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ACCESS

INTRODUCTION

The Professionalisation of School Counselling in New Zealand in the 20th Century

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The Professionalisation of School Counselling in New Zealand in the 20th Century presents an historical narrative of the development of school counselling over fifty years. *As* a critical history it draws attention to a small but important group of 'specialist teachers' in New Zealand secondary schools at a time that has seen New Zealand move from a welfare to a neoliberal state. Critical history problematises the present and what is thinkable in the present, while it contests our assumptions and what we take for granted. This process enables layers of accretions of the professional self to be uncovered and exposed. The first two chapters focus primarily on official policy, examining the socio-political-historical contexts as it identifies five phases in the development of school counselling. The first three of these phases occurred in context of a welfare state; the last two, although quite different in direction, have occurred under a neoliberal political environment.

Chapter One details some of the key policies, socio-historical contexts and different strands that shaped an initial identity of school counselling: where it was placed, its status within the school, who embodied this position, and its role, from pilot schemes in 1959 to permanent places in all secondary schools by 1988. Chapter Two critiques several of the main tenets of neoliberal 'reforms' that affected counselling: deregulation, devolution, and decentralisation. Such reforms since 1996 included the introduction of New Public Management and performance management systems in schools. Because counsellor education has shaped the school counselling profession, snapshots at different points of time shape Chapter Three. Under the new managerialism of neoliberalism there has been an increased emphasis on the professionalisation and accountability of counselling. In response, the professional counselling association, New Zealand Association of Counsellors (NZAC) has changed their membership criteria and ethical practice. Chapters Four and Five uncover in this process the extensive involvement of the New Zealand Counselling and Guidance Association (NZCGA which became NZAC). Chapter Four engages Foucault's "governmentality" to examine critically the shift from the New Zealand Counselling and Guidance Association (NZCGA) to the New Zealand Association of Counsellors (NZAC), its membership criteria, development of professional standards and school counsellor appointments' kit. Chapter Five discusses ethical self-regulation, which is at the heart of counsellor professionalisation, with particular focus on the establishment of a code of ethics.

Michel Foucault's work is used throughout to provide a critical lens, based on the perspective that knowledge in the human sciences is not disinterested, neutral, objective, or value-free, but is "inextricably entwined with relations of power" (Smart, 1985: 64). *As* Foucault writes (1977: 27):

> ... power produces knowledge (and not simply by encouraging it because it serves power or by applying it because it is useful); that power and knowledge directly imply one another: that there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power relations.

In other words, "a site where power is exercised is also a place at which knowledge is produced" (Smart, 1985: 64), hence power relations have tended to become known as *"power-knowledge":*

> ... it is not the activity of the subject of knowledge that produces a corpus of knowledge, useful or resistant to power, but power-knowledge, the processes and struggles that traverse it and of which it is made up, that determines the forms and possible domains of knowledge (Foucault, 1977: 27-28).

Foucault's twin conceptions of power, his early disciplinary account (as in *Discipline and Punish,* 1977) and the later form of ethical self-constitution, provide modes of analysis that are relevant and suitable for the process of analysing counselling. The earlier disciplinary form is applicable to the history of the emergence of counselling in New Zealand schools as a set of techniques and, therefore, a form of disciplinary power that developed in association with psychology. Foucault argues that the operation of social institutions such as the prison, factory and school can be understood as power in the form of *power-knowledge* that observes, monitors, shapes and controls behaviour (Foucault, 1977). The later form, 'governmentality' - a neologism for 'governmental rationality' - allows us to understand counselling in its recent developments under neoliberalism with demands for accountability in relation to the professionalisation and ethical self-regulation of counselling (Foucault, 1991). Counselling developed in the Western tradition as a set of practices and techniques inserted into schools and devoted to assisting students to take care of the self in ways that require both knowledge of oneself and freedom as an ontological condition of ethics.

This discussion turns the self-reflective gaze onto the counsellors' profession, aiming to do what is expected of clients - to be reflective about 'self', relationships, the profession and its practices. Without critical reflection the profession could easily become smug, self-serving and inward looking, ultimately bypassing or suppressing the interests of clients. Throughout, I have drawn on official and textual sources, and my own experience as a school counsellor and member of NZAC. Counselling colleagues (who are acknowledged in the notes) have provided valuable viewpoints. I am optimistic that school counselling will continue to have a place in New Zealand secondary schools where its increased professionalism and improved ethical practice will be a valuable resource for our youth. I am optimistic too that in the process of increased professionalism and improved ethical practice, school counselling will gain further respect from all concerned.

CHAPTER ONE

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

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 Winterbourn[1] (197 4) 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 (197 4) 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, feeblemindedness 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" (Winterboum, 197 4: 7). Of particular significance was the appointment in 1923 of the subsequently hugely influential C.E. Bee by 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 theses[3] 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; Hebdige, 1979; McRobbie, 1991; Manning, 1958; Shukeretal, 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, 19886, 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).

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 postprimary 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 (ERG. 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, 197 4: 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 socioeconomic 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, 197 4: 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 sot 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.

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 community[5] 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, 197 4: 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 Maori Education Committee discussed counselling and guidance in 1963, noting that both the Maori 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 Maori rolls for "visiting teachers, educational and vocational counselling" *(PPTA Journal,* X, 9, October 1963). However, there were no mass appointments of Maori to these positions, reflecting in part the parochial attitudes of the times, but also reflecting the structural issue that there were few Maori secondary teachers. Since experience as a teacher was a prerequisite for selection as a guidance counsellor, few Maori were available for selection. Even into the late 1990s there have been relatively few Maori guidance counsellors or counsellors in general. The scarcity of Maori counsellors has been a persistent concern (e.g. heated discussion at the NZAC 1999 AGM). The role of Maori 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 Maori in a school.

The 1964-196 5 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 Maori 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 (197 4) 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 coeducational 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 semiautonomous 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 qua 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.

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 task& 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 schools 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.

Notes

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 WB. 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 Fem 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.

CHAPTER TWO

The Neoliberal Policy Environment and School Counselling in New Zealand 1988-1999

The neoliberal policy environment: managerialism, accountability and New Public Management

This chapter outlines two very different phases of counselling in New Zealand schools that have occurred during the neoliberal political environment. The first described here as *Phase 4: A centralised approach,* is arguably a hangover from a more centralised set of notions about guidance provision that characterised the welfare state, although it occurred after the neoliberal reforms had been applied to educational administration. Only a few years later, with a change to a National government the neoliberal reforms intensified and were applied to education as a whole, largely in the name of accountability, performance, and value for the taxpayer, thus impacting on school counselling. The second phase identified in this chapter as *Phase 5: Changes with neoliberalism,* describes the changes and examines the post-1996 impact on school counsellors of the Ministerial Reference Group (MRG) staffing formula. Two of the principle changes involved key neoliberal notions of deregulation and devolution, which had the effect of threatening the continued existence of counsellors in schools. Another set of neoliberal impacts has been competition from some allied professions such as: social workers in schools, RTLBs (Resource Teacher Learning and Behaviour) and competition from other professionals from both inside and outside the school. At first, with the focus on reforming the administration of schools in the late 1980s and early 1990s, the impact on school counselling was positive as exemplified by the 1988 *Education Gazette* notice on staffing. But the neoliberal agenda gained momentum in the 1990s, and by 1995 school counselling came under subtle attack in the staffing formula. The attack was not about counselling practices, but about the place and status of counsellors in schools in the neoliberal policy environment. The following section outlines key elements of this environment.

In the 20th century there was an economic paradigm shift from Keynesian economic management and welfare oriented interventionism in response to the 1930s Depression, to neoliberal monetarism in the latter part of the 20th century. This shift resulted in profound changes in political and social institutions identifiable as an anti-state and anti-bureaucracy attack on government. Hence a comprehensive social democracy became a neoliberal state in what Jane Kelsey termed "The New Zealand Experiment" after David Lange's Labour government came to power in 1984 (Boston and Dalziel, 1992; Kelsey, 1993, 1995). The neoliberal agenda continued unabated under successive Labour and National governments and began to change only slightly following the election in 1999 of Helen Clarke's Labour-led coalition.

The form of neoliberalism that developed during the 1980s, in Britain, USA and New Zealand has been largely shaped by the theories of Friedrich von Hayek that were developed during the first decade of the twentieth century. Known as the "Austrian School" it included: Frederick von Hayek, Carl Menger, Eugene Boehm-Bawerk and Ludwig von Mises (Peters, 2001). Hayek's *The Road to Serfdom* (1944) focussed on the problems of the planned socialist economy where the absence of a pricing system prevented producers from knowing the true production costs and other possibilities. Hayek warned about the political dangers of socialism and totalitarianism which he maintained came directly from the planned nature of institutions. After World-War II, Hayek thought governments were too welfare-oriented and constraining of the free market, consuming wealth and infringing individual rights. For Hayek, the market did not result from human design, but was the result of human actions over many years. Hayek emphasised methodological individualism, the doctrine of spontaneous order and the notion of *homo economicus* (economic man) that is based on three key assumptions: individuality, rationality and self-interest. In 1947, Hayek set up the highly

influential Mont Pelerin Society which aimed at restoring classical liberalism, the "free" society and its main institution, the free market. The Society included some prominent economists (Milton Friedman, George Stigler) from the second and third "Chicago School" and with it, the main strands of American neoliberalism - public choice theory (Gordon Tullock, James Buchanan) and human capital theory (Gary Becker) (see <http://cepa.newschool.edu/het/index.htm>; also Peters, 2001).

The various "Chicago Schools", emphasising free market libertarianism for over a hundred years, have been highly influential in promoting neoliberalism. In the 1960s and 1970s "neoclassical economics was deemed to provide a *unified* approach to the study of human behaviour and had been extended into areas that are traditionally the preserve and prerogative of political science, sociology, and other social science disciplines" (Peters, 2001: 15). Neoliberalism claims that efficiency of the free market provides a superior allocative mechanism for the distribution of scarce public resources and is a morally superior form of political economy. Yet, although neoliberal policies are identified with a fiscal austerity programme designed to shrink the public sector (of which state schools form a sub-sector), the negative effect in New Zealand has been one of increasing gaps between rich and poor and the growth of poverty - hardly what could be argued as morally superior results (Boston and Dalziel, 1992). The competitive, possessive form of individualism that is often construed as "consumer sovereignty" - emphasising freedom over equality and individual freedoms over community freedoms - implies first a "freedom from" (especially state interference) rather than "freedom to", and second an acceptance of inequalities that are generated by the market (Peters and Marshall, 1996). Clearly, such notions have important implications not only for education, but also for school counselling as a profession and for the world that the counsellor's clients have to negotiate.

In the 1980s, to legitimate the attack on the bureaucratic welfare state, many Western governments adopted neoliberal ideas, based largely on Hayek's political and economic philosophy. This involved an economic rationalisation or liberalisation aimed at abolishing subsidies and tariffs, floating the exchange rate, freeing up foreign investment controls and restructuring the public sector through corporatisation and privatisation. It often led to downsizing, contracting out and a concerted attack on unions, replacing wage bargaining with individual and collective employment contracts, site contracts, performance targets. Perhaps, most importantly for education, neoliberalism involved dismantling the welfare state through commercialisation, contracting out services, targeted services, and the promotion of notions of self responsibility. Under neoliberalism there is nothing distinctive or special about education or health; they are services, products, commodities to be treated ike any other, to be traded in the marketplace (Peters, 1999).

Debate about accountability in New Zealand schools emerged during the 1980s amid concerns about standards of achievement, curriculum development and content, levels of public and parental participation, and managerial responsibility. At this point, accountability became almost a mantra that saw problems in the quality of education being solved through the increased accountability of schools and teachers. In parallel, Neave (1987) argued that the notion of accountability in Britain during the 1980s disguised underlying conflicts between conservative and radical groups. The conservative approach was to challenge progressive education with a move back to the basics of tried and accepted practices. The radical approach challenged institutional inertia and teacher resistance in dealing with issues such as equity and affirmative action. Yet prior to the 1980s reforms, New Zealand schools had always had systems of accountability. For example, schools were accountable to parents and the State through mechanisms that included Department of Education inspectors, external examinations of students (School Certificate, University Entrance, Bursary), and reports to parents. However the issue of accountability was not as explicit as it became after the reforms of the public sector. Successive neoliberal governments in the late 1980s and the 1990s addressed this debate by using a managerialist approach that emphasised the four "D's": decentralisation, devolution, deregulation, and delegation (Bushnell & Scott 1988; Boston *et al.,* 1996; Pollit, 1990). Such an approach is partly exemplified by Thomas Peters and Robert Waterman's *In Search of Excellence* (1982), a tide rather significantly adapted for the secondary school reforms,

Administering For Fxcellence: Effective Administration in Education, (Ministry of Education 1988a, *[Picot Report])* and *Tomorrow's Schools: The Reform of Educational Administration in New Zealand* (Ministry of Education, 1988b).

Public sector reforms in New Zealand were similar to those introduced in the UK, USA and Australia during the 1980s and 1990s, and have used similar policy mechanisms of "commercialisation, corporatisation, and privatisation; the devolution of management responsibilities; a shift from input controls to output and outcome measures; tighter performance specification; and more extensive contracting out" (Boston *et al.,* 1996: 2). These reforms were "part of a carefully crafted, integrated, and mutually reinforcing reform agenda" (Boston *et al.,* 1996: 3) aimed at improving not just the economy, but also social and political structures. The revamp of the public sector in what became known as the New Public Management (NPM) was based on particular notions of managerialism and accountability that provided the overall context for the introduction of performance management systems in schools, and in turn their application for school counselling. As part of the NPM, "accountability has been defined in terms of external monitoring, measurement and control, and this particular view of accountability has been enshrined in policy" (Codd, 1989: 3). Codd asserted that in the 1988 *Picot Report* (Ministry of Education, 1988a) accountability became central to the setting up of a Review and Audit Agency which was renamed the Education Review Office (ERO) whose purpose "is to ensure that institutions are accountable for the government funds they spend and for meeting the objectives set out in their charter" (Ministry of Education, 1988b: 20). Jonathon Boston *et al.* (1996) explained that although public sector organisations are constrained by political and parliamentary control of resources, the NPM aimed for optimal use of taxpayer funds, while at the same time reducing public expenditure by improving effectiveness and efficiency through becoming more responsive to its clients and becoming managerially more accountable. "An organisation's effectiveness is measured by the extent to which it accomplishes its objectives, while its efficiency is measured by the relationship between inputs and outputs" (Boston *et al.,* 1996: 13). Therefore the notion of performance became a central concern requiring evidence from schools that they were effective in demonstrating that the state's (and the taxpayer's) investment was paying off. The 1980s administrative reforms required schools to write a charter (set of goals), statements that translate these goals to measurable objectives, to control assets and adopt a variety of reporting mechanisms. The means of achieving accountability were: clear objectives, appropriate management systems, adequate information, incentives and sanctions, and effective assessment.

Boston distinguished the objectives, principles and policies of the NPM model. A Treasury document (1987), *Government Management* indicated the main principles of NPM reforms to the incoming Labour government as being: goal clarity, transparency, contestability, avoidance of capture, congruent incentive structures, enhancement of accountability and cost-effective use of information (New Zealand Treasury, 1987). These NPM principles replaced those of the old-style Public Service, which emphasised anonymity, secrecy, conformity, regulation, bureaucratic structures, incremental budgets, stable career paths, vague performance standards and political neutrality. The NPM as synthesised by Treasury was derived from a range of theoretical models including public choice theory, organisational economics, principal-agency theory and transaction-cost economics (Boston *et al.,* 1996). These theories describe in various ways how accountability can be achieved if it is assumed that people act out of self-interest as rational utility maximisers. This model argues that members of an organisation, like a school, are bound together by self-interest, similar to the ways parties to a contract are bound together. One or both parties are likely to behave opportunistically, trying to disadvantage the other party through self-serving actions at the expense of those they are supposed to serve. When rationality is bounded, opportunism flourishes since both parties are not privy to the same amounts of information. It may result in "provider capture", whereby staff-interests rather than client or "stakeholder" interests dominate a sector. One of the ways Treasury saw of combating what it perceived as "provider capture", and a characteristic feature of managerialism, has been the development of the professional or generic manager with "general"

skills and expertise in management as a profession, but no actual experience in the field to which they are appointed (New Zealand Treasury, 1987, 1996). For example: Keith Bollard, originally from the Department of Forestry, was appointed the initial Secretary for the Ministry of Education and subsequently, Howard Fancy from the Treasury and the Prime Minister's Department was appointed as the Secretary for the Ministry of Education. Not only would this prevent provider capture, but also, it would enable a more hard-nosed approach than there might be if managers already had relationships within the sector. Managerialism is only one of the components of NPM, but has become an international ideology upon which the economic, social and political order in advanced industrial societies is currently based (Ball, 1992; Drucker, 1993, Enteman, 1993; Pollit, 1990). Managerialism is an ideology created by managers, a technology of power, whereby managers lay claim to professional expertise in areas of leadership and decision-making and where the objects of the system are incarcerated in the system whether they like it or not (Ball, 1992).

This trend has not yet occurred in secondary schools, where Principals are still generally appointed from the school sector. Treasury saw teachers and PPTA as having "captured" schools, so PPTA came under steady criticism for not being as concerned about the education of students as about the teachers' conditions of work (NZ Treasury, 1987, 1996). PPTA resisted individual contracts, bulk funding of schools and performance related pay. They accepted the implementation of performance management systems in 1997, and finally accepted an element of performance related pay in the form of professional standards as a part of performance management of teachers in 1999. Performance- related pay creates the danger of staff acting out of self-interest whereby they select largely positive feedback, minimising any negatives in evaluations and appraisals provided to managers. Schools and teachers were not so much concerned about *being* accountable, rather, they were concerned about who it was they were accountable to, for what, how this assessment and evaluation were to be achieved and under what circumstances.

Construing the counselling relationship as a contract between two parties that act out of self-interest and behaves opportunistically to maximise their own utility is totally at odds with the notion and culture of counselling. It would seem that *prima facie,* if anything, the counselling relationship is based on the concepts of love, *aroha,* respect, responsibility and altruism rather than self-interest. Indeed, the marketisation of the counselling relationship raises important ethical issues and conflicts of interest. While the move to self-managing schools might require improved reporting, monitoring and accountability mechanisms, the role and place of school counselling in this new accountability model requires careful examination.

A number of the NPM key policies relate strongly to performance management. First there is an emphasis on the use of incentives to enhance performance. Such incentives may include short-term employment contracts, performance- based remuneration systems and promotion systems. Second, the contract is central. The contract specifies both the nature of the performance required and the respective obligations of the parties. Third, performance management systems are linked to strategic planning. In the public sector this may mean that ministers specify strategic result areas and key result areas, and include these in a Chief Executive's performance agreement. Fourth, the clarification of accountability involved the removal, wherever possible, of dual or multiple accountabilities and the avoidance of joint central and local democratic control of public services. But if a management ethos perceives accountability in terms of technocratic control, with an emphasis on external monitoring and measurement of performance, democratic values of collegiality, participation, responsiveness and partnership, deemed to be important for a school's ethos and morale, are likely to disappear.

Many of the features of the reforms in education carried out since the late 1980s can be seen clearly in the NPM (see Boston *et al,* 1996: 26, for a summary). These reforms include: the belief that private and public organisations (like education) are not significantly different so they should be managed similarly; devolution or self-management; an emphasis on outputs or results rather than accountability of processes; favouring generic management skills rather than policy; contestable

funding and the contracting out of services (e.g., Specialist Education Service); introducing private sector management practices, including charters, mission statements, strategic plans etc; introducing bulk-funding and performance-linked remuneration and the use of monetary incentives; and stressing efficiency and cost-cutting.

The NPM model has been applied to the education sector through forms of governance and surveillance. The power relationship between schools and the state are monitored through various techniques set down by the Ministry of Education, the Education Review Office and the New Zealand Qualifications Authority (NZQA). The Ministry of Education developed such mechanisms in a series of policy statements in the mid-1990s, for example: *Education for the 21st Century,* (1994); *Draft National Guidelines For Performance Management In Schools* (19956); the *PMS* series (19976); *Professional Standards: Criteria for Quality Teaching - Secondary School Teachers and Unit Holders* (1999a); *and Teacher Performance Management: A resource for boards of trustees, principals and teachers* (1999c). ERO and NZQA undertake external monitoring of accountability within the education sector. ERO conducts effectiveness and quality assurance audits, whilst NZQA accredits schools that have submitted extensive documentation, indicating not so much the quality of their teaching and courses, but that the quality assurance criteria have been fulfilled through schools having policies detailing their management systems and quality control procedures. Middleton (1998: 10) suggests that the monitoring of schools conducted by ERO is "a clear example of Foucault's concept of the 'power of the examination'". Some of the functions of NZQA include: overseeing the setting of standards for secondary and tertiary education; ensuring that assessment mechanisms guarantee standards along with common entrance standards for university entrance; advising the Minister of Education on standards; establishing policies and criteria for approving courses and for the accreditation of institutions; and achieving international recognition for New Zealand qualifications and vice versa (see Education Amendment Act, 1990). Only when a school was accredited was it then permitted to grant credits for particular courses or determine eligibility for students to enter national qualifications, a task that schools had been doing since they were set up, long before NZQA was formed.

Following Foucault (1977), a form of panoptic and normalising gaze becomes apparent in the neoliberal environment in the form of surveillance techniques that are involved in school performance management systems. Arguably, parents, the media and ERO provide forms of external surveillance and evaluation of the school and its management. If staff appraisal and evaluation involve reports that are provided to the appraiser, but not to the person being appraised, the staff member is likely to feel under constant scrutiny. Furthermore, when salary is tied to the norms of performance, staff are likely to considerably modify or police their own actions and gestures, becoming involved in a form of self-subjugation and forging themselves as "docile bodies". As "White and Epston (1990: 71) argued, "this modern system of power is one that not only renders persons and their bodies as projects, but also recruits persons into an active role in their own subjugation, into actively participating in operations that shape their lives according to the norms or specifications of the organization". The form of power that is involved is self-constituting, in that it constitutes or shapes an individual's professional life. For school counsellors, the system of power forms part of their professional identity and their ethical self-constitution.

