

### A Genealogy of School Counsellor Education: Establishing Professional Identity

#### 3.1 The role of education in establishing a professional identity for guidance counselling, 1995–1999.

Counselling as a profession is considered to be a 20<sup>th</sup> century development although, as a purposeful dialogue designed to help and advise, it is undoubtedly of ancient origins. Privileged relationships such as those between teacher-pupil, leader-disciple, elder-novice, priest-confessor, attest to counselling's situation as part of the legal, social, philosophical and theological traditions of the Greco-Judaeo-Christian world. In New Zealand teachers who are promoted to guidance counsellor have been defined in official policy as "specialist teachers" (Department of Education, 1969; Ministry of Education, 1999a, 1999c), and to fulfil this role they require a specialist education in counselling that is different from the education they require for teaching.

Counsellor education establishes professional requirements, standards, responsibilities, ethical practice and competence to ensure counselling effectiveness. It requires participants to develop both a personal and professional reflectiveness and critique. Hence, counsellor education forms the basis of an identity for counselling as a profession, and from this basis counsellors are expected to continue growing as they attend ongoing professional development. A selection process demanded for entry to counsellor education, based on an individual's personal attributes and aptitudes, also serves to contribute to the establishment of professional identity.

Changes in theoretical frameworks of guidance and counselling and in counsellor education contribute to changing the professional identity of school counselling. The major change has been from a single framework to an integrative one, incorporating various theoretical perspectives of counselling, and an increased sophistication of theory and practice. These changes have coincided with an increased professionalism and concern about ethical practice (discussed in Chapters Four and Five). Although there was considerable effort to ascertain and develop a philosophy of guidance counselling in its early stages, this has largely slipped from view. It seems to be mostly taken for granted, being incorporated to a certain extent into subsequent counselling theory, but is not currently taught as a separate subject and receives limited attention.

This chapter provides a genealogy of guidance counselling by identifying three snapshots in time to unearth some of the different educational influences that set the foundations for school counselling today. This process analyses how the professional identity of school counselling was established: a story of both continuities and discontinuities. It does so by delving into the canon of counselling literature, course documentation, websites, and personal professional communication with counselling colleagues and several past and present counselling educators (see Manthei and Miller, 1991, 1992, 2001).

The first snapshot provides details of the first national guidance counsellor training course in 1964, at the point when guidance counsellors first became permanent staff in schools. Prior to the implementation of year-long university education in 1973, guidance counsellor training took the form of short term courses, of which Winterbourn (1974) and others were particularly critical. The second snapshot is the move to university courses; and the third, concluding the chapter, provides some detail of the courses provided by universities in 1999, with a comparison of counsellor education in 1964 and 1999.

Counsellor education at universities is broadly based at present, providing education for counsellors in occupational locations rather than school environments. Furthermore, counsellor education is no longer provided solely by universities. NZAC became concerned that some non-university courses were not of an acceptable standard for membership of NZAC, so a training approval group was set up (see Chapter Four). This chapter confines itself to university based counsellor education as this became the norm for school counsellors.

The first professors of education departments (Canterbury, Otago and Auckland) were quick to take up psychology in the 1920s, at a time when psychology was still largely part of philosophy. The only philosophy professor to take up psychology was T.A. Hunter at Victoria University College. When the Teachers Colleges were split off from universities in 1923, it seemed opportune for education departments to pick up the psychological testing movement. Subsequently, in the 1940s, psychology, particularly clinical and behavioural psychology, split off from education departments, leaving educational psychology with education, where it remains (Small, 1995). Despite the influence on counselling theories of psychological studies such as psychoanalysis, behaviourism, motivational psychology, self-theory, learning theory, and particularly counselling psychology, there was a split with the discipline of psychology. Early on, psychology had provided the intellectual basis and training, having used counselling as a *technique*. However, psychology's highly behaviouristic and psychoanalytic emphasis was eventually at odds with counselling's humanistic orientations. The influence of Carl Rogers was profound after the publication of his *Counseling and Psychotherapy* (1942). This led to a shift from a more directive approach based on clinical or medical models to a client-centred, non-directive model, focussing on holistic notions of the person rather than on the problem. This defined the focus of guidance counselling theory when the first national training course was held for guidance counsellors in New Zealand in 1964 (section 3.2). Rogers' ideas regarding the development of the whole person, altered the counselling orientation so that counselling was no longer just a tool, but was able to become a *profession* in its own right. Education departments were perceived to be less hidebound and behaviouristic, and more humanistic and applied in the way they looked at the whole child, when compared particularly to psychology departments (especially contentious were the clinical psychology methods of experimenting with rats and extending and applying conclusions to humans). Furthermore, education departments seemed the appropriate place to provide training for teacher specialists such as guidance counsellors, who would be operating solely in schools. Thus, in universities, counselling courses were located in education departments and not psychology departments.

Despite this disciplinary split, the first national course in counsellor education in 1964 used some personnel from the education department of the University of Auckland, but was delivered primarily by educational psychologists and the Psychological Service. Hence the influence of psychology on the course and on this earlier professional identity for guidance counsellors was profound. What began as guidance counsellor 'training' in the 1960s evolved to a more generic education for a wider counselling profession from the 1980s, and was known subsequently as 'counsellor education'. This chapter adopts the latter terminology, reflecting the notion that 'education' is much wider than 'training' with its implication of a more mechanistic and specifically vocational orientation. This is not to say that current counsellor education does not have this component. A strong practical component is essential to enable one to practice effectively, but the education now provided is no longer focussed on training for a particular job, as was the situation prior to the education reforms of the 1980s when the educational provision was primarily for school guidance counsellors.

### 3.2 Snapshot 1: The first national training course for guidance counsellors, 1964.

A significant milestone in establishing the professional identity of school counselling occurred with the first national training course for guidance counsellors, held at Ardmore Teachers' College from June 2 – July 10, 1964 (see Nicholson *et al.*, 1964). Documentation of this course, conducted by the Department of Education, provides a picture of the what, how and why of guidance counselling only four years after its tentative, small scale introduction to New Zealand secondary schools. In 1962 and 1963, prior to this national course, some locally based courses for the Auckland area were held at Lopdell House, Titirangi, West Auckland. Winterbourn (1974) noted that recommendations from both these courses concurred with the *Currie Report* (Department of Education, 1962, see pp. 667-669) recommendation that training for guidance counsellors should consist of a minimum preliminary course of twelve weeks, with the later addition of in-service training. Such training was to combine theory and practice, leading to a diploma or certificate, but nothing as ambitious as a degree. It would develop "skills in observing, testing, interviewing, counselling, reporting, working with people, and in organizing the work in the time available" (Winterbourn, 1974: 104).

