

# Older adult education in a New Zealand university: Developments and issues

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#### **Abstract**

This article explores a case study of educational provision for older adults in the context of continuing education in one of New Zealand's universities. It explains how developments in older adult education at the University of Waikato have reflected historical and cultural trends related to the wider field of adult and community education (ACE) inside a higher education setting. It discusses issues of tertiary education policy and funding, what constitutes curriculum and provision for older adults and how university-community partnerships have shaped opportunities for both indigenous Māori and Pakeha (European) seniors. Government removal of funding to all universities in New Zealand for ACE at the end of 2012 ended formal provision but older adult education groups, formerly supported by the Centre for Continuing Education in the University of Waikato, have assumed a more proactive stance in planning and implementing their own programmes.

#### Introduction

This article is concerned with how one of the eight universities in Aotearoa New Zealand has provided for older adults in its continuing education, primarily non-credit, programme. Initially, key concepts – older adults, adult and community education (ACE), tertiary and higher education – are discussed, before exploring the context of adult and community education in New Zealand universities. Specific issues related to older adults' participation in ACE at the University of Waikato are discussed from the perspective of indigenous *Māori* and *Pakeha* (Europeans). It is argued that due to political decisions based on short-sighted neo-liberal educational policy and flimsy economics, together with a lack of institutional commitment, continuing education at the University of Waikato in a centralised format has ceased. Nevertheless, older adult education programmes have continued in a modified format with older adults themselves taking greater ownership of planning and learning processes.

## Older people in New Zealand

It is not unusual to ask the question "Who are older adults?" There is no easy answer. While chronological age can provide some indication of the ageing process, Phillipson (1998) argues that this is a clumsy mechanism. Ageing processes (e.g. physiological, cognitive, social) are inevitably interlinked and complex so that for individuals there is vast variation on how ageing is experienced. Given cultural differences both within and across nations, what constitutes 'older age' is problematic (Phillipson, 2013). Commonly, legal and policy definitions, often linked to key transitions in people's experiences of the life-course, act as default definers of older age. Older adulthood may be associated with 'retirement' or the timing of a government's distribution of pensions. In the New Zealand context, a government pension is universally available at age 65, regardless of financial status or gender. Hence, it is quite convenient to use the receipt of a pension at 65 as a crude measure of being an older adult.

While the majority of older adults in New Zealand are from a European background, the 2013 census reveals an increasingly diverse population. The respective percentages of ethnic groups are as follows: European 74%; Māori 14.9 %; Pacific Peoples 7.4 %; Asian 11.8%; Middle Eastern, Latin American, African 1.2% and other 1.7%. In terms of age structure, the overall pattern is towards an ageing population (in 2013, people aged over 65 years constituted 14.3%; 12.1% in 2001); in the Māori and Pacific peoples, a more youthful population is evident (Statistics New Zealand, 2013). Hence, although overall New Zealand might be described as having an ageing profile, ethnic populations have very different life trajectories and life-chances compared with the European norm.

# **Tertiary Education in New Zealand**

In this country's post-compulsory education system, the term 'tertiary education' is used to incorporate a vast array of providers of lifelong education. The Tertiary Education Commission (TEC), established by the Education Act 1989, is the adviser on tertiary education policies and priorities. It funds a range of agencies, including universities and adult and community education agencies which are included in its orbit. Many agencies opted to join this system, enabling them to receive funding from the government but also making them subject to quality assurance and accountability mechanisms controlled by the Tertiary Education Commission (TEC). Included in the tertiary education sector are:

- Eight universities (including the University of Waikato)
- Twenty-three polytechnics, some remodelled as institutes of technology in main urban areas
- Three whare wānanga (Māori controlled tertiary education "houses of learning")
- Several hundred Private Training Establishments (PTEs) in domains such as travel and hospitality, language schools, business, vocational training and so on.

 Adult and Community Education, to include Rural Education Activities Programmes (REAPs), community education in high schools, adult literacy and numeracy and others.

While there is considerable diversity of provision, there is still significant social stratification across the providers – universities have a very different orientation from private institutions and are expected to act, according to statute, as the "critic and conscience of society" amid their functions. In each of the above categories of education provider, older adults are sprinkled among the participants and individual agencies vary in their commitment to them (Findsen, 2005).

