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TWENTYTWENTY

## COVER IMAGE

Leafa Wilson/Olga Krause *Ich Heisse Olga Krause, Deutsche Kuenstlerin* 2005  
Poster print (detail). Image reproduced in full below.



The life-long work of performance artist Leafa Wilson/Olga Krause began in 2005. These propagandist poster-styled works are loosely based around the Russian Constructivist design aesthetic adopted by the German band 'Kraftwerk'. With both Samoan and German ancestry, the artist reconciles their past and present by creating utopic race relations in the site of their body: I am Olga Krause, German artist (Ich Heisse Olga Krause, Deutsche Kuenstlerin)

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# THE LONG HISTORY OF LEARNING ABOUT OUR OWN HISTORY.

Graeme Ball.

On 12 September 2019 Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern announced that Aotearoa New Zealand's own history would be, for the first time, comprehensively taught across all levels of the school curriculum.<sup>1</sup> After nearly eighteen months of campaigning on behalf of the New Zealand History Teachers' Association, for me this certainly felt like a victory against the odds. This was especially so as around the same time as the Prime Minister made her announcement the Education and Workforce Select Committee released its report on the matter, rejecting in the nicest possible way the compulsory teaching of Aotearoa New Zealand history.<sup>2</sup> Presumably the committee was influenced by the Ministry of Education's submission barely six weeks earlier rejecting any mandated requirement to teach our own history to our tamariki.<sup>3</sup> Now the same Ministry was to be in charge of implementing the policy that it opposed; euphoria was thus tempered by realism. Nonetheless, 12 September will go down in Aotearoa New Zealand history as a date not of infamy (nod to President Roosevelt here) but of approbation. And, what's more, young New Zealanders will now have the opportunity to learn about it.

My contribution to this victory was just the latest in a long line of similar efforts. Over eighty years earlier James Cowan, one of our more important early Aotearoa New Zealand historians, wrote of the difficulty of convincing New Zealanders 'that the history of our own country is more important to us than that of England or any other country in the world'.<sup>4</sup> Our reluctance to give any place to a coherent survey of our own shared past persisted through reviews, recommendations from academia, and pressure from other individuals and organisations. In 1942 a report on social studies in the core curriculum argued that knowledge of the nation's past was an essential part of

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<sup>1</sup> New Zealand Government, 'NZ History to Be Taught in All Schools', 12 September 2019. *Beehive.govt.nz*. <<https://www.beehive.govt.nz/release/nz-history-be-taught-all-schools>>.

<sup>2</sup> Parmjeet Parmar, 'Petition of Graeme Ball on Behalf of the New Zealand History Teachers' Association: "Give Me My History!" – Teaching Our Nation's Past in Our Schools. Report of the Education and Workforce Committee', 11 September 2019. *New Zealand Parliament Pāremata Aotearoa*. <[https://www.parliament.nz/resource/en-NZ/SCR\\_91226/3ba333f8d2573d11ed4370cffcc51a37f2256d9a](https://www.parliament.nz/resource/en-NZ/SCR_91226/3ba333f8d2573d11ed4370cffcc51a37f2256d9a)>.

<sup>3</sup> Ministry of Education, 'Written Submission to the Education and Workforce Committee: Petition of Graeme Ball on Behalf of the New Zealand History Teachers' Association: "Give Me My History!" – Teaching Our Nation's Past in Our Schools', 22 July 2019. *New Zealand Parliament Pāremata Aotearoa*. <[https://www.parliament.nz/resource/en-NZ/52SCEW\\_EVI\\_83795\\_EW5600/fc88f7baa1cf81e37457323d3f30357e5f46008e](https://www.parliament.nz/resource/en-NZ/52SCEW_EVI_83795_EW5600/fc88f7baa1cf81e37457323d3f30357e5f46008e)>.

<sup>4</sup> James Cowan, as cited by Raewyn Dalziel, 'Petition Calls for NZ History to be Compulsory at School', 22 May 2019, *Newstalk ZB*. <<https://www.newstalkzb.co.nz/on-air/kerre-mcivor-mornings/audio/raewyn-dalziel-why-new-zealand-kids-should-be-taught-our-history/>>.

