

Fifty Years of Learning:

**A history of Adult & Community Education in Aotearoa
from the 1960s to the present day**

Robert Tobias, June 2016
For ACE Aotearoa

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Preface

ACE Aotearoa is delighted to support the drafting of this monograph which provides a unique reference and perspective on the policy environment that has impacted on Adult and Community Education in Aotearoa. We believe it fills a critical gap in the literature.

We want to thank Robert Tobias for his dedication and commitment to completing this work, fitting it into his busy life. All those who were asked when we were searching for an author, identified Robert as the professional expert, with unparalleled depth and knowledge of the subject. ACE Aotearoa respects Robert's professional expertise and academic autonomy. The views expressed in the monograph are his. ACE Aotearoa has had no influence on the content. We are very pleased to be the publisher, and to remain the first point of contact (admin@aceaotearoa.org.nz or 04-473-6625).

We also anticipate Robert's completion of his major work (of which this is an excerpt) and will similarly support its publication as a seminal and comprehensive reference tome.

Dr Jo Lake

Director

ACE Aotearoa

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INTRODUCTION

This monograph aims to provide a brief but critical history of adult and community education in Aotearoa over the past fifty years. It draws on a substantial body of research much of which has yet to be published. The field of adult and community education is very broad and it may be approached from many different perspectives (R. M. Tobias, 1996b). For the purpose of this monograph, however, we have not attempted to embrace all forms and aspects of the field but instead have focused primarily on those activities which have had adult learning as their main purpose and ‘community’ as their contexts. This implies that our focus has not been on learning by children and teenagers, or on institutional, credentialled or industrial learning. This does not mean, however, that all such learning has been excluded from our history, but rather that our focus has not been on these forms of learning.

Nor does this monograph address adequately all these forms and practices of adult and community education (ACE). For example it does not address adequately the role of the media, distance education, ESOL, sport and physical education, religious and faith-related adult and community education, the place of libraries, museums and art galleries, prison education, the U3A, etc. Once again our focus has been primarily on policy development and on those aspects of the field which have been affected by changes in government policies over the period. We hope that future publications will look at the history of some of these programme areas.

Pre-1960s history

There is a long history of adult and community education leading up to the 1960s. It has been recorded selectively and much of it remains hidden.

In the long period of Māori history before European settlement there would have been no need to label as “education” any specific sphere of human activity. Learning took place in a variety of contexts and institutions. Increasing settlement of Pakeha (Europeans) from the 1700s initially resulted in a two way flow of knowledge between the indigenous and newcomer populations, but from the 1840s the British colonisers imposed political and cultural dominance and a new hegemony was established, which reflected the dominant class and gender structure of mid-19th Century Britain.

The establishment of educational institutions on a British model was integral to colonial strategies to preserve and extend British influence. Among the imports from Britain were educational organisations. These included Mechanics’ Institutes, providing technical education and library facilities for working men and women; Christian and temperance organisations, which aimed to tame the wilder side of settler life; and the Workers’ Educational Association, formed as a partnership between organized labour and the universities.

Colonisation was, however, not uncontested, and the structure and discourse of ACE in Aotearoa New Zealand was also shaped by military, political, economic and ideological struggles in which both Māori and Pakeha were protagonists. In the face of increasing encroachments on Māori sovereignty, for example, movements in the north and south of the country sought to promote unity through heke (marches) and through nonviolent resistance to illegal land occupation and confiscation. A significant political and legal marker in these struggles is the Treaty of Waitangi, signed in 1840, which framed the relationship between Māori and Pakeha, established politically the bicultural status of Aotearoa New Zealand and implied a partnership relationship in which the cultural values, skills, and world view of both peoples were to be respected. However, the 1840s also saw the wholesale appropriation of Māori land by the British and the erosion of Māori autonomy in relation to education.

From the beginning of the 20th century the state became involved in supporting, subsidising and providing education and training for adults, and in 1935, Aotearoa New Zealand's first Labour Government established the welfare state. Among many other measures, in terms of the Education Amendment Act of 1938 it established the first Council of Adult Education to co-ordinate the activities of organisations concerned with adult education, to promote adult education, to advise the Minister on the annual grant to be made to the University for adult education, and to take responsibility for the distribution and control of funds made available for adult education. In the context of widespread discussion of education issues and ideas, the first Education Department-supported community centre was established at Fielding in 1938 and other forms of adult education linked closely with community development were promoted.

Although World War II stalled progress, the post-war period saw an extension of the community centre movement and expansion of adult education nationally and regionally. Throughout this period, a liberal tradition of adult education was kept alive, providing opportunities for cultural and social development while promoting debate on a range of issues. But the main focus of post-war educational investment was the expansion of secondary education and, alongside it, the rapid and uneven expansion of schools-based adult education classes.

1960s – A Decade of growth

The 1950s and 1960s have frequently been characterised as decades of broad consensus on national goals, prosperity, economic growth, full employment, consolidation of the Welfare State, and expansion of the education system. In addition, Aotearoa's population grew from 1.7 million in 1945, and then to 3 million in 1975. They were decades in which the dominant discourse suggested that New Zealand was an egalitarian, or even a classless country (Lipson, 1948; Sinclair, 1959). This myth was never accepted by everyone. Through much of the 1960s the British Imperial hegemony remained dominant in Aotearoa. Māori iwi had been dispossessed and immigrants from the Pacific, brought to New Zealand as 'unskilled workers', were largely excluded from the fruits of prosperity; while women were largely excluded from key positions in the labour market and in political institutions.

The 1960s saw the continuing expansion of primary and secondary education which had arisen out of the post-World war 11 immigration as well as the education reforms of the 1940s. Throughout much of this period the evening classes provided by schools also continued to grow with enrolments increasing from 48,000 in 1960 to 66,000 in 1971. However this growth took

place somewhat unevenly as schools sought to take advantage of the funds provided under the 1937 Manual and Technical Regulations. Despite efforts by the NCAE little if any attention was given to establishing an overall policy framework to guide and support developments in schools-based adult and community education.

The 1960s also saw rapid growth in both technical and university education. The first technical institutes were established in the four main centres and the number and scope of universities had grown following the report of the Hughes Parry Committee (Hughes Parry, 1959). In 1963 legislation (New Zealand Government, 1963) was enacted setting up a new and smaller National Council of Adult Education (NCAE) than had existed under the 1947 Adult Education Act. Regional representation, which was seen to have led to tensions in the past, was abolished, along with WEA and Māori representation.

The new NCAE was smaller, with a clearer advisory role which required it to 'take overall cognisance of the development of adult education'. Pilot projects were launched to identify adult education needs and resources, one in an urban area, Porirua, and the other in a rural area, Kaitaia; conferences were organised; four experimental projects aimed at linking adult education with television programmes were undertaken in co-operation with the NZ Broadcasting Corporation; and the WEA Trade Union Postal Education Service was launched in co-operation with the Federation of Labour and the NZWEA. In addition, a library and documentation centre in adult education was established in the NCAE's building in Tinakori Road in Wellington, and in 1968 the NCAE was involved in advising the UGC on its funding of university extension and adult education allocations.

In spite of this, through much of the 1960s and early 1970s dominant discourses in adult education remained largely limited to traditional forms of University and WEA provision. Departments of University Extension or Adult Education remained as the main providers of non-credentialed adult education. In place of the Regional Councils they also disbursed the state's funding to voluntary organisations such as the WEAs and Country Women's Institute. This inevitably gave rise to both competition and co-operation between voluntary organisations and the university departments concerned.

The report of the Hughes-Parry Committee (1959) was critical of the New Zealand university system for not giving sufficient attention to full-time study and research. It argued that too large a proportion of students were studying part-time. The early 1960s therefore saw the establishment of the University Grants Committee, independent universities in Otago, Canterbury, Wellington and Auckland and the new Massey University to provide distance education. In the face of other criticisms the 1960s also saw university Departments of Adult Education moving away from their previous community focus to adopt a more academic approach in their programmes.

In the 1960s the new technical institutes were for the most part fully extended with the task of providing formal post-secondary courses leading to the award of a growing range of nationally accredited certificates and diplomas. Moreover, the scope of their contributions to adult and community was constrained by the 1964 Education Act which defined technical education as 'post-secondary education directly related to or in preparation for the trade or profession in which the pupil gains or expects to gain his livelihood' (New Zealand Government, 1964).

In 1968 there was something of a breakthrough in relation to technical and vocational education for in that year the Vocational Training Council (VTC) was established as an independent statutory body (New Zealand Government, 1968). It took the place of the previous Council for Technical Education which had been in existence since 1948. The VTC was a tripartite advisory and co-ordinating body consisting of representatives of Government, employers and trade unions. Its terms of reference were broader than those of the Council which it replaced, and by the early 1970s it had begun to emphasise its belief in the importance of linking education and training closely with the changing demands of the workplace and the importance of lifelong education and training.

The 1970s – A DECADE OF REFORM

Introduction

From the late 1960s a number of international and domestic factors affected the development of adult and community education in Aotearoa. On an ideological level, the process of decolonization stimulated radical thinking about the meaning and methods of education, and particularly adult and community education (Freire, 1972; Illich, 1973; Nyerere, 1978). The relevance of this to Aotearoa was reinforced when its economic and political ties with Britain were weakened following the latter's decision to join the European Common Market in 1968.

Movement-based popular education

The emergence of worldwide social movements - the anti-apartheid, anti-Vietnam War, anti-nuclear, environmental, indigenous, and feminist movements - during the late 1960s and 1970s gave practical meaning to the concept of learning through struggle (Foley, 1999), beyond the realms of state funding and control. In Aotearoa movement-based education - around peace, the environment, women's, and Māori rights - blossomed. Elsie Locke (1992) has chronicled the history of the peace movement and described many of the non-formal and informal ACE activities that went alongside political action. Katie Boanas (1989) too notes that peace education had its origins in the 'grassroots' work and public education undertaken by peace groups, including Peace Squadron protests against visits to Aotearoa by nuclear-armed warships.

Other significant initiatives beyond the control of the state also had relevance for adult and community education. Walker (1980) points to the Māori resistance and the renaissance from the 1970s, and draws attention to the work of the Māori Women's Welfare League and Nga Tamatoa (the young warriors) in promoting the resurgence of tikanga Māori including te reo, the Māori language. In addition, other organisations such as Te Reo Māori Society in Wellington were active along with Nga Tamatoa in organising petitions and raising awareness of the impact of the loss of millions of hectares of Māori land over the years as well as the significance of the Treaty of Waitangi.

One of the most significant actions of the 1970s took place in September 1975. This was the 1000-km hikoi or Land March, led by Whina Cooper, from Te Hāpua in the far north to Wellington where it presented a petition to parliament. The hikoi constituted not only a powerful form of political action, but was also an example of popular education with discussion of the issues taking place not only on the march itself but also in the evenings on the 25 marae which were visited on route to the capital.

Perhaps one of the most remarkable movements of protest, resistance, and popular education in Aotearoa in the 1970s was the anti-apartheid movement. This movement which focused on the

boycott of South African apartheid sport, eventually led to the extraordinary events associated with the 1981 Springbok rugby tour of New Zealand when thousands of people from a range of political traditions took part in marches and other forms of protest in every centre in which games were held (Beyer, 1981; Edmundson, 2011; Richards, 1999) and provided evidence of the power of popular education blossoming outside of the state's control.

Lifelong education and 'the forgotten people'

At the same time that these popular movements were demonstrating the power of ACE within these contexts, growing global interest in lifelong education - sponsored by such organisations as the United Nations, UNESCO, the Council of Europe and the OECD (Dave, 1976; Faure, 1972; Lengrand, 1970) - as a counterbalance to the emphasis on formal schooling – was also influencing ACE policy and practice (Benseman, 2005; R. M. Tobias, 2004). Internationally the third UNESCO world conference on adult education held in Tokyo in 1972 highlighted the fact that 'experience shows that the provision of more education in most communities tends to favour most the already well educated; the educationally underprivileged have yet to claim their rights' and called on adult educators to seek out and serve 'the forgotten people' (UNESCO, 1972: 9). This conference was followed four years later by a further large conference convened once again by UNESCO and held in Nairobi in 1976. Among other things this conference called on member states to

'recognise adult education as a necessary .. component of its education system and as a permanent element in its social, cultural and economic development policy; and consequently promote the creation of structures, the preparation and implementation of programmes and the application of educational methods which meet the needs and aspirations of all categories of adults, without restriction on grounds of sex, race, geographical origin, age, social status, opinion, belief or prior educational standard.'

It thus stated clearly the need for adult education to contribute to the task of reducing inequalities of all kinds, and was a clarion call to action for adult and community educators around the globe. In Aotearoa calls such as this inspired many adult and community educators to look more critically at traditional programmes and structures. From the early 1970s, then, educators and policy makers in Aotearoa were both contributing to and being influenced by the new international discourses on lifelong learning, and adult and community education. This resulted in shifts of policy and practice.

The new discourses of adult and community education in the 1970s were reflected in a number of reports. Among these was the report of the Committee on Lifelong Education of the New Zealand National Commission for UNESCO (Committee on Lifelong Education (Chair: Simmonds, 1972) as well as those reports emanating from the Educational Development Conference which in 1974 undertook a remarkable public consultation/adult education programme comprising 4000 study groups with a total of 60,000 people throughout the country (Educational Development Conference Secretariat, 1974).

The UNESCO Committee was specific in several recommendations. It favoured the adoption of a broad definition of 'continuing education' which would embrace both 'vocational' and 'non-vocational' education, and would replace the term 'adult education'. It recommended the appointment in the Department of Education of an 'Officer for Continuing Education' at a senior

level. A number of recommendations focused on the role of schools including the setting up of broadly based programmes of continuing education in several secondary schools, changes to the 1937 Manual & Technical Regulations to reflect current needs and realities, and the development of more appropriate facilities and accommodation for adults in secondary schools.

It recommended that meetings be convened between the NCAE and VTC to foster experimental programmes for teachers and trainers of adults, that 'the Advisory Council on Educational Planning be asked to examine inequalities of opportunities for vocational training between regions in relation to employment opportunities'; and that 'the statutory duties of the NZ Broadcasting Corporation be amended to give the Corporation a responsibility for educational broadcasting and that the Broadcasting Authority be empowered where appropriate to place a similar responsibility on other broadcasters'(Committee on Lifelong Education (Chair: Simmonds, 1972 pp 9-10).

The terms of reference of the Educational Development Conference (EDC) were broader than those of the UNESCO Committee and hence its recommendations were also broader. The Advisory Council reported that five main thrusts had been identified. Greater attention needed to be given to early childhood and parent education, as well as to the problems associated with the under-achievement of young people was seen as essential. Greater effort was seen as necessary to ensure realistic parent and community involvement in education. Continuing education for all and 'second chance education were seen as very important, and an 'open-door' policy wherever feasible. Finally delegation of authority and responsibility along with a strengthening and reorganisation of the Department of Education was seen as essential (Advisory Council on Educational Planning, 1974 pp 9-10). (Robinson, 1981). Alongside these reports, as well as arising out of them, a number of new policy measures were implemented. Much of this was promoted and supported by the reforming Labour Government which held office from 1972 to 1975. However the momentum of reform was not lost with the election of the new National Government in 1975 and reform continued apace.

NCAE and government policy

Throughout the 1970s the National Council for Adult Education played a key pioneering and innovative role as did the WEAs and other organisations. Between 1968 and 1972 the NCAE launched a number of publications. These included a monograph series, the journal *Continuing Education in New Zealand* (in 1970) and a monthly Newsletter, PACE (*Paragraphs about Continuing Education*) (in 1974).

ACE in the Department and an amendment to the Education Act

In 1971 the NCAE instituted a scheme of grants-in-aid for experimental or innovative projects – a scheme that continued through the 1970s. As has been noted above, the early 1970s were years of considerable debate and discussion of educational policy including adult and community education. The implications of lifelong education were being examined and the concept of continuing education which included both 'vocational' and 'non-vocational' education was being advanced. The NCAE played a significant role in these debates. In 1973 it published two key papers by Bill Renwick, shortly to be appointed Director-General of Education, and Denis Garret, shortly to take up a position as the first Senior Officer in Continuing Education in the Department, exploring aspects of the debates around the proposed community colleges

(James, Renwick, & Garrett, 1973) and in 1974 it organised a National Residential Seminar at Otaki which canvassed ideas of self-directed and independent learning and the impact of this on institution-based education (Renwick, 1974).

In 1974 the first position of Senior Officer in Continuing Education in the Department of Education was established and in 1975 Denny Garrett was appointed as the first Director of Continuing Education in the Department.

And in 1974 the notion of 'continuing education' was introduced into legislation in Aotearoa. In the Education Amendment Act of that year 'continuing education' was defined as '.. education, including vocational education, provided for persons who are no longer required to attend school under the provisions of this Act and who are not, unless expressly provided for by this Act, enrolled as pupils in any secondary school or department; but this does not include education at a University or University College of Agriculture or teachers' college' (New Zealand Government, 1974).

Māori

In 1970, in response to continuing criticism of the inadequacy of provision for Māori people, a Working Party on Māori Adult Education presided over by Matt Te Hau was set up by the NCAE. This Working Party commenced its work in April 1970 and held its final meeting in November 1971. Its report was published by the NCAE in 1972 (Working Party - Te Hau, 1972). It was highly critical of many aspects of provision. It advocated a number of changes in the approaches of university extension which it saw as overly academic and remote from most Māori communities. However most of its recommendations were directed at the Department of Education and focused on the schools which the working party believed should be the most important provider of adult education for Māori. In addition the Working Party recommended the NCAE should appoint a full-time staff member to produce resources for Māori groups.

It took some time for these recommendations and those of other groups to be implemented. However some measures were taken. The first of these was in the school system. Prior to 1970 Māori language was taught in only ten secondary schools and in 1971 4,423 secondary students were learning te reo Māori. By 1979 171 secondary schools were offering tuition in Māori language to 15,000 students (R. J. Walker, 1984: 35). In 1978 Ruatoki Bilingual School opened, and by 1980 there were four officially approved bilingual schools. This expansion was matched in primary schools where by 1979 more than 100 schools were teaching Māori to 9,000 pupils. Moreover as a consequence of the expansion of Māori language teaching in schools there was a corresponding demand for teachers and hence an increase in Māori participation in teacher training.

It was not until the period between 1977 and 1979 that the NCAE itself was able to put in place a number of projects planned over the previous decade. One of these was the Māori and Pacific Islands Continuing Education Project was established (Dakin, 1988 pp 87 & 100-101). This arose out of the recommendations contained in the 1972 report on Māori adult education (Working Party - Te Hau, 1972). These recommendations were reinforced in 1973 by the Working Party when it was reconvened and in subsequent years by the Māori Continuing Education Advisory Committee of the NCAE. In March 1978 Ngoingoi Pēwhairangi (Ka'ai, 2008) took up her appointment as an Education Officer with the NCAE to promote the continuing education

of Māori and Pacific people. In addition to her passion for te reo Ngoingoi Pēwhairangi was also a gifted composer and weaver. She continued to work from her base in Tokomaru Bay on the East Coast of the North Island to promote a unique informal approach to Māori language learning throughout the country, and in co-operation with Kāterina Mataira, who had researched the 'Silent Way' language learning methodology, developed by Egyptian educationalist Caleb Gattegno and adapted it for Māori, from 1979 she began to run residential courses to train Māori leaders and native-speakers to teach informal Māori language programmes for adults in their own localities (Ka'ai, 2008). She also initiated links with the Pacifica community in the Cook Islands and in Auckland. At the end of 1981 her appointment was extended for another year and this enabled her to consolidate the Te Ataarangi movement which had been launched in 1979. The first AGM, which was held at in 1981 in Mangatū, ratified the decision to set Te Ataarangi up as an incorporated Society and in May 1982 it became an incorporated society. It was established to foster the promotion and use of the Māori language among Māori adults.

With the primary aim of turning the tide of Māori language loss and enlarging the Māori speaking community in Aotearoa (R. Higgins & Keane, 2013; Ka'ai, 2008).

Adult Literacy

With the expansion of primary and secondary schooling in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, it was widely assumed in the 1960s in many 'First World' countries including New Zealand that virtually all adults were able to read and write. Adult illiteracy was seen as an issue largely restricted to poorer countries of the world with limited opportunities for formal schooling. Like typhoid and smallpox, modernity was seen to have solved the 'problem' of illiteracy, certainly in countries like New Zealand.

From the early 1970s, however, it became increasingly apparent to those with an interest in adult literacy that the extension of compulsory schooling into the teenage years had not succeeded in ensuring high levels of literacy for all. The first steps towards establishing a nation-wide adult literacy programmes were taken late in 1973 when Rosalie Somerville, who was initiating a local programme in Hawkes Bay, made contact with David James, the Director of the NCAE. As a consequence of this and with the support of the NCAE, in 1974 Massey University agreed to run two training courses for prospective tutors, and in August 1974 the Hawkes Bay Adult New Readers group was formed consisting of people who had attended the Massey course. Hill says that the philosophy of the adult literacy movement which developed during these early years emphasised that programmes should be 'student orientated, the ability to read should be a right (and therefore tuition should be free) and tuition should be absolutely confidential' (Hill, 1990: 16).

In the early days it also rapidly became apparent that close links should be forged between adult literacy and much ESOL work. Rapid growth of the work in the Hawkes Bay forced the tutors, who were all entirely voluntary, to recognise that a paid organiser/tutor position was required. In May 1976 they approached the recently established Hawkes Bay Community College which in turn applied to the Department of Education for funding. This was turned down. In spite of this, however, with the strong support of John Wise and John Harré, the College decided to allocate funds for a .5 position out of its own internal funds from September 1976, and Somerville was employed as part-time co-ordinator of the programme.

In the meantime in 1975 a second Adult Literacy Scheme had been launched in Auckland by the Auckland WEA with the co-operation of the University of Auckland. In September 1975 a part-time tutor-organiser was appointed. The basic structure of the programme was 'modelled fairly closely on one of the most successful British literacy schemes – that of Cambridge House in London (Harrison, 1976: 213). Between November 1975 and February 1976 the Scheme was widely publicised to recruit both volunteer tutors and potential students, and in December 1975 and January 1976 the first student-tutor assignments were initiated. As the scheme grew, most of the tuition was one-to-one, with each student meeting with their tutor for an hour once or twice a week. The tutor-organiser, Martin Harrison, played a key role in interviewing potential students and tutors and in training, selecting and supporting tutors, and in May 1976 he was approached by members of the Auckland branch of the New Zealand Library Association with a view to setting up 'New Adult Reader' sections in various libraries.

In August 1976 Rosalie Somerville made contact with Martin Harrison, and they discovered that there were many similarities between the two programmes. In 1977 the Canterbury WEA also set up an Adult Reading Assistance Scheme, and in doing so it was influenced not only by the Auckland Scheme and Brian Pauling's observations of the Cambridge House literacy work in London but also by the experience of Rosalie Somerville in the Hawkes Bay.

The late-1970s was an important time in the history of the national literacy movement. In June 1977 the NCAE was advised that its proposal seeking funds for the appointment of an Adult Reading Assistance Officer for three years, submitted two months previously to the McKenzie Education Foundation, had been accepted, and in February 1978 Rosalie Somerville took up the appointment. In October 1977 a 5-year plan for adult literacy was developed and this was followed in March 1978 by a Seminar held in Masterton which was attended by literacy coordinators across the country. By the end of 1977 there were 25 schemes with at least 800 students in various parts of the country and by the end of 1979 this had increased to 76 schemes.

School based ACE

A departmental circular of December 1971 set in place regulations which (a) required schools to cover about one-third of the costs of tuition for 'non-vocational classes' and (b) allowed for a new category of 'community classes' which would not be subject to the above-mentioned payment requirement. It was announced that these classes would 'provide tuition for such groups as Māoris, Polynesians and Islanders and other immigrants who may as a matter of social and educational policy require instruction in English, home economics, budgeting and courses aimed generally at inducting them into the New Zealand community.'

Changes were also taking place in schools. With the renewal of progressive discourses, the local community was seen to be at the heart of schooling, and schools-based adult and community education was seen as an important feature of the community school. The school then was seen to exist to serve primarily the community in which it existed, and it was argued that school curricula, policies and practices should reflect not only the requirements of examining bodies, etc, but also – and perhaps more importantly – the requirements of the local community. Within this discourse, then, the school's mission was one of community development (Auckland Community Schools Working Committee (Chair: Nigel Langston), 1977; Garrett, 1984; C. M. Herbert, 1996; Lander, 1981; Wise, 1975).

