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Adult Education within a Circular Migration Scheme. A Case Study from New Zealand

Abstract: This article examines the adult education and learning that occurs between a Māori business and the workers they employ from the Pacific nation of Tonga through the Recognised Seasonal Employer (RSE) scheme, a seasonal labour strategy allowing for the temporary entry of migrant workers in the horticulture and viticultural industries, with a preference for workers from the Pacific nations.. Māori are indigenous to NZ but their historical ties extend back to Polynesia in the Pacific and therefore common historical narratives exist between Māori and those from Tonga. A case study approach is used to highlight how adult education is embedded. Central to the success of this case study is the validation and implementation of indigenous knowledges and rituals.

Key words: adult education, education for circular migration, indigenous education.

Introduction

This article situates itself in New Zealand (NZ) and examines the adult education and learning that occurs between a Māori business and the workers they employ from the Pacific nation of Tonga through a circular migration scheme. Introduced in 2007, the Recognised Seasonal Employer (RSE) scheme is a seasonal labour strategy allowing for the temporary entry of migrant workers in the horticulture and viticultural industries, with a preference for workers from the Pacific nations. This article affirms and articulates the value of culture in adding to the success of this business relationship and the adult education process. Māori are indigenous to NZ but their historical ties extend back to Polynesia in the Pacific and therefore common historical narratives exist between Māori and those from Tonga.

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Adult learning in Māori and Pacific societies

Thaman (2009) and Vaioleti (2011) state that many of our indigenous cultures have evolved over thousands of years and today the biggest challenge for us educators is to how best to prepare people to live in an increasingly changing and globalised world while at the same time develop systems that will ensure the continuity and sustainability of their futures and cultures. Thaman (2009) suggests that in our teaching and learning to live wisely and sustainably, that we should look within ourselves and our cultures for the knowledge, values, and behaviours that will help guide us to a new beginning. The RSE scheme between Māori as the indigenous people and Tongan as peoples from the Pacific has been founded on a family (whānau) and village or kin related (kāinga) relationship enhancement model in which culture is practised and validated and accountability and support structures are important (Morrison, 2014). Within this framework, learning was purposeful and aimed at the acquisition of skills and knowledge to perform inherited roles dictated by the collective to which that person belonged, known as the kāinga (kin groups, family, can also mean place, village).

Kāinga forms the basic social unit in which relationships ensure learning occurs to solidify a spiritual and an economic base towards collective wellbeing. Kāinga membership is determined through whakapapa or genealogical links extended to include relationships to ancestral domains and spiritual beings. This is also a feature of a Pacific view of relationships which has intergenerational accountability (Vaioleti, 2011). There is a sense of spiritual interconnectedness with the land, rivers and seas ensuring a caretaker role (kaitiakitanga) which seeks to preserve and treat resources in a sustainable way. Intrinsic to Māori and Pacific societies is its ritualistic nature, its accountability to the past as well as the future, its collective orientation and its emphasis on processes as much as outcomes.

Ako is an overriding principle encompassing both to teach and to learn. It is reciprocal learning. Ako is driven by cultural, spiritual as well as collective concepts, motivations and aspirations involving training, learning by osmosis, doing, observing, practising, reflecting, consulting and visioning and hope (Thaman, 1988; Vaioleti, 2011). Learning in Pacific and Māori communities was stratified. Tiatia (1998) talks about Pacific societies expecting everyone to know and perform their role. Traditionally skills and knowledge for roles were taught between generations by way of non-formal, informal, non-formal including apprenticeship. Ako then as learning processes has a vital role to assist Māori and Pacific to advance their learning opportunities in conjunction with instilling cultural values in order to maintain cultures, worldviews and continuity of their societies. Success in terms of traditional education for Māori and Pacific is reliant upon these

concepts interrelating and informing the other within the holistic framework which is grounded in Pacific epistemological frameworks.

