

Chapter One

Policy and Place: Guidance Counselling in New Zealand Secondary Schools 1950s to 1988; the Welfare State Context

1.1 A brief genealogy of the 'birth' of guidance counselling in New Zealand secondary schools.

Social welfare, health and education all formed part of the mix of socio-economic policies of the welfare state that predominated when the *Thomas Report* was commissioned in 1942, setting the tone of post-war education in New Zealand. (Department of Education, 1944). Education's role was to ensure that all post-primary pupils received a generous and well-balanced education that aimed: "firstly, at the full development of the adolescent as a person; and secondly at preparing him for an active place in our New Zealand society as worker, neighbour, home-maker and citizen. Up to a point, one aim implies the other; and such qualities as strength and stability of character are fundamental to both" (Department of Education, 1944: 4) [*Thomas Report*]. Considering its timing, towards the latter days of a traumatic war and only shortly after a devastating economic depression, the emphasis on the social rather than on economics may be surprising. However, it reflected the social welfare orientation of the era and criticised hard-nosed economics with its emphasis on individualism.

In practice both personal needs and social needs have all too often been pushed into the background, especially by economic pressures ... Reform depends in the last analysis on the existence of a public which will think of education less as a means of individual advancement and more as a means of creating an educated community. We think, however, that the time has come for a vigorous attempt to give adolescents a richer and better-balanced education than they have had in the past (Department of Education, 1944: 4-5).

The emphasis on community rather than individualism, and education as a "public good" rather than the "private good" was overturned in the neoliberal environment of the 1990s. The *Thomas Report* had seen schools as tools of democracy, "assisting to build up a democratic society capable of defending its essential values and of widening and deepening their influence" with social studies as a curriculum area for addressing this role (Department of Education, 1944: 5).

It has been in terms of fulfilling the social, personal and emotional aspects of education that school guidance counselling has largely been placed. But in its early formulations, guidance counselling, especially in its guidance aspects and social education programmes, was arguably part of a 'control' function of schools and hence of society (Wadsworth, 1970; Hermansson, 1990; Webb, 1990). This chapter describes the 'birth' of school counselling in New Zealand, acknowledging some of the influential figures and the key policies that were involved at this early stage. The development of school counselling, from its inception until the end of the 20th century, has been divided into five historical phases, the first three of which are discussed in this chapter.

Guidance counselling in New Zealand did not emerge in a vacuum. Ralph Winterbourn¹ (1974) documented the development of a range of guidance services in New Zealand up to 1971. These arose from a combination of economic and social conditions, community involvement, the influence of psychology in university departments of education and political decisions. The context of the Depression and the following years of economic recovery, when the First Labour government came to power, marked a transition period towards state control of guidance services: Vocational Guidance Service (1938), Visiting Teachers (1943), Psychological Service (1948), Child Guidance Clinics (1951), and School Guidance Counsellors (1959). All but the Child Guidance Clinics, which were under the Department of Health, were in the control of the Department of Education.

The first vocational guidance programmes had appeared in both the USA and New Zealand in the late 1800s. The

vocational guidance movement in the USA was a citizens' initiated philanthropic effort in the early 20th century (Beck, 1963; Brewer, 1942; Super, 1962; Winterbourn, 1974). It centred on the social service work of Frank Parsons' Civic Service House, Boston, the YMCAs and schools in some cities and aimed "to provide occupational information and orientation for boys and girls leaving school or adrift in the chaotic world of work" (Super, 1962: 8). Parsons (1909) described vocational guidance as a three-step process that involved the counsellor making an individual analysis, through knowing the student's traits, knowing about vocations and the world of work and then matching the person with the job. This led to the development of "trait and factor" psychological theories and also to psychometric testing and interviewing techniques to discover the traits of the student. Notions such as aptitude, mental and intelligence testing; individual interest, difference, and self-concept tests; statistics and measurement; military and industrial selection and classification were developed. This was the start of using objective, scientific criteria in a form of psychology that relied on actuarial prediction and a correspondence theory of truth (Beck, 1963). By the 1930s guidance was "attempting to move from the informal, theologically influenced, intuitive type of 'folk medicine' in choice making to an objective, test-centered, formal analysis of problems dealing with interpersonal (and often intrapersonal) difficulties" (Beck, 1963: 25).

Winterbourn (1974) described how vocational guidance in New Zealand began similarly to the way it began in the USA, in voluntary agencies, namely the YMCA in Christchurch, in 1913. The YMCAs and YWCAs in the four main centres all became involved in vocational guidance and job placement in association with Boys' and Girls' Employment Committees through the Depression years. This involvement remained until the state finally assumed control for the service in 1943, once Dr Clarence Beeby was Director of Education and Peter Fraser, Minister of Education, during the First Labour Government. Winterbourn (1974: 20) asserted that "Fraser's interest in guidance, particularly vocational guidance, and his willingness to listen to those who were nurturing the infant services and planning their expansion and control, were of the greatest importance." The YMCA's and YWCA's initial aim was to advise undecided primary school leavers to go on to secondary school at a time when many young people remained at primary school until they attained the then school leaving age of 13. Only ten percent of students continued on to secondary school until both financial and academic barriers were finally removed in 1939 (Alcorn, 1999). In the late 1920s and early 1930s the major technical high schools, which had a more humanitarian and liberal outlook than state and private single sex high schools and catered mostly for students who entered the workplace rather than going to university, were establishing careers advisors – a position that became established in all schools in 1948 (Winterbourn, 1974). Following the Secondary Schools Act (1903), two years of free secondary school education was provided only if the proficiency exam (which was abolished in 1939) was passed. By 1939, with the leaving age at 14, 64% went on to secondary school (Alcorn, 1999). Because many families could not afford to forgo the contribution to family income, many children did not go to high school, despite the prospect of higher professional income in the future. Only those who were going on to university tended to go to high school, since the curriculum was geared to matriculation.

At the same time as Parsons was developing his notions about vocational guidance in the USA, Alfred Binet was developing intelligence testing in Paris. This was an era that was hugely influenced by Darwinian theories around survival of the fittest, with intense interest in eugenics, in mental abilities as described by such notions as mental hygiene, feeble-mindedness and retardation – a large body of research that led to the development of psychometric testing. "Mental hygiene" was related to eugenics and came to prominence during World War II, but has now been replaced by "mental health" as the discredited eugenic connection has been largely suppressed. Mental hygiene is currently defined as: "the science of promoting mental health and preventing mental illness through the application of psychiatry and psychology" (*The Columbia Encyclopedia*, 5th Ed, 1993). Therefore it combines preventive medicine, public health, social engineering and social control in public education programmes, reforms in institutional care, and the establishment of child guidance clinics that apply a combination of psychiatry, psychology and social work, and social education programmes in schools (see Besley, 2002). World War I saw the partial merger of vocational guidance and psychometrics – a move that became complete in the aftermath of the 1930s Depression, as exemplified by such tools as the Minnesota Employment Stabilization Research Institute (Super, 1962).