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making effective citizens in a democracy.<sup>5</sup> My own schooling in the 1970s seems to confirm that nothing much had changed. I recall learning about the wheat fields in America and such things in social studies, and history consisted of topics about a seemingly random series of foreign lands. To address this inadequate and incoherent approach, a group of academics met in Auckland in the late 1980s to develop a comprehensive teaching programme that would include both global history and Aotearoa New Zealand/Pacific history. In their 'Report to the Director General of Education by the Departments of History of the New Zealand Universities', historian Raewyn Dalziel and others made it clear that

[a]mong the eight areas of knowledge identified by the Committee as being basic to school curricula, the first is knowledge which 'helps students to understand and be confident in the culture of Aotearoa/New Zealand, and to be sensitive to that of others'.

The committee went on to say that, among other things, this would enable students

to participate effectively in New Zealand society and to understand New Zealand's heritage and past, its place in the Pacific, and its relationship with other countries of the world.<sup>6</sup>

Around that time (1986) the University of Bristol's Ann Low-Ber, writing in the *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies*, commented: 'Plenty of good history comes from New Zealand, yet it seems that little is taught or learnt in schools'.<sup>7</sup> In her investigation about the extent to which Aotearoa New Zealand history (in fact, any history) was taught as part of the social studies curriculum the responses of Department of Education officials were, she says, ambiguous: 'not really' or 'you are raising an interesting question'. The same would hold true today because no information is collected by the Ministry of Education with regards to what is happening in social studies or history classrooms. Low-Ber observed that

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<sup>5</sup> See Gregory Lee and Howard Lee, 'A Common Core for a Common Culture? The Introduction of a General Education Curriculum', *Teachers and Curriculum*, 1 (1997), pp.30–50.

<sup>6</sup> 'Heritage and History in Schools: A Report to the Director General of Education by the Departments of History of the New Zealand Universities', Massey University, Palmerston North, 1988.

<sup>7</sup> Ann Low-Ber, 'The Eclipse of History in New Zealand Schools' *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies*, 21, 2 (Nov 1986), p.113

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[n]o one [in the Department] affirmed that history *is* taught, nor could I acquire precise information on what topics are commonly covered, at what ages and stages, and what resources are used.<sup>8</sup>

Again, the same would be true today. There was also at least some support beyond academia, as an *Auckland Star* article shows:

New Zealanders need to be confronted with their history. If more of us knew how the country got to where it is today, we would be better able to deal with the many problems we have which are based on the past.<sup>9</sup>

Unfortunately, despite the efforts of the academics and their report, the Labour government in 1989 introduced the revolutionary Tomorrow's Schools education policy, with its focus on a 'high autonomy' model.<sup>10</sup> Prescribed content was no longer the flavour of the day; schools would choose what contexts (topics) they wanted to teach in response — at least in theory — to the needs of their students and the wider community. A casualty of this new model was any coherent approach to the teaching of our own past in any of its great variety. Most importantly to me, this negation of a coherent approach to our own history exacerbated the ignorance around the colonisation of Aotearoa New Zealand, including both the early promise presaged in what historian Claudia Orange has described as the 'workable accord' established in the pre-Treaty period, to the tragedy of the different understandings of Te Tiriti o Waitangi/The Treaty of Waitangi itself. This period of our history is so vital to understanding the Aotearoa New Zealand of today.

My personal commitment to the teaching of our own past, especially the nineteenth century, began as an adult student at University in the 1990s. I had given up a twelve-year career in aircraft engineering to pursue what I was only slowly becoming aware of was my 'calling': history, and the teaching of it. Amongst the early papers I took were, more by chance than design, some in Māori studies and history. I was hooked; on history in general and the

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid., p.113

<sup>9</sup> *Auckland Star*, 24 September 1986. Quoted in an article supplied in support of NZHTA's petition by Raewyn Dalziel, Emeritus Professor of History, University of Auckland, 25 March 2019.

<sup>10</sup> 'Tomorrow's Schools Education Reform Whakahouhou Mātauranga Ngā Kura Mō Āpōpō', New Zealand School Trustees Association Te Whakaroputanga Kaitiaki Kura o Aotearoa. <https://www.nzsta.org.nz/our-organisation/publications/tomorrows-schools-education-reform/>.