The 1964 course did not implement earlier recommendations about training. Instead, the course was much shorter, with a more detailed five week preliminary residential training course for participants from fifteen schools (nine

men and six women). Six schools were in large metropolitan centres (Kelston Boys High, Onehunga High, Rutherford High, Auckland; Aranui High, Hillmorton High, Christchurch; Tawa College, Wellington); five were in small provincial cities (Hamilton Technical College; Southland Boys High, James Hargest High, Southland Technical College, Invercargill; Timaru Girls High); four were in country towns (Marlborough College, Blenheim; Hawera Technical High; Taihape College, Te Awamutu College). Three of these were technical high schools, three were single-sex schools, and nine were co-educational schools. Thirteen of the schools were in either new housing areas and/or low socio-economic areas (see *Mazengarb Report*), and only two were "grammar-style" schools. The Foreword to the course proceedings noted that although none of the participants were engaged as guidance counsellors, they had been selected for their "interest in individual children and it is hoped that some, if not all, will take positions as Guidance Counsellors when such positions become available" (Nicholson *et al.*, 1964: n.p.). Psychologists and vocational guidance officers ran the course with contributions from specialists from the University of Auckland, the Department of Education, and the Department of Health. The intent and modelling provided by the overall course clearly displays the influence of the Rogerian, client-centred modality which was favoured at the time, and was included in the specific reading list titles on counselling despite counselling comprising only part of the course content. The course was designed:

... to give an introduction to a philosophy of counselling, to some of the aspects of the work of a Counsellor in a Post Primary setting. As far as possible, non-directive techniques were employed in the presentation of lectures – discussions, to enable course members to gain first-hand experience of the value and efficacy of this approach to counselling (Nicholson *et al.*, 1964: Foreword, n.p.).

In his opening address, G.P. Kelly, District Senior Inspector of Secondary Schools, suggested that guidance *is* education and that in approving this course, the Department of Education's aim was to improve education. He considered that one could contribute best to society by developing one's individuality, with education to fit the person, rather than the sort of conformity which was expected, and which had been central to notions of guidance in earlier times. This endorsed a particularly liberal view of education and reflected the welfare state philosophy of the times.

The documentation of the course proceedings included the course content and a submission to the Department of Education that was formulated at the conclusion of the course. The submission is examined in some detail at the end of this section because it was a statement about the identity of school counselling and provided a vision of what was needed to further maintain and develop school counselling. It sought clarification on a number of issues centred on "the lack of a clear definition of the scope and function of the guidance counsellor service existing at present in post-primary schools. Attendant problems of organisation, administration, training, promotion, and teaching commitments were similarly felt to need amplification" (Nicholson *et al.*, 1964: Appendix, 1).

The course content comprised eight sections: goals, concepts and philosophy of guidance; child and adolescent development; children with exceptional needs (learning disabilities, gifted children, emotionally disturbed children, special education facilities, delinquency); community specialist services (psychological service, child health, child welfare, reading problems, creative expression, vocational guidance); psychological testing (issues and case studies); counselling (counselling approaches; group counselling; counselling interviews; four days of workshops at three local high schools); panel discussions (the Maori child; dangers in guidance work; functions of a guidance counsellor); papers of assignments completed by seven of the course participants.

A reading list of over 100 titles, indicating the existence of an extensive literature from the UK, but more so from the USA, was made available from the Education Department Library. Twenty guidance related films, many of which were 'mental hygiene' films were made available from the National Film Library (see Besley, 2002). Film Titles included: *Discipline During Adolescence*; *Emotional Health*; *Ages and Stages from 10-12*; *Teen Ages and Stages*; *Borderline*; *Other Fellows' Feelings*; *The Procrastinator*; *Who is Sylvia?*; *Family Reality*; *Family Affair*; *Feeling of Hostility*; *Feeling of Rejection*; *Helping Teachers to Understand Parts I & II*; *Shyness*; *Adventuring in the Arts*; *Lets Discuss It*; *Jardin Public – Marcel Marceau*; *Not by Chance*; *Teacher as Observer and Guide* (see Nicholson *et al.*: n.p.).

The course was not formally assessed and no certification or diploma was provided, but participants were expected to complete a research topic in the form of a short paper of practical value to participants. Suggested topics were:

"conflicts of the adolescent; identification of and programmes for the gifted, slow learners, emotionally disturbed, retarded reader, delinquent; use and abuse of intelligence tests; limitations of personality tests; a comprehensive book and film list for guidance counsellors; a suggested programme for a first year guidance counsellor; evaluating a guidance programme; using team members within and outside the school as resource persons" (Nicholson *et al.*, 1964: n.p.). Assignment topics on actual counselling skills, theory or philosophy are notable by their absence. The focus was on the client, the counsellor's role and resources supporting the counsellor, all with emphasis on the guidance rather than the counselling aspects of the role.

A précis of a lecture on the philosophy of guidance by Professor Ralph Winterbourn was included (Winterbourn, in Nicholson *et al.*, 1964). He presented ideas and issues that underpinned 'guidance' and from whence its identity was derived, supporting McGowan and Schmidt's understanding that "the development of a basic philosophy is one of the more advanced stages of a profession's evolution" (McGowan and Schmidt, 1962: 95). Whilst neither guidance nor counselling could be considered advanced at this point, they were certainly in a process of 'becoming'. Winterbourn pointed out that guidance was based on largely liberal humanist notions, especially those developed by Dewey, as translated into guidance by Brewer (1942) and Beck (1963). The 1920s and 1930s had witnessed the influence of Deweyan pragmatism in the formative years of counselling. Winterbourn suggested that Dewey's instrumentalism was in harmony with both 'progressive' education and guidance, and claimed that the testing movement also furthered Dewey's experimentalism and the achievement of democratic aims. Furthermore, Winterbourn suggested that one could see a playing-out of the old problem and debate of free will versus determinism in the history of guidance:

... whichever view one adopts of one thing one can be certain – the individual person is *becoming*, i.e. he is not static. The only thing one can be sure of at the outset is that he *exists*. The essence of life then consists of his *becoming* something or another (Winterbourn, in Nicholson *et al.*, 1964: 4).

Once the notions of choice, personal freedom and the phenomenological side of the debate became predominant in guidance, the emphasis shifted to personal development, to what the student could become. With this model the primary value was placed upon autonomy, where the counsellor seeks to empower the client to make decisions for him/herself, to become an autonomous chooser, both vocationally and personally. Interestingly, Winterbourn did not refer specifically to Rogers' work and ideas. He did, however, mention both existentialism and "*daseinanalyse*" as leading to a "responsible, vital, meaningful, emerging life", without properly sourcing these movements, respectively, to Jean-Paul Sartre and Martin Heidegger. Nor did he elaborate upon their impact or potential as a basis for a philosophy of counselling.

Child and adolescent development was the focus of just over a day of lectures and included several handouts. The focus was on developmental theory, physiological, intellectual, emotional and social adjustment and development, with Havighurst's (1953) developmental tasks of adolescence being discussed in particular detail. The prevalent notion of the time was that such tasks outlined universal understandings about adolescence in advanced modern cultures and was exemplified by Dr W. Minogue's (Nicholson *et al.*, 1964) conclusion that there was an overlap of the main concerns, in both the USA and NZ, about achieving the transition from childhood to adulthood. He quoted the first two aims of secondary education from the *Thomas Report* (Department of Education, 1944), which were re-iterated in the *Currie Report* as: "the full development of the adolescent as a person and secondly preparing him for an active place in our New Zealand society as worker, neighbour, home-maker and citizen" (Department of Education, 1962: 40). His interpretation, almost straight from Havighurst, was that these aims were about helping adolescents to attain mature attitudes towards sex, to choose and prepare for a vocation, to search for the purpose and meaning of life and to find one's place in the world (Minogue, in Nicholson *et al.*, 1964).

