Special Education 2000

The Implementation Experience

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For the parents of children with special educational needs who want the right to an inclusive education to become a reality.

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This thesis is dedicated to the memory of my parents, Olive and Cliff.

Abstract

Since 1877 the state has provided free, secular and compulsory education for most of the children of school age in New Zealand. In 1989 legislation was passed that gave the right to enrol and attend at the local school to all children. For more than one hundred years children with disabilities and special educational needs were supported in a piecemeal fashion. The influences and practices from the medical discourse often dominated their education and services when they were available.

With the passage into law of a right to an education in the mainstream for all children the state accepted the responsibility for the full range of students with special educational needs. At the same time as passing into law the opportunities for these children the Fourth Labour Government was initiating major reforms in education administration. The Education Act 1989 made provision for the governance of schools by locally elected Boards of Trustees. In 1995 after a hiatus with no special education policy for an interval of almost six years the policy Special Education 2000 was announced. This policy programme was to complete the work of education reform commenced under *Tomorrow's Schools*. The feature of this was to be the shift in responsibility for the education of students with special educational needs from the Ministry of Education to local school Boards of Trustees.

This study examines the experiences of a small group of stakeholders as they implement the policies of Special Education 2000. Four secondary school principals participated in interviews that complemented policy analysis as part of this study.The outcomes of implementation varied for the participants. For two of them the policies appeared to offer continuity and opportunity to extend school services for students with high and very high special educational needs. For the other two this was not the case and a redirection or cessation of services appeared to be the outcome of the new policies.

The findings of this study pinpoint the issues arising from the selection of policy instruments to implement and achieve policy goals, difficulties are identified due to a mismatch between the two.

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CHAPTER ONE

An Introduction To The Study

This study examines the series of policy statements released between May 1996 - July 1998 as part of the Special Education 2000 policy. The policies, changes to resource management, student support and teaching approach have had a considerable impact upon the compulsory education sector. A range of groups have all contributed to the debates around change; Boards of Trustees and their national association, school principals and their professional groups, teachers and their unions, parents, disability support organisations and some of the students with disabilities and special educational needs.

This study investigates the responses of one of those stakeholders, a small group of secondary school principals, to the demands of the new policies and their implementation. The participants in this study lead secondary schools in the same district of a large metropolitan centre in New Zealand. Special education policy is located in the context of a history of more than a century of two separate education systems and the segregated teaching of students with special education needs in New Zealand. In 1877 education was made free, secular and compulsory for children in primary school with the passing into law of the Education Act. By 1880 the first provision was made for students with special needs when the Sumner Institute for the Deaf and Dumb was opened. Over a century later in 1989 legislation was passed so that all children could enrol and attend at their local school, where that was their parents' wish. An interval of 112 years had occurred between the provision of free secular and compulsory education and that provision becoming universal.

In 1984 the Fourth Labour Government had commenced a startling social experiment. The move towards marketisation of all social service provision, with a core of state services dominated by the market driven ideologies of neo-Liberalism was identified in New Zealand as Rogernomics.

In 1995 the National government announced its policy *Special Education 2000*. This was implemented on a stage by stage basis and school principals were to become the implementors of this major state education reform.

This study applies critical analysis to the key policies of Special Education 2000 and explores the response of the participants, as they work to implement these policies in their secondary schools. Their response to questions examining the purpose of education, the role and function of special education and their experiences in leading the implementation of the new policies gives insight into the tensions between central policy and models of self management.

This study is arranged as a number sections and chapters that will:

- explore the background of special education provision in New Zealand
- examine the reform of education in New Zealand
- identify the emergence of Special Education 2000
- investigate issues of policy implementation
- establish the position of the investigator as a critical researcher and establish methodology for this study
- present an analysis of selected policy documents from SE 2000
- discuss the contents of the transcribed interviews with the participants
- discuss the experiences of the participants in policy implementation
- summarise the key points in conclusion of the study.