Echoing the influence of psychological theories and the testing movement abroad, three of the four universities in

New Zealand pioneered guidance work in the 1920s, prior to the establishment of state guidance systems. Internationally, psychology was not a separate discipline at this stage and tended to be part of philosophy. Because the philosophy departments at Canterbury and Otago were "unsympathetic to developments in the psychological field" (Winterbourn, 1974: 9), psychology and hence guidance became attached to education departments at Canterbury and Otago. Psychology was attached to philosophy at Victoria.

New Zealand's first psychological laboratory was set up in 1908 and its first psychological clinic in 1926 by Victoria University's foundation professor of philosophy, Thomas Hunter.² Hunter worked closely with the professor of education, W.H. Gould, who set up a complementary education clinic. The psychological clinic continued and was extended under Ernest Beaglehole, dealing primarily with behaviour problems, retardation, personality and community mental health until it ceased in 1942. The education clinic focussed on educational guidance, the diagnosis of educational retardation and treatment, and visiting schools to help teachers carry out its recommendations. It expanded under Gould's successors, C.L. Bailey and A.E. Fieldhouse, who added reading and attainment tests. The School Hygiene Division of the Department of Health arranged medical examinations. Referrals came from "parents, the Child Welfare Division, the Children's Court, the Crippled Children Society, and schools" (Winterbourn, 1974: 9). There was considerable overlap, but much co-operation between the two clinics.

At Canterbury University College, James Shelley, the foundation professor of education, initiated guidance and psychological services in 1920, "obtaining a grant to purchase psychological and educational tests" (Winterbourn, 1974: 7). Of particular significance was the appointment in 1923 of the subsequently hugely influential C.E. Beeby as assistant to the professors of education and philosophy to assist with psychological courses (Alcorn, 1999). In 1927, after two years spent in the UK, Beeby was appointed assistant lecturer in education and experimental psychology and became responsible for developing vocational and educational testing, and the next year he was put in charge of the Psychological and Educational Laboratories, with Shelley as Director. Shelley was already using Binet intelligence testing and counselling parents of problem children referred to him through his WEA classes and by fellow university staff. Beeby was initially interested in vocational guidance, but after a visit to the USA in 1931 he became more involved with children with behavioural problems and educational disabilities. Shelley's department of education established something of a 'school' of guidance-oriented students with G.E.M. Keys (1926) and W.B. Harris (1928) producing Masters theses³ which formed the first substantial writing about guidance in New Zealand. Ralph Winterbourn was appointed to Beeby's team in 1933 after having been a student at Canterbury (Small, 2000; Winterbourn, 1974). Beeby, as the first director of NZCER and subsequently Director-General of Education, was enormously influential in most areas of education in New Zealand. His commitment to psychology and guidance remained until his retirement in 1960, and although perhaps not directly involved in the setting up of guidance counselling, Beeby's notion of education in liberal and progressive terms arguably set the overall tenor and conditions that enabled guidance counselling to emerge. He promoted the view exhibited in the *Thomas Report* that education should be a liberating, enjoyable, realistic experience that culturally and economically fitted the majority of the population for the world they lived in (Department of Education, 1944).

The University of Otago witnessed a similar, but later development to that at Canterbury. H.H. Ferguson, as lecturer in psychology in both the education and philosophy departments, began a part-time child guidance service in 1931 (Winterbourn, 1974). Richard Lawson, the first professor of education, added difficult vocational guidance cases so that it became a general guidance clinic. Auckland's absence from the scene is notable. A.B. Fitt, Auckland's first professor of education, applied for psychological laboratory equipment, selected in collaboration with the professor of philosophy in 1924, but did not attempt to set up a clinic until 1936. The War intervened and once it was over, the state's Department of Education's own psychological service had been established and was expanding. After a major pioneering role emphasising a public service in setting up child guidance clinics, the universities shifted to a teaching and research role within their institutions. Subsequently the state's Department of Education built on the systems that the universities had pioneered.

During the War, the visiting teacher system was set up because schools were seen as the most appropriate and accessible institution to address truancy and children's social problems (c.f. today's 'Full Service Education' model).

In 1931 Beeby had seen the work of visiting teachers in the USA, and rather than appointing extra truant officers he sought to introduce a less authoritarian system of visiting teachers: social workers who were qualified teachers. At this time the Department of Education included the Child Welfare branch, which did not separate out to become part of the Department of Social Welfare until 1972. The Social Welfare Act, 1971, saw from 1 April 1972 an amalgamation of the Department of Social Security and the Child Welfare Division of the Department of Education, and introduced the statutory designation of "social worker" in the state services.

Visiting teachers were placed in clusters of primary and intermediate schools to work in partnership with and maintain liaison between school, home and outside agencies "which may throw light on their problems and assist in remedying them" (Winterbourn, 1974: 79). This role, achieved through the authority of the schools, was therefore one of partnership, liaison, problem-solver and trouble-shooter between school, home and outside agencies. In secondary schools the visiting teacher eventually became the 'guidance teacher', since home visits represented only a small part of their work. The primary based visiting teacher service became part of Special(ist) Education Service and was finally dis-established in 1997. This move paralleled the dis-establishment of the Vocational Guidance Service in 1988, ten years after it had shifted to the Department of Labour (Templeman, 1990). Although vocational guidance counsellors were shifted away from schools and education, from the 1990s, their roles within schools have been adopted to a certain extent by other school staff especially careers advisors and transition teachers. Jobs that are deemed important at one point of time do not necessarily remain so and dis-establishment may occur when political, social, and economic goals change and "when the dominant philosophy of the organisations in which they exist moves too far from their own" – a salutary lesson for guidance counselling (Webb, 1990: 43).

The post-war social context, the rise of psychological disciplines, and several 'moral panics' as youth culture emerged, led to the setting up of guidance counselling systems in USA, UK and New Zealand schools in the late 1950s (Cohen, 1980; Hall & Jefferson, 1976; Thompson, 1998; Winterbourn, 1974). These systems had a broader and more developmental focus than vocational guidance. During and immediately after World War II, the military and economic activities of parents affected family life in these countries so that the guidance and discipline of children and adolescents was sporadic or even non-existent and there was considerable concern about a rise in juvenile delinquency (Winterbourn, 1974; Yska, 1993). The traumas of two world wars made Western nations fearful of communist take-overs and the possibility of nuclear annihilation. Not only did some texts link juvenile immorality and delinquency with attachment, loss and maternal deprivation but also the 1950s media often depicted youth as rebellious, bad mannered, disrespectful, impolite, and, at worst, delinquent (Wylie, 1942; Bowlby, 1947; Molloy, 1993). The influence of drugs and popular music, especially rock 'n' roll, led to widespread fears of youth promiscuity, anti-social behaviour and addiction. Furthermore, the appearance and overt sexuality of popular stars and singers (e.g. Marlon Brando, James Dean, Johnnie Rae, Johnny Devlin and Max Merritt) and especially Elvis Presley's famous hip swivel and pelvic thrusts appalled many adults because it made the girls scream in delight and the boys to imitate him. As a result, many of society's moral agents, including the churches believed they were facing youthful rebellion and that the moral fabric of society was at grave risk (see *Mazengarb Report*, 1954).