It is important to acknowledge that the Government's Tertiary Education Strategy (TES) places high priority on three groups: Youth, Māori and Pasifika peoples. While it is difficult philosophically to argue against these priorities as part of this Government's bid to upskill the workforce for a competitive economy, these priorities tend to marginalise further the already-marginalised. That includes older adults wanting to return to formal study (Findsen & McCullough, 2008). While the massification of higher education throughout the Western world (Layer, 2005; Thomas, 2001) did produce a more diversified body of students in most universities, Māori and Pasifika students continue to struggle in universities for equivalence in terms of recruitment, retention and educational outcomes (Smith, 2012).

# Higher education in New Zealand

The system of higher education in New Zealand reflects its colonial past in that the universities have been modelled from British antecedents (Dakin, 1992). Institutions of higher education are part of the state's apparatus in disseminating traditions, values and ideologies. Since the mid-1980s the country has undergone significant neo-liberal reforms similar to those experienced in the United Kingdom under the government of Prime Minister Thatcher. The effects of these neo-liberal reforms have been felt differently by different sub-sectors of society. In particular, the most vulnerable members of society such as Māori and Pacific nations' people, workers, many women, significant numbers of older people and state beneficiaries have felt more negative impacts. The gaps between rich and poor have widened and the social welfare and health systems are more fragile than they used to be after numerous restructurings (Jesson, 2012; Kelsey, 1999).

Unsurprisingly, in education - including adult and community education - these reforms have had a number of effects. A cult of efficiency (Olssen, Codd & O'Neill, 2004; Bates, 1990) has introduced changes in universities which heighten the importance of charters, strategic planning and quality management systems in a bid to strengthen 'quality' of provision. A manifestation, more obvious in adult education, is the movement away from community development (because it usually involves time and labour intensive activity) towards greater focus on 'the enrolment economy' in institutions, including within higher education. In analysing the connections between older people and universities, it is necessary to distinguish between the

non-credit options (usually provided through a centre for continuing education) to which a fairly broad range of people may have been attracted, and credit (degree/diploma) studies in which relatively few participate (Jamieson, 2007). Many mature students are not attracted to credit-gaining higher education as they feel alienated from its ethos of competition, credentialism and formality (Tett, 2004). The few who do frequent universities for credit, proportionately higher at the University of Waikato than in any other New Zealand university, come from the Pakeha middle-class and tend to be women involved in the arts, humanities and social sciences rather than in more vocational or technical programmes.

In line with the United Kingdom, tertiary education in New Zealand has been preoccupied with widening participation and the diversification of the system (Duke,
2005). New Zealand had previously prided itself on open entry to universities (at
age 20, a person could enter many university degree programmes without normal
university entrance qualifications, with the exception of some professions). Thus,
older students could also enter university-level study with minimal qualifications and
try it out. Conditions hardened considerably in recent years when entry standards to
university were more rigorously enforced under 'managed entry' reforms. The reality
of the stratification of knowledge between and within tertiary education institutions
in New Zealand, though nowhere as marked as in the United Kingdom, has been
a factor impacting on older adults' preparedness to enter such institutions. One of
the benefits for older adults of continuing education programmes in universities
has been their availability as 'safe places' to test the water in higher education
(McGivney, 2003) and as pathways to more formal credit study.

# The Context of Adult and Community Education in New Zealand

## Adult and Community Education: Pakeha (European) traditions

Dakin, undertook an analysis of New Zealand adult education in which he traced European influences and contrasted them with indigenous learning/education. In his account Dakin emphasised how "adult education is characterised by close adherence to patterns of organisation and methods imported from Britain" (1992, p.30). This copying and adapting is hardly surprising, given the tendency for new immigrants to reproduce social institutions from their previous homelands, and this practice continues to this day. While earlier adult education agencies included such British-inspired institutions of mechanics' institutes, literary societies and the Workers' Education Association (WEA), latterly more diverse forms of adult education have emerged, such as in Māori (adult) education, parent education, women's education, the community arts, and rural development (epitomised by the Rural Education Activities Programmes, REAPs). Currently, the country is more aware of its Asian-Pacific location and its Polynesian heritage. Trade is much more prevalent with countries outside the United Kingdom and Europe; many of its immigrant population are now from the Asia-Pacific basin. Moreover, ICT developments render physical space as less salient. These trends find their manifestations in (older) adult education provision both in terms of the types of agencies and the diversity of clientele.