In 1974 the move to community schooling took a step forward. Four Auckland schools - Freyberg and Epsom Normal (primary) and Aorere and Rutherford (secondary) - were recognised as pilot community schools and given additional professional and ancillary staffing and an annual grant. At about the same time Wellington High School was given additional staffing to enable it to appoint a director of its extension programme, and it was announced that New Zealand's first purpose-built community school in Mangere, S. Auckland would open in 1976.

Also in 1974 special dispensation was given to allow adults to enrol in day schools, and in that year about 70 adults enrolled at 11 schools and in the following year about 500 enrolled at 55 schools, i.e. about 25% of all secondary schools (Paterson & Garrett, 1984: 108). Following these experiments with adult admissions, in 1975 the Education Act was amended to allow for the return of adults to day school and the enrolment of adolescent day school students in evening classes. By 1979 about 2300 adults were attending day classes alongside adolescents in approximately 190 secondary schools, and by 1981 this figure had grown to about 3000.

This growth in adult enrolments, the majority of whom were women, was facilitated at those schools where adequate child-care facilities could be made available. Between 1974 and 1978 ten schools succeeded in establishing such facilities and many more wished to do so. However, in a circular issued in August 1977 the Education Department made it clear that it did not have the resources to assist schools with this; if they wished to do so they would have to proceed on their own. By 1983 some 17 schools had access to a facility of some kind (C. M. Herbert, 1982: 15; 1984: 114). In the meantime adult enrolments with the Correspondence School had also grown from 3,319 in 1974 to 10,300 in 1979 and to more than 12,000 in 1981.

Technical institutes and community colleges

The Education Amendment Act of 1974 included new provision for pre-school education, the establishment and governance of technical institutes and community colleges and for technical institutes to be declared community colleges. The Act also allowed for the Minister of Education to extend the functions of technical institutes and community colleges and for the Correspondence School to be declared a technical institute. Provision was also made for the recognition of continuing education classes in secondary and district high schools, technical institutes and community colleges.

In terms of the Act the functions of technical institutes were also broadened to include both 'vocational' and 'non-vocational' education, and in 1975 the first Community College was established in the Hawkes Bay. These Community Colleges, seven of which had been established by 1984 in regions outside of the six main urban centres, were intended not only to provide courses related to trade, technician and professional requirements but also to respond to other educational and training requirements in the communities they served. They were thus seen as providing a focal point for regional educational programmes, and as providing advice and co-ordination and education and training programmes in co-operation with other agencies where this was appropriate.

Community education

In addition to broadening the functions of technical institutes, the mid-1970s saw an upsurge in non-institutional, community development approaches to adult and community education.

In 1974 the Department of Education gave its approval for the establishment of the Wairarapa Community Action Programme (CAP). CAP was based in Masterton and provided non-institutional approaches to community education in a predominantly rural area with too small a population to justify the establishment of a community college. A small team of community educators was appointed to help local people to identify their needs and then to use existing resources to meet them. Then in 1976 the Nelson Community Education Service (CES) was established. Although the Nelson CES was closely linked with the Nelson Polytechnic, its community development philosophy and approach was very similar to that of the Wairarapa CAP.

In 1976 further changes were made to allow for 'continuing education organisations' to be funded directly through the Department of Education. In terms of a 1976 amendment to the Education Act (New Zealand Government, 1976), provision was made for the recognition by the state of some adult education organisations. They could then receive funding directly from Vote: Education without being dependent on educational institutions.

In 1976 the WEA was recognised and received funding in its own right, and in 1978 two further organisations, the Federation of Parent Centres and the Countrywomen's Co-ordinating Committee, were recognised. The 1970s were years of considerable vitality and innovation for the WEA. Over the decade the number of districts grew. In the early 1970s there were five - Auckland, Taranaki, Wellington, Canterbury, Otago and Southland; by 1980 this had grown to eight, with the addition of Taranaki (in 1971), West Auckland (in 1976) and the Kapiti Coast (1977).

The WEAs were involved in almost every aspect of adult and community education in the 1970s and played a key role in initiating a number of projects and programmes. These included adult literacy programmes (Harrison, 1976; Petre, 1978), trade union education, through its Trade Union Postal Education Service (See Le Petit, 1973) and (*WEA Review*, 5 (2) June 1978: 338), summer schools (See a number of issues of the *WEA Review*), book discussion groups through its Book Discussion Scheme (*WEA Review*, 5 (3) November 1978: 355-7), education for older people through 'Wider Horizons' (See G. E. Roth, 1974, 1977), adult and community education and the women's movement (Dalziel, 1993 p 65; M. Roth, 1973, 1974, 1996; M. Roth & McCurdy, 1993), adult and community education, Māori and the Treaty of Waitangi, adult and community education and the peace movement, adult and community education and race relations, adult and community education and environmental issues, and adult education for active citizenship.

Vocational training

Early on in its existence the VTC decided to investigate training needs on an industry by industry basis rather than focusing exclusively on occupational training needs (Potter, 1974 p 36). Accordingly it encouraged and assisted the various industrial sectors as well as inter-sectoral groups to set up their own Industry Training Boards (ITBs) and specialised committees. Each ITB was encouraged to employ its own training officers with financial assistance being provided by Government through the VTC. By 1972 about 25 national ITBs had been, or were about to be, established in the farming, primary processing, manufacturing, servicing and commercial sectors (Committee on Lifelong Education (Chair: Simmonds, 1972 p 59). Throughout the 1970s these continued to grow and by 1979 about 50 training officers were employed by 29 ITBs working in such industries as meat, dairy, agriculture, shipping, building, engineering and local government (Vocational Training Council, 1968 - 1988).

In 1974 the NCAE had initiated discussions about possible amendments to the Act under which it was constituted. By 1975 it was circulating a draft bill which proposed a name change for the Council with 'adult education' being replaced by 'continuing education' and a very much more broadly based constitution which would include representatives of all types of tertiary institution along with representatives of voluntary organisations, those engaged in continuing education, representatives of those sections of the population 'with special needs in continuing education' and the 'Chairman of the VTC or his nominee'. In this new environment, which promoted a sense of common purpose between the VTC and NCAE, considerable efforts were made by both organisations to work co-operatively.

In many of the reports at that time the lack of training opportunities for continuing educators was noted. Accordingly in 1975 the NCAE set up a Working Party on the Training of Continuing Educators. Its membership included people drawn from the Department of Education, the VTC, the Council for Recreation & Sport, the universities, teachers' colleges, technical institutes, secondary schools and the Wairarapa Community Action Programme. Its report (Clift, 1977) which was published in March 1977 contained 44 recommendations addressing the induction, initial, basic and post-basic training of both tutors and programme planners or organisers. It also looked at awards and qualifications, resources, incentives and career opportunities for adult educators.

Universities

The late-1960s and 1970s saw most of the universities redefining their extension or continuing education roles. They reduced their provision of 'community' and 'practical' courses which had been linked with their regional council roles and sought to increase the academic distinctiveness of their contributions. They moved to involve more university staff from internal teaching departments in their programmes as well as shifting resources into continuing professional education and to a lesser extent 'role-related education' (Williams, 1978). Examples here include the courses developed in co-operation with the Playcentre movement, the Family Courts, social work programmes, health-related and environment-related courses, engineering programmes and programmes for teachers. From the mid-1970s university extension departments and continuing education centres also a number of special programmes such as the Certificate in Liberal Studies at the University of Canterbury, the Certificate in Māori Studies at the University of Waikato, and New Start courses at each of the universities to encourage and assist adults who wished to undertake university studies. Towards the end of the 1970s they also gradually moved into research and teaching in the field of adult education with the first certificate courses in continuing education being offered at the Universities of Canterbury and Waikato in the early 1980s. The reshaped extension departments and continuing education centres continued to be funded out of the block grants negotiated by the UGC with government on a quinquennial basis and responded in diverse ways to the needs in their regions.

Broadcasting

Radio New Zealand (founded 1922) provided information, entertainment and education under its charter. For many years its contributions to education were of two kinds: broadcasts to schools and informal educational items in the form of news commentaries, cultural items and documentaries.

Then in 1974 Radio New Zealand's Continuing Education Unit was launched with the aim of offering radio programmes backed up with specially developed supporting material for adults. These programmes did not rely on face-to-face communication between learners and tutors. They relied on the use of printed materials (lectures, notes, books, and other reading materials), lantern slides, records and tape recordings, etc. together with the organisation of discussion groups and listening groups. These were occasionally supplemented by visits by lecturers or tutors and by residential summer and winter schools. Radio too, and to a lesser extent television, had already demonstrated its educative use as a medium for informing and entertaining the public.

The 1970s however saw some significant ACE initiatives by Radio New Zealand. In 1974 Beverley Wakem was appointed as Head of Programme at Radio New Zealand. In an interview conducted by Jo Lynch in July 2012 she said that Denny Garrett and David James called to see her and suggested that a Continuing Education Unit should be established by RNZ. It took some time to launch the idea. However later in the 1970s the Unit was established on an experimental basis through cooperation between the Radio New Zealand and the NCAE (See below).

Professionalisation and networks

In many of the reports at that time the lack of training opportunities for continuing educators was noted. Accordingly in 1975 the NCAE set up a Working Party on the Training of Continuing Educators. Its membership included people drawn from the Department of Education, the VTC, the Council for Recreation & Sport, the universities, teachers' colleges, technical institutes, secondary schools and the Wairarapa Community Action Programme. Its report (Clift, 1977) which was published in March 1977 contained 44 recommendations addressing the induction, initial, basic and post-basic training of both tutors and programme planners or organisers. It also looked at awards and qualifications, resources, incentives and career opportunities for adult educators.

In the early 1970s adult and community education practitioners themselves were also active pioneers and innovators and in July 1974 the New Zealand Association for Community Education (NZACE) was formed at a meeting called by the Auckland WEA which was attended by representatives of the University of Auckland and the newly established community schools. This was the first such association. It was seen as a body which would encourage and support community education activities and reflect new developments in education. The first AGM and conference was held on 7 December 1974, with the theme being 'Community Education for All' - an expression of hope for the future of education in New Zealand. The conference was addressed by the Minister of Education, Phil Amos, who became patron of the new association.

In the period from 1974 to 1976 the Association was active holding regular meetings, publishing a regular newsletter, organising a series of one-day conferences or workshops. In addition a Community Schools sub-committee was set up and work done on the reports which in 1977 were published in the form of a single substantial report entitled 'Community Schools The Auckland Experience (Auckland Community Schools Working Committee (Chair: Nigel Langston), 1977). Although, as early as February 1976 there had been discussion within the NZACE of the possibility of setting up regional committees elsewhere in Aotearoa (New Zealand Association for Community Education, 1976), it was not until mid-1977 and 1978 that the association began

a strong push to establish itself as a truly national body, and at its AGM, held in March 1978, a more broadly representative executive committee was elected and its name was changed to the New Zealand Association of Continuing and Community Education (NZACCE).

In the 1970s co-operative networks were being established around the country. One form which these networks took was the Learning Exchange, designed to bring potential learners and teachers into contact with one another. These, and the new Community Colleges along with the Wairarapa CAP and Nelson CES, necessarily and deliberately lead to the development of significant local and regional networks (Prain, 1975). The NCAE played an important role in promoting co-operative initiatives both regionally and nationally, and the Department of Education also played a key role at times, particularly in relation to schools-based community education.

In other centres co-operation was evolving. In Christchurch in 1975 the Tertiary Education Liaison Committee established a sub-committee on Continuing Education which undertook several co-operative ventures over the following five years. In addition to such formalised initiatives, there were also several informal approaches. For example, in 1979 representatives from Hagley Community Learning Centre, the Christchurch Polytechnic and the WEA met together to discuss programme planning issues, and also in 1979 the first in a series of regular full day meetings of co-ordinators of schools-based ACE took place. These meetings initiated by Maurice Pentecost, of the Department of Education, were held once a term at schools throughout Canterbury for several years in the late 1970s and early 1980s. In a number of other centres including Dunedin and Palmerston North, new initiatives were taken in 1979 with as special focus on the training and development of tutors and programme co-ordinators.

In August 1979 a National Seminar was held at the University of Auckland. It was organised by the Auckland Community Schools Working Committee in association with the recently formed NZACCE. The theme of the seminar was: 'Towards 2000: Community Education in Multi-Cultural Societies of the South Pacific'. It was a high-profile event which attracted about 200 delegates and the Association promoted itself and held its AGM as part of the seminar proceedings.

Towards the end of the decade

In the later 1970s some of the earlier recommendations and reforms bore fruit. Firstly, in 1977 the NCAE gained the co-operation of the VTC and the National Commission for UNESCO to hold two conferences on 'The UNESCO Challenge to Continuing Education' (Roxburgh, 1977a, 1977b). One for the North Island was held in Auckland in April/May and the second for the South Island in Christchurch in September 1977. Their aim was to examine the implications for New Zealand of the adult education recommendation arising out of the UNESCO Conference held in Nairobi in 1976 and most of the resource papers and discussion groups were directed to this end.

The final address to the conferences by the National Minister of Education, the Hon Les Gandar, drew powerfully on the liberal and progressive discourses which appeared to be dominant at the time (Gandar, 1977). Firstly he suggested approvingly that the UNESCO Recommendation endorsed the view that '.. education - in the broadest sense - is the essential means by which we develop each person's potential ... [and that] lifelong education entails not only bringing out that potential, but also refreshing and maintaining it throughout life.' Secondly he noted a

very important underlying principle in the UNESCO document, and stated that UNESCO was pointing out to us that education is itself a major agent of social change. Furthermore he also said that 'continuing education is a form of community action, part of the process of controlling social change toward a more just society.'

The conferences produced no neat set of recommendations, but rather a plethora of ideas. Participants were drawn from diverse organisational backgrounds – no longer the relatively narrow band of voluntary organisations and university extension staff that had characterised the field until a few years previously. Nevertheless, as was noted at the time, the vocational and industrial training and trade union sectors were underrepresented (Oliver, 1977), as were Māori and Pasifika people.

Secondly, we have already referred to the NCAE's Māori and Pacific Islands Continuing Education Project and the appointment in March 1978 of Ngoingoi Pēwhairangi as an Education Officer with the NCAE to promote the continuing education of Māori and Pacific people.. Thirdly, in March 1978 Nicola Crutchley was appointed to a three-year position as Broadcasting Liaison Officer for the NCAE. By agreement she was located with Radio New Zealand's Continuing Education Unit, though she remained on the staff of the NCAE. She was expected to promote continuing education programmes using radio and television by co-operating with the Continuing Education Unit of Radio New Zealand (CEURNZ), commercial radio stations, Television New Zealand, and a range of community and continuing education agencies.

Fourthly, also in 1978, an Adult Reading Assistance Project was established by the NCAE with Rosalie Somerville being appointed as the Adult Reading Assistance Project Officer (Dakin, 1988 pp 88-89 & 95-97). This project had grown out of a small voluntary movement initiated by Rosalie Somerville in Napier in 1974 when she had first responded to requests to help some adults to learn to read (Somerville, 1975). By the end of 1977 there were 25 adult literacy schemes with at least 800 students in various parts of the country and by the end of 1978 this had grown to 40 schemes. Fifthly, also in 1978, the NCAE established the new position of Training Development Officer and increasingly over the following three years Peter Creevey, Ron Hoskin and the other officers of the NCAE came to play key roles both nationally and in the regions promoting and supporting opportunities for networking, training and development in continuing education.

In November 1977 the Minister of Education announced that a new scheme, consisting of Rural Education Activities Programmes or s was to be established in 13 rural districts throughout New Zealand over the following three years. REAPs included provision for pre-school staffing, guidance and visiting teachers, additional staffing for rural secondary schools, and organisers to develop community and continuing education and these community education organisers were to play key roles both in their regions and nationally over the following decades. In 1979 four REAPs were set up in Marlborough (Blenheim), on the East Coast (Gisborne), Taihape-Ruapehu, and Central Otago (Alexandra).

The 1980s – DECADE OF STRUGGLE

The political & economic context

As in many other capitalist countries, from the mid-1970s, Aotearoa experienced a growing crisis of capital accumulation and increased unemployment. This was linked with a number of other trends. These included the expansion and reorganisation of global capitalism and increasing internationalisation of the division of labour, changes in systems and methods of capitalist production associated with the increasingly varied applications of new technologies, and the increasing power and expansion of private ownership of the mass media. By the early 1980s the populist, socially conservative National Government led by Robert Muldoon borrowed heavily to finance a series of 'Think Big' projects, while at the same time instituting a wage/price freeze and cutting back on educational expenditure. In spite of this, Aotearoa continued to experience a decade of economic recession. On almost every measure of economic performance it slipped back during the 1970s and early 1980s.

In mid-1984, following a snap election, the fourth Labour Government, headed by David Lange, was elected to office. The first few months of the new government were ones of frenetic activity. On the economic side it was widely believed that there was a major crisis and the newly elected government did little to dispel this sense of crisis. And in this political climate the neoclassical Friedmanite economists in the Treasury, together with representatives of the Business Round Table, both sponsored by Roger Douglas, Labour's Minister of Finance, were rapidly able to capture the high ground in the debate and establish a radical new neoliberal hegemony. The newly elected Government therefore adopted a number of measures which reflected the dominance of neoliberal discourses and which were designed to expose New Zealand institutions, both private and public, more fully to the competitive forces of multi-national capitalism (See R. M. Tobias, 1988).

In August 1987 the Labour Government was re-elected to a second term in office. Educational issues featured prominently in the election campaign. Ruth Richardson, spokesperson on education in the National opposition and a consistent advocate of neoliberal policies, argued strongly for greater 'consumer' control and privatisation of education. So successful was she in this, and so divided was Cabinet, that Lange the Prime Minister, considered it necessary to take the education portfolio himself in the new Labour government formed after the election. Upon its re-election one of the most substantial briefing documents received by government was a two-volume work prepared and published by the Treasury (The Treasury, 1987a, 1987b). The second volume, devoted entirely to educational issues, presented a remarkable statement of neoliberal ideology and its application to education in Aotearoa. Lange, who had supported Roger Douglas and the neoliberals in developing neoliberal economic policies, rejected its application to social and educational policy.

in the mid-1980s, then, the debates raged vigorously and questions about the effects and effectiveness of neoliberalism in advancing the economy in general and the interests of the wealthy and the poor were widely discussed and debated, not least among adult and community educator (See a number of issues of *Akina* at the time, as well as R. Tobias & Henderson, 1996; R. M. Tobias, 1999a). In the meantime in the late-1980s and early 1990s unemployment grew, along with significant pockets of increasing poverty, especially within Māori and Pacific communities. Between 1987 and 1992 about 100,000 jobs were lost, mainly in manufacturing and the state services, and unemployment rose from 73,500 or 5.5% in 1987 to 172,200 or 12.1% in 1991.

Māori, te Tiriti o Waitangi and ACE

One key form of struggle which involved a significant educational dimension was that embodied in the Māori resistance movement and the revitalisation of tikanga Māori. In 1980 and 1981 Māori activists together with their Pakeha counterparts were engaged in a number of actions. These ranged from activities supporting the anti-apartheid and anti-racism movement of the 1970s, which reached a peak in the protests against the 1981 Springbok tour, to the annual protests organised by the Waitangi Action Committee which gathered momentum from 1981 and resulted in a very large march on Waitangi in February 1984.

From the early 1980s Māori radicals and some conservatives became involved in party political action. In November 1979 Matiu Rata, Minister of Lands and Māori Affairs in the Labour Government from 1972 to 1975 broke away from the Labour Party to form the new Mana Motuhake Party. Its manifesto embraced the agenda for social change being advocated by both radicals and conservatives at the time. Thus it sought ratification of the Treaty of Waitangi, unity in the search for social justice, recognition of Mana whenua, self-determination in all matters affecting Māori people, retention of te reo and tikanga Māori and the transformation of social and political institutions to include biculturalism. Although the party failed to win any parliamentary seats in the 1980 general election, it did well enough to cause concern for the Labour Party (See for example 2004).

The NACME Report of 1980

In 1980 the National Advisory Committee on Māori Education (NACME) published a report which included a number of recommendations on adult and community education (National Advisory Committee on Māori Education (NACME) (Chair: P. W. Boag), 1980: 47-53). It highlighted the important educational work with adults carried out for many years by Māori voluntary organisations, the importance of providing relevant second-chance education to meet the needs of Māori adults, and the need for educational institutions to do more to support Māori adults and promote Māori learning interests. In addition it called for the expansion of Māori language teaching both in educational institutions and in the community.

The report also called for more attention to adult education to further Pakehas well as Māori understanding of the two cultures. It highlighted the need for Pakehas to increase their understanding of Māori values, aspirations and the relationships between them and Māori peoples. Finally, it called for more attention to the role of the media in educating 'New Zealanders about other cultures, particularly about Māori culture', serving the educational and recreational needs of Māori and providing for the expansion of Māori news services. The National Government was,

however, slow to act and such action as was taken in the early 1980s was initiated by Māori themselves.

Māori Educational Development Conference of 1984

In March 1984 close to 300 people, mainly teachers, attended a Māori Educational Development Conference sponsored by the Māori Council and held at Turangawaewae Marae at Ngaruawahia (R. J. E. Walker, 1984). At this conference attention was drawn yet again to the ways in which the education system was failing Māori people. Among other things the hui called for a fairer distribution of resources for Māori education and radical changes in school certificate structures to provide for a system which did not discriminate against Māori.

It also recommended that all Māori communities should have the right to have their children taught in their mother tongue and called for the establishment of alternative schooling modelled on the principles underlying Kohanga reo. Following this a small group of parents committed to the task of providing continuity of Māori teaching for children moving from Kohanga reo set about establishing the first Kura Kaupapa Māori or 'total immersion' Māori school, on Hoani Waititi marae in Henderson in 1985. It was however not until 1989 that Kura Kaupapa Māori schools were formally recognised (New Zealand Government, 1989).

Strengthening the Waitangi Tribunal

In spite of the limitations placed on the Waitangi Tribunal in the 1975 legislation, following Edward Durie's appointment as chairperson as well as Chief Judge of the Māori Land Court, the early-1980s saw the Tribunal playing an increasingly significant role. In 1980 it took the important step of adopting procedures which reflected taha Māori and promoted fresh understandings of the history of Aotearoa. A succession of important cases considered by the tribunal led to greater recognition by government and by Pakeha of the impact of colonisation on Māori iwi.

A large hikoi in February 1984 was followed in September of that year by a national hui initiated by the Māori Council of Churches involving 1000 people from a wide range of organisations held at Turangawaewae Marae at Ngaruawahia to discuss the Treaty of Waitangi. Among other things this hui adopted unanimously a resolution calling on the newly-elected Labour Government to amend the legislation to strengthen and broaden the scope of the Waitangi Tribunal and enable it to consider claims going back to 1840.

The Government moved rapidly to introduce a bill to extend the powers of the Tribunal, and in December 1985 the highly significant Treaty of Waitangi Amendment Act was enacted (New Zealand Government, 1985). This, and a subsequent Act the following year, strengthened the Waitangi Tribunal and granted it power to consider claims dating back to 1840. It also enlarged the Tribunal from 4 to 6 members, 4 of whom were to be Māori. The new body, based on a Canadian model, reflected a shift from a judicial type of court hearing towards a more informal commission of inquiry. Rangi Walker comments on the significance of this legislation by saying that this change 'cast New Zealand firmly into the post-colonial era in which resort to ideology to sustain Pakeha dominance is now untenable' (R. J. Walker, 1990: 254).

Whether or not this assessment of the impact of the legislation is entirely accurate, it is certainly true that the constitutional position of the Treaty of Waitangi and hence of Māori - the tangata whenua - was changing significantly at this time. The number of claims under the Treaty grew

significantly, and by December 1987, 140 had been lodged with the Tribunal. In addition legislation enacted from December 1986 increasingly included a clause endorsing the 'principles of the Treaty of Waitangi' and required the state to act in accordance with these principles. Among the first of these Acts were the State-Owned Enterprises Act (New Zealand Government, 1986b) and the Environment Act (New Zealand Government, 1986a), both passed in December 1986, and the Conservation Act of March 1987 (New Zealand Government, 1987a). It therefore did appear that there was no turning back.

