TALK BROKERS:
An Analysis of the Work of Counsellors at a New Zealand Secondary School

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ABSTRACT

The guidance counsellor position has become a feature of New Zealand secondary schools since the mid-1960s. This thesis is concerned with issues of power and control within a school and, in particular, with the form of power and control exercised by it's guidance counsellors. Guidance counsellors have presented their work as 'helping teachers to teach and students to learn', while appealing to discourses of equal opportunity and 'at riskness' among the student body. A consequence of guidance counsellor work is a trade-off between therapy and discipline in some schools, creating new points of tension within the school organisation. Another consequence of counsellor work has been the redrawing of the boundaries of 'schooling' in regard to 'family' and 'community'.

While there is ongoing debate within the sociology of education concerning forms of power and control which operate in schools, there is a definite gap in British, American and Australasian sociology of education literatures in regard to analyses of guidance counselling practices, and the forms of control set up through counsellors' work with students in schools. Many debates have focused on curriculum issues, or relationships between teachers and students in the school. In order to address the gap in the literature, this thesis has adopted an ethnographic approach and incorporated analytical concepts from the work of Michel Foucault. Within the sociology of education, ethnographic research documents the problems of controlling students and securing their commitment to schooling. However, despite the interactionist understanding of classroom events as 'negotiated process', much ethnography ultimately presents a repressive narrative of power relations. In contrast with these narratives, Michel Foucault's work is used in the thesis to argue that power may be seen in terms of coercion, constraint and enablement. This thesis adopts Foucault's emphasis on 'micropolitics', focusing on the way power may be seen to inscribe identities such as 'at risk' on the student body through the 'pastoral power' work and confessional techniques of school guidance counsellors.

Education texts which have used Foucault's concepts tend to emphasise issues of disciplinary, rather than pastoral, power relations in schools, directed towards the control and subjugation of students. It is implied that forms of disciplinary power secure themselves with no, or few, problems and obliterate all tensions within the school. My own material on guidance counselling indicates that this is an oversimplification. There are many more dimensions to power relations. The fieldwork for this thesis was conducted with a particular emphasis on guidance counsellors' work at a large, urban, New Zealand high school. Difficulties and tensions related by counsellors are used to raise issues concerning theoretical understandings of control, both in the sociology of education and Foucault-inspired literatures.

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(2 Corinthians 9:15)

CONTENTS

			PAGE
Abstract			i
Acknowledgments			ii
Contents			iii-iv

CHAPTER			PAGE
ONE		**Introduction to the Thesis**	**1**
	1.1	'Youth at Risk' as a Discourse	1
	1.2	Outline of the Thesis	4
TWO		**Theoretical Orientations I: Michel Foucault**	**6**
	2.1	Introduction: Foucault and a Research Agenda	6
	2.2	Reading Foucault on the Problem of Power and Knowledge	7
	2.3	The Spread of Bio-Power and the Action of the Norm	12
	2.4	Disciplinary Power and Dividing Practices	14
	2.5	The Technique of Confession and Pastoral Power	18
THREE		**Theoretical Orientations II: Mapping the School**	**21**
	3.1	Introduction	21
	3.2	The Sociology of Education and Ethnography	21
	3.3	Dividing Practices in the School	26
	3.4	Readings of Foucault in the Sociology of Education	30
	3.5	'Pastoral Care' and Pastoral Power	37
FOUR		**The Emergence of Guidance Counselling in New Zealand: Questions of Narrative**	**42**
	4.1	Introduction	42
	4.2	Histories of Guidance Counselling in New Zealand	45
	4.3	Other Important 'Histories'	49
	4.4	Sociological Readings of History: Moral Panic and increasing Surveillance	50
	4.5	The Search for a Beginning	52
	4.6	From Vocational Guidance to Guidance Counselling	57
	4.7	Visiting Teachers	60

	4.8	The Disruption of Maori Communities and 'Additional Problems'	62
	4.9	What to do with Delinquent Youth?	66
	4.10	Visions of Early Counselling Practice	68
	4.11	The Search for a Professional Identity	69
FIVE		**Counsellor Work**	**72**
	5.1	Introduction	72
	5.2	Thinking About Counsellor Work	72
	5.3	Routinising Talk and Networking Children	76
	5.4	The Referral Mode 'Plus'	82
	5.5	Convening Groups	84
	5.6	Therapeutic Talk: How Might One Do It?	87
	5.7	The Opportunity Room	90
SIX		**Questions of Control and Negotiated Order**	**96**
	6.1	Introduction: "What sort of control is this?"	96
	6.2	Counsellor Narratives Revisited	97
	6.3	Managing the Emotions	100
	6.4	The Paradox of Autonomy	103
	6.5	The Limitations of a Language of Surveillance (and Hegemony)	105
	6.6	The Significance of Rights and Procedures for Students	108
	6.7	Ambivalence Goes With the Job	110
	6.8	Shifting the Boundaries	111
	6.9	The Limitations of Foucault: Problems of Agency and Student Rights	114
SEVEN		**Conclusion**	**117**
		Methodological Appendix	**122**
		Bibliography	**134**

CHAPTER ONE:

INTRODUCTION TO THE THESIS

'YOUTH AT RISK' AS A DISCOURSE

'Youth at risk', is taken to be a purely descriptive category by most people. The term often occurs in the speech I hear around me. Journalists and social administrators use it liberally when they address youth. In my own participation in youth work, I too have talked about 'youth at risk'. Speaking about 'at risk', like speaking about the identities 'Maori' and 'Pacific Islander', was supposed to convey something meaningful and important in my youth work conversations. These conversations implied both a danger which needed to be addressed, and a rationale for intervention. Thinking about these things now, I see the term meant very different things in different settings.

During April 1991, some of my experiences and observations regarding youth 'at risk' became the subject, or at least the starting point, of thesis research. My purpose was not to define 'at risk' youth but to open out this identity for analysis in conjunction with debates in contemporary sociology concerning power, knowledge, and subjectivity. The question that arose for myself, and for most people concerning 'at risk youth', was 'at risk of what?' In the course of reading texts and speaking with experts, this identity was related to many further identities, different behaviours, spaces, and emotions. A child can be 'at risk' because they have 'lost something' - self esteem, cultural identity, innocence, or virginity. Children can be 'at risk' if they are angry, unmotivated, immature, under stress, not coping in class, or bunking school; 'at risk' if they are located in a lower socio-economic area, a reconstituted family, a single parent family, or any family at all. A child becomes 'at risk' in anticipation of motor vehicle crashes, pregnancy, sexually transmitted diseases, unemployment, consumption of alcohol, drug use, substance abuse, suicide, physical violence and sexual abuse.

I also found that the category 'youth' has become synonymous with the psychological discourse of 'adolescence', adolescence being an identity which effectively renders all high school students 'at risk'. The linkage between discourses of 'youth at risk' and adolescence are illustrated in the following marketing 'blurb' for a text which came across my desk during 1992.

> "Adolescence is a turbulent period, a time when young people are particularly prone to risky behaviours, such as drug use and unprotected sex. ***Risk takers*** provides a comprehensive view of youthful involvement with drinking, smoking, illicit drug use, and sexual activity. In particular, the authors explore the evidence linking alcohol, drug use, 'disinhibition' and risky sex. They discuss these issues in relation to evidence suggesting that some forms of risk taking are interconnected. Though some young people are especially prone to take risks due to poverty and social disadvantage, the authors emphasise that risk taking is

> commonplace adolescent behaviour, difficult to restrain or curb. They remind us that past attempts to reduce youthful alcohol and drug misuse have produced disappointing results, and they also point out that most young people have not modified their sexual behaviour in the light of the risks of AIDS. Risk taking is unlikely to be prevented by mass media campaigns or bland slogans such as 'Just say No'. The authors examine the effectiveness of preventive strategies and public policy and emphasise the importance of 'harm minimisation' strategies. This review provides a challenging assessment of health-threatening behaviours among young people.
> **Market:** Professionals in social work, psychiatry, community medicine, general practice, education and counselling.
> **Selling Points:** Presents a challenging and much needed assessment of health education for young people. Reviews effects of maternal drinking and other drug use during pregnancy."

It appears, from the 'target market' for this text, that 'at risk' youth is as much about 'youth professionals' as it is about youth themselves.

The thesis thus began with the idea that a discourse of 'at risk youth' says as much about the speaker as it does about the object of conversation; 'at risk' is a discourse of experts. In other words, the use of these types of images 'does' things in any given setting, and asserts certain kinds of relationships. When one utilises the discourse of 'at risk', one underscores a set of constraints as well as enablements on social interactions. The quote contains claims to the truth about adolescents, and asserts this knowledge over other claims also addressing youth. These claims allude to a competition for the ability to speak with authority about youth. In short, these 'texts' involve power relations.

In this thesis 'at risk youth' is an object produced by the relationship between power and knowledge. This idea is elaborated from the work of Foucault who argued that one cannot separate power from knowledge, and power is inherent in the ways that certain identities become attached to certain bodies. In the thesis identity, (or subjectivity), is something people do to themselves as well as have done to them. However, Foucault's focus is on how this is actually achieved in terms of techniques. For Foucault, power does not always act as a force which says 'no', instead it 'produces' things; power produces desires, pleasures and subjectivities as well as forms of resistance, constraint and coercion.

The discourse of 'at risk' employed above did not indicate how youth at risk is actually practised in everyday life. For a sociologist the identity 'youth at risk' is best understood as a set of practices utilised in particular settings. The question I asked of 'at risk' was, "How does one, as a 'youth worker', go about 'doing' such an identity?" Because of my own experience as a youth worker, high school student, and teacher, I understood school guidance counsellors to be a kind of 'expert' who emphasised a discourse of 'at risk' amongst high school students. To investigate 'youth at risk' as discursive practice, I asked certain counsellors to explain their work to me. Over the next two years the research was carried out as a case study of how guidance counsellors recognise and deal with problem, or 'at risk', youth at a particular school. 'At risk' became my way into the school setting and in this particular setting I encountered many other discourses which address students in the context

of New Zealand education. Interviewing counsellors effectively brought about a change in focus for the thesis, away from 'at risk' students, to the work of counsellors in a school organisation. In the context of practice, 'at risk' became 'counsellor work'. As a consequence, the thesis now has more to say about counsellors than it does about students.

In the thesis the school is referred to as Aorangi High School, and is a large, urban, coeducational school in New Zealand.[1] Aorangi's student population already had an 'image' before I began my research. To me, as a Pakeha, a teacher, and a sociologist, certain things were visible at these visits - for example the larger proportion of Maori and Pacific Island students. I had already visited the school prior to the research and on these occasions had made some mental notes. I had noted the Maori and Samoan faces, scruffier uniforms, swearing, and evidence of 'problems' which I understood as related to the poverty many students experienced. My image of Aorangi students was certainly one of 'at risk'.

These notes say something important about my own position and gaze. As these comments indicate, my understanding of 'at riskness' was mediated through ethnicity.[2] As a result ethnicity is a key focus in the thesis. This is not to deny the importance of other issues, such as class and gender, as dimensions of 'at riskness'. Instead this focus reflects my own interest in ethnicity. It is also the case that ethnicity is an important and highly politicised issue in contemporary New Zealand education in a way that class and gender are not. An explicit focus on ethnicity in the research is given further impetus due to a gap in sociological analysis. Issues of class and gender have been referenced extensively in research on the school, while ethnicity is a relative newcomer to sociological analysis.

The school is a setting discussed extensively in sociological literature. The forms of power and control operating at schools are central to the sociology of education, but I found that these texts tend to write about the forms of power operating in the classroom between teachers and students. They also tend to employ an account of power which sees staff as always exercising a negative power over students. The discourses of risk mentioned earlier imply that 'at risk' is an identity which counsellors, as experts, 'do' to students. As I spoke to Aorangi counsellors about their work with students, I found out more about the kind of power and control that counsellors exercise over students in this school organisation. Their work was not about a one-way process of control. It was about negotiation. The thesis has thus emerged as an argument about the kind of power and control counsellors exercise in this setting and argues against many of the understandings of power found in sociology of education.

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[1] The names of staff, students and locations in the thesis are fictional as the people interviewed desired to remain anonymous.

[2] Another person, perhaps a student at the school, might hold very different images and read very different things into, for example, the way a uniform is worn.

The concept of negotiation, or 'negotiated process' is used extensively within sociology and, in particular, it is used in conjunction with a method of inquiry, ethnography. The thesis has also emerged as an argument for ethnography as this method allows a researcher to map power relations in the school in a way that is compatible with many of Foucault's insights into the way power can be seen to work.

OUTLINE OF THE THESIS

The thesis is constructed in the form of five analytical chapters, a conclusion, methodological appendix, and bibliography.

Chapter two introduces concepts from the work of Michel Foucault which I considered useful for understanding the power relations operating in schools. The central concepts used in this thesis are discourse, normalisation, disciplinary power, pastoral power, dividing practices, confession and subjectivity. However, while Foucault provides some useful analytical concepts and 'methodological rules of thumb', he does not provide a way of doing empirical research.

Chapter three contains an argument for an ethnographic approach to the contemporary school. Ethnographic accounts from the sociology of education are reviewed not so much for their substantive content as their method, which enables an analysis of power relations in specific contexts. Also introduced in this chapter are texts which have appropriated Foucault to education. These texts do not use ethnography but make arguments concerning control of students through disciplinary techniques. Chapter three also reviews British research which has examined the role of the guidance counsellor in schools. For the most part this research is practitioner-oriented and does not address issues of power and control from a sociological perspective. These literatures are used to argue that there is a gap in research which indicates the failure of sociology to 'map' the contemporary school, a gap which I address in the remainder of the thesis.

Chapter four is a consideration of certain historical narratives which make generalised arguments about the emergence of counselling in New Zealand. In this chapter it becomes apparent that counselling practice at its inception is nothing like counselling in the present; that the origins of guidance counselling had nothing to do with its subsequent development; and that there is no necessary continuity in terms of development. Finally, the sorts of discourses that counselling drew on in the 1960s are nothing like the discourses drawn on today. The profession of school guidance counselling emerged much later.

Chapter five sets out counsellor accounts of how they do their work. It is apparent from counsellor accounts that what counselling 'is', varies considerably between counsellors, and between schools. The central concern of the chapter is a discussion of how Aorangi counsellors construct and negotiate their work of 'advocation' and 'providing a chance' at the school. Reference is made to the interactionist concept of 'negotiated process'. I argue that guidance counsellors receive a form of confession in the school but this is only one technique amongst many others that they use. Other techniques, or strategies, included an Opportunity Room, a referral mode, liaison with parents and community agencies, direct intervention, and convening of groups.

Chapter six raises theoretical issues concerning the way counsellor work might be understood as a form of control. The counsellors' descriptions from chapter five are re-examined through some explicit sociological theories which frame counsellor work as 'techniques of the self' and 'techniques of doing work'. In this chapter I address how counsellor work has involved setting up networks which extend beyond the boundaries of the school and these networks both constrain and enable casework with students. It is argued that there are limitations in the way that certain Foucault-inspired accounts, and some more traditional sociological accounts, infer that the sorts of techniques counsellors use indicate a one-way control in the school.

Following the conclusion in chapter seven is a methodological appendix and bibliography. The methodological appendix is my reflexive 'confession'. It addresses some of the important issues I have worked through in constructing this thesis as 'a topic', 'working in the field', and 'writing a document'. Although I have attempted to alert the reader to issues of method throughout the thesis text, I recommend that the appendix be read before chapter two. The bibliography serves as an index to all the texts I searched in my attempt to 'map' counsellor practice as a feature of the school.

CHAPTER TWO:

THEORETICAL ORIENTATIONS I: MICHEL FOUCAULT

2.1 INTRODUCTION: FOUCAULT AND A RESEARCH AGENDA

This chapter introduces certain concepts developed by Michel Foucault, providing a basis for discussing their utility for the empirical research referred to in this thesis. Foucault's concepts engage with the way power may be seen to work in modern institutional forms such as the secondary school. In his texts ***Discipline and Punish*** and the ***History of Sexuality, Volumes 1 & 2***, Foucault saw power being inherent in the ways that certain identities (such as 'at risk') become attached to certain bodies. He can therefore be used to discuss how 'at risk' youth, at a particular school, can be disciplined and 'made normal'. Foucault's concepts can also be used to discuss the position of school counsellors in an interesting and multifaceted manner.

Although Foucault was not a sociologist, I engaged with his texts as a sociologist. From my position I was interested in how the ideas Foucault set out might, or might not, be translated into an empirical research agenda. His most recent works were concerned with historical inscriptions of forms of power on the body, and with modern forms of regulation and administration over populations. French and British schools, in Foucault's understanding, were examples of 'disciplinary' institutions and their power relations were particularly modern (Foucault 1979a).

Foucault suggested two paradigms for defining the 'microphysics' of power relations within institutions. The first paradigm was disciplinary power and the second was pastoral power. The challenge I set myself was to try and use these concepts to understand a contemporary New Zealand school. Aorangi High School makes use of ***both*** disciplinary and pastoral techniques but I will argue that its overall character is pastoral rather than disciplinary.

Needless to say, there are issues and tensions in my research that Foucault did not forecast or document in his own work. This is not an automatic negation of Foucault's concepts. One of his methodological precepts was the need to examine power relations in ***particular*** historical, geographical, and cultural contexts. There are, I will argue, some key features of Aorangi High School, the school on which I based my research, which need to be engaged by sociologists and this can be done effectively by utilising some of Foucault's questions.

Before going on to discuss Foucault's concepts of the way power works and the constitution of modern subjectivities, it is necessary to introduce the way in which Foucault uses the concept of discourse. For Foucault, discourses can be found in written texts, film, advertisements and oral speech:

> "Discourses are about what can be said and thought, but also about who can speak, when, and with what authority. Discourses embody meaning and social relationships, they constitute both subjectivity and power relations. Discourses are 'practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak...Discourses are not about objects; they do not identify objects, they constitute them, and in the practice of doing so they conceal their invention'. (Foucault 1974:49) Thus the possibilities for meaning and for definition, are pre-empted through the social and institutional position held by those who use them. Meanings thus arise not from language but from institutional practices, from power relations. Words and concepts change their meaning and their effects as they are deployed within different discourses. Discourses constrain the possibilities of thought...in so far as discourses are constituted by exclusions as well as inclusions, by what cannot as well as what can be said, they stand in an antagonistic relationship to other discourses, other possibilities of meaning, other claims, rights and positions. This is Foucault's principle of discontinuity: 'We must make allowance for the complex and unstable powers whereby discourse can be both an instrument and an effect of power, but also a hindrance, a stumbling block, a point of resistance and a starting point for an opposing strategy.' (Foucault 1982:101)" (Ball 1991:2)

The idea that there are competing discourses for any given terrain is crucial to understanding Foucault's concept of the way power may be seen to work.[1] The concept is also crucial for the arguments I intend to pursue concerning counselling.

Discourses offer certain subject positions. By this I mean that discourses do not 'fix' identities, or subjectivities, but rather produce a range of subject positions around which subjectivities tend to cluster and resist each other. The term 'subject position' alludes to a standpoint taken up by a speaker within a discourse. Subjectivity, another term central to this thesis, suggests an individual presence without essence and underscores the contingency of identity.[2] In this terminology, 'individuals' consist of a 'decentred' flux of subject positions. (McLaren 1991:69)

2.2 READING FOUCAULT ON THE PROBLEM OF POWER AND KNOWLEDGE.

Questions concerning the exercise of power have been the 'stuff' of my sociological training. However, 'power' is a philosophically loaded category, particularly in its relationship to ideas about 'truth' and 'freedom'. The fundamental question for Foucault was not, "What is power?", but rather:

> " 'How does power work?' That is, '...'How', not in the sense of 'How does it manifest itself?' but 'By what means is it exercised?' and 'What happens when individuals exert (as they say) power over others?' "(Foucault 1982:217)

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[1] It is somewhat ironic, given his rejection of such labels, that Foucault is now regarded as a major figure in the postmodern canon. The postmodern term 'de-centred subject position' is a rejection of the centrality awarded to the 'self' in much social theory. Agency, in terms of this position, is not an inherent capacity of the subjective consciousness of persons but rather the product of discourses and power relations. (Obel 1993:26)

[2] Subjectivity is a term which has come into vogue recently because it highlights the decentred aspects of self. Poststructural theorists argue that this model (self as plural, fluid, discontinuous, contradictory and contingent) is a more useful and appropriate model to use when accounting for experience than a Humanist model of self.

This is an attractive question for a sociologist embarking on empirical research but Foucault's ideas on the workings of power are at odds with many other conceptions available to a sociologist. For example, Foucault did not propose a theory of power, but what he refers to as an 'analytics of power'.

The distinctive feature of Foucault's writings is that he does not separate knowledges, that is claims to truth, from power. For Foucault knowledge of every kind is bound up with the workings of power whether this is experienced as the smallest or largest of struggles. This places Foucault's notion of power at odds with many other conceptions of power such as those which might be found in the sociology of education. The sociology of education has been written from both a liberal educationalist and a Marxist stance, to name two prominent theoretical positions. The conception of power found in these two discourses incorporates the view that power and truth are inherent opposites, and truth plays an important liberating role from power relations. Sociological studies employing these discourses are, therefore, anchored in a tradition where power is seen only as constraint or coercion, or possibly a systematic refusal to accept reality. Power and its exercise are thus a ban on truth, fostering false consciousness and distorting, or preventing, the formation of knowledge. (Dreyfus & Rabinow 1982:129)

Instead of the view that power and knowledge are opposites, Foucault developed the view that knowledge of any kind is not objective but is itself the product of power relations and cannot stand 'outside' that which it comments on. This is what was meant by his term power/knowledge. The entwinement of knowledge, or truth claims, with power relations has implications for sociologists. A central task running through much sociological enterprise calls for a struggle against the injustices of our society in the name of justice and truth. The idea has been that we, as committed intellectuals, must emancipate men and women from poverty, sexism, racism, and class oppression. Foucault reinterpreted this agenda. For him there was no such position of certainty for the intellectual because the knowledges we create are themselves effects of power relations. For Foucault the ideas of reason and justice are not external to political struggles and the workings of power - they are constituted by them. He said:

> "...it seems to me that the idea of justice in itself is an idea which in effect has been invented and put to work in different types of societies as an instrument of a certain political and economic power, or as a weapon against that power." (Foucault 1974:171).

Foucault turned this apparently worthy humanitarian enterprise on its head so that:

> "...there is a consistent imperative, played out with varying emphases, which runs through Foucault's historical studies: to discover the relations of specific scientific disciplines and particular social practices." (Rabinow 1984:5).

Knowledge articulated through sciences such as sociology represent certain discourses which compete for the ability to govern individuals and populations.

The assumptions that power is possessed, that power flows from a centralised source, and power is primarily repressive in its exercise, Foucault collectively termed the 'juridico-discursive view', or repressive hypothesis.[3] His text ***History of Sexuality, Vol 1*** was written as an alternative to the usual linkages made between power, desire and truth in the writing of sex, particularly of the 'Victorian' era. The juridico-discursive view of power relations is one which undergirds most writing in the sociology of education. Foucault did not deny that power relations can be dominating or repressive but he did not see domination as the essence of power relations; power does not necessarily involve repression. The problem with the juridico-discursive view, then, is that it is too simple.

The word 'juridico' signifies the conception of power as a right, a statement of law, and something which may be possessed by a person, or groups of people in much the same way as a commodity. If power is seen in this manner, it becomes something which can be spoken about as being 'held', 'transferred', or 'alienated'. Power becomes, ultimately, the imposition of law. For Foucault, power is not something which works only in this way. Power relations encompass aspects of experience that cannot be spoken of in juridical terms. Power works at the level of 'infra law', or 'below the law' as well. In rejecting this view, Foucault was also rejecting the view that the modern state is the locus of power.

According to Foucault, Marxist positions are characterised by the view that power acts as constraint and coercion. The word 'power' becomes a synonym for the maintenance and reproduction of economic relations. All power relations can ultimately be reduced to a simple source constituted by the domination of capital over labour. In the sociology of education this often translates into research agendas which explain and reduce all relations within the school to the class relations of capitalism.[4] For Foucault any link between power relations and the

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[3] In volume one of ***History of Sexuality***, Foucault questions the adequacy of dominant discourses of sex and sexuality, especially those informed by the repressive hypothesis, or juridico-discursive view. Victorian England has gone down in most histories as a period of repression regarding desire, as a time when power relations bearing on sexuality always took the form of censorship, non-recognition, or prohibition. In such histories, 'sex' became more censored than at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The 'censorship' relaxes in the twentieth century and Freud typically figures as a pioneer of this 'new liberality'. These accounts employ a model of power which is "...essentially juridical, centred on nothing more than the statement of the law and the operation of taboos. All the modes of domination, submission, and subjugation are ultimately reduced to an effect of obedience." (Foucault 1980a:85). Foucault saw this explanation as inadequate. His 'counter hypothesis' is that people did not lessen their discursive interest in sex/sexuality, instead they dedicated themselves to speaking about it *ad infinitum*, while exploiting it as the secret. For example, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries multiple discourses on sexuality emerged which effectively set apart the sexual natures regarded as unnatural. "Foucault argued, by specifying perversions through a machinery of power, deviant sexuality was not suppressed but rather made visible and intelligible. Like the hermaphrodite, the homosexual became a personage medical and psychiatric knowledge knew about, and rather than being criminalised these 'new' individuals became constituted as abnormal persons." (Obel 1993:136,137)

[4] Giroux and McLaren draw on Foucault to provide a critique of the way certain theories map power relations at schools. They have argued that: "Put bluntly, the reproductive theory of schooling is basically a reactive mode of analysis, one that repeatedly oversimplifies the complexity of social and cultural life and ultimately ignores the creation of a theoretical discourse that transcends the

economy must be determined on the basis of specific historical analysis. He conceptualised power as a matrix of force relations, multifaceted and multi directional, linked to certain times and spatial localities. It is in some of the practices and effects of power relations that one can analyse and understand how it works. The question is not 'How does power work?' in a general or universal sense but in a particular historical and geographical context, and so, in the descriptions found in ***Discipline and Punish*** and ***History of Sexuality***, power is never context-free, ahistorical, or objective.

The methodology employed by Foucault in ***Discipline and Punish*** and ***History of Sexuality*** was that of genealogy.[5] It is perhaps easiest to understand genealogy by contrasting it to historical analysis. Historical analysis puts events into macro-explanatory systems and schema of linear processes, of great moments and persons. It seeks to pinpoint the origin of specific historical sequences. History is seen as unbroken and continuous whereas genealogy establishes the singularity and irreducibility of events. It turns away from the spectacular toward the discredited, the neglected and that range of phenomena which have been denied a history. These include reason, punishment and sexuality (Smart 1983:75,76).

In genealogy power is both repressive and creative because:

> "In defining the effects of power as repression, one identifies power with a law which says no to power and is taken above all as carrying the force of a prohibition. Now I believe that this is a wholly negative, narrow skeletal conception of power, one which has been curiously widespread. If power were never anything but repressive, if it never did anything but to say no, do you really think one would be bought to obey it? What makes power hold good, what makes it accepted, is simply the fact that it doesn't only weigh on us as a force that says no, but that it traverses and produces things, it induces pleasure, forms knowledge, produces discourses. It needs to be considered as a productive network which runs through the whole social body, much more than as a negative instance whose function is repression." (Foucault 1980b:119)

From this quote it can be read that the sense in which power is creative is the sense in which it produces reality. Power produces domains of objects and rituals of truth. The individual and the knowledge that may be gained of her belong to this production. Foucault argued that the government of population has always failed precisely because power is productive. For example in ***Discipline and Punish,*** prisons produce 'delinquency'. In ***History of Sexuality***, Foucault discusses the ways power has created sexualities. He argues that the sexuality of children became a target and instrument of power:

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imperatives of possibility within the existing capitalist configurations of power...By viewing schools as primarily reproductive sites, radical educators have not been able to develop a theory of schooling that offers a viable possibility for counterhegemonic struggle and ideological contestation. Within this discourse, schools, teachers, and students are often implicitly viewed as merely extensions of the logic of capital. Instead of grappling with schools as sites of contestation, negotiation,and conflict, radical educators tend to produce an oversimplified version of domination..." (Giroux & McLaren 1991:63)

[5] It is important to note that Foucault did not consider his methods or his works either scientific or truthful. They are useful fictions, tools or tactics of challenge; they are oppositional discourses to those discourses that aspire to truth. Thus there is no truth in Foucault's conception, only truth claims of which Marxist, liberal, humanist, or psychoanalytic theories are but a few examples. This thesis, then, is not set up as a claim to truth but rather a tactic of challenge.

> "Childhood became the 'nursery of the population to come' and was therefore identified as being in need of regulation and surveillance. In this way a power over childhood was established - a power indissociable from the 'true' discourses which were its corollary, discourses which constructed 'normal' childhood sexuality and which in turn provided a number of positions from which such control and power might be directly exercised." (Smart 1983:93)

The 'backward child', the 'remedial reader' and the 'at risk' youth are all objects produced by the relationship between power and knowledge. This concept of power leaves room for the idea that people can accept and gain pleasure from adopting certain identities, (which are always constituted through power relations), and that this cannot be dismissed as misguided 'false consciousness'. It also, though this is rarely taken up in applications of Foucault, leaves room for power to be enabling as well as constraining (Giddens1984; Weedon 1987; McLaren 1991).[6] Power "...incites, it seduces, it makes easier or more difficult, it is always a way of acting upon an acting subject...by virtue of their being capable of action." (Foucault 1982:220)

In his studies Foucault employed some methodological 'rules of thumb'. The first rule involves the writer steering away from an analysis that concerns itself entirely with centralised, or juridical forms of (state) power, and instead focusing on the workings of 'power at its extremities', in its regional and local forms. Taking my cue from this idea, I have studied a particular school. The second 'rule of thumb' suggests that any analysis should concentrate on the level of application, not on the level of conscious intention. This has been translated in my own research to an interest in the application of education policies in the school; to a concern with how people 'do' school, rather than a concern with the intent of an Education Minister or the wording of education policies. The third rule relates to Foucault's notion of power being everywhere (rather than the juridico-discursive view where power always comes from a fixed point); individuals, or classes of people are not conceived as 'having power' but rather are conceived as constituting its effects. Thus, I did not view teachers and counsellors as always exercising a negative power over students. This understanding also implies an analysis of education, in particular school guidance counselling, which can award students and staff with pleasurable experiences and identities, as well as with restraints and limitations.

The fourth rule emphasises that any analysis of power should proceed from a micro-level:

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[6] Giddens saw the logical connection between agency and power to be that an agent always has the power to 'act otherwise', that is, to influence others activities (Giddens 1984:16). This is his notion of a 'dialectic of control'. In the following quote Foucault does not appear too distant from Giddens formulation. He says: "There cannot be relations of power unless the subjects are free. If one or the other were completely at the disposition of the other and became his thing, an object on which he can exercise an infinite and unlimited violence, there would be no relations of power ...Even though the relation of power may be completely imbalanced or when the one can truly say that he has 'all power' over the other, a power can only be exercised over another to the extent that the latter still has the possibility of committing suicide...That means that in the relations of power, there is necessarily the possibility of resistance." (Foucault 1988:12)

"In other words, the analysis of power should be ascending rather than descending. It is a matter of examining how the techniques and procedures of power operating routinely at the level of everyday life have been appropriated or engaged by 'more general powers or economic interests' rather than the converse, namely of conceptualising power as a property located at the summit of the social order employed in a descending direction over and throughout the entire social domain."(Smart 1983:83)

This kind of rule precludes viewing the practices surrounding students 'at risk' (ultimately) in terms of class relations or the state.[7] The final rule is an explication of the power/knowledge relationship and draws attention to the situation whereby the exercise of power is accompanied by, or paralleled by, apparatuses of knowledge about individuals. In the case of ***Discipline and Knowledge*** the implementation of disciplinary practices in the prison allowed for the emergence of the human sciences 'criminology' and 'penology'. In the case of ***History of Sexuality*** there was a vast array of knowledges accompanying the spread of bio-power. These knowledges included sociology, demography, psychoanalytics, and pedagogy. The sociology of education literatures can thus be seen in this light.

Despite his apparent emphasis on questions of power and the body, Foucault later asserted that his overriding interest was not the historical exercise of power(s) but the creation of a history of the different modes by which in our culture, human beings are made subjects (Foucault 1982:208). This enterprise is related to an examination of power relations but focuses on questions of the subject and identity. In "The subject and power", Foucault discussed three modes of objectification by which human beings were 'made into subjects'. The first of these he saw as 'the objectivising of the speaking subject' through modes of inquiry (such as sociology) which gave themselves the status of sciences. The second he termed 'dividing practices' and the third concerned the way persons turn themselves into subjects. It is the two latter modes which are discussed in the context of this thesis.

2.3 THE SPREAD OF BIO-POWER AND THE ACTION OF THE NORM

As has already been stated, Foucault rejects the view that power always works as constraint, negativity and coercion. In ***History of Sexuality*** he replaced the 'repressive hypothesis' with what can be called the 'welfare hypothesis', or the spread of 'bio-power'. Bio power inheres in the political technology of the body. For Foucault the body is the place where the smallest and most local of social practices are linked up with the large scale organisation of power and so the body was central to his analysis. This is encapsulated in his ideas of 'bio-power' and micropractices.

"(Foucault) isolates and identifies the pervasive organisation of our society as bio-technical power. Bio-power is the increasing ordering in all realms under the guise of improving the welfare of the individual and the population." (Dreyfus & Rabinow 1982:xxii)

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[7] In the historical 'case' of sexuality, for example, Foucault discussed technologies of sex that were first deployed amongst the bourgeoisie in the eighteenth century, thus relations of power affected both the 'dominating' and the 'dominated'.

Bio-power thus refers to all the techniques and strategies that seek to 'foster life' amongst a population. Foucault saw schooling in terms of the extension of bio-power, or the securing of governance among children.

According to Foucault's histories, bio-power coalesced around two poles at the beginning of the Classical Age, but these poles remained separate until the beginnings of the nineteenth century. At this time they combined to form the technologies of power which still characterise our current situation. The first pole was the concern for, and control over, the human species. The effort was then made to understand the processes of human regeneration and the resulting knowledges became very closely tied to political ends. This pole was characterised by techniques and knowledges addressing such things as birthrates, migration, longevity, public health, education of the young, and housing. The other pole centred around the body as an object for manipulation. This was disciplinary power; the creation of docile and productive bodies. Disciplinary technologies were thus linked to the rise of capitalism but in Foucault's interpretation the development of political technologies preceded that of the economic. One of the consequences of the development of bio-power was the growing importance assumed by the action of the 'norm'. Foucault talks about how;

> "...the juridical institution is increasingly incorporated into a continuum of apparatuses whose functions are for the most part regulatory. A normalising society is the historical outcome of a technology of power centred on life." (Foucault 1980a:144)

Bio-power is the background that enables us to understand how sex became a political issue; sex was the pivot of the disciplines of the body, the regulation of populations, and the life of the species. With the spread of biopower, normalisation has become a key imperative of modern institutions; normalisation referring to the techniques of adjustment sought after in schools and prisons. In particular, normalisation refers to the establishment of measurements, hierarchies and regulations around the idea of a statistical norm within a population. It is the idea of a judgment based on what is 'normal' and 'abnormal'. In addition to techniques, normalisation also attempts to encapsulate the subjectivity of citizens.

Niklas Rose provides a general example of the productive and normalising effects of bio-power in regard to the 'young citizen' of the nineteenth century. He argued that:

> "Socialisation, in the sense in which we see it here, is not the anthropological universal beloved by functionalist sociologists; it is the historically specific outcome of technologies for the government of the subjectivity of citizens." (Rose 1990:171)

According to Rose a web of legal powers, social agencies, and normalisation began to spread around troubled and troublesome children at this time. These were initially linked to the formal government machine at three principal points: the medical apparatus of public health, the juvenile court, and the child guidance clinic (Ibid.1990:130). Rose asserts that:

> "The notion of the normal child and family has an ambiguous status in these technologies of subjectivity. Normality appears in three guises:
> as that which is natural and hence healthy;

> as that against which the actual is judged and found unhealthy;
> and as that which is to be produced by rationalised social programs...
> It is around pathological children - the troublesome, the recalcitrant, the delinquent - that conceptions of normality have taken shape." (Ibid.1990:171)

2.4 DISCIPLINARY POWER AND DIVIDING PRACTICES

Foucault saw modern societies as being characterised by the exercise of a particular form of power which he termed, 'disciplinary power'. An application of an 'analytics' of this power is developed in ***Discipline and Punish***, a text containing a historical analysis of the birth of the modern prison. In this text Foucault asks not, 'who is punished?' but 'how are individuals punished?', which effectively directs his analysis away from a focus on law, to a focus on techniques and strategies operating in specific institutional settings. He showed how certain techniques which he terms 'disciplinary' emerged in the modern prison and become diffused throughout institutions which proliferated at the end of the eighteenth century, institutions such as schools, factories, hospitals, and asylums. The 'humanisation' of the penal system and the concurrent emergence of human sciences at the end of the eighteenth century are viewed together in the framework of the emergence of this new, 'modern' style of power. Disciplinary techniques predate all these nineteenth century institutional forms and cannot be identified with any one institution but Foucault pointed out that when disciplinary technologies link up with institutional settings, disciplinary power becomes truly effective.

Discipline can be said to consist of the deployment of four techniques:

1. "...the division, distribution and arrangement of bodies;
2. a detailed prescription of activities;
3. the division of time into periods and the establishment of links between them, and a sketch of the path of evolution over time;
4. the establishment of a network of links between the arranged bodies and their respective activities." (Cousins & Hussain 1984:185)

Disciplinary power can be recognised and distinguished from other modes of power by;

> "...first, the scale of control: meticulous regulation, fussy inspections and the supervision of the smallest fragments of life and of the body. Second, its constancy. Third, it is geared not so much to repression as to the inculcation of aptitude and skills. Fourth, it is poor in ceremony and rituals, its target is not so much signs and representation as movements of the body, gestures and attitudes. Fifth, unlike the exercise of power founded on a show of force, discipline is economical and subtle in its functioning. In all the aim of disciplinary power is to enhance the utility of individuals and turn them into obedient subjects." (Cousins & Hussain 1984:188)

ıperatives of disciplinary power are docility and productivity but Foucault demonstrates ıis might be achieved through the use of general techniques. The starting point of ine is the spatial distribution of individuals, usually in a semi-enclosed structure, ͽe built to ensure 'supervision'. Schools are structures that appear to conform to this ͻtion. Foucault saw certain spatial and temporal arrangements as facilitating an 'optics of

power', or a particular kind of 'visibility', which enabled the 'seeing' and 'attaching' of certain identities. Disciplinary power proceeds through a field of vision, of calculated gazes or 'surveillance', and disciplinary techniques work out a unique relationship between knowledge and the body. Disciplinary techniques thus tend to be accompanied by 'functional monuments' that allow for observation. The regulation of individual conduct which occurs in these institutions allows for coding its details. The act of looking over and being looked over, enabled by architectural design, the widespread use of sophisticated information technology, and the coopting of 'relays', that is persons who can administer supervision, has become fundamental to the administration and governance of men and women in many modern institutions.

The paradigm Foucault offered for the disciplinary institutions of the nineteenth century was Jeremy Bentham's panopticon. The panopticon was an ideal type never actually built but its architectural principals were embodied in prisons built in Britain, the U.S.A. and other countries during the nineteenth century. In terms of its architecture, the panopticon was a circular building which had an inspection tower at its centre and housed prisoners in individual cells around its periphery. The inspection tower had windows all around so that each cell was visible. Tower windows were covered with venetian 'blinds' so that each prisoner could never be sure if they were being observed and the 'inspector', being invisible, became omnipotent to the prisoner. Each of the prison cells had windows facing towards the inspection tower and also to the outside, to let in light. A dungeon, in contrast to this building, secured custody of prisoners yet hid them from light and view. Prisons built along panopticon principles secured prisoners but made them visible, lighting their every move. The design was meant to make prisoners feel under perpetual scrutiny. The only need was for an inspecting gaze;

> "...a gaze which each individual under its own weight will end by the interiorising to the point that he is his own overseer, each individual thus exercising this surveillance over, and against, himself." (Foucault 1980b:155)

Both Bentham and Foucault saw the panopticon as being polyvalent in its application. Foucault, (unlike Bentham), saw the panopticon as a utopian vision due to the effective ɜtance of prisoners to its compulsory visibility, or 'gaze'. (Foucault 1980b:162).

ıe heart of all disciplinary technologies is the idea of normalisation, or a normalising ment. Discipline operates at what Foucault termed the level of 'infra-law', by specifying ns of conduct and instituting procedures which rectify any deviation from the norm. se techniques do not operate at just the level of legalities and illegalities. For example:

> e workshop, the school, the army were subject to a whole micro-penalty of time (lateness, ences, interruptions of tasks), of activity (inattention, negligence, lack of zeal), of aviour (impoliteness, disobedience), of speech (idle chatter, insolence), of the body ;orrect' attitudes, irregular gestures, lack of cleanliness), of sexuality (impurity, ɜcency)...The whole indefinite domain of the nonconforming is punishable: the soldier ımits an offence whenever he does not meet the level required; a pupil's 'offence' is not only ,inor infraction, but also the inability to carry out his tasks." (Foucault 1979a:178)

Normalisation of students, or prisoners, or workers could proceed through the use of 'dividing practices'. Dividing practices refer to processes wherein a person becomes objectified via a process of division either from herself, or from others. As such dividing practices are most often practices of exclusion. They work to individualise, differentiate, and classify persons. The ability to rank persons on some kind of scale is crucial to dividing practices. It is a concept which draws attention to the temporal and spatial arrangements of persons and the techniques of documentation that enable certain identities and forms of control to be generated.

The examination was one dividing practice about which Foucault was explicit:

> "The examination combines the techniques of observing hierarchy and those of a normalising judgment. It is a normalising gaze, a surveillance that makes possible to qualify, to classify, and to punish. It establishes over individuals a visibility through which one differentiates and judges them." (Foucault 1979a:184)

Despite this apparent emphasis on normalisation and control, it is crucial to the arguments I wish to make in this thesis to note that Foucault never claims that modern societies always produce docile bodies. Neither does disciplinary society mean a disciplined society:

> "What is to be understood by the disciplining of societies in Europe since the eighteenth century is not, or course, that the individuals who are part of them become more and more obedient, nor that they set about assembling in barracks, schools, or prisons; ***rather that an increasingly better invigilated process of adjustment has been sought after*** - more and more rational and economic - between productive activities, resources of communication, and the play of power relations." (Foucault 1982:219) [8]

Foucault actually points out that the prison failed to produce docile subjects, just as the school fails to do so in the present. The implications of this 'failure' of prisons will be discussed in regard to the school in the next chapter and throughout the thesis. Some theorists, such as Ryan (1991), who have appropriated Foucault to education, assume that disciplinary power works in schools the way Foucault delineated for prisons - which it does not. (Most prisons no longer work in the way Foucault delineated in ***Discipline and*** ***ɿish***). Discipline refers to the deployment of certain techniques, not to the achievement lesired effects. Yet discipline, or governmentality and normalisation of subjects, is almost ıstrued as an inevitable effect in some Foucault-inspired accounts. It is certainly construed working'.

