

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES ON TEACHER PREPARATION IN AOTEAROA NEW ZEALAND

EMERALD STUDIES IN TEACHER PREPARATION IN NATIONAL AND GLOBAL CONTEXTS

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HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES ON TEACHER PREPARATION IN AOTEAROA NEW ZEALAND

Tensions and Continuities

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Tanya Fitzgerald and Sally Knipe

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Chapter 1

Creating an Educational Heritage

Teacher preparation and training in Aotearoa New Zealand is shaped by historical, cultural, political and professional trends. As in many countries, there has been an almost constant review and reform of the teaching profession, teacher preparation programs as well as schools and schooling. Historical attention has focused on charting these shifts and changes against a backdrop of the expanding public school system, particularly in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.¹ Previous accounts about those who taught reveal their social origins, work conditions, methods of instruction, preoccupation with discipline and morality, anxieties and concerns about attendance, inspection and examination success.² Less attention has been paid to ways in which teachers were prepared for the task of teaching and the historical, cultural, social and political factors that influenced the structure and provision of teacher preparation and training.

This book is part of the series *Emerald Studies in Teacher Preparation in National and Global Contexts*. We trace the inseparable history of teaching, teachers, and teacher preparation and training. More specifically, our focus is Aotearoa New Zealand and the historical evolution from a focus on teaching as

¹See for example A. Prentice, *The School Promoters: Education and Social Class in Mid Nineteenth Century Upper Canada* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1977); K. Weiler, *Country Schoolwomen: Teaching in Rural California 1850–1950* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1988); C. Campbell and G. Sherington, *Going to School in Oceania* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2007); G. J. Clifford, *Those Good Gertrudes: A Social History of Women Teachers in America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014).

²I. A. McLaren, “Disparate beginnings: Education in the early New Zealand settlements”, *Australia and New Zealand History of Education Society Journal*, Vol. 6, No. 2, 1977, pp. 1–11; C. McGeorge, “Schools and socialisation in New Zealand 1890–1914”, Unpublished PhD thesis (University of Canterbury, 1985); A. Prentice and M. Theobald, *Women Who Taught: Perspectives on the History of Women and Teaching* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991); L. Cuban, *How Teachers Taught: Constancy and Change in American Classrooms 1890–1990* (New York, NY: Teachers College Press, 1993); K. Rousmaniere, *City Teachers: Teaching and School Reform in Historical Perspective* (New York, NY: Teachers College Press, 1997); J. Marshall, E. Coxon, K. Jenkins and A. Jones, *Politics, Policy and Pedagogy: Education in Aotearoa/New Zealand* (Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 2000); T. O’Donoghue and C. Whitehead (Eds.), *Teacher Education in the English Speaking World: Past, Present and Future* (Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing, 2008).

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a practical craft focused on classroom management and the mastery of knowledge to be taught to a learned profession. Our attention is turned away from documenting the precise knowledge, skills and qualities teachers ought to possess and the detailed standards and regulations prescribed. Rather, we interweave a broad understanding of the social, historical and political context of compulsory public schooling to highlight long-standing debates and interlinked issues between technical and professional approaches to teacher preparation and training.³ In doing so, we emphasize changes in nomenclature as teacher preparation, teacher training and ultimately teacher education moved from the pupil-teacher system to training colleges and then to colleges of education within universities respectively.

Across the chapters, we document the shifts, changes, tensions and ruptures in this long history and map the provenance of contemporary anxieties about teacher preparation and the teaching profession. To this end, we weave narratives of teachers' lives and work across a number of chapters to illustrate the oftentimes personal impact of what was, and is involved in learning to be a teacher. We do not offer cohesive or linear resolutions to enduring policy concerns but rather seek to revisit and critique the continuities and contradictions that have marked the history of teachers and teaching in Aotearoa New Zealand. We consciously present an historical snapshot of teacher preparation that is, by its very nature, selective and partial.⁴ Our primary intention is to document the ongoing and unresolved educational debates that are underpinned by competing public agendas to shape and define 'one best system' for teacher preparation and training. It is hoped that bringing together historical and contemporary perspectives stimulates a more nuanced understanding of key influences, provocations and priorities in the development of teacher preparation policies and programs.