Two days of papers focussed on information from Psychological Service members about children with exceptional needs. Guidance counsellors were exhorted by M.H. Leaf to help in the adjustment of teachers' and administrators' attitudes to student learning disabilities, to consider their needs, to perhaps counsel such students to develop realistic attitudes to themselves, and to refer to appropriate agencies for diagnosis and advice (Nicholson *et al.*, 1964). Leaf pointed out the importance of observation of behaviour and discussed the analysing of conflict in

terms of denial, repression, rationalisation and projection. These were all Freudian notions, but not acknowledged as such. Significantly, in comments that resonate for ethical counselling practice today, Leaf was critical of how readily teachers label children and suggested that guidance counsellors should develop an attitude of non-labelling, as what is labelled is not actually the child but its behaviour (Leaf, in Nicholson *et al.*, 1964).

However, labelling was not entirely taboo. The advice from psychologist Mrs Lorna McLay (in Nicholson *et al.*, 1964), was to gather as much information as possible to ascertain the most appropriate type of help to suit the needs of "emotionally disturbed" adolescents. According to McLay, this extremely broad label included neurotic, psychotic, schizoid, enuretic, sex deviant and even asthmatic children. At this point the term "emotionally disturbed" was seen as useful because it separated out that particular group from those who had "disabilities of an organic, intellectual, sensory or neurological nature" (McLay, in Nicholson *et al.*, 1964: n.p.). McLay suggested that an easy grouping would be one based on the dominant behaviour of each individual, such as withdrawn, aggressive, hyperactive or neurotic, pointing out however that no-one fitted easily into any particular category. Counselling was proposed as appropriate in the case of mild difficulties over a brief period of time, such as friction within the school, incorrect class placement and unsatisfactory teacher-student relationships. But consultation with a psychiatrist or psychologist was required in more serious cases where the adolescent might need placement in a school for disturbed children, a mental hygiene or child welfare institution. Possible placements for "disturbed children" might have been "adjustment classes" which were small classes of eight to ten students, often in a unit of two or three such classes attached to normal schools, not to secondary schools. In 1964 there were day adjustment classes in Auckland and Christchurch and a National Residential school in Auckland for twenty-five severely disturbed children (McLay, in Nicholson *et al.*, 1964). Vocational courses, which included work experience, were designed for slow learners in secondary schools.

A further section of the course presented information on community based services because it was expected that counsellors might need to refer students to these services, or help students on their return to school after being seen by the particular service. Dealing with reading problems and of using techniques to encourage creative expression were promoted by D. Holdaway and R. Ericson respectively, as important ways to increase students' self-esteem and hence their adjustment.

The importance of psychological testing at the time is indicated by the allocation of three days to examine the essentials of testing, case studies, interpreting test results, discussing the difficulties and problems of testing and testing practices in schools. K.D. Nicholson asserted that "in any theoretically sound guidance programme a well planned and well balanced battery of tests will form a vital and integral part" (Nicholson *et al.*, 1964: n.p.). Testing reflected the psychologically oriented, instrumental bias, which at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century has almost disappeared from the work of a school counsellor (as discussed at the end of this chapter).

The counselling component of the course sets out the vision and benchmark of the identity of school counselling. In so doing it sets the scene for the future. Thus it is described here in some detail. The course provided by Mrs L. McLay was "designed to introduce trainees to a philosophy of counselling and to counselling methods through reading, discussion and practical work by role playing and seeing clients" (McLay, in Nicholson *et al.*, 1964: n.p.). Provision of resources included textbooks, copies of papers, and tape recordings. The five texts were significant in that they provided a largely Rogerian orientation emphasising a client-centred, phenomenological form of counselling. They were: Boy, A.V. and Pine, G.J. (1962) *Client Centred Counselling in Secondary Schools*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin; McGowan, J.F. and Schmidt, L.D. (1962) *Counseling: Readings in Theory and Practice*, New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston; Mathewson, R.H. (1962) *Guidance Policy and Practice (3<sup>rd</sup> Ed)*, New York: Harper & Row; Rogers, C.R. (1942) *Counseling and Psychotherapy*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin; Rogers, C.R. (1961) *On Becoming a Person*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

The counselling section of the course proceedings included notes summarising eight themes from discussions over the five-week period. These points are particularly instructive in portraying the identity of a guidance counsellor at this time and are discussed in the following paragraphs. Firstly, in relation to interviewing clients, technique was



considered to be only part of the issue. To be effective, counsellors were exhorted to examine their own personal and educational values before choosing the most appropriate approach for assisting the client. Such a sense of personal assessment is still valid today. Secondly, the trainees adopted their own definition of counselling as "a continuing face to face relationship between counsellor and client, which enables the client to gain further understanding of himself in relation to his environment, to become increasingly self-directive" (McLay, in Nicholson *et al.*, 1964: 2). The definition includes essential elements of what counselling is today, namely, that it is established through a relationship between parties, and is about the client making autonomous choices. The third theme elucidated a set of four basic principles that formed an acceptable philosophy of counselling, according to the participants. These included democratic principles, recognition of the dignity and worth of the client with the attendant respect to his or her right to accept or reject assistance offered, use of a client-centred approach, and recognition that a non-authoritarian, permissive atmosphere was conducive for the counsellor-client relationship. These have subsequently become embodied in both NZCGA and NZAC codes of ethics and are discussed in more detail in Chapter Five.

The fourth theme dealt with and listed fifteen qualities considered to be a requirement of the counsellor. Interestingly, McGowan and Schmidt (1962) included this same list, which had been published by APA (American Psychological Association) Committee on Training in Clinical Psychology in 1947. They noted that although there might be differences in the functions of school counsellors, clinical psychologists and counselling psychologists, this was nevertheless a list of traits and qualities of an *ideal* counsellor rather than an average one. The APA list comprised the following:

- Superior intellectual ability and judgement
  - Originality, resourcefulness and versatility
  - "Fresh and insatiable" curiosity: "self-learner"
  - Interests in persons as individuals rather than as material for manipulation; a regard for the integrity of other persons
  - Insight into one's personality characteristics; a sense of humour
  - Sensitivity to the complexities of motivation
  - Tolerance; "un arrogance"
  - Ability to adopt a "therapeutic" attitude; ability to establish warm and effective relationships with others
  - Industry; methodical work habits; ability to tolerate pressure
  - Acceptance of responsibility
  - Tact and cooperativeness
  - Integrity, self-control and stability
  - Discriminating sense of ethical values
  - Breadth of cultural background – an "educated" man
  - Deep interest in psychology, especially in its clinical aspects
- (McGowan and Schmidt, 1962: 28).

The participants noted that their list had minor variations, which they included as part of their submission to the Department of Education. An additional criterion in their list entailed separating the clause, "regard for the integrity of other persons" (Item 4). Other variations included a change to the first item with the addition of "commonsense" to become, "commonsense, judgement and above average intelligence" rather than "superior" intelligence (see Item 1). One might ask if this is mediocrity at work, or a fear of theory, or a notion that someone with superior intelligence might lack the other qualities such as tolerance, tact and a sense of humour? The item on a therapeutic attitude had "friendly" added to it (Item 8). The last point (Item 15) was changed completely to remove any reference to "psychology" and "clinical", becoming "capacity to inspire confidence" (Appendix to Course Record in Nicholson *et al.*, 1964: 6). In many ways this set the scene for the separation of counselling from its early connection and its somewhat uneasy subsequent relationship with psychology, to become a key part of the identity of counselling as a profession in its own right in New Zealand.