Learning and education within the RSE scheme took place through *ako* and to benefit the *kāinga*. Learning was purposeful and brought meaning to the wider collective. Given the shared historical ties, common ancestry and similar narratives that Māori and Tongans both share, some aspects of each others cultural ways would not have been unfamiliar. The ultimate goal of *ako* for Pacific people is to live harmoniously in a sustainable relationship with others, the environment and their God/s (Vaioloti, 2011). *Fatongia* is one's role, duty or obligation to family and community to ensure the above is achieved then *tauhi vaa* (the nurturing of respectful space) must be present to maintain a symbolic space between individuals, groups and with Gods. This is vital for harmony and good relationships. The RSE workers brought their traditional cultural constructs with them and this *kāinga* model was reproduced in the scheme. Further, the leadership model founded on the Tongan matriarchal system drew on the respect that Tongans have for senior women. This role is called the *Pou Awhina* (pillar of care) and take its name from the Māori meeting house positioned on the *marae*(meeting place) located at Motueka where this RSE scheme is located. This pastoral care role and mentorship gives a cultural pillar to the RSE group reinforcing identity and cultural expression. Culture in learning and in the workplace matters.

Given that adult education for Māori and Pacific peoples is also about perpetuating cultural and linguistic practices, reclaiming power over their own lives and destiny and progressing towards self determining pathways, then this group of workers were progressing on their learning journeys through this work scheme.

The Recognised Seasonal Employment Scheme and its Context

The RSE scheme is a relatively new seasonal labour strategy introduced to New Zealand in 2007. It allows for the temporary entry of migrant workers in the horticulture and viticultural industries, with a preference for workers from the Pacific nations. and particularly from the rural areas with a selection criteria that prioritises the pro poor. This is because there is an excess workforce in the Pacific and opportunities for work are very limited. In the rural areas there are even more constraints for work and a large pool of unskilled and low skilled workers (Roor-da, 2011). The development strategies in the Pacific for the RSE programme are to:

- maximise the flow of remittances

- encouraging more productive use of remittances (e.g. for entrepreneurial or investment activities, not just consumption)
- work-specific training to make workers more productive and /or enable them to move into higher paying jobs (e.g. supervisors, forklift drivers)
- other training to provide skills to workers that have broader relevance
- encourage New Zealand RSE's to explore investment opportunities in the islands
- leverage increased tourism off RSE (e.g. by raising awareness in New Zealand communities of the islands).

(Roorda, 2011).

This type of circular migration programme aligns with the NZ Government's strategy in Strengthening Pacific Partnerships with a focus on economic development, regional integration and good governance (Department of Labour, 2012).

Studies on RSE have predominantly examined the economic and social implications of the workers' experiences in the destination country and workers' earnings and their remittances as key benefits for families and communities back home (Bedford C., 2013). There has also been some literature on the skill acquisition and transfer of knowledge however there is not much written on the adult learning aspects of the RSE scheme and especially the learning that occurs through engagement with the employer and in the wider community's learnings and linkages.

The RSE employer in this case study is Wakatu Inc, an internationally recognised indigenous business of the land and sea which has an asset base valued at over \$250 million. They are the largest private land owner in the Nelson district of NZ and one of the largest employers in the region contributing significantly to the economic wealth and well-being of the community (Wakatu Incorporation, 2012). Wakatu as a Māori business is based on family relationships. Integral to their business operation, is the concept of whānaungatanga and manaakitanga. Whānaungatanga means to create and to value respectful relationships which encourage reciprocity. Manaakitanga means to support, to respect and to care for each other. The RSE scheme is managed by a subsidiary company of Wakatu called Kono Horticulture. Kono is based in a small rural community called Motueka (47 km west of Nelson) and is the food and beverage side of Wakatu of which horticulture and viticulture is part. Central to Māori values is the special connection to the lands and waters essential for the survival and wellbeing of the people. Māori then has developed an ethic of care for the land, a spiritual interconnectedness which extends to other living and non living entities as stewards

or guardians, kaitiaki. This means that when the people from Tonga arrive to pick fruit and to work on the land, then rituals must be enacted to keep all safe. It is important that in fulfilling this role of kaitiaki that Māori express generosity to those who come to work on the land. People need to be honoured. In fact Māori have a proverb “He aha te mea nui o te ao, he tangata, he tangata, he tangata.” What is the most important thing in the world. It is people. It is people. It is people. This means that Māori must care for the mana (prestige) of each individual in the spirit of manaakitanga (generosity). This extends also to the seasonal workers who are employed by them from Tonga.

Partnerships

Working with Wakatu/Kono is a Charitable Trust called IMPAECT* (Indigenous Māori and Pacific Adult Education Charitable Trust). IMPAECT* has been a registered trust for more than 10 years. As one of its objectives, it proposes to advance educational aspirations for both Māori and Pacific communities using the principles of adult education to achieve outcomes that are valid, authentic and meaningful for Māori and Pacific and to support family and community development for Māori, Pacific and indigenous groups (IMPAECT* Constitution, 2003). It operates in Tonga and in New Zealand.