My Own Background In Relation To This Study

For the last seventeen years much of my personal and professional work has been in response to the issues that have emerged following the birth of our first daughter with Down syndrome. Prior to her birth my personal interests and work focus had nothing to do with disability, special education or teaching, although upon leaving secondary school I had trained to be a teacher. Within a year of Sophie's birth the intensity and time I had given to my passion for photography, with exhibiting, writing and teaching of others was coming to an end. I was fortunate that my paid employment continued to meet the need of an income for our family and allowed sufficient flexibility so I could redirect my focus to working with my wife to meet our daughter's needs, alongside our own, as we learnt more about her disability. A journey had started; it continues 17 years later and undertaking this research is a part of that journey.

As Sophie grew older we both became involved in the parent support movement, initially around Down syndrome and then broadening to disability and special education related issues. After three years, with my wife, of running parent support groups and visiting families of new born infants with Down syndrome in hospital I left the field I was employed in and retrained as a social worker. I began to develop a professional practice alongside the voluntary work I was involved in. My critical awareness and analytic view was very rapidly developed during that training. It became apparent that the issues for our daughter were less about her different pattern of child development because of a trisomic genetic disorder and much more about the ways the services and support for her and us as parents were shaped by a medicalised approach. These created the stigma, prejudice and the marginal roles assigned to disabled people by society. This social construction of her disability dominated our lives (Oliver 1990, 1996). As a four year old attending the local kindergarten our daughter was subject to a range of policies and practices that constructed her as 'other'. She was someone's 'case load', regarded as both a 'client' and a 'special needs child'. She was made to be all of these things but she was none of them. Sophie was Sophie. Upon completing my social work training I became employed at the regional psychopaedic hospital. After three years of working at the institution government policy changed. There had been a lobby, driven by parents and organisations including the IHC, for community living. This change incorporated a model based upon the concept of normalization, (Wolfensberger 1972, 1991) which

sought a closer approximation of regular everyday living arrangements and individual choices for all the residents. The local area health board supported this philosophy and the management and staffing of the institution was restructured to achieve the project. A new CEO and management team led the planned deinstitutionalisation of the residents. My professional role altered as I established and managed a multi-disciplinary community team, supporting individuals move out of the hospital, and in many cases rebuilding and strengthening the ties with their families.

Sophie had been supported by the early intervention programme based at the hospital, for the 18 months following her birth. At that time we had often been distressed by having to take her to the institution for assessments, and not knowing what would happen if we didn't do well enough with her therapy. Would she end up in there with the other children we saw as we waited for her progress to be reviewed? Closing the hospital gave us the certainty that our daughter could not be institutionalised, but it did not change the policies, practices, and attitudes toward disabled people that we were encountering from the early childhood education system.

In 1990 as a five year old Sophie started to attend at her local school, she was one of the first disabled children to enrol under the new provisions of the Education Act 1989. We were among those families exercising 'choice' and working in real partnership with the local school. I had commenced further training, completing a Bachelor of Social Sciences (Human Services) degree. My research dissertation investigated the delivery of the diagnosis of Down syndrome by local paediatricians. This was an occasion to explore the experiences of other parents. Subsequent recommendations emerged for changes in the maternity system that would make such events less distressing for other parents in the future (Wills, 1994). There was an opportunity to change jobs, from providing or managing the direct support to people with an intellectual disability, to training those who would be in support roles. I was an appointed to a lecturing position, teaching human service workers and teacher aides; and felt some satisfaction in the potential this offered to have a greater impact for more people like Sophie and more families like us.

Over the last eight years my role has changed, with the inclusion of training teachers in special education approaches. An interesting parallel has occurred as my work has

matched Sophie's movement through the system of supports and services utilised by disabled people and children with special educational needs and their families. Figure One below places these events onto a schema showing the relationship of events and linking them with this study and the critical questions that it contains.