~^ of the critiques which can be made of Ryan's text are undoubtedly due to tensions Foucault's own work, particularly concerning his concept of resistance. The following ıents are a selection of what Foucault actually said concerning power relations and ɜnce:

ɜmphasis.

"Where there is power there is resistance, and yet, or rather consequently, this resistance is never in a position of exteriority in relation to power." (Foucault 1980a:95)

"I'm not positing a substance of power. I'm simply saying as soon as there's a relation of power there's a possibility of resistance. We're never trapped by power, it's always possible to modify it's hold, in determined conditions and following a precise strategy." (Foucault 1980c)

"It is not that life has been totally integrated into techniques that govern and administer it, it constantly escapes them." (Foucault 1980a:143)

Foucault suggested that resistance is 'integral' to the workings of power and that there is constant 'escape' from 'a better invigilated process of adjustment'. Power, for him, is both control and lack of control (Weedon 1987:115). The notion of resistance in Foucault's work combats totalising accounts of power relations and acts as a foil to ideas of complete governmentality.

The problem for people like myself who desire to use Foucault is that, while Foucault saw resistance as 'integral' to the workings of power, he failed to elaborate how this might be seen to work. What appears to happen is that forms of resistance, oppositional or subjugated discourses, become caught up in new discourses, yet instead of solving problems, new problems are created and new points of resistance opened out. For example:

"Foucault notes that the knowledge which constitutes the homosexual as a particular type of individual made possible both medical and legal forms of power over the homosexual and a form of resistance in which homosexuals embrace their identities and demand a right to their sexuality." (Sawicki 1991)

Sawicki is arguing that homosexuals have adopted dividing practices in order to argue for their particular 'gay' subjectivities. Extrapolating from this observation, my own suggestion is that a similar use has been made of dividing practices operating in the school. An example from New Zealand schools is the way in which subjugated discourses of ethnicity, such as 'biculturalism', have become incorporated into contemporary schooling and now offer new points of resistance and new subjectivities to both students and teachers. Through student and staff 'resistance' of various kinds the character of the school, as a disciplinary institution, has changed.

elated tension in Foucault's work emerges from his failure to examine his own idea of the ɪny facets' of power. This is both a theoretical and a methodological tension. Despite his ıphasis that one must examine power in specific settings, Foucault did not carry this ough in his studies. For example McNay argues that:

"Despite Foucault's assertion that power is a diffuse, heterogeneous phenomenon, his ɜtorical analyses tend to depict power as a centralised, monolithic force with an inexorable ıd repressive grip on its subjects. This negative definition of power is onesided; power lations are only examined from the perspective of how they are installed in institutions and not ɔm the point of view of those subject to power."(McNay 1991:137)

provides a specific critique of ***History of Sexuality*** by saying that:

Although during the nineteenth century there was undoubtedly an intensified feminisation of ıe female body, Foucault's monolithic conception of power and passive account of the body

> implies that the experiences of women were completely circumscribed by the notion of a pathological and hysterical feminine sexuality. What Foucault's account of power does not explain is how, even within the intensified process of the hysterisation of the female body, women did not just simply slip easily and passively into socially prescribed feminine roles...By depicting the development of modern power as an increasingly insidious form of bodily domination and by obscuring any lifeworld context which may organise and regulate the exercise of power, Foucault retroactively effaces the specific nature and extent of female subordination and oversimplifies the normalising effects of power in an industrial society." (McNay 1991:133) [9]

McNay's critique can be used to argue for the methodological and theoretical need to access the 'many facets of power relations' through incorporating the views and experiences of persons who are a part of disciplinary institutions. One possible resolution of this apparent 'gap' in Foucault's work, and the one I have chosen, is to incorporate ethnographic material in my thesis. Foucault highlights the techniques that are used to secure persons compliance in disciplinary institutions but ethnographic research such as that of Erving Goffman showed how it actually worked, or did not work. Goffman accessed how resistance and power relations were 'done' in an asylum (Goffman 1961). Ethnography provides a means of accessing how people understand and 'do' their circumstances in institutional settings, or paraphrasing Foucault, their acceptance and possible resistance to the discourses, techniques and imperatives involved in producing docile and productive bodies at school.

2.5 THE TECHNIQUE OF CONFESSION AND PASTORAL POWER

It was mentioned earlier that in his essay "The Subject and Power" (1982), Foucault discussed three modes of objectification which transform human beings into subjects. The second mode, discussed above, was 'dividing practices'. The final mode, and Foucault's most recent interest, focused on the ways that human beings turn themselves into subjects of various kinds. In the ***History of Sexuality*** the focus was on the way that;

> "...men have learned to recognise themselves as subjects of sexuality." (Foucault 1982:208).

Disciplinary power, as set out in ***Discipline and Punish*** is imposed 'from above'. However disciplinary power necessarily embraces certain modes of personal existence, that is, subjectivity. Disciplinary power entails training in the 'arts' of self discipline, regulation and ıluation, which range from control of the body, to practices of self inspection. Between the ts ***Discipline and Punish***, (which was Foucault's earlier work) and ***History of xuality***, there was a shift in emphasis from dividing practices, imposed from above, to rsonal existence', discussed in terms of subjectivity and the mode of confession. In his

' er latest (1992) work McNay continues to argue that Foucault's emphasis on the effects of power body results in a situation where social agents are reduced to passive bodies and that he does plain how individuals might act in an autonomous fashion. For McNay, this results in a lack of ıunded theory of subjectivity (or agency). However she also argues that in Foucault's often d second volume of ***History of Sexuality***, he complements his earlier accounts of techniques ıination with accounts of technologies of subjectification. The ideas contained in this volume e an explanation of how individuals might escape the homogenising tendencies of power in 'n society through the assertion of their autonomy. At the same time, however, Foucault avoids ıg autonomy in essential terms.

most recent emphasis Foucault allows us to open out the (creative) modes by which we recognise and craft ourselves into subjects of certain kinds. The kind of resistance which Foucault saw as typical of our contemporary existence is a struggle against the submission of subjectivity.

One of the ways people create subjectivities is through the technique of confession. The confessional is a historically specific ritual of power. Foucault saw the confession, especially one involving talk about one's sexuality, as central to the expansion of technologies for the discipline and control of bodies, populations and modern society itself. The term 'confession' alludes to the historical techniques of the Christian pastoral in which it became required of a Christian to pass every thought and desire concerning 'the flesh' into discourse. Often this was in the presence of a priest who would then prescribe an appropriate course of action for the penitent in order to ensure their salvation. Foucault charts the historical shifts in this technique and the relationships it set up between notions of self, truth, and power:

> "Confession is a ritual of discourse in which the speaking subject is also the subject of the statement; it is also a ritual that unfolds within a power relationship, for one does not confess without the presence (or virtual presence) of a partner who is not simply the interlocutor but the authority who requires the confession, prescribes and appreciates it, and intervenes in order to judge, punish, forgive, console." (Foucault 1980a:61)

When one confesses, then, it is in the (real or imagined) presence of another figure who prescribes the form of the confession and interprets what is spoken. In the act of confessing, or talking about oneself, the speaker constitutes his or her self. 'I' becomes both the subject and the object of the dialogue. Confession thus binds the confessor, the speaking subject, to another, at the same time as they affirm their identity. For Foucault the words 'subject' or 'subjectivity' imply being tied to someone else by control and dependence and being tied to ones own identity by conscience and self knowledge. At one and the same time the person speaking is an active knowing subject and an object being acted on, or a product of discourse. This is what Foucault terms the 'pastoral', or pastoral power.

Foucault argued that the modern Western state has integrated pastoral power techniques, which originated in Christian institutions, into a new political shape. The 'older' form of pastoral power had the following features:

> "Christianity is the only religion which has organised itself as a Church. And as such, it postulates in principle that certain individuals can, by their religious quality, serve others not as princes, magistrates, prophets, fortune tellers, benefactors, educationalists and so on, but as pastors. However this word designates a very special form of power.
> 1) It is a form of power whose ultimate aim is to assure individual salvation in the next world.
> 2) Pastoral power is not merely a form of power which commands; it must also be prepared to sacrifice itself for the life and salvation of the flock. Therefore, it is different from royal power, which demands a sacrifice from its subjects to save the throne.
> 3) It is a form of power which does not look after just the whole community, but each individual in particular, during his entire life.
> 4) Finally, this form of power cannot be exercised without knowing the inside of people's minds, without exploring their souls, without making them reveal their innermost secrets. It implies a knowledge of the conscience and the ability to direct it.

This form of power is salvation oriented (as opposed to political power). It is oblative (as opposed to the principle of sovereignty); it is individualising (as opposed to legal power); it is coextensive and continuous with life; it is linked with the production of truth - the truth of the individual himself." (Foucault 1982:214)

Foucault views the modern state as an entity which has shaped individuality into a new form. The state employed a newer form of pastoral power which redefines 'salvation' in terms of this world - the ensuring of 'health' and 'well being' for citizens. This is its welfare function. At the same time the officials who administer pastoral power increase in number:

"Finally, the multiplication of the aims and agents of pastoral power focused on the development of knowledge of man around two roles: one, globalising and quantitative, concerning the population; the other, analytical, concerning the individual." (Foucault 1982:215)

In the present the confessional mode has become so widespread throughout the Western world that Foucault has termed 'Western man' a 'confessing animal'. Telling the truth about oneself to ourselves or to another person such as a counsellor, doctor, parent, or lover is a very widespread technique that is at the heart of contemporary procedures of individualisation.

The technique of confession is seen as therapeutic in the sense that 'the truth heals' and it 'rescues'. In a therapeutic community, such as the school has become, the system of institutional relations is construed as emotional rather than purely technical. In the present the technique of confession is employed within the school, particularly within the context of the school guidance regime because 'talking things through' is seen to be the best way of understanding, and working through, problems among students. Through general processes of schooling all students are urged to become ethical beings who define and regulate themselves according to a moral code, who establish precepts for conducting and judging their lives, and who accept or reject certain moral goals for themselves. This is seen as both 'healthy' and good. Confession is a technology of the self that permits students to effect by their own means, but more often with the help of others, a certain number of ›rations on their bodies and souls, thoughts, and conduct, so as to transform themselves ›rder to attain a certain state or identity.

;hapter five I will go on to argue that modern 'pastors' who receive confession in the school lude teachers, counsellors and educational psychologists. First, however, I will deal with ›iologoical accounts of schooling. In the context of this thesis these accounts will prove tant not so much for their substantive contents as for their method.

CHAPTER THREE:

THEORETICAL ORIENTATIONS II: MAPPING THE SCHOOL

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In my attempt to 'map' features of Aorangi High School, I read texts from many different literatures. Although this chapter is not set up as a traditional literature review, it discusses three different literatures which provided methodological and theoretical insights for the thesis. The first literature discussed encompasses sociology of education texts which have used ethnography. It is argued that ethnography is an appropriate and important method for research attempting to use Foucault's insights on power relations in the school. However, it is also argued that much existing ethnography in the sociology of education incorporates a repressive hypothesis of power. Ethnography can be interpreted as looking at the specific workings of failure as well as with the apparent 'successes' of teaching, and the difficulties of securing control in the school.[1] The second literature discussed are those texts which have appropriated Foucault to education. This literature focuses on disciplinary power and dividing practices (rather than pastoral power). It has a tendency to 'leave out' the volition and subjectivities of students, teachers, and counsellors in accounts of school organisation. Both the ethnographic and Foucault-inspired literatures focus on teachers and students and do not mention other agents such as guidance counsellors. The final texts discussed in this chapter are those which address 'pastoral care' in schools. This is largely a practitioner, rather than a social science, literature but is very useful for its discussions of guidance counsellors as specific agents in schools. The chapter concludes that there is a need for an ethnographic approach to research on school guidance counsellors which uses Foucault's questions on the exercise of power.

3.2 THE SOCIOLOGY OF EDUCATION AND ETHNOGRAPHY

ıe importance of Foucault lies in his insight into the way power works, in this section I will ue that the importance of the sociology of education lies in a method of analysing power in specific context of a school. Indeed this has been a rationale of this discipline.

ter Woods argues that until the late 1960s British sociologists of education, despite some achievements in exposing the class-related nature of pupils educational progress and ments, had not penetrated the internal processes of the school. He argues that the

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as the problems of securing control and the negotiated character of 'student learning and ine' which I desired to access using an ethnographic approach. I wanted to grasp aspects of inary and therapeutic work through the views of certain staff members.

ethnographic work of Werthman (1963), Hargreaves (1967), and Lacey (1970) changed this situation (Woods 1990:29).[2] A central idea contained in the ethnographic work which followed was that 'learning' was a socially constructed phenomenon and therefore the sociological examination of 'learning' required including the point of view of participants, and detailed observational work in the classroom.

During the 1970s ethnography was widely employed in British sociology of education, particularly in studies of youth sub-cultural styles emerging from the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies in Birmingham.[3] Aggleton argues that ethnographic studies;

> "...helped establish a tradition of enquiry in which primacy came to be given to the process of interaction within the schools through which sub-cultural differentiation takes place. Many of these investigations sought to combine the interpretative sensitivity of ethnographic research methods with insights derived more generally from interactionist sociology. As a result they aimed to explore the ***meaningfulness*** of different types of student responses to schooling, the process of ***negotiation*** by which social identities came to be constructed and the mechanisms by which ***school deviance*** arises." (Aggleton 1987:4)

According to the Birmingham ethnographers:

> "...British youth cultural styles in the post war period were best interpreted as symbolic forms of resistance to the dominant social order, being symptoms of wider and submerged class dissent. Analysing them, therefore, required both a detailed examination of the class locations occupied by their members and of the particular material contradictions associated with these." (Aggleton 1987:5)

'Cultural studies' accounts of schooling tended to paint a picture of cultural determinism and individual subjection. However as Woods points out, ethnography, while strong on cultural portrayal, contains its own antidote to determinism for it is concerned with individual interests and volition (Woods 1990:xi). There is thus a root interest found in ethnography concerning how students go about 'doing' and 'experiencing' school. The effect of research conducted in this manner, whether analysis was framed as 'neo Marxist', or 'symbolic interactionist', was a reinterpretation of the 'taken forgranteds' and negotiated character of classroom interaction.[4]

The difference between neo-Marxist and symbolic interactionist frames in ethnographic studies such as ***Learning to Labour*** (Willis 1977) and ***The Divided School*** (Woods) are the way each study is situated in regard to 'capitalist society'. These studies, in ion to early feminist ethnography such as "Girls and subcultures: an exploration"

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the end of the 1960s and early 1970s Young's edited collection of papers ***Knowledge and rol*** (1971) became an influential new text. It had as its focus the curriculum and classroom ·sses, and brought together work conducted from a symbolic interactionist and phenomenological ›ective.

·¬ıples of this ethnography can be found in Hall & Jefferson's text ***Resistance Through*** (1975).

Marxist analyses attempt to go beyond the deterministic structure-agency account inherent in ıl approaches and focus on 'culture' as a field where power relations attempt to dominate but ›sistance to a kind of hegemony exist. Analyses retain concepts of class, class domination ›s consciousness by emphasising that a kind of 'Gramscian hegemony' exists which works to › dominant class relations. This particular approach has dominated approaches to 'subculture' t youth (Obel 1993:23). For a critique of the early subculture literature see Cohen (1980) and ı980).

(McRobbie & Garber 1975), had as their central research focus, classroom interactions between teachers and students. Such ethnographies have helped expose what is now known as the 'hidden pedagogies' or 'hidden curriculum' of the classroom.

In this chapter I am making a very generalised argument about ethnography as a useful method for analysing power relations without engaging in the many debates attached to ethnographic research, especially those in regard to the extent of claims which can be made through it. For example, in this thesis I have used the idea that an ethnographic approach can allow the documentation of resistances. I argue that, for ethnographers of schools, there are always problems for teachers in securing control and this appears to resonate with Foucault's ideas on resistance. However, Aggleton critiques those ethnographers who use the concept of resistance to imply almost all actions which do not count as absolute and willing compliance to teachers demands. In Aggleton's view most students' actions are best viewed as 'contestations', directed against localised principles of control and having as their object no more than the winning of degrees of personal autonomy within existing (capitalist) social relations. Thus, in his text ***Rebels without a Cause*** (1987), Aggleton employed what could be termed a juridico-discursive approach in an attempt to establish a grammar of 'modes of challenge'. He argued:

> "Such a grammar takes as its starting point the existence of subjective challenges on the part of agents. It should be possible to construct a similar grammar of affirmations and boredoms, which would take as its starting point the absence of subjectivities. It is probably best to conceive of hegemonic and counter-hegemonic tendencies as dialectically related to one another. Reproductive resistances contain at least the seeds of effective ones." (Aggleton 1987:127)

The formation of subcultures and disruptive or 'anti establishment' behaviours is a common theme in British educational literature and was informed by increasingly sophisticated theoretical ideas and models of reproduction. However resistance was often seen as ultimately 'ineffective'. For example Willis' (neo- Marxist) ethnography argues that the behaviour and culture of working class boys actually serves to secure their 'adult' identity as working class men (Willis 1977:3).[5] Of course for Foucault, localised principles of control and micro-politics of the school are crucial, not peripheral, to understanding the workings of power ucault 1980a:95,96).

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is well worth including Giroux & McLaren's critique of this sort of radical educational research. The arch is critiqued on four counts:
It has failed to explore and develop a public philosophy that integrates issues of power, politics, id possibility in respect to the role schools might play as democratic public spheres.
The researchers have failed to move past a posture of criticism to one of substantive vision.
Radical educationalists have been unable to develop forms of analyses which interrogate schools tes which actively produce and legitimate privileged forms of subjectivity and ways of life.
re is a lack of concern in this language for questions related to how subjectivities are schooled, power organises space, time and the body, how language is used both to legitimate and jinalise." (Giroux & McLaren 1991:64)
esearch has underplayed actual roles that teachers might have as engaged critics and ectuals in both classrooms and wider movement for social change. (Ibid 1991:64)
ertain extent this thesis chapter is written from a similar position and is informed by a similar ;, although the thesis as a whole engages the subjectivities of counsellors rather than those of rs and students. These issues will be discussed further in chapter six.

Recent ethnographic research from New Zealand classrooms reiterates the negotiated character of the classroom. The negotiated character of classrooms would appear to indicate, as Foucault does, that teachers do not have 'all the power', and that there are forms of resistance operating in schools. For example:

> "...they (Pacific Island girls) positively reinforced the teacher for giving them copying work to do. When the girls were given copying they generally became attentive and copied silently. The quiet 'working' atmosphere thus created was highly rewarding for the teacher; silent writing students epitomise a busy, organised and settled class! On the other hand, any attempts by the teacher to encourage discussion or comment about some syllabus topic would be met with disinterest and lack of cooperation, as would any question which demanded that the students take a 'stab' at a new idea." (Jones 1991:77,78)

> "As my account of the 5 Mason and 5 Simmonds girls shows, teaching practice is not simply determined by the teacher, but also by her students demands and expectations about how to learn school knowledge. There are constant pressures on teachers from students to teach in particular ways which may be ultimately beneficial to students, or hardly benefit them at all in terms of their examination passes. It is clear that what happens in classrooms is the complex outcome of the interpretations and actions of both the teachers and the students." (Ibid. 1991:178)

This example from Alison Jones' ethnography of Pacific Island and Pakeha girls at a New Zealand school documents the ways that the Pacific Island girls' discourse of learning cuts across and subverts their (Pakeha) teachers' discourse of learning. Until very recently ethnicity, that is the subject positions or subjectivities attached to ethnicity, have not received the attention accorded to class and gender in the sociology of education literature (Kalantzis et al. 1990; Grant 1992). Yet, ethnicity is absolutely crucial in the New Zealand context (Metge 1990).[6] The issue raised by this ethnographic material and my own particular concern is where ethnicity (and to a much lesser extent in my account, gender) identifications might cut across a one-dimensional and totalising concept of power relations.[7]

Henry Giroux has been at the forefront of a recent movement in educational research that attempts to move beyond theoretical language which maps the school in entirely in terms of either 'reproduction' or 'resistance'. Giroux et al. argue that:

> "There is a...fundamental need in educational research for a new vocabulary of theory that takes seriously the primacy of language and experience and the social construction of meaning and subjectivity. The absence of such a vocabulary of theory is evident not only

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his comment also applies to the British sociology of education literature but not to the American ɜrs who have been through 'interminable' debates concerning 'multicultural' education (Modgil et al. 6; Sleeter 1991). These debates were constructed around notions of 'failure' and cultural rivation amongst particular ethnic minorities. An example of the kind of strategy which emerged out ıese understandings in the U.S.A. was the Headstart program. The New Zealand context is ıewhat different, as debates do not so much concern immigrant groups as Maori students who are indigenous people of New Zealand. The New Zealand school guidance counselling model did lly come from the U.S.A.

re are many ways that this empirical material can be used to challenge Foucault, and applications cault, but at this point it is sufficient to say that there is a huge tension in education at present ɜe the notion of universal education has been challenged by arguments for different learning lures for different groups of persons within schools. Schools have shifted away from a notion of ɜrsal 'New Zealander', or the idea that we are all 'one people'. Ethnicity has become a focal and ɜd point in education in a way that gender and class, as sociology's two other analytical stones, have not.

> within the domain of mainstream research on schooling, but also in the refusal of critical theorists to develop a more comprehensive understanding of the relationship between language and student experience themselves a central dynamic in which students come to experience themselves as subjects; it is also evident in the refusal of critical educators to develop a theory of difference which lays bare how the dominant culture produces in its representations and social practices negative qualities that make the devalued Other the object rather than the subject of history; it is also evident in the refusal of critical educators to develop forms of pedagogy in which historical understanding and the production of experience function as a form of countermemory, that is, as accounts of struggle over the naming of experiences in which subordinate groups operate from a position of power and possibility rather than form a position of marginality and silence." (Giroux & McLaren 1991:61)

It is significant for my thesis argument that educational research, based on ethnographic work and informed by psychological discourses, has generally tended to recommend a shift to a more 'progressive' pedagogy entailing a therapeutic apparatus of control.[8] The earlier ethnographic studies I have read did not go so far as to recommend implementing guidance counsellors in schools. However recommendations for progressive pedagogies implicitly and explicitly acknowledged the negotiated and contested character of the classroom. For example Willis' suggests that;

> "...(schools should) use more collective practices, group discussions and projects, to uncover and examine these cultural mappings of work. The group logic which cultural forms display may also be relevant to the practice of vocational guidance." (Willis 1977:188)

Another example which takes up this issue with respect to ethnicity is found in Dumont and Wax's 1969 ethnography on teachers and Cherokee Indian pupils:

> "(Dumont and Wax) refer to a teacher of many years experience who took the pupil's silence and docility as indicating well mannered conformity - a model group no less - but who still did not manage 'to teach them anything'. She interpreted their conduct from within her own culture, rather than recognising what the authors describe as 'the Cherokee school society'. Cherokees show a concentration on 'precision and thoroughness' though it is a 'congregate activity that is more often directed at social...relationships.' They are oriented towards relating to other persons and towards the tribal Cherokee community, where the basic three 'Rs' have little use. Their reactions within school to 'the pressures of alien educators' is to cultivate not a blatantly oppositional culture but one with 'exquisite social sensibility'. They do not reject tasks given to them, but because these have 'no bearing on their tradition or experiences', they are unable to master them. They use silence as a weapon as conflict gradually escalates throughout their school career. Stress is likely to develop in such pupils, since tension and conflict is alien to their culture...***Dumont and Wax go on to describe 'the intercultural classroom', ie one where there are more shared meanings between teacher and pupils. A distinctive feature of this is the teacher's willingness to negotiate, to talk with pupils, learn about them and adjust to them.***" (Woods 1990:88,89) [9]

ıe suggestion of a need for 'intercultural' exchange in the school is taken up in Jones' more ntemporary (New Zealand) ethnography:

> "If, as I have argued, day-to-day classroom life and its outcomes are deeply cultural and political, then this must become an aspect of school knowledge for everyone. As part of everyday teaching, the very practices of schooling must be explicitly scrutinised in the assroom. Students need to know that schooling tends to reward particular class and ethnic-ıltural forms of learning/ expression/ language/ knowledge/ communication...When students ıd their parents do not know how schooling works they cannot begin to change it so that it ore clearly meets their needs." (Jones 1991:178)

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cault's emphasis on power/knowledge problematises the idea that these recommendations are ›ssive' and free from power relations. (See Chapter 2:8).

ɘmphasis.

Other kinds of educational research such as that conducted by Rutter et al. (1979) 'found' that the relative success or failure of schools owed much to the way schools were organised. Their call was for a different kind of school organisation. What was important, according to this study, were;

> "...the types of rewards and punishments used in the school, the relative emphasis placed on academic or pastoral matters, the nature of teacher actions in the classrooms, the extent of surveillance exercised by senior staff over things like the syllabus and homework, the nature of pupil responsibilities and participation in the school, and the degree of stability in both teaching and friendship groups. Quite separate from things like the size of the school, the age of the buildings and the quality of the facilities available, these organisational factors are seen as providing a climate in the school which is more or less conducive to good academic performance." (Denscombe 1985:63) [10]

Not surprisingly, teachers in the 1990s can now obtain training and instruction on how to create a 'positive learning environment' (Dale et al. 1988; Rogers 1990), and the term 'caring climate' is used by New Zealand educators.

Recent (qualitative) work from Wehlage et al. is very explicit about the therapeutic, democratic, and pluralist 'need' in American schools. Wehlage et al. employ a discourse of 'at risk' to argue that:

> "...diversity among at risk students demands a corresponding diversity in intervention if schools are to increase their holding power. School programs must be inventive ways to meet the needs and problems of their students. In general, the educators we studied recognised that a continued diet of more of the same curriculum and teaching was unlikely to engage at risk students who had a history of failure. Having emphasised the critical issue of diversity, we must concurrently recognise that all adolescents share common needs and goals that school can help them meet. All youth - at risk or not - need to acquire a personal sense of competence and success, to develop a sense of identity and social integration, and to acquire the socially useful knowledge and skills that make an individual a good worker, parent and citizen...In general our findings suggest the need for substantial changes in the structure of schools if they are to respond to the diversity of students and help them achieve these common goals about which there is consensus. Reforms in teaching, curriculum and social relations between adults and students are needed before at risk students are likely to be retained to graduation and to succeed in their quest for achievement. These changes, if broadly implemented, would require substantial restructuring of schools and a redefinition of teaching roles." (Wehlage et al. 1989:26,27)

In Foucauldian terms such 'reforms' have often entailed an elaboration of pastoral power and confessional mode in school organisation. In a therapeutic, or democratic model, things st be negotiated and talked through. What seems to then be required is persons who can litate therapeutic problem solving, and train and network others in these skills all in a bid to ure the acceptance of schooling by children.

3.3 DIVIDING PRACTICES IN THE SCHOOL

arlier tradition of British and American ethnography could be interpreted as an ination of dividing practices in the school. For example, Hargreaves' 1967 study ***Social***

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nscombe also quotes Reynolds & Sullivan (1979) who argued that schools which tended to use orporative approach showed a higher academic success rate, lower delinquency rate, and better ance rates (Denscombe 1985:63).

Relations in a Secondary School, and Lacey's 1970 study of Hightown Grammar argued that the way in which schools differentiate students on academic and behavioural criteria (including streaming, tracking and banding), polarises students into 'pro' and 'anti' school subcultures.[11] Students become known, and view themselves, as a certain 'type'. Ball's later replica of Lacey's study at (Britain's) Beachside Comprehensive (1981) showed similar results.

To reiterate briefly, dividing practices refer to a process wherein a person is objectified via a process of division either from herself, or from others. As such, dividing practices are practices of exclusion. They work to classify students, to differentiate them, and to individualise them. Examples of dividing practices operating in contemporary schools include entry criteria, testing, examinations, profiling and streaming students within schools, which are aided by certain temporal and spatial arrangements. The documentary techniques surrounding these practices thus become central to understandings of who students are. These processes constitute the student as a certain type of person through passive and active processes of objectification. My own questions arising from the concept 'dividing practices' are questions such as, "How is a case built within the school and how do students become 'known'?" In the present the case consists of different expert opinions on the child. Following from these kinds of questions is the very important issue concerning whether dividing practices deployed in the school can be said to secure the government of children.

In the school, therefore, dividing practices are those means by which schools seek to gain knowledge of, and control over, their student population. Stephen Ball makes a generalised argument about the 'knowing of students' made possible through sociology of education research, saying that:

> "In these ways, using these techniques and forms of organisation and the creation of separate and different curricula, pedagogies, forms of teacher/student relationships, identities and subjectivities are formed, learned and carried. Through the creation of remedial and advanced groups, and the separation of the educationally subnormal or those with special educational needs, abilities were stigmatised and normalised.
> hese dividing practices are critically interconnected with the formation, and increasingly ophisticated elaboration, of the educational sciences: educational psychology, pedagogies, e sociology of education, cognitive and developmental psychology. These are arenas in hich truth games about education are played out. For example, the sociology of education in e 1960s and 1970s was organised around, informed and reinforced the 'problem of working lass underachievement'. The sociological findings of the period constructed a sophisticated nd powerful social pathology of working-class family life as deficient and culturally deprived - bnormal. The problem of underachievement was defined as beyond the control and apabilities of the teacher, and as culturally determined and inevitable. Teachers were rovided with a rich, pseudoscientific vocabulary of classifications and justifications for the itability of differences in intellectual performance between the social classes. Individuals wn from the undifferentiated mass of school students could be objectified in terms of ious fixed social classes or other social indicators (Sharp and Green 1975) instituted in the

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is study Lacey developed a differentiation/polarisation thesis which stated that academic tiation by the school leads to a polarisation of subcultures among students between those ng 'pro' school values, and those promoting 'anti' school values. If I had taken my lead from tudies, as opposed to taking my lead from Foucault, I would have looked at the way in which s respond to the groups in which they are placed.

> school's spatial, temporal and social compartmentalisations. Knowledge and practices drawn from the educational sciences provided (in Foucault's terms) modes of classification, control, and containment, often paradoxically linked to humanitarian rhetoric of reform and progress: streaming, remedial classes, off-site units and sanctuaries, informal or invisible pedagogies (Bernstein 1975)." (Ball 1990:4)

In my own research, teaching and guidance staff at Aorangi gave many accounts of dividing practices. The student profiling that occurs in school reports was one example:

> "Each student will receive a separate report for each subject which is then collated in a report folder. This new format allows teachers to report more precisely on a student's progress. We also think it is important to publicise the skills being taught in each subject area with the main purpose being to give parents and students a better idea of what level of skill the student is achieving. There is also more detail on student absences. The 'explained absences' mean that a note has been received from a parent or guardian...'Unexplained absences' should be discussed with the form teacher or tutor at each level. If these unexplained absences are not acted upon then the student risks being withdrawn from subject examinations or qualifications." (School Newsletter)

> "We find it profiles kids. There's a danger that you can over-profile if you're not careful but that's one way of doing things." (Dean)

Reports written for each subject are now permeated with a notion of the possibility of progress and self betterment so that the student can be seen, and can see themselves, as improving and achieving in some area. This same kind of idea is reflected in the way examinations are used - to enhance a sense of achievement and self esteem. There appears to be a normalisation process at work geared into 'self-esteem' as much as docility and productivity. This is especially the case for 'lower ability' children, or those more 'at risk' of failing the school system. Through reports and results students can recognise themselves as a certain kind of student, maybe one 'at risk' of failure, preferably one capable of 'success'.

Ranking or streaming students into classes also facilitates the knowledge of children. The ways classes are organised has received a lot of research attention in the sociology of education with the general result that many schools in New Zealand have abandoned streaming and have opted for a system of mixed ability classes as a means of supposedly improving the social atmosphere of a school and eradicating discipline problems. At Aorangi, classes at each level are formed on the basis of 'mixed banding', that is, there are three broad bands of ability but within these bands classes are not differentiated.

In New Zealand students normally enter high school at the third form, the first academic level, at the beginning of February, each year. Every student (no matter where they enter the system) is then allocated a formclass which is overseen by a particular form teacher. The form class meets at various times in the week in a space usually known as the 'form room'. This arrangement is seen as giving the form teacher in particular the opportunity for personalised knowledge of each of their students and information concerning their students' conduct within the school comes to their notice. Often the personalised knowledge afforded through

form classes are supplemented by house systems. It is these kinds of practices which are often termed 'pastoral care' in the education literature.

It is true that students do not enter a form class by random accident but because they are 'known' as a certain type of student. Students arrive at Aorangi with a case history from their prior schooling at intermediate and primary schools - a case history constructed from tests and assessments.[12] From age four or five, until the time they leave school, a child will be routinely assessed. In order to test students schools employ 'scientific instruments' to measure ability, aptitude and sociability. It is considered that the properties of the student can, in part, be translated into the material form of statistics, pictures, and charts. These are some of the systematic devices used to inscribe identity.

Every child entering Aorangi High School has an interview with the school counsellors in addition to other staff. This forms the basis of the link card, held by counsellors.

> "We have our own little link cards which are confidential to us. They summarise what the primary teacher has said about the kid and we have an interview with every family before they come here so also on the back of that card, unbeknown to them, is the teacher stuff. We write stuff that the (parents) have said about their kids. So you've got those two viewpoints and we build on that as we see kids." (Counsellor)

The link card does precisely that - it makes linkages. Some Foucault-inspired theorists, such as Ryan (1991), would assume that this card, along with reports and files kept by teachers, forms a 'meticulous' archive on all students, especially those considered 'at risk'.

Individuals do enter a field of knowledge via bureaucratic documentation. Every child entering high school is recorded via reports, link cards, photographs, grading and testimonies. However the child that infringes school norms is recorded differently and more often. There are different types of visibility attached to troublesome, or 'at risk' children. Their identities are inscribed differently. The knowing of these children is constituted by various categories of infringement. By this I mean that it is not as necessary to know kids who don't get into 'trouble'. They are considered known already. In other words, the more in trouble a student, the less one knows about them and the more in trouble a student, the more gets written and recorded about their person and their family.

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[12]At this point I am referring to entry into the third form. Children can and do enter the school at different levels and at different times of the year. Children also come from schools out of Aorangi area. New Zealand education is structured so that children can theoretically go from one school to another d continue in the same form, as the core curriculum is monitored so as to be universal in academic pectations and attainment at each level.
ıere was debate in the news media during the early part of 1992 concerning what documentation a hool can require of a child wanting to transfer to their school. 'Zoning', the guarantee of entry to a ven school by virtue of living within a certain geographical boundary, has been eliminated by most hools while at the same time schools have been granted the right to refuse children entry. It could be at student documentation will assume greater importance in the future. This raises questions over e legal status and ownership of school records in regard to student rights and could mean dividing actices assume greater importance.

Dividing practices, as have been referenced at Aorangi, draw attention to the techniques of documentation and the temporal and spatial arrangements of persons that enable certain identities and forms of control to be generated. In particular, dividing practices in the form of documentary techniques draw attention to a bureaucratic mode of control. The concept of dividing practices and documentary techniques is useful but there are some other crucial features of the way schooling is done which require examination. Firstly, I would assert that the failure of the school is at the heart of the changes in its organisation. In the process of seeking to solve problems in the school, new agents have been added to the school in the person of counsellors. Foucault spoke of schools as places where staff manage others and teach them to manage themselves. Guidance counsellors at Aorangi teach the management of conduct but do not have a teaching function. Counsellors perform a function which can be addressed using Foucault's concept of 'pastoral power'. In the present the process of student adjustment and normalisation is not done via temporal and spatial arrangements so much as through pastoral power techniques.[13]

A second key feature of Aorangi High School is its multicultural student population for which the school tries to provide by having different learning programs available for certain ethnic groups. This may be seen as another example of dividing practices but it is also 'more' than this. The significance of this feature is that the school is attempting to carry and extend, rather than obliterate, certain ethnic (and hence communal) identities. New Zealand schools, including Aorangi, have not always attempted this. In a bid to keep Maori (and Samoan) students at school, the school has enlisted the advice and cooperation of Maori tribal representatives and Samoan elders living in the locality. This feature poses a possible tension when attempting to utilise Foucault's concept of disciplinary power which always seeks to individualise persons.

3.4 READINGS OF FOUCAULT IN THE SOCIOLOGY OF EDUCATION

Foucault has only been recently appropriated to the sociology of education but this literature is not constructed around ethnographic research. On the basis of Foucault's statements on resistance one might expect some kind of exploration in these texts as to the ways in which school organisation is challenged by students, and the ways schools have tried to accommodate discourses of, for example, feminism and ethnicity. Where Foucault has been used there is an emphasis placed on issues of disciplinary power directed towards the control and subjugation of students (or to use Foucault's own terms, increased 'surveillance' and ɔvernmentality' over young lives), and a bureaucratic mode of control. Examples of this kind approach are found in the text ***Foucault and Education*** (1990), and in Ryan's article ***Ɔbserving and Normalising: Foucault, Discipline and Inequality in***

[3] These issues will be taken up and discussed in detail in chapter six.

Schooling" (1991). ***Governing the Soul*** (1990), by Rose, is a similar interpretation of governmentality although his application of Foucault is more generalised and does not focus entirely on 'education'. In these accounts Foucault becomes (mis)interpreted as a theorist of control.

For example, an interesting application of the concept disciplinary power to contemporary schools can be found in Ryan's account of how disciplinary technologies work to 'fix' inequalities amongst students. Ryan begins his article by drawing parallels between George Orwell's visions in ***Nineteen Eighty Four*** (1965), and Foucault's concepts of surveillance and normalisation. His argument is that schools produce (rather than reproduce) inequalities through their disciplinary mode of organisation. Norms, Ryan reasons, are centred around the imperatives of docility and productivity, and students are ranked on the basis of where they stand in relation to norms. For example, a classroom acts as a physical and social partition between and among groups and individuals and, according to Ryan, supervision of students is made easier with the partitioning of space into hallways and rooms. Ryan points out that:

> "Inspectors of various sorts are better able to supervise a group of people when they are separated into divisions. As these divisions become finer and finer, the places to escape notice or scrutiny become fewer and fewer." (Ryan 1991:108)

According to Ryan, school administrators design timetables that distribute students throughout these areas:

> "Each student has a place to go, a time to adhere to, and an activity to engage in. The construction of these analytical spaces allows teachers to know students intimately on an individual basis, and if the need should arise, to correct any shortcomings they may display." (Ryan 1991:114)

> "Aside from the fact that the mere chance of being seen is enough to induce certain forms of behaviour; perpetual scrutiny permits (staff) to accumulate stores of knowledge on the day-to-day activities of each individual in their charge. This knowledge base furnishes the means to know subjects, and if the need should arise, to alter them." (Ryan 1991:108)

This is Ryan's application of the panopticon idea. He is arguing for a particular relationship between the (student) body and knowledge, and alludes to the increasing of surveillance or 'better invigilated process of adjustment' in schools (Foucault 1982:219).

Ryan notes that the examination introduces individuality into a field of surveillance and a network of documentation. The exam enables one student in a specific population, to be described and compared with another - hence enabling the establishment of 'normal' progress, 'normal' development and 'normal' behaviour. Stephen Ball, continuing in this vein, states that:

> "The examination, surrounded by all its documentary techniques, makes each individual a 'case'. A chronicle of the person is compiled, in terms of advancement or decay, responsibility or foolishness, cooperation or difficulty. Lives are lived through the accumulation of documentation. Careers are collated, pinning down each individual to his own particularity." (Ball 1990:4)

Ryan also points out, accurately, that:

> "Schools can also demand a certain degree of cooperation from students. The degree to which students depart from behavioural norms, which may vary from class to class and from school to school, may dictate class placements. The more consistent and extreme violators of school behavioural norms, for example, may find themselves placed in a special education class."(Ryan 1991)

At Aorangi High School, norms also include good self esteem, and the more consistent 'violators' of school norms are likely to end up in the offices of tutors, Deans or counsellors. They may, amongst other techniques, find themselves in a new class:

> "At the end of the third form year we look at the kids and say (to the form teachers), 'Right, who do you recommend should go up? Who do you recommend should go down?' But sometimes you find after a term in the fourth form the kids aren't coping. They have gone up and they just were not quite there and start to cause behaviour problems. The only way they can show off in class, to be noticed, is to be silly. We had a case of a boy in this class now. We don't see him (any more). Discipline-wise, he's disappeared. He is almost top of this class, yet he was getting bottom of the other one and causing all sort of problems. It was just purely a case of a kid who wanted to achieve and couldn't quite get there so he used to do a lot of fooling around. That happens...Of course in fourth form you have a stage where the girls are a lot more mature. Not just physically, but mentally and socially ahead of the boys. Something you have to watch is the boys' put downs, where girls are a lot of rubbish as far as they are concerned. ***Does that cause conflicts between the girls and guys in the classroom?*** Yes, it can do. This year we actually separated two classes and made a boys and girls class, at the bottom. We had a class where there was only four girls and about ten to fifteen boys. That was a real mess. There was another class that had an equal split so I moved all the girls into one class and the boys into another one. ***How is that working?*** The girls are doing really well and the boys are starting to pick up." (Dean)

Ironically the keeping of consistent and more extreme violators of school norms 'at school', is a comparatively recent thing in New Zealand. It is more likely however that these students will end up in a therapeutic group operating within the school, or perhaps in one which is run through an agency networked to the school.

At one level Ryan's reading of Foucault is both simple and plausible, yet it still does not explain how this system of surveillance and intervention actually works at anything other than the level of general techniques. There are neither teachers, nor students, (nor counsellors) in his analysis. In this respect he does not concern himself with the implementation of power systems in actual settings. Ryan implies that schools will get better and better at regulating and normalising student behaviour through dividing practices and documentary techniques d it is true that forms of surveillance are getting quite elaborate in terms of knowing details of idents' lives, loves, and propensities. For example, many schools in my own city have stalled computerised systems in an effort to chart student attendance or nonattendance in ss, and generate better records. Truancy is considered an important problem in New aland secondary schools and this is one attempt to regulate it. Truancy, however, is hardly new' problem. Historically some children have consistently 'escaped' the school system so, over time, schools have adopted new strategies such as 'creating a caring climate',

making schools 'attractive', and developing work related courses (Donn et al.1991). In this way the organisation of schooling itself has been altered.[14]

The organisation of students into a form class (or House system) does allow staff, particularly the form teacher, to 'better' observe, and supervise their students. At Aorangi form teachers are referred to as the 'frontline' by Deans and Counsellors - frontline in a position to observe and regulate those students allocated to their care. Also significant, however, is the situation where seventh form students involved in the 'Peer Support' program are also (referred to as) 'frontline'.[15] A 'good' form teacher is expected to observe gestures, movements, speech, attitudes and moods amongst students. They 'keep an up-to-date eye' on student interactions and relationships. Issues of appearance and uniform should not escape their attention. However, the idea that the organisation of classes and timetables and the elaboration of documentary techniques has enabled teachers to 'better normalise' students, is open to question.