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Aotearoa New Zealand variant of it specifically. After I had completed my BA, then MA in history, as well as my teacher training, I began to look for jobs. One of my early applications was for a history position at Northcote College where I perhaps naïvely made it clear in my interview that I would not teach the second of the two options available at Year 13 (Form 7, as it was then), Tudor–Stuart England, which the school at that time offered. Instead, I said, I would only teach the nineteenth-century Aotearoa New Zealand option. Fortunately, the Principal was a strong advocate of our own history and he and the senior management supported me fully to resource this new area of study. I am still at the same school twenty years later and am still a strong advocate for the teaching of Aotearoa New Zealand’s past.

Professionally, I became involved in the Auckland History Teachers’ Association and then the New Zealand History Teachers’ Association (NZHTA), of which I became Chair in 2014. Although still maintaining advocacy for Aotearoa New Zealand history, the idea of pushing for something more than the status quo — high autonomy in terms of context/topic selection — did not take shape until the 2018 biennial conference. It seemed that we in the teaching profession had also been mesmerised by the Ministry of Education’s mantra that there was no place for prescribed content in our curriculum.

Things, however, were changing around us. The NZHTA’s greater focus on the teaching of our own shared history came in the wake of two seminal events. The first was the petition initiated in 2015 by two Otorohanga College girls, Leah Bell and Waimarama Anderson, calling for a day to nationally recognise the ‘New Zealand Wars’ of the nineteenth century.<sup>11</sup> Their action was prompted by a visit to the Waikato Wars battle sites and the subsequent realisation that these were not just crucial events in our history but also that few people knew about them. That a national day of recognition for the New Zealand Wars as a whole has been instigated (albeit not a national holiday), is a testament to their efforts. Coincidentally, the very same experience — perhaps equally as transformational as it was for Bell and Anderson — occurred during the NZHTA’s 2018 Biennial Conference, hosted in the Waikato region in

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<sup>11</sup> Leah Bell, ‘How a Campaign by School Pupils Led to a National Day Marking the NZ Wars’, *The Dominion Post*, 11 May 2017. <https://www.stuff.co.nz/dominion-post/comment/92414964/leah-bell-how-a-campaign-by-school-pupils-led-to-a-national-day-marking-the-nz-wars>.

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April of that year. The closing keynote speaker on the first day was Vincent O'Malley, whose work on the Waikato Wars in particular is well-known, and he set the scene for the field trip around the battle sites the following day. Representatives from Tainui led this tour and gave participants a stronger insight into the impact of the conflict on the iwi, an impact that is still felt today. The following morning, keynote speaker Nēpia Mahuika challenged attendees to overcome any complacency about the importance of our own history and the marginalisation of Māori stories. Next on the agenda was the Biennial General Meeting, normally a fairly mundane affair. This time, however, the meeting agreed unanimously to endorse a motion that NZHTA become activist in its promotion of the teaching of our own history. This was followed by a survey wherein support also came 78% of the wider membership.<sup>12</sup>

Putting the kaupapa into action was the next challenge. While it was expected that individual teachers and departments would look to their own teaching programmes, the real issue was the need for a government-mandated framework that would provide coherence. Teachers made it clear that they wished to find a good balance between the high degree of autonomy that they had experienced since the 1989 Tomorrow's Schools policy had been introduced, and any potential prescribed contexts. A month after the conference, I attended and spoke at one of the hui organised by Kelvin Davis, Minister of Māori Crown Relations: Te Arawhiti, at Nga Whare Wātea in Auckland. Here I argued that for Crown–iwi relations to progress in the 'post-settlement era' then all New Zealanders needed to know not only the history behind the various settlements but our shared history more generally. This resulted in an invitation to appear before the Māori Affairs Select Committee on this kaupapa.<sup>13</sup> In my submission on behalf of NZHTA I elaborated on what I had more frequently been calling the 'zeitgeist' — an increasing public awareness of ourselves as a bicultural nation — that meant the time was right (not that it had never not been) to take the step of teaching our own history in

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<sup>12</sup> Many of those who were less supportive said that they already had strong New Zealand history in their social studies programmes and that this was also where the focus should be, not just in senior history classes.

<sup>13</sup> 'Briefing on the Teaching of New Zealand's Colonial History in Schools' New Zealand Parliament Pāremata Aotearoa. 10 May 2018. [https://www.parliament.nz/en/pb/sc/business-before-committees/document/BRF\\_78167/briefing-on-the-teaching-of-new-zealands-colonial-history](https://www.parliament.nz/en/pb/sc/business-before-committees/document/BRF_78167/briefing-on-the-teaching-of-new-zealands-colonial-history).

