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The engagement of universities in older adult education in Aotearoa New Zealand

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This article investigates the engagement of universities in older adult education in the specific context of Aotearoa New Zealand. Initially, the broader context of the tertiary education system and the place of universities within it are explained. Not unexpectedly adult education, and particularly older adult education, exists only on the margins of the system. Significant achievements in the past in regard to universities' contribution to older adult education are acknowledged before judging the effectiveness of current engagement, using Peterson's (1976) definition of educational gerontology as a benchmark. Globally, there are adventurous moves afoot to extend the vision and practices of universities to embrace elders as legitimate partners in learning. The article explores potential engagement by reviewing some global examples including an exemplary "traditional" programme, inter-generational learning/ education, an application of the Age Friendly University concept and two solid research studies of older adult education conducted in sites in Europe and Asia. The article concludes by reflecting on the possible application of these initiatives in the New Zealand context.

Keywords: university engagement, older adult education, ageing and learning, seniors' learning, international adult education.

Introduction

In investigating the engagement of universities in older adult education in a specific context (Aotearoa New Zealand), there are several subsidiary questions to ponder. To what extent do the primary functions of universities as part of the wider tertiary education scene relate to the lives of older people in this country? Historically, has anything significant been achieved? What is the status of adult education in the university sector? What kinds of direct and indirect involvement of universities in third age learning exist? What should be the contribution of universities to seniors' education?

In this article I begin by explaining the broader context of the tertiary education system and the place of universities within it. Given the priorities of the New Zealand government for the tertiary sector, it is not unexpected that adult education, and particularly, older adult education, exists only on the margins. I argue that while there have been some significant achievements in the past in regard to universities' contribution to older adult education, the present scenario is less positive, primarily due to a neo-liberal regime and concomitant parsimony. Yet, should the eight universities decide to (more fully) embrace a lifelong learning agenda, the potential for worthwhile education (both direct and indirect), in conjunction with seniors, is considerable. Globally, there are adventurous moves afoot to extend the vision and practices of universities to embrace elders as legitimate partners in learning. In some cases, these initiatives may be modified for the New Zealand context, as has been the position historically, as reported by Dakin (1992). It is unfortunate but a reality that the primary motivator for future positive strategies from universities for older adults' education is financial when universities realise how neglectful they have been of a sub-population that is increasingly demanding of resources as past or contemporary tax-payers.

Universities in Aotearoa New Zealand: Their functions

The functions of universities need to be understood in the wider framework of the tertiary education system in Aotearoa New Zealand. Tertiary education is diverse, its meaning being broader than what is usually meant by "higher education". The Tertiary Education Commission (TEC), the government's arm for providing post-

compulsory education to its citizens, defines the tertiary education system as follows:

- Eight universities (all publicly funded)
- 18 polytechnics, some recast as institutes of technology in main centres
- Three whare wananga (Maori controlled "houses of learning")
- Hundreds of Private Training Establishments (PTEs), offering such diverse programmes as English language provision, hospitality, business and religious-based institutions.
- Adult and Community Education (ACE), including prominent players such as community education in schools (now somewhat diminished through government cuts), 13 Rural Education Activities Programmes (REAPs) and adult literacy and numeracy.

Arguably, some of these agencies under the auspices of the TEC offer some learning opportunities for older people, but in the main they do not see older adults as a primary "target group". The wider priorities for the TEC are identified in areas where seniors struggle to gain visibility (TEC, 2012):

- · Delivering skills for industry
- · Boosting achievement of Māori and Pasifika
- · Getting at-risk young people into a career
- · Improving adult literacy and numeracy
- Growing international linkages
- Strengthening research-based institutions.