Personality traits are an important component in the process of selecting people for counsellor training because first, there is an ethical responsibility to society, that only capable, well-trained people became counsellors. Second,

it is important for the identity of the profession that a high level of public confidence is established and maintained. One mechanism for avoiding unnecessary criticism resulting from ineffective, unprofessional counsellors is to screen out those who are deemed personally unsuitable. Third, it is an application of trait and factor theory so that prospective students do not waste time and money in training only to be found subsequently to be unsuitable personally and professionally. The APA provided a rationale for this in 1952 in its publication of *Recommended Standards for Training Counseling Psychologists at the Doctorate Level* (McGowan and Schmidt, 1962). All the university based counsellor education courses maintain an element of such screening today.

The fifth theme produced the following list of six attitudes considered important for a counsellor:

- ... the ability to accept children and parents as they are regardless of the front or problem they present;
- the ability to respect another person's point of view and standards of value; the ability to allow the client within a permissive atmosphere to express both negative and positive feelings; a genuine understanding of the needs and feelings of others; the ability to listen sensitively and empathically; and the ability to establish a genuine rapport and to be non-judgemental (McLay, in Nicholson *et al.*, 1964: 3).

Such attitudes are about how the counsellor should treat the client, and could be added to the earlier APA definition of counselling. Perhaps the addition of non-judgemental acceptance, sensitivity, empathy, understanding and respect for the client, is what distinguishes counselling from clinical psychology.

The sixth theme listed four points in a rather curious notion of the "role of the client", but they seem to be more about how the counsellor should treat the client. The first point concerned how the client arrived at counselling. It was suggested that if clients are *sent* to the counsellor, information may need to be gathered from teachers and records first, but this would not be required if the client came *voluntarily*. No reason was given for such a difference. A second point warned counsellors to allow clients to set the pace rather than feel compelled to fix things, since this was often not asked for and may be rejected. An exception was regarding a specific placement, presumably in a special class or institution. The third admonition was that "the client is not a pressure object awaiting manipulation by the counsellor" (McLay, in Nicholson *et al.*, 1964: 4). One must wonder about the nature of schools at the time that such an admonition was required. The last is a Rogerian derived point: "if given the opportunity within a permissive non-authoritarian atmosphere he will attempt to gain further understanding of himself and seek ways and means of acting positively" (McLay, in Nicholson *et al.*, 1964: 3).

The seventh theme listed six techniques of counselling: accepting, reflecting, permitting, clarification, listening, and providing a suitable room. That the last was included as a "technique" probably says a lot about how counselling was perceived and treated at the time. However the list certainly remains part of the set of techniques or counselling microskills of today.

The last, and eighth theme explored areas of difficulty in counselling in the form of eight questions that clearly indicated professional issues needing resolution. They were questions about being directive or non-directive; what philosophy to adopt; judging and moralising; the extent of confidentiality; counselling the opposite sex; creating a team approach in school; wondering if a referral to a specialist was a failure on the part of the counsellor; and lastly, what was a reasonable Code of Ethics? Many of these were resolved when more in depth training courses eventuated and once NZCGA was created with its Code of Ethics. Components of this set of eight themes continue to constitute counsellor education courses today, since they involve philosophies, theories, practice and professional issues, especially those around effectiveness, as a means of answering questions about what counsellors do, how they do it, and why.

The course examined the difference between guidance and counselling. Although there appeared to be much overlap between the two, counselling was considered to be an aspect of guidance, rather than the other way around. Guidance groups were not the same as group counselling or therapy. The former were programmes with an educational slant (such as curriculum, vocations, shyness and coping skills) aimed at dealing with issues about living in society. The latter were considered to be preventive measures in mental health to help people face and resolve



personal and emotional problems. Both Rogers' and Glanz's notions regarding group process were listed. The issues around directive versus non-directive counselling, a clinical or medical model approach versus a client-centred approach, were summarised from a monograph, *Counseling Points of View*, 1959, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, where the views of E.G. Williamson and Carl Rogers were discussed (see also Boy and Pine, 1963). A four-page table, which included these two approaches as well as an eclectic model, was also presented. Although no direction was given as to which of these approaches was considered to be the most appropriate for guidance counsellors, the implication is that, since Rogerian notions had already been favoured, they were the preferred approach.

The course proceedings concluded with a nine-page submission, divided into seven sections, from the course participants to the Department of Education. The first section comprised a statement of the need for guidance counsellors in schools. Despite large differences in how schools used guidance counsellors and careers advisors, it was asserted that guidance counsellors had been effective in serving individual children, assisting parents and in creating more effective learning situations by improving morale of students and staff. This need provided a rationale for the place of guidance counsellors in secondary schools as:

... arise[ing] out of the complexities of modern living and the changing pattern of employment, which makes decisions difficult to a degree not previously experienced for young people who are facing emotional and physiological changes, developmental adjustments and vocational preparations (Appendix to Course Record in Nicholson *et al.*, 1964: 2).

It was argued that schools therefore needed someone with the time, training and status to co-ordinate resources both inside and outside the school "to help children develop their full potentials and personalities" and to help teachers deal with "specific problems such as retardation, delinquency and maladjustment" (Appendix to Course Record in Nicholson *et al.*, 1964: 2). The whole child concept was emphasised, in part a criticism of the way schools focussed only on educational and academic issues.

The second section discussed the definition of the role of counsellor in terms of its title, resulting in the suggestion that the job be simply entitled "counsellor" rather than "guidance counsellor" or "guidance teacher". Interestingly, "guidance teacher" was considered to ignore the counselling function, which was seen to be the heart of the job. "Guidance" was a contradictory term, being too restrictive, through connotations with the existing statutory agencies of Child Welfare and a bias towards careers and slow-learners, and also too loose, in that the public were confused about it. Parents therefore needed to be informed about the function of the counsellor.

The third set of recommendations concerned the development and extension of counselling. It was recommended that priority be given "to schools in depressed urban areas and where racial conflicts were a problem" (Appendix to Course Record in Nicholson *et al.*, 1964: 3). It is interesting to observe that New Zealand maintained the myth of racial harmony until much later than 1964. In addition to the above criteria, schools that were large, or in new urban areas, in State and group housing areas with limited community facilities, with varied ethnicities and different cultural environments or in rural areas without regional guidance services, were recommended to be deserving of a counsellor (in line with some of the concerns in the *Mazengarb Report*, 1954). This section concluded with the opinion that counselling should be extended to tertiary level and to intermediate and primary schools.