Māori Language Initiatives

At the end of 1981 Ngoingoi Pēwhairangi's three-year appointment as Education Officer with the NCAE was extended for another year. This enabled her to work with Kāterina Mataira, Iritana Tawhiwhirangi, and others, and with the initial support of the Department of Māori Affairs to consolidate Te Ataarangi as an independent national movement. Te Ataarangi had been launched in 1979 and in May 1982 Te Ataarangi became an independent incorporated society with the primary aim of turning the tide of Māori language loss and enlarging the Māori speaking community in Aotearoa (R. Higgins & Keane, 2013; Ka'ai, 2008). More specifically its objectives were 'to foster the use of the Māori language; encourage and support recognised Māori language groups; encourage research into language learning and organise training programmes, seminars and conferences for Māori language tutors and students' (T. P. Higgins, 1994). The movement had broad support in Māoridom. A key element of the philosophy of Te Ataarangi was that te reo should be available to all adults who wanted to learn and that it should be free. The movement therefore relied heavily on Māori volunteers who were speakers of te reo and who were willing to learn to teach Māori, using the methods adopted by te Ataarangi.

In 1980 the annual Hui Whakatauirā reaffirmed the decision at the previous year's hui which recognised that the very survival of the Māori language was under threat and advocated that language learning should start from birth. At the following year's hui in 1981, therefore, the kōhanga reo movement (pre-school Māori language 'nests') was born and the first kōhanga reo, 'Pukeatua' was launched in Wainuiomata in 1982. This was the first of 30 kōhanga reo launched that year and such was the optimism and ambition of the early advocates for kōhanga reo that the aim set was for a total of 300 to be established in a three year period.

A key feature of both te Ataarangi and Kōhanga reo was that they were driven and controlled by Māori themselves. The guiding principles of Kōhanga reo included a commitment to traditional whānau structures, an indigenous pedagogical model for developing the whole whānau, intergenerational learning between at least three generations, total immersion learning, language revitalisation within the household and the incorporation of Māori cultural concepts. 'With the expectation that parents participate in their child's education, many kōhanga had to train whānau members in these roles and in te reo Māori' (R. Higgins & Keane, 2013).

When kōhanga reo were first established in 1982 the organisers had set themselves an ambitious target to establish 300 in three years. Although they fell short of this, the growth of the movement in the 1980s was nevertheless phenomenal. By March 1988 more than 500 kōhanga reo had been set up and in March of that year over 8000 children were attending kōhanga reo. This represented 15% of Māori children in the 0-4 year age range (Irwin, 1990; Irwin, Sutton, & Tawhiwhirangi, 1988). Initially kōhanga reo were funded through the Department of Māori Affairs but by 1990 they were being funded by the Ministry of Education.

In July 1987 the Māori Language Act (New Zealand Government, 1987b) was passed into law - yet another key step on the road to retrieve te reo. The Act declared 'the Māori language to be an official language of New Zealand' and conferred the right to speak Māori in certain legal proceedings. Importantly it also established Te Komihana mo te Reo Māori / the Māori Language Commission. Among its several functions it was required 'generally to promote the Māori language, and, in particular, its use as a living language and as an ordinary means of communication'. Subsequently in a 1991 amendment, the Māori name of the Commission was changed to Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori.

Wānanga initiatives

In 1981 the first Māori tertiary institution in recent history, Te Wānanga o Raukawa, was established at Otaki. It was supported by three iwi: Te Ātiawa ki Whakarongotai, Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga and Ngāti Toa Rangatira, and grew out of the work of the Raukawa Marae Trustees formed by the ART Confederation in 1975. Influenced by people such as Whatarangi Winiata, in April 1981 these Trustees resolved to establish the wānanga which was incorporated in 1984 with the aim of meeting the educational needs of the confederation of iwi (Douglas, 1985: 17-18).

In 1983 a second wānanga, Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, was born. It had its origins in the founding of the Waipa Kōkiri Arts Centre by Rongo Wetere, Buck Nin and Pakaariki Harrison. This Centre was inspired by a successful project in which unemployed former students of Te Awamutu College built a meeting house on a marae in the college grounds. Its first aim therefore was to provide training and education for those whose needs were not being met by the mainstream education system.

It grew steadily and by 1987 it had a roll of 212 students, of whom 86 were Pakeha and 26 were Māori. In its early years it struggled financially and survived on small grants and by ACCESS funding and volunteer workers. However it grew rapidly and by 1988 had opened campuses in Hamilton and Manukau. Over the following three or four years further campuses were established in Mangere, Te Kuiti, Tokoroa and Porirua, in each case in an area of high Māori unemployment. Its early applications for recognition as a TEI were unsuccessful. However, with its expansion into other areas, it became appropriate to look for a change of name, so that when its application for registration as a private provider was accepted in 1989 it was registered as the Aotearoa Institute.

Lifelong learning and ACE

The Early 80s

In the early 1980s progressive educational discourses from the 1970s continued to bear fruit in spite of the economic recession and the increasing dominance of conservative and populist discourses in Robert Muldoon's National Government. In addition, the early 1980s were years of ongoing action and learning which formed part of wider struggles for social justice. Social movements including the Māori language movement, the trade union movement, women's movements, the anti-apartheid and anti-racism movements and the peace and anti-nuclear movement as well as movements supporting local and regional community development continued to organise and promote popular forms of adult education and action.

In 1982 the Prime Minister called for an overall cut of 3% in expenditure on state services. Mervyn Wellington, the conservative National Minister of Education at the time, had little sympathy for or understanding of ACE. Hence, in spite of a positive report on the National Council of Adult Education from a State Services Commission Review which reported to government in February 1982 (State Services Commission, 1982), the Minister decided to cut state funding to the ACE sector. This he did although the funding provided by the state for the ACE sector was trivial in the context of Vote: Education. These cuts had particularly severe effects on organisations such as the WEAs and the National Council of Adult Education (NCAE) which were active in promoting a broad, progressive notion of lifelong education inspired by the new thinking of the 1970s. Along with other policies which re-directed priorities in polytechnics and community colleges into providing increasingly narrow skills-based labour market programmes, they brought a premature end to the progressive, social democratic era in adult and community education initiated in the early 1970s.

The 'Save Adult Education' Campaign

In response to what they saw as a direct attack on ACE, adult and community education practitioners, both paid and unpaid, reacted by launching a 'Save Adult Education' campaign. Widespread use was made of the mass media, public meetings, representations to MPs and pamphlets, and the fledgling organisation of practitioners, the New Zealand Association for Community and Continuing Education (NZACCE), found itself playing a key leadership role. In the case of the WEA the political nature of the government decision was highlighted and the campaign to reverse the decision and save the WEA generated such a high degree of solidarity and public support that despite its loss of grant, in some districts, programmes were not only maintained but even expanded.

The NZACCE also grew in strength as a consequence of its involvement in the campaign. Between 1982 and 1983 there was a dramatic increase in membership of the Association - from 120 in 1982 to over 400 in October 1983. Until late-1982 the Association had independent branches in Auckland, Timaru, Nelson and Dunedin together with informal networks in other districts or centres such as Hamilton, Hawkes Bay, Wellington, Marlborough, Christchurch and the West Coast. This gave the Association broad representation throughout the country (NZACCE, 1982, 1983).

By way of contrast to this picture of solidarity and action, in the case of the NCAE the Minister of Education succeeded in diverting the political decision by government into a management and industrial relations problem for the NCAE Council by means of the tactic of threatening privately to withdraw all state funding and then acceding to the request from the Council that a minimal grant be maintained. In order to live within its reduced budget, the council of the NCAE was left with the task of laying off all members of its staff and then re-advertising a limited number of positions at lower salary levels. The staff reacted strongly to the secrecy of the negotiations between the Minister and the Council and argued that the decisions should have been made openly and if necessary taken into the political arena, and that the government should have been forced to live with the consequences of its own decisions. Accordingly none of the staff applied for the posts when they were re-advertised and a nation-wide boycott was advocated. This boycott received widespread support from adult and community educators and was endorsed by the NZACCE. Whatever the rights and wrongs of the various decisions, it is clear that the

only winner was the Minister of Education. The NCAE itself was left seriously weakened not only by the major cut-backs in staffing and funding but also by the deep divisions which resulted and which affected the entire field for several years to come (Dakin, 1988: 110-116).

The 4th Labour Government and ACE, 1984

When the 4th Labour Government was elected to office in mid-1984 there was a sense of relief – not to say euphoria – among many adult and community practitioners. Labour's election manifesto had promised recognition and the restoration of funding of the ACE sector (New Zealand Labour Party, 1984). In addition, its early actions in the field of education were based on labour's traditional social democratic and progressive philosophies.

Within weeks of taking office, Russell Marshall, the Minister of Education, gave the opening address at the South Pacific Lifelong Learning Conference held in Wellington early in September 1984 under the auspices of the NCAE. This conference, with over 300 participants, was one of the largest gatherings of adult and community educators for some time, and the Minister took the opportunity to state his belief in the importance of adult and community education especially in achieving greater equity. He stressed the importance of listening carefully to the people and communities being served, and invited the NCAE and others involved to participate in shaping policies. He did however also sound a cautionary note, drawing delegates' attention to the inevitable scarcity of financial resources and stressing the need for coordination and cooperation among the agencies and groups involved (Marshall, 1984).

Shortly after its election, the government also established a Cabinet Social Equity Committee to co-ordinate equity policies across all government portfolios, including education. In addition, groups were formed to investigate ways of implementing its policies. There were groups set up to investigate transition education (Scott, Austin, & Mallard, 1984), the school curriculum (Committee to Review the Curriculum for Schools, 1987), the organisation and administration of polytechnics and community colleges with a view to establishing a Technical Institutes Grants Committee (Hercus & Young, 1985), trade union education (M. G. Law, (Chair), Lowe, Smith, & Street, 1985) and paid educational leave (M. Law, (Chair), 1985).

Networking and communication in ACE in the 1980s

In the early 1980s the NCAE continued to play a key role in building up and supporting networks among adult and community education practitioners. The NCAE's Director, Peter Creevey and its Training Development Officer, Ron Hoskin, actively promoted these networks. Local and regional workshops were organised and facilitated, often including not only practitioners from educational institutions and agencies identified as 'educational' but also many whose non-formal or informal educational roles were largely unrecognised and unacknowledged.

Following the 1982 funding cuts and the 'Save Adult Education' campaign, the NCAE's networking contribution was considerably diminished. Nevertheless with very much reduced resources and staffing it continued to engage in a range of communication activities until it went into recess in March 1987. It was the NCAE which organised the South Pacific Lifelong Learning Conference held in Wellington early in September 1984 discussed above and which established the Lifelong Learning Task Force referred to below. This latter was but one of several groups over the coming four or five years which consulted widely on policies. In addition the NCAE

ran several workshops around the country and in 1985 established an Ageing and Education Working Party whose report, following a substantial amount of work around the country, was only published in 1987 after the NCAE had gone into recess (Ageing and Education Working Party, 1987). The NCAE's newsletter, PACE, which had made an important contribution since the early 1970s continued to be published until the NCAE's demise in 1987. It's Journal, which since 1984 had been renamed the New Zealand Journal of Adult Learning and edited first by David Teather and then by Brian O'Rourke at Otago University continued publication even after the demise of the NCAE.

The early 1980s also saw the universities becoming increasingly involved with these networks. Several worked alongside technical institutes, teachers' colleges, voluntary organisations and other agencies, to provide workshops for tutors and programme planners, engaged in teaching and research in adult and community education, and some offered certificate programmes on continuing education.

We have already described the origins of the NZACCE in the 1970s. By 1980 six affiliated regional branches had formed - in Auckland, Hamilton, Wanganui, Dunedin, South Canterbury and Nelson, as well as informal networks or 'collectives' of ACE practitioners in a number of other centres. Late in 1980 the presidency and secretariat of the Association passed to the University of Waikato (Minutes of the National Executive Committee, NZACCE, 27-8/3/1981) (NZACCE, 1981). Then, two years later, in November 1982, the presidency and secretariat moved to the Marlborough REAP in Blenheim. It was to remain there for the following three years until the end of 1985.

The 1st issue of AKINA – the NZACCE's bulletin was published in March 1983 from the Association's new headquarters in Blenheim. AKINA was to be published from two or four times a year throughout the 1980s and 1990s with responsibility for issues moving from one region to the next. It became an important vehicle of solidarity among the various groups which took responsibility for the bulletin as well as for those who contributed items and among the readership and members of the Association. In the week of 7-11 June 1983 the first annual Community Learning Week was held. This proved to be the first of many and was the precursor of the international Adult Learners' Week established in the 1990s. The Community Education Week was intended to highlight and publicise learning activities for adults and other community education developments throughout the country

The NZACCE in the 1980s had a strong focus on promoting regional developments. This is illustrated in a report by Ann Verboeket on a seminar organised by ACCE (Otago) called "Planning for Co-operation" (Verboeket, 1984). This was attended by representatives from more than 30 community-based organisations as well as a number of educational institutions from Otago. The Association also had a strong policy focus and succeeded gradually over the years to establish itself as a voice of adult and community educators.

In addition to the networking and communication work undertaken by the above organisations it is important to note that other organisations were also doing important networking local, regionally and nationally. The public libraries, community centres and community radio stations were important as were WEAs, the ARLA Federation, the National Association of ESOL Home Tutor Schemes, Te Ataarangi, REAPS and some schools and polytechnics.

Reviews of ACE, 1984-87

Following the Lifelong Learning Conference referred to previously and a subsequent Seminar on Shaping Policy, in September 1984, with the approval of the Minister of Education, the NCAE established a Lifelong Learning Task Force (Lifelong Learning Task Force, 1985).

As was noted earlier, in 1982-3 several ACE organisations including the WEAs had had all their state funding withdrawn, while others such as the NCAE had had their funding very much reduced and their standing in relation to the ACE sector very much diminished. It had probably been the hope of the NCAE that the success of its Lifelong Learning Conference and the setting up of the Task Force would consolidate its position and reduce the tensions in the field which had arisen out of the funding and legitimisation crisis. However, this was not to be: during the latter part of 1984 and the first few months of 1985, it seems that the Minister was receiving conflicting advice and had become increasingly aware of the divisions that existed in the field.

Working Conference at Stella Maris Conference Centre, 1985

Accordingly, in March 1985, while the NCAE Task Force was still at work, he asked the Department of Education to convene a series of conferences of individuals and representatives of a number of organisations to consider a range of issues. The group, consisting of 30 or 40 people, met on three occasions between May and August, and in September 1985 presented its report containing suggestions for developments in the immediate and medium term (Working Conference at Stella Maris Conference Centre, 1985).

On several occasions the Minister had referred to the 1976 UNESCO Recommendation on Adult Education (UNESCO, 1976) especially in the context of social equity and adult education. The report of the group picked up on this and pointed out that this Recommendation recognised ‘... the potential of adult education as a powerful agent of change... (which) requires consideration of both the focus of adult education and the issue of access to adult learning opportunities.’ In line with the Government’s social equity goals it highlighted the ‘economically and socially vulnerable’. It argued that ‘urgent priority must be given to recognising and supporting these New Zealanders’ educational interests, both as learners and as contributors to learning’.

In summary, the report identified itself closely with the equity issues which were the declared focus of the government’s social and educational reform initiatives. It endorsed the view that adult and community education had the potential to be an agent of change, and argued that priority should be given to recognising and supporting the educational interests of the economically and socially vulnerable, both as learners and contributors to learning.

It then went on to emphasise the importance of providing recognition and support for non-formal learning in which the control of resources and the initiation, management and evaluation of learning are in the hands of economically and socially vulnerable groups. It recommended a range of more or less specific mechanisms and policies to be set in place nationally by government, the department of education, the NCAE and the NZACCE, as well as by educational institutions, to ensure that the interests of these groups were served more effectively (Working Conference at Stella Maris Conference Centre, 1985).

In a short period of time this large group of adult and community educators, drawn from a range of different backgrounds and organisations, achieved a great deal. It acknowledged that it had not

been possible to complete its assignment and recommended the appointment of a further working party. Nevertheless it did produce a report which provided a clear justification for a change of focus and direction and made a considerable number of specific proposals including the outline of a new scheme for funding autonomous non-formal groups. Despite this it could be argued that the group failed to achieve its primary task, namely that of finding ways of removing the blocks to cooperation and coordination that afflicted the field. These included in particular differences concerning the roles of the Department of Education and the NCAE in relation to ACE in general and specifically in providing advice to the Minister of Education (R. M. Tobias, 1990, 1993, 1999c).

Lifelong Learning Task Force, 1984-85

Two months after the presentation of the previous report, the NCAE published the report of its Task Force (Lifelong Learning Task Force, 1985). The underlying philosophy of this Task Force was not dissimilar to that of the previous group (of which the members of the Task Force had been a part). Like the previous report it emphasised the importance of non-formal education and of establishing structures and policies which would enable 'people experiencing inequity' to define their own learning and action agendas. The report sought to oppose a 'deficit' and 'treatment' model of education in which educators or institutions plan and provide 'targeted' assistance or learning opportunities for 'disadvantaged' people. It also rejected an individualistic, social mobility model of adult education, suggesting that much formal education made little or no contribution to social equity since it was largely concerned with producing new elites.

Instead of these models the report used concepts such as 'interdependence', 'structural violence', 'victimisation by labelling', 'apathy - culture of silence' to explain (albeit in fragmentary fashion) the sources of inequity in society. Central to the thinking of the Task Force was the view that there was an important place for resource people - highly skilled adult educators/ community workers in paid and unpaid positions who would undertake the 'animation' task. These 'animators' were to be grouped within a newly created Project Development Services Unit, and they too would need on-going training and support. It recommended that funding decisions should be made on the basis of negotiated guidelines by decision-making groups comprising one or two members of the learning group, two trusted peers, a member of the Project Development Services Unit, and a person appointed by NCAE.

Although the Task Force claimed that its proposals aimed 'to encourage and facilitate co-operation between governmental and non-governmental organisations and other groups'(p 13), it did appear to have an ambivalent view of established educational institutions. Little is said of their place in the new scheme of things, and the focus is almost exclusively on nonformal non-institutional adult and community education.

The report drew attention to the very limited financial resources then allocated by the state to 'non-formal' i.e. non-institutional community education – estimated as a mere 0.03% of Vote: Education in 1985-6 - and recommended that a new 'third channel' for funding non-formal education, which would be closely linked with the Government's social equity goals, should be established (alongside the Universities Grants Committee and the then proposed Technical Institutes Grants Committee). Clearly this recommendation was a major one and its acceptance by Government, along with the other recommendations, would have established a central role and voice in policy development for non-formal adult and community education in general and for a re-constituted NCAE in particular.

Interim Advisory Committee on Non-formal Education (IAGNE), 1986-87

No immediate action was taken by government on either of the above two reports. Towards the end of 1986, however, the Minister made his decision on the NCAE. Following a meeting with representatives of a wide range of groups and organisations, in November 1986, he announced that state funding of the NCAE would be withdrawn as from March 1987. For adult and community educators this was a major decision since as we have seen since the 1960s the NCAE had played a major pioneer role. Instead of the funds going to the NCAE the Minister announced that they would be used to provide some funding for community groups engaged in adult and community education. Further, an Interim Advisory Group on Non-Formal Education would be appointed '... to advise him on (a) the distribution of these funds, (b) the terms of reference and method of appointment of an advisory committee on non-formal education, and (c) the type of organisation that can best serve the needs of non-formal education and be accountable to the groups that use it'. Nine months later in September 1987 this group presented its report to the Minister (Shallcrass, 1987).

As mentioned earlier, the group's focus had been directed to those forms of adult and community education which take place outside educational institutions and it accepted this de-limitation. The group argued that the essential distinguishing feature of non-formal education lay in the fact that it was controlled by groups of learners themselves 'independently of imposed curricula, of outside professionals or of institutions' (Shallcrass, 1987: 6). It noted that probably as much as 80% of deliberate learning takes place outside institutions, but that less than 0.01% of the education budget was devoted to it. It argued further that a good deal of this self-education was undertaken by those who had long since been alienated from formal education.

In view of this it recommended that funding for non-formal education should be increased progressively over three years to 2% of the post school education budget. In addition, the group recommended that the NCAE be disestablished and that a 12-member Committee for Independent Learning Aotearoa/New Zealand (CILANZ), later renamed Community Learning Aotearoa New Zealand CLANZ), elected by groups and voluntary organisations involved in community and non-formal education and serviced by a small unit in the Department of Education to be called the Community Education and Development Unit, be set up:

'to advise the Minister of Education on all aspects of non-formal learning, including community education programmes within institutions, to consult with and respond to people involved in non-formal learning, to distribute funds to non-formal learning groups, and to promote and foster non-formal learning' (Shallcrass, 1987: 11).

In addition, the group recommended that a National Resource Centre for Adult Education and Community Learning (NRC) be set up as a Trust or incorporated society with some limited on-going state funding and limited staffing. Its members would include educational institutions as well as voluntary organisations and groups and it would carry out those other functions including communications, networking and research previously undertaken by the NCAE. It was anticipated that the Tinakori Road property would be handed over to the NRC and would continue to form a national base for adult and community education organisations.

The Associate Minister of Education in the new Cabinet, Phil Goff, in the latter part of 1987 accepted IAGNE's recommendation to set up the Committee for Independent Learning Aotearoa/

New Zealand, and by mid-1988 the Committee had been established. Its main functions were (a) to support voluntary adult and community education organisations and community groups through the provision of grants, and (b) to provide advice to the Minister of Education on nonformal and community education.

Other Review Groups in the mid-1980s

The 1980s also saw the setting up of a large number of other groups – working parties, Task Forces, etc.- reviewing various aspects of the education system (For a detailed overview of the documents see R. M. Tobias, 1993). In addition to those already mentioned these included: a review on ‘Young People, Education and Employment’ done by Vince Catherwood for the New Zealand Planning Council (Catherwood, 1985), a Ministerial Working Party on ‘The management, funding and organization of continuing education and training’ (Probine & Fargher, 1987), the second report of the Task Force on Trade Union Education (M. Law, (Chair), Lowe, Smith, & Street, 1987), the Royal Commission on Social Policy (I. Richardson, (Chair),, 1988), the Vice-Chancellors’ Committee’s Universities Review Committee (1987), a Task Force to Review Education Administration (Picot, 1988) which was followed by the government publication ‘Tomorrow’s Schools’(Lange, 1988), and finally report of a Working Group of officials on Post-Compulsory Education and Training (Hawke, 1988).

‘Learning for Life’ 1989

‘Learning for Life : One’

The first round of government decisions following all the reviews of tertiary education and adult and community education were contained in ‘*Learning for Life : One*’, a document published in February 1989 (Minister and Associate Minister of Education, 1989). It seems that in this document there was still confusion about the nature, scope and purpose of adult and community education. It stated at one point that ‘Non-formal learning - including community education programmes offered within institutions - is seen by the Government as a valuable educational opportunity for people who have found formal institutional programmes unsuited to their needs’ (p 7), and at another point that ‘Non-formal education and training is recognised as a significant part of post-compulsory education and training’ (p 20). One may interpret these statements as implying that the government wished to give its blessings to institutional and community or non-formal education, but that it was not at all sure what it was, except to the extent that it implied some notion of second chance education for those who could not cope with the requirements of formal institutions!

Nevertheless, in this first document the government did confirm Community Learning Aotearoa/ New Zealand (CLANZ) as the advisory body to government on ‘non-formal learning’ and its role as disburser of funding for much of the non-formal learning that takes place outside institutions, while in addition affirming the government’s decision to abolish the NCAE and stating somewhat misleadingly that ‘many of its functions are currently being dealt with by CLANZ’.

‘Learning for Life : Two’

Further, more detailed decisions by government followed in August 1989 with the publication of ‘*Learning for Life: Two*’ (Minister of Education, 1989), by which time the government had

benefitted from the work of its Working Group on Nonformal and Community Education (Hartley, 1989). It re-affirmed community education as 'a legitimate form of continuing education along with general, vocational and professional provision in universities, colleges of education and polytechnics' (Minister of Education, 1989: 36), and stated that providers included these institutions as well as community groups, schools, and national organisations.

In addition the following decisions were announced:

- The existing mode of delivery and level of funding for community education programmes in schools would continue until the end of 1990. In 1991 however a redistribution and reallocation of funds, based on the total population of the 11 districts of the Ministry of Education, would take place.
- A common funding mechanism to be known as a Community Education Learner Unit (CELU) would be devised and funds based on this formula would be paid to community education providers as part of their bulk grants, the amount of the funding being determined by the Ministry during charter negotiations.
- Post-school education institutions would receive their community education funding as part of their bulk funding on a rolling triennium basis, with the amount of funding being determined by the Ministry during charter negotiations.
- Providers could be either chartered to and funded by the Ministry of Education or unchartered and funded by 'chartered providers' or through grants from CLANZ.
- Boards of trustees of schools and councils of other education institutions with a community education component would be asked (rather than required as recommended by the working party) to include a community education member on their governing bodies.
- CLANZ would be chartered to the Ministry of Education, and charters along with peer and self review would be the mechanisms of accountability for it, as well as for all groups, organisations and institutions.
- The National Resource Centre for Adult Education and Community Learning (NRC), established as an independent Trust in 1989 and based in the building at 192 Tinakori Road, Wellington, which had been the home of the NCAE, would be funded by contract through CLANZ.
- CLANZ would continue to provide advice to the Minister of Education on the distribution of grants for community education on the basis of criteria which it would determine.
- The Ministry of Education in consultation with CLANZ would determine the criteria for the approval of charters and corporate plans in the field of community education, and CLANZ and the Ministry would also provide advice on criteria for the review and audit procedures for the nonformal and community education components of charters and corporate plans.