The above priorities of the TEC provide the essential platform for universities in New Zealand to develop their strategic plans in terms of research, teaching and community service. There is no overt reference in the TEC goals and in university charters to seniors or third age learners and it would be a struggle to convince senior management that older people have much to offer to help achieve these goals. Yet, it is evident that beneath the surface, seniors can engage in fulfilling such objectives. For instance, with respect to the goal of "delivering skills for industry", the workforce in this country is gradually extending the range of ages

of employees beyond the traditional "retirement age" of 65 years at which point citizens are eligible to acquire a modest universal pension. Many older people, whether through coercion or proactive choice, are staying in the labour market across a wide range of industries, especially working in social services (Rothwell, Sterns, Spokus & Reaser, 2008). In "delivering skills to industry", universities continue to provide professional development and training to organisations whose membership is progressively getting older. While ageism still persists, some agencies are seeing the benefits of retaining and retraining older workers whose experience can be of high value to an industry (Phillipson, 2013). In addition, many older adults form the nucleus of a volunteer labour force (Milligan & Conradson, 2006) and universities can provide both credentials (credit provision) and continuing education (non-credit) to such workers. In summary, while the six TEC priorities on the surface do not offer much traction for older people's development and well-being, it can be argued that there are still useful connections of the priorities to the lives of third age learners.

Understanding "older adult education"

The first clarification required in regard to *education* is that the term does not capture all learning. Adult educators are usually fully aware that much significant learning occurs outside of structured contexts as part of daily life (informal) and in the involvement of elders in systematic activities of organisations in which they may be volunteers (non-formal learning). The term "education" is normally reserved for learning that is systematic, often teacher-led, hierarchically-organised and accredited (as in degree awards). In such discourse, the "education" is commonly associated with providers, policy development, assessment, and appropriate structures of learning (Withnall, 2010). Hence, older adult *education* is a narrower concept than older adult learning and is more explicitly connected with the political economy inasmuch that the provision of education is often regarded as a governmental responsibility.

A second consideration in understanding the term "older adult education" is that of defining who might be labelled *old* or *older*. Generalisations made about what constitutes *old age* should be minimalized, given that one of the hallmarks of older age is its heterogeneity (Findsen, 2005). Ageing is historically and culturally bound. In the 1900s, the age of 60 might have been considered old in New Zealand; in the new millennium,

given that life expectancy has been pushed out to around 83.2 years for women and 79.5 years for men (Statistics New Zealand, 2013), there is no firm marker. While the Government provides a pension at 65, this could hardly be considered "old". Hence, chronological age is a very crude marker for assessing who is "old". Around 40 years ago Neugarten (1976) distinguished between the *young-old* (55-65), *old* (66-74) and *oldold* (75-85) but even these parameters can now be considered obsolete as larger numbers of adults reach 100. Hence, overall, the term "*older* adult education" could conceivably apply to people beyond 55 but in the contemporary New Zealand context 65 plus seems a plausible age around which to develop education with and for older people. This is because most public policy does not begin to consider older adulthood until people reach this milestone.

A third point for discussion is that older adult education can be perceived as a subset of adult education. Is it a separate type of provision or is integrated into a lifelong learning framework where age is hardly relevant? It can be both. In the wider context of what constitutes adult education in Aotearoa New Zealand, there is a huge diversity of provision, much of which is incorporated under the remit of ACE Aotearoa. (Importantly too, there are providers of adult education, especially of a radical hue, who are not supported by TEC funding and who intend to remain fully independent). An early conceptualisation of the main fields of Adult and Community Education was provided by Tobias (1996:42) as follows:

- Adult basic education;
- Second chance education opening the way for further formal education, training and/or employment;
- Personal development education which enables an individual to live in a family, group or community;
- Cultural education which enables a person to participate in life in their community;
- Education to facilitate group and community education.

What is rather surprising, given huge societal changes mostly due to globalisation and the onset of dramatic ICT developments since Tobias's descriptor was written in 1996, is that this depiction of the ACE field is still deeply relevant. These sub-fields largely reflect the contemporary

rhetoric of lifelong learning – economic imperatives; personal fulfilment; citizenship education; social inclusion – and point to actual sites/practices where adult education can occur. For older people, adult basic education and "second chance" education have less immediate relevance (high proportions of older people in this country have achieved basic literacy; few elders enter universities beyond 65 years) but the three other domains are deeply embedded into the lifelong education culture of Aotearoa New Zealand.

It is obvious that adult education in its myriad forms is open to older people as for other significant groups in society. From a university perspective, "older adults" constitute one group of "non-traditional students" who have been historically excluded from formal education, in addition to others (e.g. Māori; the disabled; prisoners). Indeed, as an analysis of participation at the University of Waikato reveals, many of the general continuing education programmes have been attractive to older learners, especially if there is a hint of them as a possible target group (e.g. dealing with loss and grief). This observation that older people are often attracted to the general provision of adult education, does not lessen the reality that there are often obstacles of an institutional nature that work against elders' participation (e.g. inappropriate marketing; irrelevant curriculum).