IMPAECT* has been the group which has managed the RSE scheme with Kono Horticulture and has strategic oversight for selection of workers from Tonga and pastoral care. The IMPAECT* team has been intentional and deliberate in adhering to a leadership and management style which is traditional in nature, based on kinship, reciprocity and underpinned by collectivistic notions of support. The leadership model for the workers, based on the traditional Tongan matriarchal system, is transplanted to a NZ context and the Pou Awhina is tasked to maintain the social and cultural cohesiveness of the group throughout the duration of their stay in New Zealand. IMPAECT* believes (and has anecdotal evidence) that this leadership strategy has been a success in alleviating and ameliorating a range of possible problems before they occurred, thus benefitting Kono. In Tonga, IMPAECT* also has a team which supports the families of the workers, this being regarded as equally important to the success of the scheme.

The pastoral care model is based on a family (whānau) and village (kāinga) relationship enhancement model in which culture is practised and validated and accountability and support structures are important. As a result there is a high level of work productivity and profit for Kono; financial gains for the workers mediated by the acknowledgement to holistic, spiritual and cultural norms

throughout the relationship. The skills and importance of the RSE workers to the economic sustainability of Kono was reflected in the comments by Kono's Horticultural Manager who suggested that the RSE workers are integral to the success of the business operation as they are a reliable workforce that will deliver quality products constantly. Skills acquisition, skills transfer and adult learning outcomes are also important. IMPAECT* stands by their philosophy in the belief that adult education is a tool for transforming individuals and communities.

Through these cultural and learning exchanges, a successful business partnership has been created which in turn has contributed to a socially cohesive and culturally inclusive RSE community.

Learning journeys

There are four distinct phases in the learning journey for the workers:

- Worker selection and readiness for NZ
- Worker transition
- Worker enhancement through daily routines and community interactions
- Worker return to family/community in Tonga

Worker selection and readiness for NZ

Workers who wish to avail themselves to the RSE scheme must adhere to two sets of compliances and principles. Firstly NZ legislation requests candidates pass police checks and health checks and will abide by the rules of the receiving country (New Zealand Immigration, n.d). Workers are also expected to uphold the sending country's reputation as a reliable source of seasonal workers. Government officials in sending countries (in this case, Tonga) are required to conduct Orientation programmes which assist the workers to be informed on legal requirements of entry into New Zealand and ease their transition into a new country. While much of these programmes can be conducted in the Tongan language, official forms need to be completed in the English language to which the worker will sign as having understood all that is stated on that form. For someone who has come from a poor community, generally their access to formal education has been limited and with low educational capacity, the process of recruiting into the scheme and costs can be prohibitive unless there is a high level of support from those responsible for the recruiting. Offers of employment from the intended

employer, insurance and tax forms are all in English. Prospective workers therefore place a lot of trust in the recruiting agency as they navigate official processes; official language; compliance laws from a different country and then sign these forms as if they fully understand the meaning which is a flaw in the process.

On IMPAECT*'s part, they offer another level of teaching to ensure the success of the team and to mitigate against untoward activity and behaviour. These teams are in NZ for 7 months during which they have to work and live together so team cohesion and understanding is essential. The principles of the Trust request candidates for selection to:

1. Have a kinship connection to IMPAECT*
2. Have a commitment to ongoing education and learning at all levels
3. Have a commitment to supporting the wellbeing of their family, village and nation and Māori and Pacific peoples generally
4. Be actively engaged culturally in their communities and understanding cultural tenets

Once workers indicate their wish to be selected, then the IMPAECT* selection team sit down with the wider family to talanoa.² The talanoa is an important part of the process and is the pedagogy used to co-learn with all who are present and involved. There are discussions with the family of the expectations of the workers in terms of behaviour, conduct, work ethic and financial goals. It is important that both the family and the worker are aware of the challenges which can be expected; the earnings to be made and the culture of NZ and the workplace which is driven by Māori cultural values. In this setting and at this time also there are discussions regarding the welfare of the family during the absence of the family member and the resources that will be available to meet the family's needs. This time also allows for the IMPAECT* Selection team to assess the ability of the worker to provide for his family by observing whether there are family plantations, gardens and other resources. If the plantation is large and abundant, it is a visible sign of an industrious worker and work ethic. Financial goals are then set with the agreement of the family so every family member knows the value of remittances which will be received and can plan accordingly. The worker is also clear about the financial commitments and obligations that they must keep to support their family. For some families this is the first time that the worker would have had a steady regular job and been in the position to set a financial goal. This in itself is a powerful learning let alone the new skills learnt in financial literacy.