In addition the government announced its agreement in principle that CLANZ would establish Community Education Networks as recommended by the working party. These would consist of providers and participants and would give feedback and assist with the equitable allocation and distribution of the Ministry of Education (Minister of Education, 1989: 36-38).

In the light of these decisions there was at first a feeling among many progressive ACE practitioners early in 1990 that adult and community education, including both nonformal, community-based, and institutional forms of adult and community learning were at last about to find a place in the sun. However within a few months this view had begun to turn and was followed by a sense of some disillusionment - not to say despair - among some experienced adult educators as things proceeded.

The Education Amendment Act, 1990

In the months that followed publication of *Learning for Life: Two* a number of Task Forces, including one in relation to ACE (C. M. Herbert, (Chair), 1990), examined outstanding issues, and in April 1990 an Education Amendment Bill was published. This Bill proceeded through Parliament, and in July 1990 the Education Amendment Act No 60 Of 1990 was passed (New Zealand Government, 1990). It was through this major piece of legislation that the framework was established within which the tertiary education sector including ACE was to develop over the following years.

Overall the legislation signalled a further break from the system which until the 1970s had distinguished sharply between 'higher education', 'adult education' and 'vocational education', and which had increasingly been driven, planned and financed by the state working in partnership with large employers, albeit with a University sector which claimed some institutional autonomy. With the emergence in the 1970s of lifelong, continuing and community education as key concepts, the first break in this system had occurred. There were increasing demands for tertiary education for all, challenges to previously exclusive and elitist institutions, demands for the democratisation of education and for the recognition of the importance of learning in the community and work-based learning, and for the de-institutionalisation of education.

By the late-1980s and early-1990s there was also a further and somewhat contradictory shift in the ideologies driving towards mass tertiary education. On the one hand the pressures came from those who looked to tertiary education to provide the labour power and 'up-skilled' labour force to lift a fragile economy. On the other hand, the pressure came from neoliberals who wished to expand the market for tertiary education which was to be provided not only by public institutions but also by private providers in a framework which secured an equal playing field. The main features included the view that the system was to be driven largely by student enrolments, credentials and by institutional decisions based on assessments of potential student interests. Thus the new system was to focus on institutions and their marketing capacities.

The Act, then, shifted the focus of tertiary education onto chartered institutions and onto credentials. A consequence of this was an almost complete absence of ACE from statutory provision, and no statutory mechanisms were established for the recognition or funding of NGOs, voluntary organisations and community groups. At no point in the legislation was there even any recognition of the importance or legitimacy of adult and community education. Indeed the only reference in the entire Act – and hence in the framework it established - to adult education was to the disestablishment of the National Council of Adult Education (NCAE) which had existed under its own statute since 1938.

As we have already noted, the Act provided for the NCAE's assets to be transferred to an independent non-statutory Trust - the National Resource Centre for Adult Education and

Community Learning (NRC), which had been established in the latter part of 1989. The NRC was however underfunded and initial indications were that it did not even qualify for recognition by the new Tertiary Research Board for funding to initiate research in adult and community education, despite the fact that this was one of its key functions! The Act contained no reference to Community Learning Aotearoa/New Zealand (CLANZ), and it contained no statutory mechanisms for chartering or funding ACE outside of institutions and private providers.. Moreover it provided no mechanism or channel for communication and cooperation across the field of adult and community education.

In the light of these serious limitations, some ACE advocates and practitioners argued that CLANZ's constitution should be amended to secure its position and standing as an advisory body to the Minister of Education and as a disburser of funds, and that this should be formalised under its own statute. It was pointed out that without this statutory security CLANZ could be disestablished and the funds for ACE bodies withdrawn on the word of the Minister of Education. At the very least, it was argued, CLANZ's disestablishment should be made a public process and follow the kinds of procedures provided in the Act for the disestablishment of institutions and other legal entities. Secondly, it was argued that the composition and methods of appointment or election to CLANZ should be re-examined, and that a strong case could be made that the majority of CLANZ members should be elected by two electoral colleges, the one of chartered and the other of non-chartered 'providers', with three or four members being appointed by the Minister to ensure balanced representation' (R. M. Tobias, 1990).

The National Resource Centre was not the only adult and community education body to remain underfunded by the state in 1990. Despite some increase in funding for some voluntary organisations and groups (for example the Adult Reading and Learning Association and some groups focused on parent education), in the late-1980s, the level of funding of a number of other organisations such as the WEA remained low. Indeed despite the re-instatement by the government of the grant to the WEA in 1985, and despite the Government's stated commitment in 1984 to support the WEA, the grant to the Canterbury and Auckland WEAs in 1989 was in real terms about a third of the amount received in 1982, and no additional funds had been provided to support the work of the four new WEA branches which had been established in the previous two years (Peet, Katherine, Private Communication, April, 1990). Finally it seems that funding for staff development and conference attendance for those working outside of institutions was not as readily available as it had previously been (Minutes of the National Executive Committee of the New Zealand Association for Community and Continuing Education, April, 1990).

The 1990s – DECADE OF NEOLIBERAL DOMINANCE

Māori and the Treaty of Waitangi

The 1990 Commemoration of the Treaty of Waitangi

The year 1990 marked the 150th anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. Hence the focus of the 1990 annual conference of the NZACCE, held in co-operation with the Pacific Region of the International Council for Adult Education (ICAE) in August at the Auckland College of Education, was on the Treaty and its implications for adult and community education. (Fowler, 1991: 8-9; New Zealand Association for Community and Continuing Education (NZACCE), 1990: 3; Te Hira, 1991: 4-5). The conference – and indeed events and activities across the country throughout the whole year – provided much food for thought for Pakeha adult and community education practitioners (See for example New Zealand Association for Community and Continuing Education (NZACCE), 1990: 29-38), and there were several strong calls for the NZACCE to move as quickly as possible to become a truly bicultural organisation which would promote the interests of the tangata whenua and move to an equal sharing of resources and power between both parties to the treaty. Although there had been considerable work by Māori and by some Pakeha adult and community education practitioners throughout the 1980s to promote greater understanding by Pakeha of the Treaty and its implications (See especially the work of Project Waitangi as well as moves in the ARLA Federation) it was from 1990 that the movement gained momentum. By 1993 the constitution of NZACCE had been amended to provide for a bicultural structure with the leading positions of President and Vice-president being held jointly by officers being elected by the Pakeha membership and by a ‘First Nations caucus’ (Minutes of the AGM of NZACCE, held in Christchurch Otautahi on 29 August 1993).

Government Policy and the Treaty of Waitangi

The change of government in November 1990 led to significant changes in policies in relation to Māori and the Treaty of Waitangi. In March 1991 Winston Peters, the Minister of Māori Affairs in the new National Government, released a new policy document, ‘Ka Awatea’ (Ministerial Planning Group, 1991). Among other things this document placed less emphasis on Treaty settlements and biculturalism, and instead gave priority to ‘closing the gaps’ between Māori and Pakeha in education, health, employment and economic development. To do this would require substantial investment and engagement by the state and this could not be countenanced by a neoliberal government committed to benefit cuts, the privatisation of state assets and market rentals on housing.

Peters was publically critical of these policies and consequently in October 1991 he was dismissed from Cabinet. In spite of this, the restructuring of Māori Affairs advocated in 'Ka Awatea' was implemented. Towards the end of 1991 the Iwi Transition Agency and Manatu Māori were disestablished, and in their place Te Puni Kokiri (TPK) the Ministry of Māori Development was established. Vote Māori Affairs was however heavily cut and 250 employees were made redundant.

The settlement of Claims under the Treaty of Waitangi

Although the Government was slow to respond to Māori treaty claims, in March 1992 Douglas Graham, the Minister of Justice, put forward his proposals to a Cabinet committee. He argued that the Treaty requirements on the Crown which were inscribed in as many as 21 Acts of Parliament passed over the previous few years, could not readily be reversed especially in view of the numerous successful High Court actions taken by Māori organisations in challenging Crown actions. He pointed out that the National Party manifesto for the 1990 election had promised to settle all Treaty claims by 2000. He made it clear, however, that the 'Government's chequebook was not limitless' (R. J. Walker, 2004: 301). In 1992 these fiscal constraints on the Crown were recognised explicitly in the second part of the fisheries settlement and by 1994 the notion of a 'fiscal cap' on all settlements was being proposed, and by early 1995 the government had developed the 'Crown Proposals for the Settlement of Treaty of Waitangi Claims' (Office of Treaty Settlements, 1995) to attempt to address the issues. A key element of the proposals was to establish a "fiscal envelope" of \$1 billion for the settlement of all historical claims - in effect to put a limit on the total amount the Crown would be prepared to pay out in settlements. Māori around the country protested vigorously and vehemently rejected such a limitation in advance of settlements being reached, and the idea was subsequently dropped after the 1996 general election. Despite the protests, however, eleven settlements were reached in the 1990s. These included the following large and significant ones: The 'Sealord' Māori Fisheries deal of 1992; the Waikato Tainui Raupatu settlement of 1995; and the Ngāi Tahu land sales settlement of 1997. In each of these three the settlement was valued at \$170 million.

The establishment and recognition of Wānanga

One of the key educational policy achievements of Māori in the late-1980s was to gain the government's formal recognition of wānanga as Māori tertiary institutions. In the Education Amendment Act of 1990 a wānanga was defined as a tertiary institution 'characterised by teaching and research that maintains, advances, and disseminates knowledge and develops intellectual independence, and assists the application of knowledge regarding āhuatanga Māori (Māori tradition) according to tikanga Māori (Māori custom) (New Zealand Government, 1990: 162 (4) (b)). In terms of this Act in the early 1990s three Wānanga were recognised and became eligible to receive EFTS funding: Te Wānanga o Raukawa, Te Wānanga o Aotearoa and Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiarangi.

In the previous chapter we noted the foundation in 1981 of Te Wānanga o Raukawa at Otaki. In terms of the Education Amendment Act of 1990, in 1993 this Wānanga was recognised as a provider of tertiary education and in 1994 it received its first EFTS funding. Through the 1990s its enrolments grew steadily from 687 in 1993 to 1,994 in 2000, and the number of graduates, including those with certificates and diplomas as well as bachelors' degrees rose from 235 to 790 (Walker, 2004: 349).

We also noted the history of Te Wānanga o Aotearoa which had been founded in 1983 in Te Awamutu and had expanded into several other centres in the late-1980s. The early 1990s saw its continuing growth as the Aotearoa Institute. However it was not until 1993 that its standing as a Wānanga was recognised and it became eligible for EFTS funding as a TEI, and in 1994 that its name was changed from the Aotearoa Institute to Te Wānanga o Aotearoa. By that time, in addition to the original campus in Te Awamutu, campuses had been established in Te Kuiti, Hamilton, Mangere, Tokoroa, Rotorua and Porirua. From the outset the Wānanga had been committed to closing the gaps between Māori and Pakeha and for this reason it had opted for an open entry policy for students. In the 1990s only 4% of students entered the Wānanga direct from high school; 77% of the students were Māori; 16% were Pakeha; and 5% were Pasifika, and 34% per cent of students were unemployed or welfare beneficiaries (Walker, 2004: 351)

The founding of Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiarangi in Whakatane took place somewhat later than that of the two previous wānanga we have discussed. The inspiration for its establishment came from Professor Hirini Moko Mead, who in 1987 first proposed such a wānanga for the people of Ngati Awa and Mataatua. Although it was first established by 1992 when it received NZQA approval to offer degree programmes including its Bachelor of Māori Studies, it did not gain wānanga status and its own EFTS funding until January 1997. Between 1992 and 1997 it accepted the Ministry of Education's advice to secure interim funding through two existing institutions: the University of Waikato and Waiariki Polytechnic.

The Wānanga, the Waitangi Tribunal and the Government

In 1993 the three wānanga came together to form Te Tauihu o nga Wānanga and it was through this Association that a claim was lodged with the Waitangi Tribunal in May 1998. The claim alleged that the Crown had failed to resource the three wānanga on a similar basis to all other TEIs established prior to the 1990 Education Amendment Act or which had received capital injections subsequent to this legislation. In particular the claimants argued that the wānanga had been prejudiced in that they – and they alone out of all TEIs – had received no capital grants to enable them to establish facilities to a standard comparable with those of other TEIs.

In April 1999 the Tribunal reported its findings and recommendations. It found inter alia that the Crown had breached the principle of the Treaty in failing to protect the tertiary education rights of Māori and that since 1990 the Crown had prejudiced wānanga by refusing to provide them with capital injections that had been provided to other tertiary education institutions (Waitangi Tribunal, 1999: 55). In the light of these and other findings the Tribunal recommended by way of compensation a one-off payment of a capital sum to cover all the capital costs that would be incurred by the wānanga in bringing their buildings and equipment up to a standard comparable with other TEIs. These recommendations were accepted by the Government which allocated the funds to the wānanga.

The late-1990s

The later years of the 1990s continued to see a large number of Māori educational initiatives. In 1997 for example there was a continuing push from Māori to increase the number of speakers of te reo. This was taking place through Te Ataarangi groups around the country. In addition there were 675 kōhanga reo (catering for 13,505 children), 54 kura kaupapa Māori, three wānanga with more than 32,000 students receiving Māori-medium education, and 55,399 students learning te

reo. In addition in that year the ARLA federation was mandated by the membership as a Treaty-based organisation and changed its name to Literacy Aotearoa.

In 1998, Te Puni Kōkiri, the Ministry of Māori Development, published a report to the Minister of Māori Affairs entitled *Progress towards Closing Social and Economic Gaps between Māori and Non-Māori*. This report provided a 'helicopter view' of Māori progress across the education, employment, economic, and health sectors, and an assessment of progress made over time. When addressing economic status, the report said: 'Since the mid-1980s Māori participation in all sectors of education has increased markedly. Despite this, disparities persist between Māori and non-Māori for most indicators of educational status. Historically, the scale of disparities between Māori and non-Māori participation and achievement have been so wide that improvements by Māori have had a minimal impact on reducing the difference. Compared to non-Māori, Māori are less likely to attend early childhood education, are less likely to remain to senior levels of secondary school, and are less likely to attain a formal qualifications upon leaving secondary school. Māori are also less likely to undertake formal tertiary training, particularly in universities. Māori who are in tertiary training are more likely to be enrolled in second chance programmes' (Te Puni Kokiri, 1998).

Adult and Community Education in the 1990s

The 1991 Budget

In November 1990, six months after the passage of the Education Amendment Act, a National government was elected to office on the promise of a 'decent society', and on a tide of voter disenchantment with a Labour Government that had all but destroyed the welfare state compromise achieved by a previous Labour government in the 1930s and 1940s (Hobsbawm, 1994; M. Law, 1993; Wahl, 2012). In December 1990, one of the first initiatives of the new government was to produce an 'Economic and Social Statement' (Bolger, Richardson, & Birch, 1990) which announced massive cuts in welfare benefits and housing assistance. This was followed in 1991 by a whole series of measures designed to cut back radically on the provisions of the welfare state .

In mid-1991, as part of its first budget, the government announced its new education policies (Lockwood Smith, 1991; H. R. Richardson, 1991: 20). These reflected a very strong commitment by government to neo-liberal ideology, along with a view which suggested that New Zealand's economic ills derived from past protectionist policies and skill deficits in the labour market.

Policies thus included the following measures. The standard tuition fee for tertiary studies was abolished and instead individual tertiary institutions were required to set their own fees. This was intended to increase the competition between tertiary institutions. 'Study Right', a mechanism enabling the state to fund different categories of tertiary students at different rates and progressively reduce the level of funding for older students, was established. Cuts were announced in student allowances to bring them into line with the unemployment benefit, and a student loan scheme was introduced. A capital charge on the assets of tertiary institutions was also proposed, and equity funding (introduced in the late-1980s to encourage initiatives in tertiary institutions) was to be abolished.

Cuts in the funding of a number of organisations were announced. These included the NZQA, which was expected to generate increased income from the services it provided, and a number of other central education and training support agencies, including the Early Childhood Development Unit (ECDU); the Education & Training Support Agency (ETSA); and Quest Rapuara: the career development & transition education service. In addition, the Women's Advisory Committee on Education was abolished, the application criteria for grants through the Community Organisations Grants Scheme (COGS) were made more restrictive, the annual grant to the Queen Elizabeth II Arts Council was cut by 48%, to the New Zealand Film Commission by 73%, to the Hillary Commission by 85%, while the annual grant to the Consumers' Institute was abolished (For a critique of all this see R. M. Tobias, 1991).

Finally, funding of the following adult and community education organisations and groups was either withdrawn completely or cut drastically: Community Learning Aotearoa/New Zealand (CLANZ) lost 61% of all its funds which it disbursed to other small groups in the community; the New Zealand Workers' Educational Association (NZWEA) lost its entire annual grant; the Federation of New Zealand Parents' Centres initially lost its entire annual grant. However this was later re-instated. The Community Learning Centres and the Treaty of Waitangi Public Education Programme lost their entire annual grants; while Community Work Training and Youth Workers Training had their funding reduced. Other community education organisations to lose funding included the Rural Education Activities Programmes the Northland Business and Environmental Centre Service, the Hawkes Bay Community Youth Programme, the Distance Education Unit of the Trade Union Education Authority, and the Country Women's Coordinating Committee.

Government policies and adult and community education in the early 1990s

Thus the 1991 budget imposed substantial funding cuts on a number of organisations and groups involved in adult and community education. At the time it seemed that this constituted a direct attack by a government that lacked any empathy with or understanding of adult and community education, a sector of tertiary education which was already underfunded (Harré Hindmarsh, 1992; R. M. Tobias, 1991).

In addition, CLANZ, which had been under-funded even before the change of government in 1990, faced an even more difficult situation following the budget. With no statutory authority and no strong political base, CLANZ also lost its function of advising the Minister of Education. Moreover, although it continued to allocate small grants to community groups and voluntary organisations, from the time of the new Government's first budget in 1991 CLANZ's budget was reduced by \$315,000 or 60% to a total of \$210,000, with \$200,000 for allocation to groups and \$10,000 for administrative expenses. This massive cut had a number of effects on CLANZ and its work. In December 1991 CLANZ reported as follows:

'Because of the reduction in operating budget and in responsibilities, CLANZ's method of operating has had to change. The committee has reduced from 12 members to 8... It is no longer possible for the committee to meet around the country and to meet with local community groups in the way it did in the past. Sadly, meetings are now of necessity for one day only and in Wellington - this because it is the cheapest place to gather. The newsletter has also been discontinued.' (New Zealand Association for Community and Continuing Education (NZACCE), 1991: 39)

The Committee also noted that the former distinction between grants under \$1,500 (which could be considered on a quarterly basis) and those over \$1,500 (which were considered only once a year) no longer applied. Grants could be of any size. 'However, with the reduced budget and ever-growing demand, smaller grants are more likely to be successful.' CLANZ expressed its deep concern 'at the lack of any independent advice to the Minister of Education on this very important branch of adult learning.' CLANZ in fact was never to recover a large role in disbursing funds to community projects and groups. It continued to distribute funds throughout the 1990s and through until 2007 when it was finally closed (R. M. Tobias, 2005).

It was clear that the key changes to the structure of ACE, made by the previous Labour government's 'Learning for Life' reforms of 1990, were being rapidly dismantled. With the NCAE having been abolished and CLANZ's position downgraded, it was necessary for other organisations to take on the tasks of attempting to influence and advise government and to foster, support and promote unity within a very dispersed field. Organisations which attempted to fill the gaps and at the very least keep the networks alive and channels of communication open included the NZACCE which was in the process of changing its name to the Adult and Community Education Association Aotearoa New Zealand (ACEA) and the National Resource Centre of Adult Education and Community Learning (NRC). ACEA continued to organise Community Learning Week and its annual conference as well as occasional regional and national workshops and publishing AKINA its newsletter twice or three times a year.

The Trustees of the NRC decided to launch a new journal to be named 'Lifelong Learning in Aotearoa', to prepare a feasibility study of the options for establishing a data base, to prepare a report with recommendations on the future use of resources inherited from the NCAE, and to organise workshops for practitioners in the field. The first issue of the journal which was edited by John Benseman and Liz Moore, appeared in March 1992, and they continued as editors of the first eight issues which appeared between March 1992 and August 1994. At that time they were succeeded as editor by Heather Mulholland. However the journal only survived another year, during which time three issues were published with the final issue (issue no. 10) appearing in September 1995.

In the months following the 1991 budget both CLANZ and the NZACCE tried to set up meetings with the Minister of Education, Lockwood Smith. Both failed. He cancelled several meetings at the last minute and was unavailable to explain the government's rationale for removing funding to community-based groups. Joy McLachlan, National MP, deputising for the Minister at the NZWEA's AGM held in Wellington on 9 and 10 November 1991, cited the need for groups to be accountable in ways consistent with those faced by other tertiary organisations, and the Hon Wyatt Creech made a similar statement at the NZACCE conference. However considerable scepticism was expressed about the validity of this as the reason (McGray, 1992). It was argued for example that many of these groups were necessarily highly responsive and accountable to their participants and members since their viability hinged on ongoing support from their constituents.

In spite of the substantial cuts in Vote: Education funding to adult and community education organisations, as well as cuts to other state funds for health and social services, and in spite of the apparent lack of sympathy for and understanding of adult and community education by the Minister of Education, no community organisations closed down (Harré Hindmarsh, 1992: 184-

185). On the contrary they showed considerable resilience (McGray, 1992; Peet, 1992). Unpaid voluntary workers worked longer hours than previously, and paid workers worked for lower pay or put in additional unpaid over-time hours. In many voluntary organisations supervision and support became a hard-to-afford luxury. In addition there was a search for alternative sources of funds and other forms of support. The alternatives included tutor hours from schools, REAPs in rural areas, charitable trusts, lottery grants and in some cases local authorities.

An indication of the limited nature of government thinking about adult and community education in the early 1990s is provided by the fact that the only major policy work on ACE was that done through a project established by the Ministry of Education in mid-1992 under the initial title, 'Return Education and Training Policy Project'. Although this project was subsequently renamed the 'Adult Education Policy Project', its scope remained limited, little if any public consultation was undertaken, and no final report was ever published (Peet, 1997; Sutton & Benseman, 1996 p 136)!

Few references in government policy discourse at the time were made to adult and community education. Policy on tertiary education, it would seem, was driven firstly by neoliberal ideologues who saw little if any need to participate in such discourses or intervene in the market, and who saw tertiary education largely as a private good; secondly it was driven by conservatives, many of whom rejected the priorities advocated by ACE supporters and advocates, and thirdly it was driven by those whose focus was exclusively on the place of education in developing skills for the labour market.

Policy Development by Adult & Community Education Organisations, 1991-94

A response to the budget by NZACCE, 1991

As we have seen, in the early 1990s the National government had shown little interest in adult and community education. As a consequence, in September 1991, the executive of the NZACCE, with the support of other national groups in the field, decided to apply to UNESCO and the Roy McKenzie Trust for funds to develop policy for adult and community education. Its stated purpose in applying was to 'bring together representative groups to look at the needs, future development, planning, support and resourcing of programmes in adult education and community learning, which will benefit marginalised groups in our society'(Adult & Community Education Association (Aotearoa/New Zealand), 1994).

In support of its application the Association argued inter alia that the need for coherent policy in adult and community education was generally recognised by people working in this area of education; that this was especially needed in the light of (a) the limited resources available for community education and nonformal learning especially in areas of greatest need, and (b) the removal of funds from community groups in the 1991 budget which had further disadvantaged marginalised groups.

Three months later in December 1991 a grant of \$US7,000 was approved by UNESCO at a regional level. However it was not until March 1993 that it received final approval from Paris. Further funding was also received from the Roy McKenzie Trust along with resources from Te Whānau O Waipareira Trust. At that point an extensive process of consultation and discussion

was set in place, and over the following months several drafts of a document were produced for discussion before a final 'Policy/Resource Working Document' was produced in 1994 (Adult & Community Education Association (Aotearoa/New Zealand), 1994).