In this opening chapter we offer a broad overview of the educational history of Aotearoa New Zealand. We suggest that thinking historically about education offers important insights into its social, political, cultural, intellectual and ideological origins. This history has been marked by conflicts, compromises and consensus which have primarily served the interests of dominant groups. Consequently, schools and schooling have been experienced differently across

³H. Perkin, *The Rise of Professional Society* (London: Routledge, 1989); I. Snook, "Teacher education: A sympathetic reappraisal", *Delta*, Vol. 47, 1993, pp. 19–30; R. Openshaw and T. Ball, "New Zealand teacher education: Progression or prescription?", *Education Research and Perspectives*, Vol. 33, No. 2, 2006, pp. 102–123.

⁴There is not the space in this book to fully document the history of and preparation of teachers in Special Schools (for example, for hearing- or sight-impaired children), infant schools, kindergarten and preschools, religious schools (Anglican, Roman Catholic, Presbyterian) or independent schools (non-denominational and denominational). For the history of infant schools and early childhood education, see H. May, *The Discovery of Early Childhood* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1997); H. May, *School Beginnings: A 19th Century Colonial Story* (Wellington: NZCER Press, 2005).

race, ethnicity, gender, religious and class lines. In the second part of this chapter we outline our methodological framework and detail ways in which we have endeavored to interweave the past and present in order to present a narrative that highlights the ebbs and flows in the history of teacher preparation and training. From the outset we recognize that a detailed and comprehensive account of New Zealand's educational history is not possible and we therefore encourage readers to refer to footnotes and references for an audit trail of the extensive literatures available.

Early Years

Prior to the arrival of *Pākehā* (Europeans), Māori had a sophisticated system of learning that drew on a traditional knowledge base, and wisdom and skills were handed down and shared. Traditional knowledge was adapted to meet the changing geographical, ecological and social environment. All knowledge was *tapu* (sacred), and individuals shared their knowledge and skills to benefit their *iwi* (tribe) and *whanau* (family). Learning was both informal and formal and recorded and passed on through *karakia* (prayer), *waiata* (songs) and *whakapapa* (genealogy). An individual could be considered both a teacher and a learner. The concept of *ako* denoted both teacher and learner.⁵ Knowledge and skills such as weaving, fishing, cultivating and carving were passed on between teacher and learner. Specialist knowledge that was higher status was taught within a *whare wānanga* (house of learning) by experts (*tohunga*) and elders (*kaumata*) to selected learners. Oral and genealogical traditions shaped the gathering, transmission and dissemination of knowledge.⁶

The first formal *Pākehā* schools established in the colony of New Zealand in the early nineteenth century were based on educational practices in England and/or Scotland. Consistent with British missionary practices in Africa and the East, missionary schooling was focused on two key agendas: civilizing and

⁵J. Metge, *Learning and Teaching: He Tikanga Māori* (Wellington: Department of Education, 1983).

⁶For a more comprehensive overview, see J. M. Barrington and T. H. Beaglehole, *Māori Schools in a Changing Society* (Wellington: NZCER, 1974); I. McLaren, *Education in a Small Democracy* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1974); D. Awatere, *Māori Sovereignty* (Auckland: Broadsheet, 1984); A. Jones, G. McCulloch, J. Marshall, L. Tuhiwai Smith and G. Hingangaroa Smith, *Myths and Realities: Schooling in New Zealand* (Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 1990); A. Salmond, *Two Worlds: First Meetings between Māori and Europeans 1642–1772* (Hawai'i: University of Hawai'i Press, 1991); J. Belich, *Making Peoples: A History of the New Zealanders: From Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century* (Auckland: Penguin Press, 1996); A. Salmond, *Between Worlds: Early Exchanges between Māori and Europeans 1773–1815* (Auckland: Viking Books, 1997); M. King, *The Penguin History of New Zealand* (Auckland: Penguin, 2003); J. Binney, *The Legacy of Guilt: A Life of Thomas Kendall* (Auckland: Bridget Williams Books, 2005).

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christianizing Māori people.⁷ Schooling became a site through which missionary and religious groups could reproduce and legitimate selected forms of knowledge that were compatible with an assimilationist agenda. Ultimately the goal was to ensure Māori learned appropriate values, skills and ways of living.⁸

The initial years of *Pākehā* settlement were marked by competing interests. On the one hand, missionary groups such as the Church Missionary Society (CMS), Wesleyan Missionary Society (WMS) and Catholic Church established local schools as a mechanism for bringing about the assimilation of Māori. This was not a new concept for the British colonial government as earlier colonizing agendas in Africa, India, Canada and Australia had provided ample prior experience of establishing hierarchies of difference based on race.⁹ On the other hand, as Jones and Jenkins have shown, while Māori initially welcomed missionary schools for the opportunities they presented, ultimately Māori educational, economic and social aspirations remained largely unmet.¹⁰