"Adjustment" was a concern of the times, whereby those from lower socio-economic groups and of different ethnicities were considered to be in need of adjustment to the predominant cultural mores. This was a deficit model of operation. That is to say, they had neither the right nor sufficient "cultural capital" (Bourdieu, 1977; Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977). According to Bourdieu, who coined the term, a dominant class has the symbols, such as language and culture, through which it can establish hegemony. The working classes may obtain the qualifications necessary for a job, but the employer may prefer certain ill-defined social characteristics, which are a function of the applicant's cultural capital. This may result in an unspecified means of excluding them because of their style of dress or how they speak, for example, if it is at odds with the employer's style and expectations. A guidance counsellor, at this point of time, was closely involved in increasing a student's cultural capital as well as his/her social capital.

Fourth, the submission examined the relationship between the counsellor and the school. It endorsed the roll of the form teacher in pastoral care of students and asserted that the counsellor need no longer teach, but could make contact with students by other means. Fifth, it dealt with the functions of the counsellor as social, educational and vocational, and included a list of sixteen qualities almost identical to that of the aforementioned APA list.

Sixth, the submission addressed recruitment, training and qualifications proposing that a broadly representative, high level, eight-member advisory committee be established. The suggested composition of Proposed Advisory committee was: "Essential members: Chief Inspector Post-Primary Schools, Chief Inspector Primary Schools, Chief Psychologist, Chief Vocational Guidance Officer (or their representatives); Possible members: University, Teachers' College, PPTA and NZEI representatives; Eventual member: Senior Guidance Counsellor" (Appendix to Course Record in Nicholson *et al.*, 1964: 6). The submission also included the group's own recommendations. The Guidance Counsellor was envisaged to be at the first level of the promotional scale at PRA on appointment and with the possibility of promotion to PRB on the same level as the senior assistant (today's equivalent of Assistant Principal). The submission did not state that training should be at university level, but that training for a Diploma in Guidance qualification should be provided after an initial six week course, which would include rigorous procedures to select who would proceed further. Selected participants needed to have all of the sixteen nominated qualities, as well as wide teaching experience and some youth community experience. This Diploma course was to be part-time, and in-service, for those who already had a degree or diploma in Education or Social Science. There was to be regular follow-up, preferably a one-week conference. This was an acknowledgement of the need for on-going professional development, something that has now become an ethical requirement for NZAC members. Eight papers were recommended as the minimum requirements for the Diploma. They included psychology, educational tests and measurements, techniques of counselling, individual and group practice in counselling. Philosophy of counselling and guidance papers were to be in-service courses, but studies in the adolescent child, the exceptional child, occupations and vocational development were to be undertaken extra-murally.

The tyranny of geography has been partly diminished by both Massey University and Waikato University currently offering a combination of extra-mural and on-site education courses in different locations and using the Internet for some papers. Some elements of the type of course outlined in this submission, still form the basis of university education courses today, as outlined in section 3.4. What has largely disappeared is the emphasis on psychology (although adolescent psychology and abnormal psychology are sometimes available), the testing component and the philosophy of counselling. The latter tends to be included in papers on counselling theory, although the study of particular modalities and their attendant skills tend to be emphasised.

The final section of the submission addressed administration. It discussed the referral of cases and the liaison and co-ordination with government and other agencies, emphasising a team approach akin to the current collaborative inter-agency model of "best practice" which is part of the "Strengthening Families" policy. This supported "whole" child concepts and also aimed to avoid the overlap of services. The section concluded with a plea to explore service provision in small district high schools, with the possible appointment of regional counsellors.

Overall, this first national training course for guidance counsellors was a very significant event. It emphasised the identity of the client and their environment but did not emphasise counselling *per se*. It set the scene and marked out the territory by establishing an identity for the emerging profession ten years after the *Mazengarb Report* and only four years after the first pilot schemes that saw guidance counsellors introduced into New Zealand secondary schools. It formed a baseline for comparing the elements considered important in counselling educational theory and practice in 1964 with those considered important in 1999.

### 3.3 Snapshot 2: University based counsellor education, 1973–1999.

University based counsellor education began officially in 1973, almost ten years after the first national training course. It was after much debate and lobbying throughout the 1960s and early 1970s, the recommendations of the 1971 *Working Party Report*, and following a change to the Third Labour Government in 1972 that the Department of Education became committed to fully funded university-based education for teachers newly appointed as guid-

ance counsellors (Renwick, 1973; and personal communication with Dr J.J. Small, co-ordinator of foundation course at University of Canterbury). This section outlines firstly the concerns about counsellor education prior to the establishment of university courses. Then it examines the type of education programme that was considered appropriate for counselling competence in the 1970s and today. Changes since the 1964 course provide a picture of the changing identity of counselling. One of the major changes to occur was a move away from providing education almost exclusively for personnel in the education sector, that is for guidance counsellors and vocational guidance officers, to providing a more generic form of counsellor education which guidance counsellors could still access. In the process though, rather than the main focus of the training, school counsellors became only one part of the group to be educated.

Until the university courses were set up in 1973, the method of training followed that established by the Department of Education's 1969 *Circular Memorandum* B.69/31. This recommended "an adequate period of in-service training" involving "residential courses, direct observation by more experienced counsellors and assignments based upon counsellor's own practice" (Webb, 1996: 20). Winterbourn provided a sample of the twelve week training course content in 1971: two weeks residential preliminary training; eight weeks in their appointed school, but allocated only four half-days per week to complete directed reading and assignments. This time included a two-week placement, observing an established guidance department, networking with specialist agencies; followed by two more weeks at a residential course; and attending a careers advisor's course if not already completed. Over such a short time, realistically, they could only have skimmed the surface of the following:

... counselling, theories of intelligence, the psychology of adolescence, educational tests and measurement, vocational guidance, the police youth aid service, a school guidance programme in action, casework procedure, counselling gifted children, social education, special education, the Psychological Service, the Child Welfare division, the department of Health and the structure of school course, plus a workshop, assignments, and observational visits (Winterbourn, 1974: 106).

In the mid-1960s, lobbying for appropriate counsellor training came from several quarters including: PPTA, National Association of Counsellors, National Council of Women, New Zealand Association of Social Workers, Secondary School Boards Association, and Bay of Plenty Principals' Association. Criticism was levelled at the government, which was accused of playing with guidance (*Hawkes Bay Herald-Tribune* [15/7/66], cited in Winterbourn, 1974: 104.) Recommendations were for counsellor training to be upgraded to full training at university level, as the basis of competence in counselling theory, skills and practice for guidance counsellors. In 1967, the NZ Association of Social Workers recommended that bursaries be provided for selected school teachers to attend Victoria University's School of Social Science, with guidance counsellor appointments being phased in once trained personnel became available. The Secondary School Boards Association endorsed this, recommending twelve months paid leave for selected teachers to take the Diploma in Social Science, but to no avail since the Department of Education disagreed (Winterbourn, 1974). Presumably the Department disagreed because the Social Science department would not have provided a context that was sufficiently educational.

University departments of education, with their existing expertise in educational psychology, took up the opportunity. An unofficial course (not officially sanctioned by the Department of Education, so students were not seconded to partake) was held at University of Canterbury for twelve students in 1972. This group was indicative of the type of composition of future students on courses, being predominantly school based, with about eight becoming guidance counsellors, one was from Vocational Guidance, one from a Technical Institute and one was a priest (personal communication, R.J. Manthei). Ten new guidance counsellor positions advertised in September 1972 were the last to be trained under the induction system (*Education Gazette*, 1972, Vol. 51, No 17).