Preparing the Policy/Resource Document

The document made it clear that it had been 'prepared by people participating in [the] field of education commonly known as adult and community education'. It acknowledged its debt to the long line of reports prepared since the mid-1980s, some prepared for the Minister of Education by officials and others by agencies and individuals in the field. These reports, it was noted, had all recommended:

- 'the recognition of the importance of the role of nonformal education in the welfare and economy of New Zealand society;
- 'the need for political recognition and from that, reliable funding and accountability; [and]
- 'concern for issues of equity and, in particular, implementation of Te Tiriti O Waitangi' (Adult & Community Education Association (Aotearoa/New Zealand), 1994: 3).'

These recommendations, it pointed out, were 'largely .. unimplemented'.

The document stated that it was intended as a resource document and was divided into three sections: The first seeks to put adult and community education into context, the second provides a vision and framework for the basis of change, and the third gives detail of the proposed framework. There is a half-page discussion which seeks to define the field or sector. Among other things it stated that:

'Adult and community education refers to organised learning activities that groups or individuals undertake for their personal, community, cultural or economic development. It touches all other areas of learning but its primary focus is the adult as learner and the community as context.

'Programmes are run by community groups and educational institutions, they are usually short-term, part-time programmes not designed primarily to make a profit for the provider, Outcomes are measured primarily in terms relevant to the needs and aspirations of participants.

Adult and community education is responsive to the learner's needs and aspirations. It is flexible in how, where, when and what it provides. It enables learners to enter and leave when it is appropriate for them to do so.

'(it) covers five main field: Adult basic education; 'Second chance' education; Personal development education; Cultural education; and Education for group and community development' (Adult & Community Education Association (Aotearoa/New Zealand), 1994: 5).

The document then proceeded to describe the range of providers including community groups, local and national organisation, schools and tertiary institutions as well as the national bodies supporting adult and community education. It then characterised the funding of the sector as 'short-term, ad hoc, scattered, irrational and limited' and noted that in the 1990/91 year the

sector received 0.71% of total Vote Education or 2.8% of the tertiary education allocation. It also noted that no Māori organisations received direct government funding for adult and community education and that the emphasis is increasingly on vocational, qualifying and profit-making courses.

A Vision for the Future

The document then articulated its vision for the future. This included an education system:

- ‘that enables each of us to identify our own learning needs in the widest possible sense and take responsibility to meet them;
- ‘which enables all of us to ‘read and write and be numerate, to understand and evaluate options and choices, to be aware of the opinions and aspirations of others, to be able to support our parents and our children and to cope with the many changes that we encounter every day’;
- ‘that ensures ‘that lifelong learning opportunities are available for all New Zealanders’;
- ‘in which ‘adult and community education should specifically cater for those groups of people who historically have had limited access to all sectors of education. These are those people
 - who have been poorly served by the formal education system,
 - who have poor literacy and numeracy skills,
 - with a negative attitude to learning due to past experiences
 - for whom English is not their first language
 - who have been outside of any educational system for some time
 - with poor self-esteem and low expectations of themselves and others
 - whose previous skills have not equipped them for their current life needs
 - whose income is at survival level, [or]
 - who live in rural areas’ (Adult & Community Education Association (Aotearoa/New Zealand), 1994: 9).’

In this vision statement echoes may be heard of the Unesco recommendations of 1976 and other documents from the past.

Principles and Goals

Based on this vision, the following principles were seen to be ‘generally accepted’ as underlying adult and community education:

- ‘Ongoing learning and education which enhances quality of life is the cornerstone of a healthy society which is peaceful, just and sustainable;

- ‘The right to learn is fundamental for all people in Aotearoa. This means the right of access to and full participation in education which will enable people to question, challenge and organise, read and write and develop individual and collective skills, create, and understand their own world and history;
- ‘Māori have the right to equal participation in the allocation and use of resources. They are the Tangata Whenua, and Te Tiriti O Waitangi defines the partnership between them and Tauīwi;
- ‘The pathways by which people access community education should acknowledge cultural practices, prior learning .. and include participation in decision making;
- ‘The state has a responsibility to provide education which upholds the rights of people to lifelong learning;
- ‘Providers at all levels have a responsibility to ensure that these rights are upheld and to both advocate for learners and help learners advocate;
- ‘Learners and providers must be valued as resources and provided with a valid mechanism to make educational choices throughout their lives;
- ‘Adult and community education plays a key role in addressing equity and justice in society and within the field of education;
- ‘All structures, processes and resource distribution should be culturally relevant and appropriate and should implement Te Tiriti O Waitangi. Perspectives, actions and policies are not neutral; they are driven by agendas of cultural, gender and socio-economic bias. They therefore need to be monitored to ensure the kaupapa is reflected in practise’ (Adult & Community Education Association (Aotearoa/New Zealand), 1994: 9-10).

In the light of these principles the document identified the following eight goals, and for each of the goals a strategy and set of expected outcomes:

- ‘To uphold Te Tiriti O Waitangi and action it within community education;
- ‘To provide access for individuals and groups whom the education system has marginalised;
- ‘To establish and implement a national policy which provides statutory recognition to adult and community education as the fourth sector of education;
- ‘To develop networks for the communication, support and dissemination of information;
- ‘To establish adequate, equitable and secure funding mechanisms;
- ‘To provide effective accountability procedures;
- ‘To develop and maintain a strong research tradition whereby knowledge is constructed and stored and educators are actively critical of their practice; [and]
- ‘To provide adult and community educators with opportunities for professional development’ (Adult & Community Education Association (Aotearoa/New Zealand), 1994: 11-13).’

A proposed funding framework

Finally, the document set out a proposed funding framework. This recognised the variety of forms of funding required by different community groups, local and regional organisations, national bodies and central organisations, schools, and tertiary institutions. On the basis of the above recommendations the document stated it could infer the following 'funding principles':

- recognition by the state of the importance of adult and community education and the need for this to be reflected in a significant increase in overall state funding of adult and community education;
- recognition of the need for security and continuity of funding for some organisations as well as availability of ad hoc grants and project funding for others;
- provision of adequate funds for central and national organisations to enable them to work alongside the Ministry of Education in providing leadership and support to the field; and
- provision of adequate funds to ensure that effective regional and local networking is supported.

The document was the product of widespread discussion and debate over a two-year period. It was developed through a number of drafts, each of which was discussed at meetings of the ACEA branches around the country as well as at other gatherings and meetings. It constituted an attempt – initially an urgent attempt - by a disparate group of people to respond to an apparent lack of recognition by government of the value of ACE.

Overall the document is a remarkable one. It is comprehensive and provides a coherent framework within which to locate the various elements of adult and community education. Inevitably it also has its limitations, some of which arise out of its very strengths. For example some sections may be considered too idealistic. The discourses underpinning these sections are strongly progressive, and as such were unlikely to claim the support of a conservative government dominated by neoliberal and managerialist discourses. On the other hand other sections were more pragmatic and might find some sympathy in government.

One feature of the document - and indeed of the whole project - which gave rise to some difficulties and tensions was the lack of clarity from the outset regarding its scope. On the one hand a key feature of the project was its focus on the needs of 'marginalised groups' in society and on identifying way in which adult and community education may meet the needs of these groups. On the other hand the document rapidly assumed a wider mantle and looked to examine the ways in which adult and community education could contribute not only to the benefit of the 'marginalised' but also to the wider good of all sectors of society.

A Government Response

On 17 June 1994 the Minister of Education, Lockwood Smith, at last met with the ACEA mini-executive. At that meeting he is reported as acknowledging that adult and community education had 'suffered', had received only 'crumbs', and that there was a need for a better focus. In relation to the policy document he made it clear that he thought that the association should encourage providers of adult and community education to adapt their programmes so that they could register on the qualifications framework. He emphasised the importance of

recognising learning outcomes through accreditation. He posed the question: Why shouldn't all learning be recognised? He made it clear that he wanted all areas of learning recognised on the Qualifications Framework and that it should be 'resourced in a rational and equitable way'.

In light of the view of the Minister of Education that programmes of adult and community education should only be recognised and funded if they were registered on the qualifications framework, and the equally firmly held view of many adult and community education practitioners that much of their work could only succeed if it was not constrained by the requirements of credentialism, it is not surprising that little progress was made to develop new policies that would fit with the government's requirements.

In the mid-1990s New Zealand did continue to experience considerable expansion of its formal tertiary education sector. This was driven primarily by the 'Learning for Life' reforms initiated by the 1990 legislation. At the same time, the non-formal sector continued to languish. The introduction of the NZQF continued to give rise to considerable debate and controversy. In the period leading up to the 1996 general election educational issues yet again featured strongly in the election campaign. These included the rise of private education providers and their place in the tertiary education system, the qualifications framework and whether university qualifications should be subject to control and quality assurance by the NZQA.

'A Seamless Education System' – 1993-94

We noted earlier in this chapter the lack of policy work by government - and the lack of consultation - on adult and community education in the early-1990s. In spite of this, however, by mid-1993 - perhaps driven partly by the upcoming general elections - Lockwood Smith as Minister of Education initiated a public consultation on all aspects of education. To this end, a draft document entitled 'Education for the 21st Century' was published and widely distributed. This document was intended to stimulate discussion of policies on education from the cradle into adulthood. In his foreword the Minister said that: 'Contained in the Document is the Government's vision of an education system that will provide, first, the foundations of education, second, the development of essential skills, and third, lifelong learning' (Ministry of Education, 1993).

This document did promote the importance of lifelong learning within the context of a 'seamless education system.' This included 'second chance education' - to be provided by private training establishments and community groups. It thus opened further the door for private education providers to be accredited and funded. It also highlighted the important part to be played by Skill New Zealand in providing and supporting workplace training, driven by the needs of industry and recognised by the New Zealand Qualifications Authority as leading to the National Certificate or Diploma. In emphasising the importance of lifelong learning the document stated that 'New Zealanders must realise that the days of education being completed at a certain age are gone forever. They must be prepared to upskill and re-skill throughout their lives' (Ministry of Education, 1993: 16).

Responses to the Discussion Document

In response to the Minister's general invitation to the public, a number of organisations and individuals in the field of adult and community education sprang into action to respond to the document. These groups included the Aotearoa New Zealand Association for Adult and

Community Education, the Federation of WEAs and University Centres for Continuing Education. Whilst several submissions indicated their support for the emphasis on the importance of lifelong learning, a number also argued that the focus was too narrow and restrictive. The document tied lifelong learning so closely to the demands of the workplace that it effectively diminished other important forms of learning. These gaps in the document, it was pointed out, included learning for democracy and active citizenship, learning for creativity, learning for home and family life, and learning for personal enjoyment and for the wellbeing of all New Zealanders including both the young and old and those in the paid workforce as well as those in unpaid work. Moreover they argued that scant attention had been given to the role of community groups and voluntary organisations in lifelong learning and that greater recognition and funding was required by these community based providers. In general, then, it seems that the notions of a 'seamless education system' and of 'lifelong learning' contained in the document located them in a narrow technicist and managerialist discourse. They were almost exclusively focused on formal learning and job-related training and retraining provided under the qualifications framework. There is little if any recognition of wider more progressive discourses of lifelong learning and education.

On 17 August 1993, at a time when they were working on developing the Association's policy document, Diane Fowler and Dorothy McGray, co-presidents of the New Zealand Association for Adult and Community Education, wrote to the Minister of Education. They expressed surprise and extreme disappointment to find 'no reference to our sector of education in the document other than through second chance education on pages 18 and 19.' They pointed out that 'second chance' education is only a small part of adult and community education which is very much broader and provides 'skills and knowledge which adults use in all facets of their lives'. They concluded their letter by posing

1. Does the Government have a continuing commitment to the provision of adult and community education which goes beyond 'second chance education'?
2. Will the Government continue to purchase educational services for adults which are outside the qualifications framework?

In November 1993 there was a General Election. Whereas in 1990 the Labour Government had been swept out of office, three years later both National and Labour were equally unpopular with the electorate, with each getting roughly a third of the total votes cast. Nevertheless with only a one-seat majority the National Party was returned to office. The new Alliance and New Zealand First parties gained significant shares of the vote, but won few seats. The election was New Zealand's last under the non-proportional 'first past the post' electoral system.

Early in 1994, following several months of public discussion, the new National government published its revised version of the document, 'Education for the 21st Century' (Ministry of Education, 1994). The main thrust of this was similar to that of the previous one. It envisaged a seamless education system in which barriers no longer existed between schools and post-school education and training. In addition, it claimed to outline a 'vision of a seamless education system which can maximise participation and achievement in education and training, from birth throughout life' (Ministry of Education, 1994: 6).

The scope of the document, which incorporated early childhood education at home and school as well as a wide array of forms of post-school education and training, illustrates the extent to

which dominant educational policy discourses had shifted over the previous couple of decades from a front-end model focused on schools to a lifelong model of learning. There were some signs that the government had modified its earlier thinking at least in the descriptions it included of each of the sections. For example, in the section on private and community education providers, although the predominant discourse remains constrained by a focus on second chance education within the qualifications framework, there is at least some recognition that adult and community education goes beyond this. The document states that, 'Adult learning opportunities in a wide range of areas are available from community providers of education, as well as through school-based community education programmes, and polytechnic and university continuing education programmes' (Ministry of Education, 1994: 16). This recognition is however not followed up with any suggestion that these forms of learning should be supported by the state. Funding and supporting the 'seamless education system' by the state did not appear to include adult learning other than 'second chance' and perhaps work-related skills learning.

Funding Growth in Tertiary Education & Training, 1993-94

Growth of tertiary Enrolments

During the early-1990s, as intended by successive governments, significant growth took place in participation in tertiary education. The formal tertiary education sector expanded dramatically and diversified. At the same time, the nonformal sector languished through lack of recognition and funding. In view of this rapid growth and the consequent rise in public expenditure, in August 1993 the government appointed a Ministerial Consultative Group on *Funding Growth in Tertiary Education and Training*, with Jeff Todd of Price Waterhouse as chairperson, to examine the implications of this growth and to advise the government on how the expected further future growth in tertiary student numbers should be funded. The managerialist ideology underpinning the group's appointment was revealed in its composition. Neither of the trade unions (AUS or ASTE) centrally involved with tertiary education were represented. Moreover it seems that the forms of consultation were highly controlled.

In addition, the terms of reference and the report itself were both framed predominantly in terms which drew on neoliberal discourses. They assumed that there were both public and private benefits which derived from tertiary education and training, that it was possible to distinguish between these benefits, and that the state should therefore not be expected to fund the entire costs of tertiary education. However these discourses were contested in the report and in public policy at the time and more progressive discourses also influenced the report. The Group was required to have regard to the government's objectives 'to develop a culture of life-time learning, integrating all forms of post-compulsory education and training into a coherent system to provide effective learning for all; [and] to obtain better value for money from public expenditure on tertiary education' (Todd, 1994b: 27).

This Group issued a discussion document in January 1994 which invited comment (Todd, 1994a), and this was followed four months later in May 1994 by its final report (Todd, 1994b). The report began by noting the expansion in tertiary education. Between 1985 and 1994 it stated that publically funded places in tertiary education had increased from about 71,000 to about 137,000 EFTSs, an average growth rate of over 7% per annum. It noted further that government expected participation to continue to grow, reflecting an international trend toward mass participation in tertiary education and training (Todd, 1994b: 25). With regard to public

funding it noted that, although total government funding of tertiary education and training had increased over the previous decade, real funding for each EFTS place had declined as the number of students had grown. Typical student fees at state institutions had risen from an average of about \$200 per annum in the mid-1980s to an average of about \$1,600 in 1993 and to an estimated \$1,920 in 1994.

In one section of its report the Group usefully summarised the provision and funding of tertiary education at the time (pp 29-34). This included:

- Thirty-nine public tertiary institutions (7 universities, 25 polytechnics, 2 wānanga and 5 colleges of education – almost entirely publically funded through EFTS funding);
- Seven and hundred and six recognised private training establishments (PTEs) (of which 242 were NZQA accredited, 17 received EFTS funding, with many funded through the Training Opportunities Programme (TOP), several were iwi initiatives and 277 were registered as Māori);
- Two government training establishments (the defence force and the Police College) accredited by NZQA;
- On-the-job training and training supported by the 29 Industry Training Organisations (ITOs) which in turn received some public funds through the Education and Training Support Agency (ETSA);
- A wide range of organisations contribute to continuing and community education and training on either a formal or non-formal basis.

The Group also identified a number of different types of adult and community education organisations including schools, polytechnics, universities, distance learning institutions, WEAs, voluntary agencies and private providers. There were however gaps. No reference was made to organisations such as CLANZ, the NRC and REAPs, and no attempt was made by the Group to address issues of funding for ACE organisations and activities, in spite of the fact that the ACEA had requested a meeting with the Group.

Options for funding

The Group's focus was primarily if not exclusively on formal tertiary education and it was unable to reach consensus on the level and structure of state subsidies. Its report instead identified two options. Option A was based on the view that considerable progress had been made, especially since the reforms of the late-1980s, in expanding tertiary education and training, and that the existing funding arrangements were sound. It proposed that a combination of measures including marginal increases in private contributions, which were expected to rise to cover 25% of course costs by 1999, and changes to increase the diversity of education and training opportunities, should be sufficient to provide for projected increases in participation.

Option B on the other hand was the more radical neoliberal option. Under this option it was proposed that the state's contribution to tertiary education and training was to be reduced and re-focused with more funds being targeted to assist Māori and low income students. Private contributions, and in particular the fees paid by most students were to increase and were expected to rise gradually to cover 50% of course costs.

Each of the above options was supported by four members of the group, while the remaining two members, student representatives, did not support either option. They argued inter alia that per capita tuition subsidies be maintained at least at present levels in real terms, that the rate of interest on student loans remain unchanged, and that growth in tertiary education and training be funded from general taxation.

A number of other issues were also addressed by the Group. The continuation of EFTS-based funding and a student loan scheme were endorsed by the Group, though those favouring option B placed greater reliance on the repayment of student loans. The Group as a whole recommended that the Study Right policy, introduced at the time of the 1991 budget, be reviewed with a view to its abolition. It noted among other things that the policy was sending 'the wrong signals to people in the workforce who require further education and training; Study right is inconsistent with learning for life .. [and] disadvantages mature students who intend to return to the workforce' (Todd, 1994b: 91). The group as a whole recommended that PTEs be permitted progressively to further compete for funds with state providers and that the ongoing contribution by industry to the education and training of the workforce be recognised. It also recommended that 'the traditional concept of tertiary education in New Zealand be extended to reflect the need for increased participation by those in or seeking to re-enter the workforce, the importance of increased industry education and on-job training, and a commitment to lifelong learning' (Todd, 1994b: 155).

The Government's Response

The government immediately rejected Option B, but it took until 10 January 1995, more than 6 months after receiving the report, to announce its decision to implement Option A, with a one per cent reduction in the level of state funding for each EFTS until students were paying an average of 25% of the Ministry of Education's estimates of course costs in 1999.

The 1996 General Election

The October 1996 General Elections were the first in Aotearoa to take place under the Mixed Member Proportional electoral system which had been instituted following a 1993 referendum. In the period leading up to the elections educational issues again featured strongly in the election campaign. Issues included the rise of private education providers and their place in the tertiary education system, the qualifications framework and whether university qualifications should be subject to control and quality assurance by the NZQA, the assumptions underlying the framework and the curriculum.

Over the previous decade both Labour and National had evoked considerable distrust in the electorate, and in 1996 neither Party succeeded in gaining a parliamentary majority. Following the election it took six weeks of negotiations before a National/New Zealand First coalition government was formed in December 1996.

Tertiary Education Review, 1997-98

Part of the Coalition Agreement required the incoming Government to commit itself to (yet another!) comprehensive review of tertiary education. Accordingly, in September 1997, Wyatt Creech, the new Minister of Education, launched a 'consultation document' – a Green Paper - 'A Future Tertiary Education Policy for New Zealand' (Ministry of Education, 1997).

In the foreword to the Green Paper he noted with approval the 'strong growth' over the previous decade in the number of new Zealanders participating in tertiary. He said that the Government wanted more people to participate. In spite of the increases, however, what was not noted in the Green Paper was that the per student funding by the state had fallen steadily between 1991 and 1997 by close on 12% (Ministry of Education Te Tahuu o te Matauranga, 2000 p. 104), that funding of nonformal education had been cut drastically, and that the difficulties of sustaining high levels of state support were exacerbated by a tax regime driven down by neoliberal forces in the name of global competitiveness.

The Green Paper began by providing what it considered a broad understanding of the scope of tertiary education. In spite of this the Paper failed even to recognise the existence of adult and community education or 'the fourth sector' (Benseman, Findsen, & Scott, 1996) as part of tertiary education. Moreover, by way of contrast with other sectors of tertiary education which were all under review as well, no other Paper was issued which looked at adult and community education. Nor does it seem that any policy work was being done on issues of concern within this field and no mechanism existed to consider the implications of the review for the field of adult and community education, or vice versa.

The Green Paper's recommendations were wide-ranging. Overall it favoured a market-oriented approach to the funding of tertiary education with public and private providers being treated equally in terms of state funding. It thus accepted the inevitability of increases in student fees; favoured a system of state funding in which each student received an educational entitlement to be used to subsidise the costs of study for any approved programme for a recognised qualification at any registered public or private provider. It favoured a system of state funding in which public and private providers would be funded on the same basis; and favoured changing the structure and governance so that they ceased to have governing bodies which comprised a majority of elected members and instead became companies owned, and required to pay dividends to, the Crown, with all or a majority of members of governing bodies being appointed by the Government.

Government Policies for Tertiary Education in the late-1990s

Some of the government's decisions on the funding of tertiary education arising out of the Tertiary Education Review were announced in the 1998 Budget. This was followed in November of that year by the publication of a White Paper outlining further decisions (Ministry of Education, 1998). For the most part the decisions announced confirmed recommendations contained in the Green Paper. In his foreword, the Minister drew to some extent on lifelong learning discourses and in particular on those elements which emphasised the needs of the labour market and the constant need/pressure on people to retrain or up-skill or change direction throughout their lives. One of the things highlighted in the White Paper was the fact that more adults were returning to studies. For example, between 1990 and 1997, the proportion of students enrolled at Tertiary Education Institutions who were aged 25 and over increased from 38% to 47% (Ministry of Education, 1998: 17).

Although the government considered that tertiary education should contribute in important ways to a range of goals, its primary focus was on lifelong learning for employment. This employment focus was to be achieved, however, not through co-ordination but primarily by opening tertiary

education up to the competitive demands of the marketplace. The tertiary system was to be made more responsive to the demands of individual learners and potential learners. Tertiary education was to be traded in much the same way as any other commodity. On the other hand, the government did recognise that it had a number of roles including ensuring (1) that the resources of the state were equitably distributed between public and private institutions, (2) that potential consumers or learners received the fullest possible information so that they could make informed choices and decisions, (3) that quality assurance mechanisms were effective, (4) efficiency and accountability especially in the governance of public education institutions (this was to be achieved by imposing corporate instead of collegial structures on these institutions), and (4) greater contestability and transparency in the allocation of research funds both within the tertiary sector and outside it.

As has already been suggested, the decisions by government did not seem to be much influenced by the lifelong learning discourses which had emerged in many other OECD countries at the time (Istance, Schuetze, & Schuller, 2002; OECD, 1996). In most respects the decisions were located firmly in neoliberal discourses which had played such a key role in policy formation since the mid-1980s - policies which offered little to adult and community education and which reinforced a highly individualistic and restricted notion of lifelong learning.

Adult and Community Education Programmes, Practices and Policies in the late-1990s

In spite of the apparent lack of interest in ACE and the low level of support provided by successive National and National-led Governments in the 1990s, most forms and practices survived.

Networks, Conferences and Communication

ACEA continued to organise its annual conferences/hui. In 1996 it was in Hamilton and in the following years it was held in Waitakere (1997), Blenheim (1998) and Wellington (1999). In 1997 a revised mission statement for the ACEA entitled 'Who we are Today' was published. ACEA also continued to publish its Bulletin 'AKINA' with the editorship continuing to shift around the country, keeping alive the regional and national networks. The ACEA also promoted discussion and debate on a wide range of issues. These included: the place of the Treaty of Waitangi in Aotearoa, education in an iwi context, the ICT revolution and its implications for education, gender issues, and 'Redefining work' – a topic seen by many as highly significant to the future of ACE in the context of pressures to give priority to those forms of education which were driven by the demands of the labour market (See for example the Waitakere Conference issue of AKINA April 1997). Thus ACEA continued to be concerned about policy development. It invited MPs to address its conferences and made its views known through letters and informal dialogue as well as making a submission to the Tertiary Education Review in 1997.