Phase 4: A centralised approach: guidance counsellors in all schools, 1989-1995

The numbers of guidance counsellors in secondary schools increased gradually but not consistently through the 1970s and 1980s. Some schools, deemed to be pilot schools, had several counsellors and guidance teachers, but not all secondary schools had a counsellor, despite having quite large rolls. Auckland ·Boys Grammar, for instance, had a sports director instead of a guidance counsellor. To remedy this inequitable situation, in 1988 *The New Zealand Education Gazette* issued a statement requiring all integrated and state secondary schools with a roll of over 400 to use their guidance time allowance to appoint a full-time, PR2, Guidance Counsellor from the start of 1989

(Department of Education, 1988). Schools with fewer than 200 students were allocated a half day of guidance network time. This gazetted notice also increased the time allocation for Te Atalmra (Maori) teachers in their guidance time and in their time for liaison between the school and the Maori community from one day to two and a half days a week.

Guidance staffing provisions, with brief job outlines of personnel considered to be part of a guidance time allowance were clearly spelt out in the Ministry of Education's RS40 annual roll return as summarised below. The personnel included in the guidance time allowance comprised:

- Guidance network - selected staff e.g. deans, form teachers for pastoral care and personal guidance of students;
- Guidance counsellor - full-time permanent teacher trained to perform guidance counsellor duties, including careers advice;
- Guidance teacher - part-time teaching, part-time careers and general guidance of students;
- Careers adviser - providing educational and vocational guidance to students and parents in schools with fewer than 2 guidance counsellors.

(Ministry of Education, RS40 annual roll return, 1992).

Guidance counsellor positions were pro-rated at different levels of responsibility depending on the school roll as follows:

- under 200: no provision
- over 200: one 0.6 part-time position
- over 400: one full-time guidance counsellor
- over 900: one full-time counsellor and 1 half-rime guidance teacher
- over 1200: two full-rime counsellors
- over 1400: two full-time counsellors and 1 half-time guidance teacher
- over 1800: three full-time counsellors

(Ministry of Education, RS40 annual roll return, 1992).

This period from 1989 to 1995, following the 1988 *Education Gazette* statement, was a high point in terms of the number, place and status of counselling positions in all state and integrated secondary schools, a time when almost every secondary school had a school counsellor. Such halcyon days were not to last.

Once counselling was set up in almost all secondary schools, during the decades of the 1970s and 1980s it slipped from being a regular and continued focus of government policy, to being virtually ignored by the Department of Education and then the Ministry of Education. It became an invisible player. Even the *Johnson Report* (Department of Education, 1979) downplayed "counselling", despite its emphasis on "guidance". In the 1980s, at a time of increased youth unemployment, schooling was becoming constructed **in** terms of preparing or fitting the young for the workforce. Both the academic curriculum and youth themselves were blamed for not providing or for not having the 'right' skills. This represented a re-emergence of the deficit model. Young people were encouraged to remain or even return to school to gain skills and qualifications to fit workforce requirements, which in turn lowered the unemployment figures (Webb, 1990). Parallel to guidance counselling, special funding emerged for transition teachers and transition education in a move formalised in *Skills for Young People* (1985), a discussion paper by the Ministers of Education, Employment and Maori Affairs (Marshall, 1987). While "transition policy statements, like funding, have abounded" (Webb, 1990: 42) guidance funding did not, and there was little guidance policy made until the staffing statement in the late 1980s. Then there was nothing more until the mid 1990s when neoliberalism, accountability, and management issues came to the fore (Besley, 2000; Webb, 1990). Counselling seems to have become part of the status quo in schools, with its role and place

largely unquestioned. Yet there seems to be an ongoing tension over vocationally oriented guidance structures and guidance counselling that emerges from time to time, depending largely on how the purpose of education is constructed. The *Lynch Report* (Ministry of Education, 1995a), described in the next section, highlights this tension.

Phase 5: Changes with neoliberalism: deregulation, devolution and decentralisation, 1996-1999

In a deregulatory move characteristic of neoliberalism, the 1995 Ministerial Reference Group's (MRG) staffing changes that had been implemented in 1996, removed the previous staffing formula (as described in Phase 4). These staffing changes were of crucial importance to school counsellors yet there had been no critique or consultation of guidance counselling by the Ministry. Instead, there was a report commissioned by the Ministry of Education about career guidance, the *Report of the Career Information and Guidance Review Panel [the Lynch Report,* named after the Chairperson, Brother Pat Lynch, Executive Director, NZ Catholic Education Office and Association of Proprietors of Integrated Schools who publicly supported neoliberal policies] (Ministry of Education, 1995a). In the increasingly right-wing, neoliberal political climate the *Lynch Report* supported the MRG and either deliberately or accidentally ignored all previous government policy and statements on guidance and counselling in the existing staffing formula and endorsed uncritically the MRG recommendations (Ministry of Education, 1995a):

> ... all school staffing resources, including the basic staffing entitlement, and the Transition Allowance, will be incorporated into a Core Resource Entitlement from 1996. Schools will receive this resource in the form of a global entitlement rather than a specific staffing entitlement (Ministry of Education, 1995a: 16).

The result was that guidance networks and guidance counsellors no longer held prescribed positions, but were simply part of the core or global staffing entitlement. After the MRG deregulation:

a. schools no longer have a *formal* requirement to have a school counsellor on their staff
b. the counsellor's status was no longer *specified* at PR2 (or 2MU) in most secondary schools of over 400 students
c. the counsellor no longer had to be a trained teacher
d. compulsory training for counsellors was no longer required as it had been (and was fully funded) by the Department of Education.

A *global* staffing entitlement has serious implications because in emphasising 'core' activities it then becomes a relatively easy (and seemingly reasonable) step to cease to fund 'non-core' activities, consequently disestablishing them. Such moves have been rife in the business world where non-core activities may at best be sold off, or at worst, closed down. In the public sector they might be privatised or disestablished. A *global* staffing entitlement implies that counselling is no longer important, possibly no longer needed within secondary schools. It threatens the very place and existence of the specialist role of a school counsellor and the professional training that is required to become such a 'specialist teacher' who often heads a guidance network.

The composition of the panel of five (Pat Lynch; Catherine Gibson, Chief Executive Officer, Ministry of Youth Affairs; Roger Lampen, Chief Executive, Lampen group; Paul Morgan, Deputy chairman, Federation of Maori Authorities; Jan Osborn, HoD, Foundation Sciences, Central Institute of Technology) on the *Lynch Report* was notable for the lack of representation from the Ministry of Education itself, from state schools or from anyone in careers or guidance counselling positions within schools. However, the appendix listing of those who provided briefings or submissions includes many schools, but not NZAC, although an Auckland Careers Counselling Interest group was noted. The Foreword provides the rationale for this report in terms of "a strong commitment to life long learning" as "one of the passports for being a successful citizen in the new millennium", noting

how difficult it was for many people "to navigate their way through an increasingly complex society" (Ministry of Education, 1995a: 1). It asserted that the construction of a "strongly integrated career services network will help empower our country to become an international leader, demonstrating qualities of social cohesion, respect for individuals and robust economic development" (Ministry of Education, 1995a: 1). How such a network and an information system would achieve such social and economic goals is never discussed in the Report.

The following statement about government resourcing for guidance time is alarming for its failure to indicate that the guidance time allocation is used for anything other than "career information and guidance in secondary schools":

> 26. In addition to the services provided by The Careers Service, the Government also resources career information and guidance in secondary schools. Currently, secondary schools receive resources in the form of a roll-generated guidance time allowance which is included in their overall staffing entitlement. Guidelines require schools with rolls of over 400 students to use the guidance time to appoint, in the first instance, a full-time Position of Responsibility (PR2) guidance counsellor. The remainder of the guidance time is available for career advice. A school's management decides whether to use this component of the guidance time allowance for career advice or to meet other priorities. Likewise school management can utilise staffing allocations, for example general teacher release time, to increase the provision of career services if this is seen as a priority (Ministry of Education, 1995a: 15-16).

This statement implied that 'guidance time' was primarily used for career guidance, and offered no explanation of what was meant by 'guidance', nor made any reference to the personal counselling, the social education or preventative programmes that school counsellors actually provide. In fact, except in small schools, the guidance counsellor does not now undertake career guidance. This is usually provided by another person, not necessarily with any counselling training whatsoever. The selective nature of this report interpreted and emphasised that guidance was narrowly focussed on career guidance. On the contrary, guidance has a broad focus whereby career guidance is by no means the major component of a guidance counsellor's job, nor therefore the main focus of counsellor accountability.

The threat to the counsellor's place within secondary schools was considerably increased through the neoliberal agenda, which promoted devolution of power to schools and Boards of Trustees via the notion of self-management and direct resourcing of teachers' salaries. This was part of a larger strategy that attacked traditional welfare policies and reliance on the state, by promoting self-reliance instead. This strategy has had a large role to play in redefining school structures, the social environment and the ideology within which counsellors must now practice. Within self-managing schools, the Board of Trustees and the principal, not the Ministry of Education, have the power to decide how to staff their schools and allocate management units. Direct resourcing was removed in 2000, but while and where it existed, it provided extra money and flexibility. It could fund any combination of teaching or non-teaching staff (including more counselling staff) or provide new equipment. It could pay staff more by allocating management units. Despite the MRG deregulation and the lack of a formal place in schools, counsellors were not made redundant, but if they left there was no requirement for a school to replace them with a counsellor or some other equivalent (e.g., a social worker, youth worker, or psychologist) or to contract counselling services to an outside provider.

By late 1999, two positions had been dis-established in Southland: Gore High School's counsellor was removed due to a falling roll; at Mt. Anglam none was appointed despite there having been, prior to amalgamation, a counsellor at each of its schools, Kingswell and Cargill. Some counsellors in other schools had lost status through a reduction in the allocation of management units (e.g., Waitakere College and James Cook High School). Senior College of New Zealand (SCONZ), a private Auckland school, contracts out its counselling provision. Hopefully the current position whereby most secondary schools have continued to have a permanent 2MU position for school counsellors, using trained teachers, does not simply indicate inertia. Instead, it may suggest an

awareness of the importance of retaining counsellors within the school structure to deal with students' problems, rather than contracting them from outside (Besley, 2000; Webb, 1996). For a long time now, it has been considered important that those appointed to counselling positions must be experienced teachers. PPTA supported this policy right from the start. It was seen as a necessity so that school counsellors could readily gain the trust and support of students, teachers and Principal. Even in the de-regulated 1990s, most schools appear to lend support for this concept, because teachers have a clear understanding of the structural components of the job as well as experience and expertise in dealing with young people. It seems that the perceived need for counselling in schools has been complicated by the efforts of the New Right to gain control over schooling and education in the reform of education (Ball, 1992).

Guidance counsellors and guidance networks became an integral part of New Zealand secondary schools after the 1971 *Working Party Report.* In fact, as NZAC (1997) argued, they were a core function alongside curriculum and administration. Guidance was clearly endorsed by the 1979 *Johnson Report.* Yet in terms of educational policy and practice, the focus and official discourse about guidance and guidance counselling as a core function almost disappeared from view in the 1980s and early 1990s. Counselling was left to the vagaries of restructuring under neoliberal policies. The sort of invisibility that had developed was exemplified by NZAC's concerns about the way the documentation was constructed for the 1997 Review Panel of ERO NZAC pointed out that it was difficult to construct specific responses for their submission since their concerns were largely about omissions *(NZAC Newsletter,* 1997, 18 (2). NZAC pointed out:

> The guidance function is still present, but now subsumed within the descriptions of the two other functions, as exemplified in the National Education Goals and the National Administration Guidelines. ERO teams seem to identify guidance primarily in relation to barriers to learning and concerns about health and safety. Guidance functioning is however pivotal to all aspects of the NEGs and NAGs *(NZAC Newsletter,* 1997, 18 (2): 25).

The implied and imprecise part that school counsellors play in achieving the National Education Goals (NEGs) and National Administration Guidelines (NAGs) was developed after wide consultation by NZAC (Ministry of Education, 1993). NZAC have detailed how counsellors contribute to *all* of the NEGs and NAGs in a four-page appendix to their 1998 policy, *School Counselling,* on the Role of a Guidance Counsellor. NZAC has not made this an official publication, but sent the documentation as correspondence to its members, schools, PPTA and the Ministry of Education. Despite describing how counsellors contribute to all of the NEGs and NAGs, counsellors contribute more directly to some of these than to others. Furthermore, individual job descriptions will alter those NEGs and NAGs which are particularly relevant for counsellors in different schools (for NEGs and NAGs, see Ministry of Education, 1993).

The NEGs involve aspects of the traditional role of school counsellors in terms of personal development, socialisation, adjustment, and Treaty of Waitangi goals as follows: enable students to realise their full potential by working holistically to address their intellectual, emotional, social, physical, and spiritual needs; advance policy development especially in student welfare; encourage involvement in guidance related curriculum areas: Health Education, lifeskills and vocational programmes; identify and remove barriers to learning as a core activity for counsellors; provide vocational and educational guidance to help students develop the knowledge, understanding and skills for the modern ever-changing world; offer support, advice and at times counselling for parents in raising their children; monitor the school climate to promote fairness, equity and positive relationships; identify and support special needs students where possible; increase participation by Maori through the advancement of Maori Education initiatives consistent with Te Tiritiri O Waitangi; respecting the diverse ethnic and cultural heritage of New Zealand (see Ministry of Education, 1993).

Whilst the curriculum aspects of the National Administration Guidelines do not generally apply as much to them as they do to other teachers, counsellors do provide schools with a major component of NAG 5: " i. provide a safe physical and emotional environment for students; ii. comply

in full with any legislation currently in force or that may be developed to ensure the safety of students and employees" (Ministry of Education, 1993). The work that school counsellors undertake in the welfare of students is aimed particularly at this guideline through dealing with issues such as sexual harassment, sexual abuse, bullying, violence, physical abuse, and suicidality. This provision is achieved by counsellors promoting safe and healthy behaviour through individual, group and sometimes family counselling; by organising itinerant services in-house, such as running health clinics; by co-ordinating programmes such as "Peer Support", "Cool Schools" (peer mediation), "Safe Schools", "Eliminating Violence". Such functions are far more extensive than the narrow interpretation of "guidance" suggested by the *Lynch Report* (Ministry of Education, 1995a). Moreover, they do not point to any reason why the MRG should have removed specified staffing for school counselling - quite the contrary.

Certainly, on the basis of enabling schools to fulfil the requirements of both the National Education Goals and the National Administration Guidelines, school counselling can demonstrate clearly that it has an important part to play in meeting the emotional and social needs of adolescents, a part that requires specialist training, skills, understanding and expertise. This major role enables schools to be accountable to the state in fulfilment of important national requirements set by the Ministry of Education and as part of the present performance management systems in schools (Ministry of Education, 1997a, 19996). In noting the increased stress on adolescents and the limited amount of community assistance available in the 1990s, "adequately trained school counsellors remain the cornerstone of provisions for adolescent mental health and development in secondary schools" (Webb, 1996: 21).

In the late 1990s, it seems that school staffing ratios, including guidance counselling, were defined more by the annual government Budget statements, than by the Ministry of Education policy. Staffing is left more to the discretion of the Board of Trustees and the principal as part of the concept of the self-managing school especially when staff salaries are bulk-funded. In light of this and in lieu of any clear statement assigning counsellors to schools, school counsellors have become particularly vulnerable to the whims, prejudices and support of the principal and Board and are more than ever likely to need to use accountability evaluation data to support and explain their role and to justify their continued existence in secondary schools.

Policy, protocols and procedures for school counsellors to manage child abuse (1995) and suicide (1998)

Two policies in the mid-1990s set out ways of dealing with particularly serious and challenging issues that counsellors face: child abuse and youth suicide. The first set of policies was a 1995. publication from the Children and Young Person's Service (CYPS), *Breaking the Cycle: An Interagency Guide to Child Abuse,* and the National Interagency Protocols that followed. The second set of documentation was the report, *The Prevention, Recognition and Management of Young People at Risk of Suicide: Development of Guidelines for Schools* (Beautrais *et al,* 1997), that was followed by *Young People at Risk of Suicide: a Guide for Schools* (Beautrais *et al.,* 1998). This subsection deals in turn with each set of documentation.

Breaking the Cycle, 1995

The publication of *Breaking the Cycle: an Interagency Guide to Child Abuse* (1995) followed the 1995 passing of a set of forty amendments to the *Children, Young Persons and Their Families Act* (1989) that included the "paramountcy" principle, as set out in s6 of the CYP&F Act, 1989, regarding the care and protection of children and young people. The "paramountcy" principle meant that the welfare and interests of children and young people are deemed to come first. *Breaking the Cycle* dealt with how child abuse was to be reported and also with the new child protection duties that

were placed on the Department of Social Welfare. Mandatory reporting of child abuse had prompted considerable public debate and, after consultation, the Government opted to emphasise education and voluntary reporting instead of mandatory reporting. *Breaking the Cycle* was published in the aftermath of this, and followed extensive consultation with many groups and organisations, including the Ministry of Health, Ministry of Education, Police and Doctors for Sexual Abuse Care. The *Breaking the Cycle* booklet was followed in 1996 by a set of National Interagency Protocols, signed by the relevant chief executive or equivalent from several agencies. The education sector protocol formed Section 5 and comprised ten pages. This was an agreement between the Ministry of Education, the NZ School Trustees Association and NZCYPS, noted as having been "developed with the help of a working party and wide consultation in the education sector" (CYPS, 1996: 2). NZAC was one of thirteen organisations that either formed, or was consulted by the working party. It submitted a policy statement to CYPS that was published with the 1996 protocols. The submission referred to principles of autonomy, beneficence, not doing harm, confidentiality and informed consent in the NZAC Code of Ethics (see *NZAC Newsletter,* 1995, 16 (3): 23-24). This was a significant acknowledgement of the status of the organisation and of the place of school counsellors in dealing with the issues of abuse and neglect.

Breaking the Cycle (CYPS, 1995) is a 63-page booklet with seven chapters. The first briefly described the services of CYPS; the second, provided definitions and signs of abuse or neglect; the third, a new set of procedures for reporting child abuse and neglect; the fourth, a list of personnel and groups involved in child protection; the fifth, interagency case management and safe practice; the sixth, who's who in CYPS and, finally, a directory of CYPS sites. Guidance counsellors were specifically mentioned in Chapter Four, as one of a list of groups that "have a central role in child abuse prevention work and in the area of family violence" and are "based at most high schools and colleges and are often the first to be approached by students" (CYPS, 1995: 48).

The education sector protocol (CYPS, 1996) included two recommended policies, but as was characteristic of much policy making in the neoliberal climate of the times, did not actually prescribe a policy that schools had to follow to the letter. One recommended policy was for reporting child abuse and neglect in schools, the other was for dealing with child abuse allegations against employees in schools. The policies included a set of procedures and a flowchart to clarify the actions to be taken. It was from this template, a policy that was to act as a guide, that Boards of Trustees were expected subsequently to develop their own policies; and it was presumed that ERO would check the policy in their audits of schools. Whilst guidance counsellors were mentioned briefly in relation to the first policy, they were not referred to at all in the second that dealt with allegations against school employees.

The protocol's policy guidelines placed the responsibility for dealing with child abuse/neglect on all staff: "It is expected that boards will need to facilitate training for all staff to help them to identify suspected abuse and/or neglect and to be able to respond appropriately" (CYPS, 1996: 6). It went on to suggest that "to assist with the implementation of a training policy, individual boards and/or principals should liase with NZCYPS and New Zealand Police" (CYPS, 1996: 6). It then listed guidance counsellors first (along with visiting teachers, SES educational psychologists and "personnel who can provide further assistance to students") as providing "further support", presumably for training staff. Despite stating: "A useful way of managing suspected cases of child abuse and/or neglect is for a staff member to be nominated as a safety advocate for the child or young person" (CYPS, 1996: 6) and the flow chart recommending that the child safety advocate "should be trained in child abuse management" (8), the policy did not go as far as spelling out any clear, distinctive role for guidance counsellors. It did not seem to show any understanding of, nor be prepared to endorse their training, skills or place in secondary schools. Yet in the procedures and flow chart, a staff member who suspects that a child is being abused or neglected is advised to "inform the principal" and to "hold immediate discussion with guidance counsellor or child safety advocate" (7-8). This strategy may have been advocated because the protocol was for *all* schools and not just for secondary schools, which usually have counsellors as part of their normal staffing

complement, or maybe it reflected a low level of confidence in the school guidance counsellors. Maybe if the protocol had gone further, it would have implied that all schools would have had to employ counsellors and the National government of the day was probably not prepared to bear that expense.

Young People at Risk of Suicide: A Guide for Schools, 1998

In a similar manner to the production of *Breaking the Cycle* (CYPS, 1995), the 1998 *Young People at Risk of Suicide: a Guide for Schools* (subsequently called the *Guide)* was produced after considerable consultation to drafts and a Report both of which were written in 1997 (see Appendix to the *Guide* for consultation details). The *Guide* differed from *Breaking the Cycle* by presenting far greater procedural detail. As part of a national strategy in response to serious concerns about New Zealand's "high and increasing rate of youth suicide"[1] (Beautrais *et al.,* 1997: 1), four youth suicide experts (Annette Beautrais, Carolyn Coggan, David Fergusson, and Lewis Rivers) were commissioned by the Ministry of Education and the National Advisory Committee on Health and Disability (National Health Committee) to report on:

- the spectrum of suicidal behaviour in young people and the causes
- the development of school based policies and strategies to manage and prevent suicidal behaviour in the school context
- recommendations for responses to suicidal behaviour in school students /
- advice and recommendation to manage the aftermath of suicide, suicide attempts and suicidal behaviour in school students (Beautrais *et al.,* 1998: 33).

The 1998 *Guide* had an accompanying report, *The Prevention, Recognition and Management of Young People at Risk of Suicide: Development of Guidelines for Schools,* written in 1997 by the same authors.