Early missionary schools taught a basic curriculum that centered on skills linked with reading the Bible, reciting and writing passages of Scripture and psalms, and learning skills linked with domestic work (for Māori girls), agricultural labor (for Māori boys), supervising servants and running a household (missionary girls) and missionary work (missionary sons).¹¹ The majority of teaching was undertaken by missionary wives from both the CMS and WMS, assisted by their daughters.¹² Catholic missionaries arrived in New Zealand from 1838 onward and by 1841 had also established schools in the northern part

⁷K. Jenkins and K. Morris Matthews, "Knowing their place: The political socialisation of Māori women in New Zealand through schooling policy and practice, 1867–1969", *Women's History Review*, Vol. 7, No. 1, 1998, pp. 85–105; R. Walker, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou: Struggle without End* (Auckland: Penguin, 2004).

⁸R. Glen (Ed.), *Mission and Moko: Aspects of the Work of the Church Missionary Society in New Zealand 1814–1882* (Christchurch: Latimer Fellowship, 1992).

⁹See for example the work of Barrington and Beaglehole, *Māori Schools in a Changing Society*; J. A. Mangan (Ed.), *Imperial Mentalities: Socialisation and British Imperialism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990); Salmond, *Between Worlds*.

¹⁰A. Jones and K. Jenkins, "Invitation and refusal: A reading of the beginnings of schooling in Aotearoa New Zealand", *History of Education*, Vol. 37, No. 2, 2008, pp. 187–206; A. Jones and K. Jenkins, *Words Between Us: He Korero – First Maori–Pakeha Conversations on Paper* (Wellington: Huia Publishers, 2011); A. Jones and K. Jenkins, *Tuaiti: A Traveller in Two Worlds* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2017).

¹¹T. Fitzgerald, "Jumping the fences: Māori women's resistance to missionary schooling in northern New Zealand 1823–1835", *Paedagogica Historica*, Vol. 37, 2001, pp. 175–192; T. Fitzgerald, "Creating a disciplined society: CMS women and the re-making of Nga Puhi women 1823–1835", *History of Education Review*, Vol. 32, No. 1, 2003, pp. 84–98.

¹²T. Fitzgerald, "To unite their strength with ours: Women and missionary work in Aotearoa New Zealand 1827–1845", *Journal of Pacific History*, Vol. 39, No. 2, 2004, pp. 147–161.

of the country. In 1843 a Catholic school was opened in Auckland, although attendance was not restricted to children from Catholic families. Between 1842 and 1850 the church opened a number of schools in the colony as settler numbers increased.¹³

In 1847, the then Governor, George Grey, issued *An Ordinance for Promoting the Education of Youth in the Colony of New Zealand*. It was designed primarily to enable the government to support the educational work of the various religious denominations. More specifically, the focus was the civilization of Māori and the removal of young Māori children from their families. Grey's educational policy was directed toward the "amalgamation" of Māori and *Pākehā*, thereby creating "one society".¹⁴ Public funds were set aside to establish and maintain schools that adhered to the teaching of the English language and provided religious instruction and industrial training. Inspectors were appointed to visit schools and report to the Legislative Council on attendance, teachers' salaries, annual costs, classroom discipline and management, and the curriculum provided.¹⁵ The ordinance reflected Grey's views that knowledge of the English language would introduce Māori children to a superior culture, that industrial training would offer the skills considered indispensable in a European society, and that religious instruction was a core component in rescuing and uplifting the Māori race.

The original bill was unpopular due to its perceived narrow focus, and it was subsequently extended to all children. In essence, the ordinance provided state aid to denominational schools. Financial aid was available to church schools that taught religious doctrine and were open to regular inspection. Instruction was in the English language, and superintendents were appointed to oversee schools as well as employ and dismiss teachers. Although settlers were seeking some form of education for their children, government funding for schools was a contentious issue. As a compromise, pupils who did not attend religious instruction were deemed to be day scholars and parents were not compelled to send their children to schools that conflicted with their own faith.¹⁶

¹³For an overview of Catholic education see J. Collins, "Schooling for faith, citizenship and social mobility: Catholic secondary education in New Zealand 1924–1944", *Journal of Educational Administration and History*, Vol. 37, No. 2, 2005, pp. 157–172. For a broader history of the Catholic Church see A. Simmons, *A Brief History of the Catholic Church in New Zealand* (Auckland: Catholic Publications Centre, 1978); M. King, *God's Farthest Outpost: A History of Catholics in New Zealand* (Auckland: Penguin Books, 1997).

