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ABSTRACT

Traditional preliterate Maori society had an integrated educational structure, later augmented by the work of various Maori and European organizations. Auckland University developed programs in Maori adult education in a bicultural setting, and recognition has evolved of the needs of Maori people for education in coping skills and in Maori language and culture. Best methods and techniques in Maori adult education require facilities and leaders sympathetic to Maori culture. Various agencies represent present and potential sources of adult education. A Working Party of the National Council of Adult Education responded to the need for assessing effectiveness and extent of present-day Maori adult education, and directed its recommendations specifically to New Zealand departments, agencies, and organizations. Although there are a large number of agencies providing services, recommendations sought to strengthen key agencies which would assist and advise others, rather than to reduce the number of agencies. The proposed solution was a structural network that would involve certain secondary schools and a Department of Education adviser to provide liaison. A functional network would then involve positions and agencies on the community, regional, and national levels. Other agencies, some existing and some proposed, would provide special services and resources. (MDW)

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MAORI ADULT EDUCATION

Report of a Working Party

U S DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF
EDUCATION

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National Council of Adult Education
Wellington New Zealand

1972

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PREFACE

It is now some time since the National Council of Adult Education received an enquiry from the New Zealand Maori Council concerning adult education for the Maori people. The enquiry concerned the policies of New Zealand universities with regard to Maori adult education, and voiced a concern that Maoris are no longer receiving adult education services to the extent they did in the years from 1949 to the early 1960's.

The information which the Maori Council requested was sought from the universities and passed on. However, the National Council was not satisfied that its responsibilities ended at that point. It believed that a general review of the situation was warranted, and accordingly in 1970 set up a Working Party to undertake the task.

The Working Party's Report has now been presented to the National Council. Its importance is manifest and it will be the subject of detailed consideration by the Council. Its publication in the meantime will, we hope, stimulate wide interest.

It appears at a critical time for adult education in New Zealand. There is an increasing awareness of the importance of a wide range of educational opportunity, in a rapidly-changing world, for people whose main occupational role is no longer that of a learner, and of the bearing that continuing education has on the quality and adaptability of our society.

During the past ten years there have been considerable changes in vocational education for adults and in the work of university extension departments. Other agencies have not changed to the same degree, and there is some truth in the charge that facilities for some groups, especially those outside urban areas, have actually narrowed. As a body charged by statute with making recommendations for policy and co-ordinated development in adult education, the National Council believed that Maori adult education might be especially affected.

The Working Party's Report therefore is not only of value in itself, but also provides evidence which may apply to possible developments in other fields of continuing education. Its recommendations are addressed to a wide range of organisations, and many of them link closely with suggestions which are being put forward in various quarters for national policies and machinery to implement them over the whole area of continuing education. The National Council will consider the Report's recommendations and take what steps it can to ensure that those which it accepts as having priority are put into practice.

The Council is aware of the time and effort which went into the preparation of this Report from Working Party members who were also heavily committed to their main occupations and to other work on behalf of the Maori community. We are grateful to them, and to their employers for their understanding. To the Chairman, Mr te Hau, the Council is especially indebted.

We record with deep regret the death of Mr R. L. Bradley, who was the first Secretary of the Working Party. His experience and wisdom had been invaluable in the earlier meetings. A special tribute should also be paid to the work done by Mrs E. C. Cook, who retired from the Council's staff shortly before the completion of the Report, but had identified herself with the task and had borne much of the burden, especially during the difficult period after Mr Bradley's death.

It is the National Council's hope that the Report will lead to planned and effective development. We look forward to further co-operation with those organisations and institutions which are affected by it.

On behalf of the Council,

ALAN DANKS, Chairman.

MEMBERS OF THE WORKING PARTY

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Secretaries: R. L. BRADLY (until his death during October 1970)

D. G. JAMES (from 4th August 1971)

TERMS OF REFERENCE

To investigate Maori adult education and to report to the National Council of Adult Education on

- (a) The extent to which there is an unsatisfied demand among Maori people for an extension of present forms of provision of adult education or for forms which are not yet available;
- (b) The effectiveness so far as Maori people are concerned of the present structure of provision in rural areas, towns and main centres;
- (c) Any changes or new ventures which may be desirable.

CHAIRMAN'S FOREWORD

Our Working Party was set up in 1970 at the invitation of the National Council of Adult Education, and was charged with the responsibility of enquiring into the whole of Maori adult education services and activities, reporting its findings and recommendations to the Council. The National Council made finance available for the Working Party to meet, and the size of the Working Party was restricted in the interests of efficiency and economy.

Educational authorities, Maori institutions, church organisations, government departments, university personnel and others were asked to provide evidence and where possible to attend Working Party sessions. It is therefore a matter for pride to record that all Maori sections of our community showed their interest by providing evidence on adult education and other related facets of Maori education.

In initially wishing it success, the Secretary of the National Council of Adult Education described our Working Party, in its terms of reference and its procedures, as a new and important step for the National Council and one which, if it achieved its goals, could become a precedent. Our Report, in my view, fulfils the aims envisaged.

To make easier the task of the Working Party, committees were organised to cover the northern and southern parts of the country. These met between the main Working Party sessions. The first full meeting took place on the 9th/10th April 1970, and the final meeting on the 2nd November 1971.

The Working Party records with regret and sympathy the death of its first Secretary, Mr R. Bradly. His understanding and experience in Maori education was sorely missed in later meetings. *Huere e te hoa ki o matua kei te Po.*

Mr Bradly's death occurred during the absence overseas of Mr James, and until his return the burden of the work was cheerfully taken up by Mrs Cook, the National Council's Assistant Secretary. The Working Party thanks her for her untiring efforts on our behalf and wishes her a happy retirement.

The Working Party is grateful for the support and interest of the National Council of Adult Education and in particular its Secretary, Mr David James, and thanks those organisations and government departments which gave us so much of their time and effort. My personal thanks to all members of the Working Party for their co-operation *Tena koutou katoa me nga awahina.*

M. te HAU, Chairman.

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TRADITIONAL MAORI ADULT EDUCATION

It seems that in pre-European times the Maori people developed a well-integrated and nicely co-ordinated system of adult education adequate for their needs and purposes in a homogeneous society. They had special institutions for teaching and learning, such as:

Te Whare Pora, a house for weaving and plaiting. Here the techniques of processing, dyeing, manufacturing, etc. of textile crafts were taught.

Te Whare Kohanga, the "nest" house of midwifery, the maternity home.

Te Whare Tapere, the house of amusement and entertainment.

Te Whare Kura, the house for instruction of general knowledge, probably the equivalent of modern schools, but not specifically for children.

Te Whare Maire, *Te Whare Wananga*;¹ elders of the Wanganui and Tuhoe Maoris, who visited Victoria University separately, referred to it as the Maori *whare mairi* of olden times. To them, the *whare mairi* was a superior institution to the *whare wananga*. Some Maoris think that the *whare mairi* was the section of the *whare wananga* devoted specifically to the esoteric. Others again say that the *whare mairi* was exclusively for the teaching of magic, including black magic or sorcery.

Te Whare Takiura, according to one Tuhoe informant, was the highest of all the Maori educational establishments of old. As in Pakeha society these were rare. They were the Maori counterpart of modern post-graduate institutions. Their academic aura was due in great measure to the fact that they were communes of the priestly scholars who taught at the higher houses of learning. Such scholars were highly revered because in a pre-literate society they were the substitutes for written archives, documents and books.

It should be noted that the *whare* (houses) where they taught were not necessarily different buildings, but were symbolic of different departments within one or two buildings (as in modern educational institutions).

¹ A more detailed account of the *whare wananga* is contained in Appendix C.

The higher forms of knowledge were *tapu*, as were the priestly scholars as repositories and the houses of learning as depositories of that knowledge. According to one Maori tradition, the God Tane was escorted by the white heron through the heavens and through the purifying waters of Rongo to the celestial palace Matangireia, in the twelfth and uppermost heaven, where he entered the treasure house Rangiatea, and obtained for man the three baskets of knowledge bearing the names:

- (1) *Te kete uruuru matua* or *te kete tuauri*.
- (2) *Te kete uruuru rangi* or *te kete tuatea*.
- (3) *Te kete uruuru tau* or *te kete aronui*.

These symbolise the curricula, as follows:

- (1) Peace, goodness, love, humanity, i.e. philosophy, theology.
- (2) Prayers, incantations and ritual, i.e. literature, psychology, history, traditions.
- (3) War, agriculture, wood-work, stone-work, i.e. technology.

It is obvious that the higher forms of knowledge, having divine origins, were highly esteemed, jealously guarded and conserved, and religiously disseminated to the select few among the high-born who ritually passed through the searching entry tests of the time, whatever they were. Apparently the ability to memorise was accepted as a sure indication of high intelligence and intellectual capacity.

The Working Party was told of an aged sage who, after he matriculated from the Wanganui Collegiate School shortly before the turn of the century, was admitted in the last intake of students to the last of the *whare wananga* of the Wanganui area. His testimony was that it was easier to pass through the Pakeha institution, a fifty per cent pass in any subject being adequate to ensure success. In the Maori one anything less than ninety per cent spelled disaster for the student.

Of considerable interest is his other comment that at the Wanganui Collegiate School there was every encouragement for the cultivation of individual thought, individual expression, individual inquiry, and individual problem-solving. In the Maori institution the emphasis was on the cultivation of memory, on committing facts to memory and regurgitating them word-perfect. "Ours was not to reason why, ours was to memorise and memorise and memorise, and hope that some lapsus linguae would not bring the deadly curses of Maori gods upon our heads". The emphasis was on conserving and transmitting knowledge not so much on the quest for new knowledge. The system was neither democratic nor research-oriented.

Adult education for the rank and file was largely the responsibility of the public speakers and orators who loved to pour out their knowledge on the *marae* and in the meeting-house, a feature of Maori life from times past to the present. Probably because the Maori had no written language, he developed public speaking and oratory to match the best anywhere in the world. In his own cultural setting the Maori was not only a superb talker and an astute debater, skilled in the inter-play of ideas, formidable in verbal thrust and parry, but an amazingly keen listener as well.

By constantly listening to leading orators and scholars, the rank and file deliberately if slowly accumulated a fund of knowledge on diverse topics relevant to Maori society and culture. In time the listeners became the talkers, the debaters, the public speakers and transmitters of that knowledge. Those who excelled earned *mana* and status which increased with age, making them the least expendable of people; and so in Maori society, the older the person the more he became an integral part of the community.

The virtues of the orators were extolled, as well they might in a society which boasted that "*korero*" is the food of chiefs". *Korero*, of course, covered virtually every subject under the sun, such as the niceties of formal greetings, salutations, valedictories and panegyrics, history, traditions, folklore, genealogy and so on. Even today, the obliquely recorded scientific observations clad in mythological guise and the performance of genealogical recital that most hazardous yet most intricate of all intellectual and scholarly pursuits - fascinate scholars of different races.

The foregoing account prompts these reflections:

- (a) The Maori of former times did develop a satisfactory system of life-long or continuing education.
- (b) The Maori is capable of acquiring and disseminating knowledge, provided he sees the need and purpose.
- (c) Certain kinds of adult education could best be carried out on the *marae*- for example, oratory, genealogy and some aspects of *Maori-tanga*.
- (d) Adult educators of another culture do not make nearly enough use of natural Maori groupings (*hui*) and of traditional meeting places (meeting house and *marae*) for the dissemination of knowledge.
- (e) Maori people have well-established traditions of oratory and public speaking, a fact that modern purveyors of knowledge and culture cannot afford to ignore. The dull lecturer, whatever his academic

1 *korero*—talk.

qualifications, is scarcely likely to evoke any response amongst Maori adults.

- (f) Because the Maori depended so much on oral teaching, he developed and perfected some excellent teaching techniques.
- (g) The majority of Maoris are people of two worlds, of two cultures, and more often than not, of two languages- they are the privileged New Zealanders. Sometimes they are incomparable as teachers, especially when they can draw on parallels, differences and similarities between Maori and Pakeha values, attitudes, customs and rituals.

This cultural dualism makes it important, indeed imperative, to include some Maori-oriented subjects of study in the curriculum for Maori adults, whether in the humanities and the social sciences or merely for leisure-time activities, for instance:

Maori language of the *hui* and *marae*;

Maori oral literature;

Local history, tribal history, traditions, genealogy;

Arts and crafts, Maori etiquette, protocol and customs;

Maori and Polynesian myths and legends, which when treated in a scientific way can be as fascinating for Pakeha as for Maori.

LATER DEVELOPMENTS IN INFORMAL MAORI ADULT EDUCATION

A wide range of adult education activities is being carried out by individuals, organisations and business establishments without their ever using the term "adult education". Festivals, retreats, training on the job, etc. are the preferred terms. The M.I.A. (Mutual Improvement Association) of the Church of Latter Day Saints is an excellent form of adult education. Adherents of this church are encouraged to involve themselves in choral singing, play-reading and acting, physical education and organised sport. There is much emphasis on family education, on the primacy of family cohesion and sanctity, and on community cohesion within the Church. Life and living are made a little more meaningful and worthwhile for members of the faith.

The *Hui-aranga* (Easter Festival) of the Roman Catholic Church, the *Hui-topu* and *Hui-aroha* of the Anglicans, the retreats of the Presbyterians and Methodists and Ringatu, the *Hui-Rangatahi* (Youth Festival) of the Ratana are, while spasmodic, spectacular forms of church-inspired adult education made meaningful within the context of church and *Maoritanga*. Church respect for the intrinsic values of *Maoritanga* is one reason why hundreds of Maori people, old and young, travel long distances to plunge themselves into such gatherings. The many weeks of preparatory training for competitions in *marae* oratory, Maori cultural forms and choral singing are all worthwhile adult education work.

MAORI CLUBS

The phenomenal growth of large Maori Youth and Culture Clubs, pursuing meaningful and well-defined cultural objectives in an urban area, is worthy of the notice of adult education agencies. Mostly these clubs are inter-tribal and inter-denominational in their composition. They meet regularly for meetings, for amusement of one kind and another, and for activities such as group singing, *poi* dances, action songs and so on.

On occasions they display their talents at concerts and at welcomes to celebrities and on other occasions they meet for inter-club functions. At times they travel long distances to various Maori functions to help, inter alia, with entertainment and fund raising. These clubs generally compete with one another, notably at the annual Wellington Festival of Arts. This development in Wellington has spread to Christchurch, Dunedin and other centres. A natural development is the holding of a National Maori and Polynesian Festival of Arts in Rotorua in March, 1972, and, it is hoped, annually thereafter.

These clubs are satisfying felt needs, satisfying a deep-rooted *marae* hunger, community hunger, a hunger for *Maoritanga* and a hunger for things Maori that have slipped out or are slipping out of their lives. These hungers spring, as all hungers must, from unsatisfied demands. Ironically, in the search for *Maoritanga* these clubs or associations are developing a somewhat different, an emerging *Maoritanga*. The vitality and enthusiasm within these groups have to be seen to be believed.