In February 1973 eleven new guidance counsellor positions were advertised in the *Education Gazette* (1973, Vol. 52, No 3). The Department of Education supported the establishment of compulsory, university-based education for guidance counsellors for "mainly school-appointed counsellors and a smaller number of vocational guidance counsellors to relocate to one of the university centres for a year to be followed by a year in their setting of appointment" (Hermansson, 1990: 164). These new appointees were trained at the University of Canterbury, which was

the first to offer a new post-graduate Diploma in Education (Guidance) course in their education department for a small group of seven seconded persons, six of whom were guidance counsellors (personal communication, R.J. Manthei). The Department of Education largely left the design of the first course at Canterbury for John Small and other university educators. Later in 1973, the *Education Gazette* advertisements stipulated training on a university diploma course and enabled those selected to train at Massey University once its post-graduate Diploma in Education (Guidance Counselling) was introduced in 1974 (*Education Gazette*, 1973, Vol. 52, No. 18; and Vol. 52, no. 22).

Once counsellor education courses were set up in the 1970s in collaboration with the Department of Education they followed a similar set pattern in other universities. Universities had autonomy with the course structure and content. The University of Auckland offered a modified MA degree in education for guidance counsellors in 1974, but this was something of an exception, since it never catered primarily to school counsellors and had always included others such as educational psychologists in their more generic MA degree (personal communication, J. Everts). Later, to meet the demand, Waikato and Otago Universities also provided counsellor training. All five universities (Auckland, Waikato, Massey, Canterbury, Otago) subsequently provided post-graduate diplomas and or degrees of varying nomenclature (see later list in section 3.4). Throughout the 1970s, there were regular meetings between the Department of Education and university counsellor educators to discuss field changes, education requirements, student selection, and to co-ordinate across service providers and educators (personal communication, J. Small).

University based education was a major advance for the professionalisation of guidance counsellors that changed school counselling's identity. Both the background and the doctorates of the first university counselling educators were significant in the development of counselling's professional identity, because they favoured a combination of the human potential movement plus counselling psychology as the content of counselling programmes. Dr Hans Everts at Auckland, Dr John Small and Dr Bob Manthei at Canterbury, and Dr Gary Hermansson at Massey all had doctorates with a general orientation towards counselling psychology. Small's doctorate emphasised vocational assessment and Carl Rogers and Manthei's, rehabilitation counselling. At Massey, Alan Webster, a student of Robert Carkhuff, held a post-Rogerian humanist approach. Both Russell Bernstone (at Massey), who was a former school teacher, and Ted Wadsworth, who inaugurated Waikato's course, had a social work background and brought a more humanistic slant. Dr Bryan Tuck and Brian Keeling (Canterbury) were former vocational guidance officers who both developed expertise in career development, research methods, evaluation and testing (Tuck's doctorate was in education). All these men were hugely influential because of their position, personalities, expertise, experience and professional longevity. Russell Bernstone died of cancer in 1979. The rest of these founding educators either continued until retirement in the late 1980s or are still working in counsellor education (Everts, Hermansson, Manthei). That the lecturers should all have been Pakeha and male was a sign of the times, a situation that only started to change somewhat in the latter part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Whilst the wider counselling profession has become notable for the predominance of women (Webb, 1998), school guidance counselling has to a certain extent maintained a more even gender split. As noted in Manthei's research, of 208 school counsellors there was a 50-50 gender split that reflected an increasing number of female appointments in the previous five years, 91.2% of whom were Pakeha (Manthei, 1998; 1999). Manthei sent questionnaires to all 389 secondary schools, addressed to the "school counsellor" who was asked to copy it for distribution if there was more than one counsellor on the staff. Although 208 replies were received, the exact rate of return was unable to be calculated because the exact number of counsellors is unknown (Manthei, 1998; 1999). However, there remains a predominance of Pakeha and a dearth of counsellors from other ethnicities, a problem that NZAC is grappling with, and which schools must continue to address.

There were several criticisms of the system that led to changes in university education in the 1980s: the selection of counsellors; the restricted training structure and the control by state agencies of the process for allocating students (Hermansson, 1990). Until the late 1980s, it was the Department of Education, not the universities, that selected students to fund for counsellor appointment and subsequent training. The universities were understandably critical of such a procedure that saw staff appointed as guidance counsellors, regardless of any counselling aptitude or skills, and prior to training. The optimum would be selection for counsellor training only if suitable aptitudes were shown, and then only after successful completion of their education, should any appointment be made to school counsellor positions. To have inappropriate persons selected, educated and placed in guaranteed positions as guid-



ance counsellors hardly ensures professional competence and effectiveness. After being seconded for state-funded education, guidance counsellors were bonded for an equivalent time to repay the state's investment, which was something of a mixed blessing for both school and counsellor. The issue of counsellor education following appointment, remains an issue today, albeit a diminishing one now that the supply of trained counsellors has increased to such an extent. Significantly, some job vacancies advertised in the 1999 *Education Gazette* sought trained counsellors who were members of NZAC. The restricted course content was a result of state agencies, primarily education, but also welfare, selecting and funding the trainees. This meant that courses were not sufficiently geared to counsellors outside the educational and state institutional arenas, once there was an increasing interest and need for tertiary training of such people.

In the 1980s several changes occurred. Canterbury replaced the Diploma in Education (Guidance) in 1985 with a Masters degree and accompanying Certificate in Counselling. Manthei (personal communication) suggested that Canterbury replaced the Diploma of Education with the Master of Education in 1985 for academic reasons and because of a drop in course numbers once the Department of Education stopped granting any extra remuneration for teachers who had completed the Diploma. Massey introduced field-based training capitalising on the university's expertise in extra-mural education. Waikato allowed appropriate non-school related counselling students to take their course. Auckland and Otago developed courses that paralleled their established educational psychology programmes (Hermansson, 1990). These changes did not represent a break with the Department of Education, but were an assertion of professional identity and leadership on the part of the university counselling educators in favour of more generic counselling education. The result provided more choice for prospective counsellors and gave greater autonomy to counsellor education programmes, enabling their continued existence in an environment that heard threats from Treasury about limited funding for training counsellors (Webb, 1996). If Treasury withdrew funding for training school counsellors, at least counsellor education could continue once it had become a more generic form.

In 1989, after the restructuring of the Department of Education as the Ministry of Education, considerable alarm was struck because although training remained compulsory, training grants for school counsellors were available by application from the Ministry. This move discontinued the Department's practice of seeking training places on behalf of new counsellors (Webb, 1996). Then after the MRG, "students accepted for training programmes had to submit their budgets and found that funding was issued at a reduced level" (NZAC, 1997, 18 (3): 17). Despite NZAC disquiet at the lack of response from the Ministry and PPTA in 1996-1997, the Ministry of Education clarified finally that the provision of training was:

... available through access to a specialist teacher study award ... to those teachers who have either a permanent fulltime guidance counsellor position in a medium to large secondary school, or a permanent fulltime appointment incorporating at least a 0.6 FTTE position as a guidance counsellor in a smaller secondary school with more than 200 students between years 9 and 13 (Ministry of Education, cited in *NZAC Newsletter*, 1997, 18 (3): 44).