¹⁴J. Barrington, "Māori scholastic achievement", *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1966, p. 1.

¹⁵J. Mackey, *The Making of a State Education System* (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1967), pp. 37–39.

¹⁶For a fuller account of the debates surrounding the 1847 Ordinance and settler aspirations see I. Cumming and A. Cumming, *History of State Education in New Zealand 1840–1975* (Wellington: Pitman Publishing, 1978).

Between 1840 and 1852,¹⁷ New Zealand, as a Crown Colony, was politically controlled by Great Britain. In 1852, a *Constitution Act* heralded the beginning of self-government. The country was divided into six provinces (Auckland, New Plymouth, Wellington, Nelson, Canterbury and Otago), each with its own council with responsibility for local administration. This included schools, publicly funded and controlled by the provincial council through education boards and local committees. Each province appointed an inspector of schools who had oversight of pupil progress, teachers' work and was responsible for building the public school system across the province. Inspection reports were dominated by concerns surrounding attendance levels, pupil behavior, teachers' capabilities, school buildings and the low level of pupil knowledge.¹⁸ Somewhat inevitably the range of educational policies and practices reflected not only the geographical division of the provinces but also differences in educational beliefs and resources. In effect, each province attempted to create its own system and was wary of external interference or influence.

Spirited provincial discussions and debates continued over issues such as religious instruction in schools, funding, school fees and attendance.¹⁹ In Canterbury, for example, schools were predominantly established and run by the Church of England (Anglican Church), whereas in the province of Otago, to the south, mainly by the Presbyterian Church. Possibly reflecting its Scottish heritage, Otago opened a high school and by 1869 had a university in the province. In 1869 a Girls' Provincial School opened in the southern city of Dunedin

¹⁷There is not the space here to overview the political history of New Zealand. We acknowledge the significant impact of *Te Tiriti o Waitangi* (Treaty of Waitangi, 1840) and the colonizing agenda of the British government that has had a significant impact. A fuller discussion can be found at C. Orange, *The Story of a Treaty* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 1989); P. Moon, *The Path to the Treaty of Waitangi: Te Ara Ki Te Tiriti* (Auckland: David Ling Publishing, 2002); Walker, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou*; M. Belgrave, *Waitangi Revisited: Perspectives on the Treaty of Waitangi* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); M. Mulholland and V. Tawhai (Eds), *Weeping Waters: The Treaty of Waitangi and Constitutional Change* (Auckland: Huia Publishers, 2010); M. P. K. Sorrenson, *Ko Te Whenua Te Utu: Land is the Price* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2014). For an overview of the impact of settler colonialism, see J. Belich, *Replenishing the Earth: The Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Angloworld* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

¹⁸B. Bade, "The foundation of school inspection in the Wellington province: A study of the work of Robert Lee", Unpublished MA thesis (University of New Zealand, 1943); D. L. Robinson, "Some aspects of education in Wellington during the provincial period 1853–1876", Unpublished MA thesis (Victoria University College, 1955); A. K. Matthews, "Henry Hill – frontier inspector", Unpublished MEd thesis (University of Waikato, 1984); K. Matthews, *Behind Every School: The History of the Hawke's Bay Education Board* (Napier: Hawke's Bay Education Board, 1988).

¹⁹A. E. Campbell, *Educating New Zealand* (Wellington: Department of Internal Affairs, 1941); Mackey, *The Making of a State Education System*; C. McGeorge and I. Snook, *Church, State and New Zealand Education* (Wellington: Price Milburn, 1981).

(Otago province) and offered an advanced curriculum for girls. This expansion of schooling brought increased demand for teachers, especially women teachers for the newly established girls' schools. In the later decades of the nineteenth century, many women teachers did not possess the relevant formal teaching qualifications but had acquired the necessary personal and social attributes deemed appropriate for a teacher.

In their comprehensive history of New Zealand education, Cumming and Cumming note that "many of Otago's teachers had already received their professional preparation in British training institutions and many, too, had attended a university".²⁰ The majority of these teachers were males who brought the familiar model of the English and Scottish systems to the province. By way of contrast, in the province of Auckland, school attendance rates were low, until 1869 schools were almost entirely under the auspices of the churches, and qualified male teachers were difficult to find.