Guidance counsellors and NZAC had quite a considerable input into the early drafts (see Appendix I in Beautrais *et al.,* 1997) and the final *Guide.* The Appendix to the *Guide* noted that the four authors agreed to a number of alterations to the text after the consultation process and an analysis of the 276 written submissions. Guidance counsellors, along with Bo T members and principals took part in a series of 26 consultation meetings held throughout the country. The input of counsellors and NZAC modified the type of medical mental health model that the draft initially presented, and clearly stated and staked guidance counsellors' claims of having a vital part to play in dealing with the suicidality of students (see *NZAC Newsletter,* 1997, 18 (3): 22-28).

The *Guide* (1998) established clearly the responsibility of principals and the BoT in relation to sections 75 and 77 of the Education Act, 1989, and the Ministry of Education's 1993 NEGs and NAGs (see *Guide,* 1998: 7-8; and Eppel, 1998). It was recommended that the Board develop a multi-pronged approach of prevention, recognition, intervention, management and review process, accompanied by relevant school policies:

> *Prevention* - implement health education programmes which promote a safe and healthy environment including teaching the current health and physical education curriculum. Develop policies and procedures for the management of any traumatic event such as the death of a student or a member of staff, so that distress to others is minimised.
>
> *Recognition* - acknowledge in written policy that, as far as they are trained and able, it is the responsibility of all staff to endeavour to identify young people experiencing mental health and personal adjustment problems and especially those who may be at risk of seriously contemplating, planning or attempting suicide.
>
> *Intervention* - ensure that any student who is identified as being at risk is referred to the designated staff member (i.e. counsellor) is assessed, assistance and support are provided or a referral made to an appropriate service.

> *Management* - develop a management plan for young people at risk of suicide which details the immediate actions necessary to promote their safety, including consultation with other professionals and family members, monitoring and/or referral to appropriate services and follow up.
>
> *Review*- the ongoing review of the policies, procedures and competence of staff to identify and appropriately refer students who are at risk of attempting suicide. (Beautrais *et al.,* 1998: 8).

The *Guide* and the set of consultation meetings prior to its publication reinforced the mandate of school counsellors, advising: "that all schools should have access to qualified, competent and externally supervised counsellors who assume the responsibility for the assessment and management of all at risk young people in the school" (Beautrais *et al,* 1998: 12). Although it does not actually spell out that they need to be on site, it is implied thus: "Schools should develop clear procedures (based on this guide) and a climate which encourages young people to discuss their personal concerns with teachers and feel comfortable about talking to the counsellor" (Beautrais *et al.,* 1998: 12). Furthermore, "counsellors or designated staff, will then have the primary responsibility to arrange appropriate assistance for the young person while he or she is within the care of the school" (Beautrais *et al,* 1998: 12). That there should be someone other than a counsellor included would be a point of concern, if they were not suitably trained and competent as indicated above. It is indicative of the situation in the de-regulated 1990s when schools had freedom to employ who they wished and may have employed a psychologist or social worker as well or instead of a guidance counsellor. The issue of confidentiality was highlighted with the wording in Table 2 of the *Guide* differing from that in the 1997 report by the insertion of "may" with regard to informing the principal and the family/caregiver and by a section discussing confidentiality (see Beautrais *et al.,* 1998: 19). Furthermore, since "it is strongly recommended that referrals are made only to professionals who are members of a recognised professional organisation which has documented ethical guidelines, professional conduct procedures and requirements for supervision", it endorsed the work of those school counsellors who belong to NZAC and supported the requirement for them to have supervision, something some principals challenged and were reluctant to fund (Beautrais *et al.,* 1998: 21-22). The overall effect of this detailed policy was not just to spell out what school counsellors should do in the instance of suicidality, but to endorse the increased professionalism and ethical performance of school counsellors, of their place, responsibility and accountability in dealing with the well-being of students.

Performance management systems and professional standards introduced into schools, 1995-1999

This last section examines the state's recent formulation of performance management systems, the professional standards that these entail and NZAC's engagement with these professional standards. Professional standards form part of the neoliberal agenda that have been introduced "as part of the Government's strategy for developing and maintaining high quality teaching and leadership in schools and improving learning outcomes for students" (Ministry of Education, 1999a: 5). The Ministry of Education and schools, as the relevant bureaucracies with which guidance counsellors have to deal, may well have divergent views about what they expect of school counsellors. But, at this point in time, the Ministry requirements seem to converge with those of NZAC, as evidenced by the Performance Management System *PMS 5* document (Ministry of Education, 1997) and its very general statement on professional standards. This would appear to be a strong endorsement for the professionalism and professionalisation procedures that NZAC has in place. It also reflects lobbying by the Association to be heard and acknowledged, so that school counsellors are not left invisible, but are located as "specialist teachers" as they are described in the *PMS 5* document.

It has been NZAC, largely in response to third-party funder requirements of the majority of its members who are in private practice, that has taken the lead in setting the qualifications required for counselling as a profession, not the Government, nor the Ministry of Education, nor NZQA. NZAC

has set its own professional standards for counsellors by introducing measures that promote increased professionalisation and accountability, which have enabled it to claim a strong professional profile and status for its members (see Chapter Four). School counsellors have certainly benefited from this because they can justify their position as being not only professionally qualified and registered teachers, but also as being professional counsellors. This section examines how the government formulated its own set' of professional standards for school counsellors.

In non-profit organisations such as schools, performance management is "hard to quantify or measure in a manner that would enable performance to be assessed and governments and their agents to be held accountable" (Boston *et al.,* 1996: 13). Nevertheless, in 1995, the Ministry of Education published *Draft Guidelines For Performance Management in Schools* (19956) that were trialled in 1996 and received extensive consultation with more than 2000 school trustees and principals and over 100 submissions from educational groups, agencies, schools and teachers (Fancy, 1997). With some modifications, and with the publication of more details in further leaflets *(PMS* nos. 1- 5, etc) (Ministry of Education, 19976), the 1995 *Draft* formed the basis for what all New Zealand schools were required to implement from 1997 onwards (Ministry of Education, 1997a).

In the 1995 Draft, the Ministry of Education PMS guidelines did not support a centralised, "best practice" approach to accountability and stated quite clearly that schools needed to fit in with the guidelines, but were free to develop their own systems to achieve this: "defining the actual scope of each key performance area is the prerogative of each school" (Ministry of Education, 1995: 23). It was the responsibility of individual schools to ascertain what monitoring or reporting mechanisms were most appropriate and applicable for their teachers and for their school counsellors. The advantages in a generic, best practice model are those of centralisation in ensuring uniformity and comparability; of uniform/consistent standards; and of minimising regional differences. The problems in establishing a model of best practice is that it does not acknowledge difference and disempowers a school to some extent. The advantages of decentralisation are enhancement of regional and local autonomy and avoidance of undue concentration of power in a central authority.

The 1995 *Draft* had outlined key performance areas that differed for teaching staff, for those with management responsibilities and for principals, but these were eventually changed somewhat in subsequent documentation, such as *PMS 5* (Ministry of Education, 19976), which was aimed at specialist teachers, including guidance counsellors. In the two sets of documentation produced by the Ministry in 1999, *Professional Standards for Quality Teaching* (Ministry of Education, 1999a) and *Teacher Performance Management* (Ministry of Education, 1999c), guidance counsellors were grouped with RTLBs. It was clear that both were seen as specialists and their inclusion spells out a place for them in schools. Guidance counsellors were no longer invisible and so were not able to be marginalised as readily as before. *Professional Standards for Quality Teaching* specified three levels of accomplishment, identifying and addressing "areas that need development in a positive and supportive environment as part of the professional development cycle in schools" (Ministry of Education, 1999a: 3). In building on the earlier documentation of performance management systems, professional standards now include the following components and can be incorporated into a job description:

> *a) professional standards* - key knowledge, skills and attitudes that all teachers are expected to demonstrate in carrying out their role(s).
>
> *b) performance objectives/expectations* - outcomes or results the teacher is expected to achieve.
>
> *c) development objectives* - planned improvements in performance, including professional development activities the teacher will undertake to achieve these.
>
> (Ministry of Education, 1999a: 4).

Professional standards for guidance counsellors receive a special, albeit brief mention, and are grouped with RTLBs as "unit holders", stating: "the appropriate standards are applied in the context

of their student casework; the Secretary of Education's *PMS 5* notice (November 1997) will apply for reference" (Ministry of Education, 1999a: 10).

School counsellors can expect to be appraised, evaluated and held accountable in all facets of their job description, teaching, management and counselling, depending on what they negotiate with their appraiser at the start of the annual performance management cycle. Where counsellors have teaching responsibilities, they are expected to achieve agreed performance standards for teachers, and where they have management responsibilities, they are expected to achieve the prescribed standards for these. Over and above these two sets of performance standards, school counsellors are expected to reach counselling standards. School counsellors had been invisible in the *Draft's* key performance areas in 1995, but *PMS 5* referred to guidance counsellors as specialist teachers and suggested that ways of appraising could be to use NZAC professional standards and supervision reports (see *PMS 5,* Ministry of Education, 19976) and might mean seeking evaluations from clients. NZAC had been able to promote the guidance counsellor's cause and special role in schools, defining in turn, by 1999, what were considered to be the counsellor's key performance areas. Whether or not the professional conduct of school counsellors should be monitored by the school and/or by a professional organisation (such as NZAC) would seem to lie in the question "to whom is the school counsellor accountable?" Since they work within an institution, school counsellors are responsible and accountable to that institution. It could be argued that a professional body such as NZAC could monitor counselling professional standards. Despite discussions about instituting counsellor registration and annual practicing certificates, to date NZAC shows little inclination nor has the facilities to perform such a task.

The later document, *Teacher Performance Management* (Ministry of Education, 1999c), built on all previous ones and included much of the information that they contained. The document became in effect not only the latest, but the definitive policy on performance management that had been mandatory since 1997. It explained that professional standards:

- describe the important knowledge, skills and attitudes that all teachers and unit holders are expected to demonstrate in carrying out their role(s);
- replace Appendix G and Appendix 5 criteria of the previous STCEC and ASTCEC [sections of the collective employment contracts];
- expand the existing three key performance areas - teaching, school-wide management responsibilities, already specified in the 1997 PMS requirements;
- formalise the Government's expectations of professional performance of teachers and school managers.
- (Ministry of Education, 1999c: 9).

Where it differed markedly from earlier documents was the inclusion of detail orl\teachers' pay progression whereby, for the first time, performance-based pay has been formally introduced to teaching. Professional standards now form part of the Secondary Teachers Collective Employment Contract (STCEC) to which progressive salary payments on and beyond the basic scale were linked from 2000 onwards (Ministry of Education, 1999c). The employer (principal) is required to attest that there has been an annual assessment of each teacher's performance, measured against all the professional standards relevant for their level (beginning, classroom and experienced classroom teachers and unit holders). This had all been done in consultation with "PPTA, Teacher Registration Board, NZ School Trustees Association, Te Puni Kokiri, ERO, Secondary Principal's Association, NZ Area Schools' Association, Te Akatea, Te Runanga Nui o Nga Kura Kaupapa, Association of Proprietors of Integrated Schools, NZ Intermediate and Middle Schools Association, and the State Services Commission" (Ministry of Education, 1999c: 3).

In the final documentation (Ministry of Education, 1999c), two diagrams showed how professional standards needed to be integrated into the performance management system (PMS) in schools that includes the following components:

> *Performance Expectations-professional* standards, performance indicators, development objectives, other standards and objectives, and job description (optional); *Performance Appraisal* - observation, self appraisal and interview; *Reward* - recognition, registration, career advancement, pay progression;
>
> *Professional Development* - formal study, seminar/conference, teaching time with peer, in service training, guidance and support; Disciplinary/Competency Procedures (Ministry of Education, 1999c: 6).

The cycle was expected to include professional development to improve staff competence and expertise alongside the set of goals they were expected to achieve. Whilst there was an element of maintenance in this, the emphasis on development was geared towards incremental improvements in a school where both personal and professional goals were expected to fit within the overall scope of a school's strategic plan. These notions were consistent with the NZAC requirements for ongoing professional development. The Ministry of Education documentation emphasised a largely consultative model of accountability for schools that tended to respect the professional status of staff. It emphasised appraisal being a positive experience for staff, with the potential for improving collegiality. Nevertheless, since appraisal is usually conducted by someone in a position of higher authority than the staff. member being appraised, fears, tensions and power issues are almost invariably involved. Review processes exist partly to emphasise the professional development to help staff to improve, but also in order that they have some degree of power to challenge the result of the appraisal.

Chapters One and Two have outlined the main government (and also PPTA) policies that have shaped the place of school counselling in New Zealand secondary schools. Both political and educational agendas have continued to play a part. Early policies defined what guidance counselling should concern itself with and, to a certain extent, what it was about. The neoliberal reforms that introduced New Public Management introduced new mechanisms of managerialism and accountability in education that have strongly impacted upon the professionalism of New Zealand school counselling. Whilst the nature of the student needs and problems may have changed with changing social, economic and educational contexts, barriers to student learning remain. Therefore the need for schools to have counsellors has not disappeared; quite the contrary if the current suspension and youth suicide statistics are considered as an indicator of need. To assert their continued place in schools, counsellors need to publicise what they do and how effective they are in dealing with students. School counselling's identity has changed over time, partly due to the academic education that counsellors now have. The next chapter outlines the changing pattern of education of guidance counsellors.

Notes

1. New Zealand has the highest rate of reported youth suicide among industrialised (OECD) countries. While completed suicide rates are higher m the 20-24 age group than among 15-19 year olds, the rate of attempted suicide is higher for those in the adolescent age range of 13-19 years (Beautrais *et al.,* 1998: 5).

CHAPTER THREE

A Genealogy of School Counsellor Education: Establishing Professional Identity

The role of education in establishing a professional identity for guidance counselling, 1995-1999

Counselling as a profession is considered to be a 20th 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-noviciate, 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 :/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 (197 4) 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 n 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.

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 dearly 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 Tides 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, enueretic, 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 20th 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 (3rd 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; "unarrogance"
>
> 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 emphasise, 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.

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 guidance 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, 197 4: 1 106).

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 197 4, 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 20th 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 offemale 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 guidance 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 m 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 m 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 20th 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 suggestions 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, 19886), 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 m 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 m 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, m 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 retraining 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 fulfilness 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.

CHAPTER FOUR

Governmentality and Professionalisation: The New Zealand Association of Counsellors

Governmentality and the professionalisation of school counselling

This chapter provides a narrative of being and becoming 'professional'. It examines the double-edged sword of professionalisation, highlighted by a Foucauldian approach: that is professional autonomy versus surveillance and compliance to external agencies in the name of accountability and professional standards. This is amid more recent concerns that have surfaced with neoliberal educational policy agendas of managerialism and accountability resulting in the codification of professional standards for teachers and school counsellors as highlighted in Chapter Two.

In its early history, the establishment of a professional identity for school guidance counselling was largely taken for granted, for the counsellor had to be a teacher of some years standing in order to be selected as a counsellor by the Department of Education. As teachers, counsellors were already considered to be 'professional'. Guidance counsellors have tended to see themselves more as counsellors than as teachers and, in a few schools in the deregulated neoliberal environment, they may not even be trained teachers. If they have been teachers, then they have needed to develop a second professional identity to that of 'teacher' within schools, becoming a 'counsellor'. This section looks briefly at how counselling presents as a 'profession'. In this discussion and analysis, a Foucauldian 'analytics of power' and his notions of ethical self-constitution and self-regulation are used to inform the discussion of professional autonomy.

As counselling changed and developed into a generic profession, guidance counselling became simply a speciality involved in counselling. This was reflected most clearly in the major change in the professional organisation once NZCGA became NZAC in 1990. Instead of being primarily of and for guidance counsellors, after 1990 NZAC became an organisation available for *all* counsellors. In the process, membership mushroomed but school counsellors became a minority and simply one sector for the Association to consider. NZAC, by growing rapidly and representing the wider field of counselling, became far more powerful and also gained a place as a recognised body of some stature. Despite maintaining supportive aspects of NZCGA, NZAC now involves the administration, policing, and surveillance of members to some extent (Winslade, 1997; Manthei, 1997a, 19976). These changes are described and discussed in section 4.2.

The main body of the chapter focuses on the development of the professional organisation for counsellors (NZCGA which became NZAC), how it was founded, and how it developed "technologies of power" and a form of "governmentality" that exercises a form of power-knowledge that helps to shape and direct the activities of counsellors (Foucault, 1979c, 1982a, 1989). Just as Foucault uses the term "government" to mean more than simply "politics", so he uses "conduct" in the sense of both "being led" or "conducted" and as "behaviour" or "conduct". On Foucault's view, governmentality means the complex of calculations, programs, policies, strategies, reflections and tactics that shape the conduct of individuals, "the conduct of conduct" for acting upon the actions of others in order to achieve certain ends. Those ends are "not just to control, subdue, discipline, normalize, or reform them, but also to make them more intelligent, wise, happy, virtuous, healthy, productive, docile, enterprising, fulfilled, self-esteeming, empowered, or whatever" (Rose, 1998: 12). Governmentality involves control in both its negative sense and its positive sense, in its contribution to the security of society, as an interdependence of the political, governmental and the social that is characteristic of modern Western societies. The governing of others is conducted by a large array of authorities, be they political, economic, military, police, educational, theological, medical, welfare and so on, with the general purpose of avoiding negatives and ills such as crime, mental illness,

ignorance and poverty, whilst promoting what is considered desirable by society, that is health, wealth and happiness.

Foucault considers that an explosion of interest in the "art of government" in the 16th century was motivated by four diverse questions: the government of oneself or one's personal conduct; the government of souls and lives or pastoral conduct; the government of children, which subsequently involved pedagogy and their education; and the government of the state by its prince or ruler (Foucault, 1991). Self-government is connected with morality; governing the family is related to economy and ruling the state to politics. Foucault believes that. m the mid 18th century "the family becomes ... the privileged instrument for the government of the population and not the chimerical model of good government" (Foucault, 1991: 100) thus enabling population to become the ultimate end of government. This enabled government to concentrate on the welfare of its population, to embark on large-scale campaigns such as vaccinations, marriage, employment, improving its health, wealth, mortality and it was this context that enabled the "psy" sciences to evolve.

Foucault's notion of governmentality concentrates on understanding the pluralised forms of government, its complexity, and its techniques in the question of *how* power is exercised whereby the rationality of government involves both permitting and requiring the practice of freedom of its subjects. The power relations between government and self-government, public and private domains coincide and coalesce at the point where 'policing and administration' stops and where the freedom of the subject becomes a resource for, rather than a hindrance to, government; In liberal democracies, governing others has always been linked to subjects who are constituted as being free to simultaneously practice liberty and take responsibility for governing the self (Rose, 1998). Analyses m terms of governmentality then involve problematisation, critique, and contestability about these practices of governance of the self and of others.

While the first professional organisation, NZCGA, was set up largely as a support group, NZAC, despite maintaining supportive aspects, could be seen as having become involved to some extent in the administration, policing, and surveillance of members (Winslade, 1997; Manthei, 1997a, 19976). It could be argued that this role constitutes a form of governmentality at a specific institutional site of power. Some of these issues are aired in a discussion on membership criteria for NZAC in section 4.3. One of the key moves towards increased professionalisation has been a change in membership criteria. Membership of NZCGA in the 1970s and 1980s was vastly different from the detailed criteria that are now required for membership of NZAC. In 1998, the NZAC Membership Committee explored this possibility of maintaining professional standards by setting criteria for a practising certificate that was renewed at regular intervals. But in the light of the huge amount of work that was already involved with the new membership criteria and the need for a supervisor's report for renewal of membership, not to mention some objections from members, the idea of re-assessing members was dropped (see *NZAC Newsletter,* 1998, 18, no. 4).

This chapter concludes with a brief overview and critique of the NZAC *School Counsellor Appointments Kit* for Boards of Trustees in section 4.4. The kit describes the possible extent of the job and criteria for the appropriate sort of person to be employed as a counsellor. In the absence of any Ministry of Education job description, this kit provides schools with guidelines for both job and person descriptions, as well as copies of the Associations Code of Ethics, Code of Supervision and guidelines for Training of School Counsellors.

Foucault (1982) commented on the "disciplining" of European society since the 18th century by playing on the double meaning of "discipline". He referred to "blocks" of "disciplines" in which "the adjustment of abilities, the resources of communication, and power relations constitute regulated and concerted systems", citing the example of an educational institution (Foucault, 1982: 218). Foucault (1977) suggested that the operation of institutions such as prisons, factories and schools can be understood in terms of techniques of power that are a form of *power-knowledge* that observe, monitor, shape and control the behaviour of people within these institutions. Disciplinary mechanisms such as "hierarchical observation, normalizing judgement and the examination"

develop within disciplinary institutions and enable disciplinary power to be achieved by both training and coercing individual and collective bodies (Smart, 1985: 85). He argued that it was not that society had become increasingly obedient, nor that society had set up disciplinary institutions such as barracks, schools or prisons, but rather that an increasingly invigilated process of adjustment had been developed. "More and more, rational and economic relations have been set up between productive activities, resources of communication, and the play of power relations" (Foucault, 1982: 219). Through one of the instruments of the disciplinary technology of power, the examination, and through governmentality, the "psy" sciences emerged in the late 19th and expanded in the 20th century (Foucault, 1989c; Rose, 1989, 1998; Smart, 1985).

The examination observed individuals and, in turn, produced a compilation of written reports, files, and registers that enabled populations to be documented, described, analysed and classified. Through it, each individual and ordinary people became a "case" in a change from "regimes of sovereign power in which only the celebrated and noble were 'individualized' in chronicles and fable ... a lowering of the threshold of description and the construction of a new modality of power" (Smart, 1985: 87). This constituted "the individual as effect and object of power as effect and object of knowledge" (Foucault, 1980: 192). Therefore, the school counselling profession can be understood as involving a form of disciplinary power with its own form of power-knowledge - a set of practices and techniques operating within schools that assist students to "take care of the self" at best, but can impose a form of domination and control at worst.