Some agencies for older adults have been transplanted largely from Britain, including more contemporary examples. The effective dissemination of the University of the Third Age (U3A) movement throughout Australasia exemplifies this trend. Indeed, the Centre for Continuing Education (CCE) at Waikato developed a vibrant 60+ movement (akin to U3A) in both Hamilton and eight regional towns, consistent with this tradition. U3A characteristics of peer teaching-learning, low administration costs, informality, localised autonomy, and heightened accessibility were built into the ethos of these programmes (Midwinter, 2004). While older adults can often participate in general adult education, it is common for them to want to learn alongside age peers in less competitive environments (Findsen, 2005). Hence, for Pakeha, older adult education has followed patterns of the wider ACE sector. Accordingly, those older adults with substantial social capital (Field, 2003) are more adept at organising their own educational opportunities as well as taking advantage of providers who also meet their expressive and instrumental learning needs.

# Adult and community education: Māori traditions

The history of Māori or *iwi* (tribal) adult education development is less well documented, primarily because Māori knowledge has been based on an oral language foundation. Traditional Māori knowledge has always been perceived by Māori as lifelong and life-wide, well before these concepts became fashionable in adult education circles and beyond. *Kaupapa Maori* (Māori philosophy) has been embedded in cultural practices and in teaching and learning processes (Smith, 2012). For example, the Māori word for teaching and for learning, *ako*, echoes the idea that people learn in a variety of contexts (formal, non-formal, informal) in either role of teacher or student, akin to Freire's (1984) notion of teacher-student and student-teacher.

To understand the character of (older) adult learning, it is necessary to have some familiarity with the structure of Māori society. Fundamentally, this largely hierarchical and collectivist society is structured along ancestral lines linked to original migration to Aotearoa in *waka* (canoes). Different *iwi* (tribes) settled in different parts of the country, with the Tainui iwi prominent in the Waikato where the University of Waikato is based. Emergent from iwi are *hapu* (sub-tribes) and *whanau* (extended families). These structures provide the learning context for the majority of Māori, with some, usually urban, having lost their kinship ties (see Findsen & Tamarua, 2007, for an elaboration of Maori concepts of learning and knowledge). Traditionally, *kaumatua* (elders) have occupied places of high status and been revered for their considerable wisdom. However, in (post)modern society, much of this traditional respect for elders has been eroded in both Māori and Pakeha contexts.

Much learning for older people occurs outside educational agencies in informal or non-formal contexts (Withnall, 2010; Jarvis, 2001). In addition, it is important to recognise that learning for older adults happens in numerous social institutions (families; churches; workplaces); such learning is typically differentially-allocated, according to gender, ethnicity and social class (Findsen, 2006). In this article, attention is drawn to an educational programme within an established Māori institution in which the University of Waikato's Centre for Continuing Education

(CCE) has played a supportive role. In this case, the CCE is a mainstream provider of adult education which has close connections historically with both Māori initiatives and older adult provision.

Under the impetus of *tino rangatiratanga* (self-determination) (Walker, 1990), Māori education developed strongly at both tribal and national levels consistent with a lifelong learning structure. Important distinguishing features of these new forms of Māori-oriented education structures are: their involvement of Māori at local (in cities) and/or tribal sites, that is, local community participation and development; pedagogy and curricula which resonate with daily life issues; and, inter-generational engagement (Smith, 2012). Hence, older Māori (more often women) have returned to study to be better equipped to speak *te reo* (Māori language) with confidence to their *mokopuna* (grandchildren). The Certificate in Maori Studies, administered within the CCE, described below, was an example of this opportunity.

## Adult and Community Education (ACE) in Universities: A broader context

Historically, non-credit studies in the shape of continuing education in Aotearoa New Zealand have had a proud, if sometimes fragmented history. In earlier days, the system of adult education in universities was inherited from the UK as university extension (Findsen & Harré-Hindmarsh, 1996) in the main urban centres (Auckland; Wellington; Christchurch, Dunedin). Subsequently, other newer universities (such as Waikato) emerged and set up, mainly in the 1970s. continuing education units. More recently, as indicated above, universities, along with other publicly-funded educational agencies, became subject to economic stringency and considerable 'rationalisation' of resources. When ACE in the early 1990s entered the newly-established TEC, funding to universities became part of this scenario. Throughout the universities, liberal adult education was reduced and more vocationally-oriented and professional programmes took precedence (Findsen & Harre-Hindmarsh, *op. cit*). Consequently, previously expansive programmes of the CCEs shrank and the number of staff dwindled. Longer term relationships and developmental projects were more difficult to sustain in adult and continuing education (Findsen, 2001).