Although the School Trustees Guidance Counsellor Study Awards provide for counsellor education of up to fifteen Full Time Teacher Equivalents per year funding for school counsellor training is no longer guaranteed for all who are appointed as guidance counsellors (NZAC, 1997, 18 (3); Bowbyes, 1998, 1999). It is no longer restricted to university as in the past. Many intending school counsellors will end up having to fund their own study and may or may not choose to study at university. They may choose to study at tertiary institutions or with private providers who require them to take up an internship.

### 3.4 Snapshot 3: University counselling courses at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Forty years after guidance counselling pilot schemes began and twenty-five years after university education commenced, not surprisingly, there have been many changes. 1999 was a watershed for university counsellor education in New Zealand because this was the first time that any course was deleted. This occurred at Otago University, when counselling's place in the education department became a victim of management decisions to restructure the department in context of the prevailing neoliberal environment. The course disappeared altogether, despite sugges-

tions of its continuance elsewhere in the university, and despite a student cohort of about ten per year. The pity was, in this instance, that it not only provided counsellor education, but was also a valuable focus for professional counselling for the entire south of the South Island. The amazing irony is that the management aim was to focus on teacher education, yet counselling was not seen to have a place in this. Incidentally, three Southland schools were amongst those on the 1964 course, but it is Southland schools that have removed counsellors in the late 1990s. Maybe the way counselling had become positioned and perceived had become detrimental to its continuance in schools at this time.

A summary and comparison of the content of the 1999 university counselling courses follows, sourced from university calendars, departmental handbooks and web pages. The first change is that all courses are at post-graduate level, either diplomas or Masters degrees, titled with various combinations of education and counselling. Notably, "guidance" does not appear in the nomenclature except as an endorsement for a diploma at Massey University. "Counselling" is not part of the official M.Ed. nomenclature at Canterbury although those who do complete this speciality receive a "Certificate in Counselling". The courses are as follows: Auckland: Master of Education (MEdCouns); Diploma In Counselling (DipCouns); Diploma in Counselling Theory (DipCounsTheory); Canterbury: MEd, with Certificate in Counselling; Massey: Master of Counselling (MCouns); Postgraduate Diploma in Counselling (PGDipCouns); Postgraduate Diploma in Education (Guidance Studies) (PGDipEd); Waikato: Postgraduate Diploma in Counselling (PGDipCouns) and the degree of Master of Counselling (MCouns).

All four universities continued to have a limited number of places and a very similar selection process for entry to the core counselling papers, although the elective papers are more flexible in terms of numbers. For example, Canterbury and Waikato have twelve places available per year, Massey has twelve to sixteen, and Auckland has eighteen, all depending on staffing resources. The selection process is made on sets of academic, practical and personal criteria that are vetted to ascertain an applicant's suitability for counselling. Furthermore, selection at all universities involves face-to-face interviews and/or a selection workshop. At Auckland, this needs to be "supported by referees' statements, evidence of training, and experience in relevant work such as teaching, personnel work or community counselling" (University of Auckland, 2000: 9 & 23). Canterbury's criteria includes "previous counselling experience and training; openness to self-examination and reflection; ... understanding of ethical practice and relevance of vocational goals". Admission into the Massey M.Couns. is dependent on "meeting specified performance standards in the theory papers and obtaining a place in the professional development papers allocated following attendance at a selection workshop". Numbers in the selection workshops and professional development papers are limited. Waikato detail a set of criteria for admission to their course: the student must be over twenty-five, with an undergraduate degree preferably in the social sciences, two to three years of counselling or work in helping-related fields and a set of personal qualities that include: self-knowledge, sensitivity, self-development, communication skills, acceptance of others and motivation.

In university programmes there is a core of three to five compulsory counselling papers, which is largely the same for the Postgraduate Diplomas and Masterates. With further study, Diplomas can sometimes be converted into Masters. These all involve counselling theory skills and practice, but may be named slightly differently. For example, Massey requires three compulsory papers: Counselling Theory; Professional Development I; Professional Development II. The other universities require four or five compulsory papers. At Auckland they are: Cultural Issues in Counselling, The Counselling Process, Counselling Laboratory, Professional Issues in Counselling, and Critical Analysis in Counselling. At Canterbury they are: Counselling Theory, Counselling Skills, Counselling Practicum, and Group, Family and Systems Interventions; and at Waikato they are: Discourse and Counselling Psychologies, Counselling Skills, Counselling Practicum, and Professional Practice of Counselling.

Apart from the compulsory core, further counselling related papers are required. Some of these have research components in the form of a dissertation or research paper. All have practical components in the form of casework, fieldwork, and practicum. Once the whole structure of the Diploma or Masterate is complete, the student should have acquired a comprehensive qualification in counselling, but due to the range of choices available, one qualification may well end up with quite a different emphasis from another. This is because each university provides an



overview that encompasses a range of theories, while emphasising different specialities and theoretical orientations that largely reflect the different philosophical perspectives of the educators, their personal philosophies, biases and choices, at each institution. In 1999 Auckland emphasised an integrated approach; Canterbury, brief solution-focussed therapy; Massey, an eclectic model; and Waikato, narrative therapy. Prospective students now need to consider not only what is offered at their nearest university, but also what theoretical orientation they are most comfortable with. Just how people who are relatively inexperienced in counselling, with minimal theoretical understanding, are able to make such assessments is an important question, but beyond the scope of this discussion. Counselling has definitely remained client-centred, but different "technologies of the self" (Foucault, 1988b), are positioned through the different theoretical approaches. It would be of questionable ethics to teach only one modality because no one approach is universal and suitable for all clients in all situations. This would result in trying to make the client fit the theory rather than the reverse. Counsellors need to have skills in a range of theories and therapies and to make a professional judgement in applying them as appropriate. The assumptions that counsellors make about human nature and the nature of counselling will influence their choice of theoretical approach and technique.

A major change in the identity of counselling in general, and of guidance counselling in particular, has been a clear move away from testing, which was seen as an integral technology of the guidance counsellor from the early days until the mid-1980s. Testing initially reflected the funding regime of the First Labour government in their setting of national parameters for education dealing with the individual child. Hence the emphasis was placed on scientific/psychological methods in education, including testing, especially once Clarence Beeby became Director of Education in 1935. Testing reflected the philosophy of the time and what we would now call "best practice", and as a result its avoidance would have been difficult (Alcorn, 1999). Changes in philosophy coincided with research that highlighted serious criticisms about testing, and with major changes in curriculum structures. Testing was challenged on many bases, including: philosophical grounds; ethical considerations; the lack of acknowledgement of the effects of socio-economic, linguistic, and cultural factors. Research in the 1970s and 1980s seriously challenged the appropriateness, cultural bias, norms, reliability and validity of the tests; when, how, why and by whom the test was administered; what norms were used; and for what purpose was the test designed (see Walkerdine, 1984, 1988; Nash, 1976, 1990). The change was also a response to a clear direction in the principle of not doing harm in the NZAC's Code of Ethics that states: "counsellors shall avoid any diagnostic labels, counselling methods, use of assessment data or other practices which are likely to cause harm to their clients" (NZAC, 1991: 21).