The Foucauldian notion of power, as formulated in his later work, is not a repressive one, as power is usually conceptualised in traditional liberal sociology and Marxist political thought. While the "juridico-discursive" conception of power is repressive, for Foucault power is not only repressive or negative, but also 'positive', not in the sense of being good or benign or something to aspire to, but in the sense of being constitutive in the shaping of peoples' lives and ideas (Foucault, 1980: 82). Foucault is less concerned with a 'theory' of power than with "an 'analytics' of power: that is, toward a definition of the specific domain formed by relations of power, and toward a determination of the instruments that will make possible this analysis" (Foucault, 1980: 82). Foucault is primarily interested in *how* power is exercised, in "actions upon actions" which constitute power relations (Foucault, 1982: 220) and how it involves creative aspects in relationships, discourses and consciousness. Foucault's later analysis of power shifted to understand power as a form of ethical self-constitution and governmentality. This allows us to understand counselling's recent developments under neoliberalism with its demands for accountability and professionalisation. For Foucault governmentality is not simply about control in its negative sense (such as controlling, subduing, disciplining, normalising or reforming people) but also in its positive, constitutive sense, in its contribution to the security, health, wealth and well-being of society.

The formal governance of school counsellors is conducted by various authorities, such as professional associations to which the counsellor may belong, by legislation, and by employing authorities. The general purpose of formal governance is to avoid negative effects on clients. Informal forms of governance involve feedback from clients, their relatives, peers, friends, and others who associate with them and who judge the counsellors as third parties. Foucault's questions about "how to govern oneself, how to be governed, how to govern others, by whom the people will accept being governed, how to become the best possible governor" have implications for the governance of professionals such as school counsellors (Foucault, 1991: 87). Thus, a Foucauldian interpretation of governmentality provides a way of understanding the moves towards increased professionalisation by a professional counselling association like NZAC, as "actions upon the actions" of counsellors and school counsellors.

Counsellors are subject to the rules of their professional organisation and in turn their professional conduct is thereby constituted. Foucault understands the mode of subjectivation as "self-stylization or form-giving" and refers to "the way in which the individual establishes his relation to the rule and recognizes himself as obligated to put it into practice" (Rabinow, 1997: xxx).

Subjectivation applies to both understanding the processes by which clients become subjects, or the making of an autonomous subject, and how counsellors become professionals. It also concerns how individual counsellors establish a relation to the rules, practices and ethical protocols set by the professional organisation that obligates them and acts as a template for practice. Thus the crucial element is a form of *professional self knowledge,* that not only helps to set the parameters within which the counsellor engages with the client, but also sets in process, the learning processes by which the counsellor, in helping others, constitutes him- or herself as a professional. Significantly, the New Zealand Ministry of Education both recognises and refers to the professional standards set by NZAC (see Chapter Two). In this manner the link between state regulation and professional self-regulation is established; that is, legal constraints are established through the collective employment contract that sets salary levels, conditions of work and performance standards. Thus, what could be considered a fairly integrated and consistent loop has been established with NZAC gaining considerable formal credence as a 'professional' body in the process.

From a Foucauldian viewpoint, the hallmarks of a profession are ethical self-constitution and ethical self-regulation. These twin concepts refer to the traditional Kantian notion of autonomy, especially in relation to professional practice and accountability. Ethical self-regulation is reflected most frequently in codes of professional conduct or codes of ethics by most professions. In addition, it is now customary for the profession to institute a complaints procedure, where charges of professional misconduct or negligence can be heard and dealt with according to established procedures. In the development of school counselling as a profession, a Code of Ethics was established in the first days of the establishment of the New Zealand Counselling and Guidance Association (NZCGA, 1976). A review of this code and the establishment of more dearly defined complaints procedures have occurred since its re-birth as the New Zealand Association of Counsellors (NZAC) in the 1990s. The related topic of ethics for counselling is discussed in more detail in Chapter Five.

What constitutes a profession has remained by no means static over time or place. Occupations considered to be professional vary from one country to another, with some countries applying the term more broadly than others. Some professions have maintained a place (e.g. medicine, law, architecture) others have been added (e.g. dentists, veterinarians, accountants) and some have become de-professionalised and even disappeared (e.g. railroad surgeons, psychological mediums, gynaecological neurology) (Abbott, 1988). By the 18th century, professions such as medicine, law and the clergy, held jurisdiction over health, justice and the soul, respectively. These few professions were expanded to include others that largely reflected the concerns of the relevant age. The Industrial Age added accountants, bankers, engineers whilst the late 19th and 20th century, under the influence of the 'welfare state', witnessed the growth of teaching, academia, scientists, psychiatrists, psychologists, psychotherapists, counsellors and social workers. The 'market' economies of the late 20th century have seen the rise of enterprise, marketing, and financial professionals, and all those associated with information technology. Issues of professionalisation hinge on claims for counselling and, by extension, school counselling to be a profession (Feit and Lloyd, 1990). Certainly practitioners involved in the field consider themselves to be professionals and o act professionally, but how does this align with accepted notions of what constitutes a profession? Do counsellors actually attain and not just claim professional status?

Although there is no complete consensus in defining the attributes of a profession, there do seem to be a group of characteristics that distinguishes professions from other occupations (Abbott, 1988; Caplow, 1966; Etziom, 1969; Vollmer, 1966). In contemporary Western society professionalism requires, first, an appropriate formal tertiary level of education as a minimum standard for entry. This is often in the form of a general undergraduate degree, which is followed by specific professional training, usually at post-graduate level. A major distinguishing characteristic of a profession is the combination of theory and practice, of the attempted integration of 'academic' and 'professional' education into a coherent programme for the profession.

Second, in some instances entry to a profession is restricted by government regulation and/or by a professional organisation. Government regulations and legislation are frequently formulated to ensure that the practitioners of certain professions are both suitably qualified and competent, because their field involves specialised personal services dealing with public health, safety and well being. In addition to external regulation, professions have also been granted traditionally the privilege of self-regulation, based on expectations that members would abide by a set of professional standards of competence and a code of ethics to ensure the protection of the public. The state has often defined training and registration procedures and awarded these professional privileges by acts of parliament, that have in turn determined those who could legitimately call themselves the relevant professional name (e.g. doctor, lawyer, psychologist, nurse, real estate agent, motor vehicle salesperson). It is noteworthy that neither teachers nor counsellors are in this category.

Third, professionalism demands the development of an esoteric body of knowledge, theory and skills over which professionals have a monopoly. In this instance a monopoly does not imply that there are no overlaps nor instances of shared skills, knowledge and expertise, but that there are some aspects that are separate and distinctive m how these are applied or how they operate for a separate profession. Counselling, unlike law, medicine or architecture for example, cannot pretend to have a monopoly over the body of knowledge, theory and skills because it is also used to a certain extent by psychotherapists, psychologists, social workers and others in the human services who consider that they 'counsel' clients. This chapter limits itself to examining the professionalisation of counselling within its professional organisation and does not attempt any discussion of the well-documented field of the body of knowledge of the profession.

Fourth, there is autonomy and self-regulation by the profession regarding the terms and conditions of practice that may or may not be modified by state or legal regulations. Regulation through certification, licensure and/ or registration may be controlled by the state or a professional association. The terms 'certification', 'licensure' and credentialising need some explanation (see <http://www.counseling.org/resources/licensure_legislation.htm> 2001). 'Certification' is the process whereby individuals are granted the use of a title by verifying that they have met certain minimum standards of qualifications specified by professional or government organisations or departments of education. It does not authorise them to practice a profession nor does it regulate the profession. "Licensure" or 'regulation' is a legislative process of 'credentialising', granting only those persons who hold a license the legal right to practice. Certification sets minimal standards of effectiveness. Once one has passed exams in the requisite knowledge and is granted the appropriate certification to practice, all that can be implied is that the person has passed the minimum criteria for entry to the profession. It may well be that they have superior skills and abilities, but this is not able to be determined through certification. It is then left to an employer or a client to ascertain more about the person's abilities. Employers do this by observation and through referees' reports, whilst clients are usually left with only the option of word-of-mouth from other clients or the recommendation of another professional, such as a referral from a GP to a specialist. Proponents of certification often suggest or assume that the knowledge acquired for achieving certification equates with adequate performance, when this can be demonstrated dearly to be incorrect. Therefore, any effective certification model must include performance standards in its criteria. Just how this is to be done is open to question, since measurement itself poses problems. Knowledge components can usually be assessed via some sort of test, whereas performance components require on the job observations, so trainees should be allowed more than one chance to reach an appropriate level of performance. Counselling trainees need to ascertain their own readiness in applying for certification, by checking against the required criteria and by consulting with their trainers (for debate on certification, see Everts, 1987; Hoyt, 1991; Manthei, 1989). Certification involves a considerable extension of the surveillance of counsellors and of the policing function of professional associations.

Professional groups that have been subject to government regulation have commonly achieved high levels of secure remuneration through being able to control both the supply of its professionals and competition between them (doctors, lawyers, dentists, accountants). The intent to protect the public has resulted in professional self-interest being enabled and endorsed. At times conflict between these two forces has emerged (for example recent criticisms of the Medical Council). In the present era with a far better educated public, traditional structures, regulations and privilege have been challenged. Restraints on competition are believed to lead to a lack of innovation, insufficient information for clients and excessive costs for services, all amidst accusations of professionals promoting their own interests ahead of the public good. Nowadays clients are often less willing to defer to the professional without question and are far more prepared to complain or even seek legal redress when errors are made. As a result, professional indemnity insurance has become a necessity for both professionals and their employers. Neoliberal governments have promoted competition through the reform and limitation of restrictive practices in business, but have had little success in dealing with restrictive professional practices due largely to the power and strength of most professional associations.

Fifth, a professional organisation or association develops to provide a combination of support, advocacy, and disciplinary measures for its members. Such as organisation has a form of collegial authority that devises and upholds a code of ethics and a complaints procedure, that is often largely specific to that profession. It can act to discipline members who breach its codes of ethics and of practice. Representing the profession is a crucial aspect of any professional organisation and important in the process of establishing professional identity. A professional organisation often controls entry to the profession; develops stringent professional membership criteria; formulates a code of professional practice or a code of ethics; has input into the training of prospective members; sets minimum professional standards; and produces a professional journal and/or newsletter. A professional journal promotes academic exchange and recent research on theory and practice, while a newsletter tends to act as a forum for information, viewpoints and discussion about professional issues. A major distinguishing characteristic of a profession is the combination of theory and practice, of the attempted integration of 'academic' and 'professional' education into a coherent programme for the profession.

Sixth, a profession upholds a commitment to a service ideal. An underlying theme is that the relationship between the professional and the client is based on trust, a sense of moral responsibility, and the ideal of serving the interests of the professional community and society as a whole rather than the self-interests of the individual.

Seventh, a particular orientation to the profession's clients, that often occurs within the framework of a collegial organisation or association, prohibits competition within the profession and withstands challenges from outside, all the while aiming to protect both clients and members. All of these features emphasise the special nature of professional power-knowledge and indicate how the professions can act as disciplinary bodies. In this respect they use dividing practices to exclude those who do not meet their criteria for consideration as 'professional' and disciplinary practices to control those who are considered to be professional. Apart from legislation the other principle means of disciplining professionals is through the rules and activities of governance of professional associations.

Counselling and, by extension, school counselling in the USA, Britain and New Zealand largely fits this description. Counselling in New Zealand has achieved three of the four steps that Caplow (1966) lists: first, forming a professional association; second, changing the Association's name to differentiate it from lower status occupations; and third, promulgating a code of ethics (Miller, 1994). Caplow's fourth step, political lobbying for legislation involving accreditation and credentialing to protect the Association, began with NZAC's ratification in 1991 of a process of accreditation of members but has not (by 2002) been taken further despite discussion about registration. Some debate ensued in the *NZAC Newsletter* about accreditation, with Hans Everts taking a position in

favour and Bob Manthei in opposition (Everts, 1987; Manthei, 1989). The first six members to achieve this status did so in 1994, but until 1999 there had been little interest from members, with only a handful taking up this process. With the extensive revamp of the membership process from 1997 onwards, and with outside agencies (e.g. The Accident Compensation Commission [ACC] that funds counselling for sexual abuse survivors) recognising the professional status of NZAC members, the need for accreditation became subsumed under the new membership procedures which themselves constitute a form of accreditation.

Unlike some other professions, in New Zealand counsellors have no legally constituted certification or registration requirements (except for school counsellors who are required to be registered as "specialist teachers") nor protection of the title of "counsellor" (unlike that of psychologist). NZAC does not control entry to the counselling profession. Moreover, since the neoliberal deregulation of school counsellor education, the state no longer defines counsellor training in contrast to the requirements for some occupational groups (e.g. doctors, lawyers, psychologists, nurses, real estate agents and motor vehicle salespersons). The extent of state regulation reflects first, a concern that unless the activities of a selected group of occupations is controlled, the public are likely to be at risk of unacceptable practices; and second, it reflects the way society sees the role of the state. A leftist welfare state tends to strongly value state regulation and control, whereas in contrast, a neoliberal state tends to be more concerned with limiting the power of interest groups and professions through deregulation and decentralised control. Yet in the neoliberal 1980s-1990s, when there was limited regulation of occupations, the New Zealand Education Act (1989) that deals primarily with school administration procedures, set up the Teacher Registration Board. The only aspect of regulation applying to teachers and therefore, to school counsellors was the requirement that Boards employ registered teachers. If the Boards did not fulfil this requirement they could be fined. Why school counselling has not required official registration is probably largely historical. School counsellors were already regulated by the Department of Education and checked by its inspectors. Subsequently ERO audited and evaluated them in a school-wide mandate, and the hierarchy of school administration, HoDs and principals, appraised them. It was only in the late 1990s that professional standards for teachers became a required practice as part of appraisal systems, becoming finally part of the employment contract in 1999 (see Chapter Two).

Up until 2000, political moves to legislate for either the protection of the name 'counsellor', or to require registration or credentialising, have not been a focus for either NZAC or government. NZAC has attempted to create an organisation whose members operate ethically and professionally, where membership really counts for something in terms of professional identity, probity and accountability, and where this is made dear to clients and the general public. This gives NZAC and its members professional credibility against those who call themselves counsellors, but are not members of any professional organisation, because, whilst anyone can call himself or herself a 'counsellor', only counsellors who are NZAC members can identify themselves by using the initials MNZAC (where the 'M' stands for 'member'). While the neoliberal agenda promoted competition and deregulation, there was little likelihood that legal registration for counsellors would be easily enacted. For this to occur there would be probably a need for considerable clamour and lobbying from many public bodies (possibly a moral panic), plus evidence of highly contentious, extremely unethical, unprofessional practice by counsellors, be they NZAC members or not. It would not be sufficient for a professional organisation itself to promote government regulation, for in neoliberal terms, they would likely be dismissed as representing 'self-interest' and provider-capture. What NZAC has focussed on in the political arena has been to ensure that counselling discourse in general, and guidance counselling discourse in particular, is rendered visible (see *NZAC Newsletters*).

It is not mandatory for a counsellor or a school counsellor to belong to a professional counselling organisation like NZAC, but those who do belong have to reach its set of professional standards as set out in the membership criteria (see section 4.3). NZAC's membership requires formal training or an equivalent; upholding the Code of Ethics; and adhering to the ideals of service

to clients. Furthermore counsellors are required to be autonomous and to self-regulate the terms and conditions under which they practice within the bounds of their Code of Ethics and their work-place. The complaints procedure and requirements for retaining membership form part of self-regulation and collegial authority. The importance of on-going professional development is dearly recognised by NZAC. By insisting on this requirement, as part of upholding the Code of Ethics, the Association is attempting to deal with beliefs that the competence gap widens in the years after formal training ends. It is sometimes asserted that the useful lifespan of the knowledge components of formal vocational training is about five years. As knowledge shifts, expands, deepens and broadens, and as counselling theories change, with some gaining or losing favour, counsellors need to keep abreast of these and may need to develop new skills. They need a systematic maintenance, improvement and broadening of knowledge, skills and personal qualities that are not just a blanket openness to the new, but are also a critical evaluation of both new and earlier theories. Experience is important as it enables a counsellor to evaluate knowledge and skills, and to more effectively use both existing and new knowledge. This supports the notion of lifelong education and training as an essential part of counsellor professional identity. As yet NZAC does not spell out the hours required or the types of ongoing professional development that are acceptable, but it does require a statement endorsed by the counsellor's supervisor as a condition for retaining membership. In contrast to what NZAC requires of its members, the PPTA which secondary teachers voluntarily join has only a voluntary code of ethics and there is still no code of ethics to which all teachers must adhere.

Establishing counselling as a profession: NZCGA becomes NZAC

The professional body that currently represents the counselling profession, the New Zealand Association of Counsellors (NZAC), grew out of an organisation set up by and for school guidance counsellors, known as the New Zealand Counselling and Guidance Association (NZCGA). Hermansson (1999) and Wadsworth (1999) detail the antecedents to this organisation in the form of informal groups in the main centres, the Auckland School Counsellors Association (1967-197 4) and a National Association of School Counsellors, initiated by Bernie Flowers in 1970. Ted Wadsworth (NZCGA initial, interim President) was a prime mover in both the Auckland and National Associations, and was heavily involved in promoting the cause of guidance counsellors at national level.[1] Through the *Newsletter* he invited all 108 guidance counsellors, convening the inaugural meeting and conference that aimed "to establish a National Association of Guidance (or Student) Counsellors" (Hermansson, 1999: 14). This coincided with the setting up of New Zealand's second university-based counselling course at Massey University and resulted in the inauguration of NZCGA on 1 September 1974, at a conference of about fifty-six people, forty of whom were school guidance counsellors. "Careers advisors, guidance teachers, vocational guidance officers, psychologists, social workers and counsellor educators" also attended (Miller, 1996: 37). The conference presentations (see NZCHA, 1974) included: “Is there a time for being professional?” Ted Wadsworth); “The counsellor's role in a changing system of education'' (Peter Boag); "Towards a responsible humanism: counselling in the post-Rogerian era'' (Dr Alan Webster); "The community helps itself" (Felix Donnelly); and "Ancillary and supporting services in guidance" John Pankhurst). Whilst the gathering was to examine and share counselling issues, experiences and resources of those already working in this area (Hermansson, 1999; Miller, 1996), the aim of NZCGA was "to promote within the New Zealand community effective counselling and guidance services (Hermansson, 1999: 18). Such an emphasis on effectiveness is significant both then and now for the professionalisation of the Association.

The 1977 Objects of NZCGA reflected its place as a new Association and profession centred in schools. Apparent from these objectives is the important role of effectiveness, professional standards, training and supervision.

Objects of NZCGA (1977 Constitution)

a) to promote effective counselling and guidance services in educational institutions and related services;

b) to assist clients to obtain services adequate to their needs;

c) to develop common policies on counselling and guidance issues and to transmit these to the public, to the Government, and to other appropriate authorities; . . .

d) to ensure the establishment of professional standards, to promote satisfactory conditions of employment and to protect the interests and public standards of counselling and guidance personnel;

e) to provide a forum for members to discuss matters of common concern;

f) to promote an adequate level of training and supervision;

g) to publish such journals, monographs and other publications as the National Executive shall from time to time decide;

h) to affiliate with national and international organisations of counselling and guidance.

(NZCGA Constitution 1977, cited in Hermansson, 1999: 34).

Apart from extending the focus to encompass counselling beyond the educational setting, removing references to "guidance" and adding the last clause related to equity and social justice, the present-day NZAC displays a clear link to the past and does all that the original constitution describes:

Objects of NZAC (1995 Constitution)

a) to promote effective counselling services;

b) to assist clients to obtain services adequate to their needs;

c) to develop common policies on counselling and guidance issues and to transmit comment on these issues to the public, to the Government, and to other appropriate authorities;

d) to ensure the establishment of professional standards, to promote satisfactory conditions of employment and to protect the interests and public standards of counselling and guidance personnel;

e) to provide a forum for members to discuss matters of common concern;

f) to promote an adequate level of training and supervision;

g) to publish such journals, monographs and other publications as the National Executive shall from time to time decide;

h) to affiliate with national and international organisations of counselling;

i) to express through its activities and resource allocations a strong commitment to reduce social disadvantages resulting from differences of race, gender, class, religion, sexual orientation and any contravention of Human Rights

(NZAC Handbook, n.d, circa 1995).

Despite the emphasis on school guidance counselling, some participants at the initial 1974 NZCGA conference: particularly the university counsellor educators, saw the need for the main emphasis to be on the term counselling rather than the specific educational connotations of 'guidance'. Prior to the advent of the in-school service of guidance counselling, guidance comprised extramural specialist support services for school students, centred on health, welfare, employment and special education (e.g. school medical officers, district nurses, school dental nurses, visiting teachers, welfare officers, social workers, vocational guidance counsellors, educational psychologists). Within schools guidance embraced notions of pastoral care, with teachers getting

to know students as individuals and being aware of educational, social, and personal difficulties they may be having (Winterbourn, 1974; Small, 1981). There was also an intention, foreshadowing the 1990 changes, to appeal to a wider membership than just school guidance counsellors. Hence the Association's order of names, with "counselling" preceding "guidance" so that counselling was emphasised in the context of guidance rather than the reverse, which is the more traditional order (Hermansson, 1999). The job title of "guidance counsellor" is an indication of the fairly directive nature of the job in the early years. In line with current NZAC nomenclature, some schools now have replaced the title with "school counsellor", especially where other personnel have taken on the aspects of guidance and careers advice in large urban schools.