² Talanoa is to literally talk about nothing. It is a culturally constructed engagement and discussion and accepted as a methodological tool (Vaiotei, 2011)

Basic financial calculations are worked through even at this early stage of the recruitment process so that each worker and their family together can set short term goals and long term goals which then further entrenches the workers' commitment to the scheme and promotes a successful period of work.

As a follow on, the workers ability in the English language is also assessed and while it is preferable that they have a good knowledge of English, it is not mandatory as others in the team will be able to convey messages. The RSE scheme allows the opportunity to increase the worker's English language skill level as part of their daily work routine. The procedure of form filling and document signing and degree of understanding helps the recruiting team to assess the language skill and ability to follow instruction. In the process of these official document processes, members of IMPAECT* work with individuals to guide them in meeting these action based learnings.

The selection process conducted by IMPAECT* personnel canvasses NZ culture; the context of working in the small rural town of Motueka ; working and living conditions; team cohesiveness; ability to listen to instruction; and to abide by the guidance of the Pou Awhina ³. Visual pictures are often shown to help give meaning and some equipment has been sent to Tonga by Wakatu/Kono so that workers can test their physical strength, as well as cognition and team skills.

Given the strong Christian faith of many Tongans, workers are also expected to attend and commit to choir practice and church activities as these are necessary for their holistic wellness and for the cohesiveness of the group. Similarly they are also made aware of the history, the structure and the values of the local tribe which contributes to the philosophy of Wakatu/Kono to enhance their awareness of the environment and sense of belonging . All this is conducted through talanoa and hands on practical learning and prepares the workers to be ready to live and work in a new land particularly because they are preparing themselves to work on the land of the indigenous people which has its own spirituality and meaning.

The Pou Awhina who is a member of IMPAECT** uses the Tongan and Māori notion of ako (reciprocal learning) to work carefully with each worker, completing official documents in English, building a relationship already which will hold them in good stead through their stay in NZ. The relationship between all the workers and in particular with the Pou Awhina is based on the concept of vaa. Vaa, is the space in between, it is a space that connects and it is a shared Pacific notion of space (Ka'ili, 2005, Lilomaiva-Docktor, 2009, Mahina, 1993). Lilomaiva-Doktor (2009) described vaa specifically as the space that relates, a

³ Literally means the pillar of strength but should be interpreted here as the Leader of Pastoral Care

description that references the social roots of a concept for a group of principally relational beings. In this RSE scheme, the maintenance and nurturing of the vaa is behoven on all within the scheme however the Pou Awhina becomes the principal guardian of this important concept which is a major contributor to the group's cohesion and harmony.

Worker transitions

Critical to being employed under the auspices of Wakatu/Kono is the importance of being embraced through the inclusive ritual of powhiri. Powhiri is a ritual of encounter. It is cultural process in which people of a land are allowed to assess, make connections spiritually to include visitors into their fold. The physical process of this metaphoric fusion and inclusion as members of their fold are as follows:

The RSE workers gather at the local tribal marae (meeting place) where they are welcomed through this very formal and sacred ceremony by the people of the land. Briefings as to what to expect have already occurred. During the exchanges which involve speechmaking and setting the parameters of the ensuing relationship, the RSE workers are thanked and honoured for leaving their families and coming to New Zealand to pick fruit and to work. Traditional narratives are then shared on the history and colonisation of the land and how the local tribe are now engaged in development initiatives to grow the tribe economically, socially and culturally. Sometimes there may be exchanges of song and dance during the shared feasting which concludes the ceremony. Through this ritual of encounter, the RSE workers are in fact invited to be part of the extended family of the tribe (whānaungatanga), to engage in a reciprocal relationship of respect (manaakitanga), to value what the land produces as gifts (kaitiakitanga), to share in the many activities of the marae and to uphold the reputation of the tribe (rangatiratanga). Through this cultural learning ritual, the terms of the relationship are set by creating understanding, providing information and inviting an engagement based on honesty and accountability to each other (pono). Teaching on cultural ways and different value systems presents different complexities mainly because values are part of the ontological experience of being human and differences in values can be challenging and confronting if not managed appropriately.