To a certain extent, New Zealand adopted imported fears and concerns about the 'youth problem' and delinquency, assuming that New Zealand was following a similar path to America and Britain and that what happened there would eventually arrive here. This was a time when New Zealand still largely privileged Britain as 'home' and consequently saw British culture as superior to American, identifying in particular a superiority to American popular cultural influences such as comics, pulp fiction and rock and roll (Dalley, 1998; Yska, 1993). What is now seen as the emergence of a distinctive youth culture and subcultures began to appear in the 1940s-1950s in American high schools revolving mostly around music, clothes, dating, cars and particular verbal codes. At the time, this was largely greeted by adult alarm and often treated as a 'moral panic' about the moral constitution of youth, social disorder, and threats to the accepted cultural norms and practices, and to the authority of adult culture (Hall & Jefferson, 1976; Hebidge, 1979; McRobbie, 1991; Manning, 1958; Shuker *et al.*, 1990; Soler, 1988, 1989; Yska, 1993).

Ten years after setting up visiting teacher systems for primary and intermediate schools, the theme of social and educational problems was again to the fore. In 1952 there had been some youth sexual misbehaviour in the Hutt

Valley, and as well, police, welfare officers and Auckland headmasters reported "an accumulation of sordid happenings occurring within a short space of time" (see *Mazengarb Report*, 1954: 13). Only a couple of years later, in 1954, concerns were being expressed again by secondary schools about misbehaviour and juvenile delinquency. Newspaper articles began to appear about sexual behaviour amongst what was believed to be a sizeable proportion of secondary school students, especially in Lower Hutt and Auckland (see *NZ Herald; Truth; The Dominion; Christchurch Press*, June–October, 1954). In June 1954, newspapers reported the arrest of 57 young people (41 boys, 16 girls, some aged 13-15 years) in the Hutt Valley for sexual misconduct (carnal knowledge and indecent assault which apparently occurred in private homes and picture theatres) after a 15 year old girl admitted to police that to be popular she had repeatedly had sex with members of a "Milk Bar Gang" (see *Mazengarb Report*, 1954: 11-12). Public concern in what has subsequently been considered a moral panic emerged in 1954 and led to the New Zealand government setting up a Special Committee on Moral Delinquency in Children and Adolescents that produced the *Mazengarb Report* (Mazengarb Report, 1954; Molloy, 1993; Shuker *et al.*, 1990; Soler, 1988, 1989).

The *Mazengarb Report* (1954) focussed on controlling the behaviour of youth, (especially "teddy boys", "milk-bar cowboys", "bodgies" and "widgies") and their parents, the perceived negative effects of American cultural influences (e.g. comics, pulp fiction and rock 'n' roll), the apparent decay in morality and the lack of resources in new suburban areas (see Besley, 2000). About the same time, in 1954, the national press reported on sensational murders by teenagers, such as the Parker-Hulme bashing by supposedly lesbian teenage girls in Christchurch, and then the "Jukebox" shooting in Auckland in 1955 (Yska, 1993). Hence, the scene was set for the development of social guidance and counselling in schools that would shape, constitute and control the morality and behaviour of youth. These form what Foucault (1988a) describes as "technologies of power (domination)" and "technologies of the self" where "technology" is the actual practice of power that involves "the government of individuals, the government of the souls, the government of the self by the self, the government of families, the government of children, and so on" (Foucault, 1984: 256). Foucault's (1988a, 1988b, 1988c) discussion links political rationality and the emergence of the social sciences, and his work on morality provides some perspectives on why our society seems so concerned about youth morality and the provision of guidance in such matters. To a certain extent these technologies were about moral development, but they were also about social control and the assertion of adult authority in a manner that reflected notions of mental hygiene in the early post-war years (see Besley, 2002).

1.2 Phase 1: The 'birth' of guidance counsellor pilot programmes, 1950s–1964.

Phase 1 outlines the social and educational context of the 1950s that led to the 'birth' of school counselling, answering questions about why, when and how school counselling was introduced into secondary schools. It was from a combination of post-war developments in psychological discourse, from attitudes that expressed both worries and fears of youth and their behaviour or misbehaviour, and from moral panics around youth sexuality in what subsequently became described in terms of youth culture/subculture, that counselling began to emerge as a distinct profession. This included the speciality of school counselling.

In liberal Western democracies the post-war 1950s witnessed changed social contexts, the rise of psychological disciplines and of youth culture. It was particularly the moral panic embodied in the *Mazengarb Report* (1954), along with the rapid expansion of secondary school rolls, that set the scene for school counselling to develop in late 1950s New Zealand. Despite recommending more visiting teachers for primary schools in directive tones, it left the Department of Education to "consider what type of officer is best suited to help with problem pupils in post-primary schools" (*Mazengarb Report*, 1954: 68). In his Annual Report to the Department of Education in 1955, Beeby, as Director-General of Education, took to task the community's unrealistic expectations towards schools and the moral influence they could or should have on their students. This was clearly a criticism of the *Mazengarb Report*. Beeby considered that schools could not be expected to inculcate moral standards that were very different from those commonly observed in the community as a whole (Alcorn, 1999).

Due to increased suspensions, expulsions and disciplinary problems in secondary schools in the 1950s, something needed to be done, but quite what was unclear. One recommendation taken up by the 1955 parliamentary committee dealing with the *Mazengarb Report* was the appointment of four more visiting teachers (Auckland two,

Wellington and Christchurch one each) to serve a cluster of schools. In Christchurch, this resulted in three visiting teachers, each working "with a group of five or six primary and intermediate schools plus three or four secondary ones associated with them" (Winterbourn, 1974: 91). This formalised a situation that had seen some secondary schools unofficially using visiting teachers. But, some secondary principals, well aware that visiting teachers were overloaded, wanted someone to work specifically within their school rather than in a cluster of schools. As a result, the pilot guidance counsellor scheme that was set up in secondary schools in 1959 was a competitive model that compared visiting teacher and guidance counsellor systems in order to decide which was the better way to proceed (Winterbourn, 1974).

Prior to the advent of school counsellors, guidance was influenced by broad ideas from the USA and influenced specifically by the UK, especially by the National Institute of Industrial Psychology and Cyril Burt's work in psychology on standardised tests, eugenics, the 'backward' child and juvenile delinquency (Burt, 1947, 1948, 1950, 1957). Subsequently school guidance counselling in New Zealand derived more from American experiences, especially from the blending in the 1950s of several movements or strands, which together became known as "counseling psychology" (American Psychological Association [APA] 1956, cited in McGowan and Schmidt, 1962). These six strands were: the "vocational guidance" movement; psychometrics and testing; trait and factor psychological theories; motivational psychology; personality development theories; and psychotherapy. It was from these strands that initial guidance counsellor training courses gained their focus (Besley, 2000; Nicholson *et al.*, 1964). Many of the initial developments in school counselling occurred from the exchange of ideas between the USA and New Zealand. For example the Fulbright Travel Award scheme which began in 1949, enabled an exchange of New Zealand and American university staff on short term appointments. American educationalists visiting here, such as Robert Havighurst and David Ausubel, were highly influential in their contribution to developmental psychology, which in turn influenced counselling theories. New Zealand educationalists (C.E. Beeby, Fred Aitken, Thomas Hunter, Ruth Trevor and Bertram Allen) visited the USA bringing back new ideas (Small, 2000).⁴ However, general directions and lessons on policy, definition, training, selection, and ethics were imported from both UK and USA.