With these people the adult educator has to be adept in meeting their needs as they express them from time to time. The usual formal class method operated at an unfamiliar level of abstraction would be entirely remote and artificial to them.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF MAORI ADULT EDUCATION (WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO AUCKLAND)

A good deal of progress was made in adult education in the immediate post-war years. In 1945 a Maori Advisory Sub-Committee was set up in the Auckland district. This committee, in conjunction with the Native Department, as the Department of Maori and Island Affairs was then known, made recommendations to the Council of Adult Education, University of Auckland, which led to adult classes being started at the manpower camp in Avondale. Maoris were not drafted for war service and those who did not volunteer were directed under the manpower scheme into essential industries in urban centres. The concentration of Maoris from all parts of New Zealand in the manpower camps thus provided an accessible clientele for the first formal adult education classes for Maoris in Auckland.

By this time, Maori tribal committees were being set up in Auckland under the Maori Social and Economic Advancement Act 1945. Liaison with the tribal committees led to the identification of Maori educational needs. The desire of the people was to have classes in Maori arts, crafts and folklore.

By 1946 the increase in the flow of urban immigrants from remote rural Maori settlements was beginning to manifest itself in undesirable forms. Maori delinquents brought before the courts increased in number as a consequence of loss of control by elders and because of social and geographic dislocation. In order to combat this delinquency the Council of Adult Education came to the conclusion that special techniques and understanding were needed. The Council felt that much of Maori delinquency could be overcome by expanding work among Maoris with the aim of restoring pride of race in the cultural achievement of the Maori. Above all it was felt that Maori tutors were desirable.

It took three years to convince the University authorities of the need to appoint a Maori tutor. The first appointee, the late Dr Maharaia Winiata, was appointed on a temporary basis as tutor-organiser for Maori adult education in 1949.

Classes began on an exploratory basis in July 1949, to discover what the Maori people wanted from adult education. There was a need to find out to what extent the standard Pakeha schemes, courses and methods applied in the Maori field.

Visits were made to Waikato and Tauranga to arrange meetings for the experiment. The first approach was made through recognised tribal leaders and Maori organisations, following patterns laid down by tradition and custom. The outcome of these visits was the setting up of Maori adult education committees in different localities. In some places special committees were set up, while in others tribal and *marae* committees handled adult education. From these developments it became clear that Maori adult education was to be a Maori institution. This was an overt recognition of the bi-culturalism of the Maori which owed much to the drive of Dr Winiata.

Classes were arranged at Matakana Island, Te Puna, Judea, Bethlehem, Tuakau, Waitao, Rakaumanga, Ngaruawahia, Frankton and Rukumoana. Two main courses were provided; in Maori history and culture and in modern Maori problems. Selection of courses was based on class choice or the known needs and interests of a particular district. Experience showed that the most successful methods were those in which a local expert was given a leading part, audio-visual aids were used and the whole class was actively involved. Total enrolment was 314 and average attendance was 68.1 per cent. Thus Maori adult education showed not only the pattern it was likely to develop but also revealed the need for a much more extensive service. The initial success of the work of Dr Winiata was recognised by confirmation of his appointment as tutor for Maori adult education in 1950.

Dr Winiata's bi-culturalism and emphasis on *Maoritanga* meant his complete involvement in Maori affairs in his area. The big event of 1950 in the Maori world was the sextenary celebrations of the coming of the canoes, held at Ngaruawahia. As well as being involved in the planning of the celebrations with his local adult education committee, Dr Winiata wrote a memorial booklet for the sexennial, and had his adult education class at Ngaruawahia carve the trophies for the cultural and sporting competitions. Over 12,000 people attended the celebrations.

The involvement of the university through the efforts of Dr Winiata in such a large community undertaking was good public relations. The Maori people, through the work of Dr Winiata, came to accept the *whare wananga* (University) as an institution which was prepared to place Maori knowledge in a respected place alongside Pakeha learning.

Work was extended by providing discussions on health at four places. These were attended by a total of 560. Because of the pressure of work and the demand from the people the tutor held eight week-end schools as well at Tauranga, Te Puke, Ngaruawahia and Auckland. Total attendance at the schools was 632.

By 1951 the Maori people were bringing other matters forward for study and clarification in their adult education classes. Of particular interest was the effect of legislation on Maori lands, application of modern agricultural techniques and the cooperative development of existing resources under local leadership. There was also a revival of interest in carving and *taniko* work associated with the renovation and building of meeting houses.

The increased demands on the tutor brought recognition of the need to appoint extra staff for Maori adult education. Mr. M. te Hau was appointed as temporary tutor in 1952 to service the North Auckland area, but the effective strength of the staff for Maori adult education remained at one while Dr Winiata was in Edinburgh studying for his doctorate.

Before Dr Winiata left the country he initiated a community project in Judea to upgrade the *marae* facilities. Mr. te Hau continued the work with the community in Dr Winiata's absence. The project with its carved meeting house and decorative *ukutuku* panels was completed in 1954, and stands as a memorial to the efforts of Dr Winiata and as a tribute to successful involvement of the University in the affairs of a community. The Maori tutors had intuitively capitalised on the Maori feeling that the meeting house strengthens the sense of community and that its decoration is the visible symbol of the kinship group.

The problem of juvenile delinquency in Ngaruawahia was met in 1955 by the strengthening of the *marae* committees and the formation of eight youth clubs in the South Auckland area.

Although Maori adult education appeared to be making good progress in fostering Maori community interests and in relating the University to the Maori, one senses in the Pakeha point of view of the time a lack of complete satisfaction with what was being done and a desire to convert Maori adult education into something that it was not. For example, the 1956 report of the Auckland University District for Adult Education appraised the position thus:

For the first year of the seven years in which a programme of Maori adult education was attempted, a strenuous attempt was made to fit this into the tutorial class pattern. For various reasons this proved

impractical and for the next six years the pattern has been both experimental and dependent upon the persistent request for teaching in traditional arts and crafts. It is now felt that the period of experimentation is drawing to a close and plans are being made to settle upon a recognised syllabus of classes and the class forms in which this instruction will be given The time has now come for the class of serious students.

Although the divergence of interest between the Maori community and the University was thus explicitly stated, the Maori tutors continued to develop their role in terms of the needs of the community as they saw them.

The tutor for Northland started a programme on youth leadership in Whangarei. A similar programme under the title "Community Development" was also established in the South Auckland area. The tutors also took an active part in helping to form local committees responsible for local government. Sixteen such committees were set up.

Another significant development of this period was the establishment of the Academy of Maori Arts and Crafts at the Maori Community Centre in Auckland. The master carver Mr H. Toka was engaged as tutor for the Academy, whose primary function was to produce the carving and *tukutuku* decorations for the proposed *marae* in Auckland.

By 1957 a wider range of subject matter was provided, using week-end schools, tutorial classes and *hui* to give lectures in such subjects as anthropology, race relations, investment societies, politics, local history, committee procedure, local administration, religion and contemporary Maori society. The classes on committee procedure were of special importance in Northland in setting up tribal committees and executives. In this work the tutor played an important role as mediator in helping the people to interpret the Maori Social and Economic Advancement Act and put it into practice.

As a result of this experience in the field, the Maori tutors saw three aspects to their role as mediators between the majority culture of the Pakeha and the minority culture of the Maori. Their first aim was to meet the needs of the minority culture by providing instruction and experience in all aspects of Maori culture. The second aim was to assist the Maori people, particularly the urban migrants, to adjust to the industrial economy of the majority culture. Inversely, the third aim was to promote a better understanding among Pakehas of the contemporary Maori and his problems, his aspirations and his way of life.

THE YOUNG MAORI LEADERSHIP CONFERENCES

Although the practice of promoting Maori leadership conferences as an adult education activity at Auckland University was instigated by Professor H. Belshaw and Sir Apirana Ngata in 1939, the next conference was not held until 1959. The two Maori tutors, Dr Winiata and Mr. te Hau, who were young men at the first conference, played a leading role in organising the 1959 conference.

Like the first conference, the 1959 one had as its basic theme economic conditions related to land use and development. Elders, for whom land was and still is an important question, were well represented at the 1959 conference. The method of using "round tables" to promote discussion proved to be highly successful. Another point of importance was the provision of separate round tables for elders and young leaders. The young people who would have otherwise remained silent in the presence of their elders contributed much to the success of the conference.

Apart from the recommendations arising out of the 1959 conference, perhaps its most significant outcome was a request for regional conferences from all parts of the country. For the first time the average Maori felt that he was being consulted to help in decision-making on matters of vital concern to him. Regional conferences with personnel drawn from areas approximating to the Land Board Districts of Taitokerau, Waikato-Maniapoto, Wairariki and Tairāwhiti were held at Kaitiaki, Ngāruawāhia, Whakatane and Gisborne in 1960. The following year conferences were held at Tauranga, Taupo, Rotorua and Wairoa.

Another important development from the leadership conferences was the stimulation of a desire for continued educational activity amongst Maori adults in rural areas. Accordingly, discussion groups were formed in the Rotorua—Bay of Plenty area to study the Hunn Report. A Taupo group studied housing, Tauranga employment, Whakatane education, Opotiki health and Rotorua land. The elders in Rotorua undertook to study the section on crime.

Although the participation by Maori people, the success of the leadership conferences and the adequate reports of the proceedings amply justify what was being done in the field of Maori adult education, the Auckland Adult Education District reports of 1962 and 1966 contain what amounts almost to an apology:

In general the Maori people are still restricting their interest to discussion of topics that concern them today as community problems.

At the last conference held at Ruatoria the discussion group began to discuss health problems. This led to a study of family planning and from that to the physiology of the human body It would appear that the development of such study groups might lead to the development of a pattern of formal adult education.

The tendency to regard what was being done in the field of Maori adult education as falling outside the pale of academia is regrettable. The University authorities were in the invidious position of trying to provide bi-cultural education within a mono-cultural frame of reference.

Instead of treating Maori adult education as a field to be developed in its own appropriate ways, the University felt obliged to edge it towards the norms of Pakeha adult education. Moreover, those norms were undergoing changes. The new pattern of university extension which was emerging was likely, even within Pakeha society, to appeal more to the educationally privileged than to others. Such a pattern would certainly not meet the needs of the Maori people.

EFFECTS OF THE CHANGE TO UNIVERSITY EXTENSION

The changes referred to stemmed in part from the Report of the Committee on New Zealand Universities (the Hughes Parry Report) of 1959. This recommended "increasing the emphasis on those aspects of adult education which are intimately related to each university's professional, scientific and technological programmes of study".

The setting up of Departments of University Extension as fully-integrated departments of the universities tended further to alter the nature of university adult education. The work which had previously been supervised by Regional Councils of Adult Education, on which many interests outside as well as inside the universities were represented, became from 1963 on the sole responsibility of the universities themselves. The full-time extension lecturers were increasingly measured, in their qualifications and the nature of the work they did, by the same standards as those applied to lecturers in internal departments. Some regarded it as a blessed release from the grind of short courses and long hours of travel. Others wondered who would now service the sections of the community whose needs might be overlooked under the new arrangements.

An attempted answer to this question was the setting up of a number of 'area adult education committees' in provincial centres. These arose through university initiatives, and their exact form varies from one university region

to another, as does their spread. They are voluntary bodies of interested local people, and their aim is to organise appropriate adult education programmes for their areas. While they are not in principle restricted to the field of university extension, they have close liaison with the extension departments, and forward requests and carry out local organisation for extension courses.

For the New Zealand population as a whole, the change to extension was probably not especially important. The university extension departments stopped running very short evening courses, did not teach crafts, and considerably reduced their teaching of the fine arts skills, both Maori and Pakeha. It was expected that the schools' evening classes would take up the slack, and to a considerable extent, until they were restrained in 1967,¹ they did. New content areas were developed in extension programmes, but generally, with the exceptions already mentioned, not at the expense of those which had been typical of earlier programmes.

Such moderate shifts in general clientele as may have resulted from these changes, however, would certainly not be in the direction of attracting a broader cross-section of the New Zealand population. Formally-organised subject-centred courses of adult education appeal most to those whose youthful experience of formal education has been prolonged, successful and enjoyable.

In a situation in which almost all children receive secondary education, adult education of the conventional kind does not serve the functions it once did. Once adult education offered to adults whose educational progress had been frustrated by poverty a chance to make up lost ground. Under conditions of universal secondary education, it now tends to serve instead the educationally elite, those who have profited from previous education, have found its methods and assumptions acceptable, and have been stimulated to continue their education voluntarily. They are a minority.

This is not to be understood as a criticism of formal, subject-centred adult education of the university extension type. It meets real and important needs. They are not however the needs of all sections of the New Zealand community, and particularly not of those whose original experience of compulsory education was short, unsuccessful or unhappy.

Among these there are more Maoris than Pakehas in proportion to their numbers in the population. Currently two-fifths of the total number of school-leavers, but four-fifths of Maori school leavers, end their school careers without any qualification, and the proportions of Maori pupils staying at school after

¹ The restrictions were removed at the end of 1971.

the age of fifteen, particularly into the sixth form, are smaller than those of Pakeha pupils.

In the face of this situation, the passage quoted on page 9, with its implied criticism of the informal educational work then in progress, sums up a crucial problem for Maori adult education, a problem that was intensified by the change from Regional Councils to University Extension Departments but had never been entirely absent. Maori education had often not used the same methods and approaches as had the rest of the field. Certainly some of its work, for instance the teaching of Maori language and history, was not difficult to place in terms of Pakeha adult education courses based on university disciplines. A good deal, however, was centred on personal and community needs rather than disciplines, and its methods in both kinds of work were structured on Maori lines. For example, while part-time teachers of high ability were used, among them senior university staff and public servants, they worked within Maori settings rather than in lecture rooms.

By doing these things it played a pioneering role, and helped people in the Maori community to learn about matters of community interest. Their Pakeha counterparts, people of similar occupations and educational attainments, are rarely to be found in adult education except occasionally at classes of modest standard in practical and craft subjects. To engage a real cross-section of a community in considering housing, employment, education, health, land use and crime, among other things, was no small achievement.

There is a growing movement in adult education throughout the world towards informal programmes of problem- and people-centred adult education to supplement conventional adult programmes and to reach a wider range of people in the community. The movement is tentative and hesitant, and many mistakes occur, as one would expect in its early stages.

Maori adult education in New Zealand was an early example of the new approach. Those who worked in it had university qualifications. They also had a deep awareness of the ways in which Maori institutions operate, with an expertise derived from long apprenticeship and observation in Maori society. They proved themselves able to work with considerable flexibility and creativity, although like other adult educators in New Zealand they lacked formal training in adult education or community development.

Evaluation techniques in adult education were then as now under-developed, so the success of Maori adult education was measured largely by the same crude statistical measures used for formal courses, which were

inadequate for their original purpose and doubly so for the work directed to community development and the meeting of social needs.