In Foucauldian terms, testing, as a type of examination, is considered a form of surveillance, discipline and control (Foucault, 1979, 1982). Testing divides the individual child into behaviours that can be measured and tested; it creates individual profiles that are compared to the 'norms' that have been constructed from a combination of composite test results and profiles. Therefore, it is no longer considered consistent with the learning philosophy of a holistic approach to the individual child. The early form of guidance that used testing was, in effect, a form of social control that aimed to utilise 'scientific' methods to measure a student's aptitude, motivation and general progress, objectifying them and matching their aptitudes and general abilities (trait and factor theory) to labour market needs. Counselling driven by psychologically, and drawing on a variety of testing technologies, aims at 'adjustment' or remediation of perceived deficits within the person. These forms of testing and the labelling that accompanied them is considered now to be at odds with current philosophies of guidance counselling that emphasise counselling rather than guidance, and that respect and try to enhance the client's autonomy. Testing is also seen to be unethical in some of its forms and, therefore, inimical to the counselling relationship. This is not to judge testing-related guidance as 'bad', but to highlight the Foucauldian notion of "regimes of truth" that are central to a discipline. What is considered to be best practice at one point of time is always contestable and open to challenge.

In the light of these factors, testing has been dropped from its place as a compulsory component of all university courses. The only place it retains is in the optional papers at the University of Canterbury (The Assessment of Attitudes and Personality; Advanced Topics in Measurement). A highly significant upshot in terms of professional identity has been that the move away from testing has become one of the distinctive points that differentiate counselling from clinical psychology. Counsellors have generally accepted the argument that, as professionals, they

and their attitudes and values became an integral part of the testing tool. Psychologists, on the other hand, have tended to continue to position themselves as objective professionals standing behind the instrument of the test. Counsellors came instead to see themselves as professional instruments for engagement with the client and change.

Not only has testing been dropped, but another major change has been that vocational guidance and career counselling papers have been relegated to optional papers. At the University of Auckland, Interventions, Assessment and Evaluation in Career Counselling, and Theory and Research in Vocational Behaviour, have not been taught for four years, due to limited demand and staffing. At Massey University the only paper is Transition Education. At Canterbury the two papers offered are: Career Development Theory and Practice, and Vocational Guidance, although the latter has not been offered for several years. The removal of vocational guidance and career counselling papers from the compulsory core of papers that existed in the 1970s reflects first, the demise of the Vocational Guidance Service and the subsequent down scaling of counselling within the vocational field; second, the more generic nature of current counselling courses; third, an increasing emphasis on family counselling; and fourth, school counselling's shift in focus towards more personal counselling in the 1990s.

The environment of the 1990s emphasised qualifications, choice and portability, and frequent career changes with attendant re-training and upskilling. One might anticipate that more vocational and educational guidance would be required when choice abounds, yet this has not been the case, probably because students are no longer locked into specific school courses at Form 3 (Year 9) that subsequently limit further educational opportunities. Once secondary schools moved away from using academic ability to stream students into courses, such as professional, general, commercial and technical, that acted as gateways for future vocational pathways, respectively, to university, office work and trades, the need for both testing and intensive vocational guidance seemed to largely disappear. Curriculum options became wider for students with the structural change towards a broad-based education up to School Certificate level (now NCEA level one). Furthermore, in the 1980s and 1990s, entry to many tertiary education courses depended more on obtaining good grades, than on which subject one studied at school. For example, entry to many restricted university courses required high total marks for Bursary, especially in English and Mathematics, rather than high marks in specific subjects. The collapse of separate streams of academic education and vocational training, as the National Qualifications Framework intended, has kept options more open throughout secondary school. Nowadays at tertiary institutions students are less likely to be seeking personal development and liberation as per the old-style liberal arts, than to be aiming for qualifications for a job, and that job is now unlikely to be for life. People can expect to have several changes in occupation in their lifetimes and require re-training for these, hence the need for a form of vocational guidance that focussed on a choice for life has somewhat dissipated, although assistance in making mid-life changes in career may indicate an area of future growth. Not only has this meant that education has been extended for adults in ways that were just not possible until the 1980s, but also ongoing, lifelong education, re-education and training is now the norm. This, combined with popular notions that anything is possible if one sets themselves to it, has somewhat obviated the need for vocational guidance and testing.

The guidance counselling profession combines eclectic strands, including psychology, testing, biological developmentalism, philosophy and practitioner orientations, some of which have gained particular prominence and favoured status at different times. But central to all are notions of what human nature is, how and why people do what they do. These are split between essentialist and non-essentialist notions about the existence of an inner essence, soul or spirit of the human being. Guidance forms part of an educational philosophy that believes in the importance and respect for the individual personality and the notion that individuals can do things to improve themselves and thereby their fulfilment in life. This perspective is holistic, focussing on the 'whole' child – its intellect, emotions, physique, socialisation, vocational choices, aesthetic, moral and spiritual values. To a certain extent the guidance movement attempted to provide the personal touch by treating students as individuals again (as they had been when schools were small) rather than treating them as a mass once schools grew bigger and more impersonal in the era of compulsory, mass education and large classes. The goals of counselling are likely to be different in different cultural contexts and hence at different points of time, depending on how that context views psychological and emotional well being. They may focus on removing or alleviating symptoms; personal and social

adjustment and effectiveness; changes in behaviour and attitude; personal insight and relationships with others. Western notions of counselling are dominated by goals of self-actualisation, self-responsibility and autonomy, usually via some type of experiential techniques. Although the move in school counselling has been largely away from directive forms over time, if crisis intervention is required, counselling is likely to be much more directive and practical.

While Chapters One and Two outlined how school counselling developed under different policy conditions, Chapter Three has examined how different forms of counsellor education have contributed to the development of the professional identity of school counselling. Both continuities and discontinuities have been highlighted partly in response to the needs and demands of different times and partly in response to different theoretical orientations of university counsellor educators who clearly influenced what was taught, how, and by whom, and which philosophical basis was emphasised. In the early days, especially until the mid-1990s, university counsellor educators fought the 'political footballs' with the government bureaucracy in the Department of Education, thus defining and shaping the identity of counselling in New Zealand. As the profession gathered momentum and theoretical strength in its own right, as distinct from related professions such as educational psychology and social work, counselling has gained a clearer and more ethical professional identity.

A compulsory core of papers centring on counselling theory and professional practice remains at each university. The old core of testing and vocational guidance, have waned as a greater emphasis has shifted to systems and context, especially the family, groups and cultural issues. Different options can now be taken, according to the counsellor's professional interests and needs, so that rather than encouraging a fairly uniform identity for school counselling, more diverse professional identities are emerging with the changes in counselling theory and professional practice. In the 1990s, as they became predominant in NZAC, experienced, private practice counsellors have become increasingly influential. With a different professional identity and the vision to put their point of view, they changed the focus of NZAC away somewhat from the school counsellor position to further shape the identity of counselling, albeit still with input from counsellor educators. Professional identity has changed and developed through the combined influences of education, professional practice, political theory, policy and the personalities involved. In the 21st century, rather than *an* identity, school counselling could perhaps be considered to have multiple identities. The next chapter explores the notion of counsellor identity in terms of professionalisation and examines the major impact of the professional counsellor associations, NZCGA and NZAC.