The guidance counsellor system, using former careers advisors, was based on models seen in USA by the Chief Inspector of Post-Primary Schools (F.R.G. Aitken) who "believed that the time was ripe and the social climate suitable to try them out here" (Winterbourn, 1974: 92). Such schemes in the USA had been established through the 1958 National Defense Education Act, in response to the threats of sputnik in the space race, and the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, which implemented programmes and provided training for school counsellors. According to Winterbourn, Aitken's influence on the role of the guidance counsellor was profound. At the end of 1959 two visiting teachers were appointed to secondary schools in the Wellington area (Naenae and Onslow Colleges) and the first school guidance counsellors to Tauranga Boys College (Maurice Pentecost) and Avonside Girls High, Christchurch (Jean Herbison). The experimental position of school guidance counsellor in 1959-60 was *within* a school (rather than peripatetic for a cluster of schools), combining "the functions of careers adviser, educational adviser and visiting teacher" and was partially or completely free from teaching to be "readily accessible and prepared to meet pupils frequently" (Winterbourn, 1974: 93). Referrals were from classroom teachers and visiting teachers in contributing schools. Supervision was by Department of Education Inspectors (with no particular expertise in guidance) and by Psychological Service educational psychologists who provided a regular service to help guidance counsellors in their work with problem pupils. The effectiveness of the two systems was reviewed in 1962, with the Director of Education reporting to the Minister that the guidance counsellor scheme was better for large schools, while visiting teachers were suitable for groups of smaller schools (Winterbourn, 1974). So both types of guidance position continued. Despite many requests for one of the experimental positions, all but one was declined in anticipation of the 1962 Commission on Education, the *Currie Report* (Department of Education, 1962). This extra position was one visiting teacher to serve three Rotorua secondary schools where there were "difficult learning and behaviour problems among the large Maori school population" (Winterbourn, 1974: 93).

The *Currie Report* formed a comprehensive tome of almost 900 pages that was produced by a Commission set up in 1960 to consider state education "in relation to the present and future needs of the country" (Department of

Education, 1962: 1) in what it acknowledged as a form of stocktaking. As well as examining curricula, school organisation, the teaching profession, financial matters, administration, buildings and religious teaching in schools, the last point of inquiry in the report was "child welfare and delinquency so far as they have a bearing on the education system" (1). Some of the problems of the time were: teacher shortages; rapidly increasing school rolls; criticism of modern educational methods; rebellious adolescents who were "reluctant learners"; the limited achievement of Maori in education; rapid increases in the cost of education; and aid to private schools. In examining submissions to the *Currie Report*, David Scott (1996) concluded that the Commission was instituted in an attempt by the government and its bureaucracy, the Department of Education, to maintain their authority over educational matters that had become subject to considerable public debate. He argued that since the Report was not representative of the submissions it received, it encouraged in effect optimal social control by ignoring, minimising, rationalising and marginalising dissent.

In a statement echoing, but not acknowledging the *Mazengarb Report*, the *Currie Report* asserted that delinquency was "closely related to the moral climate of the whole adult community, but most intimately to the number of parents who for any reason are unable or unwilling to meet the exacting demands of parenthood" (Department of Education, 1962: 655). It clearly stated that the overwhelming weight of evidence showed that delinquency was rarely, if ever, caused by the school, but admitted that it might be accentuated by poor teaching that was either "too permissive" or "too rigidly repressive", or permitted "insecure children to meet repeated failures in their school work unrelieved by even modest success" (655). Furthermore, "the school climate with its emphasis on orderly behaviour and good moral conduct, is normally a strong positive influence against delinquency" (655). After surveying the statistics of juvenile offences (up to age 16), the Report asserted that "delinquency is basically socio-economic and is unrelated to types of school involved" (658), being basically a problem in certain areas of cities with poor living conditions, and (again echoing the *Mazengarb Report*) the newer housing areas. Unlike the *Mazengarb Report*, this report did not consider that there was much delinquency, noting that "over 99% of the age group from 7 to 17 did not commit any offences", reflecting a "relatively law-abiding community" (659). Nor did it rail about moral delinquency. Nevertheless, in comparing the New Zealand statistics and patterns with overseas research, it observed sufficient similarity to warn against complacency and called for prompt and effective action to ensure the security of the future.

It noted also that both the parents and the community expected the school to "take into account the whole personality of the child so that he may ultimately take his place in the community as a good citizen educated to the best level that his natural endowments permit" (655). In doing so, the school had to accept and play their part in remedial work for children who were disturbed, unstable and insecure and be equipped with appropriate specialist personnel to do so. The American research that the report quoted (Sheldon & Eleanor Glueck, [no date] and William and Joan McCord, [no date]), pointed out that antisocial behaviour manifested itself before some children were 8 years old and was established for most before puberty. Hence, the Gluecks concluded that schools needed to be able to discover potential delinquents "before the symptoms of maladapted behaviour become fixed" (657). These researchers clearly endorsed prevalent psychological notions associated with adjustment theories and notions of a self and an identity becoming fixed and stable at some time around puberty, but still believed that schools could influence this by having and utilising special knowledge and by acting as role models.

After discussing the range of existing support services available to schools – the Child Welfare division, the Psychological Service, the Visiting Teacher Service, and the Vocational Guidance Service – three pages of the report discussed guidance and counselling in secondary school and the relationship of the Psychological Service with the Vocational Guidance Service (see pp. 667- 670). The report saw guidance counselling or the careers teachers as providing a point of convergence for these services to co-operate and concentrate their work within secondary schools. In the 1940s-1950s, the sort of student that was catered for by the careers teachers was described as "the difficult or bewildered or unfortunate pupil who had not quite qualified for the help of the external special services" (668). The clear message was that the careers teachers or "guidance officers" of the time dealt with problems of lesser degree, with psychologists ranked higher due to their university training and positioned as the specialists to whom difficult cases should be referred.

The Commission supported the expansion and upgrading of the whole range of guidance services in secondary schools. Its recommendations included: reduced class sizes where delinquency was a problem; incentives for teachers to locate in new housing areas; more psychologists to a total of 70; improved case work training for visiting teachers; classroom teachers to be trained to recognise insecurity in children; courses for careers teachers; clerical assistance for careers advisers and guidance counsellors in large schools; publicity about the preventive work of Child Welfare; it encouraged parental education about children's problems; unifying the Psychological and Vocational Guidance Services; and "that guidance counselling be developed further in particular schools and that counsellors be given special training and adequate time for this work" (674).

The Commission commented that the careers adviser position was part-time and that there needed to be "an almost full-time guidance or counselling officer" to provide counselling and to be central to co-ordinating various helping services. The pilot guidance counsellor positions were noted as "complex" and endorsed as "cautious but enlightening experiments" (668). The guidance counsellor would require a higher qualification than what teachers required and so would need to be recompensed "not by a career's teachers allowance but by the award of a position of responsibility" (Department of Education, 1962: 669). The *Currie Report*, without being prescriptive, suggested a range of criteria for guidance counsellors, all referring, in the language of the day, to the person as 'he':

First of all he should be a person fitted by experience and temperament to give sympathetic and informed help to a school child in doubt or difficulty, and therefore he should have had some years of service as a teacher and know intimately a school child's typical problems. Preferably his qualifications should include knowledge of child and adolescent psychology and other appropriate subjects, and for his work as a counsellor he should be given an adequate [but unspecified] period of in-service training. In order, however, that his complete identification with the school should remain, he should continue to be an active class teacher though not necessarily for any large proportion of his time (Department of Education, 1962: 668).