NZCGA communicated with and supported members via meetings, conferences, workshops, newsletters and a professional journal, the *NZCGA journal* that was re-named the *New Zealand Journal of Counselling* at the 1991 AGM, subsequent to the change to NZAC in 1990. The Association's Newsletter has been a prime source of communication, information and debate between National Executive and members. Manthei (1991) contended that this mirrored current concerns and changes in the profession and were explored in Miller's (1996) research. As part of the professionalisation process, the *Newsletter* has been used to explain and legitimate the identity of the Association. NZCGA successfully claimed recognition from the Department of Education as *the* representative organisation of guidance and counselling personnel, demanding representation at forums discussing the future of guidance and counselling *(NZCGA Newsletter,* 1980) and in time, NZAC gained similar recognition. In this capacity, NZCGA commented on selection and standards of training for school and vocational guidance counsellors, providing guidelines of broad principles rather than definitive policies for approved training courses. This situation remained until the setting up of NZAC's Training Approval Group in 1997 (see next section). NZCGA lobbied PPTA and Government, e.g. the 1987 president, Murray Woodfield considered that NZCGA was partly responsible for the 'tagged' PR2 position for school guidance counsellors within the school staffing formula (Miller, 1996: 40). According to Miller (1996), the Association's role of support established jurisdiction over guidance counsellors and was extended subsequently to counsellors in other contexts.

In an *NZCGA Newsletter* in 1989, Hermansson argued the case for NZCGA becoming an organisation for counsellors in various contexts because including those outside the education sector would reflect the burgeoning number of counsellors in New Zealand. In the process, he recommended that "a name change to one that concentrates on counselling will be the basis for meeting these needs" (Hermarisson, 1989: 15). There was no obvious dissent, but the opportunity for widespread consultation did not really occur. Apart from indications of intent in the 1989 *Newsletter* and Hermansson's article in Small and Ambrose's 1989 book, this change occurred particularly quickly the next year. After considerable discussion at the 1990 AGM, the motion to change the Association's name whilst removing "guidance" from both the objectives and criteria for membership was carried (Hermansson 1999).

The name change, in de-emphasising "guidance" as a term more specifically related to schools, and the term "counselling" as a more generic term, enabled the Association the chance to expand to potentially encompass all counsellors. The New Zealand Counselling and Guidance Association (NZCGA) became the New Zealand Association of Counsellors (NZAC), reflecting the broader organisation that it was to rapidly become *(NZAC Newsletter,* 1990). This move also reflected the strong influence and leadership that university counsellor educators, especially Gary Hermansson and Bob Manthei, had at most AGMs, where they frequently proposed motions. They often seemed to be aware of the implications for the future of various issues, which should not be surprising considering their place in universities and an expectation that they would be cognisant of the political climate and policy implications. Counsellor educators must also have been aware of policy implications on their livelihoods if school counselling was only ever likely to have finite numbers, whereas educating counsellors from other contexts could provide a large potential market for counsellor education.

Few realised quite how momentous the change would be, certainly not in terms of the exponential increase in membership numbers and problems in terms of the range of training that many prospective members were claiming as adequate for membership. Many seemed to have accumulated their training in a very ad hoe manner, such as cobbling together bits of training from workshops and brief courses. Hence, serious concerns arose about professional standards and criteria for membership, resulting in considerable changes in the late 1990s (as detailed in the next section). Aspects of the constitutive elements of NZAC exhibit long-held concerns about counsellor effectiveness and accountability, and demarcation issues. Through these particular aspects counselling attempts to establish itself as a profession in its own right, distinct from psychologists, social workers and others in the helping area (Webb, 1998).

The late 1990s witnessed an increase in membership numbers from diverse sectors of counselling. Alongside this came increased concern about issues of professionalism, client safety, credentialising and accountability within NZAC, which impacted on the accountability and effectiveness of school counselling. Much of this was driven by the needs of increasing numbers of members in private practice who, unlike the salaried school counsellors, obtained a proportion of their income from ACC (Accident Compensation Commission) who funded personal injury or sexual abuse counselling (Miller, 1996). ACC funded counselling was first available in 1988 and regulations were subsequently tightened to require ACC funded counsellors to be registered with an ACC Counsellors' Approval Committee. Approval criteria for ACC included belonging to a recognised professional Association. Thus many counsellors who did not belong to such a body joined NZAC *(NZAC Newsletter,* 1992). This, in turn, pushed the Association to focus on a discourse of increased professionalisation, credibility, accountability, and quality control in updating the Code of Ethics, and exercising increasingly stringent membership criteria, especially from 1997. ACC therefore had a major impact on the Association.

NZAC has consistently shown its concerns with professional standards and accountability for all counsellors through developing a wide range of systems and policies. These include, first, a Code of Ethics. Second, if the Code of Ethics is breached it may result in the member being subject to a complaints procedure that is monitored by an Ethics Committee and may result in the member being disciplined. Third, a Code of Supervision requires regular, fortnightly supervision for full-time counsellors. Fourth, strict membership criteria, administered by a Membership Committee, have applied since 1997. Apart from special circumstances, members must have been trained in theory, skills and practice at approved tertiary level courses. Only members can use the initials MNZAC. Fifth, a Training Approval Working Group has been established to ascertain which of the plethora of training courses reach standards that are acceptable for NZAC membership. Sixth, there is the recognition of supervisors who are acceptable to NZAC. Seventh, an Accreditation Committee monitors accreditation criteria for members who display advanced counselling skills, and are signified by the initials AMNZAC. Eighth, for continued acceptance of membership, existing members are required to provide an annual supervisor's report outlining the amount and type of supervision and professional development undertaken, both of which are ethical requirements. Ninth, there is policy on the role of school counsellors in relation to the national education and administration goals and guidelines and an appointments kit for schools, which includes a sample job description, person specification, training requirements, and supervision (see section 4.4).

Despite these changes they form a kind of 'filling in the gaps' exercise in terms of systems, because the Objects of the Association (as listed earlier) have changed very little since at least 1988, with effective service to clients holding pride of place (Webb, 1998). NZAC does have a part to play in encouraging appropriate working conditions for counsellors, but not in a union-type sense with negotiation and bargaining. It certainly lobbies the Ministry of Education, PPTA, agencies, and ACC on behalf of counsellors so that they have conditions that are as conducive as possible to act ethically, safely and professionally. School counsellor members of NZAC must fulfil the same criteria as non-school counsellors to become and remain members. Like any other member, school counsellors are able to become 'recognised supervisors' after fulfilling criteria that include specific

training and experience as supervisors. They can similarly become accredited members of NZAC after belonging to the Association for two years, counselling for at least five years and providing further evidence of competence in their practising skills. The numbers of school counsellors reached around 400 in 1990. By 1995 overall membership totalled 1544, with 400 (25%) as school counsellors, 530 (30%) in private practice (NZAC Annual Report, 1994-1995). By late 1996 there were approximately 1800, and by 2000 there are over 2000 members, but the number of school counsellors remained much the same, around 400 (figures from NZAC Executive Officer, James Shepherd). Instead of the professional Association being largely for school counsellors, this group was now in the minority. To date, despite this they still play a major role as officers at branch and at national level and have support groups in several branches. To ensure representation, there is a specific school counselling portfolio amongst other portfolios on the National Executive.

Setting professional criteria: becoming a member of NZCGA & NZAC

The process for becoming a member of NZCGA, and now of NZAC is discussed at some length in this section Setting the criteria for membership of a professional organisation is a key component of the establishment of professional identity. Important changes have occurred in tandem with increased demands for professionalisation in the new counselling organisation. As a result, some tensions have been expressed about the power relations between the National Executive and members, with something of an 'us and them' attitude being displayed at times at the 1999 AGM. These tensions have been aired in George Sweet's "Mad Hatter" column in the *NZAC Newsletter.* Like many organisations, as the NZAC becomes larger and more professionalised, it risks becoming more bureaucratic, with some members perceiving a distance between themselves and those holding office-holders of the Association. This section discusses some of the committees and working groups of the Association and the processes that have dealt with membership. Criticism of the changes is also included, oriented and informed by Foucauldian notions. What is not spelled out in these criticisms is just how powerful NZAC has become and how bound up this is with a form of governmentality that uses its power-knowledge in a system of surveillance of members.

Requirements for membership of NZAC have changed along with changes in the Association. Yet some similarities and hence some continuity remains when comparing the criteria of 1977 and 1998. The membership criteria that were formalised as part of the initial 1977 Constitution were as follows:

a) persons who are, to the satisfaction of the National Executive Committee, engaged for 12 hours or more per week in the area of counselling and/or guidance in an educational institution or related service;

b) persons who are engaged in or who have satisfactorily completed a course of full-time professional training m the area of counselling and guidance;

c) persons who are invited to become members by resolution of the National Executive Committee.

(NZCGA Constitution 1977, cited in Hermansson, 1999: 34-35).

In the NZCGA era, the only formal counselling training was at post-graduate university level and then only for trained teachers appointed as guidance counsellors or vocational guidance counsellors. Once the Association became NZAC, with membership open and available to counsellors from outside the education sector, the type of training was no longer a given. Counsellors who were in private practice or in agencies other than education may or may not have received training from various sources, and may or may not have built up a high level of skills over many years in practice. The difficulties that the membership committee faced in sorting and ascertaining the content of training, theory, and bi-cultural awareness raised many concerns in the flood of applications in the mid 1990s. It was from these concerns and other criticisms that more stringent criteria for membership (outlined later in this section) came into existence.

The late 1990s saw changes in criteria for both new and on-going membership of NZAC. Such changes were prompted from concern expressed in many quarters, about accountability, the quality and effectiveness of counselling, client safety, the quality of the vastly increased number of counselling training providers, and about increasing and setting clear ethical standards for NZAC membership in the increasingly de-regulated and competitive, neoliberal environment. In her annual report after four years as Convenor of the Ethics Committee fielding client's complaints, Janet Irwin (1997) voiced her concern at the quality of counselling by some members and non-members. The professional integrity of counselling was under question and immediate action was required to strengthen the Association through changes in membership criteria, and the emphasis on competent and effective supervision. Considering that counselling occurs in a private setting where a relationship with the client is central to the work undertaken, Webb (1998: 13) argues that "counselling can only ever be safe in the hands of a self-regulating autonomous professional."

A Membership Approval Committee, based in Auckland, was set up to deal with the huge increase in membership applications and the complexity of their assessment, and to provide consistency and continuity. The eight members were Jim Halliday (a National Executive member as convenor), Dorothy McCarrison, Tina Besley, Tania Cargo, Carole Carr-Vickers, Jenny Goddard, Stefan Hunt, Peter McMillan. The Membership Committee began informally in 1995 to assist the National Executive member responsible for membership, but was ratified at the 1997 AGM. Their role was to assess applications for membership and make policy recommendations to National Executive. In the September 1996 *Newsletter,* President Carol Mawhinney (later White), clarified changes to membership following the 1996 AGM (*NZAC Newsletter,* 17, (1): 6). Prior to the July 1996 AGM, people who for some reason did not meet the criteria to be a Member were called Applicant members. After July 1996, Applicant members were required to fulfil membership within a reasonable time or their application would cease. Individuals and groups, which had previously been entitled to be 'affiliated', would cease on January 31, 1997, so that those "who did not meet all the criteria for Member status will be categorised as either an Applicant or a Subscriber" (*NZAC Newsletter,* 1996, 17, (1): 6). To further complicate the situation, a *stop press* notice appeared in the *Newsletter* putting a hold on all applications for membership and upgrade until new criteria for membership were set (*NZAC Newsletter,* 1996, 17, (1). Letters were sent to people affected by the moratorium who were still able to become subscribers (different categories of membership are described later in this section). Needless to say there were some disgruntled membership candidates.

As a number of members had expressed concern about the current process for approving and retaining membership, and about ongoing supervision of existing members, three initiatives were set up:

1. *A process for retaining membership* - a supervisor's report form outlining professional development and supervision details, signed by the supervisor was to be completed on payment of annual membership subscription *(NZAC Newsletter,* 1997, 18 (1): 40). This did not become mandatory until 1998.

2. *The formation of a Membership Working Party* after the 1996 AGM *(NZAC Newsletter,* 1996, 17 (1): 6). The Membership Working Party (1996): comprised Dorothy McCarrison (Convenor), Jim Halliday (National Executive), Peter McMillan and Carole Carr-Vickers *(NZAC Newsletter,* 1996, 17 (2): 3). Its recommendations were built "on the assumption that all members want to be recognised as safe and competent practitioners and that membership of our Association indicates acceptable standards of safety and competence" (Halliday, 1997: 26).

3. *The Training Approval Working Group* 1997 *(NZAC Newsletter,* 1997, 18, 4). Training Approval Working Group, set up in late 1997 comprised members &om Auckland and Dunedin: Carol White as Convenor, and Janet Irwin, Julie Thomas, Liz Price, Maureen Bretherton, and Ada Crowe *(NZAC Newsletter,* 1998, 18, 4). It was set up to spread the representation and assist the overburdened Membership Committee; to communicate and negotiate between training providers and the Committee; and to provide accurate information to counsellor trainees about the status of training programmes with NZAC. It is important to note that there is no

> formal connection between NZQA course approval and NZAC approval nor any record of discussions with NZQA about training course approval. NZAC does however, have representation on the Industry Training Organisation (ITO), Te Kaiawhina Ahumahi for developing unit standards in counselling (the representative was formerly Jean Mardell, and more recently, Frances Griffiths). Although the negotiation for NZQA course approval to be in line with NZAC requirements may well have saved the Association a lot of time and effort, it seems that the reluctance to take this direction was largely to do with issues of autonomy. NZAC was keen to maintain its professional autonomy. Universities held a negative position towards *NZQA* at the time, so NZAC may have been influenced by the university educators in this matter. Therefore the NZAC developed a process that set standards for counsellor training programmes/courses to be granted the status of "an approved training programme" once they were assessed against the training requirements for membership of NZAC *(NZAC Newsletter,* 1999, 19, 4).

Following the Membership Working Party recommendations, National Executive set out a five point rationale as the basis for new membership policies:

1. Membership criteria reflect NZAC's belief that counselling competence is founded on the integration of theory and safe practice.
2. As an organisation NZAC believes that this is best achieved by completing a coherent and comprehensive counselling training programme.
3. NZAC recognises that until recently such training has not been accessible to all.
4. NZAC believes that continued membership is dependent on the maintenance of professional standards.
5. NZAC acknowledges responsibility for the development and promotion of processes to achieve these objects.

(NZAC Newsletter, 1996, 17 (2): 7).

Remits for the changes in membership criteria were presented, debated and passed at the Queenstown AGM 1997. In an article spelling out and commenting on these changes, National Executive member, Jim Halliday outlined the new criteria, pointing out that:

> These new standards should help to raise the profile of counselling, and of the Association, and consequently give more power to the Association when it moves to act on the concerns of individual Members or special interest groups (Halliday, 1997: 26).

Halliday (1997) reminded members that to retain membership, counsellors in full-time work were expected to have fortnightly supervision (half of which should be individual supervision) with a supervisor belonging to an appropriate professional organisation. No definition of an appropriate organisation was provided, but it was expected to be an organisation with a Code of Ethics, a complaints procedure and professional supervision closely related to those of counselling. Such an organisation, as exemplified on the report form, might be: NZAC, NZ Association of Psychotherapists (NZAP), NZ Association of Social Workers (NZASW), and NZ Psychological Society (NZPsychS). The supervisor's report provides evidence that the member is in regular supervision and undertaking ongoing professional development, which are requirements of the Code of Ethics, and the means of maintaining professional standards as part of being professionally accountable to clients, colleagues and the public. This was endorsed in subsequent newsletters: "From 1998, all members will be required to submit a current supervisor's report before membership will be renewed" *(NZAC Newsletter,* 1997, 18 (1): 39).

Manthei (1997b) commented that what was really required was a re-titled, "Member's Supervision Report" form signed by the supervisor, verifying that the member has fulfilled their obligations under the Code of Ethics with regard to supervision and professional development. He suggested that in due course NZAC should provide guidelines for activities and the hours required for the professional development component. Furthermore, he and Enid Hardie (1997), reinforced the notion that while the Complaints Procedure deals with serious issues of client safety, “the onus

should be on Members, not NZAC or their supervisors, to ensure they are meeting the requirements of the Codes of Ethics and Supervision" (Manthei, 19976: 12); and he noted that:

> Questions about the quality (or standard) of actual practice remain, but there is no easy, effective or affordable way of policing or ensuring that NZAC will ever be able to check up on every member each year to ensure that each is practising up to some mythical standard of safety or that 'professional standards are maintained.' It will go broke trying to do so (Manthei, 1997b: 12).

Halliday (1998) reassured members about the forms, such as who saw them and what was done with them. They were stored with the Executive Officer, retained for a year and only viewed by the Membership Committee or National Executive if there was some controversy. The Membership Committee intended to respond to returns that questioned or criticised the process. He indicated that although there was no definite decision, in future the information might be added to a Member's file.

The 1997 membership criteria were amended at the 1998 AGM with changes and clarification to the "particular circumstances, which allows for membership for people with informal instead of formal training. This is a largely interim provision to permit membership for people living at a distance from training centres, but especially for older, experienced counsellors who have been in practice prior to the setting up of the plethora of training courses that now exist. So by 1999 there were criteria for becoming a member, or an applicant or a subscriber, with the last two being non-member categories.

NZAC Membership Criteria, 1999 *Member:* The following shall be eligible for membership

(1) Through approved training: a person who

- has completed a cohesive and comprehensive counselling training through a course approved by the Association, and
- has a record of bi-cultural learning and/or experience, including marae experience, has sensitivity to treaty of Waitangi issues, and can demonstrate an understanding ofTikanga Maori, and
- has completed a self-awareness and personal growth component including counsellor as client and group therapeutic process, and
- has completed face to face practice as a counsellor (400 hours), and
- has submitted a recent satisfactory report from a supervisor acceptable to NZAC who has been the candidate's supervisor for at least 6 months, and
- has had their suitability for membership confirmed in an interview by a panel of Members on behalf of the Membership committee.

Notes: An approved training programme is of a minimum one-year full time equivalence and integrates relevant cultural and social awareness and sensitivity; theoretical knowledge; skills training; personal awareness; professional practice; and practice supervision components. Of the 400 hours of counselling practice, a minimum of 100 hours is to be completed and supervised during training and a minimum of 200 hours post-training. The post-training face-to-face counselling is to have been supervised for at least 20 (1 hour) sessions with a supervisor acceptable to NZAC.

(2) Through particular circumstances. A person who:

- is granted membership based on the person's particular circumstances and presents with the qualities, knowledge, skills and experience of a candidate who qualifies under (1), and ...
- has a record of bi-cultural learning and/ or experience, including marae experience, has sensitivity to Treaty of Waitangi issues, and can demonstrate an understanding ofTikanga Maori, and
- has completed a self-awareness and personal growth component including counsellor as a client and group therapeutic process, and

- has a record of satisfactory face to face practice as a counsellor (400 hours), and
- has submitted a recent satisfactory report from a supervisor acceptable to NZAC who has been the candidate's supervisor for at least 6 months, and
- has had their suitability for membership confirmed in an interview by a panel of Members on behalf of the Membership committee.

Notes: This option is a vehicle for recognising personal development, learning and experience from a variety of sources, including extensive supervised counselling practice, which the candidate has been able to integrate to form their own professional foundation for counselling work. The onus is on the candidate to demonstrate that they have acquired in other ways, the awareness, theoretical knowledge skills and experience normally found m an approved training programme, achieved appropriate levels of competency and integrated different sources of learning. Detailed information and evidence must be provided.

(3) Through special invitation. A person who

- is invited to become a member by resolution of the National Executive.

Non-Member Categories

1. Applicants - are persons who are working towards Membership, are bound by the NZAC Code of Ethics and are accountable to the Association. Applicant status may be granted to persons who have completed or are enrolled in an NZAC approved training programme. Applicant status may be granted at a specific stage in each training programme. The stage is decided for each training programme through consultation between NZAC and the training provider. Applicant status may be held without review for three years. The three year period for those who were applicants at the period of the 1997 AGM will date from that meeting. At the end of the three year period an Applicant will be required to report on progress towards Membership and to indicate a likely time frame for any remaining programme.

2. Subscribers - are persons or groups who have an interest and/ or involvement in counselling activities. Their subscription entitles them to receive all publications of the Association (Hermansson, 1999: 156-15 8).

Part of the changed criteria involved an interview at the final stage for the membership candidate, at the discretion of the Membership Committee. This comprised a panel of four people: two from the Membership Committee and two from the region where the panel was sitting. To enable the latter to occur, nominations were called in June 1997 from well-established members *(NZAC Newsletter,* 1997, 18 (1)). To reduce costs, in 1999 the composition of the panel changed to include one person from the Membership Committee, two or three local representatives, with priority given to one Maori representative. Another change was the provision for Members to take temporary leave from active membership of NZAC at the discretion of the Membership Committee. This was required in the environment that saw supervisors' reports being a requirement to accompany subscriptions to maintain on-going membership.

These changes were not without their critics (Manthei, 1997 a, 19976; Sweet, 1997; Winslade, 1997) as correspondence in letters to the *NZAC Newsletter* Editor attests. Manthei (1997a, 19976) was concerned that NZAC's role should not be one of policing, but that instead, members should be made aware of required standards and take responsibility for their own ethically competent practice. He was concerned that at a burgeoning cost financially, NZAC was increasingly controlling not only who qualifies for membership but also how members practice counselling, essentially in order for NZAC members to be accepted by outside agencies (e.g. ACC, Family Court) as competent and therefore eligible for third-party funding to work with clients. This was resulting in the Association becoming an "increasingly exclusionary, guild-oriented organisation" (Manthei, 1997a: 44) through more stringent and restrictive requirements for training, membership and supervision.

Manthei (1997a, 19976) posed serious questions about the role of NZAC as an organisation, its aims, philosophy, beliefs, form and structure asking, "what it is and whom it represents" (Manthei, 19976: 12). He problematised the issue, asking if this was about setting standards or a form of surveillance or policing of members, pondering the difference between these. He criticised the changes as being piecemeal, passed by only 1% of the membership, being done without "questioning the practicality or desirability of continuing to assume that it is NZAC's job to police individual members' behaviour and professional practices" (Manthei, 1997 a: 44). But the changes were overwhelmingly supported and passed at the 1997 AGM despite criticism that the actual numbers who were voting reflected an extremely low proportion of the membership, and that it was undemocratic (Manthei, 1997a; Sweet, 1997). These commentators have not acknowledged that the proposals were sent as remits to all members, that several branches had consultation meetings about this issue and that members who could not attend were able to vote by proxy. Such are the issues of democracy. Had the changes been total anathema to the membership, not only could proxy votes have defeated the proposed changes, but they could have also been overturned at subsequent AGMs.