In the new circumstances after 1963, Maori adult education staff came to feel uncertain of their professional role and of the value placed on it by their colleagues and the universities. For acceptance' sake, their work became more formalised and concentrated on their special subjects such as Maori language, the sociology of Maori society, Maori culture, Maori arts and crafts, history and anthropology.

Predictably, the formalisation led to a drop in Maori involvement in adult education. Maori language classes for example over the last two years in Auckland averaged only a 6 per cent enrolment of Maoris. No Maoris were enrolled in the usual formal offerings of the Extension Department such as anthropology or philosophy. Where Maoris do appear in extension classes they are usually in areas of practical interest such as pre-school work, or of social concern such as New Zealand history, or in vocational training such as the criminology course offered to public servants from the Justice Department.

What has been written here traces the course of Maori adult education as it was and is connected with Auckland University. Though the details differ, the trends have been the same in Victoria University, the only other university to have appointed staff for Maori adult education.

SOME ADULT EDUCATION NEEDS OF MAORI PEOPLE

We set out here some fields in which Maori people have adult education needs. These are deliberately biased towards specifically Maori interests and to the acquisition of 'coping skills' for full participation in New Zealand society, and do not cover the full range of adult education interests.

It will be seen that very few of the suggested topics are relevant only to Maoris or other Polynesians. Even in the first section, on *Maoritanga*, there is evidence of Pakeha interest. What is set out below is perhaps the sketch of a problem-oriented curriculum for the whole of our society. Some parts of it are taught in school, but should also be available to adults.

After the first bare outline we set out some of the specific areas of learning involved in each field, with some comments.

- A. *Some Aspects of Maoritanga*
- B. *Parent Education*
- C. *Managing Money*
- D. *Home Management and Maintenance*
- E. *Second Chance Education*
- F. *Civic Education*
- G. *Farming and Rural Land Use*
- H. *Vocations Other Than Farming*
- I. *Voluntary Organisations*
- J. *Connecting the Cultures*

In addition there is a small section on the particular needs of Polynesian immigrants.

This is not the point at which to discuss teaching and learning methods, except to say that the Working Party certainly does not assume that all these areas should be explored in formal lecture-discussion courses. A wide range of methods is required, some very brief and informal.

Clearly not all Maori people need master all these areas of learning. Each individual will have a different pattern of needs. Some areas need hardly be learned in detail at all. One needs simply a rough idea of their shape,

and clear knowledge of sources of information or guidance on them when specific needs arise, whether the source be a library, an advice centre, a lawyer, a doctor, a farm advisory officer or someone else.

A. *SOME ASPECTS OF MAORITANGA*

- (i) Maori language.
- (ii) Maori identity, with special reference to the connections between material culture and behaviour and Maori value systems and beliefs.
- (iii) *Marae* etiquette and oratory, and oral literature and history.
- (iv) Maori arts and crafts.

Maori language

It is difficult and probably artificial to separate the teaching of Maori language in schools from its teaching to adult groups. In both cases there is a shortage of trained teachers at present, but also a reservoir of native speakers of the language who, with training, could be called on as teachers.

There is considerable demand for the teaching of Maori from adult groups, much of it from non-Maoris. It is the language most commonly taught in the secondary schools' evening programmes, and the schools' evening classes do not meet the full demand. University Extension, voluntary organisations and youth groups are also teaching Maori, and in several places spontaneous classes in it have arisen, not attached to any organisation.

Standards of teaching are extremely variable. That is not surprising, since there is no qualifying course in methodology available for teachers of Maori language. The Interpreter's Licence has often been treated as a qualification, but it is in no way concerned with ability to teach. University courses in Maori are not concerned with teaching techniques, and many teachers of the language have no qualification except their ability to speak it.

The Working Party endorses the recommendation of the National Advisory Committee on Maori Education, 'That in-service courses on the teaching of Maori language and other courses designed to assist teachers working with Maori children, be increased and be made available by the Teachers' Refresher Course Committee, by the Department of Education through in-service centres and by University Extension Departments.'

We are pleased to note the increased activity in Maori Studies and Maori Language which is being organised in the Teachers' Colleges. We are nevertheless concerned that this, and other measures such as the inclusion of Maori in the Diploma of Teaching programme, affect only teachers who are already qualified or who are already passing through the normal courses of teacher training. Comparatively few of these are fluent native speakers of

Maori, and to teach others the language itself as well as the methods of teaching it will be a major undertaking.

We should like to see this supplemented by intensive training in methodology for non-teachers who are native speakers, with a view to their employment on a part-time or full-time basis in schools and in adult education. This is especially necessary to meet the need for the teaching of Maori within the next five years or so, during which time career teachers qualified to undertake it will be still in very short supply.

The Working Party notes the following encouraging developments, which may require co-ordination:

- that since the National Refresher Course for teachers of Maori language in May 1971, the Education Department has helped teachers with two regional one-day refresher courses centred on Rotorua and Gisborne. While the national course was outstandingly successful, it was preceded by regional refresher courses conducted on a voluntary basis by Maoris in the various educational institutions for both teachers of Maori, and non-teachers who are native speakers. There were at least three for each of the Auckland and Wellington 'provincial' areas;

- that at a recent Lopedell House Conference it was recommended that all Teachers' Colleges provide a selected course in Maori Language to enable teachers to teach Maori language, and it was hoped that at the end of each three-year course each Teachers' College should have trained approximately 30 teachers;

- that in 1973 Maori language will be offered as a unit for examination in the Diploma of Teaching programme;

- that the Education Department will soon receive submissions with regard to bursaries in Maori language for teachers of Maori (similar to Japanese and Indonesian);

- that the Education Department has set up a select committee to facilitate an audio-lingual paper for School Certificate Maori;

- that the University Entrance Board has received submissions with regard to the addition of an oral section in the University Entrance, Bursaries and Entrance Scholarships examinations;

- that Maori language is offered at three universities, namely Auckland, Victoria and Waikato, while positions are currently advertised at Canterbury and Massey, and a course is under consideration at Otago;

- that Victoria University through both its University Extension and the Anthropology Departments has conducted residential schools in Maori language, intensive two to three week courses for beginners, and a

workshop for teachers of Maori;
 that a three-year certificate course in Maori is offered with Otago University Extension Department;
 that a diploma and an extension certificate course in Maori language, and an extension certificate course in Polynesian Studies are being considered at Auckland and Victoria Universities respectively;
 that from 1973 it will be a subject available within the Bachelor of Education prescription at Massey University, both internally and extra-murally;
 that for the last five years Victoria University has catered for extra-mural students in Maori up to Stage II for the B.A. Degree, and it is noted that its extra-mural enrolment for 1971 is over 100.

We also record with satisfaction the revival or extension of certain activities in our multi-cultural society, such as the work of individuals and groups in teaching Maori language voluntarily to youngsters and to adults, and the nation-wide movement of regional *whare wananga* for language, literature and history (oral and written), art and craft.

RECOMMENDATION (1)

In view of the need for more courses leading to qualifications recognised by the Department of Education in the teaching of the Maori language to children and adults, that the Department convene meetings with the teachers' colleges, universities and technical institutes in order:

- (a) *to institute and concert the provision of such courses, and*
- (b) *to ensure that appropriate provision is made in courses for the needs both of trained teachers and of untrained potential teachers who are already fluent Maori speakers.*

Maori Identity

There is of course no longer such a thing as a completely separate Maori way of life, distinct in its major features from general New Zealand patterns. There are however important Maori values, institutions and behaviours which combine with elements of the majority culture to form a distinctive Maori identity in our multi-cultural society.

This requires recognition in adult education for several reasons. Firstly, the Maori values may not be transmitted so fully by childhood socialisation as they once were. Parents who, it is often asserted, were forbidden during their own schooldays to speak their own language on school premises may be uncertain of their own values and wary of transmitting them to their children for fear of handicapping them.

A further break in the transmission process arises as a consequence of the shift of Maori population to urban areas. Grandparents have formerly been important figures in the lives of Maori children, and have taught them much of the Maori tradition, but now often remain in rural areas and are less able to influence the development of their *mokopuna*¹ as they did before their urban migration.

Where the two cultures interact, it requires considerable sophistication to sort out basic values from expedient folkways which can be changed or abandoned without serious loss. This sophistication has not in the past been displayed by the majority of members of either culture. Without it, *Maoritanga* could in time be reduced to arts and crafts and a handful of disconnected fragments of ceremonial.

Under the new conditions, which cause traditional methods of transmission to falter, adult education may be able to help to maintain *Maoritanga* as a living entity. To do so is important not only as a matter of sentiment. It can help young Maori people to maintain a sense of identity, whose absence may lead to undesirable social consequences.

There is also considerable Pakeha interest in aspects of *Maoritanga*, which should be fostered. This springs in part from general interest, and in part from groups seeking alternatives or modifications to certain features of the majority culture which they find undesirable. The causes of their search are summed up in the following extracts from Pope Paul's encyclical letter *Populorum Progressio*:

Within industrial society urbanisation upsets both the ways of life and the habitual structures of existence, the family, the neighbourhood and the very framework of the community; man is experiencing a new loneliness. It is not in the face of a hostile nature which it has taken him centuries to subdue, but in the anonymous crowd which surrounds him and in which he himself feels a stranger. Urbanisation undoubtedly is an irreversible stage in the development of human societies and confronts man with difficult problems.

How is he to master its growth, regulate its organisation and successfully accomplish its animation for the good of all? . . .

Instead of favouring fraternal encounters and mutual aid the city fosters discrimination and indifference. It lends itself to new forms of exploitation and domination whereby some people in speculating on the needs of others derive inadmissible profits. Behind the facades much misery is

¹ *mokopuna*—grandchild

hidden, unsuspected even by the closest neighbours . . .

There is an urgent need to remake, at the level of the street or the neighbourhood, the social fabric whereby man may be able to develop the needs of his personality.

Some of the seekers after new forms of social fabric see in Maori tradition a source of alternative insights, and are attracted to it for that reason.

Another group which requires education in aspects of *Maoritanga* and in other areas of Maori life consists of adults whose work brings them into contact with Maoris in ways which require insight into their needs, their potential and present strengths and their difficulties.

RECOMMENDATION (2)

That, for teachers and officers of government departments and local bodies whose work brings them into contact with Maori and other Polynesian clients, orientation courses and regular in-service training be made available on a mandatory basis ; and that similar training be made available to employers, supervisors and trade union officials in industry.

Marae Etiquette and Oratory, and Oral Literature and History

These areas represent the core of the Maori cultural tradition. Under the auspices of University Extension, there has been some experiment in the revival of the *whare wananga* for the transmission of this kind of learning. Such work is done in a *marae* setting by elders, who do not accept payment for it. Maori speakers here have the opportunity to gain confidence and fluency, to learn some of the substance of Maori oral tradition, and to study the values and protocol of the *marae*.

RECOMMENDATION (3)

That courses of the whare wananga type be organised in selected areas, to be guided and serviced where requested by university extension lecturers in Maori Studies.

While these recreations of earlier forms of traditional Maori adult education are valuable and should be increased, they can reach only small numbers of students. Larger groups of adults who have no immediate wish to become effective *marae* speakers may also want traditional material for use or interest, and this raises problems of collection, processing and dissemination in appropriate form.

The Working Party believes that there is an urgent need to establish a centre for Maori music, oral literature and oral history. It would be an

appropriate development in 1972, as it corresponds with a UNESCO recommendation that such work be undertaken as part of the celebration of 1972 as International Book Year. The UNESCO recommendation may remind us that while pioneering work has been done in this field in New Zealand, oral literature and history are being increasingly researched and recorded in a wide range of cultures, and we may be envious of the resources that have been devoted to this field in Britain, parts of Africa and other areas.

It is essential that such a centre's resources should be freely available to Maori clubs and to individuals who may not be students, and for that reason we recommend that it should form part of the National Library, though with a distinguishable identity.

RECOMMENDATION (4)

That courses be devised, combining correspondence with tape-recordings or radio broadcasts, on Maori language (advanced), marae oratory, and oral Maori literature.¹

RECOMMENDATION (5)

That a centre be established for the collection, processing and dissemination of Maori music, oral literature and oral history, as part of the National Library.

Maori Arts and Crafts

Among the 200 secondary schools providing adult education in 1970, there were only seven classes in Maori arts, most of them in the Auckland metropolitan area. The major sources of teaching in this area of work are the *marae* committees, Maori clubs, and in some areas branches of the Maori Women's Welfare League.

The Maori clubs are independent of one another and have at present no federation. They interact mainly through competitions, and there is some feeling within our working party that competitions risk distorting the aims of the clubs.

The longer-established clubs tend to include both adult and junior groups. The newer ones, many of them attached to schools, concentrate on children's groups, although they may incidentally give rise to adult groups also. In either case, their leadership and teaching depends on voluntary enthusiasm on the part of knowledgeable adults. Although expertise in the Maori arts is essential to these volunteers, they also need teaching and programme development skills.

¹ The New Zealand Broadcasting Corporation has announced that it will during 1972 broadcast a radio series *Maori for Beginners*, with supplementary printed material. This is most welcome.

The time may be ripe for a federation of Maori clubs, possibly emerging from the National Polynesian Festival. Such a federation could take a lead in providing training to meet the needs of the clubs in cooperation with University Extension Departments, the Teachers' Refresher Course Committee and the proposed centre for Maori music, oral literature and history.

Mention must be made of the work done in this field by Education Department advisers, and of the excellent booklets they have published on aspects of Maori arts and crafts, which are as valuable to adult groups as to schools. However, as with Maori language, there is a shortage of teachers of Maori arts and crafts in and out of schools. The training courses which equip people to teach Maori language should include some training also in the teaching of the arts and crafts, which are firmly linked with the language.

RECOMMENDATION (6)

That in areas in which Maori cultural clubs exist, university extension departments and other agencies provide training for club leaders and tutors, to enable them to transmit Maori culture effectively and to extend the educational work of the clubs into new fields.

B. PARENT EDUCATION

- (i) Child development, from infancy to adolescence.
- (ii) Health.
- (iii) Safety.
- (iv) Relationships between parents and children.
- (v) Parents, children and schools.
- (vi) Family planning.
- (vii) Vocational choice and opportunities, including tertiary education.

While the Working Party notes that preschool education is now firmly established in the Maori community, we believe that there is scope for Maori (as for other) parents to be more involved in parent education at all stages of their children's growth from infancy to adolescence.

At the level of preschool education, there is a need for greatly increased multi-cultural programmes for both parents and children, including Maori language, arts and crafts. It seems that there is a shortage in the preschool institutions of people trained to develop programmes, and this gap should be considered along with the similar ones in schools and in adult education when training is being developed.

On the other hand it has been suggested that some Maori mothers involved in preschool education are able to run the necessary programmes,

but require encouragement and reassurance that such things are approved within the preschool context.

Encouragement in some cases, training in others, will help to develop mothers who are confident in both cultures and in a position to transmit aspects of both to their children. This development is already taking place with great success in some cases, but should be extended.