## The University of Waikato: ACE and older adult education

Older adult education in university ACE in New Zealand has been shaped predominantly by governmental policies for tertiary education, the character of ACE (outside and within universities) and the special nature of a university.

The University of Waikato (in 2014 celebrating its 50 years anniversary) adopted the American model of a centre for continuing education (CCE) in the 1970s. The author joined it as a continuing education officer, essentially a programme planner/curriculum developer, in the late 1970s. This was just prior to what many adult educators consider to be the heyday of the field in the 1980s, when there were fewer financial constraints. Professional staff were programme developers with responsibility for adopting specialist areas of expertise (e.g. in Humanities, Human Relationships, Science Education) plus regional responsibilities in which they operated as generalists, helping to organise a major outreach programme

(covering about a third of the North Island). The CCE established a reputation for innovation and creativity. In particular, this University became prominent in the then marginalised fields of women's studies, trade union education and Māori studies. Hence, the CCE functioned not only as a provider of adult liberal education but also as a major point of access to mature-aged students. It was an important incubator of new ideas where its relative marginality within the university world worked to its advantage (Thompson, 2000). It could experiment in ways that the mainstream credit programme could not – in structure of courses, in more dialogical teaching-learning methods and in academic processes.

During the 1980s, the CCE developed two credit programmes – the Certificate in Continuing Education and the Certificate in Māori Studies – which eventually linked into the mainstream credit provision of the University in the Humanities and Social Sciences, inclusive of Education. Students could "cash-in" their certificates and gain credit for six out of 22 papers for a first degree. While some students did take this path into degree studies, the majority, many of whom were from the regions, opted to leave with the certificate. In the case of the Certificate in Māori Studies, which the author completed (a mix of language and cultural courses) as a staff member, a significant proportion were older Māori who already spoke fluent *te reo* but were looking for legitimation from a reputable academic institution.

The setting up of the two credit programmes was indicative of this expansive era. Overall, however, the CCE was better known by the Hamilton city and regional areas for its programme provision in the myriad topic areas of continuing education. The strength of this programme was the way in which localised committees worked with continuing education staff to provide programmes of direct relevance to that community. Amid this generalised programme, older adults were attracted to courses/ seminars as part of the general public. On occasion, an actual course would be of more immediate relevance for older people (e.g. Preparing for Retirement; Adults Grow Too) but few programmes were planned with older adults for older adults.

### University ACE priorities determined by the Tertiary Education Commission

The generic priorities of ACE, as determined by TEC, are not the same as those of the universities. For general providers, they are:

- 1. Targeting learners whose initial learning was not successful
- 2. Raising foundation skills
- 3. Strengthening social cohesion.

These are indeed, important priorities against which few would argue. However, the Tertiary Education Commission (TEC, 2012), as the funding body of universities, expect the universities to adhere to five priorities in the provision of ACE:

 Providing specialised and research informed higher-level learning that contributes directly to the creation of an advanced and rapidly evolving knowledge community.

- Contributing to the knowledge society through the preservation, dissemination and application of university research.
- Promoting the development of critical and reflective thinking, and active and informed citizenship locally, nationally and globally.
- · Facilitating pathways into and through university education.
- Building capacity in the wider ACE sector.

All proposals for new courses/seminars were required to be assessed against these priorities and at least one of them deemed to apply. As expected in a higher education context, the research component is highly emphasized as this is unapologetically the primary focus of contemporary universities, especially in a Public-Based Research Fund (PBRF) environment. A different priority stressed the need for an informed citizenry that engages in critical thinking and reflection. This has been crucial in terms of university continuing education units' educative functions and has allowed for a broad interpretation of possibilities for continuing education activities. In an enrolment economy, the priority of facilitating pathways into the universities has allowed for adults to be attracted to new learning; such programmes have functioned as a bridge between non-credit continuing education and credit bearing programmes. Undoubtedly, bridging and foundation studies have a place in a university environment and CCEs throughout New Zealand have tended to support them (Benseman & Sutton, 2008). The last priority - building capacity for ACE - was once important to universities but is no longer. Its demise reflected to some extent current views on the relative (un)importance of formal training and professional development for adult educators, especially at a more advanced level.

These five TEC priorities have only a loose connection to the learning aspirations of older adults. Older adults are certainly part of a learning society; formally they have the same rights as younger citizens to be part of an informed citizenry; they can *de facto* become mainstream credit students in a university. But all of that is real only if educational pathways for older adults are made transparent and accessible.