Aside from ACE general provision, there are programmes constructed *with* and *for* older people to help meet their learning needs. As explained elsewhere (see Findsen, 2012), in this bi-cultural country of Aotearoa New Zealand, these might also be sub-divided into Pākehā and Māori domains. Providers differ substantially in their concerns for the learning needs of seniors. In the Pākehā context, the provision of the University of the Third Age (U3A) and Seniornet standout as exemplars of education that are designed with older adults as partners of learning. In the Māori context, much education occurs on marae (communal meeting places) where customarily knowledge, skills and values are passed on inter-generationally (Findsen & Tamarua, 2007).

Another, no less significant feature of older adult education, is to acknowledge the significant learning/education that occurs in workplaces. Much of this training and/or professional development is available to older workers, despite some discrimination based on age (Phillipson, 1998). Vocational education and training is becoming

more prominent for older people, as more of them are retained in the workforce. Sometimes older workers need to upgrade their knowledge to continue to be productive and occasionally they are in competition with younger employees who are the usual preferred targets by employers for such opportunity (Beatty & Visser, 2005). Ideally, employers will see the benefits of employing a full range of staff (e.g. age, ethnicity, gender) to better reflect the growing diversity of the general population. In brief, adult education for seniors does have an instrumental side to continue to keep their expertise and skill set updated. Further, seniors in the workforce can provide sound institutional knowledge and mentoring capabilities for younger workers (Findsen, 2014).

Older adult education: how universities have engaged in New Zealand

As a general observation, there is no distinctive pattern to the ways in which universities work with older people. Universities are multifaceted institutions organised along discipline-related lines to carry out their primary functions (teaching, research and community service) and are often disjointed internally as a result. While the strategic plans of individual universities provide a clearer focus for directing outputs, seldom do such documents delve into more specific approaches of faculties or centres. Often more operational goals/strategies are determined at lower levels of the hierarchy to better reflect localised expertise linked to industry and community objectives. The priorities of the TEC do not focus on the learning needs of seniors so there may be little financial incentive for universities at whatever level to engage with this sub-population. Despite this reality, there have been and still are sporadic initiatives undertaken by universities. These initiatives can usefully be judged, to some extent, by referring to pioneer, Peterson's (1976) three domains of educational gerontology. He described the scope of the field, at the interface of adult education and social gerontology, as follows:

- Education for older adults
- Public education about ageing
- Education of (para) professionals in the field of ageing.

Discussion now focuses on the degree to which each of these priorities is or can be manifested in the work of universities.

i) Education with and for older adults

Peterson's triple concentrations of effort provide a useful framework to begin to judge the effectiveness of universities to achieve success in engagement with older adult education. In earlier times education *for* older adults took precedence, often triggered by a paternalistic attitude that university staff knew better than older adults themselves what seniors might learn (Jarvis, 2001). In non-credit continuing education provision, the little programming designed with seniors in mind was characteristically of this type. As the new millennium ushered in a stronger neo-liberal regime, this pressurised universities to develop engagement with elders that emphasised seniors' self-organisation, a more "hands-off" approach. Hence, universities dabbled with support for 60 age group provision where time investment was minimised and seniors themselves undertook much of the co-ordination on a voluntary basis, akin to U3A activities.

The University of Waikato is located in the heartland of Māoridom, (the Māori King Tuheitia is based at Ngaruawahia close to Hamilton city), the spiritual base for Tainui iwi (tribe). Hence, the University has a heightened awareness of its responsibilities to Māori people more generally. In this spirit of engagement, the University through its CCE set up a continuing education programme in conjunction with the Rauawaawa Trust in Hamilton to help fulfil the learning needs of kaumātua (elders). (See Findsen, 2012, for elaboration of this arrangement). The central kaupapa (philosophy) of this holistic programme was for Māori to determine their own learning needs and organise a responsive programme to uphold *tino rangatiratanga* (self-determination). Hence, this model of co-operation was shaped by a partnership of working with older adults, in this case, of the indigenous people.

ii) Public education about ageing

It is more difficult to judge the work of universities in this domain beyond the traditional pathways of non-credit continuing education. Only a small portion of the established continuing education programme has dealt with aspects of ageing in an explicit fashion. However, it is common amid partnerships with older adult-oriented agencies (e.g. Waikato District Health Board) to include curricula in credit-awarding teaching and research contracts in this arena. Universities such as Auckland and Otago, with established medical schools, have greater

potential to connect with ageing issues related to health. In most of the universities, the social science disciplines such as Psychology, Social Work and Cultural Studies, in addition to the usual credit teaching, may conduct public seminars that bring attention to age-related issues.