ACEA also had a special interest in the international dimension of adult and community education and was represented, along with the Ministry of Education and several other NGOs and ACE organisations, at UNESCO's 5th International Conference on Adult Education (CONFINTEA V) held in Hamburg, Germany in July 1997. This conference adopted two major policy documents – a 'Declaration on Adult Learning' which provided member countries of UNESCO with a succinct statement of principles or guidelines to the development of ACE policies and practices; and an

'Agenda for the Future' which provided a more detailed outline of the themes to be addressed in public policy. The conference also adopted as global initiatives two proposals: (1) To establish an annual 'Adult Learners Week' which was to complement International Literacy Day, and (2) To promote the notion of 'one hour a day for learning for everyone as a universal right'. The first International Adult Learners Week in Aotearoa was held in 1998 replacing and enlarging the Community Learning Week which had been held annually over the previous 15 years.

Other organisations which had remained actively involved in ACE networking and communication throughout the 1990s included CLANZ (which continued to invite applications and award small grants to community groups for ACE projects) and the NRC (which among other things continued to publish its newsletter). In addition, the New Zealand Journal of Adult Learning continued to be published, following its 'near-death experience' in the 1980s when the NCAE was disestablished and its revival by Brian O'Rourke in 1987. This Journal continued to be edited and published by university staff and the centres for continuing education at successive universities with the overall endorsement of the NRC.

Schools

Unlike most ACE voluntary organisations and community groups, the mid- and late-1990s saw the consolidation of school-based community education programmes, as coordinators grew in confidence in administering these programmes under the 1993 regulations. Schools differed widely in philosophy and in the ways in which they used their funding. Nevertheless they shared a good deal in common and during the 1990s co-ordinators who formed part of the ACEA moved to organise occasions including separate one-day gatherings linked with the ACEA annual conference to consider common problems and for professional development. At the April 1997 ACEA conference held in Waitakere City in April 1997, a National School-based Community Education Conference was also held, and in April 1998 the first annual conference of the newly formed CLASS (Community Learning Association through Schools) was held in Blenheim.

By the late 1990s nearly 250 schools were engaged in adult and community education and they offered a wider range of classes than ever before since they had been freed up by the change of regulations introduced in 1993. Moreover through the 1990s an increasing number of schools were supporting a wider range of groups and allocating more resources in the form of tutor hours, rooms, free publicity, training, and administrative support, to assist these groups. By 1999 85% of schools were allocating 15% or more of their tutor hours to assist these groups which included religious groups, adult literacy and ESOL programmes, parenting and seniors groups, marae and cultural groups, social services and arts and crafts groups and disability and youth groups.

Adult Literacy

In the early 1990s there were significant changes in the structure and functions of the ARLA Federation as it moved to position itself as a fully bicultural Treaty-based organisation. This included initiatives to promote and foster kaupapa Māori literacy. These changes continued into the mid- and late-1990s. These years were also ones of growth and change for adult literacy in Aotearoa. The period saw a broadening in the scope and ARLA schemes and an increase in their diversity. They were based in a number of very different settings: on marae, in community houses, on polytechnic campuses, linked with other community organisations and in local

council facilities. (Adult Reading and Learning Assistance Federation Aotearoa New Zealand Inc. (ARLA), 1994). The Schemes or Poupou ranged from large urban schemes mainly affiliated with polytechnics, working with several hundred students and tutors, to small rural schemes working with only a few students.

The 1990s saw a continuing strengthening of the bicultural, Treaty-based structures of ARLA, and a growing commitment to adult literacy in both Māori and English. The funding from Government for adult literacy grew through the 1990s and in particular for work-based literacy as well as more generally in the later years when the findings from the first international adult literacy survey endorsed the need for adult literacy work.

In 1996 a total of nearly 6600 people received tuition from 2468 tutors through ARLA schemes. A total of 1879 tutors received initial and ongoing training and 10 Māori trainers were trained by the ARLA Federation in 1997 to address the shortage of Māori literacy trainers available to provide training requested by Māori organisations and member schemes. The annual report for the year notes considerable difficulty in maintaining the level of support to students in view of the level of funding.

1997 was a year which saw a strengthening of ARLA as an organisation. One of the more significant events was the first national planning hui held in Auckland. This hui brought together funded and unfunded schemes, Māori and non-Māori schemes, coordinators, tutors and students. It provided 'a valuable opportunity for all to share successes and resources, gain training and support and deal with organisational issues including providing input for the development of the Vision and Strategic Plan' (Chairperson's Report Adult Reading and Learning Assistance Federation Aotearoa New Zealand Inc. (ARLA), 1997: 4).

At ARLA's AGM in June 1998 a new name - Literacy Aotearoa Inc - was adopted for the organisation. It was considered that the new name reflected more accurately 'the Treaty-based heritage of Aotearoa and the breadth of the work of members of the organisation, which encompasses far more than reading and learning assistance' (Literacy Aotearoa, 1998: 4). It was further stated in the Annual Report for 1998 that the organisation was a Treaty-based organisation, based on Tino Rangatiratanga and guided by the principles of manaaki tangata.

WEAs

Despite their lack of any government funding WEA branches and organisations around the country continued to contribute to adult and community education in their rich and diverse ways. In 1995 11 local WEAs addressed the WEA's primary aim of advancing, encouraging and providing adult and community education that promotes a just and sustainable society. There was also the WEA Book Discussion scheme which that year had well over 300 groups. In addition in 1995 the Federation of WEAs celebrated the Association's 75th anniversary with a symposium. (AKINA, No 51, December 1995: 28). By 1999, it seems that the struggle for resources may have been having some effect. The number of local branches had been reduced to 8. However the Book Discussion Scheme was continuing to grow with a total of 593 discussion groups, and the Christchurch Adult Reading Assistance Scheme was still progressing (Federation of WEAs in Aotearoa, Annual Report, 1999-2000).

Te Ataarangi

Te Ataarangi, which had been established as an incorporated society in the early 1980s, had been actively promoting and facilitating the learning of Māori by adults over the years. It had functioned as a 'grassroots' whānau-based organisation and its annual general meetings held around the country had generally attracted up to 1000 participants and were regarded by many members as the highlight of their annual calendar:

They provide members with the opportunity to hold the Komiti Matua to account for their work over the previous twelve months, to exchange ideas and information about teaching and learning Māori within Te Ataarangi, to review the overall health and status of the Māori language, and to engage in recreational activities including debates, waiata and other performances (Kōkōmuka Consultancy, 2001)

In the early-1990s as part of an effort to expand its work of promoting Māori language, Te Ataarangi established Te Kura Motuhake o Te Ataarangi. This kura was accredited by the NZQA and grew over the years as it offered programmes up to Level 7 on the Qualifications Framework. It remained a distinct and separate entity under the overall control of Te Ataarangi incorporated society and formed a significant contributor of the mission of Te Ataarangi.

Then in 1999 there was a further development. Te Ataarangi Educational Trust, a registered Charitable Trust, was established by the Incorporated Society of Te Ataarangi with the aim of developing programmes of learning and forming partnerships and collaborations with tertiary institutions. In 2000 this Trust entered into a joint venture agreement with Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangī to develop a wide range of programmes and learning resources (Te Ataarangi Trust, 2009).

Social Change Organisations and ACE

Through the 1990s, as the neoliberal discourses became increasingly dominant, a number of existing ACE organisations moved to keep alive radical, socialist and social democratic values (R. Tobias & Henderson, 1996; R. M. Tobias, 1999b, 2000). In addition several new organisations were formed. One of these was Kotare : Research and Education for Social Change in Aotearoa established as a charitable trust in 1996 (Benseman, 2002; Delahunty, 2003). A large number of people were involved in setting up the organisation. They came from communities, churches, youth groups, trade unions, and local economic development and adult education networks. It was recognised early on that unless people from all sectors, and from both rural and urban districts, could be inspired and learn to develop and sustain their own organisation, much of the potential of ordinary people and their communities would never be realised.

The Kotare Trust summarised its mission in the following terms:

Kotare works with people in Aotearoa struggling for liberation from oppression through collective action. We aim to use participatory education methods which acknowledge the worth of each person. We seek to empower activists to take democratic leadership to realise fundamental change for social justice. We make a commitment to ecological sustainability and to Te Tiriti of Waitangi (Benseman, 2002: 29).

Kotare planned to provide residential as well as outreach programmes of education for activists working for social change in groups or in a community. Its programmes, most of

which commenced in the late-1990s, were offered both locally and nationally, with some being residential over weekends or weeklong in length. Because it was conceived as a residential centre (inspired by the Highlander Centre in Tennessee) albeit with outreach functions, in the mid-1990s the core group arranged to buy a farm an hour's drive North of Auckland which they set about turning into a residential centre.

Early in its planning of Kotare the importance of identifying and training the tutors/ facilitators/ leaders/ tutors would be a key to the success of the venture. They would have to be well equipped in a variety of ways and above all would have to be committed to social justice and have a deep faith in the people who were to participate. Not surprisingly its programmes focused on social change and community building.

The early 2000s – NEW BEGINNINGS?

The election of the Labour/Alliance Government in 1999

In the lead-up to the general election of 1999, the Labour Party issued a number of policy documents. In these documents (See for example New Zealand Labour Party, 1999a, 1999b) the Party emphasised that tertiary education should be seen not as a market-driven ‘private good’ but as a central mechanism of public policy and hence as a ‘public good’. It argued that:

‘Public investment in tertiary education and research is one of the most powerful tools available to promote the kind of social and economic development New Zealand needs to face the challenges of the 21st Century’ (New Zealand Labour Party, 1999a: 1).

It called therefore for a shift from the competitive market-driven tertiary education policies which were seen to have dominated much of the previous government’s thinking as well as that of the previous labour administration in the later 1980s. Instead, it advocated a more collaborative approach to the provision of education. With regard to adult and community education, it noted that the 5th International Conference on Adult Education, which had met in Hamburg in July 1997 under the auspices of UNESCO, had called for ‘a renewed vision of education in which learning becomes truly lifelong’ (UNESCO, 1997). In the light of this, it claimed that its policy was ‘built on a recognition of the crucial role of education in relation to social investment, lifelong learning and nation building’ (New Zealand Labour Party, 1999b: 2). Moreover, it also stated that in 1994 Labour had appointed the first ever Spokesperson for adult education and community learning, and in 1996 had gone into the general election with the first comprehensive policy for adult education and community learning. In relation to adult and community education, Labour argued that:

within this sector, it is crucial to define, recognise and resource key learning pathways and networks, both inside and outside of the Qualifications Framework and to build effective partnerships between providers (New Zealand Labour Party, 1999b: 2).

It then went on to detail a number of policy initiatives which would demonstrate its commitment to formally recognising and supporting this sector. In addition to this high level of support from Labour, the Alliance also made clear its commitment to adult education and community learning.

At the general election in November 1999, a Labour/Alliance government was elected to office, and in the following months the new Labour-led government initiated a number of measures intended to fulfil its pre-election promises. This, the 5th Labour Government remained in power albeit with diminishing majorities and increasing reliance on centre-right parties through the 2002 and 2005 elections before being defeated in 2008. The measures introduced early in 2000 included the reform of the apprenticeship system, reviews of industry training, unemployment-

related education and training, and adult and community education, and moves to set in place an adult literacy strategy. In addition, it established a Tertiary Education Advisory Commission (TEAC) to review all aspects of tertiary education. Each of these measures was seen by the government as making a potential contribution to the promotion of lifelong learning and what came to be called a 'knowledge society'.

The Tertiary Education Advisory Commission, 2000-2001

In order to achieve its objectives in tertiary education, early in 2000 the Government established a Tertiary Education Advisory Commission (TEAC) with the widest possible brief - to review all aspects of tertiary education. This Commission was appointed in April 2000 and published its first report three months later under the title 'Shaping a Shared Vision: Lifelong Learning for a Knowledge Society' (Tertiary Education Advisory Commission, 2000). The breadth of the government's thinking about the nature and scope of tertiary education was signalled in the preamble to the Commission's terms of reference which stated that:

Education provided by tertiary education providers, businesses, and community groups is vitally important to New Zealand in building a true knowledge society and achieving the economic benefits for such a society (Tertiary Education Advisory Commission, 2000: 32).

Clearly adult and community education, as well as industry training, was seen by government as important parts or sectors of the wider field of tertiary education, and this view was strongly endorsed by the Commission in its first report which concluded that the:

...tertiary education system should be broadly defined to encompass all formal and non-formal learning outside the school system (Tertiary Education Advisory Commission, 2000: 10).

Not only was the thinking about the scope of tertiary education much broader than that underpinning the reviews of the 1990s, its views on the aims and purposes of tertiary education were also very different. The government placed a social democratic discourse on lifelong learning at the centre of its terms of reference for the Tertiary Education Advisory Commission (TEAC). Moreover, TEAC itself drew on the same discourse. It commenced its first report by quoting (Tertiary Education Advisory Commission, 2000: 6) from one of the progressive official statements on lifelong learning of the time - a declaration by the Council of Ministers of Education of Canada, first published in 1993 (Council of Ministers of Education of Canada, 1993: 2) and referred to again in a 1999 publication.

'Education is a lifelong learning process ... the future of our society depends on informed and educated citizens who, while fulfilling their own goals of personal and professional development, contribute to the social, economic, and cultural development of their community and of the country as a whole' (Council of Ministers of Education of Canada, 1999: 3).

This view of the nature and purpose of tertiary education, which emphasised education for citizenship, and personal, social and cultural development as much as it did professional and economic development, was very different from that reflected in the reports of the 1990s in Aotearoa.

Between July and December 2000 the Commission invited and considered submissions, and in February 2001 published its second report under the title 'Shaping the System' (Tertiary Education Advisory Commission, 2001c). This was followed in August 2001 by the third report entitled 'Shaping the Strategy' (Tertiary Education Advisory Commission, 2001b).

In November 2001, TEAC published its fourth and final report entitled *Shaping the Funding Framework* (Tertiary Education Advisory Commission, 2001a). Introducing this report, the Hon Steve Maharey, Associate Minister of Education (Tertiary Education), drew on lifelong learning discourses. He reiterated the view that the government's broad aim in establishing the Commission had been

'to identify how New Zealand can develop a more co-operative and collaborative tertiary education sector that will better assist us in becoming a world-leading knowledge economy and society. Lifelong learning', he declares, 'is the life-blood of a knowledge economy and society, and the Commission is committed to the development of a tertiary education system that is capable of fulfilling that vision' (Tertiary Education Advisory Commission 2001a: i).

Despite the breadth and inclusiveness of its thinking about the nature and scope of tertiary education, including recognition of the important place of adult and community education, and in spite of its progressive thinking about the purposes of tertiary education, the TEAC was not always consistent in its views. At times, and especially in its later reports, the Commission retreats from its progressive and inclusive discourse. Managerialism asserts itself at times, along with a hierarchical view of society and knowledge; and co-operative and collaborative ideals give way at times to economic, individualistic and competitive discourses (See for example R. M. Tobias, 2002, 2004).

- In spite of these criticisms, it may be argued that the Commission did succeed in moving the lifelong learning discourse some distance away from the kind of prostitution to multinational finance and global capitalism, which Boshier (2001) has described so eloquently. Where it was less successful was in its failure to link its philosophies of education and lifelong learning with a 'critical theory of society' (Murphy, 2000: 176-7). Without this, it seemed likely that the commodification of tertiary education under global capitalism would continue apace.

Review of adult and community education, 2000-2001

Adult and community education practitioners had hoped that the Government would move quickly following its election to review the field. However it was not until eight months later, in August 2000, that a Working Party was established to provide Government with advice on new policy and a funding framework for adult education and community learning. By way of contrast with most of the other reviews which were undertaken by groups of officials and policy advisers, Marian Hobbs, the Associate Minister of Education, appointed a Working Party consisting of thirteen people of considerable experience drawn from a variety of sectors of the field, to undertake the review of adult and community education. Mary-Jane Rivers was appointed to chair the group.

The task faced by this diverse group of people was a daunting one. It was faced with a number of difficult issues which had arisen out of the dominance of neo-liberal ideologies and the commitment to credentialism over the previous decade. One consequence of this was that the period had been characterised by an almost complete lack of government interest in credential-free forms of adult and community education. This had resulted in a lack of any policy framework within which ACE might be located and hence a lack of recognition and support by policy analysts and other key people in the Ministry of Education, and serious underfunding of the many voluntary organisations and groups working in ACE. This had had the effect of marginalising the field as a whole, and especially those involved in learning and education in voluntary organisations and community groups.

Faced with this large-scale neglect over an extended period, and in particular the lack of support for most of those forms of ACE located outside of educational institutions, the Working Party consulted widely. It also seems to have drawn on some of the thinking in several reports from the late-1980s and early-1990s (Hartley, 1989; C. M. Herbert, (Chair), 1990; Lifelong Learning Task Force, 1985; Shallcross, 1987). In addition it seems to have been influenced by some of the thinking being done by TEAC as well as itself having some influence on TEAC's thinking.

Koia! Koia! Towards a Learning Society: The Role of Adult and Community Education

In July 2001 the report of the group was published, and two months later in September, it was released by Government (Adult Education & Community Learning Working Party, 2001).

The report defined ACE in the following broad terms:

Adult and Community Education (ACE) is a process whereby adults choose to engage in a range of educational activities within the community. The practice fosters individual and group learning which promotes empowerment, equity, active citizenship, critical and social awareness and sustainable development. In Aotearoa New Zealand, ACE is based upon the unique relationships reflected in Te Tiriti o Waitangi (p 10).

It then went on to describe what it considered were some key features or attributes of adult and community education.

ACE occurs alongside the formal education system and is therefore accessible to all. It promotes a culture of lifelong learning. It happens in a wide range of contexts in both structured and spontaneous forms, all of which have their own value. There is joy in learning. It may be initiated by individual and group needs which encourage adults to learn to understand their world and to seek change within it.

The nature of ACE makes it well suited to deliver effective programmes in: adult literacy and numeracy provision, English language and social support programmes for speakers of other languages, personal development education, learning for whānau/hapu/iwi development; cultural retention, revitalization of Māori language and culture; education to facilitate group and community development; (and) education for social and environmental justice (p 10).

This description, which drew so clearly on progressive discourses on lifelong learning, served to emphasise both the idealism which underpinned much thinking about the nature of the field and the breadth of its contribution to wider goals. The group gave considerable attention to the task of legitimating the diverse roles and potential roles of adult education and community learning. In doing this, it drew on several documents published by UNESCO, the OECD and other international organisations. It also identified a range of public and private benefits of ACE, and pointed to the large enrolments in a variety of ACE programmes. It then proceeded to highlight the roles ACE had in providing education for those with the greatest need, contributing to the strengthening of civil society, and identifying new national educational needs.

The report then identified five sets of goals, which the Working Party saw as essential to a revitalised adult and community education sector and made recommendations in relation to each of these goals. These focused on the following:

Goal 1: Sector recognition - The report recommended that the Education Act be redrafted to provide statutory recognition for the ACE sector and that this redrafting should recognise the philosophy of lifelong learning and its implications for all educational sectors, including the particular contribution of ACE as well as a Treaty-based approach. It also recommended establishing a national ACE Board (or an Advisory Board if TEC was to be established) to provide policy, research and funding advice, promote good practice, facilitate professional development, foster innovation, and provide support to the networks, locally and nationally.

Goal 2: Meeting community needs - The report argues that new forms of organisation and greater accountability, both locally and nationally, were needed if a revitalised and collaborative ACE sector was to meet the educational and social needs of the various communities.

Goal 3: Māori development - The report adopted a wide-ranging approach to issues in Māori education and development and emphasised the central place which needed to be given to establishing an educational framework based on Te Tiriti o Waitangi which endorsed tino rangatiratanga. It argued that within this framework, ACE had an important contribution to make to Māori social development and must be funded accordingly.

Goal 4: Secure, flexible, equitable and transparent funding - The report recommended that ACE should have 'secure, flexible, equitable and transparent funding' (p. 18) and that this could best be achieved by establishing 'a single funding pool' (p. 39) by drawing together all public funds which currently derived from various sources and which were currently distributed by 'a confusing array of .. mechanisms' (p. 38).

Goal 5: Sector capacity and capability - Finally, the report argued that the capacity and capability of the sector needed to be strengthened through research, professional development and more effective information for guidance and referral.

Implementation of the report's recommendations, 2001-2

In welcoming the report, Government decided that the recommendations of the Working Party should be developed further as part of an implementation process. In line with its recommendations the key issues that needed to be addressed in the implementation process included:

- Establishing the formal recognition of ACE in the tertiary sector;

- Providing secure, flexible, equitable and transparent funding;
- The need to develop the ACE sector's capability;
- Improving responsiveness to local community and Māori educational needs; and
- Upgrading and updating of research and information services.

Accordingly in October 2001, a Ministry of Education ACE Reference Group – instead of an Interim ACE Board as recommended by the Working Party - was set up by the Associate Minister of Education. This Reference Group, with Dorothy McGray as chairperson, was charged with the task of addressing the recommendations of the Working Party, giving priority to:

- improving quality systems in ACE;
- improving ACE responsiveness to community needs;
- Developing national goals and priorities for ACE; and
- improving the monitoring and evaluation of ACE provision.

Then, in November 2001, the TEAC published its final report, and this report drew on '*Koia! Koia!*' to formulate its proposals for the funding of ACE. TEAC therefore recommended that ACE should be funded by the Tertiary Education Commission through a 'separate ring-fenced fund' (Tertiary Education Advisory Commission, 2001a: 35).

Over the following twelve months the Reference Group and the Ministry of Education took steps to implement the report's recommendations. In addition they were involved in a number of other activities and projects intended to achieve the aims of the report, as well as to develop policy for funding ACE and to revitalise the field. In April 2002 the first senior ACE position for many years - a Chief Advisor for Adult and Community Education - was established in the Ministry of Education, and Judi Altinkaya was appointed to this position.

Other initiatives included the appointment of a Communications Officer in the Ministry of Education, the allocation of funds to support a national ACEA Conference in June 2002 (which was viewed as a key national consultation forum) and the Adult Learners' Week in 2002.

Secondly, as recommended in "*Koia! Koia!*", an 'Innovation and Development Fund' was set up with the aim of encouraging and supporting flexibility and responsiveness in ACE at local levels by providing funds not exceeding \$5000 to ACE groups, organisations and networks applying for support for projects and programmes.

Thirdly, further work was done to establish Local ACE Pilot Networks in selected areas and to engage in consultations with a variety of groups and organisations. The purpose of these Networks was 'to improve consultation with and collaboration between local providers through regular forums' (Ministry of Education ACE Reference Group, 2002). They were expected to map learning needs and identify gaps in provision especially for 'under-represented groups' in their communities as well as providing a structure for dissemination of information.

Finally, at this time, seemingly with a view to integrating ACE priorities with those of the government, the ACE Reference Group, working with the Ministry of Education, developed the following 'working definition' of ACE:

‘Adult and Community Education (ACE) promotes and facilitates the engagement of adults in lifelong learning, with few barriers to participation. It particularly contributes to the government’s goals of strengthening communities and raising foundation skills.

‘The ACE sector offers a range of educational activities and opportunities within the community and supports the learning needs of individuals, groups, iwi, hapu and whānau. The learning opportunities are characterised by programme flexibility and responsiveness to the identified learning needs of communities and individual learners. It provides adult New Zealanders with easy and affordable access to learning in their local areas’ (Ministry of Education ACE Reference Group, 2002: 4).’

This definition, useful as it may have been in focusing the Ministry’s efforts to implement the recommendations of the Working Party, lacked the breadth of definition contained in the Working Party’s report. Thus for example there is no reference to ACE’s role in promoting ‘empowerment, equity, active citizenship, critical and social awareness and sustainable development.’

Networking, conferences and communication in ACE in the 2000s

Until 2002 the Adult & Community Education Association Aotearoa New Zealand (ACEA) had continued to function as the main membership body for adult and community education organisations and practitioners. With all the other changes in the early 2000s, ACEA had also changed, and on 2 August 2002, a new organisation with a different name, ACE Aotearoa, was established as an incorporated society. ACE Aotearoa took over the functions of the ACEA and added new ones. It continued to organise an annual conference and to co-ordinate Adult Learners Week. It established a new ACE Newsletter to be edited by Jo Lynch which was to replace AKINA (which had ceased publication with its 60th issue in November 1999). It continued to promote and facilitate regional branches and informal networks, and to promote the interests of and advocate on behalf of ACE in the formation of tertiary education and ACE policies. All of these activities and projects have continued through the years. In addition the ACE Aotearoa website has been developed and improved substantially over the years.