# Issues for older adults in the University of Waikato

The following issues are not exhaustive but provide a basis for judging the extent to which older adults have been considered as active members of a university community.

## **Funding**

In 2011, (the penultimate year in which the CCE at the University of Waikato operated), ACE in universities still received government funding from the TEC but it was reduced by 48% from the previous year. As a result, into 2012, the CCE became a very small operation still expected to meet a very ambitious target for the University (based on a negotiated funding arrangement between the University and the TEC). The financial viability of the CCE became highly questionable, despite

its maintenance of a robust programme. Within this provision, the CCE had subcontracted arrangements with several community-based providers, including those for older adults.

It was no surprise that the University decided to close the CCE from the end of 2012 subsequent to the Government's removal of all funding to universities for ACE across the country. In effect, the Government threw the responsibility of ACE to the universities to fund. Outside major urban centres of population the sustainability of such work, without external funding, would always be precarious. Other factors also influenced the University's decision: internal competition in continuing education within the University; a financial model which effectively curbed the prospect of CCE's using a surplus in one area to cross-subsidise another; little possibility of acquiring external financial assistance from philanthropy or a major business providing sponsorship for continuing education.

Two programmes in the CCE's portfolio concerning older adults were immediately affected. In terms of provision for older Māori, the memorandum of agreement between the CCE and the Rauawaaawa Kaumatua Charitable Trust (a Māori-based holistic programme for elders in health, education and social services) ceased, despite the fact that one of the TEC's stated priority groups was Māori. The other, a Pakeha-based programme of 60+ programmes similar to a U3A operation, suffered immediate reduced provision.

# Curriculum and provision

The ways in which the ACE priorities came to be applied in universities context determined what counted as knowledge (the CCE programme) and affected the potential balance of offerings. For a time, the CCE at the University of Waikato, recognising that society and universities had changed markedly in the new millennium, managed to retain more subject areas than most comparable units of a similar small size. Those programme areas retained until the end of 2012 included the general liberal adult education offerings (very modest in numbers); enrolment of mature age students in non-credit programmes (e.g. New Start); a community issues forum; a small component of community development; education for older adults; Māori adult education (especially through the Rauawaawa Trust), a modicum of continuing professional education (mainly for teachers) and a little on-line education.

In essence, the acceptable university face of continuing education provision was narrowed and developmental projects, which were significant but had a higher element of risk, were generally neglected. Over the last year of operation, given very constraining external and internal factors, more emphasis was placed on public education lectures/events to attract larger numbers of participants at low cost. Historically in universities there has been on-going tension in adult and community education between University priorities and community-based initiatives (Findsen, 1996; 2001). The effect of the TEC's University ACE priorities was to place a focus mainly on those continuing education activities which matched corresponding subjects taught in the University and to reduce engagement with communities outside the University, including those containing older adults.

## Older adult participation in ACE

Findsen and Harré-Hindmarsh in 1996 asked "Who participates in university ACE programmes?" The answer was complex but generally confirmed the proposition that white, middle-class women were predominant in adult liberal education at most university sites (unless a major, usually vocational, programme attracted men). Māori and Pasifika have tended to be neglected by mainstream provision (Scott, 2010) - except in Hamilton where there had been the strong partnership of the Rauawaawa Trust and the CCE.

Aside from the struggling general continuing education programme, the CCE had co-operated with the Hamilton 60 + continuing education group which attracted around 150-200 older adults on a regular weekly cycle to public lectures. A local committee of seniors constructed the programme in conjunction with an ACE advisor from the CCE. Similarly, the CCE offered support to eight regional towns where kindred programmes were conducted by largely autonomous 60+ groups. Hence, overall, the CCE helped senior adult education to prosper as an outreach project for many years. Again, the composition of these groups tended to mirror those of the independent University of the Third Age (U3A), dominated by those who have already prospered from sustained educational advantage (Swindell, 1999). When CCE finally closed, the city-based 60+ group survived and most of the regional groups continued without explicit support from the University. This is testimony both to the strength of their cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1974) and the special effort of CCE staff to prepare the seniors through professional development for the transition.

## **University-Community relationships**

For many years from the 1970s, the CCE successfully engaged with numerous external local and national bodies. More recent collaborations included those with the Hamilton City Council, the Waikato Society of Arts, the Waikato District Heath Board, the Tauranga Environment Centre, the Forest and Bird Society and Creative Tauranga. Older adults tend to be prominent in such organisations. Latterly, some relationships were formalised with memoranda of agreement to provide much-needed financial support to community groups. In terms of pride of place in these partnerships, the arrangement with the Rauawaawa Trust stood very tall.