My own dubious response to Ryan's analysis arose from the numerous accounts of teaching and counselling staff concerning how difficult the job of disciplining and counselling students actually is. Staff members have improved systems of monitoring students (often they know that students are not where they are supposed to be, and not acting how they are supposed to act), but this does not mean that the correction of student shortcomings is any easier for them. What goes on in the classroom is now understood in relation to many other issues from within and without the school, such as ethnicity and home circumstances. For example, teachers have to receive constant 'training' to be able to keep up with issues of biculturalism and 'middle classism' in their classrooms, and how to employ 'non-sexist' teaching practices. One of the most recent forms of 'visibility' attached to students is that of sexual abuse impacting on their ability to work. In order to try and 'provide support' and address this problem, many schools have had to set up elaborate and time-consuming strategies. It is also the case that students have built up categories of defensive rights over time and these are backed up by legal statutes. Through programs such as Peer Support, students themselves take part in organising strategies to encourage other students to behave in certain ways. Instead of getting further streamlined, it is perceived that teaching students is getting more

[14] This comment relates to British and American schools also. (See Denscombe 1985 and Wehlage 1989 for respective examples)

[15] Peer Support is a program organised by Aorangi counsellors as a form of Lifeskills and is part of the school's 'health' syllabus. Peer Support involves seventh formers being responsible for a group of third rmers with whom they meet regularly in the first term to discuss issues affecting students at the chool. Seventh formers use some prepared materials on communication skills but a primary aim is to ovide first year students with a personal relationship and point of contact with older students. This is ery different from the authoritarian Prefect system which used to operate in many NZ schools. ifeskills programs are designed to encourage students to value themselves, to practice ommunication skills which will help them relate to their peers and adults, to learn decision making skills nd set goals. It is based on the belief that students who feel good about themselves are less likely to e 'at risk' from peer pressure, alleviating the risk of 'copy cat' drug and alcohol abuse, or sexual ctivity. (The Press 22/3/1993 contains further details on Lifeskills programs at Canterbury schools)

complicated in New Zealand, which is a key reason why New Zealand schools now feature guidance counsellors and specialist positions. Teachers call for training and expert support services because they cannot cope with the many problems they now 'see', and are being trained to see, occurring among their classes. The problems students face in the present are considered more numerous and more complicated than ever 'before'. If teaching is getting 'more complicated', one needs to address the issue of why this is so.

Dividing practices and documentary techniques related to teachers rather than students are the subject of Stephen Ball's article from ***Foucault and Education***, which discusses the techniques of administrative reform in British schools following the Education Reform Act (1988). His concern is the discourse of management that now permeates many schools. Ball talks about management as a discourse which both totalises and individualises persons within the school. He interprets management as an all embracing discourse of organisational control operating both as a body of theory to be learned and internalised by managers, and as a set of practices to be implemented, encompassing managers and 'managed'. Like Ryan, Ball emphasises documentary techniques, saying that, " the personal file and personnel manager are key mechanisms in the moral technology of management." (Ball 1990:155). Teacher appraisal interviews, he argues, are becoming a form of examination for teachers which involves both documentation and confession.

Ball's argument is very interesting in the New Zealand context given the reforms of 'Administering for Excellence' (Picot 1988) and the Employment Contracts Act (1991). There are currently attempts being made to implement site based contracts for teachers, as opposed to the current system of collective bargaining. Those wanting to implement a managerial discourse argue against the Post Primary Teachers Association (PPTA) current power and for a 'more rational efficient way':

> "It's incredible to argue that teachers can't be measured. In private enterprise I have to measure the performance of our accountant and personnel manager, and everyone through to the tea ladies. Everyone has to be measured. How else can you have the best company? I talked to the Principals' Conference last May, and I asked the question, 'Who are your customers?' They looked rather blankly at me. They argued, 'We are the professionals, we know what's needed and we provide.' You can't talk quality education without talking customer." (McLeod 1992:71)

The speaker at the Principal's conference was arguing for better dividing practices and hence control over what teachers do. The important thing is that this issue is being argued over and negotiated both at policy level and implementation level. In Ball's article there is no indication ven as to how these techniques are taken up in school settings. There is no indication of ›sistance from teachers except to say that British teachers are more 'reluctant' than their merican counterparts. The assumption is made that these techniques will work to make ›achers disciplined, docile and self-regulated subjects who all subscribe to the same notions f what 'professionalism' means. What is not acknowledged are the tensions within schools

who attempt to implement this discourse. Ball's account can be contrasted with ethnographic documentation from the sociology of work which reiterates that the workplace is a constantly negotiated arena (Strauss et al.1963; Strauss 1978).

Many of the applications of Foucault revolve around the idea that disciplinary techniques work to increase the level of surveillance and governmentality over (young) lives. For example, Ryan, indicating that projects of reform implemented in the school can spawn new things (by alluding to Foucault's discussion of the 'failure' of the prison), says:

> "This failure in turn generates new projects of reform ***which nevertheless remain within the confines of the disciplinary technology responsible for the production of delinquency.*** " (Ryan 1991:112) [16]

This is not so different from notions of hegemony found elsewhere in the sociology of education. However Ryan says that schools '***pursue***' the imperatives of docility and productivity, implying that disciplinary techniques only 'ideally' provide conditions of reform, but this apparent gap between theory and practice is not discussed any further. Ryan uses Foucault's concepts to imply that we live in an Orwellian society where oppositional discourses are systematically squashed.

One further application of Foucault which I would like to discuss here addresses the concept of 'risk' in a medical setting. This text contains the idea that preventive strategies of social administration in the USA and France dissolve the notion of a subject, or concrete individual, and put in its place the factors of 'risk'. Castel borrows Balint's term 'collusion of anonymity', which infers the examination of a patient becomes the examination of patient records rather than a face-to-face form of communication. The case is made from different assessments rather than from a relationship with the sick person. The shift, according to Castel, is from presence to anonymity. The diagnosis of risk is not made from a situation observable in experience, rather one deduces it from a general definition of the dangers one wishes to prevent. Castel argues this amounts to a new form of surveillance via prevention policies. New preventive polices primarily address factors and statistical correlations, not individuals. They deconstruct the concrete subject of intervention and reconstruct a combination of factors liable to produce risk. A primary aim is not to confront a concrete dangerous situation but to anticipate all the possible forms of irruption of danger. This may be seen in the case of health policies addressing students in regard to unemployment, pregnancy, AIDS, crime, or drunkenness. Castel sees the ideologies of prevention as backed by a technocratic, rationalising dream of absolute control of the accidental, that is, the irruption of the unpredictable. He points out that in the eradication of risk, new risks are created, an observation which is relevant to Aorangi. However, the term 'collusion of anonymity' does not

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[6] My emphasis

apply to counsellor casework in this particular setting. Discussions of casework in a school setting are found in chapters five and six.

I would therefore argue that Foucault is largely misunderstood in texts on education (and possibly medicine) as a 'theorist of control' but this is undoubtedly due to the tensions in his work concerning the way power may be seen to work. Foucault talks about 'resistance' as being crucial to the workings of a productive power but the concept itself is problematic in his own work. Ball et al., Ryan and Rose all make statements about the possibility of 'resistance' similar to the one above but fail to discuss how resistance might work to challenge and alter 'dominant' or emergent discourses concerning school organisation. Applications of Foucault's work in education also tend to assume power works in ways that are one dimensional and totalising. They do not account for the ways that students and staff do not slip into the identities that certain modes of power would appear to prescribe.

A problematic assumption in all the Foucault-inspired texts mentioned is an idea that there is a subject called 'the child' who has no other significant identifications, for example those based on discourses of gender and/or ethnicity. Paradoxically, ethnographers document the forms of resistance that students engage in on the basis of gendered and ethnic subjectivities. Woods argues that:

> "Pupils come to the classroom via different avenues and equipped with different ways of seeing, thinking and talking, and with different degrees and varieties of cultural capital." (Woods 1990:viii)

Discourses of ethnicity, especially with regard to Maori students, and discourses of feminism have challenged and altered the processes of many New Zealand schools, including Aorangi. In chapters four and six (discussing the emergence of counselling and questions of control), it is argued further that in an effort to eliminate risks and disruptions amongst the student body, schools, (certainly this school), have necessarily created more 'problems' and resistances. They have certainly not eliminated them through disciplinary regimes.

To summarise this chapter thus far, from my own experiences as a high school teacher I know the power of students to discomfort and disrupt the learning process. As a student I knew how to go about doing this in the classroom. 'Difficulties' and tensions are reflected in the way most teachers utilise a language of performance and struggle when they talk about their work in the classroom. These 'difficulties' are often understood by ethnographers as resistance by students of various kinds to dominant discourses of learning and identities available in the classroom. However these kinds of difficulties and experiences do not appear in most Foucault-inspired texts I have read.[17] They are, however, the subject of ethnographies of

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[17] My comment is a generalisation which applies specifically to texts which sit in the 'sociology of education' camp rather than a 'feminist' camp, although this is not as easy to demarcate as first

schooling. It can be argued that there is a definite rupture between the education literatures which utilise Foucault and education literatures which utilise ethnography, and hence a gap between general statements made by writers influenced by Foucault and what actually goes on in schools.

There are, then, several problems I can see with the claims made in these 'Foucault-inspired' texts. Firstly, the turn to Foucault in texts on education ignores the strong tradition of ethnography within the sociology of education. Secondly, an assumption is made throughout these texts that forms of disciplinary power secure themselves on school populations without any particular problems. Thirdly, schooling is conceived as a one-way, totalising process where students (and staff) are not only controlled, but they have come to identify with this control. Fourthly, certain disciplinary techniques deployed in contemporary schools are discussed in a way that obliterates any kind of tensions within the school. This gap invites ethnographic research based on Foucault's questions. However the focus of this thesis is not on classroom processes, nor is it focused on student subcultures, but rather, the work of school guidance counsellors, tutors, and Deans in their provision of 'guidance'.

3.5 PASTORAL CARE AND PASTORAL POWER

Aorangi school employs a mode of organisation and power relations which can be accessed through Foucault's notion of pastoral power. From my interviews with staff, a problem area at the school appears to be classroom discipline, but discipline and the moral processing of students is organised very differently than it was in the past.[18] Disciplining students involves, among other things, therapeutic techniques. The counsellors' work (addressed in chapter five), appears to be about motivation (or lack of) and resolution of interests in the school. With reference to motivation, counsellor work is about the managing of conduct, or subjectivity. In Foucauldian terms it is about the penetration of everyday practices aimed at self government, autonomy and normalisation by way of student's concept of self and personal identity.

Paradoxically, the confessional mode of pastoral power, employed in most contemporary New Zealand schools, has not been analysed to the same extent as teacher-student relationships and classroom learning. There is a definite gap in the New Zealand sociology of education literature in regard to an investigation of power relations involved in the delivery of services such as counselling for students, especially in research utilising an ethnographic approach. This statement could be applied to British and American literatures also.

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appears. Discussions of 'resistance' are frequently found in feminist texts which have appropriated Foucault. An example is Sawicki (1991) and Diamond and Quinby (1988).

[18] See footnote chapter 4:67, and the Dean's comments chapter 5:78.

'Pastoral care' is the general term under which guidance counselling is subsumed in the British literature. The term 'pastoral care' is widely used but the accompanying practices are seldom debated in a sociological manner. Power, in her article, "Pastoral Care as Curriculum Discourse", reiterates this point saying:

> "The widespread incorporation of pastoral care has not been matched, however, by widespread research or critical analysis. When it is considered, its emergence and effects tend to be presumed, either in terms of rational enlightenment and benign intention, or in terms of institutional control and sinister surveillance." (Power 1991:193)

This apparent gap in sociological research on guidance and pastoral care reflects that the school has seldom been critically examined in its relationship and networking with other welfare agencies and groups. It might also reflect that British and American schools have stricter boundaries and less 'networking' between home, agencies and school. Discussions of counselling in American schools are not found in American sociological literature. Counselling is, however, discussed extensively in American educational psychology literature.[19] This reflects the way that American school guidance counselling has been professionalised in relation to psychology and perhaps how slow sociology has been to 'map' the new school.

It is only since the 1970s that the term 'pastoral care' has entered the British sociology of education literature, although there has been a reasonable amount of literature available to practitioners for a longer time, and many older practices that have been retrospectively categorised as 'pastoral'. Pastoral care is spoken of as catering to the 'personal', or, 'non-academic' aspects of student lives and has most often been examined separately from classroom learning. Some of the earliest texts specifically addressing 'pastoral care' in British secondary schools include Hughes (1971) and Marland (1974). These texts are geared towards practitioners of pastoral care and counselling in schools. Best et al. (1980), also practitioners, argued for the need of employing a 'micro-perspective' as well as a 'macro-perspective' in understanding the practice of 'pastoral care'. The authors argued from their experiences as teachers and lecturers and pointed to the disparity between what was said about pastoral care, and what actually occurred in schools. Their comments might also be used to argue for an ethnographic approach to school guidance counselling research.

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[19] This observation might also reflect the absence of certain literatures from this and other NZ iiversity libraries, or, equally possible, the researcher's lack of skill at finding information. my initial search for information on school counsellors and guidance regimes, I ran an international omputer search of English publications having the words 'counselling' and 'school' in their subject dex or titles. Although this was conducted on a number of networks, covering NZ, Australia, the UK, nd America, there was almost nothing of British origin, and the American publications were almost ntirely psychological and quantitative in approach. Those sorts of articles I found in the ***Journal of ichool Psychology*** and ***School Counsellor***. It was not until very late in my research that I iscovered the appropriate term to access the British literatures on 'how guidance was done', namely astoral care'.

The only ethnographic investigation of 'pastoral care' which I managed to find was the text ***Secondary Schools and the Welfare Network*** (Johnson et al. 1980). This British text was an exciting 'find' as it provided extensive detail of how schools actually organised pastoral care and how staff, parents, students and agency workers understood it. What is more, the issues discussed corresponded with many issues appearing in my own material, unlike the American literature on 'guidance'.[20] This London-based study highlighted many of the tensions in the school, including reference to tensions resulting from raising the school leaving age:

> "At the time of our study each of the schools, in common with the rest of Britain's secondary schools, was coping with the raising of the school leaving age. They were having, not for the first time, to tailor educational programs to youngsters not interested in traditional school work and seemingly resentful about being detained at school for a further year. Whilst schools were reluctant to single out a 'lower stream' and did their best to integrate all pupils into generally available programs, some special provisions seemed necessary. Many schools took up this challenge by devising more 'relevant' and more vocationally oriented courses, which laid stress upon founding programs on pupils interests and experiences. It was also found appropriate to deal with pupils in a different mode from formal lessons. The tailoring of programs for certain categories of pupils, the offer of a certain style of teaching with strongly pastoral overtones which is aimed at a specific group of pupils, creates ambiguities in a comprehensive school aspiring to offer equal opportunities to all pupils. This can mean the offer of special provisions has to be covert. The resultant problem cuts both ways." (Johnson et al. 1980:82)

This quote reiterates arguments I will make in this thesis, namely, that therapeutic initiatives are important in many contemporary schools; that they were implemented to try and secure the commitment of students to schooling; and that the strategies which emerged were seen as both beneficial and complicating, that is, they 'cut both ways'. Johnson et al.'s research indicates that pastoral care emerged in Britain in a particular context which included the introduction of comprehensive schooling and legislation raising the school leaving age. It also referenced the tensions and negotiations operating in these schools because of new initiatives.

The fieldwork for Johnson et al.'s study ("Schools, Parents and Social Services Project"), was conducted amongst sixty teachers from four London secondary (comprehensive) schools in the period 1974-1977.[21] In these four schools 'pastoral care' was given the following definitions:

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[20] When I began to read for this thesis, I had almost finished interviewing and was searching for material which would address the practices detailed in my interviews. When reading the American journal articles on guidance counselling, I found it very difficult to recognise many similarities with New Zealand school organisation. I therefore focused on the British rather than the American literatures. This does not mean that, in practice, there are no similarities but rather that American counselling is professionalised and separated from a teaching and education literature. However, in the American sociology of education literature aspects of Coleman's work on 'schools as compensatory communities' resonated with what counsellors are attempting in the New Zealand context.

[21] Johnson et al. undertook extensive fieldwork with staff members of the education welfare service, social workers and administrators responsible for a centre for persistent truants, the school psychological service, child guidance clinics, school health service, youth and community services, police, and finally, parents and students.

"Pastoral care itself essentially entailed the recognition of the individual pupil. This was a common element in the differing definitions of pastoral care given by the four schools. Whilst teachers at School 2 stated briefly that pastoral care 'deals with the social problems of the pupils', in School 3's terms pastoral care was defined more explicitly as including the 'building of relationships with pupils, providing a secure base within the school environment for pupils, and responding to the personal problems of pupils'. Teachers at School 1 considered that 'pastoral care centres on the building up of relationships with individual pupils. It involves finding out about an individual's interests, listening to his or her problems and counselling pupils about their personal problems, social or academic. Participant teachers at School 4 identified specific objectives for pastoral care, namely, 'to advance the all round development of each pupil as an individual, and to ensure that each child is known personally and in some depth to at least one member of the staff'. (Johnson et al. 1980: 20)

Pastoral care thus appeared to be about the 'recognition' of the 'individual' student. In fact, Power argues that pastoral care provided the British comprehensive school with a central organising principle: the 'individual', or the 'whole child' (Power 1991:205). Recognition of students as individuals resonates with Foucault's ideas concerning the individualising tendencies of disciplinary power.

Many current concerns of the guidance of staff at Aorangi seemed to be reiterated in Johnson et al.'s study. Concerning issues of discipline in classrooms they noted that;

"...although problems of general order were not obstructive, some teachers found themselves in considerable difficulty about the control of individual pupils. The pastoral ethos and emphasis on social education...made many teachers feel it was imperative to understand pupils' background and personal problems. Such knowledge led them to feel that disciplinary procedures must be individualised, with a consequent differentiation in the way misdemeanours were responded to...We have already briefly referred to the fact that, for some teachers, getting to know the child implied more than recognising him as an individual and relating to him as a pupil. These teachers thought that ideally they should know each child as a 'whole person', and be aware of the kind of life he lived, and the kind of problems he had to face, at home. Pastoral care defined in these terms could not break off at the school boundary. It entailed some kind of home-school relationship, and might also mean making contact with caring agencies outside the school, to add to the school's knowledge of its pupils' circumstances." (Johnson et al. 1980:8,11)

The last comment is particularly interesting given the blurring of the boundaries between school, 'home', and 'community', which is a feature of Aorangi. Even more interesting is that Johnson et al. point to those (two) schools which had a counsellor as best being able to network with homes and outside agencies. Central to their study were the ways pastoral work overflowed the school boundary, reaching out to the pupils' homes and available agencies. The students interviewed in this study saw the pastoral system as internal to the school, with only the counsellors having the ability to be 'boundary crossers' and extend their influence beyond the school.

Given the ethnic diversity of Aorangi and the programs it offers, it was of interest that Johnson et al. recorded pastoral care as especially relevant to meeting the needs of immigrant pupils:

"In School 2, an immigrant department had been set up much on the lines of other schools' remedial departments, although this department had a much more varied pupil-client population. Some pupils only needed to improve their English in order to follow mainstream lessons. For others, it was more the case that cultural acclimatisation was needed in order to allow the child to make sense of lessons. The varied needs of the pupils had been a contributory factor in the decision to adopt a policy of home visits as part of the work of the department although this was pursued on a voluntary basis. Teachers in this setting, as in other remedial settings, found that it was necessary both to understand the home background

> and any family pressures that might affect learning, and to seek the cooperation of parents in order to carry through a successful program. In this respect, the immigrant department offered the most complete integration of teaching and pastoral duties." (Johnson et al. 1980:82)

In terms of its technical organisation, pastoral care at these schools involved versions of either 'vertical' house systems, where students become attached to a particular house group and stay with that group throughout their schooling, or horizontal systems, in which children were grouped according to their age, or year. Pastoral systems tended to be operated by teachers or tutors responsible for approximately thirty students each. These systems can be seen as examples of dividing practices.

There are, however, many differences between the provision of guidance in these four London schools in the 1970s and what is occurring in this New Zealand school in the 1990s. In 1970s London, counsellors were still seen as marginal to the delivery of pastoral care. In the 1990s, New Zealand counsellors have become central to the organisation of both the school and local community, through a therapeutic network with the wider community. Not discussed in this study, or the accompanying literature, are the relationships and forms of control set up by the implementation of a new set of actors called guidance counsellors. The gaps or 'deficiencies' in the sociological literatures, and the gap in the pastoral care literature, invite a further consideration of the forms of power operating through these particular agents in the school. These issues will be discussed in chapters five and six, but first I will consider the historical context pertaining to why school guidance counsellors were seen as necessary to schooling New Zealand children.

CHAPTER 4:

THE EMERGENCE OF COUNSELLING IN NEW ZEALAND: QUESTIONS OF NARRATIVE

"Guidance counsellors were first appointed to selected schools in the early 1960s to cope with specific social problems in those schools. Their role was one of rescuer and troubleshooter. However, a Department of Education policy statement in 1968 changed the overall focus to one where counsellors would offer educational, vocational and personal guidance to students." (Miller et al., paraphrasing Wadsworth, 1992)

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter argued that counsellors are an important part of contemporary New Zealand schools and require sociological investigation. At the time of writing this thesis there is at least one counsellor for almost every secondary school in New Zealand, yet the school guidance counselling service in New Zealand is not new in that it was authorised by the government in 1966. At this time the service consisted of twelve counsellors who were appointed to secondary schools which had a large proportion of Maori pupils, or to metropolitan schools with 'special' problems (Winterbourn 1974). The school at which I based my research gained its first counsellor in 1966 as part of this pilot project. At this time the school was only six years old and had a large, ethnically diverse, student population which drew on a fast growing suburb of a major New Zealand city. In 1968 the government approved the extension of the service at the rate of ten counsellors per year for the next five years. In 1970, two years later, there were forty five guidance counsellors in secondary schools, eighteen of whom were women.[1]

The creation of a guidance counselling position within certain schools raises some interesting and important questions as to the awarenesses that produced the 'need' for a position, distinct from the teacher, in all schools. Appropriate questions might concern the discourses of youth as 'students', secondary education, and the profession of teaching, circulating during the 1960s. An example of one such discourse was 'children as social capital' which embraced the idea that children were citizens of the future to whom the health and wealth of the nation was inextricably linked. This discourse was often drawn upon often by politicians and educationalists to argue for introducing certain strategies into secondary schools. It was drawn on by early feminists to argue for the extension of educational opportunity to girls. A

[1] About half of these counsellors were university graduates and at least two thirds had been teachers; about ten were social workers and half of these had professional training. Four had been Visiting Teachers, and four Vocational Guidance Officers. One or two were trained marriage guidance counsellors. Only a third of these had unversity qualifications in one or other of the social sciences, and mainly to Bachelor level (Wadsworth 1970:17).

similar argument was used for Maori students (Currie et al. 1962:414). Another discourse which gained currency a little later was the psychological discourse of adolescence, adolescence being seen as a time of vulnerability. These discourses did not come from just 'anywhere' but emerged at certain times, in certain contexts and were employed in certain ways to speak about youth.

When I asked an Aorangi counsellor why counsellors were employed in schools, he cited the following reasons:

> "I think increasingly form teachers had to cope with problems which some of them would say were a bit different from the normal teaching that they had to do. They would say they hadn't been really trained and nor did they have the time to cope with those problems. So they asked for support and the PPTA, the (teachers) union said, 'We need people that are trained to deal with families if that's going to be an expectation that people have got of us'. So they're quite happy to hand over to someone who has got that training. That doesn't mean to say that the form teacher doesn't do a lot of that stuff. I still think that the Form Teacher, or the Peer Support, or the classroom teacher are the frontline people but now they've got the backup of other people they can actually hand on to. The business of anger management, or lack of finance are pretty time consuming. They're different to what you would normally do if you are teaching Social Studies to a fourth form. And so we have got to argue that, that in actual fact we're helping kids to be able to learn. So if students have got an incest problem, or an abuse thing at home, or if they've got problems with their boyfriends, or whatever, somehow their contact with us is making them more able to absorb the learning that is expected when they're here. So that's what we've got to argue to Lockwood Smith - that we're actually helping kids to learn." (Senior Counsellor)[2]

The quote implies it was once assumed that children could learn without such professional help.[3] The counsellor's assertion is that the job of teaching students became increasingly difficult for teachers and, as a consequence, they put pressure on the government through their union to provide for the training of specialist support persons (counsellors), who would make their job possible. This account might be an account for the past but it also serves as an argument for counselling in the present; counsellors have become central in helping 'teachers to teach' and 'students to learn'. Contained within it is a claim to expertise and knowledge over high school youth. From this account it seems that teachers and students now need 'help' to do their work and 'help', at this school, comes in the form of guidance counsellors.

This chapter is thus an 'historical' narrative constructed around the question of how the guidance counselling position emerged as a feature of New Zealand secondary schools. Writing this narrative was not a straightforward task, however, for within this narrative there lies an associated problem concerned with the task of writing about 'counselling' in the past tense, and dissociated from the settings in which it occurred. This problem is particularly

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[2] Lockwood Smith was Education Minister at the time of writing.

[3] For example Winterbourn (1974:84) cites the attitude that (in 1963) "...the Department of Education still seemed to incline to the belief that the basic teacher training, certain personality qualities (undefined) and plenty of common sense were all that was required (to teach students)." This theme is reiterated in critiques of training provisions for guidance work (Dawson 1972:5).

important for historians given that guidance measures in this country have been extremely variable, localised and 'ad hoc' in approach.[4] For a sociologist, 'counselling' does not constitute a fixed set of practices but varies over time and contexts. Prior to the establishment of the ***New Zealand Guidance and Counselling Journal*** (1976), actual accounts of practice are few and far between. Therefore I have accessed what was said about guidance and counselling services, rather than accounts of how it was actually done.

Anthropologists have aptly demonstrated that writing histories is a problematic task (Clifford & Marcus 1986; Geertz 1983,1986). When reading any text there are questions of authorship and context, inclusion and exclusion, that must be considered reflexively. For example, in this chapter an obvious 'exclusion' on my part has been the ways discourses of 'gender' and 'class' may have entered into the context and constitution of early guidance counselling practice. Instead, I have focused on ethnicity, as this received some mention in historical texts. In my first draft of the chapter I wrote an historical analysis which attempted to locate the historical origins of 'guidance counselling'. My first draft attempted to establish a sense of order, purpose, and direction which resulted in contemporary counselling practices. This original narrative featured legal acts and quotes from official documents without these being questioned, positioned, or placed in context. It was very difficult to meet my objective of writing about the emergence of school guidance counselling without writing a linear narrative which attributed 'causes' and sought to establish consecutive processes.

While guidance counselling was difficult to pin down in terms of historical practice, there exist ***claims*** about guidance counselling and youth, and there are institutional forms such as the school and universities, which support it. In writing this chapter I looked for, and drew on, existing accounts which addressed 'guidance counselling' and 'youth'. The chapter has thus become a discussion of claims that have been made in the New Zealand context concerning the way 'problems' concerning 'youth' have entered into a public discourse. The 'unruliness' and 'idleness' of youth are two such claims which are made in many texts (Aries 1960; McDonald 1978; Hebdige 1988). Discourses making claims about youth and their problems are found in government reports, newspaper documentation, photographs, film, legislation and sociology texts.

Sociologists have framed their interpretations of youthful 'unruliness' in many ways, developing notions such as 'moral panic', 'subculture', 'resistance through rituals', and

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4 "When the word 'experimental' is used in New Zealand educational discussions, it is a euphemism for 'trial'; it never means that an educational situation is being examined in a rigorously controlled and experimental manner." (Dawson 1972:25). Studies on pastoral care in Britain have indicated that the emergence of guidance provisions there were also very 'ad hoc' (Johnson et al.1980). An 'ad hoc' approach indicates that explanatory logic is found in local contexts as well as in generalised explanations. It places a question mark over evolutionary accounts of power relations.

'discourse' to account for or explain it. As sociologists our task has often been the decoding, reading, deciphering and interrogating of other narratives. Central concepts in most sociological work are the exercise of power and social control. For myself, as a sociologist who has read Foucault, historical narratives are read through a certain understanding of power relations set out in chapter two. This chapter is not intended to be a genealogical analysis of guidance counselling. A genealogical analysis would 'look' quite different. However, I was aware that Foucault emphasised the practice, and hence policy 'implementation' rather than just on what was said about counsellors in official reports. In my search for 'clues' in the form of historical discourses, I looked for commentary which indicated ***how*** things were actually worked at a local level and the tensions and difficulties incurred. My reading of Foucault highlighted that the guidance initiatives which took place in schools should not be read as 'working' so much as attempting a better invigilated process of adjustment.

4.2 HISTORIES OF GUIDANCE COUNSELLING IN NEW ZEALAND

A number of documents exist which address the emergence of school counsellors in New Zealand secondary schools and of their early practice. These include the Education and Maori Affairs' sections of the ***Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives*** (1960 onwards); "The Role of the School Counsellor." (Wadsworth 1970); the ***Report of the Working Party on Guidance Services in New Zealand*** (Renwick et al. 1971); ***The Rise and Fall of the Guidance Counsellor in New Zealand, 1940 - 1971*** (Dawson 1972); and ***Guidance Services in New Zealand Education*** (Winterbourn 1974). Finally, there is "Children and Young Persons in New Zealand Society." (McDonald 1978)

These texts all make various claims concerning guidance counselling and youth. For example, Winterbourn (1974) discerns that the development of guidance services in New Zealand occurred in five distinct phases, guidance counsellors being the fourth phase. Winterbourn is considered by the counselling profession as one of the pioneers of guidance services in New Zealand secondary schools and his text as one of the key accounts of early guidance counselling. In regard to the development of guidance services for school children, Winterbourn cites the emergence of the YMCAs and YWCAs, and the University guidance centres (established after World War one) as the first phase.[5] The second phase coincided with the establishing of vocational guidance as part of the organised state service.[6] The third phase was marked by the beginning of the Psychological Service (1946) and Visiting Teacher

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[5] The university clinics were concerned with behaviour problems, 'backward children', and 'educational retardation'. Winterbourn records that New Zealand's guidance measures at this time were very influenced by Britain's Institute of Industrial Psychology, particularly the work of Cyril Burt, ***The Backward Child (1937).***

[6] Early in 1929 the Head of the Labour Department called meetings in seventeen towns and cities throughout New Zealand to discuss matters of juvenile employment. At this time there was a general perception that young persons were developing bad habits through 'idleness'. (Winterbourn 1974)

Services (1944), as well as Child Health Clinics. The fourth was the introduction of secondary school guidance counsellors. Of counsellors, Winterbourn says:

> "They emerged during a period of considerable social and educational unrest when the authority of home, church, school and many old established values were being questioned by young people...They were faced with more complex social, educational, and ethical problems than their predecessors in the guidance field..." (Winterbourn 1974:131)

Winterbourn asserts that during this fourth phase the Psychological Service emerged as the professionally 'most respected' branch of the guidance services for the 'obvious reason' that they had University credentials. Claims such as this gave Educational Psychologists the most authority and an expert voice in speaking for, and about, 'youth'. The fifth phase Winterbourn forecasted as having an emphasis on training and rationalisation, acting as "...a bridge between formative and fully mature periods." (Ibid. 1974:134)

Winterbourn thus writes a history of guidance services, and hence guidance counselling, from an evolutionary perspective. He sees the elaboration of guidance services in terms of rational enlightenment and good intention. Guidance counsellors are thus viewed retrospectively as an inevitable solution to the problems 'facing students', and developments in guidance services as signifying progress in the humanisation of education. More importantly, he charts 'developments' yet gives no detail of how guidance was done at this time, or how shifts in thinking and practice occurred. Yet, throughout his account, something called 'guidance' is assumed and addressed.

Winterbourn devotes an entire chapter to 'Guidance for Maori Youth' in which it is indicated that, historically, the needs of Maori youth could be understood and analysed separately from Pakeha youth. In Winterbourn's view:

> "Maori education and social problems have been matters of great concern and interest for many years, particularly from the 1930s onwards...Some matters which are vital for the guidance of Maoris but peripheral for other New Zealand juveniles are considered...Much of it is concerned with vocational guidance, because it is in this field that the bulk of activity of a specific nature has taken place. Educational guidance as such is intrinsically bound up with Maori educational problems generally. Personal guidance for Maoris shares a common basis with that for Pakehas in the work of visiting teachers, guidance counsellors and educational psychologists, although it also enters into vocational programs which have been evolved for Maori young people, as will be indicated later." (Ibid 1974:112)

This passage raises questions for the sociologist concerning why this was so, and indicates that discourses of 'ethnicity' and 'race' were important in the guidance strategies adopted. For a sociologist there is almost always 'more' to such narratives than these types of claims to 'the way counselling happened'. In Winterbourn's text, (and also Renwick et al.), power relations are not foregrounded, yet these texts are still inundated with claims about youth (which reflect power relations), particularly in terms of who may speak for them. Their concern is with the intent of policies and reports rather than with policy implementation in schools. However the coherence of this narrative, as an evolutionary schema, is created in retrospect.

On the other hand, Foucault has alerted us to principles of rupture and discontinuity in history. His work acts as a caution to writing history as consecutive processes. Instead of assuming counselling is the logical end of progressive moves in education, Foucault might ask, "Given that guidance provisions coalesce around 'personal knowledge' of students, how was it that students were to be recognised as individuals?" Throughout his analysis the emphasis would be on particular relationships set up between certain knowledges, psychology and sociology in particular, and the body (of students). He would also be interested in those subjugated discourses which addressed youth, perhaps on the basis of gender and ethnicity.

Another historical account which one might use to explain the emergence of counselling is provided by McDonald (1978). McDonald's history is positioned as a 'social values approach', based on the legal statutes regulating childhood and family, which indicate the changing status of children. He divides New Zealand's European history into four separate periods: 1840-1899, when the child was seen as a chattel; 1900-1944, the child as social capital; 1945-1969, the child as a psychological being; and from 1970, the child as a citizen.[7] The third period is the one which coincides with the implementation of school counsellors and, McDonald would argue, provides its context:

> "Two themes which at first may seem unconnected were prominent in the post-war period. These were the areas of pre-school education and juvenile delinquency, both which typify this period in regard to children...The post-war 'baby boom' ensured that the education industry flourished. The picture was one of mass internal migration, rapid population growth, an escalation in demand for services to family and child, some loss of extended family supports as may have existed, and a diffuse questioning of values in an unfamiliar social terrain. It seems small wonder that psychological adjustment should emerge as the method to assist socialisation and to forestall the alarming incidence of juvenile delinquency. The notion that good pre-school experience in the home and in planned environments such as playcentres was critical in personality adjustment was proclaimed at every opportunity." (McDonald 1978:49)

McDonald goes on to chart government reports and policies that addressed delinquency:

> "The theme of delinquency is usually tied to rapid social change and affluence, two conditions that were operating in this period. A national scandal broke in Lower Hutt City in 1953 concerning sexual misbehaviour among children and culminated in the setting-up of a special investigative committee. The 27 conclusions and eight recommendations in its report were largely ignored and quickly became stamped with the moralists' credo...More in tune was the Report of the Commission on Education (1962) ...Drawing on eminent authorities, the Commission asserted that the emotional relationships of childhood were critical factors. Thus the Commission's recommendations urged greater pre-school provisions and the expansion of psychological and guidance services. The result of these...has been the massive growth in the psychological industry. The period from 1946, when the Psychological Service of the Department of Education was first effectively established, covers the introduction and expansion of a variety of therapeutic services to children and families, and the establishment of training courses to staff them. Within schools, the role of the guidance counsellor was created on a trial basis in 1959, progressively increasing until today each secondary school

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[7] Of the first period McDonald notes that the regulatory statutes addressing child welfare were few and little attempt was made to enforce the requirements of the 1877 Education Act which made education free, secular and compulsory between the age of seven and thirteen. Cameron notes that this act defined the rights of children as having a right to education. This right superseded the authority of fathers in an aspect of children's lives, and made possible a situation where children could be separate from their parents. A publicly prescribed 'world' of the child became possible (Cameron 1990:106).

has such a position." (Ibid. 1978:50)"

McDonald's is also an evolutionary schema. However, he did note the increased diversity of child-centred services in the post war period did not succeed in reducing the steady rise of delinquent behaviours coming to official notice, rather, it facilitated this notification, and through casework, increased the measure of codificiation.

Dawson's text, ***The Rise and Fall of the New Zealand School Guidance Counsellor***, is a different kind of history. Dawson wrote as an academic, a lecturer in counselling at Flinders University, Australia. His was a critical text which engaged with a statement made by Small (1970). According to Small, the growth of guidance services situated within schools, that is guidance counselling and careers advice, was not linked to the failures of older existing services, that is positions of Child Welfare Officer, Visiting Teacher, Psychologist and Vocational Guidance Officer. Dawson addresses the failure of each of these services and maintains that the difficulties of making these positions work provided impetus for the Guidance Counselling Service (Dawson 1972:24). In support of his claim he references arguments made by teachers and counsellors working in schools.

The last text to be mentioned here is Wadsworth's (1970) article from ***The Social Worker Journal***. His article is one of the few which give an indication of what early guidance counselling was like. At the time of writing, Wadsworth was a senior counsellor at Pakuranga College in Auckland. Concerning the emergence of counselling, he said:

> "It was clear ...that many secondary teachers had regarded guidance counsellors as fulfilling to a large extent a rescue and trouble-shooting function and this was reflected as late as 1967 in the policy of their professional organisation, the PPTA, which divorced vocational counselling from the functions of guidance staff. Echoes of these unfortunate beginnings are still heard in discussions about guidance counselling by teachers and in the type of referrals some of them still make. So in the first seven or eight years of development counsellors were seen by many as school social workers attempting curative functions. Guidance counselling has also provided the focal point for the pressures on the secondary school exerted by various community groups: as well as being expected to combat incipient delinquency, and help subcultural groups adjust to the school system, it faced pressure to take responsibility for teaching the fundamentals of human relationships - including sex education and what is described as the 'inculcation of sound moral values'; it was expected to provide industry and commerce with a flow of carefully selected and well motivated trainees, and there is some evidence to suggest that it is now being asked to mute the negative effects of a system which many young people find alienating. Thus guidance counselling began as (and still remains to a large extent) a response to various community and school pressures, and a pragmatic attempt to face problems as they arose within the school system." (Wadsworth 1970: 13-15)

Guidance counsellors, according to Wadsworth, were thus one more pragmatic attempt to meet the problems as they arose.

n interesting comparison with New Zealand can be made with claims concerning the mergence of counselling in Britain (Hughes 1971; 1989):

> "Though a counselling movement can be said to have begun in Britain in the mid-1960s, the role and status of school counselling in British schools cannot be understood except in relation to a longer-established tradition directed at meeting vocational and personal as well as

more specific scholastic needs of pupils...The movement, partly because of the emphasis on the work of Carl Rogers and the active collaboration of eminent figures in the counselling movement from the USA in its initial stages, was popularly construed to be North American in origin. The philosophy of client-centred counselling, however fitted in well with the existent pupil-centred tradition and with aspirations of teachers and other educationists in Britain committed to the personal and social development of young people...In more practical terms, however, this new development differed in several important respects from what had gone before. The most obvious manifestation of this was the inauguration of a new role of school counsellor for the secondary school...In the long term, however, the more radical departure was the *de facto* acceptance that school personnel trained under educational auspices (and not, for example, under medical supervision) were capable of coping with emotional and motivational aspects of pupils' lives in ways which resembled methods common to well-established types of psychotherapy." (Hughes 1989:135)

Hughes indicates that New Zealand and Britain share a time frame and a secondary school setting. He also indicates that school guidance counselling practice was a continuation of things that were already going on in British schools, which is the New Zealand context also. The apparent 'newness' of counsellors was related to their specialised training in psychological knowledge.

All these texts provide clues to the historical and social context pertaining to youth and education in the 1960s. All New Zealand texts indicate that discourses of ethnicity (in regard to Maori students), and delinquency, (in regard to youth generally) were very important. One would assume from some texts that the proliferation of guidance services was relatively logical and unproblematic but this oversimplifies many important issues. There are many comments in these texts which allude to tensions and alternative histories. One important example was contained in the comment indicating opposition to putting, and keeping, counsellors in schools. Another important tension was in regard to the disciplining of students and the need for teacher, as opposed to counsellor, training.

4.3 OTHER IMPORTANT 'HISTORIES'

While researching this chapter, I also looked through sociological literatures which would enable me to reinterpret terms, such as 'delinquency', frequently mentioned in the historical texts. I was curious about what actually constituted delinquency. My expectation was that sociological literatures would write about social practices pertaining to youth and schooling, although they would set these up through notions of institutional control and surveillance. It was thus particularly interesting to find Shuker et al..'s adaptation of the British literature on 'moral panic' to a New Zealand context which analysed, among other events, the Hastings Blossom festival (September 1960). The British literature (which Shuker et al. draw on), addresses delinquency and youth, largely through the notion of 'subculture'. However this earlier literature also assumed delinquency and subculture were white, male phenomena. ıis raised questions concerning how gender and ethnicity entered into the constitution of roblems' for secondary school youth.[8] In the events cited in this chapter, girls were

Cohen notes that; "...two sets of lives... have been hidden from cultural studies and delinquency eory, old and new, over these twenty five years: girls and blacks." (Cohen 1980:xxi) Critiques of early

investigated for delinquency along with boys, however delinquency was seemingly construed in terms of sexual acts for girls, and violent acts for boys. The notion of moral panic will be discussed later in this chapter.

I also looked for historical accounts which addressed the experiences of Maori youth at school. One such example sets up the experiences of Maori youth in urban areas very differently from the ***Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives*** (AJHR). Ranginui Walker's text, ***Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou*** (1990), exemplifies views which have been in the historical position of a subjugated discourse. In his account the problems experienced by Maori youth at schools were problems of cultural surrender and institutional racism, and schools were partly responsible for producing delinquency and juvenile crime amongst Maori youth.[9]

In the 1980s and 1990s 'biculturalism' and 'multiculturalism' became major concerns in counselling practice and education generally. In other words, the discourses of ethnicity portrayed in Walker's text, which were once very controversial, have become widely accepted academic explanations of 'Maori failure'. In the 1960s however, Maori students' problems were not seen as problems arising from the school system privileging one particular mode of learning over another (equally rational) mode, but were seen as problems of cultural deprivation. These are the views contained in both the Hunn and Currie Reports, and the AJHR.

4.4 SOCIOLOGICAL READINGS OF HISTORY: MORAL PANIC AND INCREASING SURVEILLANCE

The representation of the Hastings Blossom Festival (1960) as a riot instigated by a delinquent, juvenile crowd would probably meet with great scepticism in the 1990s. This event has been interpreted by Shuker et al through the notion of moral panic (Cohen 1972;1980).[10] Shuker et al. observed:

›culture research were made by British feminist writers such as McRobbie & Garber (1975).
; interesting that one of the first two (pilot scheme) guidance counsellors was placed at Avonside ls in Christchurch in 1959. The other was placed at Tauranga Boys High School.