Secondly, between 2002-2003 the National Resource Centre for Adult Education and Community Learning (NRC) merged with ACE Aotearoa after the trustees of the NRC had decided it would be beneficial for the development of ACE in the new era to have one lead organisation rather than two. Since the disestablishment of the NCAE in 1989, the NRC had owned the distinctive building at 192 Tinakori Road in Wellington. It had maintained an office there and the building had served as the headquarters for several ACE and ACE-related organisations.

The NRC had also functioned as a coordinating centre for the dissemination of information and ideas and the promotion of research. However, with limited resources its contributions to research had been limited. Nevertheless it had continued to contribute, mainly by working alongside other organisations and groups to disseminate knowledge and information in the field of ACE. For example it had worked with successive universities to publish the New Zealand Journal of Adult Learning (which a few years later in 2009 was re-named the Journal of Adult Learning Aotearoa New Zealand). It had also lent its name and facilities to support surveys and research. It had published booklets on such topics as ‘Starting Off – guidelines for adults

and tutors learning together’, a Confintea Adult Learning Kete, a kit entitled ‘Change it! How to influence public policy’, and a reprint of a 1980s Department of Education publication ‘Schools are for Adults Too’. It had also supported a survey of schools to determine how they were using their ACE resources (i.e. tutor hours) to support community groups (McMillan, 1999). In addition to this, until the mid-1990s the NRC had published its own journal ‘Lifelong Learning in Aotearoa’ and had continued to publish a regular Newsletter.

With the merger of the two organisations in 2002/3 ownership of the building in Wellington was transferred to ACE Aotearoa which continued to occupy it as its headquarters while continuing to accommodate other ACE umbrella organisations.

The adult literacy strategy, 2001

In the meantime, in May 2001, the government released another key document, the New Zealand Adult Literacy Strategy, *More Than Words / Kei tua atu I te kupu* (Office of the Minister of Education, 2001). This was the first document in New Zealand’s educational history to set out an official adult literacy strategy. It was published in response to the need to ensure that all New Zealanders have the reading, writing and broader communication skills to participate in work, family and the community.

For its definition the document drew on that put forward by Workbase, the National Centre for Workplace Literacy and Language. Literacy was broadly and usefully defined as ‘a complex web of reading, writing, speaking, listening, problem solving, creative thinking and numeracy skills’ (p 4). In this way the document acknowledged for example that print literacy is but one part of a wider understanding of what it means to be literate. The document identified four key principles

- ‘First, the focus must be on achieving literacy gains for learners as quickly as possible...’
- Secondly, ‘adult literacy teaching must be learner-focused, challenging and outcome-focused, using individuals’ own goals as a focus for learning but not so demanding that learners become afraid of failure and leave’.
- ‘Third, programme development will be informed by best practice through good evaluation and research’.
- ‘Finally, provision must be culturally appropriate for the wide diversity of learners, especially Māori and Pacific peoples, and other ethnicities from non–English speaking backgrounds’ (p 6).

While stressing the importance at all times of building on what had already been achieved, it then goes on to identify the following three key long-term goals of the strategy:

- Increasing the number and variety of adult literacy learning opportunities and options (including opportunities for substantial periods of intensive tuition), and making these opportunities freely available and readily accessible,
- Developing the capability of those who are or might be involved in adult literacy teaching by ensuring high quality education and training and support, along with incentives to attract and retain skilled teachers, relevant qualifications, quality teaching resources, etc., and

- Improving systems of quality assurance to ensure that adult literacy teaching programmes and learning environments in New Zealand are world class.

It then concluded by emphasising the interrelationships between adult literacy and other aspects of tertiary, adult and community education, and workplace learning, and by stating that the government, through the Ministry of Education, would provide overall direction and planning, and would coordinate the development of standards and best practice models. It also made it clear that the 'long-term strategy is to develop high quality adult literacy education supported by a funding system supporting quality provision, which can achieve measurable literacy gains for learners' (p 20).

In 2002 the Adult Literacy Innovation pool was established to support new initiatives among providers of adult literacy education. In particular, new opportunities were created for family literacy projects, for Māori and Pasifika peoples and for refugee communities. The final reports on the projects funded through this pool showed that 40 percent of all learners were Māori.

Reviews of other aspects of tertiary education

During 2000 and 2001 the Government set up reviews of every aspect of tertiary education. Early in 2000 attention was given to re-establishing the apprenticeship system, which had all but died over the previous fifteen years. In April 2000 the new Government launched its 'Modern Apprenticeship' scheme, and in December of that year Parliament enacted the Modern Apprenticeship Training Act (New Zealand Government, 2000). In 2000 the Government also initiated a wide-ranging review of all aspects of industry training. This led in August 2001 to decisions by Government to strengthen Industry Training Organisations (ITOs) and increase funding for ITO initiatives and for training in small and medium-sized firms (Office of the Associate Minister of Education (Tertiary Education), 2001b). Then in August 2001, the Government also initiated a review of the Training Opportunities (TOP) and Youth Training (YTP) programmes. Among other things this review resulted in the Government's endorsement of the view that one of the key aims of these programmes should be to enable trainees to acquire 'foundation skills' which would enable them 'to sustain themselves in employment, to continue to learn over the course of their lives, and to participate in society to the fullest extent'(Training Opportunities and Youth Training Review Team, 2001: 12).

The Tertiary Education Reform Bill, 2001-2

In December 2001 the Government promulgated the Tertiary Education Reform Bill (New Zealand Government, 2001). This Bill, which the government hoped would be enacted in time to come into force from 1 July 2002, was intended to give effect to the Government's decisions on the reform of the whole tertiary education system. It was based largely on the recommendations of the first two reports of the Tertiary Education Advisory Commission.

The explanatory note accompanying the Bill claimed that the reforms would ensure that tertiary education in New Zealand would make '... more strategic use of resources through a more co-operative and collaborative tertiary education sector' (p 1). Action was required, it claimed, '... to shift from a fragmented, competitive approach to a more integrated and strategic approach that will foster a greater sense of partnership and collaboration between key contributors to the sector, and greater involvement by, and responsiveness to, stake-holders such as business,

Māori, and the wider community’ (p 20). Inter alia it was also stated that the Bill would directly strengthen the industry training sector of the tertiary education system, which would be provided for in a separate Industry Training Act. In addition the role of the NZQA in quality assurance would be strengthened.

With regard to the definition of tertiary education the explanatory note stated that: ‘The tertiary education sector includes all formal education and training post-school: public tertiary education institutions (TEIs), private training establishments (PTEs), adult and community education, industry training, Training Opportunities, and Youth Training’ (p 20). However the Bill contained no mention of nonformal or informal education or lifelong learning; nor did it contain any specific measures to ensure the legislative protection of adult and community education.

On the other hand, the Bill did specifically include ‘community education providers’ within its definition of a ‘tertiary education provider’ (p 5). In addition, it broadened the provisions of section 321 of the Education Act by stating that grants out of public money may be paid by Parliament to any organisation or ‘educational body ... recognised by the Minister as a body that provides any educational or developmental service or facility’ (pp 32 & 55). It would seem that this provision would allow for the funding of voluntary organisations and community groups involved in adult education without the necessity of setting up separate charters or profiles. For the most part, however, the expectation was that organisations involved in adult and community education, along with all tertiary education institutions, private training establishments, Industry Training Organisations, organisations involved in the provision of youth training and Training Opportunities, as well as any other tertiary education providers, would be required to negotiate charters and profiles with the Tertiary Education Commission.

The stated purpose of the Bill was to amend the Education Act of 1989 and the Industry Training Act of 1993 ‘in order to reshape the tertiary education sector to achieve greater coherence .. and more strategic use of resources’ (p 3). It was envisaged that this would be achieved by the following means:

- A Tertiary Education Commission was to be established. It was to be responsible for giving effect to the Government’s statement of priorities through the processes of negotiating charters and profiles with organisations, allocating funds to and building the capability of organisations and giving advice to the Minister on matters relating to the Tertiary Education Strategy and the Statement of tertiary education priorities. Its responsibilities therefore extended to all aspects of tertiary education as defined above.
- The Minister of Education was to be required to issue two fundamental documents: Firstly, from time to time a ‘Tertiary Education Strategy (TES)’ was to be approved and presented to Parliament. Secondly, at least once in every three years, the Minister was to be required to issue a ‘Statement of Tertiary Education Priorities (STEP)’ which set out the Government’s priorities for tertiary education.
- The requirements for organisational charters were to be extended, and organisational profiles introduced with a view to strengthening the Commission’s and the Minister’s capacity to ‘steer the tertiary education sector’. An organisation’s charter was defined as a document that sets out the organisation’s mission and role in the tertiary education system; and was intended to cover a medium- to long-term timeframe. An organisation’s

profile was defined as a document, which must be publicly available, that sets out the organisation's operating plans, key policies, and proposed activities for the next 3 years; its objectives, performance measures and targets used by the organisation; the short- to medium-term strategic direction of the organisation, and the activities of the organisation for which it seeks or receives funding from the Commission.

- A new approach to state funding for the sector as a whole was to be set in place in order to create consistency in the use of criteria and mechanisms for funding organisations across the entire tertiary education sector, as well as to secure the strategic use of state resources.
- The New Zealand Qualifications Authority was to have the authority to set conditions on, and to suspend, accreditations, course approvals, and registrations.
- Skill New Zealand was to cease to exist as a separate agency and would be absorbed into the Tertiary Education Commission, and a number of measures were to be taken with a view to incorporating industry training within the wider field of tertiary education and improving the effectiveness and responsiveness of the industry training system.

The first Tertiary Education Strategy, 2002-07

In December 2001, in addition to promulgating the Tertiary Education Reform Bill, the Associate Minister of Education launched the first draft of a Tertiary Education Strategy (TES) for the five year period from 2002 to 2007 (Office of the Associate Minister of Education (Tertiary Education), 2001a). This was done with considerable publicity, and submissions were invited by 28 February 2002.

Then in May 2002 a final revised version of the TES was published (Office of the Associate Minister of Education (Tertiary Education), 2002b). This document summarised the key elements of the 'comprehensive programme of tertiary education reforms' as described above. In addition, it identified the following two elements. Firstly, it referred to 'the introduction of an assessment of strategic relevance to determine charter and profile alignment with the *Strategy*, and thus funding approval'. Secondly, it referred to the 'better integration of the Industry Training system, Adult and Community Education and Training Opportunities and Youth Training programmes, within the wider tertiary education system' (p 6).

It then went on to describe the following six strategies to be pursued over the ensuing five years:

- **'Strategy One: Strengthen System Capability and Quality'**. It argued that 'national goals cannot be achieved unless the strategic capability and robustness of the tertiary education system as a whole is enhanced'.
- **'Strategy Two: Te Rautaki Mātauranga Māori – Contribute to the Achievement of Māori Development Aspirations'**. It argued that there was a 'need to recognise the unique position of Māori as Treaty partners, and the huge significance that learning and education has for Māori communities. This strategy addresses issues related to skill development, research and capability-building for Māori'.

- **‘Strategy Three: Raise Foundation Skills so that all People can Participate in our Knowledge Society’.** It argued that ‘improving foundation skills (literacy, numeracy and other basic skills), will ensure that more New Zealanders are able to participate effectively in the economic and social benefits of our vision for national development’.
- **‘Strategy Four: Develop the Skills New Zealanders Need for our Knowledge Society’.** It argued that ‘this strategy recognises that we will need high-level generic skills in much of the populace, and more highly-specialist skills in areas of comparative advantage, for New Zealand to accelerate its transformation into a knowledge society’.
- **‘Strategy Five: Educate for Pacific peoples’ Development and Success’.** It pointed to the fact that Pacific peoples represented a significant and rapidly growing proportion of New Zealand’s population, and argued that ‘this strategy addresses issues relating to Pacific peoples’ capability needs and skill development that will ensure their success and development’.
- **‘Strategy Six: Strengthen Research, Knowledge Creation and Uptake for our Knowledge Society’.** This strategy, it argued, ‘recognises that research and innovation are key drivers of modern economies, and also that the broader application of new knowledge will enable the achievement of social, environmental and structural goals’ (Office of the Associate Minister of Education (Tertiary Education), 2002d p 16).

This document was followed, in May 2002, by the release of a document entitled ‘Excellence, Relevance and Access’ which updated some aspects and included information on the new Integrated Funding Framework (Office of the Associate Minister of Education (Tertiary Education), 2002b).’

The first Statement of Tertiary Education Priorities, 2002-03

Finally, in July 2002, the first interim Statement of Tertiary Education Priorities (STEP) for the two-year period 2002-2003 was published (Office of the Associate Minister of Education (Tertiary Education), 2002a). In his foreword, the Minister described some of the government’s expectations. These included the following:

While the Government is expecting our tertiary system to contribute much more explicitly to critical national development goals, this change in focus must not jeopardize the high participation levels of the last few years. Specifically, Government wishes to ‘steer’ the new system in a manner that improves the:

- *quality of teaching;*
- *quality of research; and*
- *quality and strength of relationships, both within the tertiary system, and between the tertiary system and other important sectors of New Zealand’s economy and society (pp 4-5).*

This document then set out Government’s short-term priorities over the two year period for the tertiary system as a whole. In addition, it set out priorities for Tertiary Education Organisations (TEOs) and Government agencies, in each of the strategic areas referred to above. By mid-2002 then, it was clear that a great deal of detailed planning had been done, and it was anticipated

that the new legislation would be enacted in the near future. This legislation - and hence the formal establishment of a variety of agencies and processes - was, however, delayed when an early General Election was called in August 2002. In the election a new Labour-led Government was elected with Helen Clark once again as Prime Minister, with the support of the Anderton Progressive Party and United Future, following ongoing substantial losses by the National Party and the decimation of the Alliance Party.

The Education (Tertiary Reform) Amendment Act, December 2002

Then in December 2002, a year after the Tertiary Education Reform Bill had been promulgated, the new legislation was finally enacted. This consisted of two separate Acts: the Education (Tertiary Reform) Amendment Act 2002 (New Zealand Government, 2002a) and the Industry Training Amendment Act, 2002 (New Zealand Government, 2002b). With the exception of a few sections which were to come into force in mid-2003 or on 1 January 2004, both of these Acts came into force on 1 January 2003.

There were no major differences between the provisions of the Bill and those in the final legislation. The stated purpose of the Education (Tertiary Reform) Amendment Act was 'to reshape the tertiary education sector, so as to achieve coherence between different parts of the sector and strategic use of resources.' This was to be achieved primarily by establishing a Tertiary Education Commission and incorporating Skill New Zealand within it; extending the requirements for charters and profiles to 'steer the tertiary education sector', introducing a new approach to funding to create consistency and the strategic use of resources across the whole sector, and allowing the New Zealand Qualifications Authority to set conditions for the registration of private training establishments and for course approvals and accreditations (New Zealand Government, 2002a: Section 3).

As intimated in the Bill, the Act required the Minister to issue two documents which were seen as key tools to be used in planning and directing or 'steering' the tertiary education system. These were a tertiary education strategy document which had to be approved and presented to Parliament a statement of tertiary education priorities which set out the Government's shorter term priorities for tertiary education. The Act stated that the 'tertiary education strategy must address the economic, social and environmental contexts and the development aspirations of Māori and other population groups'(New Zealand Government, 2002a: Section 8).

The Act established a Tertiary Education Commission, consisting of between 6 and 9 members appointed by the Minister of Education after consultation with the Minister of Māori Affairs. Its main functions were to give effect to statements of priority (by negotiating charters and profiles with organisations, allocating funds and building the capability of organisations), providing advice to the Minister on all aspects of tertiary education, and conducting applied policy and programme research, and monitoring and evaluating all aspects of tertiary education. As signalled in the Bill, the Act specified that organisational charters and profiles were to be key instruments used to make decisions on the granting of state funding to all tertiary education providers. These included universities, polytechnics, institutes of technology, specialist colleges and private training establishments. The Act also provided for funding by the state of community education providers and other educational bodies.

The Tertiary Education Commission, 2003

On 1 January 2003 the Tertiary Education Commission (TEC) came into being as the body responsible for the oversight of all aspects of post-compulsory education and for administering all state funding. Not only was the TEC responsible for administering the funding of all Tertiary Education Institutions and state funds provided for Private Training Establishments; it was also responsible for a wide range of other funds and initiatives. These included those previously administered by Skill New Zealand: Training Opportunities, Youth Training, Skill Enhancement, and English for Migrants, along with Industry Training, Modern Apprenticeships, Gateway and the Workplace Literacy Fund. The TEC also administered Adult Community Education (ACE) and Adult Literacy funding, Adult ESOL (English for Speakers of Other Languages), the ACE Innovation & Development Fund, along with several new funding initiatives, including the Performance Based Research Fund (PBRF), the Partnership for Excellence initiative, other capability development funds and the Strategic Priorities Fund for PTEs.

In 2001/02 the government budget for tertiary education was \$3.3 billion, which was 1% of GDP and 5% of Government spending (Ministry of Education / Te Tahuhu o te Matauranga, 2002). In the early 2000s the scope of tertiary education had indeed become very wide and extremely diverse. It included 35 public tertiary education institutions (TEIs) comprising 8 Universities, 20 Polytechnics, 4 Colleges of Education and 3 Wānanga, over 500 registered Private Training Establishments (PTEs), 46 Industry Training Organisations (ITOs), 9 Government Training Establishments (GTEs) and 17 Other Tertiary Education Providers (OTEPs) (Ministry of Education / Te Tahuhu o te Matauranga, 2002; Ministry of Education Te Tāhuhu o te Mātauranga, 2004). It also included a number of ACE providers and Rural Education Activities Programmes (REAPs). ACE funded schools, voluntary organisations and community groups.

It was argued at the time that New Zealand was unique in that no other country had clustered its community, vocational and academic education together in quite the same way (Tertiary Education Commission Te Amorangi Mātauranga Matua, 2003). Through the tertiary reforms the neoliberal largely demand-driven model of tertiary funding had been modified and a 'third way' mixed-model had been introduced. This contained both regulated and competitive elements. In addition, the barriers between 'academic' or 'general' and 'vocational' or 'work-oriented' types of post-school education had been reduced, and the justification for providing publicly funded tertiary education had shifted from one based on individual rights to one which viewed tertiary education as a tool for national economic growth and social and cultural development.

Adult and Community Education Policy Development, 2003-07

Transfer of responsibility from Ministry of Education to TEC, 2003

As previously noted, with the establishment on 1 January 2003 of the Tertiary Education Commission, responsibility for ACE funding and administration was transferred from the Ministry of Education to the TEC. The Ministry's ACE staff and the 'external' ACE Reference Group which had been responsible for advising the Ministry had also been transferred across to the TEC, which among other things assumed responsibility for all ACE funding (including the ACE Funding and Innovation Pool), for supporting the development of the ACE Networks which

were being established around the country, and for promoting and supporting professional development and research in adult and community education. The TEC was at pains to reassure ACE practitioners that the changeover would not prejudice the sector, but that it would enhance the resources available to support ACE (See for example a circular letter from the TEC's General Manager of 12 May 2004).

Adult and Community Education, 2003

In May 2003 changes were announced to the funding of ACE. In line with the recommendations of the Adult Education and Community Learning Working Party it was announced that the government had endorsed the following five national priorities which were to provide the basis for the funding of adult and community education programmes:

- strengthening social cohesion;
 - strengthening communities by meeting identified community learning needs;
 - encouraging lifelong learning;
 - targeting learners whose initial learning was not successful; and
 - raising foundation skills.
- This was followed in April 2004 with a further government decision that over time all ACE funding would be distributed on the basis of these priorities and that providers would be required to comply with quality assurance arrangements by 2008.
 - In the period leading up to and following the general election in 2005, considerable work on aspects of ACE policy was undertaken by the Tertiary Commission. In the first place following an extensive period of consultation, quality assurance measures were announced by the New Zealand Qualifications Authority. These sought to provide a framework within which ACE organisations could monitor and assure the quality of their programmes and were to be implemented between 2005 and 2007 (New Zealand Qualifications Authority, 2005). In addition the TEC was actively supporting and encouraging the formation of local networks which were also looking to promote the pursuit of the highest quality provision possible, Secondly, the Tertiary Education Commission initiated work on an ACE professional development strategy and action plan (Tertiary Education Commission Te Amorangi Mātauranga Matua, 2006a). Once again this work arose out of the recommendations of 'Koia! Koia!' and the intention was provide funding, incentives and opportunities for ACE practitioners to look for improvements in their practice by undertaking continuing professional development. Here also the TEC was intending that the networks which it was supporting would provide or support the provision of development opportunities for practitioners (Tertiary Education Commission Te Amorangi Matauranga Matua, 2005).
 - Thirdly, in the light of experience gained of the emerging funding framework in 2003 and 2004, in March 2005 the Tertiary Education Commission initiated further work on funding. It did so by distributing a consultative document proposing a new funding framework to groups and individuals associated with adult and community education (Tertiary Education Commission Te Amorangi Mātauranga Matua, 2005). This

document identified and described a number of decisions which the Government had already made. Thus it had already decided that ACE funding would: move away from a model based on 'type of provider' to one based on the 'type of provision' and 'the learning outcomes being delivered'; that it would be provided through a single framework; and that programmes and activities would be supported by government on the basis of their alignment with ACE priorities.

The pool of funds to be distributed through the new Framework would be created by drawing together all current government funding - for school-based ACE activities and programmes, Rural Education Activities Programmes (ACE component only), other tertiary education providers (OTEPs) engaged in ACE provision, and the Correspondence School (ACE component only). This pool of funds, to be administered through the new ACE funding framework, at that stage totalled approximately \$24.5 million. Funding for TEIs providing ACE programmes was not included in the ACE pool at that stage. As directed by government, the TEC would be reviewing funding arrangements for TEIs engaged in ACE provision in early-2006.

Government had also decided on a set of principles on which funding decisions by the TEC would be based. These reflected the understanding of the particular role and contribution of ACE to the tertiary sector as well as the priorities of the Tertiary Education Strategy and the Integrated Funding Framework. These principles were the following:

- Access to quality community-based learning opportunities for adults should be widely available;
- Quality provision should be focused on achieving ACE national priorities, and responsive to community learning needs;
- ACE should be affordable for government, with good accountability by providers for public funding;
- Learners should know what learning outcomes they achieve;
- Equity and transparency in funding across the ACE sector was required;
- Opportunities should be available for both formal/assessed and non-formal/non-assessed learning; and
- Minimal costs to priority learners should be maintained by giving priority to those providers best equipped to respond to priority learners.

It was stated that in future, as part of new funding arrangements that would be phased in, ACE funded provision would be based on alignment with the national priorities for ACE adopted by Government in 2003 and on these principles. 'The ACE Fund, ACE Outcomes and associated performance indicators were the subject of a Ministry of Education Cabinet paper that (Hoar et al.) currently in its final draft stage (Tertiary Education Commission Te Amorangi Mātauranga Matua, 2003). Government had also determined inter alia that the funding framework should ensure that access to ACE provision was widely available across the country and it should enable any provider to apply for funding. Moreover, it was envisaged that by 2008 all ACE providers receiving funding from the TEC would be required to comply with ACE quality assurance arrangements.

The document proposed a set of four criteria for evaluating the proposed new funding framework: (a) The funding framework should maximise TEC-funded ACE provision in line with the five ACE priorities. It should 'reflect a balance across all five priority areas', with 'quality ACE programmes and activities .. widely available and accessible to adults', and should be 'focused on the national priorities and responsive to identified community learning needs'. (b) It should support a diverse range of providers and learning approaches, 'be flexible enough to respond to differences in organisational form, cost structures and mode of delivery, and should 'capitalise on the strengths of different provider types and accommodate a range of learning contexts'. (c) It should be transparent and equitable, support and reinforce realistic, cost-efficient provider cost structures, avoid creating inappropriate incentives, be administratively simple and keep compliance costs to a minimum. (d) It should support a smooth transition from current ACE provision to an ACE sector that is more closely aligned with government priorities.

Following further consultation, in April 2006 details of the final version of the new ACE funding model were released by the TEC. This confirmed previous decisions and confirmed that from 2006 all forms of ACE would be funded from a single funding pool, and from January 2007, total funding for each provider would be made up of: 'a base rate that will fund providers to assess the learning needs of their communities and design a programme of ACE activities that will meet those needs; a single flat rate per learner hour; and a payment for brokerage services that will be paid to providers whose main role is to help learners find an ACE activity that meets their needs. The new three-part funding model would start in 2007 and would be fully in place by 2009' (Tertiary Education Commission Te Amorangi Mātauranga Matua, 2006b).

The years since 2008 – TRYING TIMES?