## The Relationship between the CCE and the Rauawaawa Trust

The Rauawaawa Kaumatua CharitableTrust was established to meet the diverse social, cultural and educational needs of local Māori elders through a range of provision, some in conjunction with social agencies. The partnership with the CCE was one of several relationships which the Trust fostered, the others with non-educational providers. The uniqueness of the partnership with the University resided in meeting learning needs of older Māori in the Waikato region, demonstrating how an indigenous programme could be delivered successfully from a mainstream provider while retaining a *kaupapa Maori* ethos (indigenous philosophical base). The concentration on the needs of kaumatua (as opposed to youth) was a key point of differentiation from other Māori-oriented agencies.

From 1994, the Trust carried out educational programmes in a full range of life skills in facilities in a Hamilton industrial suburb. The programme included te reo, *He oranga kai* (healthy eating), *waiata/whaikorero* (songs and speech-making), *korowai* (cloak-making) and other activities. While the relationship with the CCE developed over many years, it was formalised in 2004 by a memorandum of agreement in which both parties agreed to carry out particular responsibilities. In essence, the University agreed to clauses relating to academic and funding approval, standards of delivery, student records and regulatory matters in terms of requirements of the Tertiary Education Commission (TEC). The Trust functioned as an employer of teachers, provider of an appropriate learning environment and record keeper of enrolments. Funding was provided from the TEC through the CCE to the Trust but, as shown above, was discontinued by government in the 2012 budget.

In pedagogical terms, the curriculum was heavily orientated towards a kaupapa Māori agenda and validated by the University through a high level approval system. The teachers for the programme largely emerged from within the kaumatua themselves, some, but not all, having university-level credentials. Accordingly, this arrangement constituted a peer learning environment in which kaumatua worked with kaumatua in a capacity-building exercise in accord with Tainui values. It was consistent with Gramsci's (1971) notion of organic intellectuals where leaders emerge from within certain, usually marginalised, cultural groups. The primary interest of such intellectuals is to foster the collective social and cultural capital of adherents; in this case, the capital of elders needing to sustain their identity as Māori learners.

The opportunity to participate as an older age cohort freed participants from any cultural embarrassment as they (re)learned cultural and spiritual components which in turn could be passed on to younger generations (te rangatahi). The Trust acted as a resource for older Māori in an urban context where tribal links may have weakened; understandably, most activities were carried out according to the dominant tribe's kawa (protocols), those of Tainui. The programme was innovative in terms of the arrangement between the two parties, the curriculum and pedagogy employed and the explicit goal of engendering leadership for older M ori, many of whom would not usually go anywhere near a Pakeha-oriented programme. Learning occurred in a supportive Māori-oriented context where collaboration rather than competition held sway (see, further, Findsen, 2012).

# **Concluding remarks**

This paper has discussed the provision of older adult education in one university in Aotearoa New Zealand. Necessarily, the broader parameters of adult and community education in this country were introduced so that the more specific context of older adult education in a university could be more readily understood. The story of ACE in this part of the world, while similar to patterns in other Westernized nations, has particularities related to geographical positioning, colonisation by the British (and adoption of many of their institutions) and the special status of Māori as indigenous people. Older adult education has both derivative and indigenous qualities reflected in the arrangements of the former Centre for Continuing Education at the University of Waikato.

Historically, the relatively youthful University of Waikato has prided itself on its connections with local communities. One of its primary mechanisms for this objective has been the work of its CCE. Older adults have been an important clientele of the general public education programmes but the CCE also worked closely with both Pakeha and Māori groups to tailor provision to better meet their learning needs. It was very disappointing that the Government chose to end funding to universities for ACE, given that the amount was trivial in comparison with finance for schooling. It was also disappointing that the University did not continue provision, despite not having government support, but the reality would have been a major uphill struggle to compete against other educational/entertainment options in the environs of the University. Yet, the two main groups of older adults previously supported by the CCE have survived the crisis and have renegotiated the character of their programmes based on greater volunteerism. In the case of the Rauawaawa Trust, the continuity was fundamental to sustaining a holistic social and education programme in line with Māori self-determination. For Pakeha older adults, a parallel programme designed and implemented by themselves on a slightly diminished scale, was not a bad outcome.

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## **Key Words**

Older adult education, adult and community education, kaupapa Māori education, university-community partnerships.

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