Contrary to Manthei's opinion, the changes were by no means piecemeal. They were in fact quite sweeping. From the time of their initial proposal and adoption at the 1997 AGM (Halliday, 1997), they have not been substantially altered to date (post 1999 AGM), apart from tightening up the wording and providing more detail to bring the "particular circumstances" pathway into line with membership "through approved training", and the 200 hours of supervised counselling post-training. Relatively minor amendments at subsequent AGMs dealt with allowing applicants, who were caught by the moratorium, to proceed under the criteria that applied at the time of their application. Also a new more detailed Appendix to the Constitution regarding membership criteria was written. This would appear to indicate that despite criticism, most members supported the changes.

John Winslade (1997) expressed similar reservations about increased policing and surveillance of existing and new members, questioning whether or not the new criteria were the best ways to improve professional standards. He posed some important questions about the sources of perceived threats to these standards asking if they came from: the increased membership; inadequate training programmes; territory issues with competing professions challenging the existing standards of counselling practice as a means to justify excluding counsellors; concern about the practice of some counselling colleagues; clients receiving poor service from NZAC members; defending counselling practice against powerful critics; or in response to NZQA requirements? In doing so, Winslade assumed that the moves for changes to membership criteria were simply reactionary on the part of the Association, rather than pro-active measures. It would seem though, despite a lack of particular documentation, that the changes resulted from reactions to all of those questions and from the Association deciding to take action to deal with them, before any criticisms became too damaging for the Association.

He criticised the "evaluative gaze" (Winslade, 1997: 17), which focused on individuals rather than on training programmes, as undermining and creating anxiety, believing that "overall, processes that focus on the individuals serve to lower professional standards (by generally undermining professional confidence) rather than to raise them" (Winslade, 1997: 16). But he provided no evidence or references to support this Foucauldian viewpoint. Further, he expressed serious concern about the nature of supervision, if the supervisor is called on to provide an evaluation report to employing organisations (e.g. ACC, schools) as a means of appraisal and accountability, and he suggested that asking clients would be a better and more appropriate check on accountability. To maintain the notion of supervision as supportive, open, trusting, and non-evaluative, he noted that many counsellors have already separated out clinical supervision from line management supervision within their employing agencies. He asserted that it would be preferable to create an affirming climate through the quality of experiences and programmes. Sweet (1997) assumed that counsellors are generally on the political Left, so found it strange that they would

embrace the sort of training and membership criteria that he perceived to be an adoption of right-wing, NZQA/Business Round Table economic mode and values. From a neoliberal, managerialist perspective, on the one hand, it could be argued that the membership and supervision monitoring, as a new condition for belonging to NZAC, is about accountability. Yet on the other hand, from a Foucauldian perspective, such conditions would be considered an example of policing or turning the gaze back onto its own profession, as the operation of a form of governmentality.

Describing school counselling: the NZAC school counsellor appointments kit

NZAC has devised a *School Counsellor Appointment Kit*[2] (NZAC, 1995, 2nd edition) to assist Boards of Trustees in appointing appropriately qualified school counsellors who will perform to an acceptable professional and ethical standard. The kit is sent to all schools that advertise guidance c unsellor positions and NZAC offers to provide an experienced member to act as a consultant in the selection and appointment process. While this displays NZAC's concern about professional standards, it could also be interpreted as NZAC's self-interest and as an attempt to influence Bo T appointment decisions. However, in the absence of any Ministry of Education guidelines or job descriptions for the appointment of counsellors, in what could be criticised as an abrogation of their responsibilities. NZAC have made a genuine attempt to fill the gap since the 1990s.

The NZAC appointment kit comprises: an application form; a sample job description; a sample person specification; fourteen possible interview questions; an NZAC counselling brochure; and three appendices from the NZAC Handbook: the Code of Ethics, Code of Supervision, and Guidelines for the Training of Counsellors. Apart from the usual sorts of personal information and statements in job applications, the school counsellor application form indicates only something of the professional counselling standards. Both academic and professional qualifications including training details are sought. Work experience includes relevant full-time, part-time and voluntary work in counselling. Details of membership of counselling-related professional associations are asked for, as are counselling supervision arrangements.

More detail about professional standards of what is or can be expected lies in the sample job description that lists six primary objectives and seven key tasks. The primary objectives are:

1. To work with Senior Administration staff, Guidance Network and Form/Whanau teachers to develop the present pastoral care system to meet the needs of both the pupils and the school.
2. To offer counselling opportunities to students, staff and the students' parents/caregivers if necessary.
3. To act as a resource person for staff, students and their parents/caregivers.
4. To assist with staff training and development.
5. To liase with contributing schools, training providers and relevant outside agencies.
6. To act as an agent for positive change within the school community.

(School Counsellor Appointment Kit, NZAC, 1995, 2nd edition: 4).

From this list, it is clear that pastoral care and counselling are of prime importance, but exactly what items 3, 4 and 5 are referring to is vague and do not spell out that they could or should be related to counselling and guidance. Item 6 would seem to be laudable, but is completely open to interpretation and judgement calls on the part of the counsellor. As a result, it is argued that the list is in need of revision in order to be more specific about the primary objectives for a guidance counsellor.

The seven key tasks in the sample job description are: counselling, programme work, vocational guidance and counselling; transition education; administration; liaison; and professional development. These provide more detail. The list has been criticised subsequently as being somewhat dated (voiced at NZAC workshops and consultation meetings held in Auckland in 1997

to re-develop a policy statement about the role of school counsellors in relation to the NEGs and NAGs).[3] In the light of their deletion from current counsellor education courses, it is somewhat surprising that vocational guidance and counselling, transition education and possible involvement in administering standardised testing are still included (see previous chapter). Counsellors in small schools may well be involved m these areas, but in larger schools there is likely to be more of a division of labour, with these tasks being assigned as separate jobs for different people.

Considering NZACs concern for ethical behaviour and professional standards, it is alarming that the job description and primary objectives refer at no stage to confidentiality or to supporting a Code of Ethics, although ethical behaviour as per the NZAC Code is implied in the section on professional development. This refers to maintaining regular, preferably fortnightly supervision and relevant professional development. In fact there is little specific detail on the *how* of counselling, or about belonging to a professional association and nothing about dealing with complains of any sort. Whilst this is only a *sample* job description, counsellors in different schools are expected to devise their own Job description, emphasising what they actually do, rather than some sort of broad ideal, so they can be appropriately appraised. However, following the recent review of the policy on school counsellor role, the time is ripe for the sample job description to be similarly revised and for NZAC's statement on role to be included in the kit. Although it is important to include both the NZAC Code of Ethics and the Code of Supervision, they need to be incorporated into the job description, since this refers only to the requirement for supervision. There is no direct reference at all to the NZAC Code of Ethics or to that of any equivalent professional association, so it can only be assumed that the counsellor would uphold these. In any revision of the appointments kit NZAC needs to spell out more clearly why these two codes are important and why membership of a professional Association is beneficial. At present it seems somewhat reticent in promoting its value and worth in this manner.

The sample person description in the kit outlines a set of nine attributes that are generally considered desirable for a school counsellor:

> The appointee should:
>
> - possess a first degree or equivalent or be able to point to qualifications and/ or experience relevant to the position of School Counsellor.
> - be a trained teacher and have had some classroom experience preferably in teaching adolescents.
> - have undertaken some training in the area of counselling and/ or be motivated to undertake further training as appropriate.
> - have an understanding of themselves that allows them to maintain a high level of self-esteem, to accept their strengths and weaknesses, their successes and failures. They should be emotionally stable, self-confident, reliable, self-motivated, resilient and trusting of others.
> - be sensitive to the needs and feelings of others. This must include an acknowledgement of and respect for differences stemming from culture, age, disability and/ or sexual orientation. Applicants should demonstrate a willingness to understand the Treaty of Waitangi.
> - have proven oral and written skills, an ability to communicate ideas clearly and concisely, and have effective interpersonal communication skills particularly with adolescents. They should also have a sense of humour.
> - provide evidence that she/he is accepted and respected by others and is able to work effectively and constructively with them.
> - have organisational skills to enable effective and flexible use of time and fulfil the tasks of coordinator and facilitator.

- be able to play an active part in staff/ school affairs and contribute to management decision making.

(*School Counsellor Appointment Kit, NZAC,* 1995, 2nd edition: 6).

In that the person NZAC endorses as suitable in this person specification, should be a trained teacher with an academic degree or equivalent, continues the pre-requisite that has existed for school counsellors right from the early days. The list does however differ somewhat from the fifteen criteria provided in 1964 for APA and for the first national training course (Chapter Three). Again, although it does refer to being "trusting of others", but not of being trustworthy, and of showing "an acknowledgement of a respect for differences", this NZAC list does not tall<: about the counsellor maintaining ethical behaviour, nor specify what such behaviour might be, nor does it speak of professional standards or joining a professional Association.

The increasing emphasis on accountability through establishing professional standards that monitor effectiveness reflects a change in the traditional notion of trust for professionals. They are no longer to be trusted to do their work properly simply because they are professionals, as a trust based on professional mystique and power. Trust still exists, but now involves more transparency and openness on the part of the professional, who can hide no longer behind their power-knowledge. The professional relationship nowadays involves a client who may be empowered to not only question the professional about their qualifications and procedures, out also has access to a complaints procedure. Although allowance must be made for the occasional genuine mistake as distinct from negligence or incompetence, regardless, mistakes can have a devastating effect on the client. Unless a professional can prove that they did everything in their capacity to ascertain the true nature of a situation, their ignorance and mistakes can result in criminal negligence in the worst-case scenario. It is for this very eventuality that a whole industry has emerged around liability insurance. Establishing boundaries of accountability is required and must be based on reasonable and realistic expectations or else it sets up a low tr t environment, which can be counter-productive and de-professionalising.

Calling on the Foucauldian notions of power and governmentality, this chapter has explored the contribution of a professional organisation in developing a professional identity for school counselling. Despite the recent flurry of concern with professional standards within education, school counselling has been concerned with professional standards and ethical behaviour from the very inception of the professional body for guidance counsellors. This is evidenced by NZCGA, an organisation set up primarily by and for school counsellors with the initial aim of promoting effective guidance and counselling services within the New Zealand community (Hermansson, 1999; Miller, 1996). This organisation was clearly a statement about professional recognition and accountability, which was backed up by the drafting and refining of criteria for membership, objectives, aims, a constitution and a Code of Ethics in its first two years (Hermansson, 1999; Miller, 1996). In 1990 this organisation changed not only its name to NZAC but also its focus. It ceased to be primarily for school counsellors, becoming instead a broader organisation available to all counsellors who fulfilled its membership criteria. From 1997, far more stringent membership criteria applied partly in response to third-party funding requirements (such as ACC, and the Family Court) and an increased emphasis on professionalisation resulting from the newer forms of accountability and surveillance that had emerged in the neoliberal environment. Accountability is extremely important given the private nature of the relationship between the counsellor and the client. NZAC's contribution to developing the professional identity of school counselling has provided a comprehensive model of professional accountability that all schools would be well advised to include in their accountability requirements for school counsellors, regardless of whether or not the counsellor belongs to NZAC.

This chapter has described how changes within NZAC reflect an underlying assumption that professionalisation will benefit clients through improved services. The assumption is that this will be achieved once better counsellors are created through being specifically trained and supervised

and practising to a competent, ethical standard, consistent with a Code of Ethics. Whether or not this occurs is open to question because "in practice it appears to be placing services for clients further from the focus of counselling" (Miller 1994: 12). Furthermore, professionalisation tends to involve continual competition between and within occupational groups (Abbott, 1988). Such competition is influence by the requirements from third-part funders (ACC, DSW, Courts) and the major role they play in defining counselling and professionalisation, which in turn protects counsellor's interests (Miller, 1994). The benefits and pitfalls of increased credentialising need to be assessed (see Hoyt, 1991). Nevertheless, professionalisation has continued apace, with limited counter-argument put forward (Winslade, 1997; Manthei, 1997a; 1997b; Sweet, 1997). There has been a relatively silent assent that the process of professionalisation is largely acceptable to members as a means of actually protecting client interests. Regardless, codes and standards of professional practice *do* form a framework within which safe, competent counselling is enabled. These frameworks represent the ethical self-constitution of the profession. The next chapter looks at just how NZAC has developed its Code of Ethics and how this has become an increasingly important part of the identity of a professional counsellor.

Notes

1. Ted Wadsworth was a member of the 1971 Education Department Working Party, *Guidance in Secondary Schools;* served on the Johnson Committee (1979); chaired the PPTA Guidance Counsellors Advisory Committee; published articles in *PPTA Journal NZ Social Worker* and elsewhere; and started the Newsletter which was the forerunner to *NZCGA and NZAC Newsletters;* was a school counsellor and university lecturer in counselling at Massey and then inaugurated the Waikato course.
2. This version of the kit was sent to my school on 18 October 1999 for the Board to use in appointing a relieving counsellor whilst I took up a Teachers Study Award. NZAC had talked about updating the kit for the previous two years, but until 2000, this had not happened, so this section refers entirely to the 1995 kit.
3. At the time the author was NZAC Auckland Branch secretary and assisted in running such workshops and meetings.

CHAPTER FIVE

NZAC and the Ethical Self-Regulation of Counselling

Introduction

The notion of ethics is not a 20th century construction, although the expression of this in a code of ethics by a profession may well be. As a branch of philosophy, the word 'ethics' is often used interchangeably with 'morality'. Ethics can have a wide meaning, referring to the overall subject matter of this field or it can have a narrower meaning to refer to the moral principles of a particular individual, group, or tradition. The field is often divided into meta-ethics, applied ethics, and the metaphysics of moral responsibility, i.e. the general study of 'goodness' and of 'right action'. It is within the field of ethics that questions are posed about what ends human beings ought to choose to pursue the good life and what moral principles ought to govern these choices.

Following the above definition of ethics or morality, counselling is a profession permeated with ethical issues and characterised by ethical practices where the development of a professional identity through a code of ethics is, after Foucault, a form of professional, ethical self-constitution. Perhaps, more than any other profession counselling is constituted in terms of ethical principles, at least ostensibly, for it is conceived as enabling the client to make choices, often moral choices, for themselves. Hence, counselling at its theoretical heart, involves implicit claims about the ethics of freedom construed as autonomy for the client. It is also clear that as one of the so-called 'caring professions', counselling embraces the ethical principle of 'care', promoting the 'interests' of the client above those of anyone else. Certainly, these two principles can be seen to involve the metaphysics of moral responsibility, in that the counsellor has moral responsibilities to the client, which are set in action once a professional counselling relationship is formally established, and a conception of applied ethics embodying ethical practice is implemented. It is in the latter sense that many professional 'caring' organisations have begun to systematically formulate codes of practice and codes of ethics as described for counselling in New Zealand in section 5.4.

When discussing professional standards and ethics it is appropriate to explain terms because some are used almost interchangeably. Corey, Corey and Callinan (1993) pointed out that while 'values' refers to what is good and desirable, 'ethics' involves what is right and correct, particularly in terms of the behaviour and conduct of individuals and groups, and especially professional organisations. Professional standards may or may not involve ethical behaviour. For example, it would be unprofessional to use alcohol while at work, but it is not necessarily unethical behaviour. Ethical codes usually involve practical components in the form of 'mandatory ethics' or behaviour that must be complied with, in order to ensure safe practice and avoid censure. They sometimes involve philosophical or 'aspirational ethics' of ideal standards which reflect on the intentionality of the intervention for clients.

Codes of ethics are often pragmatic guides to action that help to regulate the profession by providing standards of practice. These codes enable clients to identify malpractice, misconduct, negligence and conflicts of interest, and to seek redress through a complaints or disciplinary procedure (see section 5.5). While often not discussed in critical terms in the literature, codes of ethical practice constitute important sociological criteria for the professionalisation of a discipline or activity. Section 5.2 looks at this aspect as it examines codes of ethics as a form of self-regulation. In other words, the development of a code of ethical practice constructs a framework that allows the profession to reflect upon its own practices, to gain status, power, and credibility in the public realm, and to regulate itself. Ethical codes tend to reflect and embody current, societal, normative orientations and they function to institutionalise the profession, often creating a bureaucracy that concerns itself solely with management, organisation and disciplinary functions. In this sense, codes, being pragmatic, tend to be less concerned with the relationship between codes of ethical practice,

on the one hand, and ethical theory, on the other. Yet it is precisely this relationship that requires close examination in order to understand larger issues concerning the 'governmental', political or 'disciplinary' role that the profession might play within the wider society.

Although this chapter uses Foucauldian terminology and insights to raise the question of ethics in relation to questions of professional self-regulation in school counselling, it is more concerned to describe the historical development of ethical self-regulation as a major feature of the professionalisation of counselling. In this way the chapter provides a sociological and historical account of the profession and the importance of the development of a code of ethics for counselling in the New Zealand context. Yet there is great scope to analyse the relationship between the code of ethics and ethical theory more generally. Certainly, Foucault provides a model for tracing the genealogy of values (and ethics) within the 'caring' professions, or so-called psy sciences (Rose, 1989, 1998). Foucault provides us with some substantial clues about the relationship between the sociological fact of codes of ethical practice in general and ethical theory. These clues come to us from the connections he draws among the notions of truth, subjectivity, power, governmentality and the development of the disciplines or professions as discussed in the next section. If the real political task facing our society is to criticise the working of institutions, especially those institutions that appear to be both neutral and independent, as Foucault (1984) suggests, then counselling, us professional practices and Codes of Ethics are certainly open to scrutiny.

Foucault's poststructuralist approach to power, subjectivity, ethics

One traditional account in ethics that assumes that we naturally seek the good life, has led to the development of a theory of human well-being. On this view, questions posed about the components of the good life are fundamentally about what ends we ought to pursue. By contrast, the other major approach makes no assumptions about human nature. It proceeds by arguing that whatever is good in itself is worth pursuing. Thus the theory of intrinsic value has developed. The philosophical traditions of hedonism, as espoused by Epicurus and J.S. Mill, and of moral perfectionism, as espoused by Plato, Aristotle, the Stoics and Nietzsche, form different branches of a theory of well-being that first originated in ancient Greek ethics, and was known as *eudaimonia,* translated as happiness and "flourishing". Both theories are important to counselling and their adoption leads to quite different conceptions of practice. Rather than examine these approaches I shall focus upon the relevance of Foucault's thought for the code/ practice-theory relationship, before documenting, in historical and sociological terms, the development of a code of ethics in New Zealand counselling.

The effect of traditional philosophical questions such as "What is the world? What is man? What is knowledge? How can we know something?" (Foucault, 1988c: 145) has been a focus on knowing and speaking the truth of what we are, of our essence or human nature. It is from Friedrich Nietzsche's *The Genealogy of Morals* (Nietzsche, 1956, original 1887) that Foucault derives these notions, the "will to truth ", and also "genealogy" as a model of historical critique and evaluation of morals. Nietzsche has influenced contemporary thought in providing a critique of traditional Christian morality, especially of those forms that derived their Justification for absolute or eternal values directly from God, as a transcendental guarantee outside the system of values. Nietzsche's history of the question of European nihilism provides the theoretical background for the reappraisal of humanism, in both its Christian and atheistic forms (where Man has replaced God) for both Heidegger and Foucault.

Foucault's work is often considered to be within the poststructuralist tradition, but just as he denied being labelled postmodernist, so he would deny such an appellation. Poststructuralism is not only difficult to define, but is also often confused or conflated with 'postmodernism' with which there are philosophical and historical overlaps. Poststructuralism developed in France in the 1960s from the work of Derrida, Lyotard, Foucault, Deleuze and Baudrillard. It provides a specific

philosophical position that challenges the overly optimistic and social scientific pretensions of structuralism as it re-appraises the Enlightenment notions of universality and rationality. The development of French structuralism during the late 1950s and 1960s led to an institutionalisation of a transdisciplinary 'mega-paradigm' where semiotic and linguistic analysis became central to ways of understanding socio-cultural life in diverse disciplines such as anthropology, literary criticism, psychoanalysis, Marxism, history, aesthetics and popular culture. While poststructuralism shares structuralism's radical questioning of the humanist subject, it challenges the way structuralism's scientism and totalising assumptions had been elevated to the status of a universally valid theory for understanding language, thought, society, culture, and economy, and indeed, all aspects of the human enterprise (Peters, 1990). Poststructuralism challenges the rationalism and realism that underlies structuralisms faith in scientific method, in progress, and in discerning and identifying universal structures of *all* cultures and the human mind. In other words, it is suspicious of metanarratives, transcendental arguments and final vocabularies. Such views involve Nietzsche's critique of truth and his emphasis upon interpretation and differential relations of power, and also Heidegger's influential interpretation of Nietzsche. Poststructuralism offers a new emphasis upon 'perspectivism' in interpretation (that there is no one textual 'truth' but that texts are open to multiple interpretation).

Like structuralism, poststructuralism provides a critique of the humanist subject as rational, autonomous and self-transparent; a theoretical understanding of language and culture as linguistic and symbolic systems; and a belief in unconscious processes and in hidden structures or socio-historical forces that constrain and govern our behaviour. Poststructuralism's innovations involve the reintroduction and renewed interest in history, especially the 'becoming' of the subject, where genealogical narratives replace questions of ontology or essence. Foucault's understandings of disciplinarity, governmentality, mental health, sexuality, subjectivity and ethical self-constitution contribute powerful and provocative new ways of approaching what we think about ourselves. Poststructuralism moves away from universalising notions towards an understanding of difference (from Nietzsche and Saussure, and developed by Derrida and Lyotard) respecting thus the multiplicity of cultures, of class, race, and gender and the dynamics of 'self' and 'other'. More recently, poststructuralism has developed a political critique of Enlightenment values, particularly of the way modern liberal democracies construct political identity on the basis of a series of binary oppositions (e.g., we/them, citizen/non-citizen, responsible/irresponsible, legitimate/illegitimate) that exclude 'other' or some groups of people. In this sense poststructuralism can be seen as a deepening of democracy (see Peters, 1996, 1999).