The educational agencies, the various preschool organisations, primary schools, secondary schools, and to some extent the tertiary institutions, must all regard parent learning and involvement as a central concern, and must be as inventive as possible in reaching out into the community. Parent-Teacher Associations, though valuable, are not enough. They rely on parents making a deliberate effort to attend, and so reach only the already-interested.

As an example of the kind of inventiveness we have in mind, the Working Party notes the recent visits to various rural Maori communities of youths who had taken part in the trade training schemes run by technical institutes in conjunction with the Department of Maori and Island Affairs, in order to make the schemes better known.

When we speak of parent involvement with educational institutions, we are not thinking of the fund-raising ventures which are so general a feature of our education system. We are here thinking of enabling parents to learn more about children and their development at various ages, about their relationships with their children and the effects of these on development, about the aims and methods of the schools and other educational agencies, and about ways in which educationalists and parents can co-operate to help children.

For the various parts of the education system to be able to meet these responsibilities for parent education, they must have sufficient staff and staff who are trained in it. The Working Party noted particularly the crucial role of preschool advisers appointed by the Department of Education, and the need to increase their number. Their role in working with Maori parents must be emphasised as much as liaison with teachers and supervisors in preschool organisations, and they require the skills of the adult educator.

RECOMMENDATION (7)

That there be an increase in the number of preschool advisers, and that they be given training in Maori studies, adult education and group relations as integral parts of their training for their work.

Throughout educational institutions there is a need for more teachers of Maori descent who retain empathy with the Maori community. They are

needed because of their ability to involve Maori parents as well as to communicate with Maori children.

C. MANAGING MONEY

- (i) Budgeting.
- (ii) Credit (including credit leagues), and hire purchase.
- (iii) Home ownership, mortgages, leases.
- (iv) Car buying.
- (v) Banking and saving.
- (vi) Insurance.
- (vii) Contracts and financial obligations.
- (viii) Making a will.
- (ix) Guarantees.
- (x) Sales resistance, evaluating product claims.

The Working Party was concerned at the financial difficulties which are faced by many Maoris and other Polynesians, especially when they move into cities. They find themselves committed to greater cash outgoings than in rural areas (in rent, transport to work etc.), their expectations may rise, stimulated by advertising and salesmanship, and they may find contracts and agreements hard to interpret or evaluate. Once again, these problems are not confined to Maoris and other Polynesians, but almost certainly affect a higher proportion of them than of Pakehas.

Budgeting schemes have been widely used to rescue families in financial difficulties. These are most effective where the voluntary supervisor guides the family to the point of managing its own affairs successfully.

Credit unions are a channel of adult education in these matters, and represent a positive step to self-help. They are not always soundly conceived or run, however, and may need educational assistance.

RECOMMENDATION (8)

That the New Zealand Credit Union League examine ways in which its educational work can be strengthened and assisted.

D. HOME MANAGEMENT AND MAINTENANCE

- (i) Choosing a house.
- (ii) Interior design.
- (iii) Home management.
- (iv) Repairs and maintenance of house, car, appliances.
- (v) Gardening.

E. SECOND CHANCE EDUCATION

- (i) Reading and comprehension (recipes, forms, contracts, instructions, etc.)
- (ii) Writing letters.
- (iii) Oral English expression for confidence, fluency and precision.
- (iv) Other areas of primary and secondary curricula where needed.
- (v) New Zealand history.

It is clear on every available measure that Maori children do considerably less well, on average, than do Pakeha children in our schools. Although efforts are being made to improve the situation, the working party is concerned at the way in which education is still failing the Maori people from preschool onwards.

Overseas research by investigators such as Bernstein and New Zealand work by Benton reveals some apparent similarities between working-class children in Britain and America and New Zealand Maori children in their use of English, which puts both groups at a disadvantage in schools when compared with children from middle class backgrounds.

We consider that education in New Zealand is still designed predominantly around middle-class Pakeha values, for reasons which are generally unconscious. The aim should be to promote empathy among all children and adults for others with different backgrounds and values, whether these arise from socio-economic or ethnic differences. We need, in fact, education for a multi-cultural society, in which barriers are replaced by choices.

As far as Maoris are concerned, there should be still greater recognition that they have particular difficulties in mastering the dominant culture which leads to success in socio-economic terms, and therefore need particular help. Language development underlies so much else that it requires concentrated attention.

In considering the upgrading of vocational skills, too, language development should not be overlooked. Responsible positions normally require skills in communication, and Maori workers may find themselves trapped by a restricted use of English which does not lend itself to dealing with more than concrete and immediate situations.

RECOMMENDATION (9)

That more be done through intensive programmes to train teachers for the effective teaching of English in schools, and for educating parents to aid the language development of their children; bearing in mind that the

teaching of English to Maori children and adults requires many of the same approaches as teaching English as a second language.

RECOMMENDATION (10)

That the New Zealand Council for Educational Research institute research into levels of literacy in the adult population, and particularly among Maori and other Polynesian adults.

One of the results of generally lower Maori attainment in schools is that substantial numbers of Maori teenagers, among them many of high ability, leave school early and unqualified. They go into unskilled or semi-skilled work, and it then requires considerable luck and high motivation for them to develop careers beyond these jobs. We are concerned at the general complacency over this waste of Maori and other Polynesian talent. While cultural factors, such as emphasis on co-operation and group working rather than on individual competitiveness, may partly explain why some Maoris are not inclined towards upward job mobility, it cannot be said that many have had much genuine choice.

One significant attempt to overcome these handicaps has been the movement, initiated by John Waititi, for Maori adults to return to school through evening classes and to take School Certificate. The later introduction in 1968 of the single-subject pass in School Certificate made this a more realistic if still a time-consuming ambition. The movement has achieved some notable successes, and has certainly publicised the availability of this form of adult education. It also indicated the value of clear goals in motivating students.

However, it has not become as large a movement as was hoped, perhaps in part because School Certificate does not seem a sufficiently relevant goal to adults. It tends to be a preliminary hurdle leading to higher education or other forms of training, and not to be in itself directly of vocational use except for youngsters finding a first job. Given the current confusion in New Zealand society about examinations and their value, and about the place of general education compared with vocational training, it is not surprising that School Certificate is not a popular goal for adults, Maori or Pakeha.

Moreover, the evening classes are taught by secondary teachers in secondary schools, using the secondary curriculum and often the same methods. They therefore repeat a situation in which the student has probably experienced failure already. Some at least of these features should be eliminated. Adults require different teaching methods from those now generally in use for secondary pupils.

They may also require some different subjects and a different syllabus in others. The National Extension College, England, has persuaded an external examining board to set up for adults a different prescription in English Language and Literature from the one used in schools. The City Literary Institute, London, provides intensive one-year part-time courses of general education for adults. They are not examined, but a tutor's recommendation can gain entry for students without any formal qualification into some teacher's colleges and other training courses. Adult courses might be a very suitable area in which to initiate forms of assessment other than the current types of examination.

RECOMMENDATION (11)

That the Department of Education consider initiating new types of part-time course for adults to meet their needs for recognised and relevant general educational qualifications of the School Certificate type, and consider how best the students' work in these courses can be assessed.

More attention should also be paid to the availability of directly vocational training and retraining, preferably in modular form for maximum flexibility and immediate usefulness.

In a different direction, there is little education available to adults in matters which are covered in the primary and secondary core curricula before the School Certificate stage. The assumption seems to be made that all adults have 'had' these areas. Some however lost their way at various points, and never got back through their perplexities to the track. Even those who had no such difficulties find that they have forgotten parts of what their children are learning, or that content or method have changed radically, as in the 'New Maths'. If their children are involved, parents are in a situation in which they can be motivated to take refresher courses in school subjects, provided the approach is carefully gauged.

RECOMMENDATION (12)

That basic and remedial adult education, adjusted to the needs and interests of adults, should have an important place in the education system and should be provided through the adult education programme of secondary schools; since it cannot be assumed that all those who have passed through New Zealand schools have mastered the primary and secondary curricula, nor that the curricula meet their present needs.

F. CIVIC EDUCATION

- (i) Maori organisations, statutory and voluntary.
- (ii) Local bodies, and how to participate in their working, as electors,

- candidates or members.
- (iii) Government departments in the community. How to use them.
- (iv) Electing and using one's M.P.
- (v) The law and the citizen, including police powers and the courts.
- (vi) Rights to welfare services, social security etc.
- (vii) Trade unions, rights and obligations.
- (viii) Useful voluntary organisations, and opportunities for voluntary service.

It is highly desirable that the Maori community should have more representation in community affairs than it does, and should have greater confidence in its members' ability to influence local and national affairs. This applies at the local level not only to territorial local bodies, but also to special-purpose bodies such as Boards of Governors of secondary schools. These bodies, assisted by educational agencies, should make it their business to educate the public they serve in their purposes and methods and to encourage members of significant ethnic minorities to stand for election. This may be especially necessary where Maoris or other groups are not a majority or large minority of the electors and where they may be overlooked.

It has been suggested to the Working Party that significantly higher proportions of Maori than of Pakeha children are suspended or expelled from secondary schools, and that Maori members of Boards of Governors, if elected, might be able to mediate and perhaps interpret situations which lead to these cases.

G. *FARMING AND RURAL LAND USE*

- (i) Land law (Maori and European).
- (ii) Land utilisation, diversification of primary products.
- (iii) Finance for land development.
- (iv) Agricultural techniques and improvements.
- (v) Calculation and accounting for farmers.
- (vi) Town and country planning.
- (vii) Social and environmental effects of land use and change of use (e.g. amalgamation of small farms).
- (viii) Marketing.
- (ix) The organisations that serve farmers, and relevant government departments.

While a substantial though diminishing proportion of Maoris live in rural areas, farming and other uses of rural land must be important fields for Maori adult education.

Land, however, is far more than an economic resource for Maori society. It is a trust and a heritage, and an important element of Maori social structure. Since seventeen separate Acts touch upon the alienation of Maori land, Maori land law is a vital area for study, as are the effects of planning laws and by-laws.

The typical Maori farmer runs a small dairy unit of a size which has in recent years become uneconomic. He needs adult education to enable him to find ways of using his land, alone or in combination with other farmers, to provide him with a reasonable living.

It has been found in other contexts, for instance in Verner's studies of the adoption of innovations among orchardists and dairy farmers in Canada, that willingness to use new farming methods is associated with higher economic status, among other factors. One would predict from this that Maori farmers would be, on average, slower than others to change their methods. They therefore need particular educational help from farm advisory officers and others, and these advisers should be as well trained as possible, and able to gain the confidence of Maori farmers. Complaints are sometimes heard that when advisory officers change, the newcomer may give advice which is quite inconsistent with his predecessor's. Such unsettling changes should be avoided, or, when they arise from new knowledge, should be accounted for.

RECOMMENDATION (13)

That the Department of Agriculture and all educational institutions concerned with agriculture undertake positive programmes of education, especially among Maori people, to assist primary producers to raise their standards of living through diversification and increased production. These programmes should not be limited to technical matters, but should also cover such things as traditional land tenure, farm finance, and the social effects of such changes as amalgamations of small farms.

H. VOCATIONS OTHER THAN FARMING

- (i) Vocational choice.
- (ii) Vocational training and retraining.
- (iii) Training for work advancement.

The Working Party has reviewed the schemes of vocational training for young Maoris which have been pioneered by the Education Department and Department of Maori and Island Affairs in co-operation with various institutions. These have filled a need, and we should like to see the number of trainees increased and urban youth included. We should also wish to see these schemes

dispersed as widely as possible throughout the technical institute system, to enable young people, wherever possible, to attend courses near their homes.

RECOMMENDATION (14)

That support be given to recommendation No. 30 of the National Advisory Council on Maori Education, "That the number of courses and trade training schemes for Maori youths be further extended, that a wider range of skills be taught, that more schemes be open to girls as well as boys, and that the courses be open to young Maoris from urban as well as rural environments".

RECOMMENDATION (15)

That there is urgency in

- (a) creating special opportunities for Maori girls to take advantage of business and other courses at technical institutes;*
- (b) dispersing courses as widely as possible, in particular by introducing more trade training and other schemes to urban centres without technical institutes;*
- (c) ensuring that potential trainees are not prevented from taking up courses by financial hardship.*

The following are schemes which are at present in operation:

Trade Training

The first of these schemes was introduced in 1959 with a carpentry course for 10 boys. There has been steady expansion.

At the present time there are 18 courses covering 12 trades, i.e.

Carpentry
Motor Mechanics
Plumbing
Sheetmetal Working
Electrical Wiring
Diesel Mechanics
Plastering
Bricklaying
Painting
Panelbeating
Fitting and Turning
Automotive Electricity

The annual intake is 290 trainees.

At the completion of the course (all are one year courses except carpentry which is two) trainees are placed with private employers to finish their

apprenticeships. The schemes are run in association with technical institutes at Auckland, Hamilton, Petone and Christchurch.

Pre-employment Courses

These courses last for 3- 4 weeks and are held at the beginning of each year. They are designed to assist girls and boys from country areas to adjust to city life and to obtain suitable jobs. 90 boys and 110 girls were taken into these schemes in 1971.

Farm Training

(a) The Auckland Youths Farm Settlement Scheme offer six years' training in all aspects of dairy and mixed farming. It has this year been taken over by Federated Farmers.

(b) Telford Farm Institute

Four boys each year can enter this scheme which the Department runs in conjunction with the Institute. The course lasts for three school terms and the fees and board totalling \$550 per student are paid by the Department.

Typing

Four Maori girls each year enter the Department of Maori and Island Affairs as typist trainees, and the Public Service as a whole trains considerable numbers of Maori girls as typists.

General

The overall annual intake is 406 boys and 114 girls- a total of 520, or approximately 10 per cent of all Maori school leavers. All the courses are open to Maoris and other Polynesians.

Technical Institutes

It is not possible to record in a paper of this nature the very wide range of courses available at technical institutes which give vocational training. Our impression is that methods must be devised to make the availability of such courses, and the opportunities to which they lead, very much more widely known. Vocational guidance officers, guidance counsellors, careers teachers and Maori Welfare Officers can help in this but we believe the institutes themselves can play a bigger part in disseminating the information.

Industry

Several industrial firms have shown initiative in providing courses for Maori and other Polynesian employees or potential employees. Those outlined below are examples of what can be done, and we should like to see more firms entering the field.

(a) *Holiday Courses*

U.E.B. Industries have a regular scheme for providing comprehensive holiday courses for senior Maori pupils. Twenty are selected annually, and spend a week of the May holidays in a survey of job opportunities in U.E.B. They are then offered paid employment during the August holidays. The company evaluates their work, and offers employment to some of them on their leaving school.

The benefits of the scheme, however, are not confined solely to the minority who eventually enter U.E.B., since the others gain a better impression of areas of work they may or may not wish to undertake. The scheme has proved its value, and other large companies should be encouraged to introduce similar arrangements.