For many workers new to NZ, the whole experience of being in NZ and welcomed through this ritual can be overwhelming, however as they are informed of its importance and then engage in the experience, many workers become aware of its spiritual meaning and feel privileged to have been given such a ritual as can

be seen in these quotes from workers: “the powhiri is a very powerful experience.” (Talanoa, Participant A, February 2013); “the marae and the powhiri is important and helps us as Tongans feel welcome. It is a good learning to know about the Māori culture and to feel it in our heart” (Talanoa, Participant B, February 2013)

Workers then settle into routines in the work place through inductions to the technical aspects of the work. This is carried out through briefings and practise although the on the job experience and practise in the orchards is where the real learning occurs. The work tasks are seasonal and cover:

- Harvesting of fruit
- Pack and sort fruit
- Prune fruit trees
- Maintain crops
- Summer pruning and thinning.
- Tree training
- Tractor driving
- Quality assurance of fruit

Within all of these tasks is a level of expertise and skill required. This is in addition to a high level of fitness and care that workers must possess. At first the supervisors who are NZ based permanent workers conduct new learning through demonstrations of the tasks; then the new workers are invited to practise under close supervision to familiarise themselves with the operations. Over time less supervision is required. Returning workers become the mentors to newer workers using the concept of *ako* which has been embedded through preparatory adult education undertaken in Tonga prior to travel. This is important especially given the fact that many new workers still have a low ability to converse in and understand English. Their willingness to please their employer also can mean that sometimes they say they understand an instruction when the truth is the opposite. Being a cohesive group with kinship ties and cultural understandings based on *ako* and cooperation and support of each other helps to complete tasks. No one worker is left to fail.

Similarly routines are set up in their accomodation which now operates like a little village (*kāinga*). An emphasis on cooperation and collaboration is again paramount but then fundamental to Tongan society is the obligation to their collective kin (*kāinga*) and so in many ways this *fatongia* (obligation) is intrinsic to the workers' character anyway. Consequently the *vaa* continues to be nurtured. Arranging support systems for household duties and personal mentoring are important for ongoing health management and systems are set up to

ensure the workers' physical and spiritual wellbeing and for effective communication to ensure the welfare of their families in Tonga.

The learning tasks for all these domestic procedures fall under the mandate of the Pou Awhina. It is sensitive to raise issues of standards of cleanliness and the management of one's own personal health even more so because the Tonga culture abides by strict gender constructions and a covenant exists between brothers and sisters. This means that matters impacting upon males is only discussed amongst males; matters impacting upon females is only discussed by females. Hierarchy and roles in Tongan culture also matters. The teacher of these sensitive issues and the context in which they get discussed therefore needs to be carefully considered and is usually undertaken by senior kin members of the same gender.

Worker enhancement through daily routines and community interactions

Every evening following the work day the Pou Awhina calls the workers together to share in the evening meal together and to be followed by reflection, prayers and singing, a time known as *famili* (family). The reflection is a guided sharing which encourages the workers to reflect on their day, their insights, new learnings and challenges. Through ongoing sharing then the group is able to strengthen, share concerns and find resolutions to potential problems. It also helps workers find and learn new coping strategies should the need arise.

The Pou Awhina works alongside the workers to assist them to meet their financial goals and she keeps a record financial remittances which are sent back weekly to families in Tonga. Workers are shown how to understand their payslips; they decide the amount per week to send to their families in accordance with goals set and can follow their savings growth. Workers often raise questions in relation to their pay at this time seeking clarification on the system, how they are paid and why they are paid as per the pay slip. This build their critical literacy skills as well as financial literacy skills.

The sending of money is an important activity in helping maintain the *vaa* and the relationship with families in Tonga. Culturally it is not just about transfer of capital but can be viewed as an exchange of tributes where the family in turn reciprocate by sending back prayers, blessings and goodwill to their family member. This act supports the wellbeing (physical and spiritual) of the *kāinga* and gives all members are sense of empowerment. (Vaioleti, 2011).