Another mode of dissemination of public education is for universities to link with local agencies whose remit is to provide such public education. Hence, this is a less direct function but an important one nevertheless. In the case of Hamilton city, Age Concern Hamilton provides educational events around the issues of older age, including a long-standing programme entitled "Don't wait until you're 80, matey". There is active interaction between this agency (and no doubt others) and University staff act as mentors or members of the Board. Several other social agencies have education as a subsidiary category in which older people participate alongside younger people (e.g. Literacy Waikato; the Waikato Institute for Leisure and Sport Studies). University staff support such schemes and provide indirect benefits to older participants.

Undoubtedly, the potential for public education on ageing is immense but it is currently not seen as a major pre-occupation. Public education will likely use ICT, especially social media and on-line teaching, to broaden its clientele to include not only current seniors but generational cohorts yet to feel the fuller impact of ageing.

iii) Education of (para) professionals in the field of ageing

Professional education is often provided by professional associations and is inevitably connected to policy on the need for on-going credentialing and/or continuing education in specific professions. Related to where a University is located and the particular disciplinary emphases of that institution, there will be strategic need for professional updating as in the legal profession, health workers, management, social workers, engineering, architecture and so on. As the population structure almost inevitably moves towards an *aged society* (Boston & Davey, 2006), the scope for further education, in accord with a lifelong learning agenda, will increase. Universities will be challenged to meet this on-going demand for both pre-service and in-service training, and will be encouraged to look towards a more inter-disciplinary approach to research and teach professionals in more diverse fields.

Potential for universities' engagement in older adult education

This section discusses initiatives mainly beyond Aotearoa New Zealand to observe new trends in other societies which might become applied practice in this country. What can we learn from how some universities in the global context "behave" in relation to older adult education?

i) Active engagement of seniors in a University programme

While there may be many programmes in universities that have actively engaged seniors themselves in their construction such as the Learning in Retirement Institutes in North America, and the diverse structures of U3A provision, the Centre for Lifelong Learning at the University of Strathclyde stands out as an exemplar of an agency encouraging seniors to develop their own curriculum with guidance from the parent institution. While the Learning in Later Life Programme established in 1987 (Mark & Hart, 2013) has features akin to U3A (informality; genuine needs assessment; active collaboration), it developed a stronger base through the older students themselves creating a student membership body and developing informal clubs based around course content. Mark, Bissland and Hart (2016:196), in reflecting on the impact of this enduring programme, point to "a focus on how older adults learn, and how teachers and learners can make use of knowledge, particularly from the neurosciences, to facilitate learning". Hence, the perceived success of this enduring programme has been directly linked to effective dialogue and social action (Freire, 1984) over two decades. Engagement of the seniors did not stop at curriculum development but more fully involved older students in manifold roles; as participants, planners, teachers and researchers in their own studies.

ii) Inter-generational learning/education

The area of study of inter-generational learning/education has witnessed a surge of interest internationally, especially noticeable in Europe. In a compilation of perspectives on inter-generational education, Schmidt-Hertha, Jelenc Krasovec and Formosa (2014) provide a range of perspectives and approaches. It is evident that no single definition of inter-generational education suffices (see Schmidt-Hertha, 2016); yet the concept in practice holds plenty of potential for exploration by people of all ages, especially for seniors. In discussion about forms of inter-generational learning, Schmidt-Hertha outlines the

relative emphases of different approaches: one generation with lesser knowledge learning from one another; heterogeneous groups of learners working together on a specific topic; an exchange of learning occurs when a generation learns more about the other (*ibid.*, 2016).