(b) *English Language*

Todd Motors (Petone), experienced communication difficulties with many of their production line staff who are of Polynesian origin. The management, after consultation with employee representatives, conducted a successful course of English. There could be other firms and employees which could benefit from the introduction of similar courses.

Some caution is required here. The teaching of English to those for whom it is not a first language is a specialised undertaking, and a broad scattering of poorly-devised courses would not meet the need. Such institutions as Wellington Polytechnic and Victoria University's English Language Institute have the required skills and experience in mounting brief intensive courses. Firms should work with institutions of this kind rather than go it alone. It is unfortunate that administrative limitations and shortage of resources force the English Language Institute to restrict its provision almost entirely to students from overseas, and we should like to see this changed.

Training Within Industry (TWI)

TWI aims at increasing production, reducing costs, reducing accidents and improving staff relations by helping executives and supervisors develop and use their skills of general management. The National Development Conference recommended expansion of the scheme and the Labour Department has taken on additional staff accordingly.

Recently national projects have been undertaken in the meat freezing industry, transport, woollen mills, and power boards. New projects have been started in the Reserve Bank, the Naval Dockyard and the building industry.

There has recently developed a trend in secondary schools towards work experience groups, generally composed of boys from the lower streams. As things are, these groups include high proportions of Maori boys.

In the Working Party's view, it is undesirable that work experience should be confined to boys and to the lower streams only. While the proportions and the kinds of work may vary, we believe that it should be part of the secondary curriculum for all older pupils. It should play a part in making the rest of the curriculum meaningful, without an unduly narrow emphasis on vocational relevance.

We were impressed by the account of a group of Maori boys, potentially able to pass School Certificate, many of whom were likely to leave school before sitting it. Visits to industry persuaded them of their need for mathematics and other subjects to qualify for skilled work, and helped to keep them at school and improve their motivation.

RECOMMENDATION (16)

That the Education Department and Post Primary Teachers' Association consider the inclusion in the secondary curriculum of some work experience and vocational orientation for all pupils.

Present vocational training schemes concentrate on the needs of young Maoris rather than on older people. Adult Maori workers are concentrated in unskilled and semi-skilled occupations, and are particularly prone to redundancy as the structure of industry changes.

There must therefore be increased provision for their retraining, both in alternative work at similar levels of skill and for more demanding work related to their present occupations.

RECOMMENDATION (17)

That the Vocational Training Council pursue the establishment of training and retraining schemes for Maori and other Polynesian adults.

Businesses and training organisations should be encouraged to use the skills of industrial psychologists and to recruit Maori industrial welfare staff part of whose task would be to seek out Maori workers with potential for promotion. They can also assist in locating constraints which discourage maximum achievement and in devising ways of overcoming them. Firms should maintain the closest liaison with technical institutes to ensure that relevant training is available as it is needed.

We note that it is vital that people in the highest levels of management should have empathy with the situations and needs of Maori workers, and that

if this is not the case then little is likely to be attempted or achieved in providing the necessary training.

The Working Party has a high regard for the contribution which is being made by the Vocational Training Council. It notes in the Council's Annual Report for 1970 its intention to continue the late Hon. T. P. Shand's emphasis on 'the need to pay special attention to the training of young Maoris and the training and retraining of women workers'.

I. VOLUNTARY ORGANISATIONS

- (i) Committee procedure.
- (ii) Keeping accounts.
- (iii) Budgeting for organisations.
- (iv) Leadership roles.
- (v) Developing programmes for organisations.
- (vi) How organisations live or die.
- (vii) Aspects of *Maoritanga* relevant to voluntary organisations.

A notable feature of contemporary Maori society, especially in urban areas, is the proliferation of voluntary associations. Dr Walker, who has conducted research on these associations, has this to say of their genesis:

The key to the understanding of the process of urban adjustment of the Maori is voluntary association. Maoris come together in groups to meet their needs for fellowship, mutual aid, the assertion of group norms and the expression of Maori values. These needs were formerly met by the kinship system, by membership in a *hapu*¹ and a close-knit face-to-face community. Migration to the metropolis leads to dispersal of kin. Some are left behind in the rural hinterland while others are scattered in different towns or across the suburbs of metropolitan Auckland. The data shows that where the kinship system is intact, especially where the family of orientation is domiciled in the same area as the family of procreation, then kinship is still a meaningful factor in the organisation of social relations. Thus, family clubs come into being. In the city, these are formalised by the adoption of offices and a constitution. Those who have sufficient kin in the metropolis rely on the family organisation for mutual aid. For the majority however, whose kinsmen are widely scattered, kinship is being increasingly replaced by Maori welfare committees, Maori Women's Welfare Leagues and church groups.

Some of these associations flourish, but many die or continue a shadowy existence only. Sometimes the source of their difficulties lies in lack of sufficient

¹ *hapu*—sub tribe.

acquaintance with the mechanics of voluntary organisations based on Pakeha models, and education in committee procedure, accounting for funds, and the functions of officers would be generally valuable. Understanding of the dynamics of voluntary associations and training in developing appropriate programmes also have a place.

Some of the difficulties lie beyond these, however, and arise from the use of Pakeha models for purposes they were not designed to fulfil, in a situation in which they may conflict with Maori traditions of leadership and conduct.

One of the primary concerns of voluntary Maori associations is the assertion of social control over members. This is done by means of the *kaupapa*¹ which sets out members' rights and obligations and by frequent exhortation in meetings. The Maori Committee, the Maori Women's Welfare Leagues, the Maori Wardens and church groups through their handling of welfare cases, assert and promulgate amongst members what are considered to be the norms of good conduct, home management and family responsibility. The Maori values of *kotahitanga*², *aroha*³ and generosity are also promulgated in Maori associations. The ideal is to extend goodwill and a helping hand not only to Maoris but to Pakehas and Island people as well. . . .

. . . One of the unanticipated findings of this study has been the extent of conflict generated by the contest for positions of leadership in Maori associations. In the urban situation traditional criteria for leadership such as age, descent, and skill in Maori oratory are not the primary determinants of leadership. There is a trend towards a more democratic type of leadership which takes into account education, administrative *skill*, and ability to negotiate with Pakehas. In the urban situation where face-to-face relationships are less intense, people are not always well known to each other. The wrong leaders are sometimes elected by the democratic process. Faulty leadership then becomes the target for gossip, backbiting and intrigue. In the situation of an inter-tribal context where every man is equal and has to prove his worth, the patron-client relationship becomes one of the important ways in which the emerging leader can strengthen his position and counteract intrigue.

(Dr Walker)

There is, we feel, a case for increased leadership training in these circumstances, of a kind which enables leaders to see themselves as, in part, educators of adults. In order to give them confidence and enable them to gain the com-

1 *kaupapa*—plan or constitution.

2 *kotahitanga*—unity.

3 *aroha*—love, compassion.

munity's trust, they also need training in Maori language and institutions, and in the rights and obligations which are recognised in Maori society, unless of course they have learned these things in the past.

Leaders must be able to command the confidence of the community they are working with, and at the same time, if they are at all senior, must be able to act as mediators between their own group and the larger society. They must be enthusiastic and yet able to preserve enough critical detachment to see their work as part of a larger context. And they must be strong enough to avoid the temptation to build personal followings and to make the people they work with dependent on them, since the aim is to help communities and individuals to increase their own control of their functioning and lives.

The point has been made that the provisions in the Maori Welfare Act for 'an elementary form of self-government' through Maori Committees rest at present on a fallacy. The fallacy is the assumption

. . . that there are a sufficient number of potential leaders amongst the Maori to assume power under the Act and administer its provisions in a democratic and responsible manner without being corrupted by that power.
. . . The people need to be trained in committee procedure, financial accounting, budgeting, and role performance as leaders, committee members, wardens and honorary welfare officers.

(Dr Walker)

J. *CONNECTING THE CULTURES*

- (i) Pakeha values and attitudes.
- (ii) Mediating and negotiating between the two cultures.

There have been many courses for Pakehas in 'Understanding the Maori' or in '*Maoritanga* Today'. The field of what might be called *Pakehatanga* is neglected, however, at least beyond its mechanics. The values and informal mechanisms of the majority culture go largely unexplored, perhaps because it is assumed that they are self-evident. It may be an unwarranted assumption.

K. *NEEDS OF POLYNESIAN IMMIGRANTS*

The Working Party feels that more should be done to contact Polynesian immigrants on arrival in New Zealand and to devise educational programmes to meet their urgent needs. Those who do not come under Government schemes are particularly poorly served.

Those who do not speak and read English fluently need particular help, and there have been industrial accidents which show that a language handicap can make them dangerous to themselves and their fellow-employees, beside sometimes resulting in inferior job placement.

Home management under New Zealand conditions is a very different matter from home management in Polynesia, and children and adults can suffer as a result of a trial-and-error adjustment. Kinship networks already established in New Zealand can and do assist, but may themselves be inadequately informed.

Beyond these two urgent and particular kinds of educational need, Polynesian immigrants have many of the same needs for education in 'coping skills' as those which have been outlined for Maoris (and which are also needed by many Pakehas), but are worse placed to seek out and find appropriate forms of education.

Church-backed centres such as the Polynesian Social Centre in Porirua can be of value in this work, as can local body centres such as the Auckland City Council's Ponsonby Community Centre. Indeed, the churches which have Polynesian membership, and local bodies with significant numbers of Polynesians in their areas, are the agencies which are probably best placed to estimate and meet their urgent educational needs, and some are already doing excellent work. As for Maori adult education, secondary schools will have to become more used to moving adult courses to settings which are familiar and acceptable to their intended students, and to making the style of the course flexible, before they can be a major resource for the education of Polynesians.

A volunteer network to contact incoming immigrants, on the model of Australia's Good Neighbour Councils, would be a help. These receive landing information on all new settlers from port authorities, and contact them to see whether they need help of any kind.

We note the need for a more detailed examination of the adult education requirements of Polynesian immigrants, and urge that they should be consulted in order to define these requirements and to devise ways of fulfilling them. While this report contains some suggestions, detailed consideration is not within our terms of reference.

RECOMMENDATION (18)

That there be greater development of orientation courses for immigrant groups, some parts of which (e.g. English Language) could be started before their departure for New Zealand.

RECOMMENDATION (19)

That more courses in the field of home management for Polynesian mothers be held under the secondary schools' adult programmes during the day, and that attention be given to the need for child care facilities to free mothers to attend.

SOME METHODS AND TECHNIQUES

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

For success in Maori adult education, attention must be given to the setting as well as to the content of courses. The home or the *marae* generally encourage full participation more than the classroom. Every meeting begins with prayer, and whatever the setting, Maori protocol demands an initial *mihī*¹. A cup of tea or some similar refreshment is an essential accompaniment of a lecture or discussion, as a means of guarding against danger from *tapu* as well as for social reasons.

Small groups from a single neighbourhood meeting in a member's house may have important advantages over larger ones some distance away.

Maori and Polynesian adults find reassurance and strengthened motivation under the following conditions, among others:

- (i) use of Maori language at some points;
- (ii) informal room layout, based on a circle rather than rows;
- (iii) simplicity of presentation, with a strong visual element, whether a conventional visual aid or the gestures and facial expressions of the Maori orator;
- (iv) empathy with Maori people on the part of the teacher;
- (v) scope for active student participation, and time for students to evaluate and discuss information presented to them.

Flexibility in the timing and spacing of course sessions is also needed, with a variety of methods from the single meeting supplemented by printed material to the intensive residential course.

Programmes should be channelled whenever possible through personal contact to preformed groups rather than to random individuals. This can often be done by working through an existing Maori organisation.

¹ *mihī* - welcome.

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Some reference has already been made to community development and informal adult education. The classic technique of community development is that of the development worker who establishes himself in a single community and acts as a catalyst, enabling people to discover and fulfil their own needs as a community, providing resources of information and practical assistance as the community becomes aware of its requirements.

Community development approaches to adult education are increasingly common overseas, though often not within the framework of the more established adult education agencies. They demand considerable sophistication on the part of the sponsoring organisation, demonstrated in a willingness not to press prematurely for evidence of results. They also require careful selection and training of staff, since these are the only guarantees that results will eventually come about.

These approaches can reach people who otherwise seem totally alienated from adult education, and can enable self-development groups to function in a real sense.

AUDIOVISUAL AND DISCUSSION MATERIAL

It has been suggested that material designed for independent use by associations or informal self-development groups would fill a current gap.

RECOMMENDATION (20)

That a full-time officer be appointed by the National Council of Adult Education to produce and edit audio-visual material, including publications useful as adult education programmes for voluntary Maori adult self-development groups. This would be especially appropriate in 1972 as International Book Year.

The Working Party was pleased to learn that the New Zealand Workers' Educational Association intends to start in 1972 the provision of material for discussion groups, and hopes that the material will appeal to Maori groups and that, where appropriate, Maori authorities will be asked to contribute.

NEWS MEDIA

Broadcasting, and journals designed for Maori interests, should seek to publicise the concept of continuing learning and develop adult education programmes themselves. More is said of this later.

RECOMMENDATION (21)

That the news media, especially radio and television, develop adult and preschool education programmes, with emphasis on parent education.

RECOMMENDATION (22)

That the NZBC Maori news service be expanded, and continue to provide educational and vocational information.

RECOMMENDATION (23)

That the New Zealand Maori Council and the Department of Maori and Island Affairs use their journals to promote the concept of continuing learning; that they develop specific adult education programmes through them; and that adult education agencies regularly contribute to them accounts of developments and successful projects in continuing education.

CERTIFICATE COURSES

Several existing or proposed university extension certificate courses are of interest to Maori people of sufficient educational attainment to make success in them probable. By no means all of these live in the metropolitan areas to which the certificate courses are normally confined.

RECOMMENDATION (24)

That the University Extension Departments develop ways of making their certificate courses available outside their university city, not omitting the possible use of broadcasting.

PRESENT AND POTENTIAL AGENCIES OF ADULT EDUCATION

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

While we have made recommendations on actual programmes of vocational education, we have none related to the nature and function of the agencies involved, though we are strongly concerned that their provision should be increased.

NON-VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

(a) *University Extension*

There has already been reference (see p. 12) to the changes which have taken place in university extension work since 1963.

In 1967 the National Council asked the university extension departments' views on the kinds of service they would undertake in Maori adult education. (At that time Waikato and Massey Universities were not directly involved in extension work.)

Each department was willing to undertake services, provided that they fell within its definition of its role. Victoria's gave the clearest account of the conditions under which it could offer courses, and since this was generally in agreement with the answers of the other departments, it is quoted here:

Courses organised by the Department should, as far as possible, comply with the following requirements:

- (a) the subjects of courses should be studied in depth and in relation to general principles;
- (b) the content of courses should be supported by an adequate body of systematically organised knowledge such as a university discipline;
- (c) courses should be part of a programme that provides for progression from lower to higher levels;
- (d) courses should be of sufficient duration to enable students to attain worthwhile goals (courses at introductory stages should tend to be long; courses at more advanced stages, e.g. refresher courses, may justifiably be shorter);

- (e) the subject matter of courses should be treated in a scientific and impartial manner;
- (f) the tutor of a course should be a university teacher or person of comparable qualifications in his subject;
- (g) all students should be expected to undertake home study related to the course, and, where appropriate, submit written or other individual work to their teachers.