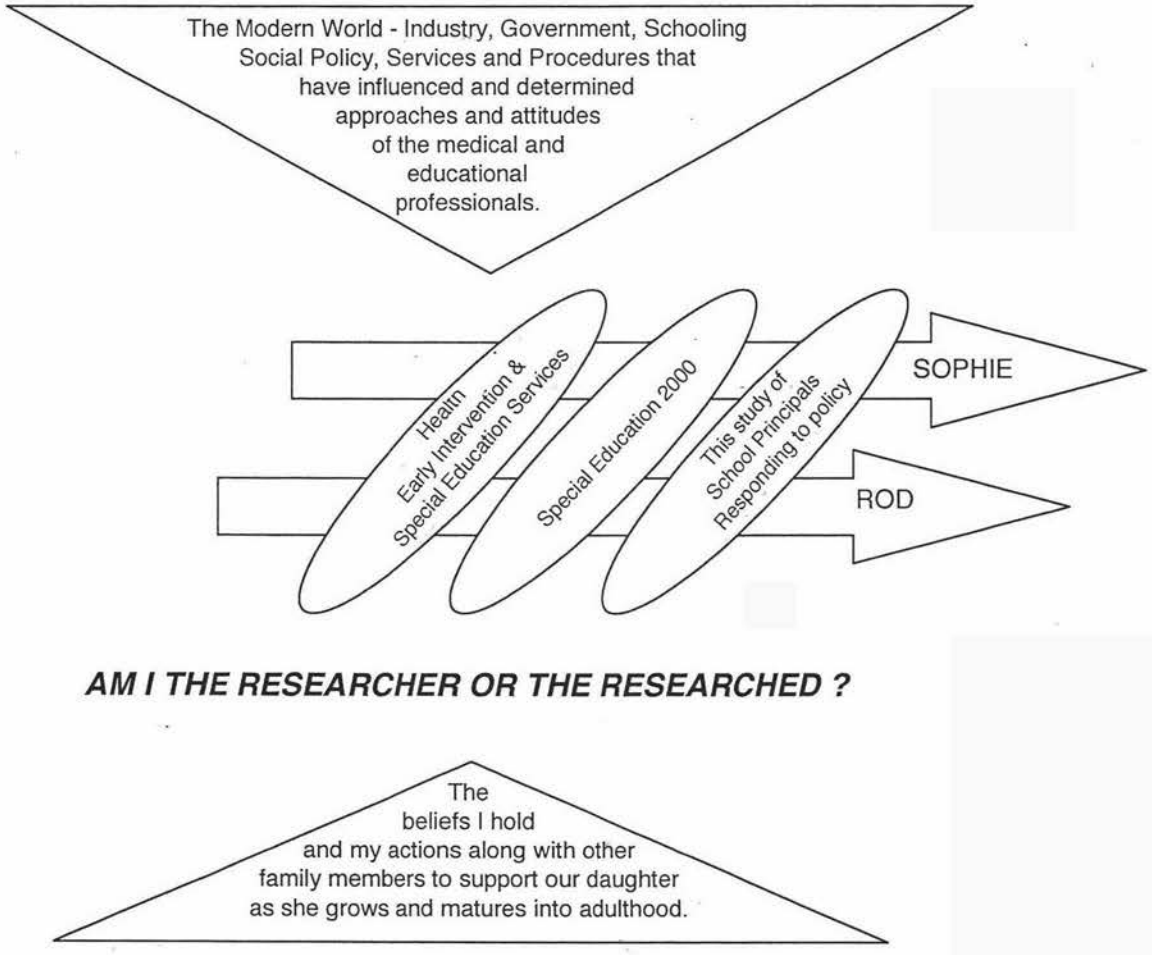


Figure One: - The relationship between life events and this study.

An interesting question thus arises as to whether I am the researcher, or the participant ? With respect to the schema above and the account that precedes it, the answer is obviously both.

For the purposes of the thesis, I have tried to keep in the role of the researcher. Nevertheless I am researching issues which impact upon Sophie's current secondary school education. The outcomes of the study shape my thinking and practice as a teacher educator, as an advocate and as Sophie's father - and conversely my role as a

researcher is shaped by being Sophie's father. As the parent of a child with special needs and as an advocate for inclusive education where schools adopt a range of educational practices to identify and the barriers to participation and learning for all of the students, I have my own beliefs and views. I believe that what matters most for individuals with special needs and their families is a focus toward them as people, and that what matters least is a focus towards a deficit view of disability, driven by a medical model of services (Wills, 1994; 1997). The experiences of working within such a system and being the parent of a child with a disability, who is still placed in the client role, have shaped my 'world view'. I choose to believe that truth and indications of necessary actions are more likely to be found in personal accounts, and stories than in the measures of statistics, the delivery of contracted outputs and managed lives. What matters to me as a researcher is something in my heart, a 'feeling thing'. In identifying this importance I place at risk the 'objectivity' expected for research to be 'valid'.