Winterbourn reflected on the *Currie Report*, and the direction on guidance counselling that it provided to the Department of Education, considering that "compared with so many of its pronouncements, this one was rather timid" (Winterbourn, 1974: 95). It left the stage open for many debates that continued at various points over many years, about the role and place of a counsellor in school. Debate raged about the requirement for previous teaching experience; whether or not a counsellor should teach and, if so, how much; what subjects they should teach, if any, with many regarding social education and health education programmes as being appropriate and even required; and what level, amount and content of training was necessary.

1.3 Phase 2: A permanent place for guidance counsellors in selected schools, 1964-1971.

Until the school counsellor system was permanently established in the mid-1960s, vocational guidance officers and careers advisors within schools, and school psychologists from outside schools, were considered adequate to deal with students with social problems (Department of Education, 1962). In May 1966, Cabinet approved the formal establishment of guidance counsellors in New Zealand secondary schools that were selected by the Department of Education and identified as having particular needs. At this stage, there would be no mass appointments to all schools, nor did there seem to be any future plan for such appointments. Cabinet's decision had been delayed by two years due to Treasury interference, which resulted in a more limited service than that approved previously by both the Director-General and the Minister of Education (Hon. A.E. Kinsella).

In September 1964 the Director-General of Education had recommended that guidance counsellors be appointed on a permanent basis, with the status of a Position of Responsibility A in schools of over 500 students (a first level management position in schools). Subsequently most counsellors were assigned a middle management position, PR2 as head of the guidance department (Management Units, MU, has superseded the term PR):

... counsellors should replace careers advisors in single-sex schools and one of the two in co-educational schools. They should teach a minimum of two half days a week or a maximum of three half-days a week. Training courses should be held annually for actual and prospective counsellors. Appointments in 1965

and 1966 should be limited to 12 each year or 24 for the two years, after which progress should be reviewed. The Director should have the final say in the selection of schools (Winterbourn, 1974: 97).

Despite such a carefully measured proposal, Treasury vetoed this three times: firstly in September 1964; secondly, when it was re-submitted with a request for only six appointments in 1965; and thirdly, at the end of that year. What was finally approved, subject to review, was the appointment of up to 12 guidance counsellors to replace careers advisors in "schools with a large proportion of Maori and to metropolitan schools with special problems" (Winterbourn, 1974: 98). That is, no additional positions were created. Instead there was an extension of existing positions in areas targeted by the Department of Education. It was new suburbs and/or low socio-economic areas with limited community resources (such as Penrose, Te Atatu, and Otahuhu in Auckland) and/or large numbers of Maori students that were targeted because these students were perceived to need further disciplinary control. The counsellor's role at this point was seen mostly as a control agent, encouraging change in difficult or underachieving students in order that they might fit societal expectations.

Such a cautious approach was indicative of many issues at work: the influence of Treasury on policy and expenditure; issues of counsellor effectiveness and accountability; and suspicion over a job that dealt partly with the psyche of young people in a nation where mental health services had and still have considerable stigma attached to them. Furthermore, there was strong lobbying from the powerful business community⁵ who were fearful that jobs suiting its own ends, the vocational guidance service and careers advisors, would be diminished by the upstart, guidance counsellor position. The business lobby was concerned that "the new service did not allow its career functions to be swamped by its other ones" (Winterbourn, 1974: 99).

1968: PPTA Policy

In the 1960s, despite interest in guidance counselling in several schools, the tardiness of PPTA to develop policy in this area indicated that "secondary schools in general were not at first convinced of the desirability of its introduction" (Winterbourn, 1974: 95). It took about eight years from the start of counselling to gather sufficient momentum for PPTA policy to be produced in 1968. It was indicative too perhaps of the lack of real will to establish a service, that it was only *after* PPTA's lobbying that the Department of Education followed with official policy in 1969.

PPTA's Māori Education Committee discussed counselling and guidance in 1963, noting that both the Māori Education Foundation and the Commission on Education (Department of Education, 1962) had stressed the importance and relevance of guidance counselling for dealing with Maori educational problems. Measures that were called for included special staffing and financial assistance for schools with significant Māori rolls for "visiting teachers, educational and vocational counselling" (PPTA *Journal*, X, 9, October 1963). However, there were no mass appointments of Māori to these positions, reflecting in part the parochial attitudes of the times, but also reflecting the structural issue that there were few Māori secondary teachers. Since experience as a teacher was a prerequisite for selection as a guidance counsellor, few Māori were available for selection. Even into the late 1990s there have been relatively few Māori guidance counsellors or counsellors in general. The scarcity of Māori counsellors has been a persistent concern (e.g. heated discussion at the NZAC 1999 AGM). The role of Māori as Te Atakura teachers has involved some guidance component, but has resulted often in an extremely heavy workload as they have been expected to do everything related to Māori in a school.

The 1964-1965 PPTA Annual Report referred to guidance counselling alongside other issues, but the decision to formulate policy was not made until 1967, at which point schools with counsellors were asked to forward their recommendations (PPTA *Journal*, XIV, 7, August 1967). The 1967 PPTA conference included an address on school counselling by the Director-General (PPTA *Journal*, XIV, 10 November 1967). The *Journal* published various articles on school counselling by principals, counsellors and university lecturers.

A summary of the 1968 PPTA policy included the following 16 points:

1. Counselling should be available for all students, not just those with problems.

2. Counsellors should be in full-time positions, only teaching social education courses, which are in effect a form of group counselling.
3. Counsellors should not be involved in classroom discipline.
4. The relationship between counsellor and Principal needed to be one of mutual trust because of the nature of the job.
5. Confidences were to be treated as privileged information.
6. Personal, educational and vocational counselling formed the job components.
7. Personal counselling may involve parental consultations.
8. Educational counselling included assistance with study skills and the testing and classifying of students and their general placement in the school.
9. Vocational guidance work was relevant because of the link with students' personal problems and educational achievement.
10. Liaison with various specialist agencies would be necessary at times.
11. Several years of successful teaching experience were needed before becoming a counsellor.
12. Qualifications should preferably include university or extension study in education, psychology and counselling (an expert committee needed to be set up to formulate details).
13. All schools were to have counsellors in place as soon as possible.
14. All schools with roll over 400 should be eligible for a full-time counsellor.
15. It was urgent that all co-ed schools with 400 or more Māori or non-European students should have a full-time male and a full-time female counsellor.
16. The minimum status of a counsellor should be Position of Responsibility A (Winterbourn, 1974).

PPTA policy treated this new position as a specialist role requiring training beyond teaching experience, but the policy tended also to 'normalise' counselling in that it should be available to all students and all schools over a certain size. The policy acknowledged not only the 'personal' side, but also the world of work or the vocational. It recognised that counsellors had a role to play in assisting the school administration to test and place students, and, at the same time, it showed some appreciation of the ethics governing the relationship between counsellor and client.