Poststructuralism invokes new analyses of power, particularly Foucault's "analytics of power" and the notion of *power-knowledge*. Notions of power have, arguably, been "much overlooked in the therapy literature generally, and in the benign view that we frequently take of our own practices" (White and Epston, 1990: 18). Analyses of power in therapy literature "have traditionally represented it in individual terms, such as a biological phenomenon that affects the individual psyche or as individual pathology that is the inevitable outcome of early traumatic personal experiences, or in Marxist terms as a class phenomenon" (White and Epston, 1990: 18-19). Feminist discourses have alerted many therapists to issues of abuse, exploitation and oppression in an analysis that generally sees power as operating repressively by a patriarchal hegemony. Foucault's understanding, as formulated in his later work, is that power is not only repressive or negative (as power is usually conceptualised in traditional liberal sociology and Marxist political thought) but also 'positive', not in the sense of being good or benign or something to aspire to, but in the sense of being constitutive in the shaping of peoples' lives and ideas. Foucault addresses issues of repression and emancipation in his analysis *bf* power relations and its parallel in forms of resistance, through the way power operates in a capillary fashion and not simply as a binary opposition between rulers and the ruled (Foucault, 1977). Counselling has not considered the more general problematics of power, both its repressive and constitutive aspects and the operation of power-knowledge (Foucault, 1980). Foucault is primarily interested in *how* power is exercised, in "actions upon actions" which constitute

power relations (Foucault, 1982: 220) and how it involves creative aspects in terms of relationships, discourses and consciousness (see Introduction). Thus, a Foucauldian interpretation provides a way of understanding the actions of a professional counselling association like NZAC, in terms of the power relations that constitute counselling and school counsellors.

Foucault links the will to truth "with the success of the professional disciplines in the production of the great metanarratives of human nature and human development" (White, 1997: 222). Foucault suggests that rather than traditional philosophical questions that focus on knowing and speaking 'truth' about the world and ourselves, there is a change to focus on "the historical reflection on ourselves" and asks "What are we today?" (Foucault, 1988c: 145). Foucault's ruminations open up interesting possibilities for exploring how our lives, both professional and personal, are produced through cultural knowledges and practices. Traditionally, counselling, at least in its humanist modes, has anchored itself in grand-narratives of human nature and development. These grand theories have in large part constituted the body of knowledge and expertise as the basis of professional knowledge and practice. When we question, along with Foucault, theories of human nature, we are *ipso facto* questioning also a body of professional knowledge and a set of professional practices based upon these theories.

The questions, "What is man?" and "What is knowledge?" go to the heart of counselling as a profession. When answered in traditional humanist terms both human nature and our understanding of it is couched in terms that essentialise and universalise 'man' and theorise on notions of knowledge, of human nature and development. In turn, therapeutic or professional practices are derived from these theories. Theories of human nature also form and dictate the ethical framework for practice, because ethical protocols are derived or inferred from theories of human nature; i.e. theories of morality are often predicated or based upon or assume a theory of human nature. Rather than predicate professional counselling practices and bodies of knowledge upon a theory of human nature (or what it is to be human) a Foucauldian approach substitutes a critical reflection on who we are today, replacing questions of ontology with genealogical narratives concerning the social and historical construction of subjectivities, in the plural. Thus, a Foucauldian approach to professionalism and professionalisation. in counselling is two-edged. Not only does it question "what is man?" and "what is knowledge" in relation to counselling theory and practice, but it also turns the historical gaze back on counselling as a profession, suggesting that all that can be expected is a series of genealogical narratives about the growth of counselling as a profession.

Foucault's earlier work, with its archaeological orientation, did not adequately explain 'agency', that is, the ability of a person to act and to transform the world. His analysis of power was developed more fully later on with a return to the Kantian subject and to notions of human freedom, of agency and the ways in which we ethically constitute or regulate ourselves (Foucault, 1985, 1990, 1997). The later Foucault does not abolish the sel£ but questions the essentialism and humanism underlying the Cartesian-Kantian subject. He returns to the historical production and reproduction of subjectivity as an object of discourse actively constituted at the intersections of truth and power (Foucault, 1988a, 19886, 1988c). The notion of the self as the centre of narrative gravity stresses the discursive production and reproduction of the self while at the same time preserving a notion of narrative agency, which embodies some aspects of traditional humanism.

The project of ethics that informed Foucault's later work was the liberation of human beings from constraints, which were masked as unsurpassable, *a priori* limits; and the contemplation of possible alternative forms of existence. "I believe that the concept of governmentality makes it possible to bring out the freedom of the subject and its relationship with others which constitutes the very stuff *(matiere)* of ethics" (Foucault, 1991: 102). He analyses ethics in terms of the free relationship to the self *(rapport a soi),* emphasising the historical and conceptual relations between truth, freedom and subjectivity. Rabinow (1997) explains that Foucault examines such a relationship through four basic categories that are to be found in any historical configuration: ethical substance, mode of "subjectivation", ethical work, and *telos.* Ethical substance is understood in terms of "the

will to truth" and refers to "the way that the individual has to constitute this or that part of himself as the prime material of his moral conduct" (cited in Rabin ow, 1997: xxix) . Mode of subjectivation is understood as "self-stylization or form-giving" and refers to "the way in which the individual establishes his relation to the rule and recognizes himself as obligated to put it into practice" (xxx). Critical work constitutes "critical activity" or "thought experience", that is: "The work one performs to attempt to transform oneself into the ethical subject of one's behaviour" (xxxiii). Finally, *telos* stands for "disassembling the self". As Foucault writes: "The place an action occupies in a pattern of conduct. It commits an individual ... to a certain mode of being, a mode of being characteristic of the ethical subject" (cited in Rabinow, 1997: xxxviii).

Subjectivation, in particular, has application to understanding not only the processes by which clients 'become' subjects, but also how counsellors become professionals. Both are concerned with subject-making: the making of an autonomous subject, on the one hand, and a professional subject, on the other. It also concerns how individual counsellors establish a relation to a rule, practice or ethical protocol, set by the professional organisation that obligates them and acts as a template for practice. Thus the crucial element of this cycle of reflection is as a form of *professional self-knowledge,* that not only helps to set the parameters within which the counsellor engages with the client, but also sets in process, the learning processes by which the counsellor, in helping others, constitutes him-or herself as a professional. The next section examines how codes of ethics are a form of self-regulation of the profession and of the individual engaged in the profession.

Codes of ethics as professional self-regulation

Ethics, in the ancient philosophical tradition, was both more than and different from simply rules of behaviour:

> Ethics was good character and what that entailed - good judgement sensitivity, openness, reflectiveness, a secure and correct sense of who one was and how one stood in relation to other people and the surrounding world. Ethical theory was the study of the best way to *be* rather than an principles for what to do in particular circumstances or in relation to recurring temptations, or the correct philosophical basis for deriving or validating any such rules (Cooper, 1999: x).

Cooper's (1999) statement mirrors what is expected today of a counsellor in terms of their personal development, worldview and ethical behaviour. As will be apparent from later description, the current NZAC Code of Ethics is very much in line with this ancient tradition (NZAC, 1995). It combines both philosophical and practical components by centering on what Kitchener (1984) described as the five fundamental ethical principles of counselling and becomes somewhat practical in detailing fifteen situations in relation to client rights in counselling. These spell out more clearly what to do or, m fact, what not to do in the counselling relationship, for while ethics is tied to the belief systems of individuals and society, codes of ethics provide ways of ensuring through regulation, that behaviour accords with such belief systems.

Counselling codes of ethics have several purposes: first, to provide a set of standards to guide pie counsellor's professional practice by clarifying the counsellor's responsibilities to clients and to society as a whole; second, to state how clients rights are protected; and third, to guide a counsellor's behaviour through a process of ethical decision-making. Several other purposes, though seldom stated explicitly are: fourth, to establish an association's professional identity; fifth, to differentiate itself to a certain extent from other professions; sixth, to improve its professional states in the workplace; seventh, to establish a form of accountability and acceptable professional standards of service delivery with implications for legal liability, especially in malpractice and negligence cases (Wilcoxon, 1987). Furthermore, whilst a code of ethics may differentiate one profession from another, it also has a role to play in bringing a profession into line with the standards of related professions. There is always a danger of a code being a set of motions that one simply goes through, in order to fulfil the criteria of being 'a professional'. But the hope of many professions is for a code

to be more of a 'living' document, more of a way of life so there is a high degree of congruity between professional ethical practice and behaviour and 'responsibleness' in their personal life beyond their professional life. This is very much an expected characteristic of being a counsellor.

Strike and Ternasky (1993) suggested three ways in which ethics applies to education: ethical appraisal of educational policy; teaching ethical values as a part of moral education; and professional ethics. Professional ethics are considered distinguishable from, but connected to the other categories. Yet the category of professional ethics, while part and parcel of guidance counselling from the formation of a professional counselling organisation (NZCGA) has figured very little in the educational literature, teacher training or counsellor education programmes until very recently. In the USA, three factors seem to be behind this recent upsurge of interest (Strike and Ternasky, 1993). One factor centred on public scandals about the inappropriate behaviour of some teachers. A second was the push during the 1980 reforms to conceptualise education as a profession based on the assumption that professionalisation would make teaching more effective. A third was posited as a rejection of conceptualising teaching as a largely technical endeavour m favour of a vision of teaching as a moral pursuit linked to the ethical structure of schools (Strike and Ternasky, 1993). In New Zealand, the latter would fall currently within the orbit of groups such as “Living Values” pushing for more explicit "values education" in schools. What Strike and Ternasky did not suggest was the link with neoliberalism and managerialist notions as applied to education. This has certainly occurred in New Zealand since the 1988 reforms. One could posit that these two notions had been absent from the USA education scene about which Strike and Ternasky write, but since these notions were central to the neoliberal agenda of the Reagan-Bush years it may be assumed that they would have impacted on education in the USA.

How do counsellors learn about ethical codes and behaviour? Courses in counsellor education that involve such questions have emerged only relatively recently, especially since the neoliberalism of the mid-1980s emphasised accountability for professionals and challenged and de-emphasised existing notions of trust of professionals. That ethical conduct can be developed via professional ethics courses is' open to critique. Whilst the intention is that people will behave better in their professional life, many professional ethics courses ignore the importance of character, which is "usually formed over many years and is at least as much a matter of habituation and training as it is of cognition and reflection" (Strike and Ternasky, 1993: 5). Courses are inadequate when they signal only what is unacceptable behaviour without encouraging a genuine commitment to reasonable moral standards, and when they do not examine the institutional structures, "their prevailing ethos, and the pursuant socialization that initiation into the profession provides" (Strike and Ternasky, 1993: 6). This is because a professional ethics course may not necessarily counter a morally unhealthy ethos, and may in fact be a substitute for critique and reform. It must be therefore with such reservations and concerns in mind that appropriate and effective professional ethics courses are structured.

While it could be argued that the development of codes of ethics and education in professional ethics are signs of a profession's 'coming of age' or maturity, the counselling profession in New Zealand has had a Code of Ethics since 1976 (Abbott, 1988; Hummel, Talbutt and Alexander, 1985). Hummel *et al.* point out that for counselling maturity is not just about professional maturity, but also requires personal maturity because of the interpersonal nature of the counselling relationship. Adopting a developmental stage model may not prove useful. If codes change over time the implication is that an association's maturity also changes, which is debatable. The avowed intent behind the development of codes of ethics may be laudable in the effort to promote professional standards and acceptable behaviour whilst protecting the rights of its clients (i.e. students in schools). This may indicate a new level of professional 'maturity', but it also reflects an effort to improve counselling's professional status in the workplace. However, it may remove the opportunity for democratic reflection and may make counselling more rule-bound and less caring. In New Zealand it was because of the special nature of the job, that school guidance counselling developed and pushed for its counsellors to adhere to a code of ethics long before the neoliberal environment

encouraged the development of such for teachers (despite an earlier, but largely ignored Code of Ethics for PPTA members).

The usefulness of codes highlights a major tension over philosophical and practical elements and impacts on how the identity of a profession is formulated. Should the code have a philosophical orientation with an expression of broad principles and guidelines that may be open to various subjective interpretations and misinterpretations? Or should it be essentially a practical code dealing precisely with situations that professionals frequently have to deal with? The answer does not need to be an either/or, but it tends to be. Perhaps the consideration needs to be context sensitive. Codes can encompass both, as has the NZAC code for counsellors in contrast to the earlier NZCGA code and the American Counselling Association code that does not provide any list of ethical principles, but rather, eight sections that provide practical detail (see <WWW.counseling.org>). Providing a set of ethical principles may help, but since many of the ethical dilemmas that counsellors will face are likely to be unique, ethical principles should address broad issues and not be legalistic because dealing with every possible circumstance that may arise is clearly an impossibility. Counsellors needed to develop their own moral conscience or sense of 'responsibleness' that extends beyond the notion of 'responsibility', which denotes an obligation to an external standard or authority, i.e. a code of ethics or a set of professional standards. If it is not codified, can counsellors then act freely and unethically? Not if they follow broad ethical principles and use a sense of "responsibleness" (Bond, 1992, 1993; Tennyson and Strom, 1986).

Because counselling in a school setting or beyond involves special relationships based on openness and trust, it is important that all counsellors act appropriately so that clients are protected. In New Zealand, where counselling is not subject to government regulation or to registration (licensure or certification) requirements, it becomes even more important that the profession is self-regulating. For members of a professional association like NZCGA and NZAC, a code of ethics is designed to promote self-regulation and to ensure, as much as possible, that counsellors are effective, behave in an ethical and professional manner and are accountable to their professional association for their practice. The process, which both NZCGA and NZAC used to develop their codes of ethics is outlined in the rest of the chapter.

The process of defining and establishing what is and what is not ethical professional practice and professional Standards have been conducted from within the counselling profession and its practitioners without including clients' voices. Cooper (1992: 7) points out that "this raises questions about the ethics and belief within the systems And the organisation which draw up codes of practice, ostensibly for the benefit of the clients, but utlising a process which does not normally give the clients a voice in the process of establishing those codes." One layperson does have a voice on a Hearing Panel convened by the NZAC Ethics Committee to hear a complaint. Clients do get a voice in the complaints procedure, and in response to feedback from the Ethics Committee, changes may well be recommended to the Association. Whether or not clients should be given a voice (and if it is only the articulate that will be heard); which clients should be heard (adults, youth, children, different ethnic groups); and just how the Association would proceed with this, poses many questions for the Association to consider in any forthcoming revamp of their Code of Ethics. A move away from paternalistic attitudes and inwardly focussed professional self-regulation would result hopefully in better serving client needs. The notion of the client voice that has partIcular relevance in narrative therapy provides perhaps a possible direction. While these points do not translate into a set of desiderata, they do provide, at least, a possible perspective from which to evaluate the development of a code of ethics.

The development of the NZCGA and NZAC Codes of Ethics

Professional identity in terms of formulating a code of ethics for counselling in New Zealand is a dynamic process with codes of ethics changing over time and in different contexts as outlined in

the remainder of this section. Bob Manthei formulated the first Code of Ethics of NZCGA, basing it somewhat on codes of similar Associations (American Psychological Association-APA and American Counseling Association-ACA) (personal communication, Manthei). The Code of Ethics was approved at the 1976 AGM, and remained in place for the next fifteen years. This code, consisting of six principles, outlined the broad values of the Association rather than specific guidelines for the behaviour of guidance counsellors. It became inadequate for the Association's needs as the Association grew and changed its identity to NZAC. Challenges to the earlier code included ACC's concerns expressed in 1990, that the existing Code did not indicate that sexual intimacy between counsellor and client was unethical and that the confidentiality clause was too loose to provide sufficient protection for either counsellor or client (Hermansson, 1999). In establishing this part of their professional counselling identity NZCGA followed the lead of other closely related helping professions, but in re-developing the code in the 1990s, NZAC was influenced by and responsive to the requirements of outside agencies.

The NZCGA Code was replaced by a more comprehensive Code in 1991, which had been drafted by an Auckland branch subcommittee: Hans Everts, Rosemary Grueber, Dorothy McCarrison, Carol Mawhinney (White), Margaret Nelson-Agee, and John Winslade. This followed a workshop on accountability taken by Robert Ludbrook, a lawyer with a Youth Law Project. Ludbrook led the subcommittee through a process of thinking about situations that had thrown them or had been particularly difficult dilemmas. Without initial reference to any other codes, they brainstormed and talked about the situations and grouped them under headings, then set about writing statements on each. After this they looked at some codes from other groups, including the Surveyors Institute and British Association of Counsellors (BAC) to tweak a few words. The BAC code was used because of the enthusiasm of Beth Webster who had recently returned from Britain, and because Bridgid Proctor (from BAC) was currently in New Zealand. Rather than taking a code from another country, the subcommittee found it more useful to look at certain key questions: what do we know? What do we need to cover? (Personal communication with Carol White [formerly Mawhinney] member of the subcommittee and former NZAC President). The result was a second Code of Ethics (the first for NZAC) which, with only a few amendments, remained the same from 1991 to 2002.

The first Code of Ethics of NZCGA was very different from that which was developed in the 1990s by NZAC. Codes of ethics seem to be written often with autonomous adults in mind, but the NZCGA code reflected the context thereby the Association was primarily supporting counselling in educational institutions, and dealing mostly with adolescents in secondary schools. It was written primarily for school and vocational guidance counsellors yet did not provide specific guidelines nor recipes for their behaviour.

NZCGA Code of Ethics 1976

Preamble: The Association's purpose is to promote effective counselling and guidance services m educational institutions and related services. To this end its members subscribe to the following principles:

> The member believes in the worth and dignity of every individual, and respects the right of each person to make decisions affecting his or her way of life.
>
> The member's primary obligation is to promote the welfare of any individual in need of counselling and guidance, but will also recognise responsibility to the agencies and institutions providing such services by exerting what influence possible to foster their development and improvement.
>
> The member will not claim or imply qualifications or competencies exceeding those possessed.
>
> The member will use discretion and good judgement in giving information from a counselling or guidance relationship to other professional workers.
>
> The member will continue his or her professional growth throughout his or her career, including participating in local and national counselling and guidance associations.

The member is concerned with the ethical behaviour of others engaged m counselling and guidance services and will endeavour to co-operate responsibly and constructively with them.

(*NZCGA,* 1976: 21).

This NZCGA code (1976) involved some, but not all, of the principles which were subsequently part of the 1991 NZAC Code and its amendments (as later described from the 1995 *NZAC Handbook).* The first and fourth principles relate to autonomy and confidentiality or the lack thereof, the second to beneficience, the third and sixth to fidelity, the fifth to professional development. It did not deal with nonmaleficence, social justice, supervision, nor state that sexual intimacy between counsellor and client was unethical. Furthermore, it had a very different, looser definition of confidentiality from the 1991 NZAC Code that did not provide as much prptecti on for clients as the current NZAC Code. Principle four implies a high level of sharing of information within the school, and possibly to parents, suggesting that young people in secondary schools had limited rights to confidentiality at a point in time when the guidance orientation was more directive compared with current attitudes which emphasise autonomy and informed consent. This code refers particularly to relationships with employers and professional colleagues and is not particularly specific in describing the relationship with clients. The counselling relationship and client rights were expanded considerably in the Code that was subsequently devised.

The NZAC Code of Ethics (NZAC, 1995) covers five fundamental principles of counselling: autonomy; doing no harm (nonmaleficence); beneficence; justice; and fidelity, and fifteen situational principles regarding the counselling relationship and client rights that are provided in full in the Appendices. The five fundamental principles are:

NZAC Code of Ethics, 1995

The Five Principles . . .

1. The principle of autonomy: Counsellors shall respect the dignity and worth of every individual, the integrity of families/whanau and the diversity of cultures. This implies respect for people's right to make decisions that affect their own lives, to choose whether or not to consent to anything that is done to them or on their behalf and to maintain their own privacy. Exceptions to the principle of autonomy occur when there is clear danger to the client, counsellor or public at large and when the individual's competence to make a decision is clearly limited.
2. The principle of not doing harm: Counsellors shall avoid any diagnostic labels, counselling methods, use of assessment data or other practices which are likely to cause harm to their clients.
3. The principle of beneficence: Counselling is a helping profession which expects counsellors to act in ways that promote the welfare and positive growth of their clients. In situations where there is the possibility of both harm and benefit the responsibility is on counsellors to ensure that their own actions are chosen with a view to bringing about the greatest balance of good.
4. The principle of justice: Counsellors shall be committed to the fair and equitable distribution of counselling services to all individuals and social groups. Counsellors shall also promote social justice through advocacy and empowerment.
5. The principle of fidelity: Counsellors shall be honest and trustworthy in all their professional relationships.

(*NZAC,* 1995: 21-22).

The principle of autonomy involves notions of the client's rights to choose and to take responsibility for their actions, so long as they and others are not endangered. This implies rights of privacy, informed consent and confidentiality. Nonmaleficence derives from medicine, and obliges counsellors to provide services that not only do not harm, but also have positive outcomes for clients. Beneficence is critical to counselling due to the flow-on effect. Since clients benefit, society

permits the profession to operate because counselling is perceived to be good for humanity. As a corollary, incompetent, dishonest counsellors undermine the profession by bringing it into disrepute if the public lose faith in counselling. The notion of justice centres on the assumption of equity, with all people deserving equal access to services, but is consistent with acknowledging diversity. Fidelity involves faithfulness, keeping contracts, loyalty, and honesty. Without these, others' rights are unable to be respected.

The NZAC Code expands these five principles to cover the counselling relationship and client rights in fifteen situations: access, consent, confidentiality; discrimination; impartiality; group counselling; abuse of power; sexual harassment; fees; referral; termination; competence and professional development; responsibility to the wider community; responsibility to colleagues and the profession; relationship with employing institutions. These situations all have important implications for the manner in which school counsellors perform their work and therefore are components to be considered in terms of their relationship with adolescents, their professional identity and accountability.