Universities are in a strong position to enable these different forms of inter-generational learning/education to occur. In many classrooms, there are individuals from very different generations who have vastly different experiences of social history which can be tactfully drawn upon. In the author's own direct experience, he witnessed in 2013 at National Chung Cheng University in Taiwan a classroom of young adults (more "typical" university students) and much older "students" (of 60+ age group) actively discussing how they negotiated daily life issues both historically and in current times. This inter-generational exchange of experiences and perspectives on life can be reproduced in other contexts in a similar systematic way.

iii) Age friendly universities

A fairly recent approach to considering the possible roles of universities can be found in the concept and strategic focus of the *Age Friendly University (AFU)*. Talmage, Knopf, Mark and Slowey (2016) discuss the principles by which some universities conduct their connections with older adults, especially investigating how practice and principles inter-relate. In three country locations – Ireland, the United Kingdom (Scotland) and the United States of America – these authors track what each university is attempting to achieve by making their environments more conducive to older people's needs.

The AFU concept is one consciously adopted by these three universities. While the specifics of how each institution has engaged with older people in their cities and regions can be further explored (see Talmage *et al.*, 2016), each university - the Irish University (Dublin City University), the Scottish University (Strathclyde University) and the North American university (Arizona State University) – monitored practice consistent with the developmental principles.

The three institutions engaged researchers, adult learners and external partners representing older adults' interests to develop ten principles (see Table 1) that underpin the Age Friendly University.

Table 1: The Age Friendly University principles

No.	Principles
1	To encourage the participation of older adults in all the core activities of the university, including educational and research programmes.
2	To promote personal and career development in the second half of life and to support those who wish to pursue 'second careers'.
3	To recognise the range of educational needs of older adults (from those who were early school-leavers through to those who wish to pursue Master's or PhD qualifications).
4	To promote intergenerational learning to facilitate the reciprocal sharing of expertise between learners of all ages.
5	To widen access to Online educational opportunities for older adults to ensure a diversity of routes to participation.
6	To ensure that the university's research agenda is informed by the needs of an ageing society and to promote public discourse on how higher education can better respond to the varied interests and needs of older adults.
7	To increase the understanding of students of the longevity dividend and the increasing complexity and richness that ageing brings to our society.
8	To enhance access for older adults to the university's range of health and wellness programmes and its arts and cultural activities.
9	To engage actively with the university's own retired community.
10	To ensure regular dialogue with organisations representing the interests of the ageing population.

Table reproduced with permission from Talmage, Knopf, Mark & Slowey (2016)

These practice principles set the challenge to connect the interests of older adults into a university's core teaching, research and engagement (civic activities). The AFU principles highlight different features of

University functions from which individual universities will need to choose those principles that are more immediately achievable but also aspire to fulfilling more ambitious proposals.

Research catalysts for older adult education: Scotland and Taiwan

Given the historical emphasis from universities on research and engagement with local, national and international communities, there have not been many universities that have concentrated on the construction and dissemination of (older) adult education research as a distinguishing feature. Two locations stand out from my personal experience as beacons of hope, one from the UK, another from Asia.

At the University of Glasgow, the setting up of the Centre for Research and Development in Adult and Lifelong Learning (CRADALL) in the early 2000s has sparked a lot of global interest in lifelong learning developments, some of which have more direct relevance to older learners. As stated in its publicity, CRADALL aims "to conduct interdisciplinary and multi-disciplinary research and development activities in adult education and lifelong learning for social justice, social inclusion and poverty reduction" (see http://www.gla.ac.uk/research/az/gcid/ partners/). Through a variety of strategies including consultancies, publications, conferences/workshops, newsletter, contributions to policy agendas, supervision of postgraduate students in adult education, European collaborations and through research fellowships, this globallyoriented research centre expands the limits of what is possible.

A current interest in learning cities/communities/regions, for instance, via the PASCAL project, enables greater discussion within localities where citizens can mobilise resources (providers and partners in learning) to better focus on the immediate and future learning needs of groups of learners, including older adults (Reghenzani, 2016). The basis of the label *learning cities* is to map what is occurring in diverse settings in a specific location, what is worth highlighting, what needs attention and to aspire to fulfil the learning needs of the most marginalised within a city. One of the main challenges from the learning city concept is to enact social inclusion in which seniors constitute a potentially large sub-population. In line with active ageing and positive ageing policies at local, national and global government levels, learning cities can stimulate debate on the benefits of learning (and for whom) and how to further enhance educational opportunities.