1969: Department of Education policy

Official Department of Education policy was formulated during 1968 and published as *Circular Memorandum B, 69/31* by M. Hewitson, Director of Secondary Education in July 1969 (Department of Education, 1969). Winterbourn (1974) stated that the policy was developed in 1968, following a series of courses and conferences at Lopdell House (1966, educating adolescents; 1967, adolescent intellectual and emotional growth; 1968, guidance counselling), attended by teachers, counsellors, academics and Department of Education staff. This milestone was informed also by F.R.G Aitken's influence and PPTA's policy, which was completely incorporated apart from items 13, 14, and 15 above. The Department of Education policy followed a government announcement in December 1968 that appointed ten more counsellors a year for the next five years, and had resulted from "a careful study over a period of several years of the potential value" of guidance counselling; and most importantly, "marked the acceptance of guidance and counselling as a developing part of the pattern of New Zealand secondary education", as announced in the first paragraph of the *Circular* (Department of Education, 1969).

While the Department acknowledged that this policy was not definitive, it looked "to the steady evolution of the role of the counsellor within these general guidelines" (Department of Education, 1969). The policy detailed the place of the school guidance counsellor within the school and described the scope of the job. In effect it provided a job description that comprised three categories, that were presumably prioritised: educational guidance, vocational guidance, and personal counselling. The first two had six and four sub-clauses, the latter only one. Winterbourn believed that the emphasis should be on educational and vocational guidance, which would largely obviate the need for personal counselling. He may have considered that this realm might be best left to psychologists who had the benefit of university education that counsellors did not as yet have.

In describing the place of the guidance counsellor within the school, the Department policy noted:

A school guidance counsellor is a specialist teacher appointed to a position additional to a school's normal staffing establishment.

The guidance counsellor is expected to:

- (i) assist the principal and his staff to provide each pupil with the school programme best suited to his needs and abilities;
- (ii) assist each pupil in choosing his career and planning his further education;
- (iii) help overcome the difficulties which may impede a pupil's educational progress and his personal and social development.

(Department of Education, 1969: i-ii).

The notion of the guidance counsellor as a "specialist teacher" has resurfaced in the 1997 *Performance Management Systems* brochures (see section 2.5). In 1969, the counsellor was intended to be the focal point of a school's guidance and counselling programme, but would be sharing the responsibility with fellow teachers. This complementarity was seen as desirable:

One of the counsellor's most important functions, in fact, is to work alongside his teaching colleagues in their pastoral duties, and to help them guide and counsel their own pupils.

Their joint success will be determined primarily by the leadership given by the principal in developing a working philosophy of guidance and counselling which fosters mutual respect between the classroom teacher and the counsellor (Department of Education, 1969: iii).

The description of the job of guidance counsellor:

(A) Educational Guidance

- (i) Developing effective contacts with contributing schools and collecting from them information on new pupils.
- (ii) Identifying, if possible before their enrolment, those pupils who may have special difficulties, and obtaining the information needed to meet their educational and social needs.
- (iii) Participating in the classification of all new entrants and in their orientation programme.
- (iv) Assisting pupils at all stages of their school career in their choices of courses and subjects in the light of their abilities, interests, and vocational plans.
- (v) Participating in reviews of the scholastic progress of pupils.
- (vi) Participation in and some responsibility for the school's social education programme. Many schools have given the counsellor general responsibility for this programme. Where this has not been done, he should be involved both in its planning and on the classroom teaching related to this programme.

(B) Vocational Guidance

- (i) The guidance counsellor will be responsible for the careers advising in his school. In a co-educational school, he will be assisted by the careers adviser to help those pupils not of his own sex.
- (ii) Assisting pupils in their choice of career and in the planning of their further education.
- (iii) Collating information on local opportunities for employment and, where necessary, assisting school leavers to obtain appropriate employment.
- (iv) Providing liaison with the Vocation Guidance service.

(C) Personal Counselling

- (i) Providing a counselling service for pupils with personal or social problems, and, in appropriate cases, for their parents
- (Department of Education, 1969: iii-v).

The Department's recognition of three essential components of the counsellor's role systematised the policy first mooted by PPTA and tended to emphasise the educational guidance component, which really developed the

administrative side of counselling. Educational guidance was part of the counsellor's role that involved classification, placement, testing and tracking of students. These functions tended to be part of an administration that fitted the child to a system where it was not always clear in whose interests the counsellor was acting. The system at the time was one of ability based streaming, with course selection dependent largely upon the abilities and aptitudes that students displayed in the testing process. The second component, the vocational, extended this ethos of administration to help fit the child into the world of work. The last component, focusing on the personal, and foreshadowing what became one of the main functions of school counselling in the 1990s, was given only scant attention.

The use of testing procedures was not elaborated, and vocational guidance indicated the use of trait and factor theory. The emphasis on collegiality and relationships with other professionals involved in pastoral care foreshadowed the notion of a guidance network that was spelled out two years later in the *Working Party Report* (Department of Education, 1971). Personal counselling was not to involve "intensive exploration and discussion of a pupil's motivations and personality difficulties, or to use those tests or other exploratory techniques for which prior training as a psychologist is a recognised pre-requisite" (Department of Education, 1969: v). That is, counsellors were not to be de facto psychologists. In fact the issue of client safety was taken seriously and addressed as follows:

A counsellor is himself responsible for ensuring that in his work he remains safely within the limits imposed by his role and by his personal competence, and that he refers pupils or parents requiring more extensive or intensive help to the appropriate specialist service (Department of Education, 1969: v).

This manner of operation has become enshrined in the NZAC Code of Ethics (see Chapter Five). Winterbourn referred to a departmental circular in 1970 where the Psychological Service was given special responsibility to help guidance counsellors in their work with problem pupils and "to provide a *regular* consultation service for each counsellor - on a monthly basis where both were in the same city, and, once a term in other instances" (Winterbourn, 1974: 103). This was, in effect, a form of supervision and on-going training, which would help address the lack of formal training of counsellors at that time compared with that of educational psychologists. The Department was criticised by Winterbourn and others for not supporting academic education for guidance counsellors. "It had in mind in-service courses, extramural university courses or university extension course (that is, nothing very rigorous)" (Winterbourn, 1974: 97). That there were already counsellors in place without such training and apparently doing a good job did not help the case for this academic level of training. In fact real rigour in training was to emerge a few years later when, in 1972, university Diploma in Education courses began at University of Canterbury (see Chapter Three).

Miller, Manthei and Gilmore (1993) examined the role of school counsellors and guidance networks since their inception, noting that the 1969 Department of Education policy changed the earlier focus and defined the role, so that guidance counsellors were expected to provide educational, vocational and personal guidance to all students, and to teach 20-40 % of the time. Such a wide range of aspects to the job made it almost impossible for one person to deal with all three roles (depending on the size of the school). Similar criticisms about unrealistic expectations were being expressed in both the USA and the UK at this time. According to Winterbourn guidance counselling in England was at a similar stage as New Zealand (Winterbourn, 1974). The subsequent development of guidance networks in New Zealand with staff such as form teachers, deans and transition teachers being assigned pastoral care and some parts of the educational and vocational guidance roles, has scarcely eased the job, because personal counselling became more in demand by students in the late 1990s.