Every effort should be made to ensure as close teacher-student relationships as possible by organising long courses, restricting enrolments, providing residential facilities and other means.

The Department may, in addition to its usual courses, undertake selected experimental courses and pilot projects, and will make special provision for courses on complex and important matters of public concern and for courses for the training or further education of leaders in society, government and business.

One consequence of the changes of the 1960s, especially in the Auckland area, was the withdrawal of (Pakeha) area tutor-organisers to the university centres. This was accompanied by the setting up in provincial centres of voluntary adult education area committees. Where there was a substantial Maori population, Maori members were generally included in these committees.

However, the Maori community found this unsatisfactory. The Maori lecturers were more and more occupied in work in the metropolitan areas. The provinces missed their regular visits, and did not find the area committees a sufficient link with the extension departments. 'Even in the case of the urban Maori, there is still a tendency to deal direct rather than through the accepted channels.' (Comment by a Maori Welfare Officer).

It is doubtful whether area committees are the most efficient means of conducting university extension work for Maori communities. There are voluntary associations in several rural communities and small towns that conduct weekend schools, lectures and seminars outside the ambit of the area committees. The programmes that they offer cater for community needs. Because the programmes are problem- and community-centred and developed by the natural leaders of the community they appear to be more effective than the programmes of the area committees.

Earlier work had certainly had its shortcomings. The few tutors in the field had either been forced to spread their work too thinly over large areas, or had worked intensively in a few selected places. No consistent standards of evaluation had been adopted, and there had been little attempt to use the

university staff to train a larger and more widespread group to undertake field work in adult education. Nevertheless the previous service was sorely missed.

The new conditions promote inflexibility, even where the extension departments themselves do not desire it. When Maori tutors were first appointed, their brief was to serve the Maori community. They are now identified with a subject area, Maori Studies, rather than a clientele. Under university extension conditions their students are more likely to be Pakeha than Maori. They do not question the importance of promoting knowledge of *Maoritanga* among Pakehas. Given free choice, however, they would see education of the Maori community in the fields outlined in this report as having greater urgency.

The Maori lecturers also find themselves called on to teach more than they used (including some internal teaching) and organise less. Organising adult education for Maoris in appropriate ways is a skilled and demanding undertaking, and they find less time available for it.

The extension departments, then, now find it more difficult to provide staff to organise programmes for a Maori clientele, and anyone who does this work does it at some risk to his professional future.

It is this, ultimately, which fuels the concern which has been expressed on all sides about Maori adult education. The universities may say, with considerable justice, that they should not be subject to pressure to undertake work which they consider inappropriate to their role. They may say this without stigmatising that work as in any sense inferior in quality or less important. They may add that if informal Maori adult education were to become once again their responsibility, it would risk being unjustly regarded as second-rate simply because it would tend to be measured, in a university context, as though it were ordinary university work, and would inevitably be found wanting. Any flower in the wrong place becomes a weed.

Against this has to be measured the historical fact that Maori adult education grew up under the shelter of the university, and that the Maori people has come to accept that that is its home. While it is rare and in danger of extinction it should not be too hastily transplanted to some other institution. When it is flourishing elsewhere it will be time to make a change.

It may be possible to avoid some of the problems if the universities are prepared to consider certain additional appointments for Maori adult education on an administrative rather than a lecturing basis, and this would solve a number of difficulties.

Although only Auckland and Victoria Universities have so far appointed extension staff for Maori work, the Working Party believes that all New Zealand universities should now make such appointments. In the South Island there is a sufficient Maori community, both of *tangata whenua*¹ and of migrants from the North Island, to make this step appropriate.

RECOMMENDATION (25)

Recognising the immense value to Maori adult education of the past work of the Maori extension lecturers, that departments of university extension revive the policies under which adult education facilities were offered to Maori groups and individuals to learn traditional and community skills.

RECOMMENDATION (26)

That there be an increase in the number of university extension lecturers in the Maori adult education field. Their responsibilities should include

- (a) community development work in the Maori community, including the training of local leadership, and*
- (b) normal extension teaching in Maori Language and Maori Studies to Maori and Pakeha adults.*

Appointments should be made by all universities, with particular urgency in the Waikato University area. The needs of rural areas should be considered when these appointments are made.

RECOMMENDATION (27)

That some university extension appointments in Maori adult education should be made primarily for organising work, especially for rural areas.

(b) *Secondary Schools' Adult Education*

The state secondary schools are increasingly active in teaching Maori Language to adults, and conduct some courses in Maori arts and crafts. It is likely that, as in university extension, most students in both types of class are Pakeha.

Very little is being done in the schools' adult work within the other fields of need outlined in this report. This is not apparently the result of the 1967 holdback on the expansion of non-vocational programmes, which was still in force until the start of 1972. Education Department officers thought that requests for such classes would not have been affected by the holdback. Latitude was allowed for the establishment of new classes to meet clear social needs.

Nor is it, in many cases, the result of unwillingness on the part of the schools. There is a lot of goodwill on the part of principals to run and organise evening classes for the Maori people in both rural and urban areas, but this

¹ *tangata whenua*—people with traditional land rights in the area.

goodwill is not made use of by Maori adults.' (Maori Welfare Officer.)

The Working Party believes that what is lacking is primarily communication between the schools and the Maori community with regard to adult education. On the one side, the community is used to Maori adult education taking place on the *marae* or in circumstances in which individual participants can be certain of not finding themselves heavily outnumbered in a Pakeha setting. To go to the secondary school requires some motivation.

Moreover, they respond best to word-of-mouth publicity, and schools have not developed their publicity techniques far beyond the advertisement inserted in the newspaper. To attract Maori adults, the schools will have to reach out into the community and take classes too outside the classroom.

On the other side, most schools have little expertise in adult education or in interpreting the needs of the community. They are not staffed for it, and that is probably the critical point. If the schools had staff, whether on a part-time or full-time basis, professionally committed to adult work, preferably with special training for it, in close touch with all sections of the community and with time to consider as well as to organise, the picture would be very different.

Just as staffing allocations for day schools are weighted in areas with high proportions of Maori and other Polynesian population, so it may be that there should be special weighting for adult education work in the same areas. At all events, the work cannot flourish while it is organised in overtime by school staff members who carry full teaching loads during the day.

RECOMMENDATION (28)

That in areas with a concentration of Maori or other Polynesian population, secondary schools accept a clear responsibility for meeting community adult education needs, and consult regularly with community representatives in order to set up appropriate programmes.

RECOMMENDATION (29)

That secondary schools hold more adult courses in Maori situations such as maraes, wherever that is likely to increase Maori participation.

RECOMMENDATION (30)

That the introduction of new courses under the Manual and Technical Regulations for groups which desire them and which contain significant proportions of Maoris and other Polynesians be encouraged and continued.

RECOMMENDATION (31)

That secondary schools establish more courses related to the needs of the Maori and other Polynesian peoples, such as English language, house financing, insurance, budgeting, and other fields mentioned in this report.

RECOMMENDATION (32)

- (a) *That in areas with a concentration of Maori or other Polynesian population, secondary schools appoint staff on a part-time basis to maintain consultation with the community and voluntary organisations and to organise adult education to meet their needs, through adult classes under secondary schools or through other adult education agencies as may be most appropriate in particular cases. The appointees need not be necessarily secondary teachers. The programmes they are concerned with should include both vocational and non-vocational courses, and at all appropriate levels.*
- (b) *That the Manual and Technical Regulations be amended, if necessary, to allow these appointments to be made.*

RECOMMENDATION (33)

That an adviser for Maori and other Polynesian adult education be appointed to the staff of the Department of Education.

(c) *Local Bodies*

New Zealand local bodies have not been widely active in adult education. However, there are interesting signs of change within the Auckland urban area. The Working Party met Mr Bennett, the social services officer of Mt. Wellington Borough Council. It happens that there is no secondary school within this borough of 24,000 people, though three lie just outside its boundaries and evening classes are available through them.

Some of the Borough Council's activities are unmistakably in the field of adult and out-of-school education. These include:

- (i) Pottery and art classes, conducted by a full-time tutor appointed by three neighbouring local bodies.
- (ii) Maori language classes.
- (iii) Maori arts classes.
- (iv) A course in English as a second language, asked for by local firms, arranged by Mr Bennett and conducted through Penrose High School.
- (v) A regular drama workshop conducted by the Mercury Theatre.

Advisory services are provided by the Auckland City Council through the Ponsonby Community Centre, and this service is used by Mt. Wellington residents also.

This work, much of which is addressed to the local Maori and Islands communities, is to be highly commended, and the Working Party would welcome similar appointments and schemes under other local bodies. Social services officers are to be found under Mt. Wellington Borough Council and the Auck-

land and Manukau City Council, and several other Auckland local bodies have appointed recreation officers.

While at present local body adult education takes the form largely of regular classes, social services officers are well-placed to pioneer informal community adult education through a range of methods, and the Ponsonby Community Centre's advice bureau is perhaps the start of such a trend. It may be asked in what way an advice service is educational, but so long as the advice given is not so specific as to be valid only in the immediate case, so long as it promotes generalised understandings which can be applied to other situations, it is certainly entitled to be regarded as a method of adult education.

(d) *Churches*

In the past few years the churches have become more actively involved in meeting community needs. Some of their activities, such as 'interView '69', are clearly educational, and some churches are heavily involved in consciously educational work quite outside their specific religious teaching. This movement deserves recognition and encouragement. The churches' work is widely acceptable to the Maori and Islands communities. An example is the Polynesian Social Centre in Porirua, backed by the Roman Catholic Church.

As with the local bodies, the churches are more free to use unconventional methods of adult education than the more formally educational agencies, and we hope that they will experiment widely.

RECOMMENDATION (34)

That the importance of the Churches' work in the education of Maori and other Polynesian adults be recognised and strengthened.

RECOMMENDATION (35)

That the Maori and Island Affairs Department encourage Church groups and voluntary organisations to establish elsewhere centres such as the Polynesian Social Centre and provide financial assistance where necessary, and that local bodies also accept the support of such centres as a direct or indirect responsibility.

(e) *Play Centres, Kindergartens and Family Play Groups*

The importance of these organisations in parent education has already been mentioned, and cannot be too highly stressed.

(f) *Urban Marae and Maori Community Centres*

The *marae* is a natural focus for Maori adult education, and new *marae* projects should take account of this in their planning.

In a few cases such as Hillary College, Otara, secondary schools have been used as quasi-*marae*s in urban situations, at least until *marae*s proper can be

established. These cases suggest a New Zealand approach to the English concept of community school, which are multi-purpose complexes housing schools, adult education facilities, social and recreational amenities, and sometimes social services and libraries. Although these are easier to construct in countries in which local bodies have direct responsibilities in all these fields, the difficulties in New Zealand are not insuperable, given good-will.

(g) *Maori Trust Boards and Incorporations*

Trust Boards have been involved in some of the past Young Maori Leaders Conferences. It is possible that some might carry their involvement further, directly promoting and financing adult education programmes, as some American Indian tribes have done.

(h) *Broadcasting*

(i) *Television*

The Working Party is convinced that television offers under-utilised opportunities for adult education.

We were impressed by an account of the Rural Family Development Project being conducted by the University of Wisconsin Extension. This scheme is designed for poor families without high levels of education, and its aims are practical and close to the fields we have suggested for Maori adult education. It uses a combination of television, carefully-prepared printed leaflets and home visits by specially trained para-professional 'associate teachers', many of them with backgrounds similar to those of their clients.

The television programmes are designed not to teach, but to stimulate and motivate potential students. They use formats such as that of the variety show which are familiar and widely acceptable, and artists who have given their services include internationally known entertainers such as Johnny Cash. Where commercials would normally appear come tantalising snippets of information connected with ascertained educational needs, and encouragements to fill these out by means of the leaflets.

Because of their entertainment content, these programmes are potentially peak-hour viewing material, and therefore escape the assumed clash between education and entertainment which often bedevils acceptance of educational television.

RECOMMENDATION (36)

That the NZBC and other education agencies consider the introduction to New Zealand of projects comparable with the Rural Family Development Project of Wisconsin University.

There is also scope for televised accounts in magazine form of adult education work in progress, for some actual teaching programmes, and for indirect contributions through programmes which are not designated as adult education. It is not difficult to see how such indirect contributions might be possible through drama series such as *Section 7*, or through a slight variation on *Puke-manu*.

(ii) *Radio*

The Working Party does not feel that the educational, social and recreational needs of the Maori and other Polynesian communities are being adequately served by the NZBC or by existing alternative radio stations. We felt that if parts of Australia can provide television programmes for some 25,000 immigrants who do not speak English, New Zealand should be able to provide a radio service at least for 880,000 Maoris and other Polynesians in Auckland.

What has been proposed and rejected by the New Zealand Broadcasting Authority is a low-powered commercial station in Auckland operating on a modest budget. While it would be commercial in the sense of accepting advertising, it would be primarily concerned to provide a community service rather than to maximise profits. While much of the programme would consist of popular music, there would be great emphasis on informative programmes designed to assist citizens with their problems, and on Maori and Polynesian music. Programmes for parents at home and preschool children were to be another element. Tapes would be made available to other radio stations.

A key concept was that of direct involvement through representatives of the Maori and Island communities in the station's planning and management.

We regret that the attempt to establish such a station has so far been unsuccessful, and urge the Broadcasting Authority to reconsider it.

RECOMMENDATION (37)

That radio stations be established in Auckland, and if possible in other centres, with the primary aims (a) of serving the educational, social and recreational needs of the Maori and other Polynesian communities and (b) of providing a distinctive New Zealand flavour in broadcasting. The Maori and other Polynesian communities should be involved in the direction and management of this station.

(i) *Other Voluntary Organisations*

Many voluntary organisations, both Maori and general, have a place in Maori adult education. At present few have the skills needed to play an effective role, and they need help.

Among these, the Maori Women's Welfare League does not seem at present to undertake as much educational work as it might. It appears to rely on other agencies to take a lead.

The Auckland District Council of the Workers' Educational Association has shown particular interest and determination in promoting courses for Maoris and Islanders. It may, as a Pakeha organisation, be insufficiently in touch with Polynesian needs and the best ways of meeting them, but it should be encouraged to develop its work.

We feel that the provision of adult education for Maoris and other Polynesians should be regularly reviewed as a whole. The appropriate body for this purpose is the National Council of Adult Education, and we recommend the setting up of a special committee of the Council.

RECOMMENDATION (38)

That the National Council of Adult Education appoint a committee, to meet not less than once a year, to report to it on furthering the development of adult education for Maoris and other Polynesians.