One of the most traumatic events for the worker is when a loved one passes away while they are in NZ working and over the years, the teams that have come

to NZ under Wakatu/Kono have been witness to the tragedy that an event like this brings. Workers are faced with the decision of returning home or to continue to work in NZ where the money they earn can support high costs of hosting funerals where the exchange of gifts is essential to maintaining the prestige of the family. The loss of loved ones in any culture is devastating. In Tongan culture the vaa which binds the kāinga are incredibly strong and intense and being absent from loved ones at this time can be a painful time. Should the worker remain in NZ then special prayers, services and acknowledgements are made. The elders from the Wakatu/Kono also attend and offer comfort and solace as they would in accordance with their own funeral practises. Should the worker decide to return to Tonga then voluntary financial contributions (koha) assist with costs of flights and funeral costs. Wakau/Kono have established a garden of Remembrance with plants representing those that have passed on.

The philosophy of Wakatu/Kono continues and at times the workers are invited to share in many activities important to the tribe and whānau(family) days. Significant days of celebration such as Waitangi Day and Matariki (Māori New Year) are explained as is their historic significance. The workers participate at the activities of the marae and contribute through their singing and/or expertise in cooking certain Polynesia foods. Just before the harvest is ready, there is an early morning gathering in the orchards where prayers of thanksgiving are made before the Māori God of Harvest (Rongo) for the abundance of fruit grown and produced from the land. The workers are invited to be active participants by leading prayers in partnership with the Māori owners. “it was a very deep experience being able to conduct prayers of thanksgiving together” (Talanoa; Participant C, June 2013); “it was important to thank the gods who have produced fruit of the land which allows us to work and provide money for our families” (Talanoa, Participant A, June 2013)

The main engagement beyond the workplace is with the chosen Church in which the team has decided to have fellowship, a decision made by the Pou Awhina after she visits several churches in the area. For Tongans, Sundays are sacred and nothing will entice them into work. It is a day of rest, prayers and remembrance and the workers likewise adhere to this. Regular attendance at church provides the opportunity for workers to socialise with parts of the community that they would not normally socialise and for an extension of their social skills. Churches also make a big effort to integrate the workers into their communities and there is the added bonus that the workers bring a vitality to what has been dwindling congregations (Bedford, C, 2013). Churches have also been helpful for fundraising activities especially assisting in the financial cost of paying for a container to ship goods back to Tonga. Wakatu/Kono make a regular contribu-

tion to a container realising that workers are actively developing opportunities to set up business activities upon their return home and require goods purchased in NZ to be sent to Tonga.

Wakau/Kono also believe in the importance of education for the workers and directed the workers towards the provision of training and learning opportunities that were Government supported. Under the New Zealand's Pacific Strategy 2007 – 2015, the goal was to increase opportunities and choices for Pacific RSE workers through skills development, by providing them with access to English literacy, numeracy and financial literacy training during their time in New Zealand. (Roorda, 2011). The training provider, Vakameasina was tasked to design a curriculum and delivery around areas of need identified in consultation with employers. These were Financial and Personal Goal Setting; Budgeting in New Zealand; Payslips and Deductions; Employee Rights and Responsibilities; Remittances; and Health and Safety. This teaching would take place outside of work hours; would be held one night a week for 2 hours over 10 hours and would be for free. As opposed to other RSE workforces, the workers recruited for Wakatu/Kono were not all from poor rural areas and many had good levels of English language ability and had formal education at secondary school.

Still keen to advance their learning, when they were offered further courses, the workers chose courses on areas of small business, computer training and financial literacy. These training programmes would stand them in good stead no matter what situation they would find themselves in as their commentary indicates “it was good to think through a business I can start up when I return home” (Talanoa, Participant E, March 2015); “my business plan was how to start a restaurant because I live near the airport and people have to drive past “ (Talanoa, Participant D, June 2015) “I am glad that I know how to email now as I can stay in touch with family cheaply” (Talanoa, Participant A, June 2015).

While these are all commendable and the group as a whole has participated in these classes, at times the workers do struggle to attend and stay enthusiastic especially following a full day of hard work in the field. The merits of such training are however well appreciated.

In a 2011 Evaluative Report by Roorda undertaken on the training of RSE workers some interesting factors arose in relation to cultural factors which underpin teaching and learning:

- i. Workers come from cultures where the teacher knows everything, so don't question the teacher much.
- ii. (They) also don't want to lose face (by speaking out and getting something wrong).