Lous Heshusius and Keith Ballard (1996) write of scientism and the restrictions and demands it places upon researchers:

> The metaphors and worldview that emerge from the rise of Western science demand that we believe in the possibility of separating fact from value, mind from emotion, and self from other. With its emphasis on scientific, methodological, and quantitative rationality, Western thought began to liquidate all other ways of knowing: not intuition; not imagination; not feelings; not spiritual knowing; not knowing through connecting, participation, and identification; not qualitative subtleties; and surely not the knowledge that the body holds. Only the elegant, well controlled cleanliness of mathematical certainty could count as knowledge. (pp.4 -5)

The traditional criteria for establishing methodological adequacy and validity are based upon positivism and " . . . the philosophical, theoretical, and methodological perspective that have justified the use of quantitative methods in the social sciences for most of the twentieth century." (Altheide and Johnson 1994, p. 487) The approaches offered within the 'empirical science' of quantitative research involve the

asserting the link between 'reliable' methods and the validity or 'truth' of the findings arising from the investigation.

In an attempt to resolve the tension between the challenges that have occurred to how we think about research and 'objective' knowledge interpretive ethnographers employ a range of approaches based upon qualitative research methodology where the research 'product' reflects the concept of 'knowledge' as understanding of the topic or subject under investigation. To achieve this understanding the validity of the knowledge is examined from a range of positions which take regard of power. A particular emphasis may be stressed in examining power relationships, such as ethnicity, gender, ideology or disability.

The obvious response to the situation I have just laid out is to adopt a position that depicts tension between the roles I occupy between that of parent and researcher, teacher educator and advocate, and that of a father working in a field where the workforce is predominantly female. None of these polarities is accurate as I move across all of these roles and situations all of the time. Equally there are polarities between the approaches that may be used to take account of the experiences of the participants in this study. As well, the methods and techniques of analysis of the documents that constitute the policies that are Special Education 2000 can be debated and discussed to decide what is right. My interest and intention is to tell the stories, unravel the documents and look critically at what occurs. There is a saying among surfers, when referring to the moment of decision over whether to take a large wave or not - simply they will say - "If you don't go, you won't know !" Sitting back and applying endless analysis as to what action is best results in sitting back and considering what action is best, which results in nothing. This study is about investigating what has happened to participants who have acted. Their experiences of implementation and meeting policy demands are crucial for me to understand, in all of my roles.

CHAPTER TWO

Special Education In New Zealand

Introduction

This chapter will identify some of the local and overseas influences on special education policy and practice in New Zealand and will focus on the particular pressures and changes evident in special education provision since 1975. These influences have been identified as consisting of an " . . . interlocking mix of . . . economic and political factors [which] have played a critical role . . . . in influencing special education, both directly and indirectly." (Mitchell and O'Brien 1994, p.429) These factors developed over a period of time from the 1850s until the mid 1980s.

Mitchell and O'Brien have noted three periods of increased state involvement. The first during the 1850s and 1860s was where everyday life meant that children were likely to be neglected , or abandoned and resort to petty crime that brought them to the attention of the authorities. The second period was during 1900 to 1920 when at a time of industrial growth in New Zealand there was a concern with the welfare of children. These factors linked to a decrease in birth rates and the demands for an increasingly skilled work force meant that there was " . . . pressure to create special education for those who were not so obviously handicapped as the blind and the deaf and the "mentally defective" for whom provisions had already been made." (ibid, p.430). The third period of state involvement has been from the mid 1980s until the present day. In response to national and international economic recession. New Zealand moved away from a welfare state to a model of market forces underpinned by neo-liberal ideology .

With growing pressure for mainstreaming students with disabilities and special educational needs into regular classes a review was undertaken of policy provision in 1987. This report helped to shape the subsequent response of politicians and lobbyists. and lead to the Education Act 1989 which made provision for the enrolment and attendance of all children at their local schools. While this legislation reflected the demands of a rights discourse there was a much larger agenda taking place as the

Labour government reformed much of the state provided social services. The roots of present special education policy will be traced out against this backdrop.