CONCLUSION

In the course of this report we have traced in outline the development of Maori adult education to its present point. We have then set out some key fields of work for Maori adult education, while recognising that most of these fields are also of interest to other sections of the New Zealand population. They are not well covered at present, largely because they are mainly in the area of basic rather than of tertiary education, and the structure of purposeful adult education outside the field of the tertiary institutions is under-developed as yet.

Patterns of adult education tend to be confused because of the wide range of organisations and institutions involved. We have tried to take account of this range, and certainly have no wish to see Maori adult education tidied up at the expense of vitality and experiment. We hope that more agencies will become involved in it rather than less.

However, there are certain key institutions which we believe should be strengthened by the appointment of staff for Maori adult education or by other measures. They would then be in a position to advise and assist other bodies, and so to advance the whole field.

We have not made recommendations of this kind with regard to the institutions of purely vocational education, though other recommendations do concern them. We have concentrated in matters of structure on the agencies which cover both vocational and non-vocational adult education, such as the secondary schools (in their adult role) and university extension departments.

If our recommendations are adopted, they will provide for main elements in two kinds of network, one structural and the other functional.

The structural network would consist, at its simplest, of the part-time organisers for Maori and other Polynesian adult education appointed to selected secondary schools, and an adviser within the Department of Education to assist them, provide liaison between them and make representations within the Department concerning their work. It could be further developed if necessary at a later stage.

The functional network, based on common concerns but not hierarchical, would be broader, and would include the part-time secondary staff at community level, the university extension staff for Maori adult education at regional level, and at national level the Education Department's adviser and the proposed Maori adult education committee of the National Council of Adult Education.

Other agencies would be in a position to provide special services and resources, to be drawn on by the 'general practitioners' in adult education or by other groups. Examples of these specialist services would be the existing Maori Welfare Officers, Maori organisations, local body community advisers, the proposed additional preschool advisers in the Department of Education, the proposed centre for Maori music, oral literature and history, the English Language Institute (strengthened as we have suggested) and the proposed publications and audio-visual education officer attached to the National Council of Adult Education.

We believe that the service we have outlined would be able to meet the adult education needs of the Maori people, and we urge that action should be taken along the lines of our recommendations to strengthen it where it exists and to set up those parts which do not yet exist.

CONSOLIDATED RECOMMENDATIONS

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| <p>(1) In view of the need for more courses leading to qualifications recognised by the Department of Education in the teaching of the Maori language to children and adults, that the Department convene meetings with the teachers' colleges, universities and technical institutes in order</p> <p style="margin-left: 20px;">(a) to institute and concert the provision of such courses, and</p> <p style="margin-left: 20px;">(b) to ensure that appropriate provision is made in courses for the needs both of trained teachers and of untrained potential teachers who are already fluent Maori speakers.</p> <p>(2) That, for teachers and officers of government departments and local bodies whose work brings them into contact with Maori and other Polynesian clients, orientation courses and regular in-service training be made available on a mandatory basis; and that similar training be made available to employers, supervisors and trade union officials in industry.</p> | <p><u>Directed to</u></p> <p><i>Department of Education</i></p> <p><i>Teachers' Colleges</i></p> <p><i>Universities</i></p> <p><i>Technical Institutes</i></p>
<p><i>State Services Commission</i></p> <p><i>Department of Education</i></p> <p><i>Municipal Authorities Association</i></p> <p><i>Vocational Training Council</i></p> <p><i>N.Z. Play Centre Federation and Associations</i></p> <p><i>Free Kindergarten Colleges</i></p> <p><i>Free Kindergarten Teachers' Association</i></p> <p><i>Free Kindergarten Union</i></p> |
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- Directed to
- (3) That courses of the *whare wananga* type be organised in selected areas, to be guided and serviced where requested by university extension lecturers in Maori Studies.
- Universities
- (4) That courses be devised, combining correspondence with tape-recordings or radio broadcasts, on Maori Language (Advanced), *Marae* Oratory, and Oral Maori Literature.
- N.Z. Broadcasting Corporation
Universities
Correspondence School
Departments teaching
Maori Studies in
Universities
- (5) That a centre be established for the collection, processing and dissemination of Maori music, oral literature and oral history, as part of the National Library.
- Maori Purposes Fund Board
National Commission for UNESCO
Maori & Island Affairs Department
National Library
- (6) That in areas in which Maori cultural clubs exist, University Extension Departments and other agencies provide training for club leaders and tutors, to enable them to transmit Maori culture effectively and to extend the educational work of the clubs into new fields.
- Maori Purposes Fund Board
Teachers' Refresher Course Committee
Universities
- (7) That there be an increase in the number of preschool advisers, and that they be given training in Maori Studies, adult education and group relations as integral parts of their training for their work.
- Department of Education

- (8) That the New Zealand Credit Union League examine ways in which its educational work can be strengthened and assisted. *Directed to
N.Z. Credit Union
League*
- (9) That more be done through intensive programmes to train teachers for the effective teaching of English in schools, and for educating parents to aid the language development of their children; bearing in mind that the teaching of English to Maori children and adults requires many of the same approaches as teaching English as a second language. *Department of
Education
Teachers' Refresher
Course Committee
Teachers' Colleges*
- (10) That the New Zealand Council for Educational Research institute research into levels of literacy in the adult population, and particularly among Maori and other Polynesian adults. *N.Z. Council for
Educational Research*
- (11) That the Department of Education consider initiating new types of part-time course for adults to meet their needs for recognised and relevant general educational qualifications of the School Certificate type, and consider how best the students' work in these courses can be assessed. *Department of
Education*
- (12) That basic and remedial adult education, adjusted to the needs and interests of adults, should have an important place in the education system and should be provided through the adult education programme of secondary schools; since it cannot be assumed that all those who have passed through New Zealand schools have mastered the primary and secondary curricula, nor that the curricula meet their present needs. *Department of
Education*

(13) That the Department of Agriculture and all educational institutions concerned with agriculture undertake positive programmes of education, especially among Maori people, to assist primary producers to raise their standards of living through diversification and increased production. These programmes should not be limited to technical matters, but should also cover such things as traditional land tenure, farm finance, and the social and other effects of such changes as amalgamations of small farms.

Directed to

*Department of
Agriculture*

Federated Farmers

Young Farmers' Clubs

*Technical
Correspondence
Institute*

(14) That support be given to recommendation No. 30 of the National Advisory Council on Maori Education, "That the number of courses and trade training schemes for Maori youths be further extended, that a wider range of skills be taught, that more schemes be open to girls as well as boys, and that the courses be open to young Maoris from urban as well as rural environments'.

*Department of
Education*

*Department of
Maori & Island Affairs*

- (15) That there is urgency in
- (a) creating special opportunities for Maori girls to take advantage of business and other courses at technical institutes.
 - (b) dispersing courses as widely as possible, in particular by introducing more trade training and other schemes to urban centres without technical institutes.
 - (c) ensuring that potential trainees are not prevented from taking up courses by financial hardship.

*Department of
Maori & Island Affairs*

*Department of
Education*

*N.Z. Employers'
Federation*

(16) That the Education Department and Post Primary Teachers' Association consider the inclusion in the secondary curriculum of some work experience and vocational orientation for all pupils.

*Department of
Education*

*Post Primary
Teachers' Association*

Directed to

- (17) That the Vocational Training Council pursue the establishment of training and retraining schemes for Maori and other Polynesian adults. *Vocational Training Council*
- (18) That there be greater development of orientation courses for immigrant groups, some parts of which (e.g. English language) could be started before their departure for New Zealand. *Departments of Education, Labour, Maori & Island Affairs, Foreign Affairs*
- (19) That more courses in the field of home management for Polynesian mothers be held under the secondary schools' adult programmes during the day, and that attention be given to the need for child care facilities to free mothers to attend. *Department of Education*
- (20) That a full-time officer be appointed by the National Council of Adult Education to produce and edit audio-visual material, including publications useful as adult education programmes for voluntary Maori adult self-development groups. This would be especially appropriate in 1972 as International Book Year. *National Council of Adult Education*
- (21) That the news media, especially radio and television, develop adult and preschool education programmes, with emphasis on parent education. *N.Z. Broadcasting Corporation*
- (22) That the NZBC Maori News Service be expanded, and continue to provide educational and vocational information. *N.Z. Broadcasting Corporation*
- (23) That the New Zealand Maori Council and the Department of Maori and Island Affairs use their journals to promote the concept of continuing learning; that they develop specific adult education programmes through them; and that adult education agencies regularly contribute to them accounts of developments and successful projects in continuing education. *N.Z. Maori Council
Department of Maori & Island Affairs*

- | | <u>Directed to</u> |
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| (24) That the university extension departments develop ways of making their certificate courses available outside their university city, not omitting the possible use of broadcasting. | <i>Universities</i> |
| (25) Recognising the immense value to Maori adult education of the past work of the Maori extension lecturers, that departments of university extension revive the policies under which adult education facilities were offered to Maori groups and individuals to learn traditional and community skills. | <i>Universities</i>
<i>University Grants</i>
<i>Committee</i> |
| (26) That there be an increase in the number of university extension lecturers in the Maori adult education field. Their responsibilities should include | <i>Universities</i>
<i>University Grants</i>
<i>Committee</i> |
| (a) community development work in the Maori community, including the training of local leadership, and | |
| (b) normal extension teaching in Maori language and Maori studies to Maori and Pakeha adults. | |
| Appointments should be made by all universities, with particular urgency in the Waikato University area. The needs of rural areas should be considered when these appointments are made. | |
| (27) That some university extension appointments in Maori adult education should be made primarily for organising work, especially for rural areas. | <i>Universities</i>
<i>University Grants</i>
<i>Committee</i> |
| (28) That in areas with a concentration of Maori or other Polynesian population, secondary schools accept a clear responsibility for meeting community adult education needs, and consult regularly with community representatives in order to set up appropriate programmes. | <i>Department of</i>
<i>Education</i>
<i>Secondary School</i>
<i>Boards' Association</i> |

- | | <u>Directed to</u> |
|--|---|
| (29) That secondary schools hold more adult courses in Maori situations such as <i>maraes</i> , wherever that is likely to increase Maori participation. | <i>Department of Education</i>

<i>Secondary School Boards' Association</i> |
| (30) That the introduction of new courses under the Manual and Technical Regulations for groups which desire them and which contain significant proportions of Maoris and other Polynesians be encouraged and continued. | <i>Department of Education</i>

<i>Secondary School Boards' Association</i> |
| (31) That secondary schools establish more courses related to the needs of the Maori and other Polynesian peoples, such as English language, house financing, insurance, budgeting, and other fields mentioned in this report. | <i>Department of Education</i>

<i>Secondary School Boards' Association</i> |
| (32) (a) That in areas with a concentration of Maori or other Polynesian population, secondary schools appoint staff on a part-time basis to maintain consultation with the community and voluntary organisations and to organise adult education to meet their needs, through adult classes under secondary schools or through other adult education agencies as may be most appropriate in particular cases. The appointees need not be necessarily secondary teachers. The programmes they are concerned with should include both vocational and non-vocational courses, and at all appropriate levels. | <i>Department of Education</i>

<i>Secondary School Boards' Association</i> |
| (b) That the Manual and Technical Regulations be amended, if necessary, to allow these appointments to be made. | |
| (33) That an adviser for Maori adult education be appointed to the staff of the Department of Education. | <i>Department of Education</i> |

- (34) That the importance of the churches' work in the education of Maori and other Polynesian adults be recognised and strengthened.

Directed to

*Department of
Education and
Maori & Island Affairs*

*National Council of
Adult Education*

- (35) That the Maori and Island Affairs Department encourage church groups and voluntary organisations to establish elsewhere centres such as the Polynesian Social Centre, and provide financial assistance where necessary, and that local bodies also accept the support of such centres as a direct or indirect responsibility.

*Department of
Maori & Island Affairs
National Council of
Churches*

*Municipal Authorities'
Association of N.Z.*

*N.Z. Counties
Association*

- (36) That the NZBC and other educational agencies consider the introduction to New Zealand of projects comparable with the Rural Family Development Project of Wisconsin University.

*N.Z. Broadcasting
Corporation*

*Department of
Education*

- (37) That radio stations be established in Auckland, and if possible in other centres, with the primary aims (a) of serving the educational, social and recreational needs of the Maori and other Polynesian communities and (b) of providing a distinctively New Zealand flavour in broadcasting. The Maori and other Polynesian communities should be involved in the direction and management of this station.

*N.Z. Broadcasting
Authority*

- (38) That the National Council of Adult Education appoint a committee, to meet not less than once a year, to report to it on furthering the development of education for Maoris and other Polynesians.

*National Council of
Adult Education*

APPENDIX A

TAIHAPE ADULT AND MAORI PUPILS' WEEKEND SEMINAR

1. *Introduction*

A Taihape organising committee of interested people organised in 1971 (a) a Maori Students' Weekend Seminar, which resulted in (b) an Adult Weekend Seminar.

The notes below outline how these seminars were organised.

2. *Felt Needs*

A group of teachers including the Principal of Taihape College felt that they would like to provide activities specially devised for Maori pupils. They wrote to Alan Smith, Officer for Maori and Island Education (H.O.) inviting him to come to a meeting in Taihape to discuss ways and means of providing better programmes and other extra-curricular activities for Maori pupils.

3. *Initial Discussion*

The initial discussion took place during a day in April at Taihape College and it was one of a series of meetings they had arranged for us spread over a 24 hour period. (PTA meeting, Maori parents meeting).

4. *Organising Committee*

The organising committee was made up of:

Colin Watson--a member of the staff and the initiator;

Principal and deputy;

Mat Campbell and Phil Foster--Maori staff members;

Three Maori parents.

5. We suggested a weekend seminar for Maori students from Tongariro High School, Ruapehu College, Rangitikei High School, Taihape High School and the Army Cadets of Waiouru Camp. The seminar topics included:

(a) Who am I?

(b) Where am I going? (In view of urbanisation).

(c) What am I going to do?

(d) Who are the people to help me?

(e) What price do I have to pay? (Stay at school for qualifications).

(f) What have I learnt? (Evaluation).

These topics were suggested because they were the likely questions pupils were asking themselves at this time of their lives.

6. The programme was drawn up and submitted to a Maori parents' meeting the same night. They gave the support required including the use of

Winiata Marae from whence accommodation and cooking facilities could be supplied. The Marae is half a mile from the College.

7. Financial assistance was also given from the Department of Education and the Maori Purposes Fund.
8. Approximately 100 students attended. Speakers came from Wellington, Auckland, Hamilton and Wanganui.
9. *Community Involvement*
This was at its maximum with the parents participating at the Marae and at the College where the lectures were held.
10. *Spin-Offs*
 - (a) The Maori Women's Welfare Branch was re-activated.
 - (b) The Maori Committee decided to meet again.
 - (c) The Marae had a function on it for the first time for months.
 - (d) The local Maori people and those from Moawhango gained by meeting for a common cause.
 - (e) The same organising committee was challenged to provide a similar week-ends for adults. This seminar took place 6 weeks after the student seminar.
 - (f) They are now looking at ways and means of extending their Maori adult education classes for next year.
 - (g) They will provide Maori Language classes on the school curriculum.