The second centre for greater engagement of seniors in adult education is based in Taiwan where the government, seemingly against the trend in most Western societies, is actively supporting the further development of older adult education. As a case in point, the National Chung Cheng University through its Adult and Continuing Education Department, has organised international conferences to highlight the learning needs of elders. Elaboration on how Taiwan as a country and this University have actively promoted older adult education is provided more fully by Lin and Huang (2016). In particular, these authors highlight how the opening of higher education for older adult learners can enhance university engagement with local communities via Learning Resource Centres for Active Elderly (LRCAE), backed by the Ministry of Education. Importantly, this initiative is strongly linked to Government policy, Toward the aged society: Policies on education for older adults (Ministry of Education, 2006). The essential message from Taiwanese developments is that older adult education is valued; government resources into staffing and innovation are much more plentiful than in most other nations and allow for considerable optimism for the future in this country.

Reflections on the scenarios

The above initiatives in which older adults are or will be actively engaged, identify potential for future development in Aotearoa New Zealand in its university sector. The first development is really an extension of a former pattern of more active connectivity between an individual university and its senior citizenry. The 3L (third age) programme at the University of Strathclyde demonstrates what is possible when the active engagement of seniors is encouraged and their involvement legitimated. Seniors who participate for a variety of motives, both expressive and instrumental, are fully capable of exercising self-directed learning (Merriam, Caffarella & Baumgartner, 2007) and capitalising on the resources of the University to better monitor their own education. To a lesser extent, a version of the Strathclyde model operated in the collaboration of the CCE at the University of Waikato with local 60+ continuing education groups until the Government (and then the University because of a lack of funding) opted out of this ACE provision. In so doing, it jeopardised the future of these fledging groups; some have survived but others have been dissolved.

The potential for more explicit inter-generational education in the strategic plans of universities is high but the reality of actual initiatives is limited.

The lesson learned from European investigations of possibilities of intergenerational education is that there needs to be clarity about its purposes.

The AFU examples and emergent principles can be related to Peterson's three main functions of educational gerontology. Some principles encourage direct engagement of older people in the planning and implementation of older adult education provision; others relate more closely to educating the public about ageing. Some other principles relate much more to (para) professional development needs. In using these principles to investigate practices in New Zealand universities, there would be a considerable shortfall in honouring such principles. What is promising about the implementation of such principles in universities is that age-friendly ventures are generally positive for all people, not only for the elders themselves.

The research orientation revealed in the work of CR&DALL at the University of Glasgow and the considerable impetus of research activity at Chung Cheng University (Taiwan) involving older people as co-constructors of knowledge point to synergies of outcomes when commitment is made at Government and university levels to promote the learning needs of older people's communities. Unlike either of these scenarios, no university in New Zealand has seen fit to provide resources to properly support the development of research and teaching on older adult learning/education. The usual site for practice, centres for continuing education, have been systematically closed down or rendered ineffective by further marginalisation. Research in the area is severely limited, with less than a handful of academics with expertise in adult learning/education, let alone more specific older adult learning/ education. Given the reality of this country's increase in the older adult population in the recent decade and into the future (Boston & Davey, 2006), the logic of greater inclusion of older adult education in universities' agendas has never been stronger.

Concluding remarks

The above discussion reveals a situation ripe for further investment, providing that universities can be convinced of their responsibility to enhance the lives of seniors through education in which they undoubtedly have potential to actively contribute. The sheer weight of demographic change may bring this outcome about in a passive sense. A change to the New Zealand Government's tertiary education priorities as a result of an increasing older population may persuade universities to take an active stance to meet more of older people's needs, including educational provision. Historically, too, there have been some admirable achievements of New Zealand universities working alongside older adult learning groups.

Each of Peterson's major foci for educational gerontology can be better met through a number of initiatives, some of which are internationallyinspired: greater collaboration between university centres/departments with local seniors' groups; the fostering of inter-generational learning activities in which universities have a stake; the adoption of an agefriendly environment on campus and on-line; the explicit attention given to research on older adult learning/education which will have benefits to multiple stakeholders. There is no shortage of imagination; there is a shortage of commitment.

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