Walker makes extensive reference to movements and strategies on the part of Maori leaders and rents, particularly the struggle to maintain Maori language and culture as an integral part of schooling struggles which are not mentioned in historical accounts of counselling. Walker's text portrays Maori rents and Maori leaders actively seeking their own solutions to the problems facing young people. sewhere, Walker draws on Pierre Bourdieu's ideas on cultural reproduction to explain 'Maori failure' at ›l (Codd, Harker & Nash 1990).

tanley Cohen's work was a historical reconstruction of events which took place at English seaside ts between 1964 and 1965. Cohen was influenced by labelling theory at this time, borrowing epts from the sociologies of disasters, collective behaviour, and deviance. His focus was on the sis and development associated with the Mods and Rockers phenomenon. Both these subcultural s were considered by the public as largely male, deviant, and associated with violence. Cohen's tions concerned, in transactional terminology: "what was the nature and effect of the societal tion to this form of deviance? This entails looking at the ways in which behaviour was perceived conceptualised, whether this was a unitary or a divergent set of images, the modes through which

The reaction to the Hastings affray constitutes a classic media fed moral panic. In terms of Cohen's inventory, the element of prediction was strong even prior to the incident itself. Newspapers generally saw the events which took place in Hastings as constituting a 'riot', suppressed only with considerable difficulty by police. Over the next few days the blame was severely placed on juvenile delinquency, fostered by a misguided laxity on the part of the courts, the schools and society at large. While the Government initially appeared to recognise that much of the early press reports in particular were imprecise and exaggerated, it nevertheless felt obliged to pass hasty legislation dealing with the consumption of alcohol in public places, and to criticise the judiciary for alleged leniency...It would be insufficient though to view this particular moral panic simply in terms of the conservatism it engendered. First, we would do well to note the increasing ability of professionals in New Zealand, educationalists, psychologists and others, to impose an ideological hegemony of their own." (Shuker et al 1990:40)[11]

Also on the theme of moral panic, Rose asserts:

"The upsurges in concern over the young - from juvenile delinquency in the nineteenth century to sexual abuse today - were actually moral panics: repetitive and predictable social occurrences in which certain persons or phenomena came to symbolise a range of social anxieties concerning threats to the established order and traditional values, the decline of morality and a downward spiral into disorder. Professional groups - doctors, psychologists and social workers - used, manipulated, and exacerbated such panics in order to increase their empires." (Rose 1990)

Both Shuker et al. and Rose have an explicit focus on control, although Rose draws on Foucault, and Shuker et al. on Gramsci. While adopting rather different theoretical positions, all authors use the notion of moral panic to argue that psychological explanations of social life emerged as the most authoritative in regard to youth. In other words, psychology became the knowledge base for implementing reform and the 'mind' gradually replaced the body as the object of 'rectifying strategies'. This is well illustrated by the gradual phasing out of corporal punishment.

In Rose's view, the introduction of guidance counsellors to schools is but one more 'piece of evidence' regarding the subjectivity of the child, as both an idea and a target, becoming inextricably linked to the aspirations of government. In his view, universal and compulsory schooling catches up the lives of all citizens into a pedagogic machine that operates not only to impart knowledge but to instruct in conduct, to supervise, evaluate, and rectify childhood

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ese images were transmitted and the ways in which agents of social control reacted." (Cohen)80:24)

[1] While Shuker et al. adopt Cohen's work, they preferred the work of Hall et al. (1978), which used ramsci's notion, 'general crisis of hegemony'. In Hall et al.'s study, ***Policing the Crisis***, the level r explaining moral panic is shifted from social control agencies or cultures to the specific operation of e state. This means relating the working of moral panic to overall political shifts. Hegemony refers to ie situation where the ruling class is able to exercise the sort of power which wins and shapes onsent, which frames alternatives and structures agendas in such a way as to appear natural.
en critiques this type of work on the basis that the determination to find ideological closure leads to emature theoretical closure. He says: "The actual material selected as proof of the slide into the s (newspapers, editorials, statements by M.P.s and police chiefs) does not always add up to ething of such monumental proportions. The diffuse normative concern about delinquency is, I <, more diffuse and less political than is suggested. And the assumption of a monolithic drift to ession gives little room for understanding why some objects are repressed more severely than rs. This, paradoxically, is the same criticism which applied to vulgar labelling theory." (Cohen 0:xxiv,xxv)

pathologies. He argues, with reference to sociological and psychological research, reports and educational programs undertaken in Europe, Britain and America, that these indicate an accelerating spiral of power and knowledge, with new and forceful regulatory technologies, refined calibrations and techniques seeking to manage the intellectual life of the child (Ibid. 1990).

These particular sociological accounts of history focus on institutional control and surveillance. The visions of increasing social control which 'increased governmentality', 'hegemony' and 'moral panic' engender, do not line up particularly well with the piecemeal account of the emergence of school guidance counselling which I will present in this chapter. It is apparent that during the period under consideration, New Zealand teachers were increasingly urged to improve their diagnostic and assessment skills in order to set up a warning system for the student body. The 'at risk' student was created through the elaboration of this warning system. As also indicated by the juvenile crime statistics, the 'warning system' did not always work very well. The attempt to monitor the student body, beginning in preschool and continuing until work, has resulted in a proliferation of strategies and programs but has not been successful in preventing problems. On the contrary, it has resulted in many problems being 'discovered' - such as the problems of racism, sexism or learning problems for students. Sexual abuse amongst students now requires specialist help for students from within and without the school. With increasing differentiation and classification of students, 'classroom learning' became cross-referenced to all sorts of issues - racism, sexism, sexual abuse, and class issues, to name but a few. 'Problems' have redefined 'schooling' to the point where schooling is no longer recognisable, as a set of practices, to previous generations. In this process the practice of teaching was also transformed.[12]

4.5 THE SEARCH FOR A BEGINNING

In my search for 'beginnings' I pieced together ideas and claims made during, or prior, to 1968, relating to various agents in schools, that is, students, teachers and counsellors . The following comments are my own generalisations concerning the social context of school uidance counselling in New Zealand. These are based on my readings of the texts ıentioned earlier, and various journal and newspaper articles.

lot all historical accounts link guidance counselling to the rapid expansion of compulsory New :ealand secondary schooling in the post-war period but the expansion of secondary ooling did create a space for new problems and new identities for youth. The three main sons for this growth were cited by the Currie Commission (1962) as being increased births,

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These issues are discussed in terms of the changing boundaries of schooling in chapter 6. They are) detailed in terms of counsellor work in chapter 5.

more students entering secondary school, and more pupils staying longer. They stated:

> "The period 1944-1948 was nothing less than revolutionary, and particular measures taken during that period are bold educational landmarks to which all future historians of New Zealand education must of necessity refer. Briefly, they are the raising of the school leaving age to 15, the Thomas Report on the post-primary curriculum of 1943 and the consequent Education Regulations (1945), the introduction of accrediting for entrance to university after a four year course in 1944, and the adoption by 1948 of two years of post-primary education as a minimum requirement for most apprenticeships. And hard on the heels of these measures there followed a dramatic alteration in the volume of post-primary education, multiplying the number of schools and numbers of pupils, producing a surface appearance of incessant change and adaptation, accompanied by an almost chronic shortage of teachers." (Currie et al. 1962:42)

While schooling to fifteen years of age was made compulsory in 1944, it was only at the end of the 1950s that large numbers of students began attending secondary, or 'post-primary', schools. Between 1945 and 1970 the numbers of pupils at secondary schools increased by 24 per cent (AJHR 1971, E-1). A new category of persons, namely 'high school students', were created by this process, an identity which intersected with other new discourses on youth - 'adolescent' and 'teenager'.

The existing guidance services were geared toward primary school students. One of the consequences of raising of the school leaving age to fifteen in 1944 was the identification of new and different problems and, in turn, new categories of student at the secondary school, notably, the 'reluctant learner' and the 'slow learner'. Reluctant learners, according to the Currie Commission, were those students who were in the lower forms, required to stay at school till fifteen, yet who did not want to be there.[13] These students caused behaviour problems in the school. The second category of 'slow learners' would previously have left school prior to fifteen but now faced at least two years of secondary education. The Commission saw schools as being ill equipped to meet the needs of these students, yet they required 'personal knowledge' by teachers;

> "...the secondary schools now have more (of these) pupils for whom the closer personal relationship of teacher and pupil characteristic of the primary school is appropriate. These pupils need form teachers who will be with them for a really significant part of the time and to whom the pupils can feel a genuine personal allegiance." (Currie et al. 1962:299)

It could be said that, since the 1950s, the student population of secondary schools came to

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[13] During their research in the mid 1970s Johnson et al. (1980) noted London schools were having to cope with problems of resentment and lack of motivation among secondary school students which they related to the recent raising of the school leaving age in Britain. They saw many of the new innovations in school programs and extensions of guidance provisions as attempts to secure the commitment of students to schooling (See Chapter 3:39). Motivation is an everyday managerial term used for subjectivity and it appears that lack of motivation invokes a lack of identification with schooling. Attempts to secure commitment to schooling are attempts to make students identify with schooling. A ect result of raising the school leaving age seems to be an 'ad hoc' form of negotiation.
1991, Aorangi counsellors were forecasting that raising the New Zealand school leaving age to teen years from January 1992 would increase 'problems' in the school because 'kids don't want to be re.' One said: "We are expecting that kids are going to stay at school a lot longer and that is maybe a od thing but in actual fact to keep those kids at school you have to have other more appropriate urses than what we have got in a lot of cases. Counsellors are expected to do the job...I mean it uld be great if they were all highly motivated students but in actual fact they don't want to be here." orangi Counsellor)

be viewed as distinct and heterogeneous rather than uniform and homogeneous, even if the heterogeneity was acknowledged only by certain persons. An outcome of the differentiation which did occur is that, thirty years later, the school has been reorganised in attempts to better facilitate the knowledge of students and their individual 'needs'. Personal knowledge of students is conducted by specialist persons (counsellors) as well as classroom teachers.

The problems experienced by teachers was the theme of the account given by the Aorangi counsellor in the introduction to this chapter (pg 42). Acute staff shortages at secondary schools and accompanying difficulties in teaching very large classes were felt by teachers. This is reflected in the arguments made by teachers for decreased class sizes, new teaching and disciplinary strategies, more teacher training, and increased funding to schools. The shortages of subject teachers (particularly in maths and science) during the 1960s meant that there was opposition to training being given to 'specialist teachers'. In 1967, for example, the PPTA was asserting that the need for additional allowances for senior staff was both more important and more urgent than the need for Guidance Counsellors. Apparently 'schools needed teachers not psychological appendages' (Dawson 1972:32). Arguments for and against the introduction of specialist staff can be found in PPTA documents, journal articles, and reports. However by 1968 the PPTA had altered its position, arguing for the expansion of guidance services in schools and providing an outline for the counsellor's duties. In their view guidance counsellors were best seen as teachers. The PPTA (and other parties) did not view counsellors as the only, or best, solution to problems facing teachers.

A PPTA - Education Department Working Paper (1973) provides an indication of teacher viewpoints on teaching large classes:

> "I include 13 case studies prepared in consultation with our School Counsellor. We could give at least another thirty similar ones but are rather short of time to prepare them, as we are meeting other deadlines this week.
> I am not sure that we have covered all the needs listed. All our Polynesian pupils need help in adjusting to life in New Zealand, and time has to be spent on all sorts of problems e.g. getting them to a dentist appointment when they have toothache, as families don't know what to do.
> One pupil out of every five in this school has a language other than English as the language of the home and many of these girls need support in their role as a bridge between two worlds.
> Many of our pupils need help with specific learning disabilities, or remedial work. Most of our remedial time is spent on our students to whom English is the second language. We get no extra staffing for this.
> This year we have established an Opportunity class with half of the eight pupils taught there at any time being pupils with behaviour problems and half of them with specific learning difficulties - spelling, mathematics, writing etc. I have an allowance of 5 weekly teaching half days for this but have had to squeeze the other five from normal staffing allowance.
> We are fortunate enough to have a counsellor and she is very good value. We have four staff members doing the work of Deans. They each have a few periods for this work but spend more time than they have officially available.
> e draw pupils from at least two disadvantaged areas, and see the effects of poor economic nditions, family breakdown, and the pressures of city life and temptations on susceptible olescents. Many parents who are doing a good job in bringing up their children require pport and encouragement. And some parents with problem children are asking for help all e time (Headmistress)."
>
> any students come from homes where they are devalued as persons - or ignored - and yet pected to succeed. They come to school and sense that here are adults eager to listen and

help. Their expectations rise. Many such girls are sent to me for 'insolence'. A typical conversation:
'I put my hand up and he didn't come.'
'Why didn't you wait instead of being rude?'
'I waited last lesson.'
This is the very experience they have found so crippling already. They feel threatened. They lash out. The tutor is called in. Much of the hopelessness and resentment in the pupils and tension in the over-stretched teacher would disappear, I believe, if the classes were a more manageable size...Until there is this more supportive atmosphere many a vulnerable child has little reason to trust the school system enough to work with it (Head of Department)."

"An emotionally disturbed girl in this class particularly wants to be able to sew but needs a lot of assistance with every step and with the use of a sewing machine. If I am busy and cannot go to her aid, immediately she loses interest and disturbs other pupils in a very noisy fashion. Also she accuses me of never wanting to help her and of helping only those who are good at sewing. In a class of twenty maybe with learning and emotional problems, it is impossible to give them the individual help they need especially when many want help at the same time. The solution to this problem would be to reduce class sizes for practical work - classes of 12 to 15 pupils (A beginning teacher)."

One of the interesting things about the historical texts on counselling cited earlier, is that children are not referenced beyond the level of generalisations about youth, or perhaps youth at particular schools. The focus is largely the 'problems' of secondary students. What is not given attention in these historical texts is that the problems of students were not understood through the students themselves but were constituted through historians, teachers and other 'youth experts'. The problems of youth are therefore actually the problems of experts as well; the 'failures' of youth were also the failures of schools. The introduction of counsellors would thus seemingly have as much to do with teachers (and other youth professionals) as it did with students, yet the experiences of teachers are not central to historical narratives of guidance. By comparison, the above quotes show the potential for actual guidance practices by referencing individuals, individual problems, and individual resolutions.

Guidance counselling in New Zealand was linked to discourses of ethnicity at its inception in very different ways than it is now. While the postwar European birthrate was very high, the birthrate among Maori was almost double that of Europeans and, as a consequence, the Maori population was even more skewed toward the young. In 1960, for example, only 25 per cent of Maori persons were over thirty years of age (AJHR, G-1,1960). Calls for extensions and innovations in guidance services were linked to the growth in numbers and attendance of Maori children at metropolitan schools. However the problems of teaching and learning in a culturally diverse classroom were discussed in Departmental Reports and Winterbourn as problems of Maori adjustment to city life and Pakeha ways.[14]

The centrality of 'racial difference' to accounts of New Zealand guidance services is a feature which tinguishes the New Zealand accounts from British accounts (of pastoral care). Discourses directly dressing cultural difference in the school appear much later in British accounts and tend to coincide h the setting up of comprehensive schools.

The disruption of Maori communities in the 1950s and 1960s was crucial to the expansion of guidance services. Ethnicity, that is 'problems' related to ethnic difference, has been a key rationale for introducing school guidance counsellors. Maori school pupils and their families have been subject to an official gaze, since, Winterbourn asserts, the 1930s.[15] The networking between home and school in the present is probably only 'new' for Pakeha children. It becomes apparent on reading the AJHR that the decade of the sixties is one where young Maori received more and more comment in official reports.[16] The 1962 report from the Child Welfare Superintendent noted that 'The Inter-departmental Joint Committee on Young Offenders', a unit set up in 1958 to research delinquency, considered crime amongst young Maoris (in towns and cities) as very serious and in need of in-depth study. However, in all these narratives (with the exception of Walker 1990), Maori students, Maori teachers, Maori parents and community leaders operate from a position of marginality and silence rather than one of possibility and power.[17]

Almost all texts written on the history of guidance counselling mention juvenile delinquency as a major public concern throughout the 1950s and 1960s. Often mentioned are specific events which took place in New Zealand cities and which were seized upon by the media. Shuker et al. mention how newspapers in the mid 1950s spread news of how a Lower Hutt City gang, the 'Milkbar Cowboys', consisting of secondary school pupils, were involved in sexual offences.[18] These events contributed to the setting up of the Marzengarb Commission into Moral Delinquency in New Zealand (1954) and copies of this report were distributed to every household in New Zealand. Official statistics were also showing an increase in juvenile crime throughout the late 1950s and 1960s, particularly amongst Maori

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[15] In metropolitan schools the 'boundary' between home and school appears to have been blurred for Maori students for a much longer period than for Pakeha students because of the work of Visiting Teachers, Maori Welfare Officers, and Vocational Guidance Officers. Maori students were targeted as needing extra help and personal knowledge by teachers, and this knowledge entailed knowledge of families and home circumstances. More recently the entry of Pacific Island and Asian children to New Zealand schools has entailed certain schools utilising guidance networks far more extensively than ay, for Pakeha children, through English as a Second language (ESL) courses.

[6] Other ethnic minorities such as Pacific Island students do not feature in official commentaries until he early 1970s. In 1970 the Minister of Maori Affairs and Island Affairs remarked that: "Perhaps the jreatest challenge facing the Department is the situation of different Island communities living in New Zealand." (AJHR 1970, G-1:5). It was forecasted in the same journal by the Minister of Education: "...it s likely that more than 10,000 New Zealand born children of Island parentage will be attending schools here. To this figure must be added the children of school age whose parents move to take up permanent residence in New Zealand." (AJHR 1970, E-1:27). In 1970 a special staffing allowance was given to secondary schools with 40 per cent or more of their role Maori, or non-European (mainly of Pacific Island parentage). Each pupil at these schools counted for 1.2 rather than 1.0. It was thought ıt, "This will enable schools to give special attention to the education of these pupils." (Ibid. E-1:18)

It is only in the late 1980s and 1990s that alternative histories have been written and have gained rrency. An example is ***The New Zealand Wars*** (Belich 1986), which addresses Maori experience very different ways to other previous accounts of the 'Maori' Land Wars.

At this very same time the Parker Hulme case went to trial. Parker and Hulme were two Christchurch ls had battered Parker's mother to death with a brick. The trial hinted that the girls had been in a sbian relationship and that Parker had engaged in sexual relations with a young male boarder at her ouse. The trial generated extensive public interest and received a very large amount of media overage.

youth in urban areas, and details of these crimes were elaborated in newspapers. The 'riot' at the Hastings Blossom festival (September 1960) thus came hard on the heels of the news media documenting a 'general decline in moral standards', and 'increasing delinquency' amongst New Zealand youth. The 'riot' was apparently triggered by the late cancellation of the main parade due to rain, and so people crowded into the pubs or 'milled about' on the streets. The result, according to newspaper narratives, was riotous behaviour, fighting, and heroic action on the part of police and firemen to disperse the 'wild crowd' of youths. While no one was seriously injured and only eleven boys and one girl were ever charged (with minor offences), there was a massive outcry evidenced in the national papers on the 'out of control' and delinquent state of New Zealand youth:

> "Over-full employment and the emergence of 'soft', affluent post-war youth were identified as causal factors by both Opposition and by some Government members. Even more significant, was the linking of the Hastings affray with the alleged shortcomings of modern teaching methods. For a decade a major national debate over education had been conducted which, by the late 1950s was reaching its peak. Parents' organisations and employers groups, supported by a sympathetic press, complained of poor classroom discipline, due in part to the gradual easing out of corporal punishment coupled with low attainment in basic skills due both to the dropping of the Proficiency examination (1936) and the inclusion of 'soft' curriculum options. These concerns crystallised into an irresistible demand for a full inquiry into falling educational standards...Prominent politicians and educationalists debated what the state should do in response to the challenge. Before the panic was over, the Labour Government had been shaken to its foundations, detention centres where offending youths were to be administered a 'short, sharp lesson' had been proposed by both major parties, and a pungent cartoon in the New Zealand Herald had provoked a national debate on the effects of 'playway' education on the younger generation." (Shuker et al. 1990)[19]

Another contributing factor to the emergence of guidance counselling was the apparent failure of older existing guidance services to meet the needs of secondary school youth. The counselling practices of the 1960s predate the implementation of the guidance counsellor's position. Guidance counselling appears to be an elaboration and consolidation of a number of specialist positions that predate and continue after this period. The most important of these were the Careers Adviser, Vocational Guidance Officer, and the Visiting Teacher.

4.6 FROM VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE TO GUIDANCE COUNSELLING

> "The Chief Inspector of Post-Primary Schools during the late fifties, F.R.G. Aitken, had a lot to do with the inauguration of the new services. At the outset he saw the need to free the counsellor from teaching duties. He envisaged the task of counsellors as including that of existing careers advisers, and he wanted the new officers to work closely with the visiting teachers attached to contributing schools so that they would be aware of problem children coming into their schools. He believed that they should be readily accessible and be prepared to meet pupils frequently. Class teachers should be able to refer children to them. He also favoured having them concentrate on a single school where they would combine the functions of a careers adviser, educational adviser and visiting teacher." (Winterbourn 1974:93)

As the above comment indicates, Winterbourn saw New Zealand guidance counselling as a nsolidation and elaboration of earlier positions, initially created to serve New Zealand

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' Shuker et al.'s account is misleading if it implies that the accusation of 'playway education' was ›plied to the entire school system. The Currie Commission (1962) explicitly addressed the criticism of ayway education but only insofar as it pertained to primary education. Secondary school teaching ethods, on the other hand, were seen as extremely authoritarian and in need of review. The youth volved in the Hastings Affray were secondary school age (Shuker et al. 1990:40).

primary schools.[20] In other words, the practices of counselling appear to predate the creation of the position of school guidance counsellors. The first of the services to be established was the Vocational Guidance Service.

In 1948 the Vocational Guidance Service created the specific position of Careers Adviser within all secondary schools with rolls exceeding 200 pupils to address employment opportunities for students. They were teachers who received time allowance of half a teaching day per week for every 200 students to gather and give advice on employment opportunities. The Service was organised from centres around the country and these had information-gathering, training and diagnostic functions. Vocational Guidance centres were intended to provide up-to-date information about educational facilities, bursaries, qualifications required for entry to work, the nature of work, the training, prospects and pay. The Service also encouraged the collation of cumulative student records by schools. It was staffed by both 'Vocational Guidance Officers' who visited schools and conducted annual interviews with parents and children, and 'Careers Advisers', who were 'trained' at a week long course attended during their holidays.[21] The Vocational Guidance Officers were trained to give and evaluate psychological tests to determine the aptitude of their clientele. Although in 1959 the decision was made to link the focus of the service more closely to secondary schools, the centres tended to be used by school leavers rather than school students. Careers advisers were thus the main link with students at school and the first specialist guidance position to be located 'in' a school.

As was indicated by Winterbourn, there were particular sections of the student population seen to be in dire need of vocational guidance. In the early 1960s plans were made for the Vocational Guidance Officers to work with field officers from the Maori Welfare Division of Maori Affairs. The Appendices said of this work:

> "The most effective work is done in partnership because Vocational Guidance Officers must do some work in the communities and Maori Welfare Officers must do some work in schools. The Maori Welfare Officers introduce the Vocational Guidance Officers to the communities and the Vocational Guidance Officers facilitate the entry of Maori Officers into the schools. There is some evidence to show that there may be a fairly close relationship between an unsatisfactory work history and delinquency. It could be that with a greater concentration on this counselling and vocational guidance work, the present proportion of young Maoris appearing before our courts could be greatly reduced to normal. The demands are already straining the resources of the Vocational Guidance Service which is not geared to Maori community work. It is known that visits to maraes and isolated communities necessitate personal sacrifice by officers concerned; and yet this community work is essential if the Maori

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' ⁻ducational Psychologists, employed by the Department of Educations' Psychological Services, another post-war development, and acted as consultants to schools. However they were used st exclusively by primary schools. The waiting lists associated with the Service were notorious 'son 1972:3). Educational Psychologists and 'special class' organisers operated from centres in ix education board districts around the country. They were linked through the office of the :ation Department's Chief Psychologist. Academic training to postgraduate level had secured ı status as qualified experts.

n 1966 a training officer was appointed to coordinate all training of Careers Advisers. Prior to this ing was largely the responsibility of senior Vocational Guidance Officers in the centres.

> young people are to be reached. The appointment of more guidance counsellors at post-primary schools with large Maori rolls would be welcomed." (AJHR 1965, G-9:11)

Vocational guidance, whether it came from the Officers or the Careers teachers was apparently not just about advice on employment opportunities. The Education report of 1963 noted that:

> "There is a growing awareness...that vocational guidance is only a part, though an important part, of the whole process of guidance. The more experienced careers teachers in schools have always extended their work beyond the strict confines of vocational guidance, and opportunity has now been given to a few schools to appoint guidance counsellors who incorporate the duties of a careers teacher in their wider responsibilities." (AJHR 1963, E-1:17)

Vocational Guidance and Careers Advisers increasingly found themselves engaged with very heavy caseloads:

> "One of the reasons for the large increase in case-work has been that the number of pupils in the fifth and sixth forms has increased proportionately much more than has the total number of pupils in secondary schools. Another growing field is work with Maori pupils who, while still in the lower forms, need to be encouraged to study towards more ambitious goals." (AJHR 1966, E-1:23)

Dawson provides some insight into the practical difficulties associated with the Careers Adviser's brief. He writes that Careers Advisers themselves complained that the time given to this specialist work made it difficult to gain special training and difficult to gain information about employment opportunities in their local area. The barriers within the school were identified as time consuming clerical work at the expense of 'more personal contact', and lack of expertise (training). Careers Advisers were used as relieving teachers during staffing shortages; in this way 'guidance time' was used for classroom teaching. Staff turnover, like that at the Guidance Centres, was recorded as very high and the Careers Adviser position seemed to be used as a stepping stone to other 'more lucrative' positions of responsibility. In addition there were problems regarding the position's profile with other staff (Dawson 1972:11,12).

Criticisms of the position came from other quarters as well. Winterbourn, in his submission to Currie Commission (1962), stated that:

> "In New Zealand secondary schools it is common knowledge that careers advisers are a 'mixed bag' appointed by their head teachers for a variety of reasons which may or may not include competence in the field of guidance...The so-called training of one week's duration is quite inadequate. The careers advisers probably constitute the weakest link in the whole guidance system."

ie New Zealand Manufacturers Association also expressed their concern at what they saw ie poor coping capacities of the Careers Advisory Service to which, in 1966, the Minister ducation could counter that a more 'effective system' of guidance was being introduced schools on an 'experimental' basis. The 'more effective' system was one of Guidance insellors - trained specialists located at schools and preferably not having to add their dance time on to teaching duties. The main difference between Careers Advisers and

guidance counsellors, therefore, was to be the time given to their work and the extent of their training. The Manufacturers Association however, and other representatives of business, were anxious that guidance counselling services would lose their vocational orientation and become entirely geared towards the counselling of individuals' social and emotional problems.

The Careers Adviser position was thus eventually seen as ineffective in the provision of 'guidance', and the Vocational Guidance Officers in their role as consultants, generally seen as inefficient, ineffective and 'too thinly spread'. Similar criticisms were eventually levelled at the Visiting Teacher Service. These comments imply that the micropolitics of guidance have involved a lot of negotiation and experimentation in schools due to difficulties and conflict in the implementation of guidance provisions.

4.7 VISITING TEACHERS

According to the AJHR, the Visiting Teacher Service was begun in 1944 due to;

> "...the difficulties some teachers of large classes in primary schools were having in coping with problems which had their source outside the school itself. The visiting teachers have always been women with considerable experience in dealing with day-to-day problems of the school." (AJHR 1960:10) [22]

The Journals and Winterbourn provide an indication of what the Visiting teacher was intended to do:

> "In carrying out her duties the visiting teacher is responsible to the Headmaster of the school at which the particular child with difficulties is enrolled. Thus she is, in effect, a member of the staff of each of these schools, and she joins regularly in staff meetings and gets to know the teachers and children in their own classrooms. By discussing with her what might appear to be relatively minor troubles, class teachers are often able to prevent more serious difficulties at a later stage. Typical cases referred to visiting teachers are failure to make expected progress, serious behaviour problems, nervous and physical strain, persistent irregular attendance or lateness, failure to make friends, and signs of incipient delinquency." (AJHR 1960, E-1)

> "In general it may be said that the visiting teacher is a social worker attached to the school, responsible to the headmaster for dealing with problem children generally and especially with those cases where it is suspected that home and out of school factors are the main cause of the problem. The work on the whole is preventive rather than corrective...The main problem is the education of parents in the sensible and responsible bringing up of their own children and a person such as a visiting teacher who can get into the home and discuss with parents themselves the problems of children who might become delinquent, can probably do far more good than any merely general exhortations to parents as a whole." (Beeby quoted in Winterbourn 1974:81)

emale teachers were thus attached to specific schools but worked with others in the local rea. According to Winterbourn, Visiting Teachers were intended as a means of supervision or (city) students who, with fathers at war and mothers at work, were in the 'dangerous' ition of being left to their own resources. The Visiting Teacher can be seen as a 1940s lution' to the moral and social problems of unsupervised primary school youth. nterbourn also makes the comment that:

The first male appointments were made in 1969.

> "Their appointment is a recognition that the (primary) school itself cannot be expected to know its problem children well enough to do what is necessary." (Ibid. 1974:79)

It appears that problem children were 'unknown', and knowledge of them demanded work with their families. Preventive work came to incorporate 'knowledge' of family circumstances and 'signs' of incipient delinquency. According to the Appendices, 'personal knowledge' of students by their classroom teacher and Principal has always been important to the guidance function of teachers and knowledge initially came through relationships with students and their families which extended beyond school (AJHR 1960, E- 1:35). However, the appointment of Visiting Teachers conveys that this was difficult enough to achieve in primary schools. Metropolitan schools, on the other hand, especially with the rapid growth of secondary schools in the post war years, posed new dilemmas for teachers. It was not enough for a teacher to know a class purely on the basis of 'fourth form mathematics class' but he, or she, was meant to relate to students as 'individuals'. A teacher was increasingly expected to recognise, through specialist knowledge, whether any student was a 'slow reader' or 'backward learner'.

These quotes also indicate that in order to define their job, Visiting Teachers had a brief negotiated with the Headmaster and were expected to negotiate with other youth experts to work out, at a local level, who would best deal with any given child. There were attempts made to set up central case registers as a means of ensuring cooperation between different services, but these were not kept satisfactorily over a long period. Personal communications were thus the principal means of coordinating casework. Differences and liaisons were thus resolved, or not resolved, at this 'grassroots' level. Like the counsellors to follow, Visiting Teachers were expected to work out their role "...through common sense at the local level and this is what has been going on in all of the guidance services over the years." (Winterbourn 1974:84)

However Dawson, writing in 1972 said of the Visiting Teacher Service:

> "It can be dismissed quickly on two counts: first, there were so few attached to the secondary chool system as to make their over-all influence negligible. And second there is no organised raining system held as compulsory for such 'social workers' in New Zealand schools. In fact, the best of intentions', a 'kind smile' and some teaching service are perhaps the only prerequisites." (Dawson 1972).

nselling can thus be seen to have been understood initially as targeting specific, tified, 'troublesome' students for intervention (1966), in addition to providing vocational ice for all students. The initial situation in 1966 was thus one where, internal to the one e of the school, some children were subject to a counsellor, and some were not, on s of personal guidance. The boundaries between these two groups appeared to be ructed along understandings of delinquency. However, according to Wadsworth it did

not take very long for things to alter to a view that counselling was needed in all New Zealand secondary schools, and for all students. This raises a few questions as to how the shift in thinking occurred. The policy change allowing for counsellors in all schools, and for all students, took effect in 1968 but Wadsworth argues that, at the school level, counsellors were still seen primarily as troubleshooters for delinquent students. As counselling expanded the language also changed - from one of 'correction' to one of 'assistance'.[23]

The logic of counselling practice internal to the school cannot be understood through generalised historical accounts of counselling. It can also be seen that while the practices and functions of Careers Adviser and Visiting Teacher positions might have been taken on board by some school counsellors as was envisaged, this does not give any indication of the broader context 'failure' of older existing services to solve the problems of secondary school youth.

4.8 THE DISRUPTION OF MAORI COMMUNITIES AND 'ADDITIONAL' PROBLEMS

The criteria governing the places where counsellors would best be used, that is, schools with large proportions of Maori students and large student populations, give some indication of the particular constitution of 'problems' which counsellors were meant to address. Ethnic diversity in classrooms, large classes and the disruption of communities were all implicated. Winterbourn and the AJHR all make extensive reference to fears concerning delinquency and moral laxity amongst New Zealand youth. As was cited by Shuker et al. earlier, during the 1950s a number of incidences of 'sexual license', violence and drunkenness amongst secondary school boys and girls were reported in the Hutt Valley (Wellington), and Auckland. The issues I will address here, however, are the 'problems' posed by Maori students.

The Hunn Report concerned itself specifically with Maori youth. Young Maori were of concern because of their increasing visibility as 'delinquent'. Throughout the 1950s and 1960s the Maori Affairs Department saw its principal function as assisting the urbanisation of Maori, in icular, young Maori. By the 1950s the rural areas of New Zealand in which most Maori ple resided became uneconomic and younger Maori adults left their rural papakainga and rae and moved into urban areas to seek work.[24] In 1960 the Maori Affairs Department couraged this demographic shift by implementing an urban relocation program. In the early

: Aorangi in the present there are different ways of being referred to counsellors. There are still the / students, but there are also intervening groups set up to support those who are not being unruly, against those who are. In the 1990s Aorangi counsellors have a brief occupying the whole ol, which was not the original intention. The logic of setting up counselling in a situation where would, and some would not, be referred meant that all came to be referred for different reasons use the counsellor ultimately came to work with a norm geared into self esteem, and all students a 'self esteem'.

See the special issue of Te Ao Hou (Department of Maori Affairs 1959) on 'Coming to Auckland'.

stages of migration the inner city was favoured because of the proximity to work on wharves and in factories, or the transport industry. As these areas became overcrowded, state housing estates were built in the 1960s in Otara, Mangere, and Te Atatu in Auckland; Porirua, the Hutt Valley and Wainuiomata in Wellington. City life was seen to pose many dangers for the young Maori person. The Hunn Report addressed, among other issues, this geographic shift.

Of particular interest among the recommendations of the Hunn report were those calling for:

more ***research*** on Maori educational 'problems';

more ***special training*** to equip teachers to cater for needs of Maori students;

extension of the ***visiting teacher system*** beyond the four main cities to schools where Maori students were present in large numbers;

more ***'educational guidance'***, as it was not always attainable from parents and would be an advantage to Maori students entering secondary school;

more ***vocational guidance*** as it was more necessary to Maori students at school leaving stage. (AJHR 1961: E-1)

The Hunn Report stated that the increase of Maori children in urban 'board' schools meant that teachers would have to be taught to cope with the special needs of their Maori pupils. Most often problems for Maori children were understood in terms of their (culturally deficient) home environment. It was also commented upon how, if one wanted to provide guidance to troublesome students, it was important to know their family backgrounds (AJHR 1959). Of concern to Mr Hunn was the 'statistical blackout' of Maori at higher levels of education where only 0.5 per cent of Maori pupils progressed to form seven, compared to 3.78 per cent of Pakeha students. Most Maori students never progressed past form four at high school and they then tended to enter unskilled work. Even in 1966, five years after the Hunn report, over 85 per cent of Maori students still left secondary school without any recognised qualifications (Walker 1990:208). The report blamed parental apathy for the situation, particularly among low income, large Maori families. One of the commonly cited problems was 'linguistic', that is, a lure to 'master' written and spoken English.[25] From the mid 1960s English began to be ught to Maori children as a foreign language. The situation that emerged often resulted in aori becoming being known as 'slow learners' or 'backward' with reading.

ı 1955 a report was published on the administration of Maori schools which recommended a

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The earliest schools for Maori in New Zealand were the church mission schools who taught only the ıdard subjects of the English school curriculum. Originally teaching was done in Maori but this ɔtice was discouraged by Governor George Grey in 1847 shortly after he took over the ninistration of the New Zealand colony. The mission schools failed to break the 'communism' and ticularities of the pa, and this was seen as a hindrance to Maori educational progress. Even though dents were not supposed to speak Maori, teachers quite often had some knowledge of the language l were able to use it to help students who had no, or limited, English (Walker 1990).

uniform system of control of primary schools. Consequently the transfer of Native schools to the control of district education boards became a long term policy of the Department of Education. Uniformity of schooling was seen to be a solution to the 'lack of educational achievement' amongst Maori students, and Native schools were gradually consolidated with nearby board schools. The Native Schools Act (1867) provided a means to regulate Maori students through the setting up of state schools. Maori children began attending board schools rather than Native schools, and in large numbers. Schools were seen as the main tool in assisting young people to adjust to the problems anticipated from 'unsophisticated country people moving to cities' (AJHR 1958, G-1). The arrival of Maori children 'introduced', as the wording goes in official commentaries, 'additional problems' to board schools. The increased visibility of young Maori had more than a little to do with the increased visibility of Maori children 'per se'. Urbanisation of Maori young people resulted in a situation where urban teachers had to cope with 'cultural difference' amongst their student populations.[26]

The Currie Report (1962) reiterated the theme that problems of Maori students were not due to individual incapacities but rather the deficiencies of Maori homes and communities.

> "The general intelligence of the Maori secondary school pupil is not in doubt, but because of lower attainment he frequently finds himself in the lower forms and in courses other than those that his potential ability warrants...For a pupil of even exceptional capacity to meet these demands (of secondary school) and realise his own potential is extremely difficult if he is not supported by parents, a home and community that prizes education in much the same way as does a normal European home." (Currie et al. 1962:428).

Walker, however, interpreted Maori problems in a different light. For example, he asserts that almost all schooling this century was designed for 'cultural surrender':

> "In 1900 over 90% of new entrants at primary school spoke Maori as their first language. By 1960 ...only 26% of young children spoke Maori. By 1979 ...it was thought it would die out unless something was done to save it." (Walker 1990: 147,148)

Accounts given by Maori parents in the present (Press 29/1/1992) concerning the experiences of themselves and their children testify to experiences of 'otherness' and discrimination, and thus endorse Walker's assertion.

lthough most of the work of assisting Maori youth fell on Maori voluntary organisations, Maori Velfare Officers (state employees) were seen as key persons in bringing schools and Maori

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[26] Schools have been written about as sensitive sites for the reproduction of cultures (Bourdieu & Passeron 1977). This thesis could also have been a case study of the school as a site for the remaking ' Maori culture. Schooling in New Zealand has entailed a quest for conformity and the elimination of ference. In sociological terms events such as the transfer of Native schools to Board schools might termed a 'totalising project' which created 'strangers within' (Simmel 1968). However, there were oblems incurred with this project and forms of resistance engaged by Maori students and teachers Valker 1969). According to Bauman (1991), such projects were part of a modernist project to purge nbivalence and difference. However ambivalence grows with modern forms of power which seeks to eate a transparent and certain order. The persons who once engaged in these forms of resistance ow head up contemporary 'education for difference' initiatives with sensitivity to Maori and Pacific lands students (Walker 1990). One can now expect new forms of resistance and problems.

people closer together - particularly where there were large Maori minorities. This liaison was seen as good for the vocational future of Maori children. Maori boys were encouraged, through a proliferation of scholarships and schemes, into 'trade training' in the cities. Hostels were also set up to provide accommodation for both sexes. Hostel accommodation drew young people away from extended families in rural areas but attempted to place Maori young persons alongside others in the city. Most often these hostels were run by church organisations. At Board schools, strategies for redrawing the school- Maori community relationship included electing Maori parents onto school committees and encouraging parent-teacher meetings.

Throughout this period the 'different needs' of Maori students was a recurrent theme in official discourse. However, this does not convey any sense of how, or if, this 'awareness' was actually translated into classroom practice. The 1964 Maori Affairs Report acknowledged this discrepancy, saying;

> "...some educationalists have accepted their Maori pupils as they accept their pakeha pupils and have been unaware of some of the separate problems involved." (AJHR 1964, G-9:7)

Walker cited examples of research which shows how;

> "...attempts by Maori leaders to have language and culture included in schools as a means of closing the education gap ...were in fact...subverted by Pakeha teachers. Simon provided empirical evidence demonstrating use of ideology of 'one people' to delay or block the introduction of Maori programs. When questioned why they were not implementing Maori programs in their schools, teachers resorted to claiming, 'We are all New Zealanders', 'We are all one people', 'I think of people as individuals', and that the inclusion of Maoritanga 'smacks of separatism'." (Walker 1990:241,242)

Vocational guidance was seen as the major solution to the 'problems' of Maori students, but the problems of Maori students were also seen as emanating from problems of poor housing and employment amongst Maori generally. Maori youth were, according to recorded opinion, in need of education, especially education that was geared towards trade training. The emphasis on trade training did not go undisputed however. For example, teachers at Te Aute, a private Anglican Maori boys school, argued for the need for the boys to be prepared ɔr University and implemented an academic curriculum. Te Aute teachers employed a iscourse of social capital to argue against protagonists of a less academic, more manual, urriculum (Barrington 1992). Of the ensuing dispute it has been argued that:

> "At one level the above debate can be viewed as being merely a localised dispute between the Department of Education as the central state educational authority on the one hand and the principal and trustees of a single private school on the other...There was, however, a much more serious dimension to this whole issue. The type of education policy advocated for Maori was particularly important because of the role education was increasingly playing in promoting or impeding social mobility in the kind of society emerging in New Zealand...The notion of 'cultural adaptation' with its roots in the work of Washington and in British colonial education policy in Africa became a strong influence on Maori education policy during the thirties. Adaptionist ideas emphasised adapting education to the environment or community in which people actually lived...No school certificate courses were included in the (Maori District High Schools)...Eventually it was Maori parents who demanded the inclusion of School Certificate courses in the Maori District High Schools and urbanisation increasingly bought more Maori into proximity with other secondary schools." (Barrington 1990:68-70)

The elaboration of vocational guidance in particular was thus linked explicitly to Pakeha discourses of 'being Maori' and the 'problems' that this identity invoked for those surveying the students.