The situation that occurred for counselling in the UK provides a salutary lesson for counsellors in New Zealand schools in the neoliberal era. In the UK after a promising beginning, when specific counsellor education courses were set up at the Universities of Reading and Keele from 1965, school counsellors disappeared from most UK schools in the late 1970s. The system of school counselling in Britain was imported from the USA, so "we mark our defiance [of Americanisation] by spelling the word with a double l; counsellor, not counselor" Jones (1977: 24). Jones (1977) suggested that because the non-directive, non-judgemental and non-authoritarian natures of the principles of counselling were seized upon with such alacrity by education and welfare alike, all schools would

eventually have counsellors. The reality in Britain was nothing like that. In Britain education is organised by Local Authorities (LA) largely along city and county boundaries, rather than by central government. LAs are semi-autonomous in their control of schools and staffing allocations, so some chose not to have school counsellors. Initially, counsellors were often separate from other staffing allocations and were gradually re-incorporated into the general provision of teaching. When the provision of a counsellor had to come out of the same pot that funded the provision of teaching, and was not in addition to this, teaching tended to take priority. In the UK school guidance counsellors were never as integrated into school life as they were in New Zealand, being positioned more as "mental health" professionals and therefore more easily marginalised. Often counsellor positions disappeared undramatically when people retired or moved to other jobs and they were not replaced. So competing agendas, role difficulties and financial restrictions in the late 1970s led to the disappearance of counsellors from most UK schools (Jones, 1977).

School counselling in New Zealand did not suffer the same problems, since by 1969 and 1971 there were government policies on its place and role. There was little direct policy reference in subsequent years, apart from changes to the staffing formula in 1988 and 1996. That is, the status quo prevailed largely in terms of the role and job description, with the job being developed in response to how individual schools and their counsellors perceived the situation and negotiated the job description. Despite the relative lack of official policy, the profession's identity was influenced strongly by education and the counsellor organisations, NZCGA and NZAC.

1.4 Phase 3: Guidance networks, 1971-1988.

From a small beginning in the 1960s, there was a general increase in the number of guidance counsellors in the 1970s and 1980s. As a detailed study of the relationship between careers and guidance counselling, the *Working Party Report* (1971) was a watershed. As with the 1969 Department of Education statement, the Director General of Secondary Education considered it not definitive, but "a basis for discussion rather than a statement of agreed policy" (cited in Winterbourn, 1974: 107). Winterbourn points out that, although in general it contained nothing new, repeating much of what already existed in guidance related literature over the previous 40 years, "Its main value lies in the way it has related such ideas to the specific problems of New Zealand secondary schools in the present complex age at a time when it had become clear that existing guidance services were not adequate" (Winterbourn, 1974: 106-7).

The *Working Party Report* was comprehensive in that it not only surveyed all secondary schools, it identified trends and made 32 recommendations, only some of which were adopted, but it also re-defined the role of guidance counsellors. These recommendations included:

- establishing a guidance network involving a wide range of staff, including counsellors, because counselling was not synonymous with guidance, rather, it was seen as one of the tools of guidance;
- the phasing out of careers advisors, replacing them with additional guidance counsellors who would do careers work;
- emphasised general guidance for all, by suggesting that 60% of a guidance counsellor's time should be spent on educational and vocational counselling. Despite being responsible for educational, vocational and personal/social guidance, the working party considered that too much time was being spent counselling students with personal and social problems;
- renaming guidance counsellors as guidance teachers, who would continue to teach, but not necessarily in examinable subjects, and who would replace careers advisors and become consultants to the staff regarding students;
- teaching should be in guidance related areas: social education, liberal studies, careers and career planning;
- visiting teacher service should be expanded and, if necessary, adapted to complement and meet the needs of secondary schools;
- selection and training of counsellors and others in the guidance network emphasised the suitability of university degrees with social science subjects;
- teachers colleges were to do more to promote the awareness of guidance in education to all secondary teacher trainees;

- setting up a training unit by the Department of Education;
- continued in-service training for counsellors to update on vocational and educational information;
- in-service courses (1-2 days) for guidance network personnel – principals, deputy principals, deans, tutors, social education teachers – dealing with sensitive issues (Department of Education, 1971).

The recommendations adopted included: the establishment of guidance networks involving a wide range of staff to deal with pastoral care within a school; establishing guidance teachers, who combined guidance counselling and teaching, in non-examinable subjects; guidance counsellors adding the role of consultant to the rest of the staff regarding student matters; and guidance counsellors being responsible for educational, vocational and personal/social guidance (this being the suggested order of priority, with 60% of the time spent on educational and vocational counselling). It would seem that there was concern that the time spent on personal and social issues was not the appropriate work of school counsellors.

Winterbourn expressed serious disappointment regarding the Report's recommendations for appointments and induction training for guidance counsellors. First, the perpetuation of procedures that appointed untrained and semi-trained personnel in special education and guidance services; and after appointment the inconsistency of provision of appropriate training. Second, he considered counsellor training to be a stop-gap measure, perpetuating the status quo, probably because, as happened in 1965-1966, "the economic climate at that time was not bright, ... training costs money, and ... Treasury and the Cabinet are capable of stifling a well-conceived plan on financial or other grounds" (Winterbourn, 1974: 109). Neither the Department nor the universities alone could currently provide the kind of course required, but Winterbourn considered that this ignored the model of collaborative experience between the two organisations in their Diploma in Educational Psychology courses.

From the very nature of this Report, with its survey of schools, it appeared that guidance counsellors had been appraised and evaluated, and the diverse roles and responsibilities regarding their lines of accountability had been revealed. A considerable volume of critique of the *Working Party Report* emerged in the next ten years, covering all manner of comment about the time, function and role of guidance counsellors with an emphasis on accountability whilst rejecting the notion of guidance teacher (Manthei and Miller, 1991, 1992). In the absence of any clear cut job description, the literature of the 1970s-1980s focussed on role definition through surveys and reports analysing how guidance counsellors actually spent their time: on the tasks and responsibilities of educational, vocational and personal counselling; in administration; in conducting socio-educational programmes; and in teaching (Kelly, 1972; Meates, 1972, Webster, 1972; Renwick, 1972, 1981; Boag, 1974; Strang, 1974; Small, 1978, 1979, 1981, 1982; Hermansson, 1981; McDiarmid, 1981; Wadsworth, 1980, 1981).

1979: The Johnson Report

The terms of reference for the Johnson Committee, which sat for over a year, were firstly "to identify the conditions under which healthy growth and development may be fostered in schools"; and secondly, "to make recommendations on the studies and activities that should constitute school programmes, organisation and relationships" (Department of Education, 1979: 4). Although the Report was presented to the Minister in August 1977, it was not published until 1979, which indicates a story in itself about the contentiousness with which the Report was greeted, but which will not be covered in this discussion.