- iii. *X wanted to get to know them. X pushed the books aside and got them talking about their lives.* An employer said they had received “overwhelmingly positive feedback” from workers about the tutor.
- iv. *X made a connection with the learners.* Comments from a range of respondents suggest the tutors were highly regarded by the participants. Workers in one interview commented (about one tutor).
- v. One tutor commented, for example, that a group leader with “huge charisma” would have been insulted to have been placed in a beginner’s group.

Within the Wakatu/Kono group commentary on learning experiences have been similar;

“We learn better when tutors value who we are and where we come from” (Talanoa, Participant E, March 2015)

“Some stuff was boring but once I saw how I can create business opportunity in Tonga then I enjoyed the learning” (Talanoa, Participant A, June 2015)

“It was good to practise English with supervisors.” (Talanoa, Participant E, June 2015)

“I liked the cooking class because we could eat what we made” (Talanoa, Participant B, June 2015)

“What I learnt, then I could use it the next day” (Talanoa, Participant C, March 2015)

“I like x. He treats us like adults who can think. And he expresses himself well. We know what to do.” (Talanoa, Participant D, March 2015)

Worker return to family/community in Tonga

Returning home after seven months of working requires planning which adds to the excitement and anticipation that such an event can bring. For many workers their new financial literacy skills and education and training have encouraged them to think through creating opportunities when they return home and they have been buying materials, tools and other resources which will be shipped back by container. As well there is the end of season reflection which they conduct with the Pou Awhina to assess how well they did in the workplace; in the home space; as a team member in terms of enhancing the vaa and as a community member. It

is also important for the worker to reflect and acknowledge the new learning that has been acquired informally and formally and how they will use and implement that once they return home. These reflections all contribute as to whether the worker will be invited to return for another season. These are conducted through talanoa and helps the worker reflect on all their learnings throughout their time in NZ working.

Before departure Wakatu/Kono host the workers for a meal and ritual of thanks to show their appreciation to them for coming to NZ to work for them and often a small gift is given. As the land welcomed them when they arrived, thus the land bids them farewell. They are invited to engage in a ritual which takes place before the God of Harvest, Rongo so that blessing of the land can be given to them and their families as they make the return home. Their work for this season is now complete.

Conclusion

The RSE scheme can be one avenue in which a kāinga can start to work towards building a sustainable livelihood but is highly dependent on what financial plans and broader development goals are set by the workers and their families. The adult learning and education pathways are integral to the success of the programmes.

The policy to select workers upon the basis of a pro poor approach also generally means that these workers also have low education levels and therefore appropriate teaching and learning pedagogies are essential throughout the entire RSE scheme. Culture matters in the adult education delivery; it matters at the interface of Māori and Tongan culture which values people and references ritual and cultural practises. Culture and adult education has been integral to building an RSE team in which the workers have met many of their educational aspirations and the goals they set. Its evidence was apparent through a kainga which was active and functioning, workers subscribing to shared responsibility and collective values, culture was reinforced, wellbeing (physical and spiritual) was maintained, an ethic of care for the environment was always present, financial plans were followed and remittances were sent home. Capacity building occurred through adult education learning and skills transfer. Through the vaa, family and kāinga relationships were preserved bringing the triple win factor which the NZ RSE scheme boasts of employer, worker and sending country satisfaction.

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Obrazovanje odraslih u okviru sheme kružne migracije. Studija slučaja sa Novog Zelanda

Apstrakt: Ovaj članak ispituje obrazovanje i učenje odraslih u sredini u kojoj poslodavci Maori zapošljavaju radnike iz pacifičke nacije Tonga u sklopu sezonskog programa zapošljavanja *Priznati sezonski radnici* (RSE), koji dopušta privremeni dolazak migranata za poslove u oblasti hortikulture i vinogradarstva, a prednost daje radnicima iz pacifičkih naroda. Maori su starosedeoci na Novom Zelandu, ali njihove istorijske veze sežu unazad do Polinezije i Pacifika pa stoga sa narodom Tonge imaju zajedničke narative iz prošlosti. Pristup sa studijom slučaja je upotrebljen da bi istakao na koji način je obrazovanje odraslih deo programa. Validacija i primena urođeničkih znanja i rituala su od ključne važnosti za uspeh ove studije slučaja.

Ključne reči: obrazovanje odraslih, obrazovanje u kružnoj migraciji, obrazovanje urođenika.

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