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a coherent way. This was no radical idea; the New Zealand Curriculum (NZC) on page 8 itself envisions young people

[w]ho will work to create an Aotearoa New Zealand in which Māori and Pākehā recognise each other as full Treaty partners, and in which all cultures are valued for the contributions they bring.<sup>14</sup>

One of the eight key Principles is that

[t]he curriculum acknowledges the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi and the bicultural foundations of Aotearoa New Zealand. All students have the opportunity to acquire knowledge of te reo Māori me ōna tikanga.<sup>15</sup>

It is difficult, I argued, to see how the legal requirements of the NZC could be met without teaching our own history. While the committee was very supportive, nothing further came from the hearing, although it did begin to attract wider attention from some in academia.

University of Canterbury academics Richard F. Manning and Garrick W. Cooper also made a submission to the Māori Affairs Select Committee.<sup>16</sup> Their survey of the key legal provisions and policy guidelines for education, including *Our Code, Our Standards: The Code of Professional Responsibility and Standards for the Teaching Profession* (2017) pointed to a large amount of legislation, policy and guidelines that all seemed to require the compulsory teaching of our own past (although they drew attention to the deeper issues behind the need for compulsion). They were forthright in their submission, of which the final two paragraphs capture the essence:

In some ways, including New Zealand colonial history and Māori histories in the curriculum is a straight-forward task and it ought to be uncontroversial. All the official guidelines suggest this should happen. The much more difficult task, therefore, is to address the real ‘elephant in

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<sup>14</sup> ‘Vision: What We Want for Our Young People’, *The New Zealand Curriculum*, p.8. Ministry of Education Te Tāhuhu o te Mātauranga, 2007. <http://nzcurriculum.tki.org.nz/The-New-Zealand-Curriculum>.

<sup>15</sup> ‘Principles: Foundations of Curriculum Decision Making’, *The New Zealand Curriculum*, p.9. Ministry of Education Te Tāhuhu o Te Mātauranga, 2007. <http://nzcurriculum.tki.org.nz/The-New-Zealand-Curriculum>.

<sup>16</sup> Richard F. Manning and Mr Garrick W. Cooper, ‘Submission to the Māori Affairs Select Committee: The Teaching of ‘New Zealand Colonial Histories’ and More Broadly, Māori Histories in NZ School Curricula (Particularly at Secondary School)’. [https://www.parliament.nz/resource/en-NZ/52SCMA\\_EVI\\_78167\\_1184/5b8fc85a48133c1cb0e5809f72a56b941dd648c9](https://www.parliament.nz/resource/en-NZ/52SCMA_EVI_78167_1184/5b8fc85a48133c1cb0e5809f72a56b941dd648c9).

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the room'. The one many of us wish to ignore.... Not that of 'compulsion', as identified by the NZHTA in its letter to the Select Committee; but, rather, that of racism and its colonial roots — the legacy that of which we all bear. It runs contrary to legal principles and all of the inclusive/Tiriti affirming Crown education guidelines outlined at the outset of this submission.<sup>17</sup>

While Manning and Cooper pulled no punches in apportioning blame, their analysis certainly had its weaknesses. Firstly, it wasn't just Māori and/or colonial history that was not making its presence felt in our classrooms but *all* Aotearoa New Zealand history, at least in the coherent form that NZHTA was calling for. Furthermore, in amongst this some schools were in fact teaching solid Aotearoa New Zealand history in a very creditable way, but whether or not one was exposed to this as a student came down to luck in terms of the school one attended. The other factor left unconsidered within the submission was the 'grass is greener' effect. A personal anecdote is apposite here. Many years ago while in Dublin I did the 1916 Easter Rising tour, seeing for the first time all those significant places that I had taught about for so many years. Afterwards, while replenishing my energy with a pint of Guinness, I got talking to the barmaid. In her mid-twenties, she left me somewhat astounded when she said she had not really enjoyed learning Irish history while at school, although she was getting more interested in it now. If Irish history isn't exciting and controversial, I thought, then what history is? I experienced a similar response with regard to United States history while there in 2014 and on many occasions with young people associated with family living in Australia. The hankering for learning about someone else's supposedly more exotic history is, it seems, universal. In Aotearoa New Zealand, where history from Year 11 onwards is an option, teachers and departments must be cognisant of this 'grass is greener' effect when planning their programmes. Students will vote with their feet.