4.9 WHAT TO DO WITH DELINQUENT YOUTH?

In 1957 the Education Department Report saw fit to sketch a composite pen picture of the 'typical delinquent':

> "He is a boy, aged 14 - 16 years, charged with theft. He comes from a large family where ill-health is likely to be present to a greater degree than normal, and where family relationships are unsatisfactory in some respects. His home is a town rather than in the country, and he is likely to be of low average intelligence, making rather slow progress at school, and to have attended school irregularly. It is not likely that the act of delinquency which brings him to Court has been the first sign that he has been unsettled. In other words, the danger might well have been recognised earlier than it was as he may well have been aggressive, destructive, very jealous, a bully, a truant, a bed- wetter, subject to sleep disorders, speech defects, anxieties or fears." (AJHR 1957, E-1:44) [27]

The same report also noted that weekends and public and school holidays were 'vulnerable' times. Shuker et al. noted that;

> "...theories concerning delinquency were often simply grafted on to what were essentially late nineteenth century theories of parental inadequacies, including working mothers, and also on to even earlier grassroots 'commonsense' notions concerning the disciplining of New Zealanders believed to be in the best tradition of the English public school." (Shuker et al. 1990:32)

The Currie Report, or Commission on Education in New Zealand, was cited as an official response to the 'delinquency' crisis, including in its nine terms of reference the question of child welfare and delinquency 'so far as they have a bearing on the education system'. The Commission took the view that the school was rarely, if ever, the prime cause of delinquency yet the school had to take some responsibility for prevention and eradication of delinquent behaviours. Schools thus had to be equipped to discover the signs of potential delinquency through the training of teachers and the extension of guidance staff. The Currie Report stressed psychologists as the most important of all the supporting guidance services. Psychologists were seen as the 'experts' essential to the early identification of those in need of help and as strategic in promoting 'preventive action'. Delinquency was cited as a socioeconomic' and urban problem, particularly in new housing estates, and therefore a

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[27] This brings to mind Finn's comment that, "Youth, as it has been socially constructed, can conjure up a set of menacing and largely masculine images which in various moral panics have defined young people as a threat ...on the other hand youth has itself been seen as threatened and 'at risk'. It is a fragile vulnerable stage of physical and personal development through which we must pass to independence and maturity. It's disruption could pose threats to an individual's subsequent social and economic development." (Finn 1987)
Delinquent youth might have a 'male face' but Winterbourn noted that the Principal of Avonside Girls High School complained of a mounting wave of disciplinary problems which were beyond the capacity of the staff to deal with. These complaints coincided with concerned debate over students being suspended and expelled in Christchurch (Winterbourn 1974:92). Avonside Girls received one of the first two pilot scheme counsellors. Although I did not pursue information from this particular school as to the context of this complaint, this could have been a very interesting research inquiry and the information would have allowed for, and opened up, interesting debates on gender and delinquency.

problem of the environment children came from, not the environment of the school.

In opposition to the stance taken by the Currie Commission, Wadsworth, a school guidance counsellor, argued that a proportion of the school guidance counsellors' 'clientele' present problems which are either initiated by the school system itself or to which the school could be expected to make a remedial contribution, yet failed to do so (Wadsworth 1970:15). Despite the Currie Commission's endorsement of counselling, Wadsworth states that the Commission viewed counsellors as therapeutic agents for specific schools only. The Commission did not recommend, as a general rule, the appointment of counsellors to all secondary schools:

> "Guidance counselling as first established was clearly not seen by the Commission as an educational specialism catering for the developmental needs of all pupils and integrated purposefully with the total school system. That it could not see this is clear from the following statement: 'For other types of school it prefers to recommend that the status, duties and special time allotment for the work (of guidance counselling) should be discovered by experiment and observation in extending as required the function of careers adviser.' In its assessment of the goals of guidance counselling, as well as of the preparation required for the task, the Commission cannot escape the charge of pragmatism which has so often been a feature of policies introducing new elements into the education system." (Ibid. 1970:13)

At the time of the Currie Commission New Zealand secondary schools had a reputation for strong corporal punishment. With regard to discipline in the classroom, the Commission suggested a move toward more therapeutic methods:

> "(We) would like to see the time arrive when a serious misdemeanour in a classroom would be regarded not as an occasion for summary punishment according to a more or less recognised and accepted code, but would be though of as an event serious to call into operation means of discipline, ultimately more powerful and immediately more discriminating - prompt intervention by senior staff skilled in guidance, prompt consultation with parents, and, in appropriate instances, even the practical cooperation of the responsible community of pupils." (Currie et al. 1962)

As an interim measure it was suggested that corporal punishment at upper and early levels of schooling be abolished, and a uniform code of corporal punishment be established. Despite these recommendations and the implementation of a guidance counsellor at Aorangi it was still documented in 1969 that:

> "The sound of boys being caned in (Aorangi) High School's first assistant's office is so embarrassingly audible in the nearby office of the Headmaster...that he has asked to have his study sound proofed." (Anti Corporal Punishment Coordinating Committee 1969)[28]

ı.W.K. Dawson was a secretary for this Committee which supported a system of school ıuidance counselling as part of a system of therapeutic alternatives to secondary school liscipline. Corporal punishment was made illegal in schools during 1990. This example llustrates the vast difference between the way discipline was conducted at Aorangi in 1969 as ɔpposed to 1993.

e Commission overwhelmingly recommended better training of teaching staff and the pansion and upgrading of guidance services provided by careers teachers or guidance

This quote is not referenced so as to maintain the school's anonymity.

counsellors as 'solutions' to problems of discipline, delinquency and ethnicity. One of the most significant things to emerge in this period was thus the acceptance of a need for specialised 'experts' to be a part of schools. Their report made many appeals to discourses of social capital, and equal opportunity. Many commentators have seen this document as a landmark report in a longstanding attempt to democratise and humanise the school. Guidance was promoted as the prerogative of every child, not just the backward, the delinquent, or Maori.

4.10 VISIONS OF EARLY COUNSELLING PRACTICE

In 1968 the Government provided policy guidelines for expanding the guidance counselling service. The officially stated functions of a guidance counsellor were:

1. to assist the principal and his staff to provide each pupil with a school program best suited to his needs and abilities;
2. to assist each pupil in choosing his career and planning his further education;
3. to help overcome the difficulties which may impede a pupil's educational progress and his personal and social development.

Nineteen sixty eight was the first year the service was officially extended to all pupils.[29] The Departmental statement itemised guidance counsellors' functions under three headings: educational guidance, vocational guidance and personal counselling. Educational guidance was envisaged as including the collection of information about prospective students, classification of and identification of any special difficulties among these pupils, assisting course and subject choices, helping to review students' progress, and some responsibility for the school's social education program. Wadsworth said:

> "There is an apparent assumption that the counsellor will be one of the few members of school staff capable of teaching about human relationships, and his peculiar position lends weight to the criticism of Garrett that counsellors and social educators exhibit teaching styles and philosophies different from, and antithetical, to the more authoritarian and impersonal approaches of most of their colleagues." (Ibid. 1970:17)

Vocational guidance duties of counsellors subsumed those of the careers adviser, who had previously collated information on employment opportunities and often placed students in employment positions. The personal counselling subheading was not given any details except to say that, under some circumstances, counselling would extend to parents also. It was also suggested that counsellors were not to act as truant officers but should accept a general disciplinary function, undertake supervision of grounds and attendance registers. Counsellors were also required to spend time in the classroom teaching.

/adsworth critiqued the Department of Education policy saying that:

> "As a contribution to the development of the profession, the most that this official statement

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9 Earlier in 1968 the PPTA had also adopted a policy on counselling and the first point made was that uidance counselling should cover all pupils, not just delinquents.

may be said to have done is to allocate to the counsellor some functions which other staff members in secondary schools have traditionally performed, to encourage his participation in the more liberal aspects of the curriculum, to protect the counsellor from the grosser abuses of his position, to allow for his involvement in crisis counselling, to grant him a mileage allowance for his car and an officially sanctioned relationship with the supporting services, and to provide minimal induction training. The statement does not address itself to any modification of the structure or function of secondary schools...or to the development of schools towards guidance-centred systems as suggested by Webster. It does indeed say that the counsellor is expected to assist principal and staff 'to provide each pupil with the education best suited to his needs and abilities' but how viable is this proposition when adequate professional preparation for the counsellor is all but ignored, he is denied the use of tests necessary for a thorough pupil assessment and is left to adjust his role and his usefulness to the rigid teacher and administrator relationships of a school system resistant to change? With a PR 'A' status, the most junior position of responsibility, the counsellor cannot be expected to make a major impact on the function or philosophy of the school." (Ibid. 1970:17)

4.11 THE SEARCH FOR A PROFESSIONAL IDENTITY

It is certainly not my intention to indicate that counselling emerged as a solution to certain problems experienced by teachers and students, and that was 'the end of the story'. School guidance counselling practice today is nothing like counselling at its inception. The discursive shift from 'guidance for some', to 'counselling for all', cannot be explained merely by the government passing legislation to allow for counsellors in all state secondary schools. In the discourse of 'youth at risk', all students are implicated as potential 'clients'. To know how this shift occurred, one needs to have access to detailed information concerning how counsellors perceived and conducted their work.

There have been a number of texts published on counselling in New Zealand since the 1970s, especially since the publication of the ***New Zealand Journal of Guidance and Counselling*** (1976). Building on Small's (1982) research, Manthei records fast developing areas of practice as;

"...consultation, social skills training and family counselling. All three continued to develop in the 1980s with numerous reports and in-house papers being published. Although there were only a few articles on consultation, it is today a normal part of most psychologists' and counsellors' repertoire of skills. Family counselling has developed rapidly. There is a growing literature in the area and it is now included in most training courses. A significant new area of practice that has emerged in the 1980s is counselling related to family violence, child abuse and sexual abuse. There is a corresponding new and growing body of literature on the prevention, assessment and treatment of violence and child abuse." (Manthei 1992)

More interesting perhaps is the research that describes the work and roles of counsellors. The research on counselling in New Zealand has largely been conducted by practitioners using a survey format. The survey method is geared towards making generalised claims about counselling practice rather than elucidating specifics of how counsellors do their work:

"One of the first (Strang 1974) was a nationwide survey that reported that most counsellors spent considerably more time on vocational guidance than either educational or personal guidance. However, two evaluations of the five pilot guidance schools set up in 1974 (Panckhurst 1975; Oliver 1976) reported the opposite...(Oliver) found that the guidance networks in the original schools had been developed and extended and that 50% of student contacts with guidance staff were for personal and social reasons and only 19% for vocational reasons...Small's (1982) synthesis of data from six other studies...concluded that counsellors spent about one-third of their time in counselling, one fifth in teaching and working with teachers, one fifth in administration and the rest of their time doing 'other' tasks." (Miller et al.

1992)

Research questions and format reflect the professionalisation and legitimation dilemmas faced by counsellors. 'Role ambiguity' is an ongoing point of tension of concern to counsellors. From the 1970s till the present, school guidance counsellors have formed their own professional organisation (1974), published a journal (from 1976), and have spent a lot of time defining their particular 'helping relationship' as distinct from others. Counsellors still face problems concerning identity and function. This is exemplified in a 1991 article, "Counselling: a practice in search of an explanation." where the author stated:

> "Counselling in New Zealand is coming of age. Counsellors are seeking to improve their skills and qualifications and becoming increasingly conscious of their accountability to clients, agencies and professional peers. But this movement towards increased professionalism is hindered by our inability to address a fundamental question: what is counselling? How does a counsellor's practice differ from other helping professions." (Anderson 1991:2)

Counselling, in the 1990s, is still facing the classic professionalisation dilemma, 'Who are we?' Since 1990 the NZCA has dropped the word 'guidance' from its title, adopted a Maori name and has taken steps to implement a set of accreditation procedures.

School guidance counsellors have a place; "counselling, it seems, has become a valued activity in schools" (Miller et al 1992), and yet their position is by no means completely secure or undisputed. The struggle to secure a distinct and acceptable position for counsellors within schools is signified in the debate over the naming of the position. Counsellors were recruited at a time when teachers were very scarce and there was opposition to the appointment of 'psychological appendages' from teachers. The recommendation that counsellors should be renamed as guidance ***teachers*** (Renwick et al 1971) was a potential 'solution' to the conflict. Dawson commented on this recommendation with a great deal acerbic wit:

> "He no longer has to seek to build a career service of his own for he can enter quite equally in the grading race with other teachers getting the same chances for promotion, with the same kinds of rewards and punishments, by the same inspectors for the same kind of job, teaching. As his main task is youth, he no longer has to enter into a mysterious verbal...non-threatening relationship known as counselling. He no longer has to struggle for time for the counselling task either. He can now instruct, exhort, cajole, intimidate, threaten, punish, shout, push, pull, strap, cane, in short, he can now teach." (Dawson 1972)

ıwick et al.'s recommendation met with a lot of opposition from counsellors, yet it was also eed that 'counselling', as one-to-one, individual consultation, was only one function ong many performed.[30] The recommendation that guidance counsellors should be ..d as one educator amongst others, did not meet with opposition. The historical ıtion of these negotiations was the concept of the guidance counsellor as a coordinator juidance network' for students.

ır a selection of responses to Renwick et al., see Meates, W.A., Print, J.M., Webster, A.C., Kelly, ınd Renwick, W.L. ***Education*** Vol 21, 1972.

To summarise, most historical accounts of guidance counselling are constructed around an evolutionary narrative. The sociological accounts which might be used to explain and address the emergence of guidance counsellors assume an increasing control over young lives. Neither are satisfactory because the level of generalisation obliterates important tensions surrounding the context of the emergence of counselling. Therefore what is required is a detailed description of counsellor practice in contemporary schools. The research reviewed above highlights that what constitutes 'guidance counselling' varies over time and between schools. It highlights that counsellor work is more than just counselling, yet still does not indicate what exactly constitutes counselling. Counselling practice also varies between counsellors at the same school, however, this variation in school guidance counselling practice has been a cause for concern in the counselling literature. The concern is somewhat ironic given that counsellors and other guidance staff appear to have always worked out their brief on a localised basis and therefore their work may be expected to vary, because schools are different and pose different dilemmas. The next chapter will illustrate that counsellors at Aorangi see their work as different from counsellors at other local high schools and provides details of how they construct their work.

CHAPTER 5:
COUNSELLOR WORK

"Every counsellor works in a unique setting." (Strang 1974)

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter the central question concerned, 'How did counselling emerge?' Contained within this was the related question, 'What is this thing called counselling?' The accounts given of 'school guidance counselling' in the preceding chapter were generalisations. My assertion is that recommendations coming from official, historical narratives of state policies with respect to the implementation of counselling, do not reveal what actually happens within schools. As was indicated in the previous chapter, counselling practice is variable, and subject to local conditions. What 'counselling' is, therefore, is created in context. There are differences between schools and there are differences between counsellors within schools. Foucault's arguments do not, and cannot, address what counsellor work 'is'. He indicates, through formal techniques such as confession and dividing practices, what staff might seek to do to enlist students, but cannot say what actually transpires. It was argued in chapter three that the only way one can know counsellor work is through the counsellors, and this requires an ethnographic approach. This chapter is therefore based on the specific, pragmatic, 'on site' accounts (or discourses) of the counsellors at Aorangi and how these are utilised to construct a potential field of action.[1]

5.2 THINKING ABOUT COUNSELLOR WORK

At Aorangi High School:

> "A counsellor is somebody who works with the whole school. So he has a brief, or she has a brief, to be a kid's advocate and parent's advocate, and also to look after the mental health of staff. But I think the primary object would be to make sure that every kid gets a chance to have their education, which they should be getting. A counsellor is answerable to the Board of Trustees in the first instance but has a lot of freedom in terms of how they spend their time. And I suppose that time is negotiated with the Principal of the school in the first instance. The counsellors at this school don't have a lot of administration. In other schools they would have quite a few administrative roles to play like putting kids into classes and things like that. We don't do too much of that because we believe that's not terribly counsellor useful. In actual fact we're doing hands on counselling with kids more than most counsellors which is really good. There are three full time counsellors and one half time counsellor. And in that there are...one of the full time person(s) is a female. But that's the staffing structure. Out sideways from that there is a female running an Opportunity Room and there is a full time transition person doing transition with ancillary help up there as well. ***The Transition that's...?*** Careers transition. ***School to work?*** Yeah. They run pre-employment classes and do a lot of the counselling of these sorts of kids who really don't want to be at school." (Senior Counsellor)

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[1] In the chapter speakers are identified by their position and sometimes by their female gender, as most speakers are male. The names used are fictitious. My own voice is identified in the interview quotes by bold, italic script.

According to the senior counsellor, counselling at Aorangi can be seen as ***'advocation'***, in order to ***'provide a chance'***. Speaking in terms of discourse, 'providing a chance' is set up within a discourse of equal opportunity which caters to 'disadvantaged students'. What is not said by John is exactly how one might advocate to give (disadvantaged or 'at risk') students a chance. The job is then described as ***'having a lot of freedom'*** which has to be ***'negotiated'***'. While the counsellor position is negotiated within a school context, the counselling of students is not defined solely in terms of the school. Although the job is defined by student cases, students become cases for persons other than school counsellors, and so alternative viewpoints can come from many other sites. Children are constituted in broader terms than just the school and this affects how children's schooling is conducted.

Counselling practices differ between schools because there are different interests to resolve. The differences in comparison with other schools are often marked by counsellors:

> "Some counsellors wouldn't use groups. ***Why not?*** Because they have a very sort of 'skilled counsellor' approach, one to one, and they would be saying that they would spend an hour with Jim and his family, and then they'd move on to an hour with so and so. You're seeing an Aorangi perspective on how a counselling team should work. OK? Or could work. I mean we do that one-on-one stuff but there is so much (work) here. I mean it's a bit 'bitsy'. You (have seen) the number of people that have flitted in and out of here." (Senior Counsellor)

Their perception is that other schools in the city do not have so much 'crisis counselling' but deal mainly in administrative tasks. The 'crisis counselling' mode is heavily weighted towards contact with the homes students come from and the 'family' orientation brings about a different form of school organisation. Crisis counselling, according to the counsellors, is often related to poverty and to parental 'non-responsibility':

> "More crisis counselling happens than maybe would happen at another school that's in a different socioeconomic area. That's because we have a large Polynesian and a large Maori population and there is a tendency towards white flight...We end up with a falling roll which ultimately doesn't help because you can't offer all the courses which you'd like to ...So we have to try and find funds for them to go off on their geography trips, and provide money for their uniforms, or whatever it is... So the role of a counsellor is a bit more broad. It is quite different." (Ibid.)

'wo of the counsellors interviewed at the school frequently described their work as 'bitsy' or messy'. Another counsellor described her work as 'a mass of interruptions'. All casework, it seems, is 'messy' and the problem, for the counsellor, is finding ways to handle the 'mess', making it more routine and less dominated by unforeseen 'crises', or 'emergencies' in the school. I would suggest that the main problem for counsellors can be viewed not so much as sing from counselling students with difficulties, so much as those which arise from the ficulties of constructing the boundaries of their job. One of the main problems for ›unsellors then is that the job has to have boundaries imposed on it.[2] The central concern

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It is interesting that many people who are recently trained in the helping professions such as social

of this chapter is a discussion of how counsellors construct and negotiate their work of 'advocation' and 'providing a chance' when they deal with such an open brief.

Exerting control over work and the importance of routine in doing so has always been a major theme in the sociology of work. More recently Bourdieu (1977) and Giddens (1984) have placed it at the centre of their own accounts of social practice. Two ideas emerging from the earlier work literature are, firstly, that routinisation is impeded by the variation in subject matter and, secondly, persons categorise the objects of their work in an attempt to control it. For example, Gaye Tuchman takes up these ideas in an article on the way in which 'newsmen' make their news (Tuchman 1974). The two questions she asks are:
1) How can an organisation routinely process unexpected events?
2) How do newsmen decrease the variability of events that form the raw material of news?
She identifies the fact that classifications, or definitional categories, are hard to use in practice because distinctions that hold in one situation may not hold in another. The categories overlap, a situation which is also a problem for counsellors. In the process of 'making news', the way things happen are just as important as the subject matter in constituting what is 'news'. She argues that 'typifications' rather than classifications are the technique used to routinise the world in which we live. Typifications are classifications whose meanings are constituted in the situations of their use. In other words, they are constructed 'on site' and are related to the practical organisational tasks and contingencies confronting journalists.

Tuchman's analysis is a useful starting point for thinking about counsellor work as there are many similarities between the problems faced by both journalists and counsellors in creating the boundaries of their work. Counsellors, like journalists, face the possibility of unexpected events and 'emergencies' on a daily basis. Everett Hughes, an influential second generation member of the Chicago school, suggested that the professional's struggle;

> "...to maintain control over (his or her) decisions of what work to do and over the disposition of (his or her) time and (his or her) routine of life", (may be particularly acute for), "...workers who deal routinely with what are emergencies to the people who receive their services." (Hughes 1958)

› questions emerging from my reading of the sociology of work literature thus becomes, ›w do counsellors create routines in their work? Do these attempts work, or does the 'crisis' de constantly escape routinisation?" Tuchman's analysis highlights, but also ›blematises, the importance of 'rules of thumb', or what in any case are the definitional ›ories which counsellors use. In my interviews I tried to get counsellors to talk about

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and counselling receive instruction on the need to create boundaries in their practice. The daries discussed in training are those between the 'personal' and the 'professional'. Social ,ers are encouraged to address this tension by adopting a 'model'. Because of the crisis nature of work in the school, Aorangi counsellors appear to be eclectic in approach. Models such as a an relationships model', mentioned by one counsellor, break down in their ideal form.

definitional categories such as the 'sorts' of children they see and the 'sorts' of problems children have. Two frequently occurring examples were single parenthood and 'socioeconomic disadvantage':

> "Over fifty per cent of our kids are solo parent kids which is probably bigger than the average amount. And if you talk to them about jobs and things there's a lot of unemployed." (Dean)

> "So coming back to the needs of Aorangi. Well, I think the reality is that we live in pretty awful times, economically, for people in Aorangi." (Senior Counsellor)

> "***What types of kids get into trouble?*** I wouldn't like to generalise because I think there are kids across the board who get into trouble. My impression would be that kids who don't have adequate support outside school are more 'at risk' and that adequate support could be family, housing, economic backing, cultural loss. There could be a whole sort of set of factors in that so I'd say that those are the factors more than identifying one particular group. Well I suppose that is identifying a particular group really. I guess it can come from any socioeconomic group but just says there are a whole lot of those factors and it is particularly stressful on people with lower incomes at the moment.
> ***So what sorts of kids do you get coming through your office? What kinds of problems do they face?*** A whole range of problems, from kids in their first year of high school feeling isolated and not able to make new friends and start out in a bigger situation, to young women who have been sexually abused, kids who are getting beaten up at home. That's the range really. So I get kids and I also follow up kids if they've been away, absenteeism with the tutors and Deans, who are sort of the disciplining side. They might have been referred to check out if there are any other issues. Peer relationships, abuse issues - physical, sexual - and family stuff. So often I'll get kids who are having hassles relating to one or other parents, lots of arguing or whatever. We try and work with the family. Does that give you a picture?" (Female Counsellor)

When the counsellors give accounts of their work it can be seen that they talk about how difficult it is, and also about the way they must actively construct things like a 'caring climate' or 'support networks' for students and staff. These issues will be engaged through reference to Foucault's concept of pastoral power in the next chapter, but it is important to note here that, in order to make these strategies work, counsellors seek to 'empower' students. In a Foucauldian literature, there is no negotiation involved; the job is given, and power is constructed 'from above' via notions of bio-power and the state.[3] It is not 'the state' that makes pastoral power work however, it is the counsellors.

The accounts counsellors (and the Dean) gave to me about their work are not 'purely descriptive'. By this I do not mean that counsellors deliberately mislead me or left things out. I mean that what was told to me within the frame of an 'interview' would have differed if I was a member of the counselling fraternity, a parent, or an inspector from the Educational Review

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[3] Rose draws on Foucault's ideas to write about the emergence of new 'engineers of the human soul', among whom are school guidance counsellors. "He describes the formation of a range of technologies of subjectivity in which political power has come to depend upon expert techniques for shaping and enhancing the psychological capacities of citizens. Government in democratic societies depends upon these ways of acting upon the feelings, ambitions, and desires of individuals. Rose argues that the recent rise of a psycho-therapeutics promising each of us freedom, autonomy and fulfullment is intimately linked to the emergence of a new form of political rationality grounded in the entrepreneurial self. Social and political power has infiltrated our interior lives." (Rose, 1990: flyleaf) As such, he implies an evolution of control.
Rose does address the fact that some innovations in modern institutions have occurred in an 'ad hoc' manner but he sees these as 'small histories', combining in a larger shape "...in whose web we all men and women have become entangled." (Ibid. 1990:9)

Office. What I 'heard' and what I 'did' with these accounts has everything to do with my own position and identities as, by way of example, 'a young, white, female University student with training in sociological knowledges'. I have constructed, framed, or 'storied' these accounts very differently than would a psychologist.

The remainder of this chapter does not give an exhaustive coverage of the work of counsellors, neither is it an expose of the 'true' conditions of their work. Counsellors do, however, have a lot to say about the particular context in which they work, and the particular 'types' of persons they deal with. The primary agenda for this chapter is to convey a description of some of the means by which counsellors try to order and routinise their work. The text is my storying of their stories. In the next chapter, parts of these descriptions are re-told and re-examined through some explicit theories which frame counsellor work as 'techniques of the self' and techniques of 'doing' work. The first is a Foucauldian frame of reference and the second reflects the concerns of interactional and ethnomethodological sociology, where speech encounters are not 'transparent' exchanges of information but constitutive of meanings and subject positions.

For the remainder of this chapter I will identify a number of ways which the counsellors construct their job. One way is through particular kinds of speech encounters, including ***meetings*** (especially those which take place every Tuesday and Friday), and telephone conversations. A second technique is the ***Opportunity Room***. Another is a ***referral mode*** which involves the ***liaising with parents and 'community agencies'***.[4] This will be taken up in chapter six where issues of the boundaries of New Zealand schooling in the 1990s are addressed. In addition to referral there is ***direct intervention*** in students' lives, which is accomplished most often through the ***convening of groups***. All dealings with students and families are informed by discourses of ethnicity, especially with regard to Maori and Samoan students, and also, by gender, though this did not attract as much comment from counsellors. This impacts on the ways that counsellors can address certain students. It is also ᵗʰe case that while counsellors have a lot of power to organise students within the school, ey are marginal in the sense of being part of a market-orientated school. Counsellor claims advocate for youth do not necessarily secure their position in the school. Throughout this ıapter I will reference the ambivalence of the counsellor position and discuss some of the ıany tensions they experience in constructing their job.

5.3 ROUTINISING TALK AND NETWORKING CHILDREN

"And where do you fit in? Out to the side, counselling. Normally I would hope that the

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ommunity agencies include local branches of the Social Welfare Department and the Justice ›artment as well as residential homes and learning centres such as Preston House and ȷhtsbridge.

> tutors would involve a counsellor whenever they thought appropriate but we would ask that we be involved in just about every case. ***Why should you be involved?*** It's just so that the guidance provision is carried through. We're seen as non-disciplinarian and able to be kids' advocates. (We) make sure the tutors are doing the right things. I mean we're sort of legal aid type people too. ***Do you believe that this could lead you into conflict?*** With teachers? ***Yes.*** Yes, but we're advocates for kids. We're also advocates for teachers. We should be looking at it from an impartial point of view of the education consumer with the Principal. I mean that's what's happening with the crying teacher that is sitting in the office down there. She is working on her own behalf against the Principal, in terms of what happened with the Principal. So yeah, it is a counselling service. I think we're lucky here in that we don't get into the role of being in...I mean, I am never on duty. We try not to be disciplinarians against the kids. Our attitude is, 'You're making choices not to come to school. Why are you making that choice? These are the sorts of effects it is going to have on you.' We don't get into the clobbering thing. ***And the tutors get into the clobbering thing?*** Yeah." (Counsellor)

In the physical layout of the school the counselling wing is separate from the offices of tutors and Deans. This is where the three full time counsellors 'live'. The Opportunities counsellor had no 'office' as such but her room was near to the counselling wing. Counsellors have distanced themselves symbolically, and to a certain extent in practice, from the disciplinarian image and functions that accompany these other positions. While other persons are also engaged in guidance and counselling of students, the counsellors are viewed as the therapeutic arm of the school. A private office and a telephone have become essential tools in their work. Timetabling of appointments is crucial but are used only as a guide, due to the unexpected events that interrupt every school day. Counselling is 'time consuming', rather than bounded by timetables.

Counsellors' work is structured by meetings with people, both organised and informal. In constructing their job they must make links with people. The work of creating links is messy because of the different agencies students get locked into and sometimes because of the non-cooperation of students. Aorangi counsellors base the vast majority of their liaisons and counselling on face-to-face forms of communication, for example the 'team briefing' which takes place on a Tuesday morning. The word 'team' is utilised a lot by John. It fosters notions of participation and involvement in decision making. The Friday meeting is referred to on occasion as a 'team briefing' and focuses on local news. This team briefing principle is used ›t only to relay information at meetings but to develop particular attitudes and identities ¬nongst the 'team' addressed. It is important to cultivate a sense of 'us', a sense of shared ıterests, when one works in a school which attempts to cater to differences and onsequently has different staff members representing different, and sometimes ›onfrontational or conflicting, interests.

› linchpin of information networking between the school and community or agency ›resentatives is a Friday morning liaison meeting which is attended by all 'interested' parties ·luding non staff members. At this meeting each person is given a list with the names and m of the students each counsellor and Dean has seen that week. The meeting is

coordinated by a counsellor and involves going through the list of students. This joint 'problem solving' session is a common enough strategy in New Zealand schools, and enables the development of a detailed overview of students who are being seen.[5] The end result is a network of knowledge about children and their families in the area. This knowledge is indispensable to doing the job. The concept of a guidance team is related to the construction of a 'guidance network'. The network within the school consists of school guidance counsellors working together with form teachers, tutors, Deans and more senior staff. Brammer (1985) noted that the concept of a guidance network, or team, is a particularly New Zealand development seldom seen in the rest of the world:

> "If you wanted to you could come to a meeting which we have every Friday where we exchange lists of kids, or we give a list of kids that we're dealing with. It's got a multi-purpose to it but at that meeting we concentrate on third and fourth forms - although we do have lists for the whole school there. Each counsellor has a list of kids they've seen for the week. They don't have to put kids' names there because that generates interest as to why they're seeing those kids. Normally ninety per cent of the kids you're seeing will be on that list. At that meeting there is a representative of third form, a representative of fourth form, all the counsellors, Tracey who's...the Opportunity Room we call it...The counsellors are there, the third and fourth form reps are there. Social Welfare are normally there. Youth Aid are there. The two visiting teachers are there. There's usually someone from City Girls or Boys Club which is Inner City Ministries. They run a series of clubs here. There's usually someone from Barnados. Simon, the Samoan ESL teacher is there. The Health Nurse is there. It's a meeting place where we go through and pick their brains but it's also a time when they talk about families that are mutually worrying us." (Senior Counsellor)[6]

Another way of 'doing meetings', indispensable to the counsellor work, are telephone conversations.

Counsellor work involves creating 'talking points' which are directed at a potential field of action (mainly students), and consequently involve particular kinds of speech encounters. These informal encounters are in addition to the more formal bureaucratic mode of the school. In the past New Zealand students were given detentions, corporal punishment, lines, or extra homework as a form of discipline. There was very little talking involved. This observation was made in an interview with the form four Dean:

> ***"How was discipline done when you were at school then?*** There was no counsellors, no Deans, no tutors. Discipline wasn't really enforced by the (tutors). The school I went to had a prefect system and they gave out detentions. It was a single sex boys school so you can imagine. They were the first line. If they gave you a detention you did it - you didn't muck around. If you caused any problems in the class then you got caned - that was it. There was no backup. ***And no liaising with the community, or family, or anything***

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[5] Naenae College in Wellington provides another example where the intermediate school and college principals (Langridge and Murray) meet with the School Guidance Counsellor, the assistant principals, Health Nurse (Wallis) and the Police Youth Aid officer (Moore) on Wednesday afternoons. "Together, they all have a detailed overview of the children they're discussing. Not surprisingly, most children in this area move from Langridge's school to Murray's. They are well known by the time they arrive at college. The public health nurse may well have visited their families. She knows many kids still because she was formerly attached fulltime to the college. Through his contact with other police, Moore knows about behaviour the school is ignorant of, and both he and Wallis have a network of knowledge of the area: which families feud, which streets have the most domestic incidents, which children have been molested or beaten. As children causing trouble are discussed, it is soon apparent that most are habitual misbehavers and many have parents who themselves create serious social problems." (McLeod 1988: 37)

[6] ESL is an acronym for English as a Second Language.

> ***like that?*** Very little. If they did, they'd just ring up and say, 'Your kid's being expelled.' That was about the end of it...The other question you've got here ' 'What's the comparison in the way schooling differs over time?' It's much freer now. ***In what sense?*** Kids can ask questions. They'll come and seek advice and not feel threatened. They'll come into your office and sit down and have a yarn about something. There's a girl at the moment, her mother's really ill and she's just found out. She'll come into my office, she'll just come in, sit down and start talking. Now when I went to school you wouldn't have dreamed about doing a thing like that. There wasn't anyone to go to on the staff." (Dean)

In the present everything has to be talked through in this school. Counsellors have carved out a position as those to whom one goes to in order to talk, or who convene and network talk among groups of staff and students within this school. More than any other task counselling involves talking - getting persons to talk about their 'selves', their hopes, their worries, and their families - or getting them to talk to others who share the same experiences, or who can offer expert advice. Of course this is not just any kind of talk - this talk is 'therapeutic'. In medical discourse the term 'therapy' signifies treating, or healing, a disorder. The 'disorders' or 'problems' within this school are treated largely via a confessional mode. In Foucauldian terms, 'infringements' have to be put into discourse in order to establish causal processes, and in the school this is largely achieved via a confessional technique.

According to Foucault the reason that there is so much of this sort of talking in the school is that, at this point in our history, 'telling the truth about ourselves' is seen to be the means to healing ourselves. As was said in chapter two, the confessional mode is one in which the speaker is also the subject of the talk. The speaker 'speaks' in the presence of another person, usually a counsellor, who has the expertise to interpret, guide, record and offer advice on what is said. The therapeutic talk that counsellors convene in the school would thus appear to lend itself to analysis using Foucault's notion of pastoral power.

At this school everyone, all staff and students, have the potential to become 'clients' of the counselling service, but the everyday reality for counsellors is that they tend to see students and even then there is not enough time to see every student:

> "There are about three or four kids floating around out there now. Whether you actually get to neet all the kids who want to see you in a day, or all the parents who want to get through to /ou...it is often a squeaky wheel that gets this service. My worry is that we are dealing with :risis cases so much we are not available to 'Joe Bloggs' as much as we should be. You know, the quiet kid who would really love to have someone facilitate some remedial work or (talk about) Mum and Dad who might be having fights at home and I am going to cope with that. And I don't come to the teacher's attention. So I struggle on. And that is a fear I have - that we're working on that crisis level most of the time." (Senior Counsellor)

practical realities of counselling highlight the fact that pastoral power still has to be ...ed and a 'pastoral mode' is not straightforward in practice.

is another more specific reason why there is so much talking in the school; the ethnic ty of the student population at Aorangi has entailed adopting a pluralist model in its ach to education. Where differences are acknowledged, they must be talked through.

There are different types of learning available to different groups within the school. Students can opt into a bilingual form of education called the Whanau Unit and receive instruction in both Maori and English from third form through to fifth form.[7] Students could also attend a Work Experience Unit, which is an alternative to 'academic' subject learning, or a Special Needs Unit, for remedial learners. Likewise, ethnic differences are recognised when counselling students, especially in terms of Maori (and Pacific Island) ethnicity. Gender, and 'special needs' are also recognised in some counsellor accounts of practice.

> ***"I was very interested to see whether you deal with guys and girls differently, and also whether you deal with Maori or Pacific Island kids differently than Pakeha kids, or Indian kids, or whatever?***
> I am very aware of it actually. I deal with Maori kids differently because I think their needs are different. I can think of spiritual needs, whanau needs, emotional needs, and physical needs - those would be the things I would look at. So when I am dealing with kids I'll often, well I haven't recently, but I will try and have food in my office, for any kid. I think in terms of manaakitanga and hospitality. That can have quite a connection with Maori kids as an ease getting thing, you know, creating an easy environment. If you can share lunch it breaks down the barriers. I think it is a very powerful situation for kids to come in and feel like they own some of the space in an office. It takes a while to break that (unease) down. So that's a physical thing. You can't counsel them if they're really hungry. I would look at issues of identity and if that child feels good about being Maori, or being an ethnic minority, and whether it is a part of their presenting problem. ***Is it a lot?*** Often it is a really big part of their self esteem and how they are treated by the school perhaps. If they are understood, or awhi'd, or if teachers take time to relate to them personally. I guess that's the biggest thing for me (with) a Maori kid. They need to establish a personal relationship with the helper that is not just professional, that's actually personal. You need to be seen supporting the hangi, you need to be seen down at the Whanau (unit). There needs to be a connection outside the room which I think is different for Pakeha kids. ***So you are not just seen as a professional outside of school?*** Yeah. It is part of their whanau needs. It is like you have to be part of the whanau to be able to relate to what their hassles might be. That is how I see it and those are some of the awarenesses I would bring when I am dealing with Maori kids.
> Another difference is that issues of confidentiality are different for Maori kids. It is not to mean that I take it lightly but I am probably freer with information with whanau staff than I would be with other staff. I see counselling a Maori child as a lateral thing and not just one person. It is the shared task of the whanau and so that means I would be trying to work as a team with other staff in the Whanau with a child. Now I am still careful because I have got to retain that child's confidence in me. So I don't just go and mouth off all the stuff they have told me but I probably keep more in touch with where a child is at with those staff (more) than with anyone else in the school." [8] (Female Counsellor)

Attempts to construct the school as a therapeutic community lead to an emphasis by the 'guidance team' on a 'caring climate'. A caring climate is apparently one where everyone can find a place and a voice. A caring climate also appears to be about having 'links in' and upport' within the school. However this form of pastoral power still has to be constructed, nd it appears to be a contentious, difficult task:

> ***"So how has your job changed? You've been here how many years now?***
> About seven. I'm not sure it's changed. It has changed with staff being more on board with what we're on about. Although there's a bit of a swing at the moment - because everybody's hurting a lot there's a bit of a backlash saying a bit more like what Lockwood Smith is saying: 'We can do without all these counsellors. I mean we're having enough problems in our classes

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/hanau is Maori for family. Used in this context it refers to a relational mode of learning imbued with ɔri values.

'he briefest possible translation of manaakitanga is the Maori ethic of 'hospitality'. When one eats ı another it makes things noa, that is 'normal' or 'everyday', 'not sacred'. That is why it is an ease-ting thing. Awhi is Maori for affirming touch. The counsellor is demonstrating her familiarity and npetence with Maori language and culture and assuming, or possibly 'checking out', my knowledge hese also.

with discipline. What we need is disciplinarians to take the problem away from us.' And counsellors don't do that. Counsellors actually ask nasty questions like, 'What are you actually doing in your classroom?' - and stuff like that. So they're not rescuers but generally this staff are very much on board with counselling. Except for the five or so. So that would be a change...I felt that when I first came here it was quite a stressful place. We've built up staff support systems. We're just starting a staff stress course. We build support systems within the staff. I see changing the climate of the school as one of the big roles of a counsellor.

But how have you done it? Well you beaver away at all different levels. You try and get the confidence of the administration team and say things like, 'Hey you guys need support, you need supervision'. They have done some exciting things. They've got supervision people in. You are supporting tutors and giving them strategies which are non-clobbering. You're trying to get a feeling of caring for the kids because we do believe our school is a caring place. But you are really an advocate for the people in the school whether that be the typist...I mean you're sort of there. In a way old Lockwood Smith should be very pleased with us because we're actually there to make sure kids, everybody, gets a good deal, and the climate is such that learning can take place and people's needs are met.

So how do you see the next ten years? Well I hope we're still around. I think we're going to have to argue for our continuance. We've got ERO, the inspector's people coming in the next two weeks which will be an interesting exercise because it's quite hard to measure your effectiveness. Just as it is easy to measure learning, but you can't, yeah, I'm not sure you can measure school climate.[9] ***The ERO is the Educational ...?*** Review Office, which is 'Lockwood's arm' if you like." (Senior Counsellor)

According to the counsellors, the counselling function isn't just for those who transgress. At this school the clientele are not limited to students. Constituencies also include administrative staff, families of students and staff, and teachers. A managerial discourse employed in the wake of 'Tomorrows Schools' administrative reform (Picot 1988) has required all staff to recast students as 'clients'. At this school all these constituencies are cast as clients. The reasons for the elaboration of the counsellor's client base were discussed in the previous chapter in the historical shift from 'guidance for some' to 'counselling for all'. While counsellors have a reason to emphasise 'at riskness' in the school, the elaboration of problems in schools has a lot to do with issues discussed in chapter three and the 'complicating' of classrooms.

The counsellors set up advocacy within the discourse of equal opportunity and 'a fair deal' for all parties. The tensions which occur when acting as an 'advocate' for a teacher upset at a Principal, or for a student facing the wrath of a teacher, make the counsellor's job difficult :

"We're advocates for kids, we're also advocates for teachers. We should be sort of impartial, looking at it from the point of view of the 'education consumer', or the 'teaching consumer', with the Principal. And so we've got to argue that, that in actual fact we're actually helping kids to learn. So if they've got an incest problem, or an abuse thing at home, or they've got problems with their boyfriends or whatever, that somehow their contact with us is making them more able to absorb the learning, you know, that's expected that they will when they're here. So that's what we've got to argue to Lockwood Smith - we're actually helping kids to learn." (Senior Counsellor)

...e idea that counsellors advocate for students and staff within the school, illustrated by their ...ol and networking of 'personal' information, is linked to the notion of themselves as 'loyal ...sition', or 'school conscience' (which is the welfare tradition). In practical terms it means

...ink the counsellor meant to say 'hard' instead of 'easy'.

that they have an inspection function over staff as well as students. To this notion has been recently added a discourse of professionalism in the sense of specialist knowledge and expertise gained through University training. The counsellors argue that because of the networks students live in (particularly those constituted via dysfunctional families), poor communities, ethnicity and gender, students require advocates.[10]

5.4 THE REFERRAL MODE 'PLUS'

In the creation of talking points, counsellors use a referral mode. By this I mean that students are referred to counsellors by teachers, tutors and Deans, or persons outside the school, or students refer themselves. This is where their casework arises from. The following comment illustrates how a student might be referred from the tutors and Deans to the counsellors. It also establishes the counsellors as the persons with the expertise to deal with sexual abuse:

> ***"So how do you deal with problems?*** "Well, you get the families involved if possible but sometimes you can't because they'd get thrashed. So you have got to steer that line of telling the parents what they have a right to know, or do you protect the child? But the counsellors are pretty good. They seem to do well at that. They do all the abuse stuff. We stay clear of that. ***So do you inform the counsellors?*** Oh yeah - see we have a weekly meeting of any names you're dealing with people. But also - say if today a kid came in and you suspected, 'Hey this kid's getting abused somewhere along the line', you'd just let the counsellors know. You wouldn't necessarily say, 'I am going to refer you to a counsellor.' You may say, 'Would you like to talk to someone else?', or, 'Look, I'm not really very good at this but I know someone who is better.' ***And then would you go and tell Susan or John, or somebody?'*** We just pass on to them, 'Hey, you might want to pick up on this kid. I suspect this is going on.' ***And they would contact the kid?*** Often they'll go and get the kid or the kid might go to them. Sometimes the kids say, 'Nah I don't want to see them' but most kids do. Most kids will accept it here. They're pretty cool because there is quite a lot of that sort of stuff around." (Dean)

Counsellors also refer students to other kinds of experts outside the school. They try to be 'creative' in their networking because of the diversity and number of problems that students face. It can also be seen in this quote that certain groups have laid claims to speak about certain kinds of problems, such as sexual abuse, which are constituted differently according to ethnicity:

> ***"Do you ever refer (students) to situations outside the school like Psychological Services?*** Yeah, lots. The Psychologist comes in you know at least once a week at least to meet with us or pick up on kids. The reality is they are not as available as they might be. We certainly try and use them well when we use them. We don't just bring them in for anything. They are one agency we use. Knightsbridge, we use that as an assessment area. Child and Family Guidance, we use for families. Detached Youth Workers, you know, Barnados, the Police - you heard me, the Police Youth Aid officer's bringing this mother in. So we try and be creative about our use. Te Puna Oranga, you know the, the Maori Welfare. They were in today dealing with a sexual abuse kid who is Maori. We will really use anybody and try and make them feel welcome. The Health Department come in and run clinics as well as our health Nurse." (Counsellor)

'~ addition to referral, counsellors participate in tradeoffs and negotiations with other schools ıd agencies, including the Police Youth Aid and Social Welfare. They also negotiate with

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' The counsellors appear to be saying that the school is required to compensate for communities and milies. There is quite a debate on this idea in the American education literature (Coleman & Hoffer)87). This literature was another possibility for a chapter emerging from interview material but was one hich I did not follow through.

students and parents. Here, John's 'work' appears to be about the resolution of interests. The following quote indicates the way in which this is achieved. In the first instance the counsellor (John) has had to enter into a bargaining procedure with students over an incidence of violence. He proposed chocolate fish in exchange for tolerance, made an agreement with staff of the Special Needs Unit, and made a contract with the boy himself:

> "Period two. I made a commitment to the (Special Needs) Unit over a boy who is a new entrant from Mana College who is sexually deviant - he is retarded - who is touching kids inappropriately and then on Thursday he bit a kid because they didn't like the touching on Wednesday. He came back on the Thursday and they started to tease him so he bit him on the cheek. In order to keep that kid at school I have had to do a deal with the Unit and have offered a chocolate fish to the kids in the Unit if that boy is still there in two weeks. So that's forty chocolate fish I might have to pay out. But also (I have) to arrange some counselling for that kid and make a commitment to the Unit that if the boy does it again , he's immediately up here. So we have practised him finding his way from the Unit to here to take the steam out of that situation. ***Is that a special Unit or a class?*** It's just for the retarded kids. There's forty kids that are here who are under about eighty five IQ. You know, they're special in that sense."