While the *Johnson Report* had much to say about the primary role of the family in the socialisation of the young, it placed within the realm of school, tasks that families seemed to renege on, but which were considered important for young people and society. The Report was particularly concerned that the "school climate" should be a warm, mutually supportive one, which would be achieved through appropriate physical and emotional structures, such as the whanau style buildings in a guidance-oriented school that emphasised co-operation whilst de-emphasising competition, and encouraged parent-school partnership. The Report stressed the development of the whole child and how this could be enabled by the partnership between the school, parents and community. It clearly positioned guidance as an integral part of education. Although the Report commented that "the need for effective guidance

today is beyond question" (1979: 25) with recommendation 2.10, "school-based guidance services be substantially increased"; and 2.11, "guidance network specialists identify and refer for treatment students with physical disabilities", it was relatively vague about what these services comprised (Department of Education, 1979: 26).

In the section entitled "Guidance Network" the Report repeatedly talked about "guidance", but only mentioned counselling or guidance counselling in three of the eight subsections. The network was seen as "a system in which staff with skills in human relations and guidance techniques are available to each other, and to students and parents, for guidance and counselling in educational, vocational, recreational and personal concerns" (25). The Committee did not privilege the guidance counsellor with responsibility for co-ordinating the guidance network, but "envisages the school's guidance counsellor or another senior teacher as co-ordinator of the system" (26). Perhaps this is indicative of power issues or a low level of confidence in the counsellor. The third time the words "counselling/counsellor" were mentioned was about how:

... many children have reached early adolescence and the behaviour of some reflects the deficient environments in which they have been brought up. Many of these early adolescents need guidance and counselling in several of its forms and young people of this age can benefit from it (Department of Education, 1979: 27).

As a result, recommendation 2.13 was that "a guidance network be developed in intermediate schools" (27). The next mention was in regard to clear communication with supporting agencies for which "the guidance counsellor in the school would be the logical focus for such communication" (27). The supporting agencies specified included: the Health Department – public health nurses; child health clinics; psychiatric clinics; VD clinics; the Department of Social Welfare; the Department of Education – psychological service; visiting teachers service; vocational guidance service; the Police – youth aid section; drug squad; medical practitioners; voluntary community and youth agencies. Where the counsellor did get prime position was in two diagrams depicting this place amongst a range of personnel in the general concept of a guidance-oriented school. The first diagram showed the delivery of integrated helping services to students. The second, entitled "A Developmental, Educative Preventive Guidance System" provided a list of the "elements of health, social moral education":

1. Understanding self – self knowledge
 2. Understanding others – relationships
 3. Caring about others – behaviour and responsibilities
 4. Relevant knowledge – critical thinking and decision making
- (Department of Education, 1979: 29).

Perhaps the most astounding recommendation in terms of "guidance" as a remedial/adjustive function was recommendation 2.17, "every school should provide special guidance and counselling for individual students who fail to attain the skills and rewards they seek in recreational activity" (31). It is amazing that recreation should be singled out as a topic for guidance and counselling, yet when the report goes on in some detail to talk about sex education, drugs, TV violence, truancy and special needs, there was absolutely no such suggestion of the need for guidance and counselling. Considering that the Committee included Ted Wadsworth, a former guidance counsellor and who was currently a senior lecturer in education, in charge of school counsellor training at Waikato University, as well as Bill Buxton, a member of the National Executive and National Counselling Services Committee of the Marriage Guidance Council, the lack of emphasis on counselling *per se* is somewhat surprising.

So, the *Johnson Report* was relevant to the ongoing development of guidance counselling, largely in terms of its guidance function, which was central to education, and in promoting a network. However, it did not really contribute to the counselling aspect at all. What it also did not pursue, despite a considerable space taken in newspapers and the PPTA *Journal* of the time, was the huge debate of the 1970s around discipline and corporal punishment (Marshall and Marshall, 1997). Considering its concern about school climate, two small sections was the limit provided by the *Johnson Report* to remind readers that a supportive climate and a guidance network were not permissive nor lacking in discipline, but promoted self-discipline and mutual respect (see Department of Education, 1979: 20-21).

As the authoritative body in selecting counsellors and in defining the job, the Department of Education was criticised for not having a better, clearer job description. Small (1982) indicated that there had been few adequate attempts to evaluate the effectiveness of guidance counselling, partly because the goals were not stated precisely enough to enable evaluation programmes to be carried out. It was therefore very difficult to evaluate guidance counsellors' roles and to hold them accountable. In this early stage of the development, guidance counselling had both remedial and social control functions, reflecting the current psychological deficit model theories of functioning. The *Johnson Report* still emphasised the remedial/adjustive function, but started to emphasise how "guidance should permeate every aspect of school activity and should consider the best interests of the total community, as well as the individuals in it" because it "promotes positive development in all these areas" (Department of Education, 1979: 25). From an original "remedial-adjustive function", school guidance counselling moved in the later 1970s to "a wide-ranging developmental function" (Hermansson, 1990: 163) that included the setting up of guidance networks, consulting with teachers in relation to students, and becoming agents of change.

In about 1980 the Department of Education permitted schools with a roll of under 400 to appoint part-time guidance counsellors who would counsel for .6 and teach for .4 of their time allocation. Training was compulsory for them as it was for their counterparts who were working full-time (Webb, 1996). Whilst the intention of the Department of Education was to introduce guidance counsellors to all secondary schools, this did not eventuate until much later following the staffing statement in December, 1988 (*Education Gazette*, 1988, Vol. 67, No 22). This situation is elaborated in the next chapter, which delves into the impact of the neoliberal policy environment on the place of guidance counsellors in New Zealand secondary schools.

¹ Dr Ralph Winterbourn was an educational psychologist, trained under Shelley and assisted both Shelley and Beeby in their experimental psychology lab. He lectured at University of Canterbury, 1935-36, established the Psychological Service, trained the first school psychologists, and was Professor of Education, University of Auckland, 1954-1974.

² Winterbourn (1974) drew on Anne Rosenberg's 1945 Masters thesis for details on the Wellington clinics.

³ G.E.M. Keys (1926) *An Inquiry into the Transition from School to Work in New Zealand*; and W.B. Harris (1928) *The Boy Just Left School*, (Canterbury University College of New Zealand).

⁴ Dr David Ausubel, developmental psychologist, University of Illinois, visited NZ in 1957, causing controversy for his criticism of disciplinary practices, schooling, race relations and general perceptions about NZ in his book *The Fern and the Tiki* (1960) (see Small, 2000). Fred Aitken was Chief Inspector of Post-Primary Schools. Thomas Hunter, professor of mental and moral philosophy, Victoria University, was acknowledged as the 'father' of psychology in NZ, setting up the first experimental psychology laboratory in 1908. Ruth Trevor was a remedial reading specialist who had trained under Beeby. Bertram Allen was a school psychologist, trained by Winterbourn, who completed post-graduate studies at Colombia University and then returned to Christchurch (Small, 2000).

⁵ Manufacturers Federation, Retail Motor Trade Association and Associated Chambers of Commerce (respectively in 1965, 1968, 1970) all lobbied the relevant Minister (A.E. Kinsella and B.E. Talboys). W. Renwick (researcher and author of the 1962 *Currie Report*, the 1971 Working Party and other research on guidance and counselling) became Director-General of Education in 1975. He resisted the influence of the Employers' Federation which emphasised psychological services.