Economic and Political Contexts

Early in 2008, even before the effects of the global financial crisis had set in, the New Zealand economy had entered a recession. A drought over the 2007/08 summer led to lower dairy production in the first half of 2008, and the domestic economy slowed sharply over 2008 as high fuel and food prices reduced domestic consumption while high interest rates and falling house prices drove a rapid decline in residential investment.

The outlook for the New Zealand economy deteriorated further following the intensification of the global financial crisis in September 2008. Business and consumer confidence plummeted as uncertainty dominated the global financial and economic environment. In addition, local banks' access to funding in overseas markets was temporarily curtailed at the height of the crisis. Economic activity contracted 0.9% in the December quarter 2008, with GDP being affected by a reduction in manufacturing, construction and wholesale and retail trade. On the expenditure side, investment fell sharply while the extent of uncertainty in the global economy was evident in large declines for both services and goods exports. Overseas importers ran down stocks in the face of the uncertainty, while inbound tourism continued to weaken as fears around job security and declining incomes weighed on decisions to travel.

The Reserve Bank responded to the crisis with a range of measures designed to alleviate its effects, and the Labour-led Government also introduced a number of measures which included bank guarantees aimed at restoring confidence in the banking sector and providing banks with improved access to wholesale funding.

However following the General Election the National Party and its allies were able to form a government, and the 5th National Government led by John Key took office on 19 November 2008. The new National-led government, which came to power in November 2008, introduced further tax cuts effective from 1 April 2009, with the top personal tax rate being lowered from 39% to 38% and then to 33%.

Government Policies & Adult and Community Education

Faced with the pressures arising from the global financial crisis as well as pressures on its revenues from the tax cuts, the new government, strongly influenced by neoliberal as well as by conservative discourses, looked for ways to cut government expenditure and advance ideologies of competitive individualism and corporate and social conservatism.

In relation to adult and community education, one of its first acts was to reduce staffing within the Tertiary Education Commission (part of whose role was to monitor and support the development

of ACE) and to subject the ACE sector to a substantial funding cut in the name of economic stringency and revised priorities. These new priorities stressed a strongly instrumentalist view of the role and purpose of government subsidized education and training for adults, linked literacy to employment and increased productivity rather than personal or social enhancement (New Zealand Government, Ministry of Education, 2010) and promoted a “user pays” approach to adult and community education.

The 2009 Budget

The 2009 Budget included significant cuts to funding for community education in schools and tertiary education providers. Funding for adult and community education in schools was reduced by 80 percent in 2010, with funding to be focused on the priority areas of literacy, language and numeracy. In addition, as part of the 2009 Budget it was also decided that (a) funding for English as a Second or Other Language Assessment Services would cease in 2010, and (b) funding for adult and community education offered by tertiary providers would be reduced by about 50 percent in 2011. Funding for other forms community-based adult education would remain unchanged (Ministry of Education Te Tahuhu o te Matauranga, 2010).

Overall it seems that about \$13 million p.a. (or about 80% of the subsidy to schools for ACE) was to be withdrawn from the beginning of the 2010 financial year. Subsidies for so-called ‘hobby and personal interest’ courses were to be cut entirely and 20% of the present funds previously allocated to ACE which fitted the previous priorities were to be used exclusively to fund what were called ‘literacy, numeracy and foundation skills’. In addition, it was stated that \$8.9 million p.a. (or about 50% of the funding received by tertiary institutions for ACE) was to be cut the following year, and that the remaining funds would also be focused on literacy and numeracy.

As a consequence of this the following year only a limited number of schools were in the position to continue with their programmes and even these were reduced in scope and size to meet the requirements of the new set of priorities.

Tertiary Education Strategy, 2010-2015

As was required by law, in September 2009 the Minister of Tertiary Education released for consultation the draft Tertiary Education Strategy for 2010 to 2015 (Office of the Minister for Tertiary Education, 2009a, 2009b). This document and the final document released a few months later, the first Tertiary Education Strategy documents released by the new National-led government, reflected some important shifts in policy. The document retained several positive features. It noted that the government placed a high priority on learners (including especially literacy, language and numeracy learners) who had not been well served in the past, as well as giving priority to those forms of ACE which ‘contribute to the overall cohesiveness of the community’.

It referred to the need to improve the quality of teaching and learning for ‘second-chance learners’ in order to raise completion rates. It also mentioned the role of ‘informal education provided by the adult and community education sector’ as well as ‘lower-level tertiary study’ in providing pathways back into formal education.

It stated that government would:

‘reduce the proliferation of provider qualifications .. [and] prioritise qualifications that link strongly to higher-level learning and skilled employment; continue to work with providers to embed literacy, language and numeracy in level one to three qualifications .. [and] continue to support intensive literacy programmes in workplaces [and] expect adult and community education providers to focus on second chance and foundation learners, including a higher proportion of Māori, Pasifika and speakers of languages other than English.’ (p 8)

Other positive features of the document were the inclusiveness of its vision and its recognition of the importance of assisting more Māori and Pasifika people to achieve especially at higher levels, encouraging more young people to engage in tertiary education, and assisting more adult learners to gain the literacy, language and numeracy skills for higher levels study or skilled employment.

On the other hand the document revealed a lack of understanding of important aspects of adult and community education. In the first place it showed a lack of recognition of several voluntary organisations such as the WEAs, an apparent lack of appreciation of the potential benefits and the breadth of scope of ACE, a limited understanding of adult learners and their learning, including their achievements in ACE programmes and in formal tertiary studies, and an apparent failure to recognise that the contributions of tertiary education institutions should go beyond the constraints of credentialing and include ACE programmes which are credential-free.

Secondly, the document failed to identify or recognise sufficiently clearly the wide range of benefits of ACE and the potential breadth of scope of the contributions of ACE providers. The government’s statement of priorities for ACE providers was very much narrower than that set by the previous government. Two of the previous priorities - ‘encouraging lifelong learning’ and ‘strengthening communities by meeting identified community needs’ - were dropped, and instead the document stated that the government expects providers to:

- ‘engage learners who have not been well served by education in the past
- ‘increase literacy, language and numeracy skills for individuals and whānau
- ‘contribute to the overall cohesiveness of the community.’ (p 13)

In general the document reflects an increased narrowing of the ACE ‘curriculum’ and an apparent lack of recognition of its breadth of scope and the diverse benefits of ACE provision.

The 2010 Budget

The 2010 Budget had further cuts in store. These included significant cuts to funding for adult and community education provided by tertiary education institutions. This funding was expected to decrease by about 50 percent in 2011. In addition to this, adult and community education provision by universities was being squeezed by wider changes in the funding of universities as well as by a narrowing of the government’s funding priorities for university adult and community education which excluded government subsidies for general or liberal forms of adult education and for the promotion of lifelong for its own sake (Bowl, 2010).

ACE organisations' and practitioners' reactions and responses

Just as in 1982 when the first massive cuts on adult and community education were imposed by government, the drastic cuts by government in 2009 and 2010 were seen by most adult and community education practitioners as a politically motivated direct attack on ACE. The amounts involved were miniscule in the context of the larger picture of educational funding. Vigorous protest action was organised not only by CLASS, the ACE schools national organisation, but very much more widely. Meetings were held, speeches were given, articles and letters to the Minister and to the newspapers were written, MPs visited and questions were asked in Parliament, all to no avail. The budget cuts went ahead with no modifications..

In the longer term further action was also taken. In September 2010 the ACE Sector Strategic Alliance, released a discussion paper 'Real Value: Investing in Ordinary People' which explored the future of ACE (ACE Sector Strategic Alliance, 2010). This document was presented to the sector at the 2010 ACE Aotearoa Conference. Suggestions for change made by conference participants were included in a subsequent draft which was the focus of a meeting with the Minister, Steven Joyce, later in the year. The focus of the Strategy was a strategic negotiated approach with government, with the sector taking more responsibility for operational issues. Officials from the Tertiary Education Commission and the Ministry of Education were involved in discussions during the development of the draft Strategy. In subsequent years the Alliance has continued to promote policy discussion at Forums and through briefing papers (See for example ACE Sector Strategic Alliance, 2014a) and submissions (See ACE Sector Strategic Alliance, 2014c).

Other organisations were also active in promoting policy discussion regarding adult and community education. In 2013 ACE Aotearoa released two policy papers. The first was entitled 'The Value of Adult and Community Education'. It undertook a review of the research literature which points to a wide range of economic, social and health-rated benefits. In addition the paper argued that ACE has a long-standing tradition in Aotearoa and that it is now an established part of the fabric of society (ACE Aotearoa, 2013b). The second policy discussion paper, which was sponsored by the ACE Sector Strategic Alliance, followed in November 2013. The title was 'Adult and Community Education: What is the role of government?' (ACE Aotearoa, 2013a) and the paper examines the roles of central and local government in encouraging and supporting ACE.

Then in 2014 the ACE Sector Strategic Alliance released another important policy discussion paper with the title 'The Future of ACE' (ACE Sector Strategic Alliance, 2014b). The purpose of this paper, it was stated, was 'to discuss the merits of further government investment in ACE in the future'. The paper acknowledged that government could not fully fund all forms of ACE and claimed that the key questions then were: What types of adult education had 'strategic relevance'? And who should decide this –communities? The government? Individuals? Or the economy?

Early on in the paper it was stated that:

While there is general agreement that ACE and lifelong learning is important and benefits society as a whole, the key question remains: Who should pay for ACE? Currently ACE is funded by individuals (user pays), receives some government funding (for priority area /target populations), and small private sector/business contribution.

It then went on to argue that, although there was no disputing the importance of the current ACE funded priority areas, these should be viewed as the 'minimum' contribution that ACE could make to the Tertiary Education Sector and to lifelong learning. It was argued that ACE delivers many more benefits to society and to the economy than only those it was funded for under the current Tertiary Education Strategy. Further it emphasised that

Since 2009 .. government funding to the ACE Sector (part of the Tertiary Sector) has been reduced in order to achieve savings. Figures collected from across the ACE Sector over the past three years show a corresponding decline in government funded ACE programmes and learners nationwide. In contrast demand for non-government funded ACE is increasing. ACE providers and communities however struggle to meet demand where local resources are depleted.

The paper highlighted the rapid fall off in ACE participants and providing agencies over a three-year period. In 2010 75,500 learners participated in the activities of 13,000 ACE providers; by 2011 the number of learners had fallen to 58,458 who had participated in the programmes of 8,921 providers. Then in 2012 the number of learners fell away still further to 45,652 and the number of agencies had fallen to 8,483 (ACE Sector Strategic Alliance, 2014b: 4).

It then proceeded to point out the highly significant contributions that had been made recently by adult and community education in responding to community needs and promoting lifelong learning - the two priority areas that had been removed from government funding in 2010, before concluding by offering a range of options to consider for the future.

Epilogue Looking Back: Looking Forward

Over the past fifty years the shape of tertiary education has been enlarged and transformed. This has occurred in the context of the global advance of neoliberalism (Ball et al., 2003; Bourdieu, 1998). Until recently, however, in Aotearoa New Zealand, in spite of the challenges of the 1980s and 1990s, there has been some effective resistance to its dominance in adult and community education. The historical and cultural context and the struggles of committed activists have sustained a consensus that adult and community education should have social, political, and cultural, as well as individual and economic purposes. As we have indicated in recent times, this consensus has come under challenge. It is therefore pertinent to ask what lessons the past may offer us in trying to secure a future for a broad vision of adult and community education.

In this, the final section of this monograph, firstly I look back and highlight some of the trends over the past fifty years which seem to me to be most significant. Then secondly, I look forward briefly to see what lessons might be learned for the future. These reflections are necessarily brief. I have of course drawn on the thinking of a number of theorists and practitioners. However for the sake of brevity they have not been named in every case. I hope to expand on them in a future publication.

Looking Back – Some overall trends from 1970s to 2010s

Growth of inequality

In the first place, the period covered in this monograph has seen the emergence of a greater divide between the very rich and the poor than ever existed during the previous thirty years. It was a period of **growing inequality** between those who benefitted most from corporate capitalism, and those people and their whānau with no independent means or assets and/or who were poorly paid or whose position in the labour market was vulnerable and uncertain (Perry, 2015; Rashbrooke, 2013).

Recent research (Marriott & Sim, 2014) has also confirmed that over the past decade there has also been a growing gap between Pakeha on the one hand and Māori and Pacific people. This research looked at trends using a number of indicators and found that the gap between Pakeha and Māori had increased in relation to income distribution wages, unemployment, proportion of the population with university degrees and on several health-related variables. These trends of growing inequality are paralleled in other OECD countries and reflect the impact of growing concentrations of wealth and the consequent growth of a globalised capitalist economy.

Growth in the provision of tertiary education

The period has witnessed a huge **growth in the provision of post-compulsory and tertiary education**. It has comprised an increased number and range of different types of **institutions and organisations** providing tertiary education. Thus at the same time we have also seen greater **diversification** in tertiary education. In the 1960s the field was dominated by the universities; technical institutes were only beginning to emerge out of the technical high schools; there were a few private colleges; several training workshops run by government departments; and the provision of ACE was dominated by universities, schools, WEAs and a few other organisations.

By the early 2000s the picture had changed completely. The scope of tertiary education had become extremely wide. It included 35 public tertiary education institutions (TEIs) comprised of 8 Universities, 20 Polytechnics, 4 Colleges of Education and 3 Wānanga, over 500 registered Private Training Establishments (PTEs), 46 Industry Training Organisations (ITOs), 9 Government Training Establishments (GTEs) and 17 Other Tertiary Education Providers (OTEPs) (Ministry of Education / Te Tahuhu o te Matauranga, 2002; Ministry of Education Te Tāhuhu o te Mātauranga, 2004). It also included a number of ACE providers and Rural Education Activities Programmes (REAPs), ACE funded schools, voluntary organisations and community groups.

Factors contributing to growth in participation

Not surprisingly in the light of the growth in provision, there has also been a huge **growth in the number of tertiary education participants**. This growth, which parallels similar trends internationally, has been attributed to a variety of factors many of which have contained important **contradictions**. Many of these have contained the potential to contribute to greater personal autonomy and liberation whilst also potentially leading to greater regulation and exploitation.

Firstly there have been **increasing pressures on people to continue their education** beyond compulsory schooling. More specifically there has been an expansion of the market for credentials and **growing credentialism**, frequently linked with the rise of **atomistic individualism** (R. M. Tobias, 1999d) and the rejection of notions of collective responsibility and solidarity such as that which had in the past characterised the labour movement.

A number of other factors have contributed to the growth in participation. These include the expansion of **labour market education** and training, which has marched steadily forward through the decades.

Pressures to participate in tertiary education have also derived from the fact that it has increasingly been argued that education, rather than other measures, can provide **solutions to many economic, psychological and social problems**. It is only necessary to look back at the way in which almost every government since the 1980s has tended to attribute the country's economic woes to an inadequately educated and trained labour force. In this way education has come to be seen increasingly as an **instrument of management**.

Some of the other related forces contributing to this growth include the continuing **professionalisation of occupations**. Elsewhere (R. M. Tobias, 1996a) I have discussed many of the tensions and contradictions contained within the process of professionalisation. These included: contradictions regarding ethical issues, issues to do with standards such as judgements about competence, excellence and mediocrity, the role of the state, self-regulation

and monopolisation, links with the wider political and industrial struggles of working people, occupational imperialism versus the legitimisation of occupations, professionalisation and bureaucratisation, and professionalisation and globalisation.

Thirdly along with the greater diversification has come **greater investment** in tertiary education - **by the state, by privately-owned corporations and entrepreneurs, and by ‘consumers’** or students and their families. Tertiary education policies have increasingly emphasised that education, like any other commodity, should be driven primarily by market forces. This process of **commodification of education** has thus led to **increasing competition** in education.

Progressive and counter-hegemonic movements and trends

The period saw a rise in the number of progressive movements. These included the environmental movement, the peace movement, anti-apartheid movement, and the women’s movement, the gay and lesbian liberation movements etc have been referred to in previous sections of this monograph. These movements led over the period to the passage of significant legislation to promote environmental protection, biodiversity and greater sustainability, the withdrawal of Aotearoa from nuclear treaties, anti-racist campaigns and legislation, moves to gender equity and greater inclusiveness.

Perhaps the most significant of all these movements over the period was that associated with the Māori renaissance, and the struggles of Māori for recognition of the rights including their land which had been taken from them from the 19th century. This movement took many forms including hui, marches and other forms of action and education, and it had a number of successes during the period. These included increasing moves to promote a bi-cultural Aotearoa built on te Tiriti O Waitangi and the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal (in the 1970s), followed by its strengthening (in the 1980s), and its increasingly activist role (in the 1990s). It also included the recognition of Māori as an official language of Aotearoa (in the 1980s) and the establishment and recognition of Māori educational organisations and the establishment of a range of Māori-owned enterprises such as television and radio, businesses and tourist ventures. Additionally, there is significant political representation, and an increasing number of individuals are gaining international reputations for their achievements..

Trends in ACE

The growth of tertiary education over the past 50 years has not been paralleled by a comparable growth of adult and community education. As we have seen in this monograph, the history of ACE is in fact more complex and subtle. ACE is in fact a social and educational movement (or part of a wider movement) at least as much as it is a sector of education or a cluster of organisations (R. M. Tobias, 1996b). It is therefore perhaps not surprising that many different stories or histories may be told. The predominant ones, however, have been stories of ebbs and flows in the fortunes of ACE in response to changing imperatives.

One feature of ACE that has remained relatively constant in modern times is that, in relation to most other sectors of education, it has generally been under-funded and under-resourced - the ‘poor cousin’ (Newman, 1979). A second feature is that, while it has depended on an army of volunteers or unpaid workers, and consisted for the most part of NGOs, voluntary organisations and community groups of all kinds, it has also generally been supported, albeit at the margins, by schools, community colleges, polytechnics wānanga and universities.

In this and in other ways, including its marginality and its capacity for innovation, it has shared something in common with early childhood education. In some cases ACE practitioners and programmes have been pioneers - ahead of their times. We saw this especially in the 1970s but it has also happened in more recent decades when ACE programmes and practitioners have been in the forefront of new ideas and social changes.

One story of ACE tells of its colonial and neo-colonial past and indeed its history of racism. It tells of the part played by some practitioners and programmes in legitimating the dominant position of the British colonial heritage and in preventing the re-emergence of Māori rangatiratanga and tikanga Māori, especially in the 1960s and 1970s, but also more recently. On the other hand another aspect of this story – or indeed a different story – tells of the efforts of some ACE practitioners and programmes to promote tikanga Māori, te reo Māori, and a bicultural Treaty-based society. This story focuses on the pioneering and innovative work done over the years as part of the Māori resistance to Pakeha domination and the revitalisation of Māori, together with the growing recognition of the significance of the Treaty of Waitangi.

Another parallel story tells of the gendered history of ACE during the period. It provides a picture of an ACE sector, especially in the 1970s and 1980s, not unlike other sectors of society at the time, in which men dominated the leadership and salaried positions while women constituted both the vast majority of participants and also an army of volunteers and unpaid workers which kept ACE alive. This story also paints other pictures of the impact of gender on ACE. On the one hand it highlights the important role of some ACE practitioners and programmes in working for changes in gender relations and in the position of women not only in ACE itself but also in the wider society; and it tells the story of the way in which an increasing number of women came to take on leadership roles in ACE especially in the 1990s and 2000s, in greater numbers perhaps than in other more dominant sectors of society.

Other stories may be told. They include those about the rise especially in the 1980s of trade union education and of its apparent demise in the face of a hostile government in the 1990s; the rise - and rise - of industry and work-based training over the entire period from the late-1960s to the 2000s; the slow rise of ACE programmes for Pasifika peoples throughout the period; the rise of the adult literacy movement in the 1970s and its growing expansion and recognition by the state from the mid-1990s into the 2000s; and a parallel story of the rise of ESOL over the period; and the provision of programmes for those with disabilities. Other stories may be told, of the steadily diminishing fortunes – at least as far as state recognition and funding are concerned - of general, liberal adult and community education as well as adult and community education for personal enrichment and active citizenship and democracy. Especially since the 1990s and again since 2009 ‘user pays’ philosophies have appeared to win the day in wide swathes of ACE activities.

In the 1970s it seems that ACE - driven by the new-found rhetoric of ‘lifelong education’ - was on the verge of a grand new era of recognition by the state and considerable expansion. Discarding the garb of the 1960s version of ‘adult education’ and putting on new garments of ‘community’ and ‘continuing’ education, it seemed to be about to find a place in the sun. Over time however, and in the face of the rapid growth of ‘vocational’ and ‘technical’ education (which themselves had been something of a Cinderella in former times in which the university colleges had been dominant), and the growing discourse of ‘post-compulsory education and training’ for

the labour market, in the 1980s and 1990s, ‘continuing education’ was discarded, and the new thrust came to favour almost exclusively ‘informal and nonformal learning and education’ as well as ‘community education’ – the ‘non-formal sector’ of ‘independent learning’ (R. M. Tobias, 1992). Just as these forms of ACE were beginning to gain recognition and support by the state, in the early-1990s, they were overtaken and all but destroyed by a government unsympathetic to the ACE enterprise.

In the 1990s the ACE movement was also faced by the rise of credentialism – a powerful force embodied in the New Zealand Qualifications Authority. In the face of this, the ACE movement, led by the ACEA (and in the 2000s by ACE Aotearoa), took stock, re-invented itself in the form of a broader and more inclusive form of ACE, and proceeded to renew its stand against the dominant neoliberal discourses and against a credentialled market-driven ‘tertiary education’. In the 1990s and 2000s, however, ACE has not been all about defense. ACE practitioners and their organisations have consolidated themselves and have been more or less consistent advocates of a broad and deep understanding of ACE which has included all the different areas of practice and all the different organisations, institutions and groups engaged in adult and community education. This conception has recognised that at the best of times ACE has consisted not only of the work of NGOs and their local branches as well as voluntary organisations and community groups of all kinds, it has also consisted of the work done by schools, colleges, polytechnics, wānanga and universities beyond the necessarily prescriptive credentialled frameworks.

Finally in recent times the ACE movement has begun to confront new challenges posed by recent applications of the new technologies. The implications of these development for the future of all forms of education, including ACE, are huge. They cannot be addressed here. In general however we should note that they hold out on the one hand possibilities of greater human liberation & the expansion of opportunities for lifelong learning. On the other hand they hold out possibilities of very much greater corporate manipulation & control and a vastly increasing divide between those who are not only technologically literate but who also have the means to access and use the technology effectively and those who do not have these things.

Looking Ahead: lessons from history

Globally, education, including adult and community education, has been and continues to be shaped and re-shaped by dominant neoliberal and conservative discourses. The emphasis of adult and community education on education for social, cultural and political purposes, and its marginality as compared with most other forms of education, have made it particularly susceptible to political pressures. A historical analysis of the fortunes of ACE over fifty years such as that presented in this monograph offers some pointers to the way forward in these neoliberal times.

First, it seems clear that ACE is unlikely to survive in lone combat. Building alliances is essential to resistance. Past experience of ACE under attack highlights the need for a strong broadly-based regional and national organisation inclusive of learners and facilitators of learning. It illustrates the value of alliances with other progressive groups and organisations. Arguably, too great an emphasis on ACE as a ‘sector’ isolates it from possible allies in the wider educational field, in community development and in environmental and other progressive movements.

Second, our analysis of historical developments suggests that, even in difficult times, it is possible to maintain, or even gain ground. The struggles in the 1980s for Māori language education and against nuclear armament and apartheid seem to demonstrate this, showing the need for autonomous organising, for clear demands and strategies and for the mobilisation of a broad cross-section of people.

A third lesson concerns the need to analyse how the state wields power over adult and community education by its control of recognition and funding. The pitfalls of engaging with government policy without a clear and critical understanding of potential implications are well illustrated by the counter-productive ambivalence over the ACE networks described above. It suggests the importance of a critical perspective and of clear shared values about the aims of adult and community education.

Fourth, it requires a rejection of radical pessimism in favour of ‘radical hope’ (Brookfield, 2005; Lear, 2008). Marion Bowl (2010) has pointed out that ‘radical hope’ offers a way forward for those committed to a vision of adult education which has as its goal equality and democracy. Radical hope proceeds first from a critique of the practice of adult and community education, second from an articulation of the fundamental values which should inform a truly liberatory adult and community education and third, from the building of alliances with other progressive forces—in the wider field of adult and community education and beyond—in support of an adult and community education whose curricula and institutions are truly accessible to all.

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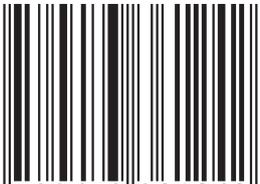
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