Despite recognition of the importance of education and the curriculum offered, less attention was directed to the training of teachers. The majority of the focus was on the administration of schools, financial costs and school buildings. The province of Canterbury, however, sought to appoint certificated teachers with professional training. Henry Tancred, first Chancellor of the University of New Zealand and a member of the Commission on Education, supported the idea of model schools to train teachers. Canterbury legislators did not advance this idea and placed emphasis on the role of the inspector to determine whether a teacher demonstrated a level of competence.

Across the provinces neither the recruitment nor training of teachers was uniform. Trained teachers were scarce, and although there were evening and weekend training classes, certification and regulations varied. In Otago, for example, the pupil-teacher system from England was initially adopted and within a few short years this was the dominant model across the colony.²¹ The initial pupil-teacher system that was introduced in the two southern provinces (Canterbury and Otago) consisted of a four- to five-year apprenticeship followed by two years at a training college or normal school. The majority of pupil-teachers were girls between the ages of 13 and 18, and the system of training was heavily criticized for its length, cost and exploitative working conditions.²² In an attempt to move away from training which emphasized technical skills to a more theoretical and professional orientation, teachers were encouraged to

²⁰Cumming and Cumming, *A History of State Education*, p. 30.

²¹Campbell, *Educating New Zealand*.

²²A. G. Butchers, *The Education System: A Concise History of the New Zealand Education System* (Auckland: The National Printing Co., 1932); A. H. W. Harte, *The Training of Teachers in New Zealand from Its Origins until 1948* (Christchurch: Simpson & Williams, 1972); C. Johnston and H. Morton, *Dunedin Teachers' College: The First Hundred Years* (Dunedin: Dunedin Teachers College Publications Committee, 1976); W. J. Fletcher, *A Sense of Community: The Christchurch College of Education 1877–2000* (Christchurch: Christchurch College of Education, 2001).

complete local university subjects. However, as the pupil-teacher system remained cost-effective it remained in place, and in 1887 it was reported that a third of the teaching workforce consisted of pupil-teachers.²³ In effect, in these early decades, technical efficiency and economic expediency dominated the training and preparation of teachers.

By the 1870s public dissatisfaction with the quality of schools and schooling had increased and demands for a national system of school began to surface. It was generally recognized that a strong central government ought to fund and administer education. Debates concentrated on issues such as schooling as a means of social control, the rights of every citizen to be educated and the importance of equality of access and opportunity.²⁴ With low attendances at provincial schools, varied curricula, and differences and debates between administrative authorities across the country, attention shifted to the possibility of a national and uniform system of education.

Shifts and Changes

The 1877 *Education Act* provided free, primary (elementary), compulsory (for ages seven to 13 years) and secular education.²⁵ Underpinning this legislation was the belief that primary education was a right of all citizens, not a privilege. Funding was provided by the state to every province based on average pupil attendance. The impact of the *Education Act* was immediately evident. Between 1878 and 1898, primary school rolls doubled from 65,366 children to 131,600.²⁶ By the turn of the century there were 130,742 pupils attending 1,650 primary schools in New Zealand.²⁷ The education system that was introduced embodied the rules, regulations and routines of Victorian society. Schools were places where discipline was stringent, classrooms were bleak and orderly, and teachers'

²³ *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives*, 1888, E-1, p. viii, hereafter *AJHR*.

²⁴ J. D. S. McKenzie, "The first legislation on national education", *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies*, Vol. 4, No. 1, 1969, pp. 24-40; R. Shuker, *The One Best System? A Revisionist History of Schooling in New Zealand* (Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 1987); R. Openshaw and D. McKenzie (Eds.), *Reinterpreting the Educational Past: Essays in the History of New Zealand Education* (Wellington: NZCER, 1987).

²⁵ The passage of the legislation and its impact have been widely debated. See here Butchers, *The Education System*; L. C. Webb, *The Control of Education in New Zealand* (Wellington: NZCER, 1937); Campbell, *Educating New Zealand*; Mackey, *The Making of a State Education System*; J. C. Dakin, *Education in New Zealand* (Auckland: Leonard Fullerton, 1973); Cumming and Cumming, *A History of State Education*; McGeorge and Snook, *Church, State and New Zealand Education*; G. McCulloch, *Education in the Forming of New Zealand Society* (Palmerston North: NZCER Monograph No. 1, 1986); Openshaw and McKenzie (Eds.), *Reinterpreting the Educational Past*.

²⁶ The population at this time had increased by 41 percent. *AJHR*, 1902, E-1, p. 11.

²⁷ Butchers, *The Education System*, p. 590.