Knight (Henceforth B.N.Z.)
8. The Soviet Russians: Barry Brailsford (S.R.)
9. The New Guineans: Jet Age Tribesmen: C.A. Wright (N.G.T.)
10. Becoming A New Zealander: Colin Knight
11. Made in New Zealand: K. Nichol (M.N.Z.)
12. Why Do We Work: T.E. Clark (W.D.W.W.)
13. B.N.Z. Op.loc.cit. Pg 27
14. B.N.Z. Op.loc.cit.
15. N.G.T.A.T. Op. loc. cit. Pg 11
16. Ibid. Pg 43
17. B.N.Z. Op.loc.cit. Pg 49
18. Department of Labour Statistics
19. The Language Animal. L.A. Pg 9
20. Ibid Pg 23
21. Social Control in New Zealand S.C.N.Z. Pg 27
22. L.A. Op.loc.cit. Pg 9
23. The Family in Change F.C. C.A. Wright Pg 22
24. B.N.Z, Op.loc.cit. Pg 30
25. L.A. Op.loc.cit. Pg 38
26. M.N.Z. Op.loc.cit. Pg 12
27. Ibid Pg 27
28. L.A. Op.loc.cit. Pg 27
29. This is Good. That is Bad (T.I.G.) T.E. Clark.
30. W.D.W.W, Op. loc.cit. Pg 59
31. The Poeples of Isreal Ruth Naumann Pg 12
32. F.C. Op.loc.cit. Pg 37
33. B.N.Z. Op.loc.cit.
34. W.D.W.W. Op.loc.cit. Pg 59
35. B.N.Z. Op.loc.cit.
36. Ibid
37. S.C.N.Z. Pg 49