T. K. Royal
Secondary Inspectorate
(Maori and Island Education)

APPENDIX B

PONSONBY COMMUNITY CENTRE ACTIVITIES

Activities as at 22nd September, 1971

- Monday* -- first Monday afternoon of each month; Immunization clinics and cooking demonstrations (Health Department).
-- evenings; Ladies' Pipe Band.
- Tuesdays* -- Training Course for Interviewers, Jaycees (meetings).
- Wednesdays* -- second Wednesday morning of each month; Plunket Society. Maori Women's Welfare League (flax weaving and meetings).
-- afternoons: Senior Citizens Club.
-- evenings; Housie, Samoan Language Class (run by Workers' Educational Association).
- Thursdays* evenings; Maori Culture Group.
- Friday.* -- Ballroom dancing classes for teenagers.
- Sundays* -- Midday meal for senior citizens.

In addition to the above, the following activities have also been run at the Centre from time to time.

Crochet Classes Tuesday, all day, which at one stage had an attendance of 40 to 50 women. This class lasted for approximately 2 months and ceased because the volunteer instructor wished to stop.

Housing Course - Wednesday evenings, with an attendance of up to 30 people.

University Extension -- in Sociology (Mrs. E. Timms).

Ponsonby Festival - mainly rehearsals of the different cultural groups from Samoa, Niue, Tonga, etc.

There are also many other groups, committees and individuals who arrange programmes in a wider variety of topics but it is a general rule that these only last once or twice, except that committees with specific purposes are kept going.

Personally, I think the success or otherwise of these programmes depends on the following criteria: most important, whether or not the people in the community ask for a particular programme, secondly the calibre of the instructor, teacher or leader; and thirdly, whether there is some demonstrable need, for example a large number of housing problems in Ponsonby as shown through the Citizens Advice Bureau.

Probably the most useful programme in terms of community benefit is that run by the Health Department along with the Immunization Clinic. Often up to 150 mothers who are generally new to Auckland come along and benefit from the informal instruction in cooking, housekeeping and so on. I would like to think that this type of programme could be developed, and also other activities such as arts and crafts could provide a useful lead-in to other relevant subjects.

P. K. Harwood
Community Adviser
(City of Auckland)

APPENDIX C

TE WHARE WANANGA

(Paper by Mr D. Warboys, edited with notes by Mr K. M. Devis. Anthropology Department, Victoria University of Wellington).

Lacking entirely any form of script, the Maori was obliged to depend entirely on memory and verbal teaching, the processes of the oral tradition, to preserve all prized knowledge and so to pass it on to succeeding generations.

There are different methods of passing on an oral tradition; they may be transmitted spontaneously or by ordinary people, or they may follow certain definite rules, use special methods and techniques, employ mnemonic devices, or train specialists. Where specialists and special methods exist their purpose is to preserve the tradition as accurately as possible and transmit it from one generation to the next. Whatever the method used, faithful transmission is more likely if a tradition is not known to the public generally, but is part of the esoteric knowledge of a special group.

Maori society in New Zealand had its special schools generally known as *whare wananga*, the instruction in which was given by specialists in the various fields. The great aim of the *whare wananga* was to pass on lore unchanged to succeeding generations, so a certain number of young men of each generation were selected and trained to preserve this tribal lore. Some traditions may be classed as esoteric knowledge while others may be known and recited by all ranks of the population. With esoteric knowledge, it may be transmitted only by certain persons, or is the property of a special group, no one else being permitted to transmit the knowledge even if well informed about the tradition.

Every esoteric tradition is of necessity preserved and transmitted through the medium of institutions. These institutions or schools, because of the esoteric nature of the material taught in them, are restricted to certain special groups, especially the aristocracy and the priests, of the tribe to which the spoken legends, beliefs and values belong. These selected groups were specially trained in a proper house of instruction and upheld the ritual formulae of Io, the Maori Supreme Being; they were the repository of tribal lore, the religious and genealogy experts, the naturalists, the astrologers and recorders. In many cases they were the members of the more important families and participated in all descent group affairs, although it was often possible for a person with lesser status to become the protege of a *tokunga* in a particular field and so be elevated into the higher ranks because of his acquired *tapu*. Sanctions and rewards were meted out to ensure accurate repetition of the tradition. In Polynesia it was

usually ritual sanctions that were brought to bear in cases of failure to be word perfect when reciting, chanting or singing a tradition. In Maori society, however, according to Elsdon Best, a single mistake in recital meant death for the teacher or the person who had made the mistake. This did not apply in the teaching situation to the pupil who was apparently only disqualified from further training if he faulted in the repetition.

The *tapu* school of learning as instituted in various parts of Polynesia attained a very remarkable status in New Zealand. The activities and objectives show that the Maori acquired a reverence for what he deemed to be high class learning and regarded the teachers as highly important members of the descent group organization. Because the more intensely sacred subjects taught in the school of learning included matters pertaining to the Supreme Being, the higher phases of religious belief and practices, and superior cosmogenic myths, and because much of the esoteric knowledge was connected with the gods, all of which was highly *tapu* material, the human agents and the school itself were considered *tapu*. It is of considerable note that the school version of any belief was very much more faithful and much less encrusted with myth than the popular versions.

The term *whare wananga* is of considerable value and antiquity. According to the Ngati Kahungunu lore among others, the first *whare wananga* was named Rangiatea and was situated in the uppermost of the twelve heavens under the care of the Whatukura and Mareikura. The first one to be established on earth was named Whare Kura and was founded by Rua-te-pupuke in the original home of the Maori. In this house was conserved all the *tapu* knowledge of the three baskets of knowledge of the *wananga* or esoteric lore obtained from Io by Tane. These were:

The basket of peace, goodness, and love.

The basket of prayers, incantations, and rituals.

The basket of war, agriculture, woodwork, stonework, and earthwork.

The name *kura* was used to denote anything highly prized and came to mean "Treasure House" pertaining in particular to learning.

The original Whare Kura is reputed to have been situated at Te Hono-i-wairua, at Hawaiki-nui, a peculiarly sacred place in the far distant homeland of the Polynesian people. When the Maori people migrated to New Zealand, they brought with them the traditions and the institutions with which they passed on the important traditions. Thus the first *whare wananga* in New Zealand is thought to have been the Maunga-wharau school of learning, first instituted by Takitimu immigrants, the next one, Te Anawhakairo, was instituted in the South Island.

Best gives a list of some of the more notable of the *whare wananga* as has been preserved by the Kahungunu folk of the East Coast of the North Island:

Wharau-rangi, situated in the land of Irihia.

Taketake o te whenua, situated at Tawhiti-roa, the first land in which the ancestors of the Maori people settled after leaving Irihia.

Te Rangi-aio, situated at Hawaiki.

Te Kohurau, the school that was brought to New Zealand.

Rangi-te-auria, situated at Maunga-wharau in New Zealand.

Whariki-awatea, situated at Heretaunga.

Te Ra-wheoro, situated at Uawa.

Tapere-nui-a-Whatonga, situated at East Cape.

Te Poho-o-Hine-pae, situated at Wairarapa.

There is great significance attached to the name *whare wananga* and it is necessary to examine these terms.

The school of learning implies that a special house was set aside for the purpose of teaching but it was not necessarily so that a house was built specially for the one purpose of teaching. It was the case with some descent groups such as those at Mangawharau. In most cases, however, the expression "house" (*whare*) was merely a figurative one, the term denoted a course of teaching practiced at a certain place, a curriculum. Any house used for the purpose of teaching would, however, be *lapu* for the duration of the course, and no one would be allowed to enter except those taking part in the events.

The term *wananga* is applied to teachings that are held to be sacred and *lapu*, occult lore, esoteric knowledge, and the term itself refers directly to the House of Knowledge. The learning of the House was divided into three sections relating to the three baskets of Tane mentioned above.

The school of learning appears to have been restricted to the winter months at a time when crops had been harvested and stored and when there was relative inactivity in the group. Different methods of teaching and learning were practiced but the only definite information pertaining to methods, etc., seems to stem from the Takitimu and descendants.

The Takitimu people classified all learning taught in the *whare wananga* under three headings, or houses:

- (1) *Whare wananga*. This house denoted the superior school of learning and the superior curriculum, and all ceremonial concerning the enlightenment of man and the preservation of his spiritual and intellectual welfare was a special charge of the priestly experts of this institution. These experts did

not concern themselves with magic, although it appears that the highly stylized ritual was akin to magic. The actual teaching, in the form of recitals, commenced at sunrise and continued until the sun reached the zenith, when teaching ceased. Because the rising sun betokens growth, welfare and life while the sinking sun represents decay, dissolution and death, it was considered not appropriate to teach after noon.

- (2) *Whare kau po*. This was the second grade house or series of teachings; pertaining to group lore, traditions, history and other lesser items. This "house" was open from noon till sunset. Although spoken of as a different house, the lectures continued in the same place as those of the superior lore.
- (3) The *whare mairi* refers to the arts of the sorcerer, and included the fell power of slaying a man by means of affecting his spirit. The individuals who imparted this pernicious knowledge were styled *tohunga ruanuku*, and represented an order inferior to the high-class priestly experts. It appears that the teaching of these arts was conducted out of doors and included unpleasant features fitting to the objectives of the school.

Each and every step of the teaching session was covered by appropriate ceremonial and ritual and it is thought that these rituals were part of the mnemonic aids that were introduced to help learn and recall. One of the most important of the devices was the fact that the teacher was never alone so that the other initiated elders who were present acted as a check to ensure accuracy.

Prior to the pupils being permitted to enter the school, their powers of memorising matter from a single recital were tested and the candidates with the most retentive memories were accepted as repositories, conservers, and promulgators of the unwritten archives of the community; these men were the substitutes for written documents and books. When the neophyte or *pia* had passed through the stages of *taura*, *taura* to *patea rauroha* and so was a repository of the tribal lore, he came to be designated as a *tohunga* or expert.

Specialists were called *tohunga maori* and were experts in the field of any one of the branches of learning. Thus we find the qualifying terms:

tohunga ahurewa, *tohunga tuahu*, *tohunga ahumairangi* a high-class priest.

tohunga kehua—a shaman, one who deals with spirits or ghosts.

tohunga makutu—a sorcerer or wizard.

tohunga whakairo—a carving artist.

tohunga ta moko—a tattooing artist.

tohunga tarai waka—a canoe-hewing expert.

tohunga matatuhi, *tohunga matakite*—a seer.

The *tohunga* used his knowledge to help the proper functioning of the Maori society and to support the authority of the chiefs.

Of particular interest is the fact that the *whare wananga* is a conservative institution and the Maori elders were conservative so that they were particularly selective as to who received the superior lore. The youths of the lower classes were not permitted to acquire this learning and only the members of the leading families were taught in the schools.

The process of learning in the *whare wananga* was accompanied by the use of small stones that were presumed to carry the *mana* of the learning and the almost magical process of retention and recall. Two white stones have been the mark of the sage since the time of Tane and are a continuous device of the school. The stones of the *pia* were placed in contact with those of the *tohunga* and when the youth had received the information and was considered complete, the transfer or propagation of new power was also complete and the new sacred stones were given to the youth as a form of diploma with the injunction to guard them carefully. It is reported that many *tohunga* placed the stones in their mouths when they were reciting.

Whether it is that these stones were lost or were discredited is quite open to speculation, but the fact remain that the *whare wananga* is a thing of the past as far as the historical and traditional system is concerned. There are a number of physical reasons that are offered for the demise of the school: wars, the impact of the missionaries, and the dictates of the western education authorities in government. The Ra-wheoro School at Uawa was re-opened for a session after the fight at Toka-a-kuku in 1836; an inferior school was open about the same time at Okura-a-renga; about 1865 was the last session of the school of learning in the Wairarapa district and 1868 saw the last teaching in the South Island. Among the older generations of the Maori people Best has noted much sentimental regard for the *whare wananga* of their ancestors, and regret for the abandonment of that revered institution in these days of the white man. An old survivor of a lost past remarked, "I mourn over the bequest of our ancestors and of our elders". This was an allusion to the system of conserving prized lore that had continued for many centuries, from the dawn of the Maori race before the migrations.

Now it seems that the oral history and the very tenets of the Maori culture are in the act of passing away and will surely die if there is not a resurgence in the dissemination of the old learning because, without a secure history and a secure value system, there can be no viable culture. There must therefore be a

neo-*whare wananga* and a gathering together of the old traditions and lore, as much, that is, as yet remains.

- (1) David Worboys' bibliography was not available at the time his essay was edited and cyclostyled, but much of his material was based on my lectures and our class seminars. Subsequently, however, the Anthropology Department's research student, Peter McLean, was to compile a comprehensive bibliography relevant to *whare wananga*.
- (2) Eruera Kawliia Whakatane Stirling, who is now 73, is the last student to be ritually inducted and taught in Te Kiriike *whare wananga* of Te Whanau-a-Apanui located at Raukokore. This was in the early 1900's. In November 1970 Eruera Stirling agreed to permit a tape recording of the story of Te Kiriike and of course those parts concerning himself relevant to this *whare wananga*. At present Eruera is regarded by Ngati Porou as a *tohunga* of genealogy and oral literature and oral history.
- (3) *Whare wananga*, in short, taught oral history, oral literature, including genealogies. It went into session after the crops were lifted and rose before the spring came round again. The division called *te kauwae-runga* was concerned with esoteric lore, the Pakeha equivalents being mythology, religion and cosmogony. *Te kauwae-raro* was the division which dealt with the human story of the descent groups. For the young people there was a division known in Ngati Porou as *te whare kariori*, devoted primarily to games and indoor amusements including the narrating of stories and popular versions of ancestral exploits.
- (4) *Whare korero* have persisted in the form of oratory and discussions in the public *hui* context, particularly in the evening sessions in the *whare nui* or meeting house. Prior to the urban migration of the 1950's especially, groups or communities used the *ohu* system in corporate activities such as cropping, fishing and building (both subsistence and commercially); with *ohu*, groups voluntarily pooled their know-how, labour and equipment in order to do a certain job or to help one another. As groups moved from place to place in the district, or from activity to activity, lectures, discussions, singing and dancing were held during the breaks or in the evenings, and everybody participated. Thus knowledge and cultural values were also transmitted, identity and group solidarity reinforced, and mundane but essential tasks completed quickly but in an interesting manner.
- (5) In the last ten years the various divisions of the *whare wananga* have been revived, extended or adapted on a regional or descent group basis, a

phenomenon which is nationwide and which is concerned with language, literature and history (oral and written), the arts and the crafts. The mushroom development of Maori cultural clubs is a modernised aspect of *te whare kariori* mentioned previously. Confrontation with the majority culture of the Pakeha (in the urban situation particularly), and problems of identity and so on, has influenced groups to seek within their own institutions for some cultural sustenance. These things clearly indicate that Maori culture is a living and dynamic force in our multi-cultural society.