The next two events in this (chronological) sequence also concerned instances of violence. The first involved two boys who had apparently referred themselves to the counsellor. These were not the boys who had been bullying students, and would therefore be likely to face disciplinary action from the Dean, but the two boys who had been bullied. The event following involved a girl who had been sent to the counsellor due to a skirmish outside class. After talking with her, and perhaps on the basis of knowledge already passed on about the child, the counsellor accounted for this event in terms of her 'difficult' family background. He made an agreement with the girl that she would not be disciplined by the tutors if she altered her violent behaviour:

> "So that was that kid. There were two kids here waiting for an appointment because they had been teased by other kids - not from the Unit, from mainstream. The (other kids) have actually been using standover tactics - making them go to the canteen on their behalf. So this group of four boys (are) picking on this group of two and sending them to the...***Like bullying?*** Yeah bullying. In that case I wanted to monitor what happens from here on in and want them to come back and talk to me. We made a time.
>
> Oh goodness, I'll have to look in my diary. One child got kicked by another at the start of a period as she was waiting for a class. So she's in sickbay. I went over to see what happened there and got two boys out of class that had done the kicking. They were all a bit high. Wet day. The girl pushed this other boy, the boy came back and kicked her. But she's got a difficult home situation with grandad. She's a solo mum situation. I think Mum is lesbian and has a partner in the house as well. The child is coping really well. Grandad is dying of cancer and he's the male around and quite an important male (living) the next block down. But she needs to have links in so part of this thing is a...(lost dialogue). She shouldn't have pushed that boy, the boys have had to apologise to her. I've agreed to keep it all out of the tutor's regime for violence if nothing happens any further. So hopefully it won't happen but maybe it will. I don't know."

In the next sequence of events of the same day the counsellor, through the Dean, arranged a ɘeting with a parent and her daughter, who was a student at the school:

> "Right, what else? Somebody's ringing from Riverside. A girl has been expelled from Riverside and wants to come here. So we're deciding whether that kid comes here. ***(Phone rings: John answers it)***
>
> Sorry about that. That's the Dean. This kid has run away from home. She is under sixteen so she has got to listen to what Mum says. She's living with the boyfriend. A lot of our work is a

bit like that, mediating between parents who aren't really functioning very well anyway and they're tending to run to the Police. She knows where the kid is. My reaction is that you or I as a parent would be around to Rodney Knight's Mum saying that Kylie has to come home. But instead we all become involved in this game. ***Of using outside people?*** Yeah. Well it's a wee bit easier to do all that isn't it? It becomes our problem and our responsibility to somehow patch it all up."

The final event related in this conversation concerned a negotiation with another local high school who wanted Aorangi to take a student whom they had just expelled:

"I was going through my diary, wasn't I? Well what were some of the other things? Like this girl that wants to come in because she has been expelled from Riverside. In the old days the (Education) Department would become their advocate and say to Aorangi, 'You have got to take this kid', or, 'please take this kid'. And there would sometimes be a few payoffs for us. In this case the kid has no advocate. Sometimes there's a swapping deal, 'we'll do it for you because we know you (the Principal) and I know the counsellor, and yes we'll help out'. This girl might be told she's not in our zone, or we might argue that our classes are full, or something like that." (Counsellor)

As these explanations of counsellor work indicate, the referral mode is not the only mode counsellors use; they also directly intervene in children's lives, they mediate and they make informal and formal contracts with other parties, including parents:

"So one of your big strategies in dealing with problems that might come up is to draw in families and get them to take responsibility for their children, or to lay down the law occasionally. Yeah. To recognise it's a problem and usually if they do then together we can work out what the next stage is in terms of counselling. ***Do you recommend for some parents to have ongoing help - like you mentioned parenting seminars?*** Well to some of them we might say the only way I am going to accept him back into the school right now is if Darren goes on this course with you. ***So you negotiate it with the family?*** Yeah right." (Counsellor)

Referral is complicated by acknowledgment of ethnic and gender 'differences' amongst the students:

"Do you immediately refer students who are Maori or Pacific Islander to Maori or Pacific Island agencies? No. I wouldn't normally refer. I mean I would not immediately although my strategy would be to bring support in. Depends what stage you're talking about. If the kid is presenting at the door saying, 'I want lots of help', then I would go with the kid's choice. If I felt halfway through the interview that they were a bit uncomfortable with my 'Pakehaness', I might say, 'Hey, look, there are other people who could be really helpful to you in this school, or in the community. We could arrange that. Is that something you want to do?' Then they can make a choice about that.

So you leave it up to the kid to make the choice, you don't make it for them? No. I would hope that I was actually feeding back the information, which I do each week, of who I'm seeing to the Whanau form teachers. They can challenge me on that. ***This is the Maori teachers?*** Yeah. And it's the same with the Samoan worker, Simon. He comes in each week for four hours and he goes through the list of all the kids I'm seeing and all the other lists of all the other kids that are being seen by counsellors. He invariably says, 'Why is Rita Fiso seeing you? Is it appropriate for a home visit from me because I know that family?' And I say, 'No, Rita's seeing me about careers, no problem.' Or I would say, 'Maybe it is appropriate to have a home visit but hold off for a week because she doesn't want her family to know about this at the moment.' " (Counsellor)

5.5 CONVENING GROUPS

ɔunselling, referral, and negotiations concerning individual students are not the only rategies used by counsellors to construct their work. They also convene groups:

"Most of our time would be spent either in group work, running groups - I think I described them

to you. Sexual abuse groups, self esteem groups, assertiveness course, or anger management. That's one of the options a counsellor could have. Or running family planning right through third form, or through fourth form. Or doing stress management courses for seventh formers...***Or teachers?*** Teachers, yeah. We do run courses for teachers. We try once a term to run courses. We run communication, anger management, conflict management, coping with change, stress management. All those sorts of courses. Today we had a course. A person came in and talked about active learning methods, about how kids can't process the reading unless they actually use the material. So counsellors can help set those sorts of things up.

It's a privileged position but it's also quite a stressful one because then, you've got to make choices about where your priorities are and argue for those with staff. I mean, they're expecting that I am going to magically change some of those kids and that is not what happens. ***You don't wave your wand and have a group therapy session and everything is hunky dory?*** No! I have just had a conversation with a parent who is pulling out of a parenting course we are running tomorrow night with about ten families coming to it. He is pulling out because my contact with the kid hasn't really changed the kid in the last three weeks.

So what's your case load like this week? Well, I suppose in any one day you might have contact with about twenty five kids. We had a staff meeting first off this morning." (Senior Counsellor)

What tends to happen in this school is that counsellors, and to an extent tutors and Deans, attempt to break up groups and identities that might form along conflict and violence lines, and reconstitute students through different and specific sorts of groups, whether this be a new class, a sexual abuse survivors group, or an anger management group. As part of the 'guidance network' teachers watch for students who are 'not fitting' and the counsellors will often directly intervene in an attempt to place them physically and emotionally in a 'new place'. According to Foucault these are attempts to reinscribe the school at its smallest detail - through the introduction of new groups and procedures in order to address what kids do. This is what Foucault referred to as dividing practices. For example:

"This third former. She was sort of identified by teachers as a victim, you know and getting picked on and left out, a bit of a loner. So we started a third form support group. We got the staff to identify other kids in a similar sort of situation and they worked on self esteem and how to make friendships. ***Were they all girls?*** Yeah, they were girls. Most often the people who come to me are girls. ***Why is that do you think?*** I think coz they feel more comfortable with a woman. And I tend to get more Maori and Pacific Island students and again I think that's coz I'm an ethnic minority myself." (Female Counsellor)

It is interesting that counsellors have often set up intervening groups to support those who are not being unruly against those who are - whether the unruly persons are other students, bullies maybe, or possibly family members or persons in the wider community. 'Loners' were identified as an 'at risk' group in the school - they needed to be grafted into relationships with other students and staff. In this school the bullies might be counselled for problems with anger management but the 'wimps' are counselled to provide them with techniques to handle the bullies; the girls are equipped with techniques to handle their relationships with themselves and other people. All students come to be implicated in a discourse of 'at risk':

"That group is heading off to Knightsbridge. I actually got that group together to go off to do Anger Management for three days. ***Are they mainly fourth or fifth form?*** Fifth and Sixth. ***Boys?*** Boys. All boys because boys have anger management problems which are different from girls. They're going to go caving and they did abseiling yesterday and stuff like that. But then I've got two more groups today. A group of Samoan boys, one of whom has

been suspended, are coming next period. And then there's a group of victims, little wimpy boys who we've decided need to be built up to cope with these big, angry guys. Aorangi's a frightening place for some kids. ***I can imagine. How do you do that?*** Outdoor stuff. We've got a confidence course out here. Today we might go out depending on the condition of the ground. They haven't done it before. Have a go on their own, nobody else out there and just build up their confidence so they feel...we do trust stuff, adventure-based counselling stuff out there in the rec area, or we sit in here and talk about our strengths and build up to doing something outdoors together." (Senior Counsellor)

"I used to work with a sexual abuse group of girls helping them band together so they'd have some sort of support, and to help things in the school. I'd get information to the Principal about how these girls would like to be treated at school because they had problems where they'd get very angry in class and have this sudden urge to leave class. There's certain behaviours they all displayed that were very much in common. Or they might come to school and be very tired and couldn't concentrate. He was very understanding and said they could go to sick bay and have a sleep." (Opportunities Counsellor)

Because students are viewed through a therapeutic model, they are often attached to specific groups and those groups can provide identities and references, not in a formal sense, but in an informal sense to advocate for them. One can then say that 'this group of girls is having problems with sexual abuse', or, 'this group is working through issues of their identity' as Samoan boys, therefore they 'need this program', or 'these interventions'. Groups also enable counsellors to deal with the large numbers of students they have contact with. Not all counsellors at the school used groups as extensively as the senior counsellor, but all use them.

According to Foucault, dividing practices are exclusionary. Groups are separated from the mass and given an identity. In a carceral regime they are taken out of society, or in this case, the school. What is interesting at Aorangi in the present is that while students might be identified as a certain type and referred to a course or program, they are also kept within the school. Counsellors and other staff will work very hard to make sure that a student is not taken out of the school except as a large resort. Dividing practices are also seen as individualising, allowing for individual knowledge of students but, for example, Maori and Samoan students are seen as part of a wider community and are understood in terms of family and tribal links.

It can be seen that Aorangi has a tradeoff between therapy and discipline that is very striking and has become a central feature of the school. What has been created is a specialised division of labour with some positions that do not serve a strict teaching function, although it is still considered that teachers should serve a guidance function. This is important for the running of the school but it is also a financial cost on the school in terms of the administrative procedures involved in counselling students. Dealing with students individually and separately instead of in the group context of a class might enable one to cater to individual differences in the student body, but it also requires employing specialist persons because of time and ability constraints on teachers. Counsellors therefore have legitimacy and power to organise within the school, but not much power in the sense of position in a market-oriented school. Under current funding policies, school boards have to make the decisions about

how, and where, to spend their allocated budget. The ensuing budget tensions render counsellors' jobs marginal and open to question. Counsellors therefore have a strong reason to emphasise 'at riskness' because that concept legitimates their presence in the school. The position of counsellor is political and will be fought over. The inference and the key question is thus, 'Are counsellors functionally necessary in order to school (govern) children?' This was exemplified in this comment addressed to the utility of my thesis:

> "Well maybe we should have a copy if it's positive to Lockwood Smith because his big thrust to the Principals conference last week was that we really need people in front of classes - and counsellors and Deans and tutors, Health Nurses and people like that aren't in front of classes and we've got to save money. We really want to get rid of them." (Senior Counsellor)

Under the current regime the counsellors are trying to recast themselves as necessary to the smooth delivery of the curriculum which is known as 'learning' to the 'education consumer'. The 'problems' kids experience, however, are seen to be related to the 'environment' they come from by virtue of homes and communities. Things are 'not easy' for many students, and counsellor explanations for problems draw on accounts of poverty, economic hardship, broken or dysfunctional families, and cultural deprivation. Counsellors need, however, to demonstrate outcomes and the difference that their work makes. The Educational Review Office is calling for more 'evidence' supplied via increased documentation. Calls for 'measurement' are attempts by administrators to place boundaries on work which has no ready boundaries. These issues will be taken up further in the next chapter.

The counsellors are not the only ones to call on the rhetoric of therapeutic talk, 'at risk' and guidance. One of the problems for those occupying specialised counselling positions is that school guidance, like personnel management in the workplace, is an element of any teacher's job. It is certainly an element of the Dean's job. Because of this counsellors have not been successful in achieving exclusivity in their position. They remain marginal. Their therapeutic function is recognised however. The following comment shows that the Dean, while ready to counsel students, recognised the limits of his therapeutic expertise and the need to maintain a disciplinarian image:

> "There has to be a gap (between teachers and students) I think. There has to be otherwise it is very hard for kids to know when to shut off. ***Do students come to you in your capacity as a teacher who has a good relationship with them or do they come to you in your capacity as a Dean?*** Hard to find out that one. I see a lot of kids I don't teach because they know that's what you are but the tutors would see more of that than I would because I am that one up the ladder. People say, 'You will go to the Dean', as a form of discipline, and that sets you up, whether you want to be set up or not. You've got to be friendly to kids and pleasant to them but also keep them in line. Like kids on daily reports...you can be quite chatty with them but also say, 'Hey, that's not good enough', and keep that balance." (Dean)

5.6 THERAPEUTIC TALK: HOW MIGHT ONE DO IT?

›rangi, school counsellors make work out of handling other people's feelings and ional display, particularly it seems with regard to anger, grief, and desire. Teaching

'proper' ways to think, feel, and look has always been a part of schooling, but what is of interest are the techniques used to address and elicit 'appropriate' (the word 'correct' is never used) emotions within a set of power relations. Counsellors are in the school to secure the commitment of individual students to the school through their counselling, mediation and appraisal skills, in addition to the student training, development, appraisal and counselling functions of teachers. Part of 'commitment' now entails that students feel good about themselves. An ethic of personal growth, or what Rose (1990) terms 'the entrepreneurial self', is part of the delivery of guidance and is reflected in the way counselling is conducted. Counsellors could be seen, in this context, as the school's equivalent of a Personnel, or Human Resources Department, and they use many of the same sorts of techniques (Hall & Hall 1988; Sisson 1989). Counsellors, on the basis of their grounding in educational psychology, assume that habits or issues not conducive to learning can be changed and reinterpreted. The counsellors have created ways and means of structuring conversation which allow a 're-storying' of experience.

Counsellors actually teach emotional management within the school through the techniques of self regulation used to 'counsel' student clients. The focus in my example is not on emotional labour conducted on the part of a counsellor, but on the techniques in emotional management taught to students. The following question and response illustrate the teaching of emotional management. The example given is a possible strategy for managing grief:

> ***"You talk about working with these girls, What sort of techniques do you use to set them straight? How do you actually deal with those problems?*** I don't, I'm sort of having a bit of a reaction to, 'setting them straight', because I don't have a preconceived idea of a right path really...***It's just my wording.*** I guess I see my role as trying to provide enough support for them to address whatever issues are bugging them, so they're not blocked from learning. I feel there are emotional issues surfacing for kids that are blocking them from really participating in a learning process. So that would be what I would do. It would be accessing resources. If they're getting beaten up then it would be making sure they get a safe place to be and seeing that's followed through. How to deal with something and giving education about how to deal with the process of grief, or some strategies for dealing with certain situations and feelings.
>
> ***Can I ask how you 'access resources'?*** It depends on the stage. In the beginning I would be concentrating more on establishing rapport, trying to create an environment that was safe for them to disclose, talk about whatever it is that's bugging them. That might just mean chatting about themselves and their family and I might ask if there's any hassles at home or at school, why they've come, what they want from the session." (Counsellor)

en requested the counsellor to counsel me as she might a student, when I had 'just lost my ther'. It was first emphasised to me that this 'session' would not be the first and the ınsellor would have spent some time 'just getting to know me' prior to this encounter. We also have entered into some kind of agreement, or contract, concerning what we each d from the sessions. The contract might be recorded for us both or it might not.

> might get them to list a whole lot of different kinds of losses that someone might have. We uld talk about when you move from one town to another there's a loss of friendship. There's oss from separation, from death. There's a loss if you lose your purse or something. And

sort of look at all those sorts of things and so that there's a process. You sort of go through a lot of different feelings and it's not that you necessarily go one, two, three, four, like this, but these are just, you know, labelling them.
(Counsellor draws a model of 'Grief' on a piece of paper as she moves to sit beside me. It has eight boxes with a particular emotion written inside each. They have an order going from 'Shock' to, 'Denial', 'Emotional Release', 'Anger', 'Guilt', 'Idealisation', 'Realisation', and finally, 'New patterns'.)

So I talk about Shock. And often that's the first sort of feeling and then I might sort of try and connect some actual feelings with it. ***(Writes 'numb', 'lifeless', 'not connected' under the 'Shock' box)*** Sometimes you feel numb, lifeless, and not really connected. I might sort of look at, talk about 'Denial', how that can be burying something in a way. Pretending ***(writes 'burying away' and 'disbelief' under 'Denial' box)*** it didn't happen. I usually try and look at the positives and negatives of each of those stages. So I might say, "When you go through shock your body' needs time to process something traumatic. When you're numb it cuts your feeling off for a while until you've got that time to take it in. If you're cut off forever that would really be negative. And the same with Denial. Sometimes people need to bury something away for a time just to cope and get on with living but the negative side is that if people always bury it away and pretend they don't believe something, or take no notice of it...So I try and get them to talk, to value it as well as seeing the possible negative side of it.

'Emotional Release'. I might talk about crying and look at the positive being releasing that feeling and the negative is if you're weeping all the time and you haven't got any energy. I go through each of these. Like 'Anger'. It can be motivating but it can be destructive if it goes into violent acts. 'Guilt'. Guilt can be paralysing if you take responsibility for every loss in the world but it can be helpful if you're just trying to sort it out...And I talk about 'Idealisation'. They often don't know what that word means so I talk about the word as saying, 'like putting a memory on a pedestal', and I often use a personal experience of my own there and say that when my grandmother died, I idealised her and forgot all the grumpy times. I talk about the positive being, well it's nice to remember the good times and the negative being that I may not remember her in perspective - using language which is suitable for them. 'Realisation' - coming to terms and getting things in perspective and then finding new ways of coping. Then I'd get them to choose to look back six months or back to when the incident happened and identify which ones they remember about themselves. Then get them to look forward at where they are now and project where they want to be. They get a bit of an idea that it is a process that they work through, that they're not going to be stuck here forever. I try to explain that you can spiral around." (Female Counsellor)

Counselling in this instance then, involves 'accessing student's resources' and giving students education in emotional strategies that enable them to work on their emotions and reinterpret emotional display. What this kind of encounter can do is give the student an alternative narrative by which to interpret their person.[11]

While grief was a frequently mentioned emotion in the accounts given of counselling work, ger was also often mentioned. Anger Management was a course students were often uired to do through group or individual sessions with the counsellors, or they attended a urse outside the school. Anger Management is 'different' for boys and girls however:

"So you took anger management for girls. What's the difference between the guys and the girls? Why don't you mix them? Because I believe it's really important for girls to be safe, to feel safe. And if there's issues of abuse that come out of the reasons why they're angry then they need to have a safe place to disclose that. And some irls don't feel safe when they're in a mixed group. I think gender issues are often gender elated too and I think it's important they be addressed. And even the expression of anger can e different for boys and girls." (Female Counsellor)

Foucauldian teminology this is not merely subjugating and it is not merely liberating. It is both, yet use I have not spoken to students themselves, the ways this technique may be taken up and vely used by students or staff is not contained in my interview material.

5.7 THE OPPORTUNITY ROOM

To an outsider like myself, the Opportunity Room was a fascinating and chaotic space. It consisted of two very small rooms, one of which acted as a 'kitchen' in that it had a bench with a sink, tea and coffee making facilities, a computer, a couch (which doubled on occasion as a bed), and four or five desks around the walls. There were cushions scattered around the floor and posters on the walls. This was where the Opportunities Counsellor was based. Her job was custom-made over a period of time at the school. Whereas the other counsellors had distanced themselves from a teaching function, the Opportunities Counsellor had both teaching and counselling roles. In other words, her position as a counsellor literally 'shifted' from setting to setting:

> "My job is to work with students in the school that are having problems coping in the school. I've got a list here: 'If your school refuses (student entry), chronic truants, disturbed or; displaying disruptive behaviour as a result of dysfunctional families or; traumatic family situations involved with death, separation, abuse and illness.' At the beginning of the year I had this girl; her mother died. She was killed in a car accident over a year ago, and (she) started coming to see me at the end of last year when I was a relieving counsellor here. She was having all sorts of problems with coping and getting back into class and even coming to school. All sorts of trials are going on all the time for kids which means they can't actually function properly in class. Or if they've got social and emotional problems and need nurturing...And also helping kids that are waiting for referral to outside agencies or treatment programs. So I am in that room every day, all day, apart from my free periods and three periods a week when I'm out teaching Maths to a low stream fourth form.
>
> ***So you're full time?*** Full time. About April last year, as well as working at Knightsbridge my twelve hours, I started working here one and a half days a week, with sixth formers that weren't coping in their subjects. They'd come to me if perhaps they weren't doing science any more and I used to run a Lifeskills program for them. It started off that children were to come to me for a fortnight and I'd assess them academically and look at their social and emotional behaviour to see where we could help out and then get them back into classes. That would take quite a bit of follow up. Like I used to run around and check through windows of the rooms to make sure they were in their classes, or ring up their parents and stuff like that. But I don't seem to have as much of that to do now and it all just depends on who I've got in my room. It's all quite complicated and messy really.
>
> I took some for their driver's license. I went through Transition work, Health. (It was) very much 'needs based'. Then the last term of last year I relieved as a counsellor here for John in the mornings and cut down to four hours at Knightsbridge so I just worked there for two afternoons a week. And then they created this job where I was able to come and work here full time and it's very much along the same lines as those sixth formers I was working with."

The form six class to which Tracey referred was one where students had individualised learning programs. In this next passage the counsellor details the 'ad hoc' process of placing boundaries on her job:

> "In this school with the socioeconomic area...it's just amazing the problems the children encounter. I'm sure the problems like sexual abuse are widespread but combined with the socioeconomic problems, it's quite a difficult area to work with. The Opportunity Room basically got set up to help these kids in the school that weren't coping. Because it's new this year it probably is quite different compared to what it was at the beginning of this year. At the beginning of the year I tried to do little groups as well - like have an Anger Management group come in and do some communication and behaviour stuff but it didn't work with them coming in at the same time as when I had children in my room. It was very hard getting continuity and introducing new group members all the time so I don't really do much of that any more."

The next way the counsellor explained her work was to provide illustrative cases. The

narrative of 'Dusty' shows the extent of local, personalised knowledge built up in his 'case'. Tracey's specific tasks are set up in this passage as motivation and 'bridging programs'. It also seems that 'Dusty' gained pleasure from his identity as part of this class:

> "Dusty came to me - I had his sister originally. They had the first six weeks of school off. They're a very transient family. The parents broke up and he lives in Bayswater but he lives with the father and they shift around. I had the sister coz she wanted to leave school. That's quite often when I come into contact with kids, when they're wanting to leave school and they're not hanging in with it. I sometimes, somehow, give them a boost to carry on a bit more. Dusty was in my Maths class and so I was able to observe his behaviour and gradually - he was always a problem last year. He's not a naughty kid, he just takes lots of risks, is easily distracted and lacks motivation with schoolwork. I think he has a lot of emotional problems for a fifteen year old. So anyhow he came to me for a fortnight to try and settle him down and get him into some good work routines. Which he did, he worked really well coz of the small numbers. He says he can't function in a normal size classroom. If you ask most of these kids in my room, they'll all say the same thing, that the class sizes are too big and they can't cope. It's so easy to coast probably in a normal classroom. They won't ask questions. Even in my room now, Dusty will be doing his work and I'll look up and he's not actually doing his work. He'll say to me, 'I haven't got a pen.' I presume a lot of that was going on. So anyhow he was quite heartbroken that he had to go out of my room and back to normal classes. I was able to keep track of him in Maths but I knew he was bunking other classes. It came to a head one day when I was up in K-block showing a video and I could look out over the recreation area. He was out there, bunking, doing pushups on the picnic table. I figured that he was missing so much of class that he might as well be back in the room with me so I bought him back and would be waiting for him to go to Preston House but he didn't want to go to. He's not rough -I think he'd feel out of his depth there but my room's not really a long term option. He's been with me a couple of months and today he started talking that we might even get him back into the mainstream and he'd just come to me for Maths. I have had a few like that, that come to me for a while, as a bridging program to go somewhere else, but then they end up going back into the mainstream. Just with support from me.
>
> Different ones (who) aren't coping in Maths, will come to me for remedial maths. Or (if they) haven't got their subjects. The seventh former that wasn't here when you came, he might turn up a bit later, he dropped one of his subjects quite early on so he comes to me - he goes to Kathy for remedial reading but I do a lot of remedial English with him and Transition stuff. We've been working out a CV and he's doing that on the computer and (learning to write) letters. His letter writing skills aren't up to scratch."

It is apparent, from the examples of work that follow, that it takes a lot of skilled performance to juggle students' individual learning programs, and that this work is very time consuming:

> A lot of their programs...they all need space. They're all individually worked out. If you look in my workbook, that's this week. I'm preparing five periods a day, plus individual lessons amongst it all. So, like Astrid's dropped a subject, Science in fifth form, so she came to me this morning. She did a road code and started writing a CV. They're all keen on getting their licenses at the moment. Then we did a bit of Science at the end of the lesson. Sharon did a CV while Larry was at Metalwork. David was late so I gave him something else to do because I'd put Sharon on the computer by then. The hardest thing I find when I'm swapping over to other teachers, is to let - I prepare the work for when other teachers come in - is just to get them going on other things.
>
> ***Coz it's bitsy?*** Yeah. It does feel quite messy sometimes. By the end of yesterday I felt quite dissatisfied because these are actually my free periods. I've been taking sex education in the fourth form in that time anyhow but they actually feel quite disoriented when I'm not in the room. Thursday, I'm there first period. Then second period they have somebody else while I go and teach Maths. I've got them third period and form period. Then I'm out in the afternoon. I still sort of flit in and out to make sure they're doing their things.

ıe counsellor has to negotiate with her students. While Tracey says the students are 'aiting for direction', they still place demands on the learning situation:

> "It does come down to a lot of organisation. Sometimes I just run out of steam. Yesterday afternoon I just felt I'd had enough. There were about seven in here at one stage yesterday. That's quite a large number for the type of kids they are, and it is the most I've had. But you

see I'm getting more coming in at the moment. One of the ones I'm getting in this afternoon, Alex, he's one that I had for a couple of months and he was supposed to go to Preston House but once again he decided he didn't want to go there and went back into mainstream. But he swore and got quite abusive to his teacher the other day so he's coming to me during that subject for now till we can get it sorted out with one of the counsellors.

Then David, the older one sitting in my room, his twin brother was with me for quite a while. Barnados and his mother could see the difference that it had made in him, in getting him back into mainstream, that they felt that David should have that opportunity as well. So they need a bit, not 'bullying', but they lack a lot of motivation and initiative for their age and are quite immature. You've got to get on at them about making their own decisions and getting on with things themselves. They're waiting for direction. ***And you say you've got to make some of these decisions yourself?*** Yes. A lot of the stuff I do with them is treating them as individuals and trying to feel special. It's Sharon's birthday today so I bought chocolate biscuits and we had morning tea and made her a card on the computer. Just little things that which they wouldn't get in a normal classroom."

While there is a process by which students 'arrive' at the Opportunity Room, for the most part this is based on verbal communications rather than a bureaucratic mode. The paperwork, and meeting with the Principal discussing attendance at the Room are, for the most part, 'rubber stamping procedures':

"How do students get here?" I should really give you a copy of a booklet that gets filled out before they come to my room, or I sometimes fill it out with them. They come to me via the tutors and Deans, or a counsellor, and then every Tuesday morning I have a meeting with the Principal and other counsellors. I run it by the Principal and he decides whether they can come in. A lot of the time that's just 'rubber stamping'. But you've got to have some sort of process of how they come to my room. When they come into my room I have to put a note around all the teachers and ask them for work if they want them to carry on with some of their work in (this) class. I find it easier to devise my own programs and to teach them what I've got. Then teachers can feed back to me. Like pulling David, the twin, out (of class), a couple of his teachers felt he had a chance at School Cert Art and School Cert Maths, so they didn't want him pulled out. He leaves me during those times and goes back to those classes whereas his English teacher and Science teachers say it's a waste of time him going to their classes so he comes to me for some things.

I test reading and spelling. There's a wee boy in there at the moment, Rongo, he's at Music. He's in the Whanau and is a third former but I've just shown an example of his work to a third form Dean this morning. He's got the spelling age of about a seven and a half year old and the work he produces is almost incomprehensible. So you can see that a lot of his behaviour and the way he's not coping in class are purely because of his remedial difficulties.

I've just had one girl with me for a month. Her teacher in the third form had complained and felt that she wasn't coping and sent her to me. The Psychologist came in and tested her, and I tested her as well, and she's got right through to now and she's quite retarded really. She's been put in the (Work) Experience Unit. You'd teach her how to add one day and she'd forget. She couldn't write the alphabet. A lot of the work I did was getting her to put capital letters and fullstops properly. It was just incredible that she's got this far. The Psychologist couldn't believe it and the teacher was so grateful to know that his suspicions were confirmed, that she really wasn't coping in class.

I mean I can say what I like to the kids in the end. If they've got problems, different people will say to me, 'Hey, that kid smells.' Because of my work at Knightsbridge I'm able to be quite up front with them. Like Dusty's always had this problem with smelly feet so the first week he was in there we tried different pairs of shoes and we looked between his toes to see if he had athletes foot and every day he'd come in and we'd see if he was smelling. Or if he came in and he had smelly feet I'd say, 'Look, have you washed your socks?', or, 'You shouldn't wear those shoes.' I've found nits a fair few times in the class. I'm able to pick up on that and I'm sure there must be heaps out there in the mainstream that people just don't know about.[12]

How did I get onto that? ***It was, "How do they get here?'*** Mostly they're only supposed to stay a fortnight unless they've dropped a subject and they come out to see me then they keep on going till say the end of term, and then it gets reviewed. For some of them it's

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Head lice.

individually based. Like Sharon desperately wants to leave school. She's fifteen today but she wants to be a hairdresser. She just seems always to be hitting her head against a brick wall. I rung up about an Access course for her but they said, 'No, she has to have two full years of secondary education.' I've spoken to the Boss about it and he's said that she can stay in my room until the end of the year if she wants to. I'll work out Work Experience for her so she's not in school every day and she can complete two years of secondary education. She thinks she's hitting her head against a brick wall and she says, 'Oh, I wont be a hairdresser then.' Coz that's what she wants to do.

It's really hard on them with the socioeconomic area they come from because they've been - they're really quite enthusiastic about getting their Driver's License so we've been going through all these tests. You've no idea how many roadcode tests Dusty's done and he pins all the ones together (where) he got twenty five out of twenty five. That all changes after the first of November. They get new sheets apparently and it's $33 each and they have to book a week in advance. If they fail they have to pay another $15 to resit and then people wonder why there's heaps of kids out there that drive without Drivers Licenses. Already Sharon's said, 'Oh, I won't bother.' And Dusty's busy trying to get the money together somehow but that means he probably won't be able to go on Junior Recreation Week Activity because he can't have money for both. To him getting the license is more important."

The measure of Opportunity Room success is whether the counsellor can get the students back into mainstream classes. However, this is not a 'cut and dried' process. In fact the students can manipulate these processes, by 'trying to make things look sweet for the Police', or bargaining with parents. The counsellor cannot make students stay at school. There has to be some form of collaboration and negotiation, which problematises totalising ideas of control over students:

"So, 'How does it work for them?' I don't know. I can't really put into words how it works for them but I know it has worked and I think I have got a pretty good success rate with the kids here. ***How do you measure your success rate?*** Well I've learnt all along, like even at Knightsbridge, you don't measure them in great quantities. If I get them back into classes and keeping on with it, I can measure it that way. It's very hard to measure. Some kids you know from the start that you can't do a lot for them.

I started off the year with a couple of kids that were my pupils at Knightsbridge. One had been to Knightsbridge for assessment at the end of the year and she had a really long history of truancy. She came to me and I got her back into classes but last term she didn't attend school at all. The only time I got out to visit her was to see about maybe going to Preston House. Beginning of this term she contacted me and wanted to come back to school. She only came back for a couple of weeks coz she's in trouble with the Police and I think it was trying to make things look sweet for the Police.

And then another one, the only reason why she was at school was because she was in Social Welfare care and her mother kept on holding out the carrot saying, 'You can come home to me as long as you stay in school.' In the end, by the time we sorted things out with Social Welfare, and the mother, she realised that mother's idea was totally unrealistic and probably wouldn't have her back at home anyway. So she left school.

There was one girl that transferred from Riverside and after her first day here she was going to leave school, not have anything to do with it. She came to me for three weeks and I eventually got her back into mainstream. Then she was absent for a bit. I got her back for a while, then she had a good run of being in class. All of a sudden one day she came to school. She'd met a friend in town and got out of it on glue. She'd never sniffed glue before and the Police found her unconscious in a gutter. They bought her back to school and I had a meeting with her. We called her mother in and the father was there as well. She was on a real downer on all that and I had her back in my room for one day and she's been fine ever since. So it's hard to say exactly what it is."

ıe forms of measurement (weekly objectives) and case notes kept by the Tracey on ıdents in her charge are not only for the students. They are kept as a form of 'accountability' d protection for Tracey also. It appears that Tracey referred to these notes when teaching

students and so students knew about, and collaborated on, their weekly objectives:

> ***"I knew you would probably have difficulty because you can't measure, there's so many variables. But it is just that usually, and increasingly with the changes in education, you're required to somehow be accountable for your time and say, "Well I am doing X, Y and Z."***
>
> We had ERO in at the end of last term, James Colson was very supportive of my room. ***Is he one of the bigwigs in ERO?*** Yeah. He's had a lot to do with the counselling field. He could see why ***it was necessary?*** Yeah. So what I've done since seeing him is have weekly objectives for them. So I've formulated a form where I have their names and their objectives and I evaluate it at the end of the week. ***And that's for their benefit?*** Well it's actually for the records but it's helpful for me as well and for the children to know. Because sometimes ...like this fifth form girl I've got has been coming to me for Maths all year for the General Maths Certificate. By the end of the year she's supposed to have completed ten of them. We're just about to sit the test for the third one and I know she won't get through it because she's not always at school. It helps me cover myself because I can put 'We'll do it this week' but 'She was absent most of the week'. Or with the likes of Adam - he was at a Links course this week so that accounts for the week. That's my accountability but it really is difficult to write. I could write masses and masses. I've got a folder that thick with all the data on the kids and I write on their booklets but whether anybody ever looks at it, I don't know. ***You could end up just pushing paper all the time, couldn't you ?!*** Yeah, that's right.
>
> 'How does it fit in with the rest ..?', oh that's going back, '....with the rest of the school and other services?' ***You've kind of been talking about that.*** You know, like if somebody's having trouble in class, they can have that time out in my room. Sometimes they're having trouble figuring out their courses so they'll come to me. Or new kids to the school come - at the beginning of the year I did a lot of that with new kids, showing them around the school using maps and introducing them to teachers. Its sort of a more personal approach.
>
> ***You have an integrating function, don't you? Take the 'misfits', for whatever reason and get them 'fitting' again.*** Well try to get them fitting! I like having the room I've got there. It's quite nice, it's near the office. It's near the tutors and Deans because I am having to pop in and out, make phone calls and ***Liaise?*** A lot of liaison. Its got the kitchen there and the kids like that sort of homely atmosphere. Dusty would really love to sleep the night there. The couch underneath the window actually goes down into a bed. I took them on the Bridle Path last Friday morning while the seniors were on study leave, the young guys and I went up there as part of Social Studies. Sharon wasn't feeling well and we had real trouble getting her up the hill so I said, 'When we get back you can have a rest in the afternoon.' We got pillows from the sickbay and she slept. Well Dusty just thinks that's - he wants to sleep there the night. It gives it sort of a homely atmosphere. I think the kids do like the way the room is but from my point of view as a teacher, stepping over things all the time, I would really like to have it a wee bit bigger. I don't know whether I'd like an ordinary sized classroom but I'd like it to have different areas. If I have someone on Social Studies, I could have a Social Studies area. I could have a Maths area so there's more room to move. Or if I wanted to have some Science experiments going they could go to work at different times. Then again I like that locality and they like making cups of tea and coffee. That's my only carrot to hold out so it would be a shame if it didn't continue."

key problem for this counsellor was that her teaching time also become counselling time. ecause she had a commitment to certain students encountered in her counselling position, he faced the tension of attempting counselling while also occupying a teaching position. ertain students felt a sense of allegiance and ownership towards her as both counsellor and acher:

> ***"How do you manage the teaching versus the Opportunity Room 'Manager'?*** There's another dimension that comes into it as well. Because I'm part of the counselling team I have kids that come to me for problems and I try to put them on the slate of the other counsellors but they might be ones that I've dealt with. The girl that I've dealt with that has been sexually abused, from way back, I've built up a relationship with her. They like to come in and say, 'Hello', or they want to talk to me. Or they're the ones that I had relieving as a counsellor. Different ones would prefer me rather than someone else. We all have our different people and that gets difficult at times. Sometimes I can have them rowed up outside

> the room as well as trying to organise them in the classroom and it can get pretty hectic. Last week I had a couple of kids up on the stage talking and I had kids in the classroom. I had to flit all around them but the kids know that's the way I operate and that's the service I can give them. I always point out that I can't always give them the time that they need but if they want to see me as a counsellor, those are part of the conditions. I'm quite happy if they want to go and see someone else."

This account is from a person who is both a teacher and a counsellor. As such, the form of control she utilised was likely to shift back and forth. To construe the account coming from the Opportunities Counsellor as a form of one-way control is to oversimplify many important issues. The details of doing the job given in this interview reiterate that her work, and the work of other counsellors, was very difficult. It is made both more difficult and easier by students, by parents, by other staff, community contacts, and resource constraints. These are issues that require an examination in the context of questioning the kind of control this work actually constitutes, and will be examined in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 6:

QUESTIONS OF CONTROL AND NEGOTIATED ORDER.

"There's an example today where I got rung up and told that six of our kids were seen taking soft drinks from a soft drink factory after school yesterday. We were rung up by them for some phone numbers of the parents so the shopkeeper could ring them himself and say, 'Look, give your kids a rak up.' So that's another thing you do and what would you call that? It's not really discipline, it's community involvement. You have to liaise with the community as well." (Dean)

6.1 INTRODUCTION: 'WHAT SORT OF CONTROL IS THIS?'

Foucault has suggested that pastoral power has become a common element in our society. If one wanted to identify pastoral power in New Zealand then counselling would appear to be a very good example. Quite clearly, Foucault contributes the idea that people become attached to their identities in certain ways. In the accounts given by Rose, Ryan, and Ball et al., the sort of control I have been addressing in the school would almost certainly be set up as pastoral power. In accounts given by radical educationalists, counsellor work might be set up as practices of domination and hegemony. However, what the previous chapter has demonstrated is that pastoral power, in the construction of school guidance counsellor's work, is not a smooth operation 'laid on like icing'. In other words, pastoral power is not some oil that when applied to the school makes everything 'work'. In fact it intensifies the problems within the school and intensifies all the problems surrounding 'normalisation'. The micropolitics of the school get opened out and broadened in ways that were not envisaged by those who originally argued for counsellors in New Zealand schools (as in chapter 4), or by the social theorists who comment on schools (as in chapter 3). This raises issues concerning the way this form of control is theoretically understood. In this chapter I will address particular issues which link back to the previous chapter concerning the way in which control is secured. I will also raise the problem of what sort of control actually is constructed by)unsellors. My arguments, introduced via the findings of the ethnographic research detailed chapter three, draw on the sociological idea of 'negotiated order'. I intend to argue against e notions of control implied in the work of Ryan, Rose, Ball et al., and, where appropriate, I ill draw on other sociological material from work and education literatures.

ems that discussions of control concerning counsellor or teacher's work immediately ke notions of where the boundaries of schooling lie. We have also seen in the previous)ter that the boundaries between 'home', 'school' and 'community' overlap in this school. of the things that can be learned from the previous chapter is that the boundaries of)oling are extended by this particular agent called a counsellor, who faces both into the

school and out into the community. In an attempt to address the problems of students, counsellors have constructed a communication network between the homes students come from and local agency representatives. In the latter part of this chapter I will address issues of boundaries of the school, and how pastoral power has a tendency to creep beyond the boundaries of the school, which in turn sets up new dilemmas for teachers, children and counsellors. This feature opens out tensions with some of Foucault's ideas on normalisation and governmentality.