Meanwhile, with no particular experience in how to run a campaign, the NZHTA Executive agreed to my proposal to start a petition, entitled "Give me my History!" – teaching our nation's past in our schools', with the announcement of it timed for Waitangi Day.<sup>18</sup> This brought about the

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<sup>17</sup> Ibid., p.9.

<sup>18</sup> 'Petition of Graeme Ball on Behalf of the New Zealand History Teachers' Association: "Give Me My History!" – Teaching Our Nation's Past in our Schools'. Final Report of the Education and Workforce Committee. New Zealand Parliament Pāremata Aotearoa.

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expected flurry of media interest, and for the first time since the New Zealand Wars commemoration petition of 2015, Aotearoa New Zealand history was fully in the spotlight. It must be said that the coverage was overwhelmingly positive, a shift that had become very noticeable over the previous year in the failure of the likes of William Gallagher, Don Brash and Bob Jones to get any real traction with their provocative views where once they would have. Certainly the ‘Time to Tell Our Story’ campaign run by *Stuff* in 2018 put our own history front and centre.<sup>19</sup> NZHTA’s petition was also given a boost when Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern, attending Waitangi Day commemorations, fumbled her answer to a question on the Treaty.

The next step in the campaign came in June 2019 when National spokesperson on Education Nikki Kaye tabled NZHTA’s petition in Parliament and it began its journey through the select committee process. Kaye, in agreeing to my request that she table the petition, called it a ‘no-brainer’. As supporting material, I provided an analysis of the 1989 Education Act (the Act that brought in Tomorrow’s Schools), Section 60A.<sup>20</sup> Previously, Ministry communications in response to letters from NZHTA had made it seem that there were legal constraints on bringing in prescribed content. Whether or not this was the Ministry’s intention in their communications, Section 60A of the Education Act states clearly that the Minister can at any time make changes to the curriculum. Clearly, such changes would not be undertaken frivolously or frequently, but NZHTA’s view was that to make available to New Zealand children in a coherent way their own history was exactly the sort of situation where the Act envisaged intervention. However, the Ministry of Education’s opposition to such changes was reiterated in their 22 July 2019 submission to the Education and Workforce Select Committee:

Through its vision, principles, values, key competencies and learning areas the NZC [New Zealand Curriculum] sets an expectation for the teaching and learning of local history, and provides scope for local history to provide the context for integrated learning across the curriculum. The

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[https://www.parliament.nz/en/pb/sc/reports/document/SCR\\_91226/petition-of-graeme-ball-on-behalf-of-the-new-zealand-history](https://www.parliament.nz/en/pb/sc/reports/document/SCR_91226/petition-of-graeme-ball-on-behalf-of-the-new-zealand-history).

<sup>19</sup> See Jonathan MacKenzie, ‘Time to Tell Our Stories’, 12 September 2018, *Stuff*, <https://www.stuff.co.nz/opinion/107003588/time-to-tell-our-stories>.

<sup>20</sup> ‘Education Act 1989’. Parliamentary Counsel Office Te Tari Tohutohu Pāremata. New Zealand Legislation. <http://www.legislation.govt.nz/act/public/1989/0080/latest/DLM7266777.html>.

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Ministry of Education (the Ministry) notes, however, that the current curriculum framework does not operate as a syllabus i.e. it does not prescribe when an issue will be taught or how it will be done (e.g. specific content). Rather than moving to a prescribed syllabus approach the Ministry is developing more resources for New Zealand history to be taught.<sup>21</sup>

While I acknowledged the Ministry's commitment to more resourcing it was the failure to sanction the creation of a coherent framework to provide shape for these resources that I found disappointing. As I noted in my response during the hearing in front of the Select Committee:

The [Ministry's] answer, it seems, is more resources — mentioned 25 times in their submission. Resources are important but, without a coherent framework to which they can be applied, it's like having a whole bunch of ingredients but no recipe to guide the application of them to a worthwhile outcome. Underlying this intransigence, even though it's not stated and may not even be realised, is the Ministry's unwillingness to accept that our shared past IS important enough to ensure that all New Zealanders are exposed to it. They talk in their submission about '*racism, unconscious bias, including negative stereotypes and institutional racism*' of schools and teachers but, despite their fine words — many fine words in many fine documents — they refuse adamantly to endorse the simplest way to overcome all of these issues. Currently the Ministry's policy towards young people knowing their own past is based on luck. *Luck*. It's rather like basing your financial well-being on a visit to the Lotto shop each week. Will your child strike it lucky with a school and Social Sciences department that overcomes the various obstacles (perceived and real) and so learn about our own shared past? Only *luck* will determine that; a fine educational policy.<sup>22</sup>

According to *Stuff*, the successful outcome achieved on 12 September 2019 was due to its own role in publicising the cause, as it stated in an article on the day of the announcement:

A grass roots campaign spearheaded by *Stuff* pushing for the compulsory teaching of New Zealand history has helped win over the Prime

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<sup>21</sup> Written Submission to the Education and Workforce Committee: Petition of Graeme Ball on Behalf of the New Zealand History Teachers' Association: "Give Me My History!" – Teaching Our Nation's Past in Our Schools', Ministry of Education, 2019, p.1. [https://www.parliament.nz/resource/en-NZ/52SCEW\\_EVI\\_83795\\_EW5600/fc88f7baa1cf81e37457323d3f30357e5f46008e](https://www.parliament.nz/resource/en-NZ/52SCEW_EVI_83795_EW5600/fc88f7baa1cf81e37457323d3f30357e5f46008e).

<sup>22</sup> Unpublished document in possession of the author.

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Minister.... Ardern, who grew up in Morrinsville and is open about her passion for history, said the *Stuff* campaign resonated with her.<sup>23</sup>

That the Prime Minister, rather than just the Minister of Education, publicly released the policy might lend credence to the view that the rather rapid about-face by the Ministry was due to her personal intervention. It is also true, though, that the pressure had indeed been growing over a number of years. More recently, the youth Māori Affairs Committee, which was established as part of Youth Parliament, in August 2019 also called for the teaching of our own history.<sup>24</sup> Along with the political support evident across the whole spectrum, both as experienced in the two select committee hearings and in politicians' public utterances, the time was right: zeitgeist.

It has been a long journey, but 12 September 2019 marks a significant milestone in Aotearoa New Zealand's ongoing efforts to live up to the promises of 1840, where a bicultural foundation was laid premised (at least in theory) on mutual respect and understanding. This is an achievable vision only if all New Zealanders understand the origins and vicissitudes of that vision. Now the real mahi begins. I have already been approached by the Ministry of Education to be part of a panel that will help shape, over the next few years, the development of a coherent teaching programme. Iwi, historians, other history teachers and representatives from the primary and intermediate sectors will also need to be brought together to bring this to fruition. What exactly needs to be taught and when will need to be decided. Ideally, a framework will be devised that provides both prescription and space for the exploration of local history and other areas of interest. Whether this framework will progress chronologically across the years or explore themes or something different is yet to be decided. Resources will need to be developed, especially to assist those who have had no experience teaching our past or indeed have no knowledge of it themselves. Perhaps a quotation from Martin Luther King best sums up how I am feeling as we face this daunting prospect: 'We've got

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<sup>23</sup> Aaron Leaman, 'PM Praises Stuff Campaign to Make NZ History Compulsory in Schools', 12 September 2019, *Stuff*, <https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/education/115740852/pm-praises-stuff-campaign-to-make-nz-history-compulsory-in-schools>.

<sup>24</sup> Daniela Maoate-Cox, 'New Zealand History Should be Compulsory Teaching — Youth MPs' 21 August 2019. RNZ. <https://www.rnz.co.nz/national/programmes/the-house/audio/2018709702/new-zealand-history-should-be-compulsory-teaching-youth-mps>.

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some difficult days ahead. But it really doesn't matter with me now, because I've been to the mountaintop'.<sup>25</sup>

Graeme has been teaching history (and social studies) at Northcote College since 1999, where he is now Head of Faculty, Social Sciences. He has also been Chair of the New Zealand History Teachers' Association since 2014.

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<sup>25</sup> Martin Luther King Jr., 'I've Been to the Mountaintop'. Memphis, Tennessee, 3 April 1968.