Just as for any other NZAC member, a component of professional accountability for school counsellors who belong to NZAC involves upholding the association's Code of Ethics. An ethical requirement listed under "competence and professional development" requires members to uphold the Code of Supervision and to have regular supervision. This Code sets out standards for supervisors to meet so that counsellors seeking supervision are informed and protected about what to expect in the relationship. The Preamble to the Code of Supervision sets out the intent and some indication about the need for supervision:

> The NZAC Code for Supervision is intended to promote the professional development of counsellors in order to best meet the needs of clients. It is therefore intended to be consistent with the Code of Ethics and Objects of the NZAC. In keeping with this, it is based on an absolute commitment to respecting the dignity and worth of each person, in particular of our clients, our colleagues, and ourselves. The NZAC Code of Ethics states that all Members and aspiring members of the association must have regular supervision with professionally competent supervisors. The need for supervision does not decline with experience or training, although the type of supervision may change (NZAC, 2000: 27).

The code of supervision includes the following six sections: the nature of supervision; responsibility in supervision; competence in supervision; management of supervision and confidentiality in supervision. A full time counsellor is required to have fortnightly supervision. For part-time counsellors (less than ten client contact hours per week) supervision is pro-rated. But regardless of the amount of time spent counselling, a counsellor is still expected to have supervision at least monthly. This supervision criterion goes part way to accounting for the removal of the twelve hours minimum counselling that was required for membership of NZCGA but which has been removed from the current NZAC membership criteria. The supervisor is expected to belong to either NZAC or another similar professional body with a Code of Ethics and to be familiar with counselling. From 1997, an annual report from a counsellor's supervisor was required to accompany the member's annual subscription. As a self-regulatory measure for retaining membership it dearly relies on not just the integrity of the counsellor, but also on that of the supervisor, thus setting up a system of checks and balances.

Counselling supervision is aimed at securing safety for clients by ensuring the counsellor is competent and behaves ethically. The supervisor provides support in a collaborative environment for the counsellor. The supervisor is able to be apprised of counselling issues, skills, and problems that the counsellor may present through case studies, verbatims, audio or video tapes. These are critiqued with the counsellor who is enabled to consider alternative or better practices, to examine any difficulties, transference and parallel processes that may be involved. To protect the privileged nature of the counselling relationship, the Code of Supervision requires that supervisors maintain confidentiality. One surprising exception is "Where it is clearly stated otherwise in a supervision contract" (NZAC, 2000: 29). Why this clause should exist is open to both criticism and question. Other

exceptions are when there is serious concern about the client's welfare that the counsellor is unable or unwilling to deal with, and when disciplinary action is being pursued against the counsellor.

The NZAC Code of Supervision is almost as long as the Code of Ethics and is quite detailed, being both descriptive and prescriptive about what, who, and how supervision is to be conducted. It provides more detail of the 'what' and 'how' of supervision than the Code of Ethics does about counselling. This is probably because the concept of supervision was not enshrined in the NZCGA Code of Ethics until the re-vamp of NZAC's code in 1991. It probably reflects something of what the authors of its formation believed was required for informing counsellors about supervision. Once there is a high level of general understanding about supervision, it may well be that the code can be abbreviated somewhat and incorporated as a clause into the Code of Ethics.

The Recognition of Supervisors is a rather cumbersome title for a set of guidelines defined by NZAC since 1997 that set standards and competency levels for those supervisors who undertake the process of becoming "recognised". This system for supervisors is akin to that of "accredited" NZAC members and is administered by the Accreditation Committee. Not all counsellors who provide supervision are expected to be "Recognised Supervisors", but it may well be that in time the Association expects this to be the case. To be an NZAC Recognised Supervisor, one must fulfil certain criteria that include: being an NZAC member for at least two years; being trained in supervision and being very experienced in counselling supervision and being able to demonstrate their skills to the accreditation committee (NZAC, 2000). This set of procedures has been aimed at improving the professional standard of supervision in much the same way that tightening the criteria for NZAC membership did. It is about increased professionalisation and accountability.

However, supervision can become a disciplinary practice particularly if the supervisor is expected to provide an evaluation report to employing organisations or third-party funders (e.g. ACC, schools) as a means of appraisal and accountability. A perhaps less feasible, but more appropriate check of accountability would be to ask clients about the quality of the counselling they receive. If power is assigned to supervisors to act in an overseeing, evaluative, hierarchical, judgmental manner there is a danger that counsellors will stop disclosing their vulnerabilities and difficulties and will no longer seek help. To maintain the impression of competence, they will instead present only their best work in supervision. Instead of ensuring client safety, supervision would become primarily a disciplinary relationship. For supervision to remain a supportive, open, trusting, non-evaluative relationship counsellors need to separate out clinical supervision from line management supervision within their employing agencies.

But in professional associations, if the evaluative gaze tends to focus more on individuals than on training programmes, it can create anxiety that undermine the professional confidence of members and, in turn can inadvertently lower professional standards rather than raise them. Rather than an association's role being one of policing, members should be made aware of required ethical and professional standards and should be expected as part of what constitutes 'being professional', to take responsibility for their own ethically competent practice. Policing members involves a burgeoning cost financially. There is no easy, effective or affordable way of policing or ensuring that a professional association's annual check on each member can ensure that they practise up to some mythical standard of safety. In the process of policing an association can become increasingly controlling and exclusionary over not only who qualifies for membership but also how members practice counselling through more stringent and restrictive requirements for training, membership and supervision. In Foucauldian terms, these moves could be seen as "dividing practices".

Introducing a complaints procedure

Whilst NZAC had a Code of Ethics right from its inception, it was only later that it developed its closely related policies of a Code of Supervision and a complaints procedure. This section details the process by which the last of these ethical regulatory measures, a complaints procedure, was developed in the 1990s - an important aspect in constituting counselling as a self-regulating, ethical profession.

The first formal complaint against an NZAC member highlighted the inadequacy of the existing situation. The case was heard by a quorum of Executive Members and NZAC's legal advisor at a "Special Executive meeting on Monday 3 August 1992 to consider a resolution that a member of NZAC has been guilty of acts or conduct Prejudicial to the interests of the Association" (*NZAC Newsletter.* 1992 Val 13 (2): 23) The NZAC constitution at this stage allowed for the hearing of complaints, but had no formal procedures for doing so apart from a Complaint Assessment Committee, which ascertained whether or not here was a case to answer. The only sanction Provided was termination of membership if the member was found guilty of bringing the Association into disrepute (Crocket, 1992).

> After carefully considering the initial letter of complaint, the evidence (and in particular the evidence of the respondent), correspondence and material tabled and the submissions made by the respondents lawyer, the Executive put the resolution to the vote. The motion was lost (*NZAC Newsletter.* 1992 Vol. 13 (2): 23).

NZAC President, Ruth Anderson commented that both she and the Executive "have made and will continue to make every effort to ensure that we protect, not only the interests of the Association, but also the rights of individual members including those against whom complaints have been made" *(NZAC Newsletter,* 1992, Vol. 13 (2): 6). Because existing procedures placed an untenable burden on National Executive in what was an expensive process, especially if a General meeting rather than a Hearing was called, and to protect the rights of both members and clients, NZAC subsequently made considerable changes to its complaints procedure. This reflects the increasing professionalisation and a maturing of the association in taking responsibility for dealing with competency and with ethical conduct of its members. In this respect, as with other professions NZAC has developed, as part of its identity, a clearly defined monitoring, policing and enforcement role.

Considerable work ensued in developing a complaints procedure and the formation of an Ethics Subcommittee. 1994 to administer this procedure. The process leading up to this involved input from various people especially from National Executive (Carol Mawhinney and Roseina Balsom) and included advice from Simon Jefferson, the Associations legal adviser. A group of Waikato branch members, led by Alistair Crocket, formed a Complaints Procedure Development Group which developed a discussion paper for the December 1992 Newsletter, setting out the existing procedures for dealing with complaints against members and a draft for the new process. The initial proposal included a Rationale that a complaints procedure provides a process through which the Association ensures the maintenance of its Code of Ethics, by providing Clients and Counsellors with clear mechanisms for resolving matters of ethical concern" (Crocket, 1992: 40). It listed nine guiding principles:

> open access; defined procedures; upholding of client rights; acknowledgement of rights of counsellor; acknowledgement of nights of NZAC; outcomes designed to enhance professional standards; seeking satisfactory resolution; peers taking responsibility for scrutiny; issues need to be resolved at the lowest appropriate level (Crocket, 1992: 40).

The initial Ethics Committee comprised: Janet Irwin (Convenor; Auckland), John Winslade (Hamilton), Nan Kingston-Smith (Tauranga), Jeanette Newport (Wellington), Tim Williams (Christchurch), and two National Executive representatives, Ga! Summers (Hamilton), Bill Grant (Dunedin) plus Nicola Ngawati, Human Rights Commission (lay representative). The geographic spread was intentional for dealing with complaints effectively and sensitively throughout the country although it created communication problems for the subcommittee. The first Ethics

Committee report by Convenor, Janet Irwin, outlined the first two tasks as "developing working procedures for the complaints process and establishing a network and guidelines for regional contact persons who would provide support for complainants and respondents" (Irwin, 1995: 26). By the end of the first year of operation (1995), seven complaints had been made. One was not accepted because the respondent was not an NZAC member, one went to a hearing and the remainder were in various stages of processing. Some of the concerns of the committee included the length of time to reach completion; that supervision needed to improve and be used more by members; that ongoing professional education was important; that there needed to be NZAC input into training course structures and content; and that branches needed to take a "professionally responsible attitude to issues of concern in their own districts" (Irwin, 1995: 27). In the year to June 1996, of eight complaints lodged with the Ethics Secretary, one member was required to have professional supervision, three were in the preliminary stages of information-gathering and consideration and four were passed on to the Ethics Committee for assessment and action (Irwin, 1997: 32). By 1997, after four years in operation, Irwin commented that because of the heavy workload, "that early consideration and organisation be shared between the Convenor, the Ethics Secretary and the Association's legal advisor, freeing the National President and Secretary completely from this task" (Irwin, 1997: 32). Thus a clearer specialisation of tasks evolved within the Committee and for National Executive. The function of the Ethics Committee was spelt out in the NZAC *Annual Report,* 1998:

a. To process complaints brought against members of the Association.

b. To advise the Executive on ethical issues.

c. To stimulate discussion and thinking about high standards of ethical care among members of the Association. (Winslade, 1998: 32).

Both the President (Sue Webb) and Convenor of the Ethics Committee John Winslade) commented about the state of play of complaints in the 1998 NZAC Annual Report, suggesting that there has been a steady increase in the number of complaints as the process has become better known. Whilst 29 letters of concern were received in the first three years of the Committee's operation, by *po* means all became formal complaints, 25 letters of concern were received in 1997, but four of these were regarding non-members. Results were tallied in the NZAC *Annual Report, 1998:*

> Four hearings have been held (three complaints have been upheld) and four complaints are currently awaiting hearings. Five have been judged by the Complaints Assessment Process not to be 'prejudicial to the interests of the Association.' Three complaints have been withdrawn by the complainant and six have been closed by the Ethics Committee after lack of response from complainants to correspondence (Winslade, 1998: 32).

Presumably this meant that the process had become better known to clients, but this probably included better knowledge by members, since information has been provided in *NZAC Newsletter* during the 1990s. How this process could have become better known is not elaborated. Do counsellors provide clients with copies of the process, or is it outlined somewhere on a wall of their rooms as is done in hospitals? At this point the Association does not provide a separate pamphlet for clients that spell this out, although it is referred tom the NZAC brochure *Counselling* (no date, circa 1995). This brochure mentions the Code of Ethics and the expectation of supervision and suggests that, firstly, dissatisfied clients could discuss concerns with their counsellor; secondly, to change counsellors if they are still dissatisfied and to write to the Association's Secretary in the event of a complaint. However, it has to be noted as alarming that so many complaints should be getting even as far as the committee.

The Ethics Committee was enlarged with the aim of providing a better spread of both representation and workload with hearing panels throughout the country. The Convenor John Winslade) and Secretary (Nan Kingston-Smith) no longer sit on these hearing panels so are free to

co-ordinate and direct activities. The intention is to provide updated material and training for the Contact/Procedural Advisor People.

Until 2000 NZAC had not researched nor published the number of complaints; what sector they are against (e.g. private practice, agency or school counsellors; new or established counsellors); nor which parts of the code are the focus of complaints. The provision of such information would be useful prior to updating the code or the complaints procedure. Also it would offer transparency and an indication to members and other interested parties of the level of professional self-regulation and of accountability that is provided by membership of NZAC. Although a complaints procedure exists to deal with serious ethical issues of client safety where should the responsibility lie to ensure that association members meet the requirements of the Codes of Ethics? Should this lie with members, their supervisors, or the Association? Despite changes to a Code of Ethics, questions remain about the actual quality and standard of professional counselling that is achieved.

According to Irwin (personal communication), the complaints that the Ethics Committee had fielded up to 1999 have not been in the realm of deliberate actions. Rather they have been inadvertent actions whereby the counsellor has being caught up in either their own personal situation or agenda, or they have been in a community situation, especially in a small town. Many of the complaint issues have been boundary problems, which could have been avoided if counsellors had availed themselves of good quality supervision. Personal boundaries have involved such situations as touching or socialising with clients. When does 'therapeutic' massage become 'sexual' touching? Is it breaching a role boundary for a counsellor to visit or to invite a client out socially when they are seeing them professionally? To what extent does jealousy and petty politics in an agency lead to ethical complaints? Personal agendas have involved counsellors with strong religious beliefs not allowing the client space for expression of their own beliefs, or an obsession with only one modality of counselling regardless of whether the client feels comfortable with this. Situational difficulties arise, particularly in dealing with confidentiality in small towns or small dose-knit communities where there are few counsellors and everyone knows everyone. In these situations dual roles, such as being the friend of the parent or partner of a client, can often become a problem.

That most complaints have been against counsellors in private practice and only one or two against school counsellors should not be surprising. The counsellor in private practice is often working alone, without the support of an agency or institution to ensure accountability and supervision. Furthermore, clients of agency and school counsellors are likely to complain firstly to the institutional authorities who would be expected to resolve the matter, before or even instead of taking complaints to NZAC. School students and their parents are probably less likely to know about the Code of Ethics and the existence of a complaints procedure than are adults in other counselling situations. Unlike the health sector, schools seldom adorn the walls with posters that outline client rights. Schools have tended to be quite self-protective and to keep problems in-house, but this may change in the current era that highlights client rights in many public sectors.

NZAC has developed a comprehensive set of procedures to ensure the professional accountability and ethical practice and behaviour of its members. These are extremely important given the private nature of the relationship between the counsellor and client. Despite the private nature of counselling, its effectivity is often judged publicly by others, based on what the client may have reported to others and/or how the client is subsequently seen to behave. In this way the counselling activity may be judged publicly by any or all of the following: parents, whanau, caregivers, the client's friends, teachers, deans, principals, Board of Trustees, outside agencies, NZAC. This may be quite unfair on the counsellor who is hardly able to contest this because of confidentiality requirements.

If school counsellors do not belong to NZAC, whilst they may subscribe to the professional codes, they are not required to do so. Why this should not be mandatory for school counsellors is not spelled out in official policy, which would seem to be a result of inertia on the part of school authorities and of the Ministry of Education. This raises serious questions about professional

competence and indemnity. Schools insure themselves and their senior personnel for indemnity, but the counsellors are likely to be covered only if the administration, board and counsellors are aware of the need for cover. When counsellors belong to NZAC, a school can rely on professional accountability. To provide a safe protective environment for students and for the whole school community, schools might well ensure their counsellors fulfil appropriate professional accountability criteria as required for NZAC membership or for a similar professional body which has a Code of Ethics, Code of Supervision and a complaints procedure. It would seem only prudent that schools should therefore be encouraging or even insisting that their counsellors belong to NZAC.

Foucault (1988a, 1997) noted that in our modern world when ethics are referred to, it is usually in the sense of sets of rules or codes that govern the conduct of conduct, rather than in terms of personal ethics. The professional disciplines take up the notion of institutional rather an personal ethics in an effort to ensure safe professional conduct. For counselling, ethics is couched in terms of client safety, the avoidance of harm or exploitation and in harnessing top-down forms of accountability that hierarchies or management might require as part of their performance management systems. Many counsellors whose income is derived from third-part funders, are forced to belong to a professional organisation that has ethical codes, professional standards and complaints procedures in place. But top-down accountability may not prevent and may in fact mask the very exploitation it is intended to counter. Taken-for-granted assumptions could be challenged by harnessing a principle of transparency that is:

> ... based on a commitment to the ongoing deconstruction of our own actions … ways of being in this work [therapy] … ways of thinking about life … that requires us to situate our opinions, motives, and actions in contexts of our ethnicity, class, gender, race, sexual preference, purposes, commitments, and so on (White, 1997: 150).

In this way can we identity and challenge the practices and structures of domination of our culture and develop an alternative form of accountability via partnerships and collaborations with people or groups that are constitutive of our lives (a bottom-up form of accountability) which “bring[s] many possibilities for us to become other than who we are" (White, 1997: 150).

Although codes of ethics tend to be re-active rather than proactive, the way they change over time makes it clear that they are not set in concrete and that professional counselling organisations are, and need to be, self-reflective so that their codes are reviewed from time to time. There is often tension and confusion about what constitutes a code of ethics and a code of practice. It is within the latter that ethical dilemmas and guidelines for ethical decision-making can be elaborated in exploring issues of right and wrong, of morality and what constitutes ‘a good life’. Ethical, culturally sensitive practice requires more than just a knowledge of a code of ethics, but such knowledge does at least provide a starting point. A code is not a substitute for active, reflective professional and personal ethical decision-making.

Conclusion

This monograph has elaborated the moves towards increased professionalisation, accountability and ethical practice with which *NZCGA/NZAC* has been involved during its twenty-five years of existence. Lobbying and consultating with government and other agencies regarding policy changes that affect counselling and its clients, including school counselling, has continued unabated by NZAC. The Association has recently encouraged the Ministry of Education to consider re-introducing the guidance-time allowance, separate from curriculum and management allowances in secondary schools. However, if the guidance-time allowance is separated from the global allowance, it becomes vulnerable to not just reduced funding, but to being removed altogether. NZAC noted that with an increased clamour from intermediate and primary schools for counsellors, any central allocation of guidance time, could see an allocation to intermediates and primaries "at the expense of the secondary education provision" *(NZAC Newsletter,* 2000, 20 (5): 9). Discussions have been held with PPTA over this issue and also about workload. At their annual meeting with ERO, NZAC discussed whether their 1998 policy on the NEGs and NAGs had ever been distributed to ERO field teams. NZAC were concerned that ERO teams either ignored or did not seem to appreciate the guidance counsellor's position. At this meeting, NZAC discussed Teacher Registration for school counsellors, the new Education Council and NZAC's complaint procedure with respect to its potential relationship to teacher de-registration. NZAC "encouraged ERO to target checking suicide prevention strategies in schools" *(NZAC Newsletter,* 2000, 20 (5): 9).

After almost ten years in existence for its most recent Code of Ethics, in consultation with the Association's members NZAC's Ethics Committee embarked on a complete revision (see NZAC AGM papers, 2002, 'Code of Ethics Being submitted for adoption at June 2002 AGM'). The code was no longer adequate since it did not reflect the current socio-political context, e.g. Internet counselling, social justice and the Treaty of Waitangi issues, counsellors' record keeping, some agency's (e.g. the Family Court) requirements that conflicted with NZAC ethics, and confidentiality was not sufficiently detailed *(NZAC Newsletter,* 2000, 20, 3). Although close examination of the new code is outside the time-frame of this monograph, it is important to indicate the changes and continuities in the ongoing narrative about ethical practice in counselling in New Zealand.

The current policy changes and professional issues indicate that the story of professionalisation of school guidance counselling in New Zealand has opened a new chapter with exciting possibilities, but also some dangers. Ethical practice continues to be an essential component of being a school counsellor and NZAC requires that all its members uphold the Code of Ethics. My argument remains, that guidance counsellors must reflect upon their practice, their ethics, and their professional identity, and that this is a crucial task for any activity that involves support for others. School counselling must remain radically self-reflective, with an impetus for change, experiment and challenge from within the profession. It needs to hold a mirror to itself as it examines the power relationships of the structures with which it is involved. School counselling, dealing mainly with the problems of teenagers as they grow up, needs awareness of the working of power-knowledge, which constitutes it as an agency of governmentality within schools. I have suggested that school counsellors ought to be aware of the philosophical foundations and understandings of their chosen profession, its developing history and its professionalisation, and they must be aware of the ways in which counselling has been positioned in relation to the prevailing moral and political systems. My aim has been to encourage further reflection on the way school counselling is involved in the moral constitution of youth and the politics and policies that affect youth. Foucault reminds us that we must learn to take "care of the self" before we can care for others. This remains one of the basic premises of counselling.

Abbreviations

ACC	Accident Compensation Commission
BoT	Board of Trustees
CYP&Fact	Children, Young Persons and Their Families Act
CYPS	Children & Young Person's Service
DSW	Department of Social Welfare
ERO	Education Review Office
FTTE	Full Time Teacher Equivalent
ITO	Industry Training Organisation
MRG	Ministerial Reference Group
NAG	National Administration Guidelines
NCEA	National Certificate of Educational Achievement
NEG	National Education Goals
NPM	New Public Management
NZAC	New Zealand Association of Counsellors
NZAP	New Zealand Association of Psychotherapists
NZASW	New Zealand Association of Social Workers
NZCER	New Zealand Council for Educational Research
NZCGA	New Zealand Counselling and Guidance Association
NZEI	New Zealand Education Institute
NZPsychS	New Zealand Psychological Society
NZQA	New Zealand Qualifications Authority
PMS	Performance Management System
PPTA	Post-Primary Teachers Association
PR	Position of Responsibility
RTLB	Resource Teacher: Learning and Behaviour
STCEC	Secondary Teachers Collective Employment Contract

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