There are, consequently, seven issues around which I have constructed this chapter on 'control' and 'boundaries of the school'. They are not discreet points and cross-reference one another in the context of counsellor work. The first issue concerns the fact that there are ***multiple narratives*** constructed around students. The second issue concerns the significance of disciplinary/therapeutic ***procedures*** and ***statutory rights*** that pertain to students. The third issue concerns the fact that counsellors are themselves ***controlled.*** The fourth is that students can ***elect*** to go to counsellors, and the fifth concerns the politics of who the counsellor ***represents***. The sixth point relates the apparent ***autonomy*** counsellors experience in their work to their ***legitimation problem*** in the eyes of other staff and parents. The final issue concerns the paradoxes of ***'increased surveillance'*** and documentation on students. All these issues say something interesting concerning power relations within the school and problematise any totalising accounts of schools which imply that, at schools, power 'always works like this'.

6.2 COUNSELLOR NARRATIVES REVISITED

Counsellor work can be framed through the notion of discourse, narrative, or descriptive practice.[1] For ethnomethodologists, symbolic interactionists, or any student of cultural studies, the use of these types of images 'does' things in any given setting. References to family, for example, assert certain kinds of relationships. Gubrium and Holstein (1990) point out that, 'the family', like 'youth at risk', is taken to be a purely descriptive category by most ᶰeople. The partisan nature and motivations of its usage may thus be obscured in speech. 'hey assert that when one utilises the discourses of family, one underscores a set of onstraints, as well as enablements, on social interactions. 'Family' thus becomes both an rtefact and a fundamental underpinning of a highly valued system which advocates, as ıuch as it conveys, particular states of domestic life. These images and descriptive

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this thesis my interview data has also become a narrative, constructed by the counsellors, Deans, 's and myself in the context of an interview. When these persons consented to an interview they ɜ taking a risk of sorts, knowing that I could 'do' things with their words and opinions. Although I ɜ them a copy of the transcription, I also owned the material. This does not mean that I have 'all the rol' over their words due to the ways that I am 'controlled'. I have adopted an ethical position (which icates a particular subject position) in which counsellors had the ability to challenge, and negotiate, I used interviews and made claims. My supervisors and external examiner can call me into ›unt over my account.

practices are important because they constitute 'at riskness' in the school. It is to the use of 'family' as descriptive practice that I would like to turn here, as many of the accounts of students given in interviews reiterated themes of inadequate parenting, as well as themes of low self esteem and cultural loss.[2] In other words, the discourse of the counsellor plays on certain themes, especially family.

The approach adopted by Gubrium and Holstein is not new to sociology and has parallels with notions of the 'case' found in Ryan and Ball. In 1969, research conducted by Emerson found that delinquent characters and careers were assembled not only out of general behaviour patterns, but from depictions of family circumstances in a court setting, so that the 'good' family, or 'bad home' situation was invoked as part of the speech acts that establish moral character, for the purposes of passing judgment. Family theories were sought from court personnel, and the written report documents of proceedings provided the interpretive context for character assessments and the practical outcomes that emanated from them. Thus family discourse and imagery oriented the decision making process.[3]

At Aorangi High School it is perceived that student troubles most often have 'family' causes. The job description of the Opportunities Room counsellor included the following kinds of children:

> "Chronic truants, disturbed or displaying disruptive behaviour, as a result of dysfunctional families, or traumatic family situations involved with death, separation, abuse and illness." (Opportunities Counsellor)

'Trouble at home', bad or inadequate parenting, were thus cental rationales used by counsellors to explain student problems to me. Discourses about the family, including features of family life and its role in human development, were paramount in accounts of troublesome behaviours or circumstances. Many of these discourses have been generated by, and incorporated into, academic and professional literatures and have filtered down into 'layperson', or 'commonsense' theorising (which may or may not be informed by academic hypotheses). 'Family' was thus a central 'interpretive resource' in the talk of staff and agency epresentatives.

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2 Cultural loss has been defined in the New Zealand counselling literature as 'disturbed' Maori identity. Tutua-Nathan 1989:46) 'Cultural loss' is an interesting term to a sociologist who does not view culture, ori or otherwise, as static. There are problems with inferring an essential, pure culture, or jectivity, that requires 'finding'. It would thus be very interesting to see how this discourse of ural loss is used in counselling settings. Apparently what counsellors mean by the term 'cultural s' is the absence of a 'positive Maori (or any other particular ethnic) subjectivity'. One should not clude that counsellors therefore try to impose an appropriate subjectivity. It appears that counsellors otiate with students as to whether they with to be addressed in this way (see Chapter 5:84). ltural Loss' is also a narrative common to sociology and anthropology texts. Clifford has termed this ition 'salvage ethnography' (Clifford 1987).

Emerson's research was similar in approach and findings to that of Cicourel & Kitsuse (1968).

Gubrium and Holstein (1990) point out that family is linked to ideas of 'household' and 'home' as physical settings in the culture of signs which represent the 'family'. The household is seen as the locus of discovery for truths about the child, and the concrete embodiment of domestic life. Transiency, location, space and appearance of the home may become descriptions of the family as signs of domestic order and tranquillity, and thus a child's psychosocial wellbeing. For example, 'transiency' was utilised in the account of 'Dusty' given by the Opportunities Counsellor in the previous chapter. The Opportunity Room offered a controlled and routinised environment as an alternative to Dusty's transient 'home life'. Deviancy and normality were thus shaped and constrained by family imagery in that particular narrative of counsellor work. According to Gubrium and Holstein, family imagery may be useful to account for and normalise even the most serious of personal or relational problems. From their argument it seems that when the counsellor relates, 'I am like a mother to these boys', and that the Opportunity Room is attractive with its 'homely' atmosphere, she is casting the room, the students and herself as a family gathering, and thus as a special group with common concerns. It is an act of sentimental control, making the arrangements between the counsellor and her students personal, warm and caring. This does not mean that the counsellor was inauthentic, or that students did not enjoy the Room. Rather, it provides a way of understanding how she went about positioning her work as discursive practices.

Gubrium and Holstein point out that another frequently used metaphor is the 'threat of space'. This metaphor also featured in counsellor narratives in relation to students' home life. According to these two writers, 'crowdedness', or 'density', could appear to account for a student's inability to complete classroom work, but more often appearing in interview narratives was the condition of 'too much space', or lack of supervision. Lack of supervision may reveal that a family, particularly a single parent household, lacked care and concern - especially if a parent was employed fulltime, or spent time with a lover, outside the home. 'Latchkey' kids represented what could be a disintegrating family life which could, in turn, explain lack of self control in the child. This was reflected in the account given by the senior counsellor in the previous chapter when he related an incident of violence, and then explained the girl's behaviour in terms of her mother's lesbian relationship, and the girl's 'lack of links in'.

Narratives of the family may be mobilised differently for the purposes of interpreting the haviours of Maori and Pacific Island students. In the New Zealand counselling literature, unsellors are advised as follows:

> "The relationship of the individual to whanaungatanga is crucial. Often when I work with a Maori patient, I spend the first interview without talking specifically to him or her at all. I talk to the family. When I feel that I have a brief from and some understanding of the family, I then

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start talking to the patient. But for the most part, the family has the background and detail that I need, not the individual." (Durie 1989)

Narratives of 'family' may be used to convince others of the deviant and normal aspects of behaviour of a particular student. At Aorangi, behaviours evidenced by Maori and Pacific Islands students are likely to be construed as due to cultural loss and institutional racism when dealt with by one of the counsellors, who identified herself as an ethnic minority, and who spoke fluent Maori.[4]

Central to themes of family, cultural loss, or socioeconomic poverty which occurred in interviews, was the idea of emotional stability, that is, the need to have a 'good self esteem', or the need to 'feel good about oneself'. The narratives of counsellors seek self-regulation on the part of students. Counsellors desire to see that the school, parents, and agencies take good care of students, and that students take good care of themselves. In the context of a therapeutic setting, this assumes students are able to talk about themselves and present, or construct, coherent narratives about themselves. Self-regulation was the rationale behind what I termed emotion management, and what the counsellor termed 'the grief model', mentioned in the previous chapter (pg 88,89). One counsellor explained how she might instruct a student in techniques of emotion management in terms of a 'narrative of grief', which I argued could be seen as a means of 'restorying' one's life. Counsellors thus attempt to organise emotions and emotional display. While this is seen by the counselling fraternity as 'good' for students, within sociology it has been interpreted as a form of insidious control.

6.3 MANAGING THE EMOTIONS

Issues of emotion and emotion management are addressed in sociological literature. One of the ways this has been done is through the work of Hochschild (1983). Hochschild's argument centres around the workplace rather than a 'helping relationship' at a school. She argued that the emotional style of offering a service has become a part of the service itself, and identified 'emotional labour' as an increasing feature of the contemporary service sector.[5] Hochschild focused on how workers were taught techniques of 'proper' feeling, experience and display, both of the face and of the body. Emotional labour was defined as;

"...the management of feeling to create a publicly observable facial and bodily display..." (Hochschild 1983:7)

Emotional labour is sold for a wage and therefore has an exchange value.

Hochschild fused two particular models of emotion: Organismic, based around the ideas of)arwin, early Freud, and James; and Interactional, based around ideas of Gerth, Mills and

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The counsellor was Fijian Indian.

There is quite a large sociology of work literature on emotional labour. For a further example in ɘgard to nursing training, see James (1986).

Goffman. In doing so she employed a concept of an essential, or 'real', fixed self. According to Wouters, this analysis took the form of;

> "...a combination of Goffman's dramaturgical perspective with an American branch of Marxism. (In Hochschild's account) it is capitalism and commercialisation that threaten the 'real self' and a 'healthy sense of wholeness'. The commercialisation of human feeling particularly forces people to accept as normal the tension they feel between their 'real' and 'on-stage selves'." (Wouters 1989)

This particular understanding of emotional labour can be seen as a reworking of the 'alienated worker' debate. Hochschild's text suggests a 'pre-institutionalised, private self', and interpreted the practices associated with emotional labour as essentially negative for workers. The techniques of emotion management are thus read as a form of exploitation and means of control. Her account allows the reader to think about emotional display as work, and thus as techniques geared into imperatives of docility (don't look hassled, angry, or offended at customers), and productivity (increasing airline profits).

With regard to the teaching of emotion management in schools, a person 'buying into' Hochschild's argument would see such techniques as essentially negative for students. However, Hochschild does not consider two important issues. Firstly, she does not consider the dangers of acting on 'unmanaged feeling' for workers, instead focusing on its costs to the real (private) self in a capitalist and commercial arena. Secondly, she does not consider that these techniques may be enabling, pleasurable, and even necessary to the process of 'getting on with life' for air hostesses (and students). In this particular argument, flight attendants are implicated as perfect company robots who always use their 'skills' in a company-prescribed manner. I would suggest that flight attendants, like students, exercise a much greater degree of creativity (and agency) than her account indicates.

Recent research with New Zealand bank employees indicates that employees enjoy 'impression management' training, impression management being another form of 'emotional labour'. The research directly critiques Hochschild's account by saying that for employees:

> "This form of emotional labour not only allows them to establish a conception of their own abilities, but also their marketability as valuable assets. It also releases them from the emotional constraints of the traditional conception of professionalism which had accompanied the surveillance system of paternalism. Training in emotional labour is therefore highly popular as the communication skills established in the courses are not restricted to the employer. The acquisition of skills emphasising performance allow the employees to separate their performances from the companies they work for. In Foucault's terms, it could be argued that, the new social practices individualise the employees by promoting self discipline and a heightened self consciousness. Also conforming to Foucault's criteria is the fact that they are accompanied by a very strong stress on continual training and reviews of performance." (Austrin 1991:216, 217)

onal labour, from the workers' view, thus seems as much enabling as constraining. ers use these techniques for purposes other than 'work'. The problem, for the rcher attempting to theorise this, is how one positions 'workers subjectivity' in terms of es on agency and freedom.

Rose also addresses these techniques. Unlike Hochschild, he does not interpret emotional management as a form of alienation or false consciousness. Instead, he sees therapeutic techniques as having the effect of normalising students and binding them into a network of surveillance through an argument that perceives, since the nineteenth century, a web of technologies that have spread out over children through welfare institutions and schooling. The process he focuses on in the latter part of ***Governing the Soul*** concerns how the 'whole person' - the self as a living, experiencing, feeling subject - has come into focus. Counsellors are part of a new breed of 'engineers of the human soul'. In his view the psychological expertise they offer promises not to cure pathology so much as to reshape subjectivity:

> "Our selves are defined and constructed and governed in psychological terms, constantly subject to psychologically inspired techniques of self inspection and self examination." (Rose 1990:xiii)

Using Foucault's ideas, Rose describes techniques of grief or anger management as 'technologies of autonomy'. In his view:

> "We are educated in a therapeutic discourse of the emotions, one that we can use to turn our own 'cases' into stories, and become authors of our own plot, perhaps without the need of counselling...Thus we learn a language and a technique, a way of selecting, mapping, and interpreting certain modes of interchange as representing psychic needs and fears. We learn to make ourselves manageable not through an experimental technology of awareness, not through a logical algorithm of transactions, but through our identifications with a narrative of the emotions. If these identifications fulfil their aims, then we will be able to narrativize our own lives in terms of 'emotions' and 'relationships', our actions as manifesting 'needs', and hence obtain the capacity to construct our own endings to the soap operas of our lives. And we learn too, that we make, and can remake, our lives through our own choices, and that it is legitimate, desirable, indeed healthy to calculate our lives in terms of the choices that will fill our subjective needs." (Rose 1990:253)

Like Hochschild, Rose sees these techniques as making people more amenable to management:

> "It is in the space opened between the imposition of controls upon conduct by the public powers and the forms of life adopted by each individual that the vocabularies and techniques of the psycho-sciences operate. In the complex web they have traced out, the truths of science and the powers of experts act as relays that bring values of authorities and goals of business into contact with the dreams and actions of us all. These technologies for the government of the soul operate not through crushing of subjectivity in the interests of control and profit, but by seeking to align political, social, and institutional goals with individual pleasures and desires, and with the happiness and fulfilment of the self. Their power lies in the capacity to offer means by which the regulation of selves - by others and by ourselves - can be made consonant with contemporary principles, moral ideals, and constitutional agencies. They are, precisely, therapies of freedom." (Ibid. 1990:257)

Counsellors' work is thus framed by Rose in terms of 'techniques of the self'. However, as was argued in the last chapter, the counsellors work of 'advocacy' to 'provide a chance' was far more complex than this concept suggests. The complexity was described where John addresses the issue of negotiation in his work (pg 82-84). What he does is neither a pastoral form of control without problems, nor a bureaucratic form of control without problems, but rather a series of negotiations which open out a whole series of new issues that have ramifications throughout the school. For example, in the previous chapter John negotiated

with parents, students, other schools, and agency representatives. Susan's work with Maori students involved relationships with students and their families that went 'beyond school'. Tracey's work involved extensive networking with other youth agencies such as Preston House, the Polytechnic and Knightsbridge. The Dean's work relied on local contacts with Police, businesspersons and parents. Both disciplinary power and pastoral power can often come into the same situation but in none of the Foucault-inspired texts mentioned is there a negotiated element. Paradoxically, the significance of the ethnographic literature in education is the negotiated element.

6.4 THE PARADOX OF AUTONOMY

In the previous chapter counsellors spoke of their position as being 'privileged'. In the same sentence, they also spoke of it as being 'difficult'. It seems that, in order to work, counsellors need some form of autonomy from the school. This would seem to place them in a 'powerful' position to make decisions concerning students. In order to work counsellors need to be seen as different from Deans and tutors, they need to be seen as 'out to the side', in order to win trust and confidence from students, and to position themselves as (neutral) advocates. Counsellors are employed by the school Board of Trustees; then negotiate their brief with the Principal, and ultimately are there to help keep children learning at school. However, the counsellors did not mention this aim (and rationale for their presence at Aorangi) as much as their aim to 'get kids feeling good about themselves'.

Sociologists of education have not tended to deal with the issues of trust and volition on the part of students towards staff, yet it appears, (from counsellor accounts) that gaining trust is an important part of the process of counselling, and therapy cannot continue in a relationship of antagonism or coercion.[6] In order to do the job they must have children's confidence, which comes back to an important question for a researcher: "How does one theorise the apparent confidence that children have in counsellors?" Many sociological writers fail to take into account the subjectivities of students themselves, and other agents in the school. The writers who do include subejectivity tend to, as the ethnomethodologists say, 'commit an irony'. In their account actors donot really know what it is they are 'really' doing.

Radical educational sociologists have thus tended to be very sceptical of the viability of a staff position which promotes itself as a trusting, beneficial relationship with students. A counsellor position as 'student advocate', with the potential to act in the interests of a student, against other staff members, would also meet with scepticism. Their critique has been applied to the teacher position, more specifically, to liberal humanist accounts of teaching. As was

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[6] Counsellors also present a dilemma for liberal humanist accounts of schooling in which power is behind the scenes and teachers exercise a legitimate, rational authority. One aspect of counsellor work is to advocate for students against any misuse of power or position by teachers.

discussed in chapter three, this research into teaching and pedagogy has exposed partiality (in terms of classism, sexism and racism) operating in classrooms. In both the sociology and practitioner literatures the tensions involved in counsellor work have been referred to as the 'care versus control' dichotomy.[7]

However, counsellors themselves acknowledge the potential and actual conflicts they face in their work.[8] Their position creates ambivalence and counsellors are required to negotiate their position with a lot of skill. It is precisely counsellors' autonomy that incurs a legitimation problem in the eyes of teachers, parents, and other persons with an interest in an individual child. Counsellors can, and have, represented students against teachers, parents and agencies. They have advocated for staff members against the Principal. The ambiguity of their position arises from the fact that counsellors have an inspection function within the school; over teachers and parents..[9]

In regard to American teachers, Giroux and McLaren argue that the concern in sociology with a language, or discourse, of 'control' has led to a situation where researchers cannot effectively map the school. They argue:

> "On the one hand, teachers have been worked on and reduced to the status of clerks rather than included as self-determining agents of political and pedagogical change; on the other hand, little has been done by radical educational theorists to address the role that teachers might play in alliance with parents and other members of the community in order to address the issues of policy formation and change as part of a wider educational and sociopolitical movement. Examples of such alliances between teachers and parents of black, Latino, and low-income white children have been widespread during the Reagan era. For example, in Chicago parents joined with teachers in creating the Parent Equalisers of Chicago, headed by Dorothy Tillman." (Giroux & McLaren 1991:61)

I would apply this very same criticism to the school guidance counsellor position. Counselling, or the process of 'doing advocacy' to 'provide a chance', is not one of absolute control in speaking for students but rather a very fluid process of negotiation, which becomes subject to more and more negotiation. As counsellor accounts have demonstrated, there have been extensive attempts made by counsellors and teachers to form alliances with students, parents and other persons in the 'community'. The school markets itself as a
ol-Community' partnership. Accessing other people 'in the community' to help them do
ob requires further consultation and negotiation with them.

THE LIMITATIONS OF A LANGUAGE OF SURVEILLANCE (AND HEGEMONY)

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ample of this debate is found in Wardaugh 1990. She says: "In the context of education welfare discuss 'care versus control' in terms of the distinction between...social work and policing
;. This distinction occurs in the literature, but is also used by (truancy) officers themselves."
gh 1990:751)

are many discussions of actual and potential conflicts in the school guidance counselling
,. British examples include Hughes (1989), Best et al (1980) and Johnson et al. (1980). New
examples are found in a number of articles from the New Zealand Guidance and Counselling
ion Journal.

;ertain extent, Deans also have this function.

It was said in chapter two that, according to Foucault, disciplinary techniques power proceeds through surveillance, and disciplinary techniques work out a unique relationship between knowledge and the body. The word surveillance thus implies a gaze internalised by a prisoner, or in this thesis, a student, and the securing of control and regulation over individual conduct. Regulation of students is predicated on knowledge of students. According to Ball et al. and Ryan, disciplinary techniques are set up in the school to observe and to normalise students, and normalisation is geared around the imperatives of docility and productivity. In their accounts, schools bring together students in particular arrangements of time and space that allow for the knowing of students, and the coding of their individual details. Ryan and Ball et al. outline documentary techniques surrounding dividing practices in the school and argue that these are a means of inscribing identity. As indicated in chapter three, dividing practices invites the question: "How is a case built and how do students become 'known'?"

Some of the techniques these authors describe are utilised in the collation of casenotes by Aorangi counsellors, tutors and Deans. Documentary processes involved in casenotes are seen to constitute the student as a certain type of person through both active and passive processes of objectification. The keeping of casenotes would appear to extend the gaze of the school into the more intimate details of student lives. Chapter five documented how counsellors attempt to network information on 'at risk' and troublesome students by exchanging information with representatives at their Friday meeting of 'locals', such as Police Youth Aid, Social Welfare, Barnados and Youth Clubs, as well as with other staff members and parents. This networking also appears to increase surveillance, as networking of information has increased the numbers of persons with access to information on particular students, and this would appear to allow for increased knowledge and control of them.

There is no doubt that in the school counsellors and teachers observe and survey students through a bureaucratic mode of control. In addition to this mode are the pastoral/therapeutic techniques of the counsellor which function through specific networks of groups and knowledges to literally 'produce the child'. In the school the child becomes observed from y different points.[10] It is the maximisation of those points which is sought after. In rd to surveillance of students through a bureaucratic mode, counsellors keep records on students they see. Their link cards form the basis of student casenotes, which remain idential to counsellors. If one were to study the form and content of student records then uld appear to support the notion of increased surveillance over students 'at risk', or 'in

pite increasing observation of the student body, some students 'slip through the cracks', as lors have testified to. The Opportunities counsellor gave the case of the student who managed rough schooling until her third form year without anybody picking up that she was retarded. unsellor and educational psychologist, through their network of 'surveillance', did pick it up, much elief of all staff concerned. According to the counsellors, many students are still 'slipping through cks' in personal knowledge.

trouble', as well as a tendency to keep better records on all students at schools. For example, the Dean and tutors at the fourth form level detailed the documentary techniques of 'behaviour management' they use to discipline children. These included procedures such as daily reports, notebooks, and contracts. All incidences of classroom disruption, it seems, are documented in some way:

> ***"Do you keep those incidents on file?*** You don't write much about those. You might write down that, 'I saw such and such over an issue and we had a talk about it and resolved it, and they have promised to do this and that.' You don't go into detail. ***So it is more of a process thing for the students involved and you keep a brief...***You keep a little folder of everything we do. ***Is that for accountability reasons?*** It is there so if someone asks the question - you see we might get a kid who really goes off the rails and the Board of Trustees would say, 'Well what has this kid really done wrong in the school?' ***Say if it came to suspension or something?*** Yes, and if you haven't anything documented they would say, 'Well forget it.' ***So it is like a court and you have to produce your evidence?*** You have to keep some. It is not the kind of thing that you go and reading everyday saying, 'these kids did this or that', hell no. But it pays to have something." (Dean)

There is also no doubt that in the present, teachers and counsellors are required to keep more and better records on students.[11] There have been attempts to make counsellor work more uniform which have come from both the Educational Review Office (ERO) and the counsellors' professional organisation: The New Zealand Counsellors Association (NZCA).[12] Counsellors are increasingly asked to measure what they do with their time as part of attempts to measure both teacher and counsellor 'effectiveness'. Notions of effectiveness take place in a context of administrative reform in New Zealand education. The written and oral texts of administrative reform employ discourses of 'accountability' and 'professionalism'.[13]

During my time interviewing counsellors, the school received an inspection visit from the Educational Review Office (September 1991). Following that visit I was asked by one counsellor in particular to make some suggestions concerning setting up a database to generate a statistical profile on student 'clients'.[14] This was an attempt to generate a uniform

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[11] Recordkeeping, for the counsellors, is another means of constructing their job. As such it is a technique that could have been placed in the previous chapter but I have chosen to discuss it here cause of the way casework can be used to directly engage Ball et al. and Ryan on issues of control.

The calls from the NZCA are positioned slightly differently as they are part of a bid to secure the unsellors' position within schools.

A perusal of the education section at the University bookshop bears testament to 'reform' discourses, playing many new books with titles on management and school effectiveness which are marketed to idents and practitioners of education.

The idea was promoted by Susan in the context of our interview and was then endorsed by John er Susan had spoken to him. I agreed, in the full knowledge that this set up some interesting ethical emmas for me as researcher. Consulting with Susan, I drew up an outline of a three part record-ng system including a database comprised of basic statistics (date, formclass, gender, ethnicity, sellor); a checklist of presenting problems (including attendance, self esteem, social skills, family s etcetera); and a system of noting behaviour change. The idea was to record the details of each ing with students on an A4 size sheet and compile details onto spreadsheets to crosstabulate in an al report. I took some questions to a meeting at which all the counsellors were present and asked ollowing questions:
do you need this data? Is it merely a bureaucratic requirement from ERO, or is it to be used to rate a series of data over time? What details are to be recorded? How these are recorded mes central. Do you as counsellors want student anonymity (no names), or privacy (names)? The

and public record of counsellor work that stood outside the confidential records held by counsellors. Ball et al. would perhaps read this incident as an example of increasing surveillance through a totalising discourse of management, exercised over both 'the managed' (students) and the 'managing' (counsellors).

However, there are problems with adopting this view. To begin, different counsellors record and collate student details differently. There are some things which do not get recorded, and the details of how one should take notes are disputed. Counsellors make decisions about who they list for discussion at a Friday meeting, and who they leave off the lists. Counsellors are 'anti' extending notetaking in some cases because of the issue of where it all stops. Confidentiality becomes a problem to preserve. Secondly, administration is very time-consuming and is not what counsellors prefer to do with their time. (This will be taken up later in the chapter).

Ryan and Ball both talk about a one-way system set up to observe students on the one hand, and teachers on the other. As the next section of the chapter will argue, it is not a one-way system. Rather, it is a multifaceted system, constructed out of a localised network which is nothing like what Foucault described in the prison, or what Ball described in (British) schools. For example, a bureaucratic mode of control is not the only control used. It appears that some writers have extrapolated, incorrectly, to say the whole world is like the prison, yet in the school there are different modes of disciplinary power which work differently.[15] It has also been pointed out that Foucault's analysis of the prison failed to take into account other knowledges - such as prison subculture, or customs from the past - which those 'in control' may have encountered and conflicted with (McNay 1992:39). Terms such as 'surveillance' are somewhat meaningless unless they are bound into something that is actually going on, for there is a sense in which we are all under each others surveillance; it is a part of being social.

ɹe of names becomes a key issue. Where do the students, whom this service is for, fit? I think they ıuld be told records are being kept and should have some say in this matter. When records are kept ınsellors can be required to produce these as legal documents - so whether you record students as nbers, or names, is important. Practically speaking, the database needs to be a simple sheet. ɔordkeeping can be systematic, or can rely on memory and anecdote. Which is better?"
ɘ issue of confidentiality was paramount in the discussion which followed. One counsellor in ticular was very much against the compilation of statistics because he felt these could be used ɪinst him and other counsellors, thus recordkeeping would be divisive. His apprehension alludes to way measurement allows for codification of details, and hence comparison and normalisation in ınsellor work. However, some counsellors, like Susan, saw it as a good thing.
ɪe meeting with the understanding that they would get back to me with their decisions and I would ɪem get the system off the ground. However, although mention was made of the idea several after, no verdict was made explicit to me and the idea was seemingly lost in the business of work. learned she would leave her job at Aorangi in 1992 and so her particular impetus was lost. I do ow what has happened since.
erestingly enough, prisons are now nothing like Foucault described; they encompass therapeutic ques which, for the sociologist, requires rethinking power relations in the prison.

6.6 THE SIGNIFICANCE OF RIGHTS AND PROCEDURES FOR STUDENTS

There is another problem with theorising counsellor work as insidious control over student lives. If one goes back to counsellor accounts then one finds that they are constrained in what they may say and do. More to the point, some of these constraints are codified as procedural rights for students. There is the issue, alluded to in the Dean's previous quote concerning suspension, that records are kept for the accountability/protection of staff. This quote was extremely interesting because it indicated that records are not just there as a check on students but also function for the 'safety' of tutors and Deans involved with discipline. While student records are 'owned' by the school, the Deans and counsellors are themselves 'accountable' (that is, under surveillance or control), and there are limits to what they are able to do:

> "We can do two days (suspension) as tutors and Deans but we cannot actually remove a kid from school. We can make recommendations and the Principal and Deputy will interview the kid and decide. That involves parents and the Board of Trustees. It is a real performance. I mean, there is a whole suspension folder out now. There's all these procedures you have to go through." (Dean)

As the same Dean related, teaching is not construed in the same way it used to be:

> "Teachers can't rely on being God in the classroom (any more). In other words, they walk in, everybody picks up their books, shuts up at the same time, and copies all period. Whatever the teacher says is no longer absolutely correct. That's not teaching. I think teaching is involved with the whole person, bringing out the best in them as you can in some way." (Dean)

In the school neither teachers nor counsellors are absolute authorities; they are themselves controlled.

A further dimension, or paradox, of counsellor casenotes is that they can become legal documents. This occurs, for example, in the case of suspension.[16] When it comes to suspension, students have legal rights and a whole booklet of procedures to which they can appeal to against the school. It is in this sort of instance that a counsellor might well act as an advocate for the student against the preferences of teachers. Another set of procedures which traverse the school are those pertaining to sexual abuse of students.[17] Counsellors inform teachers of their legal obligations they now have if a student happens to disclose to a teacher that they have been abused. If a student accuses a staff member of abuse then a nsellor, or another teacher, might act as their advocate. Within the school a student might l a number of persons besides a counsellor who could act as advocates. The oortunities Counsellor made arguments on the part of sexually abused female students for erential treatment in classes. The Samoan ESL teacher might ask for a Samoan child to

sework is, in effect, the life history practice institutionalised in a licensed form. Casework as a jue always works to break down essentialism. Legal categories also in a sense work this way as efine by acts not by selves.

New Zealand secondary schools are now required under Tomorrows Schools reforms (1988) and i 23 of the Human Rights Commission Act (1977) to have a policy on sexual harassment.

be dealt with differently over an issue, against the preferences of a counsellor or a math teacher.

There are other persons outside the school to which a student can appeal on grounds of sexual harassment, or racial discrimination, and this situation acts as a practical foil to one-way notions of control in counsellor work. One such site is the special Social Welfare Unit set up to deal with cases of sexual abuse amongst Maori children. The Human Rights Commission is another site. For example, educational institutions are legally required to recognise New Zealand's Maori cultural heritage. In a recent newspaper article, 'Racial Discrimination, Sexual Harassment Common in City Schools - Official', it was stated that:

> "Schools prohibiting Maori students wearing taonga (treasure) because they classify it as jewellery are breaking section 26 of the Human Rights Commission Act 1977. 'It (taonga) is not ornamental but something with spiritual significance. It is part of the students' Maori cultural heritage.' Ms Bull said it was also unlawful to make a student hide taonga under shirts and jerseys." (Christchurch Mail 11/6/1992)

Persons such as a Human Rights Commissioner 'outside' the school may also keep documentation on student cases, and like parents, agency representatives, or Samoan elders, can speak for students.

Documentation kept on students can be seen as different narratives or viewpoints on the child, as can verbal accounts, which are constructed in different contexts. In constructing narratives, speakers make certain claims and implement certain discourses about students. There are thus many sites for Aorangi students to present narratives.

It can be argued that the more control spreads beyond the school, the more surveillance there is. Rose, Ball et al. and Ryan assume, however, that there is a collusion between expert viewpoints in each case. These arguments assume that casenotes work to produce the child (or teacher). One of the critiques that can be made of writers who stress a bureaucratic mode of control is that there are many sites to present narratives of the self, which effectively multiplies the 'selves' or voices of students. Just because sites are multiplied does not mean that these all add up to produce governmentality. Multiple
itioning on the part of students and counsellors is apparently what makes the 'control'
ect of the work multifaceted. At Aorangi students are referred, but they also refer
mselves and make choices about who they speak to. Each student file may well become
cord of different professional viewpoints on the child, but it is also the case that these
vpoints can clash. The more control spreads beyond the school, the more difficult the
nts are to present, and the more students can appeal to different accounts and play
off against one another. The file is not just one-way because there are procedures and
for students, and because form filling takes an enormous amount of time, and because

the controllers themselves are controlled. Counsellors, like other staff, can be called into account through their own accounts.

6.7 AMBIVALENCE GOES WITH THE JOB

Rose would assume more and more therapeutic procedures in the school. Over time there has been an increase in numbers of counsellors and an elaboration of therapeutic practices. However, counsellors have to continually argue for their continuance and in doing so have spread their brief. A feature of their work is its ambivalence. In a sense this entire chapter discusses forms of ambivalence but I will mention some further facets here.

A key problem with therapeutic procedures and the school's pluralistic model of education is that these involve a huge amount of time and resources. This is particularly important given that the Board of Trustees has to make decisions on how much of the school budget to allocate to counsellor salaries and specialist staff, particularly those who teach individualised learning programs. In 1992 the Opportunity Room, the Transiton position, and the equivalent of one fulltime counselling position were axed. A pluralist, or democratic, model of schooling requires that student diversity be acknowledged. Diversity, in the sense of 'learning needs' (when made visible), must be addressed in some way. The ongoing question for the Board of Trustees, Principal, parents, and staff is the point to which the school caters for diversity while attempting to underwrite conditions for all. This tension is ongoing and cannot be permanently resolved.

The counsellors occupy a different position to teachers, but they are also subject to 'quality control' of their services to students. This is reflected in the moves made to obtain supervision and moves made to tighten up recordkeeping procedures. The paradox of recordkeeping is that it is very time consuming. Keeping track of students can become an administrative nightmare. This complaint is not limited to New Zealand counsellors:

> "I have spoken with a couple of counsellors at a Chicago public school in which the students are Black and Mexican. They actually reported the administrative nightmare of keeping track of students was a large part of their jobs. I have also observed the counselling function at a very white, middle class, suburban school. By contrast the function there does seem to have more say and if the experience of the kids that I am staying with is anything to go by, they are viewed in a hostile fashion. This seems to result from the establishment of an extensive 'control' network which continually draws parents into the school to be consulted. Paradoxically, having more to say means that counsellors cannot actually do anything without conferencing with parents. These conferences take place at 7.30am in the morning. My friend's daughter was recently grounded as a result of one of these conferences - the result was that she was sent home from school for the day! So in both cases counsellors have very little power but in the middle class suburban school they can draw on parents but at the same time this very condition limits what they can do." (Personal communication from supervisor)

its pull out of programs that counsellors try to organise; parents and children use linary procedures inappropriately. Bruce, the fourth form Dean, gave numerous nts of the 'abuse'/use of disciplinary procedures by students and their parents:

"Daily reports are curative for kids. ***Daily Reports, can you clarify that for me?*** It is a piece of paper which has the kid's name written across the top of it and their form. It has each of their periods listed, then it has a space for them to fill in which class it is. They would do that. Then it has a column for 'Behaviour', 'Work', 'Attitude' and 'Homework'. Then it has a place for each teacher to sign it. ***For each period?*** Yes, and then underneath it has a place for 'Seen by the Dean/Comment' and 'Parents Signature/Comment' ***And that is filled in every day?*** Every day. You only do it for a couple of weeks but the kids actually quite like it. Some of them actually come and ask to go on it. Because it turns them right around. ***Is that because they get positive things written about them?*** They can do. They often get beautiful things written about them and it goes home and the parents say, 'Hey, this is my kid here.'

Are these measures comparatively new? Not really. I had them going at my last school when I was there seven years ago. ***But would they have happened ten or twenty years ago?*** I don't think so, no. ***Why have they come about?*** I think people realise if you want to do anything about kids at school you contact home. That is your best support. Otherwise what is happening here no one knows about there and the kids goes, 'I was really good today' and might have been a proper little brat. Who would know? But as soon as you get the parents involved then all of a sudden there is a check going on. Unfortunately parents often use it as a blackmail. ***Do they?*** As their form of discipline at home. You know, 'I wont give you any pocket money if you don't get a good report at school. Or, 'If you get three good reports, I will give you more pocket money.' I had one little character who forged his mother's signature for two weeks. I happened to do a check one day and rang his mother. She said, 'What report? I would tell the Deputy Principal that I am dealing with a child so they know you're involved. Then if necessary you can take them in and say, 'Look this kid is really just being completely disobedient and they have had all these things done and modifications tried and are not working'. We can give a one day suspension ourselves in some parts of the school. We will sit them in a corridor and they work all day there and we timetable their intervals and lunchtimes different from the other kids so that they do not mix with any kids. They don't like that. But you can overdo that." (F4 Dean)

It is important to note the fact that programs and strategies implemented at Aorangi constantly fail to secure the commitment of some children to schooling and so new ideas are spawned. The Opportunity Room is an example of an idea that came out of the failure of the school to 'meet the individual needs' of certain students.[18] Tracey, the Opportunities Counsellor gave several examples of 'when it doesn't work' and, due to budget constraints, eventually lost her job at Aorangi. Another attempt was the establishing of a bilingual Whanau Unit and the ESL courses. In this respect the job of constructing pastoral power is very 'ad hoc'.

6.8 SHIFTING THE BOUNDARIES

The boundaries between the school, student homes and community are very blurred in the ɜsent as the school gaze is not limited to school time, school uniform, or school grounds. her things about the school also differ from when I was a student. For example, students longer have all their schooling 'at the school'. They spend time at courses, time at local sinesses, and attend Poytechnics. Teaching has also altered greatly over a decade, and rtainly since the 1960s. This can be seen in terms of classroom discipline; teachers are oected to adopt 'non-clobbering', therapeutic techniques. It can also be seen in the ɔtations surrounding knowledge of students. Teachers are supposed to be critically

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ɔuld have said 'failure to meet the needs of certain difficult students'. While this term is ːimes used by teachers, 'difficulties' are seen as a problem of environment, that is, family and ıunity rather than, or in addition to, a problem of the individual psyche.

informed about cultural and gender differences among their students, and of the way their own identities impact on classroom practice. According to the Dean, teaching is about the 'whole person'. These differences indicate that the boundaries in teaching practice and student 'learning' have altered. They also indicate that teachers and students are positioned differently in regard to one another in the school. Changes in the way schools are organised as learning institutions invite questions as to how these have occurred.

There are some other differences between my experience of school organisation and current Aorangi organisation. The first of these is the readiness of Aorangi staff to 'contact home' if staff see that something is wrong or troublesome in a student's behaviour. Students will also refer themselves or each other on many different issues. The second thing noted, in my capacity as a teacher, was the mobilisation of local ties (and hence local knowledge), to gain knowledge of and 'keep an eye', on children. To understand and 'know' a child often requires an interview with the child, a family member, a teacher, and sometimes another youth professional. Counsellors, tutors, and Deans all emphasised their networking of information with local contacts 'in the community'. Much of their success in getting students to attend classes, and 'cope' with school, depended on knowing who to contact, whether this be an elder, church leader, social worker, or shopkeeper. Networking has a general effect of shifting the boundaries of what constitutes schooling, and coalesces around the notion of students in trouble or 'at risk'. Schools 'strongest' on community have tended to be the ones which perceive high degrees of 'risk' amongst students. The school's influence over students and families is extended through this network. In a sense, Counsellors (and other staff) mobilise community 'ties' to keep the school going.[19] Attempts to influence students through networking information might extend the school gaze, but they also implicate a 'failure' or central problem (and organising principle) on the part of the school. In the work literature this problem is termed 'manufacturing consent'.

It has been argued in the sociology of education that schooling is really about failure and cultural reproduction (Boudieu 1977). Foucault, on the other hand, has indicated that schools about failure and cultural production, and failure is 'read' in terms the failure of the school ;ecure commitment and identification with schooling. In other words, it is not because of

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Another interesting chapter for this thesis could have discussed 'community' as a policing :hanism. This would draw on the observation that links between home and school are apparently ater than in the past. Links do not stop at membership of the PTA, homework, school reports, or rts coaching. 'Community' is central to the idea of governing children. In part, 'community' appears ^ ^bout the institutional 'lock' of a series of agencies which monitor and keep surveillance over n. A key question in this chapter would concern to what extent schools create or reinforce ınity/communities. It would also draw on the observation that the sociological literature has often ed schools are compensating factors for community, but there is a different kind of alliance ın school and community in the present. Another question, prompted by the example from ıporary counselling at Chicago schools, would concern the extent to which a 'School/Community 'ship' enables and constrains counsellors and other staff in their work. In New Zealand the ınt model is a market one and the tensions concern decentralised local budgeting.

the success of schools that counsellors find work there, it is because of their failure to 'meet the needs of students'. Problems such as sexual abuse, suspension, truancy, anger, violence, and unemployment have resulted in procedures such as anger managment, Lifeskills, Transition, and other programs. These are implemented due to misdemeanours (a form of resistance) and 'underachievement'. If students were all 'self-motivated' achievers who identified with the school, then there would be no need for counsellors. The boundaries of schooling are shifted through understandings of the failures of schools.

'Failure' of students and the school can also be read as a form of 'resistance' to schooling. Truancy is one issue that has attracted a lot of expert attention and research in order to establish why children resist attending school, and this knowledge has resulted in an elaboration of strategies designed to get children attending classes. These strategies tend to be worked out on a local level as schools try to decipher reasons for truancy and ways of playing truant, amongst their student population. Knowledge of children is built up in response to resistance.

Foucault has argued that the kinds of resistance which characterise our present situation are struggles against the submission of subjectivity. In chapter three, using the example of 'biculturalism', I asserted that historically subjugated discourses pertaining to Maori students have become incorporated into major discourses organising the school. I also suggested that the attempt to cater to ethnic diversity in the school, which apparently emerged out of 'Maori failure' at school, can produce new problems and resistances. The situation where students were frowned upon for identifying with Maori language and cultural practices has been reversed, yet this lends itself to a new form of resistance, where students might resist a discourse of Maoriness promoted by Whanau teachers or counsellors, for very different reasons. Although I did not encounter this at the school, I did encounter it amongst some of my Maori students at University who identified as Maori, but did not necessarily like the 'rest' that this identity conferred. One woman said, "Maoris are not supposed to like fine wine and go to the theatre" (as she did). I found another interesting complaint in a counselling journal. ame from a male of mixed Maori and European descent who saw himself as Pakeha. He d:

> "You know something that has really 'got to me'? All the way through life so far...people keep talking to me as if I'm Maori." (Ross 1985:39)

s demonstrates that counsellors attempting to cater to ethnic subjectivities have a difficult as they attempt to cater to many different Maori subjectivities.

e these insights into school 'control', a key issue for Rose is that all children come the sway of pastoral power. In chapter four it was pointed out that, at the initiation of counselling, some children were counselled and some were not. This set up

questions of the boundaries of the 'some nots' (Why were they not?). It was also the case that secondary schooling and teaching were very different during the 1960s than in the present. Since this time counselling practice moved from counselling only those who are referred, to a brief which involves 'counselling for all students'. The logic of setting up counselling in a situation where some would and some would not be referred has altered so that all come to be referred for different reasons. All became potential cases because, in the present, the counsellor ultimately has to work with a norm geared into self-esteem rather than delinquency. At Aorangi it is not just the bad (working class) boys that get counselled but the 'good boys' and the 'good girls' too. In some cases, teachers get counselled. In the end counsellors have come to have a brief of occupying the whole school. One can see this expanding brief as an inevitable 'spreading of the psychological web', or one can see it as more complicated, and a lot less controlled. Networking with persons 'outside' the school is an attempt to secure better commitment to schooling. It facilitates knowledge of students and their circumstances but, paradoxically, it also complicates the job of schooling and counselling.

6.9 THE LIMITATIONS OF FOUCAULT: PROBLEMS OF AGENCY AND STUDENT RIGHTS

It was argued earlier that there is a need for research which allows for teachers and counsellors to act in ways that are politically diverse, and possibly beneficial to students. This reflects the account counsellors have given of their work. There is also a need for research on pastoral power techniques which include students' points of view and, once again, this research needs to be able to cope with issues pertaining to any experience of enablement, pleasure, and desire, as well as constraint, coercion and governmentality.

Foucault's concept of power seemingly allows for this type of analysis. However, there have been two main limitations I have encountered while using his concepts to map the school. The first of these is in regard to a notion of 'agency', for which he has been extensively critiqued. In an article entitled, "The poverty of social control: explaining power in the torical sociology of the welfare state", van Krieken (1991) argues that in much of the ting in this area of social theory;

> "...there is still (ultimately) an assumption that individual actions and capacities have been organised rather than they have an independent organising effect of their own.

goes on to include Foucault's writing in this critique:

> Foucault still spoke of his project in terms of a concern with 'how human beings are made ıbjects' (Foucault 1982:208), and put the active constitution of the self by acting subjects into e specific category of 'technologies of the self', leaving 'technologies of power' defined as ose which determine the conduct of individuals and submit them to certain ends or ›mination, an objectivising of the subject' (Foucault 1988:18)." (van Krieken 1991:7)

ns (1984) has also pointed out sociology's emphasis on the structure side of the ıre/agency duality.

The debate on agency is related to an age-old philosophical question: how do you make people free? Autonomy is seemingly a fiction for Foucault. However, technologies of the self, as practices and techniques, refer to a process where individuals actively fashion their own identities. The question is whether, and under what circumstances, this concept allows for individuals to be self- determining agents, capable of challenging and resisting structures of domination in our society. Foucault adopts a position which suspends universal notions of truth, justice, freedom and rationality. In the absence of these metanarratvies it is difficult to decipher how he understands freedom and oppression. Foucault's position decentres, deconstructs, and fragments the autonomous, rational individual. In the absence of a clear picture of how resistance works, it is difficult to know how he views the possibilities for students, teachers and counsellors for transforming their environment.

Criticisms of this aspect of Foucault's writing have also come from feminist writers who, while appreciating Foucault's focus on the body, have critiqued his concept of agency and his limitations for the emancipatory politics of feminism. For example McNay argues:

> "The paradox Foucault's work presents for feminists is that, by placing so much emphasis on the body as an historically specific entity, he finishes by bypassing any notion of individuality and experience." (McNay 1992:47)

While I have not directly addressed the concept of agency until this point in the thesis, agency has been implicit in discussions of resistance and negotiated process in the school. These two concepts are either problematic and sketchy, or 'invisible' in Focuault's work. However discussions of critical pedagogy found in the recent work of Giroux illustrate possibilities for moving beyond Foucault's limitions in regard to agency.

In this chapter I have also argued that legal power, in terms of rights and procedures, is an important power for students in a school setting. However, this poses tensions with Foucault-inspired accounts of the school, and Foucault's own conception of bio-power. McNay argues this point in relation to theorising women's experiences:

> "There is no theoretical space in Foucault's model for...examining the way in which the law may structure and regulate the exercise of power within both penal institutions and society in general. As a result, Foucault underestimates the different types of freedom, legal and otherwise, that have been achieved in modern society...Whilst not underestimating the discrepancy that often exists between formal and substantive rights, many freedoms have often derived from changes within the law, the most obvious being the granting of female suffrage...as we have seen, in ***The History of Sexuality***, Foucault argues that since the nineteenth century, the body has increasingly been subjected to surveillance and discursively invested with neurosis; a self regulating compulsion to confess is thereby produced in the subject...However, much psychoanalytic work has meant a gain in freedom and expressive ssibilities for women in regard to their sexuality." (McNay 1992:45, 46)

' argues that Foucault's reduction of individuals to docile bodies not only offers an uate account of many women's experiences, but also leads to an underestimation of nificance of freedoms that women have won in modern society (Ibid. 1992:43). She

sees this as a problem arising from Foucault's conception of bio-power as 'all encompassing', instead of an amalgam of different types of power. The 'lack of differentiation' in Foucault's account of power presents serious limitations in trying to explain many aspects of modern life. Foucault thus underestimates the potential of the law to protect, as well as limit, the freedom of individuals.

On the basis of these criticisms, and the paradoxes of counsellor work outlined in this chapter, I argue that while there are tendencies towards the sorts of things that applications of Foucault describe, they are only tendencies. Pastoral power as a form of control in this school is multifaceted, 'ad hoc', and negotiated. While pastoral power seeks self-regulation on the part of students, it is not inevitably successful. Some students embrace therapeutic techniques and procedures, and some students reject them.

CHAPTER SEVEN:

CONCLUSION

This thesis has emerged as a study of how guidance counsellors make work out of 'youth at risk' in a particular school setting. At the beginning of the research, guidance counsellors were of interest for the claims they made concerning youth, and hence the role they played in constituting a discourse of 'youth at risk'.

The counsellor position has been a part of almost every New Zealand secondary school since the early 1970s. At an official level, counsellors were initially employed to address the 'new' problems encountered in the rapidly expanding secondary school system which occurred after the second world war. In 1944 the school leaving age was raised to fifteen and this produced new problems for schooling students, not the least of which was the problem of students not wanting to stay at school. In the beginning counsellors were expected to act as troubleshooters for disciplinary problems. It was also intended that they provide vocational guidance, particluarly to Maori students. However, what counsellors actually did in their schools was negotiated at a local level and was dependent on the characteristics of the student population and teaching staff. Counsellors have been employed at Aorangi High School since 1966 and play a key role in the present school organisation. A key issue for Aorangi counsellors is motivating students to stay at school when they do not really want to be there. Securing student consent for schooling has been a continuing part of counsellor work. Throughout New Zealand, school guidance counselling is now a recognised profession which features its own specialised training courses at universities. Counsellor training and work is distinguished from teacher training and work and, despite resource constraints, they appear to be valued agents in contemporary New Zealand schools.

In the course of interviewing, Aorangi counsellors explained their work in some of its detail id complexity. In addition to 'crisis counselling', work at Aorangi was described as helping achers to teach' and 'students to learn', 'advocating in order to provide a chance', 'helping ds feel good about themselves', 'getting kids back into class', 'motivation', 'training', and pport'. In order to explain their work further, counsellors gave many examples of cases. ses described young people facing many different issues and difficulties, most of which to do with things 'outside' of school impacting on things 'in' school, particularly on their y to perform in class and form good relationships with other students. In other words, nt troubles were related to their environment.

Counsellor accounts played on several recurring themes including self esteem, cultural loss, family, poverty and violence. Counsellors demonstrated an extensive knowledge of individual children's circumstances. They also talked about the diverse range of strategies utilised in an attempt to manage their work. It was apparent that counsellors have created networks with students' homes and local agencies, while also acting as a reference point for teachers and students in the school. Their position is of interest because Aorangi counsellors have a lot of power to organise students, as well as an inspection function over teachers and, in some cases, over parents. The extent of influence and privilege experienced by counsellors would appear to raise questions concerning their acceptance by students and staff. However, counsellors appear to be well liked by students and staff. On every visit to the school there were students waiting to see counsellors. While some were there because they had been referred by tutors and Deans, most were there because they opted to come and had referred themselves. It appears that the pastoral power work of counsellors produces desires, pleasures and identities for students as well as serving a normalising and inspection function over them.

Counsellors have not attracted much comment or research from educational sociologists yet there are many issues contained in counsellor narratives which engage and challenge certain issues in sociological literatures focusing on 'school' or 'work'. The major debates drawn upon to argue this thesis are those addressing power and control in the school. However, sociologists have tended to focus their debate on classroom processes involving teacher-student interactions. Counsellors have been viewed as peripheral to the 'real' goings on of the school. The sociology of education literature has proved most useful for its ethnographic accounts of schooling which emphasise the negotiated and contentious character of school organisation. The emphasis on negotiation in ethnographic accounts was relevant to counsellor work, for while they have a lot of power to organise students they also experience a lot of tensions in their work, and can be challenged on many points by people form both inside and outside the school. A recurring issue requiring negotiation in this thesis was that of ethnicity.

urther strength of ethnographic research is that it maps the school through people who :e part in the school. Their 'point of view' allows a researcher to access tensions and radoxes they experience in education which may never 'show up' in official discourses. In s thesis I have argued that the only way to understand counsellor work is through the nsellors themselves. The need for including members' knowledge has been displayed in itiques of Foucault-inspired accounts of education which, in their almost exclusive focus oureaucratic mode of control, missed important tensions, paradoxes and resistances at ols. Ethnographic accounts read the school in terms of culture. An ethnographic

approach enabled me to understand how disciplinary and pastoral power might, or might not, operate in schools.

However, ethnographic accounts of schooling have tended to employ either a repressive account of power relations, or leave power 'behind the scenes'. Within the sociology of education, both radical and liberal humanist research has come under attack for the way it oversimplifies, or renders invisible, important features of the relationships between students, teachers, and parents - features such as pleasure, trust and alliance by the former, and coercion, partiality and control, by the latter. I have taken these criticisms and applied them to the relationships between counsellors and their various constituencies at Aorangi. In the thesis I have asserted that neither of these notions of power allow a researcher to effectively map the school in a way that captures the complexity, paradoxes and tensions experienced by staff in schooling children. There are dangers of premature theoretical closure if one ignores these features, or reduces the function of teachers and counsellors to a situation where they always exercise a negative power over students.

Foucault's ideas have been used to address counsellor work primarily because his work incorporates a notion of power which is productive as well as repressive. In this respect his work goes some way to addressing the deficiencies of 'reproduction' or 'liberal humanist' accounts of schooling. His concepts 'disciplinary power' and 'pastoral power' have proved especially useful for thinking about counsellor work in a way that does not reduce all relationships between counsellors and students to effects of repression.

Foucault asserts a concept of power which, of necessity, incorporates resistance. This means that any power exercised by counsellors is not read as necessarily producing the governmentality and normalisation of students. These are not inevitable effects of the power(s) that counsellors exercise. If the techniques and strategies of counsellors worked in a totalising manner, there would be no need for counsellors in schools. Instead there would be a school filled with docile, productive, self-regulated, happy students, who all possessed a eat self esteem. Foucault's second apparent strength was his focus on discursive, calised practices, or on how identities are actually 'done' in particular geographical and storical settings.

ere are, however, numerous problems encountered by using Foucault's concepts for this esis research. The first was that he did not position himself as a sociologist and directly ess the problems of doing empirical research, that is, the problems of generating critical, cive sociological knowledge. The methodological 'rules of thumb' set out in chapter two useful orienting devices but did not help me, as a researcher, set an empirical research da. A related, problem concerned how to access Foucault's account of power in the

school. I have argued that an account of power which does not address the subjectivities of actors in disciplinary institutions, or construes these as simply peripheral to the 'real' power relations, would be unable to map the school. However, Foucault himself did not ask questions of prisoners, or prison officers.

A further problem was that the general techniques such as confession and dividing practices outlined by Foucault did not include many techniques which I encountered. In Foucault's work the 'case' was never discussed in the sense of meetings where everybody sat down and discussed prisoners in the way that students are discussed at a Friday morning meeting. What Foucault talked about in ***Discipline and Punish*** was the 'gaze', a one-way process where prisoners interrogated their own conscience. There is thus a danger in directly translating Foucault's understandings of disciplinary power operating within nineteenth century prisons into twentieth century schools. Of course this was not Foucault's problem, it is a problem for people who have since followed his lead, and was a challenge for this research(er). The general techniques of disciplinary and pastoral power described by Foucault did not describe the full complexity of counsellor work. Dividing practices and confession were not enough. While Foucault indicated (in his focus on micropolitics) that jobs are 'made from below', I had to turn to the concept of 'negotiation', or 'negotiated order' from interactionist sociology in order to interpret how counsellors construct their work. While he indicated that resistance was important to the working of power and organisation in disciplinary institutions, I had to turn to feminist accounts for an understanding of how resistance might be seen to work.

In the thesis I have argued that writers who have appropriated Foucault to education oversimplify the normalising effects of disciplinary techniques in two ways: firstly, they fail to open out or explain the fact that counsellor work is 'a squeaky wheel', 'bitsy', 'messy' and 'hard to measure'. In order to gain students' commitment, counsellors seek to empower, that is negotiate with, and equip students to make decisions and changes. This is very different than a one way process of control. Especially important is the fact that the programs and tegies implemented constantly fail to secure the commitment of some children to ooling and so new ideas are spawned. Counsellors gave many examples of 'when it n't work' as well as when it did. The Opportunity Room is an example of a strategy that ne out of the failure of the school to 'meet the individual needs' of certain students. ther was the establishing of a bilingual Whanau Unit and ESL courses. In this respect the of constructing pastoral power is very 'ad hoc'. Also important was that neither teachers unsellors are absolute authorities; they are themselves controlled. Terms such as llance' are meaningless unless they reflect something actually occurring in the school.

Throughout the thesis I have been careful to write in a language of 'attempts' rather than certainties, for, as McNay points out, it is apparent that in both contemporary and historical instances, people do not always slip into the roles prescribed for them by disciplinary, pastoral, or any other kind of power. The thesis was therefore set up as a 'tactic of challenge' to accounts making universal claims to the truth about students, counsellors and power relations operating in schools. It challenged the assumption that forms of power operating in schools always work and secure the governmentality of students.

The thesis could have proceeded in any number of different ways from an initial investigation into the constitution of 'at risk'. I could have studied the same school and the same agents with concepts from sociological literatures addressing deviance, gender, or cultural studies. I did not begin with the concepts or research traditions from these literatures, but began instead with some questions concerning the exercise of power 'over' a certain group of people, using the notion of discourse to think about what people said and did. Although the final document addresses some gaps in the sociological literature, it cannot be a complete account of guidance counsellor work. Hence there are many possibilities for further research. An obvious research agenda which could extend the arguments in this thesis would be ethnographic research involving Aorangi students and their views and experiences on the guidance network. This research would engage with issues of agency, pedagogy, and pastoral power. Another possibility would focus on students' experiences of 'training' provisions within schools, especially Transitions and Lifeskills programs, and the linkages being forged with businesses and technical institutes. Thus, even within this one school there are still many areas of interest which could attract research. There is a lot of ambivalence in sociological inquiry. It can be said that this study has gone some way to mapping significant features of New Zealand schooling which have been ignored in sociological inquiry, and thus has addressed an important gap in the sociology of educaton literature.

APPENDIX I

METHODOLOGY: A 'NATURAL HISTORY'

INTRODUCTION

Methodology, written as an appendix, accounts for:

1. why I focused on this particular topic;
2. how I selected my research setting and went about gathering information;
3. what sorts of negotiations the research involved.

In writing this appendix I have found myself thinking in metaphors which begin, 'Research is like...'. All of these analogies have a similar theme: the idea that I had no idea when I began, or as I proceeded, that the thesis would take the final form which it has. This is an important insight because it indicates that the coherence of this document is imposed 'at the end', and the succession of arguments, the ordering of chapters and narrative, in no way reflects my actual research process. Writing about 'narratives' and 'discourse' in the thesis has made me more aware of what I am actually 'doing' as I write. What is more, my own research process can not really be understood as consecutive events but rather conforms to Foucault's ideas of rupture and discontinuity in 'history'. I have endeavoured to write this account of method as 'sets of problems' encountered at various times between 1991 and 1993.

From April 1991, I have kept a journal - not a diary - but nevertheless a document which recorded (select) impressions of my interaction with guidance and teaching staff at Aorangi; interesting discussions with colleagues and supervisors at university; potential reading; book reviews; newspaper article; correspondence; interview transcripts; and 'good' ideas. It is with the aid of this journal that I have reconstructed a version of my research process, or method. As I have argued elsewhere in the thesis, this document is only partial. In writing a thesis, inevitably there are choices made to include some things and exclude others. Some of those choices readers will think inappropriate. For some readers inappropriate choices will exist as aps' in my argument, or emphasis, but this appendix endeavours to make many choices :plicit. I have left out (not recorded?) many moments of embarrassment or discomfort, ımour, or aspects of my own biography which impacted on what I did, or did not do. For :ample, I did not transcribe all the interviews and hence did not return all to interviewees, as I ıd promised.

thesis can be said to have begun during April 1991 with the submission of my research ɔsal, and concluded in April 1993 with the handing in of the thesis. I began interviewing ınce counsellors in June 1991, having negotiated access to a school, and finished my

interviewing in October 1991. Research was put on hold from the end of October till January 1992, as I was marking (large amounts of) students' end-of-year work, organising my wedding (December 1991), and writing scholarship applications for the next year's funding. When January 1992 arrived, I began to read a number of literatures to try and make sense of the interview data. These social science literatures included deviance, counselling, education, health, method, and youth. My first attempts at writing whole chapters were made during April 1992.

AN ETHNOGRAPHIC APPROACH

While this thesis research cannot make claims to be a proper ethnography, it emerged as an argument for ethnography. At some points in the working through of the thesis an ethnographic approach was taken. I was present at some Friday meetings with guidance staff and members of the community, and spent some time mixing with staff at lunchtimes. I interviewed members of 'the guidance team' at the school, and these interviews were tape-recorded and later transcribed. I attended workshop seminars on Adolescent Mental Health, run by the Department of Youth Affairs for youth workers (including counsellors). I spent time discussing guidance counselling with university lecturers and graduates in counselling, and discussed 'youth at risk' with 'youth at risk workers'. I worked through the issues of analysing interview texts and textual authority, that is, the sorts of claims which can be made through my own, and others', texts. Utilising all these sources of information constitute an ethnographic approach rather than an ethnography. However, the thesis was not constructed as an ethnography 'outwards'. Rather, it became an argument for ethnography as it proceeded. There are also problems and extensive debates within the social science literature with respect to 'doing ethnography'. (Hammersley & Atkinson 1983; Cole 1991). By drawing on debates with respect to Foucault, this thesis became a theoretically informed attempt at fieldwork. In a 'proper' ethnography, fieldwork would be more central and would require extensive discussion.

CHOOSING YOUTH

e first set of problems faced in this thesis concerned choosing a topic and orienting estions. The impetus for 'choosing youth' (for it was 'problem youth' which were the ɔject of my 1991 proposal) came from my own biography - from my experiences as a young rson and, later, a youth worker with high school age children. The youth work was under 'umbrella' of Youth for Christ, and targeted high school students. My specific involvement /ith Te Hou Ora, which positioned itself as working particularly with 'at risk' Maori and c Island youth. The bulk of my early teenage and high school years were spent living in would now be termed a 'bicultural' environment, in both rural Hokianga and urban South and. Many of my close friends and acquaintances got 'into trouble' while at school,

trouble being teenage pregnancy, truancy, drug and alcohol abuse, criminal activity and involvement in gangs. Most lived in state houses in varying degrees of poverty, often with members of their extended or reconstituted families. Injustice, sexism and racism were endemic in this environment, yet the complexity of problems faced was matched by ingenuity. In many respects, I feel like my high school resembled Aorangi. Although my direct involvement with youth work stopped on entering University, many close friends remained involved with this work. Initially I focused on 'youth at risk' because, as my proposal of 1991 indicated:

> "This research emerges out of my own experience dealing with 'youth at risk' and the numbers of my friends who also work in this area, either under the auspices of a government department, or a private agency such as Youth for Christ. As such, I had a concept of who problem youth were; they were the disruptive, the deprived kids whose families hurt them, or did not support them at school."

I went on to say that the sociological knowledge gained at University caused me to reinterpret youth as being socially constructed, the constructions being linked to a particular historical and cultural context. I learned that the welfare of children and families was linked to the state. My undergraduate degree focused on Marx, Weber and Durkheim. However, the more actual research I did, the more dissatisfied I became with the limitations of these theoretical positions in mapping real lives and experiences. I wanted both to retain, and to move away from, the notions of structure and control they contained. An introduction to Foucault, postmodernism and feminist critiques of sociological traditions in 1990, provided welcome alternatives which I grafted into the proposal.

In the beginning I wanted to write about how young people come to be known as 'at risk'. A comment from my parents, both teachers, intrigued me. I recorded the comment in my field notes:

> "My mother is a Deputy Principal at a secondary school, specifically, a Deputy Principal in charge of guidance. We were discussing my research proposal one night and she said, 'I can tell who is a problem kid just by walking through a classroom.' She turned to my Dad and said, 'You can tell, can't you Fraser, who would be the problems even at five or six years old.' And I said to her, 'How do you know that Mum?' This is what I want to know - ***How*** do they know? (10 April 1991)"

I wrote a proposal which set out my field ('youth at risk' or 'problem youth') and some ıestions. These concerned the persons who define 'at risk' in New Zealand. What were the eas, strategies, practices and knowledges which make this possible? I intended to talk to ople and anticipated answering my questions by talking to the youth professionals, as well by reading literature and research which addressed 'youth at risk'. My next questions volved the 'processing' of problem kids once they were identified as such: how were they with, counselled, disciplined, and acted upon? A third area of interest concerned how ı perceived themselves and how they marked out their bodies and identities. These tions were big questions, probably far too big for a Masters thesis. I also wanted to talk t ethnicity and gender, rather than retain a more traditional focus on class. This required

a certain kind of setting where people were likely to address and make distinctions on the basis of ethnic and gendered identities, or subjectivities. My next dilemma was: 'Where do I go to locate these experts?' A government department, a youth organisation, or a school were some options, but the subsequent development of the research had everything to do with where I eventually located the research. Location had everything to do with where I could negotiate access.

THE RESEARCH SETTING: CHOOSING A SCHOOL

I chose my research setting, a local secondary school, for some very pragmatic reasons. My mother, herself a Deputy Principal in charge of guidance, knew a number of guidance counsellors in the city. One of these was an Aorangi counsellor, a school which fit my requirements for being within biking distance, coeducational, large, and ethnically diverse. Being able to reference this relationship gave me courage to ring the counsellor. Anxious that my research would not be seen as a worthwhile project to busy people, I delivered a nervous presentation to the counsellor, saying that the research was an investigation of how 'at risk' youth come to be known as such within the school. To my surprise this person, renamed John in the thesis, welcomed the research, as he welcomed 'anything' that might 'help the kids'. With little discussion on the matter, he agreed to meet me at his office and facilitate the process. John was my 'gatekeeper', the senior counsellor who presented my case to the Principal and the rest of the staff. He was also the person to take any responsibility if I 'mucked up'.

My first interview with John was given much thought, rehearsal, and nervous energy. Most questions surrounded how I would present the research. Sociologists in this country are most commonly found, and hence understood, in a research and advisory role to government departments. I therefore expected that John, the Principal, and any other staff would expect my research to make recommendations, and allow them to apply my 'findings' in a programmatic sense. A recent introduction to debates regarding the status of sociological knowledge and its claims to truth through Foucault, postmodern and feminist scholars, made ͅ wary. For example, I had read a text on method which, drawing on Foucault, argued that:

> "Concerned with the person behind the act, the human sciences have participated in the surveillance, training and normalisation of individuals. With their help, prisons, clinics and schools have enhanced the utility of individuals by judging and surveying them, as well as encouraging them, as 'free subjects', to survey themselves." (Gubrium and Silverman 1989)

'as not sure how Foucault and postmodernism might lend themselves to Aorangi agendas research findings. Neither did I want to contribute to a situation where the r/knowledge features of my research were 'behind the scenes' instead of 'up front'. The ion' to this dilemma was contained in the notions of reflexivity, that is, in a critical

awareness of my own inevitable 'presence' in every aspect of the research, and the extent and orientation of claims made through the thesis text.[1]

NEGOTIATING ACCESS

Negotiating further access required anticipating the expectations and requirements that John, the Principal, and perhaps even the Board of Trustees would have of a research proposal. The first interview meeting with John was recorded on tape and the following are (edited) excerpts of our negotiations.[2] They illustrate the way we presented and positioned ourselves:

> "My concern would be about the way you keep using the information. We have had people come in on solvent abuse exercises with the school and then we find we have got into counselling journals and (the school) has been clearly identifiable. That is slightly unfortunate but people can pick up on things and use them in a destructive way for the school. How do you publish your material when you finish, and would your intention be to name the school? What do you intend doing with the information?
> ***Well a thesis is primarily an academic document that is geared towards two supervisors, and an external examiner marks it at the end. Anything I produce for this thesis we can negotiate on. I haven't done this before. This is new to me too. I have done other forms of research and have asked the persons I am working with what their preferences are in terms of confidentiality. I would be really happy not to name the school at all, and to make the content of the interviews such that only myself and my supervisors see in full. They will probably read some interviews. I will give you a copy to do with what you would like, so you know what I am working with. I can disguise the interview data, or I can not include them in the body of the document.***
> It is more the ***(names a social work lecturer)*** of this world who make public comments about social problems. I think the danger would be that if you are on a panel talking about youth problems today that you actually disclose more than (you should), because of the expert position you have been in getting people's stories. It is a professional trust thing. Counsellors have to walk that road too. The Aorangi's of this world have enough problems without people heaping more on them. It might be that we can use the way you presented the material to argue for extra funding, or whatever. And having some time to think through what our plans are and to share what other people are saying as well. Within our school there might be an audience.
> ***What I am doing comes out of a personal interest and involvement but I think you as a counsellor know the value of this document more than I. Sometimes it is really useful for people to be able to think about what they might want to say and present. They would then get that in written form. In everyday life you don't often get the chance to be reflective. Sometimes you can make connections...The kind of interviews I would do would basically say, "Tell me your story, or stories about your kids, what you do, about your job...' I don't intend to say very much and let it be your forum. Does that make sense?***
> Yes that makes sense and feels comfortable. The problem with busy teachers is that it is an open-ended thing. Teaching at Aorangi is a survival game and researchers, or parents, coming in are making extra demands that are tipping people over. (Teachers) are saying, 'It is last period on a Friday and I am giving my free time to talk to...' It is something you have to be aware of. The more targeted you are in terms of what you want, the more you make it easier for people to feel, 'OK. I can give a certain amount of time to answer these questions'.
> ***Would it be useful for me to say (to the interviewee), 'These are the questions I am likely to ask', and leave a copy with them so they know what to expect?***
> Yes that would be helpful.
> ***Anything that you can tell me, such as you have, about the pressures that come to bear on teachers. I have a little understanding coming from a teaching family. I know my mother is constantly pressured and she***

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[1] ...e article "Am I in the Text?" (Jones 1990), provided a useful argument and tool for developing a ...ive writing style.

[2] ...sked permission to record each interview when first making contact to negotiate each interview.

sometimes gets fed up with people. You could just think, 'Oh, blow you.' (Researcher making a bid to draw on the collegial resource of her mother)
Right. Well I think being aware is half preparing you for it. Teachers get 2 - 3 hours of free time a week and that is likely to be time you do the interviews. They will resent it being after school, and they will resent it being a lunchtime. Other people also make demands. If I am thinking about my work this week, Peter Richards is on about solvent abuse submission to the Hospital Board so he has made three phone calls this week. He wants us as counsellors to back his submission. The time frame he has is too tight so I am wondering, 'Bugger you Peter.' Anyway we have to do that because we believe adolescents need that kind of thing. There is a woman from City Council coming period two on Monday to talk to me about youth needs in Aorangi area. Hopefully there's a bit of money for kids so I say 'yes' to that. The Health Educators want to have a thing on stress management, so I have been conned into that...These are all peripheral things to what you are paid for - which is actually working with families here at Aorangi, to have kids feeling better about themselves. So just be aware that is the sort of thing that goes on and if four hours of your teaching time are out already then ultimately the Principal is going to say, 'Hey, we don't really know what you do over there but those kids are still kids you haven't seen.' All right?
That is fine. I hope that within the year I can complete ten interviews. I don't have to do a lot and if appointments are broken, that is all right. I think I asked for about an hour with you and we won't probably be able to address some things, but that is the way it goes and therefore I will slot around your next bit of free time which you are prepared to allocate to me. I see myself as having to fit in and around the demands of your schedules, which are a lot more fixed than mine. I expect to have to justify myself every inch of the way. I can best do my job by being sensitive to the issues you mentioned. At some stage I would like to talk to the kids themselves but am not sure when would be the best time. It is interesting that I have come to you first because when I was talking to my family, my mother said, 'You should talk to John', and I thought, 'There's a name, there's a contact.' Because you have met my mother it all helps. It seems to me I haven't given you much to go on and yet you have said 'yes' to me.
Aorangi tends to say yes. I have to protect people though and not commit them to something they are not comfortable with. I want to feel they can say, 'Hey John, you have decided this is a good thing. I can give half an hour, or I can give 45 minutes.' So let's leap into it and see where you go. I am happy with that. I will bring it up with the Boss next Tuesday meeting. I will bring up the fact you are in the school with the counsellors, and ask is he (the Principal) comfortable with that.
Would it be appropriate for me to write a letter, or to go and make an appointment to see him, or come to a meeting at some stage?
I think he would appreciate that. Write down your ideas and give it to me. I will bring it up on Tuesday."

As a result of these negotiations, I altered the names of staff, students, local schools and agencies in the thesis text. Aorangi is actually a Maori name for Mt Cook and has no (proper) geographical association with the actual school. Interview data became referenced either by the occupational position of the speaker, or by a pseudonym if names were referred to in interview quotes. Names were mentioned a lot because counsellors work on a first-name basis with most of their contacts. The only place where actual names have been retained in thesis is where they have appeared in published material. The name of the Minister of ucation was retained, in part because he was directly addressed as a politician and in this sition as 'Minister' was considered public domain.

rote to the Principal and arranged for an appointment to introduce myself, thinking it best to face to my request. He was busy and our meeting lasted all of two minutes. I received rdict a week later:

n reply to your letter of 10 June, I am worried about the number of teacher/student interviews is research might involve. Pressures on teachers are great enough without using up their

> free periods. Even after reading your proposal I am unsure who you will want to talk to or 'what's in it for us'. If you are happy with a maximum involvement of ten hours of interviews, I would give approval for this research to commence. Please work with John to nominate the people you might want to talk to."

The Principal's reply precluded my doing an actual ethnography but I admit being quite relieved not to have the responsibility of a 'proper' ethnographer's 'presence' in the school. It did mean that I had to choose carefully to whom I would speak.

THE INTERVIEWS

Following the first interview with John, I received feedback on my proposal from my supervisors and some other friends. They stressed my need to contain the topic. Given the 'go ahead' for an upper limit of ten hours interviewing led to a decision (at the suggestion of supervisors) to restrict interviewing to staff and leave out students. The thesis would thus be entirely based around the discourses of counsellors and other staff. John suggested names of people who he felt were important in the guidance network for 'youth at risk' in the school. He suggested I talk to a female counsellor (he said different counsellors dealt with different students, and did things differently) to get a different perspective from his own. He also suggested the Samoan ESL teacher, the Opportunities counsellor, tutors and Deans, Maori immersion program teachers and the Health Nurse. These strategies and persons, John felt, were Aorangi's attempts to meet the needs of 'difficult', 'disruptive', or 'hurting' kids. I did not know what all these positions were, yet the assumption was made that I, being a teacher and a teacher's kid, had member's knowledge of (Aorangi) schooling. There were other people mentioned too, such as the Transitions program teachers.

This part of the research process posed problems around who to interview, how to interview, and how to use the interview information. The first issue was largely addressed by the counsellor's suggestions. The second question was negotiated with each interviewee by letter or telephone. In all cases I conducted unstructured forty five minute interviews at the school. For non-counselling staff I suggested potential questions and sent them a copy, giving them the option to reject some lines of enquiry, which no one did.

terviewing was a lot of fun and I did not find it difficult. I conducted nine interviews in total: ree with John; one each with a female counsellor (Susan), Opportunities counsellor 'racey), fourth form tutors (male and female), fourth form Dean (Bruce), and Margaret, the ealth Nurse. I attempted an interview with Simon, the ESL teacher, but the appointment was oken (we each went to different places) and we did not renegotiate it, as it was the end of chool year. I wrote and phoned the senior Maori teacher on five occasions but she did eply. Other people told me sickness and business on her part meant she was very ult to contact. During 1992 she became a Board of Trustee member of a kura kaupapa, s, a school 'fully determined by Maori values'. I read about it in the newspaper. The

article, "School of Hope for Maoridom", contained a critique from Maori academics and parents concerning existing programs at state schools and their devastating effects on Maori students. I do not like to admit it, but speaking to outspoken Maori 'activists', and even Samoan ESL teachers, made me a bit nervous at that time. Nervous of what? Of hostility and being misunderstood perhaps.

At the time of negotiating interviews, I was employed six hours per week as a Maori language teacher at a private school. On taking up the position I was challenged on a number of issues: firstly, my right to teach and represent things Maori, when I was 'not Maori'; secondly, my ethics in taking a job (which would better go to an unemployed Maori teacher 'out there'). I found myself frequently negotiating some tense situations in the classroom, (presenting Maori things to my Pakeha and sometimes racist students), and in the staffroom (with teachers unsure of the standing Maori should receive), and with parents (for and against the Maori program), friends and extended family. Whatever I thought of the diverse arguments encountered, issues of Maori identity were 'hot' issues. Aorangi had a large Maori population and a bilingual learning program within the school. The main person teaching and promoting the program I 'heard', through my Maori colleague (and member of my extended family), had criticised my appointment. These experiences highlighted for me the issues of 'license', that is, who has the right to speak, and to teach, on given subjects. As a sociologist who does not see Maoriness as a fixed identity, I wondered what exactly constituted Maoriness in everyday practices. It seems I was engaged in 'identity politics'. The effect on my research was a personal sensitivity to questions of license, and identity politics concerning ethnicity and gender in the school: "Who was licensed to speak about students at this school, and under what circumstances? Were Maori and Pacific Islands students dealt with differently than other students? Were the counsellors subject to criticism for the way they handled work with these students?" Questions of training and qualifications, as features of licensing, were asked in most interviews but my understanding was that academic qualifications do not license counsellors to speak about ethnicity, or sometimes, to speak about gender. Gender, however, is something we can all claim whereas, it seems, only Maori, Pacific Island, and rhaps Asian students 'have ethnicity' in the school.[3] I suspect tutors and deans, like unsellors, are subject to other persons who 'have ethnicity' in the school.

und myself carrying my dictaphone into every meeting, whether with supervisors or in the d, and had recurrent anxiety dreams about recording. The fear of 'missing something out' s related to a desire to 'capture everything', yet this assumed that my account could be lete - an impossible task. This fear extended to transcription format. When transcribing iews I tried to capture every wording but had to decide between using two kinds of

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aren has addressed this observation, saying: "Being white is an entitlement, not to preferred attributes but, to a raceless subjectivity." (McLaren 1991:244)

transcript, the first being an ethnomethodological grammar, and the second a fully edited, and much more readable, transcript. On having transcribed interviews, I would assert that everyone, no matter how careful, takes editorial license when writing ,and consequently I opted for the latter.

As interviews were transcribed into text my dilemma became what to 'do' with the material. Biographical texts can be interpreted a number of ways. I chose, on the basis of certain theoretical understandings, to interpret them for their display of moral and cultural forms rather than the absolute truth of 'what goes on in schools'. The data was not examined either as 'the life' or 'the lie' but simply as real, situated accounts of particular agents' work. I treated the interview texts as joint constructions. Biographical detail was examined through the metaphor of the narrative. Aorangi staff and myself were seen as 'story tellers' who sift, select, plan and project their narratives. In this conception humans think, perceive, imagine and make moral choices according to narrative structures. This perspective focuses on construction of texts rather than reconstruction of lives, and positions narrative claims as the creation of a story rather than the 'discovery of the facts' (Plummer 1990).

READING TEXTS/WRITING CHAPTERS

Interviewing staff at Aorangi posed one set of problems for me. Writing chapters posed another very different set of problems. An early start and finish to the interviewing meant I started 'in the field' and worked back to academic texts.[4] A thesis is as much about a particular form and style of writing as it is about a topic. The 'writing' part of the process appears to be about the capacity to find appropriate texts (usually at the eleventh hour) which engaged with the field I was gradually delineating (guidance, counselling, youth, education, sociology, New Zealand, 1990s), and working them into the information on schooling I had gathered. This was not straightforward.

I began writing chapters in April 1992. Since then I have written and rewritten the thesis chapters many times over and discarded large amounts of material. It is a difficult thing to work at writing a piece of work only to find that it has become somewhat peripheral to the 'al arguments which emerge at a later date, and has to be discarded. My supervisors ;ed me to set up each chapter in terms of a central problem or set of issues, work those ıgh, and tie them up. This was because earlier chapter texts contained many issues ı needed to be examined in more depth and clarity. The more I wrote, the more the ook form as a series of analytical chapters, entailing reworking each to speak to the ıapters in a coherent manner. This was the very last set of problems I faced. The first

ɔed after nine interviews at the suggestion of my supervisors who said I had more than enough and needed to start working through the interviews by attempting a chapter. My intention was e more interviews with some of the people outside the school with whom counsellors networked This did not eventuate.

of these problems was to identify the issues emerging from my accounts of work with students. The second was where to go to find sociological comment which engaged these particular issues. The third problem was how to 'fit' the interview information with other commentary.

While trying to map and make sociological sense of Aorangi High School, I searched all sorts of literatures for potential explanations of what I had found there. Great was my joy when I found literature that actually used Foucault's ideas to write about educational practices. I used three texts extensively to write my first chapter (namely Ball et al., Rose and Ryan), but I used them very differently than in the final thesis document. In the thesis, I argue these persons read education in ways that obliterate the tensions and paradoxes within the school. At my first reading I cried, "Aha! Surveillance.", and wrote about disciplinary technologies of the classroom (in terms of the panopticon), added to that the confessional mode of counsellors, and gathered children up in a network of surveillance and governmentality. In effect I said that Aorangi was a classic instance of Foucault's disciplinary institution. Fortunately my supervisors did not think much of my claims and said 'it is far more complicated than that'. My mistake had been to try and fit my material to the literature instead of using it to challenge existing arguments. This was a constant tension I faced throughout writing chapters. I would find a particular text and canonise the arguments within it. This problem was not just my own. My friend Camilla had to deal with the same tendency to write in this way, and contend with the same critique from the same supervisors.

There is another thing that can be said of reading texts, I discovered when they were re-read, they said different things, and consequently I made many 'eleventh hour' discoveries and connections. It took until the last two months of the thesis before I (at last) reached a reasonable understanding of what was meant by subjectivity, subject position and discourse.

The thesis is written for an academic readership. However, I also have a responsibility to those counsellors at Aorangi who will read this document for different reasons. I have arranged to leave a copy of the thesis with the counselling staff at the school and to have a seminar, that is, a time of discussion. Discussion would concern their response to the material and what they might do with it to argue for their position in schools. I would have liked to include an account of the meeting in the methodology but could not arrange to meet before the thesis publishing date. It would have made an extremely interesting, and useful, appendix.

A PROFILE OF THE SCHOOL (1992)

ıis profile was compiled on the basis of an article published in a local paper which advertised ɘ programs offered by schools in the city, and the interview data. I requestsed statistics pt by the school but these did not arrive in time for their inclusion in this appendix.

Aorangi is a form three to seven high school. In 1992, the school had 83 full time staff and a roll of approximately 1200 students. School statistics for 1991 record 38% of leavers went into fulltime work and 47% went into full time tertiary study (including Access programs). At form three level, there were nine classes, banded according to interviews with the students and teachers from their contributing schools. Aorangi draws most of its students from two large intermediate schools in the area. The size range of these first year, third form classes was 22 - 29 students.

The most interesting thing to me about the school concerns the diversity of learning programs offered, and the way the school endeavours to cater to different categories of student. One of the obvious areas where this is seen is in terms of language and cultural programs. These include English as a Second Language (ESL), which caters mainly to Pacific Island and Asian students. French, German, Japanese, Maori and Samoan languages are offered as subjects. Catering further to Maori and Pacific Island students are the Maori immersion program, and 'cultural and language support' for Pacific Island students.

Another feature of Aorangi is an extensive range of non-academic trimester options at F6 and F7. At the time of interviewing these included F7 career enhancement modules (the transition program from school to work also included F6 students); a F7 'employment enhancement' module; job search; and also a F5 and F6 Lifeskills program. Senior students (F5- F7) could take multilevel studies and study through modular programs. The school also offered facilities for students in their sixth year of high school and adult students. Polytechnic pre-entry courses were offered to a special F6 class to meet individual needs. At all levels of the school there were special provisions made for individual 'special needs' programs, which included maths and reading tutors.

In terms of student organisations, there are school councils at each level, a school executive, a student representative on the Board of Trustees, and a popular Peer Support program volving seventh form volunteers instructing a group of third form students during their first m at high school). The school had forty sports on offer, sports clubs and extensive ilities.

terms of disciplinary provisions, there were two Tutors and a Dean at each form level who erated various systems for 'behaviour management'. There were the counsellor-initiated ams including anger management, self esteem, and Link courses for non-Aorangi pupils ferring into the school (these programs are marketed by the school as attractions). nts are extensively involved in school programs including sports, the canteen, camps, it-student evenings, transport to and from school and school events, a day/night school,

and the Parent-Teacher Association (PTA). Aorangi markets itself as a 'School and Community Partnership', operating at an official level a student workday, a community care plan, and a system of local business sponsorship.

When I began interviewing in 1991 there were four full time counsellors, including Tracey and Sarah, one other part time female counsellor, and a full time 'Transitions counsellor'. As was apparent in the thesis, the school Board of Trustees has to make annual budget decisions based on the projected school roll, and hence the projected level of funding. This affects what programs are offered each year, and staffing levels. As a consequence of a projected fall in student numbers, the school had to axe over ten staff positions for 1992. As a result the Opportunity Room no longer operates (Tracey went back to Knightsbridge to teach there), and Susan, on finishing her long term relieving contract, went to another school. The female counsellor for whom Susan was relieving in 1991 is now employed part time, so there is a female counsellor on staff. The full time Transitions person went back to teaching geography at Aorangi in 1992. (This 'juggling' act indicates that official staffing statistics do not tell the full story of how the school is trying to juggle resource constraints.)

Many schools in the city are arguing that they will finish this current 1993 year 'in the red' because the Education Department funding formulae are unfair. They have argued that the formulae do not take into account the age of the school, and hence the level of (costly) maintenance required, nor do they take into account the diversity of the student population. It is argued that schools with large numbers of Pacific Island students have to invest resources in ESL courses. One of the ways Aorangi has been able to manage in 1993, has been through enrolling fee-paying foreign (Asian) students.

The school is constantly exploring new ways of catering to the changing needs of students.

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