Influence On Special Education In New Zealand

In the decade that preceded the Education Act 1989 there had been considerable overseas influence upon special education in New Zealand. From the United Kingdom, a key element of the 'Warnock Report' of 1978 (Department of Education and Science, 1978) was its recognition that there would be many students with special educational needs throughout school populations, not just students with disabilities. Within the United States, the Public Law 94 -142 of 1975 legally mandated individual resource provision and educational models that included children with special educational needs in regular classrooms. A feature of the American changes was the success of the lobby that gave priority to parents' views and choices for their child's education. These international changes impacted upon the New Zealand delivery of education and the discussions between special educators, parents and government officials of the day.

Gillian Fulcher (1989) discusses the emerging rights discourse in some welfare states as a political response to being identified as disabled. Fulcher names the components of this discourse " . . . self-reliance, independence, consumer wants (rather than needs) . . ." and identifies the concepts embodied by the discourse as " . . .discrimination, exclusion . . . and oppression."(p.30). The rights discourse makes links with a political or moral position found in civil rights and equal opportunities. Fulcher (1989) proposes that the rights discourse, " . . . is seen as the most progressive and obvious strategy for those excluded from full citizenship . . ." (p.31) even if there is a lack of civil, educational or parental rights, enforceable by law.

Many parents sought these new approaches and practices for their child, as they offered a positive alternative to the medical and institutional models of segregated provision (special schools, special educational units and residential schools) that had dominated New Zealand services for a long time. This 'rights' based alternative of education in the mainstream took a child centred focus on meeting individual needs and incorporated individual educational planning that identified the additional support needed for the education of the child in the regular classroom. This approach

was underpinned by a model of parent / professional partnership. When presented as a systemic model for local special educational delivery many of these approaches (with their innovative elements) coupled with their origins outside the New Zealand education system, were seized upon by parents and educators as desirable models for change.

Fulcher (1989) considered the link between responses to disability and the education of children with special needs. She noted that there were five discourses on disability, "medical, lay, charity and rights . . . and a corporate approach . . .where 'managing disability' is one of its themes and its institutional base is emerging among professionals in government . . ." (p.26).

The span of responses from the educational community toward students with special educational needs embraced all of these discourses; both singularly, and in various combinations. Historically the approaches adopted by special schools relied upon the medical and charity discourses. More recently parents seeking special education in the mainstream drew primarily from the rights discourse while relying on the medical discourse to inform the technical approaches that might be required in supporting their child. In both cases the public perception and response was likely to remain influenced by both the lay and charity discourses.

The Influence Of The Rights Movement

Many parents became involved in the movement advocating for mainstreaming often with considerable encouragement from the voluntary welfare sector involved in disability support. Between 1981 and 1983 parent support groups such as the Down's Association and Parent to Parent established local and national structures. The Coalition of Parent Groups for Special Education was set up in Auckland as an umbrella for eight separate groups: Contact Inc, the Multihandicapped Association, the Auckland School for the Deaf Association, the Downs Association, Parent to Parent, the Autistic Association, IHC Parents, and the Mangere Parents Association (Brown 1994). Each of these organisations took on as a part of their brief advocacy for the 'right' of children with special educational needs to be mainstreamed into their local schools.

A number of the senior professionals working within the Department of Education aligned themselves with the push for these new practices and values. Leadership was given by Don Brown as Director of Special Education and from the mid 1980's his actions to ensure that parents were included in policy making gave a strong message about the need to move from a service model dominated by professionals to one where a real partnership could be utilised. He recalled of this time "I had a very strong respect for parents. I also had a very significant commitment to their inclusion in our discussion. Parent groups were effective . . . we made sure they could be by including them into the work we did . . ." (Cited in Brown 1994, p.62).

Some of the officials joined with colleagues and parents to form networks of support such as The Auckland Council for the Exceptional Child. While parts of the education sector moved to embrace these new approaches, which placed emphasis upon working with families in order to support the education of children with special educational needs in the mainstream; others were much slower to engage with them. The emerging demand for a 'needs based' approach to children with special educational needs in the mainstream as was their 'right' sat alongside the prevailing practice of a 'categorical based' response. The latter drew heavily upon medical and technical approaches seeking to identify and remedy the deficit 'within' the individual child. A feature of this approach had been the making of decisions about educational placement by specialist professionals.

The Official Response And Government Action

A significant influence upon the government's policy response to these emerging debates about special education provision was the review developed by the Department of Education in 1987. Over fifty individuals met with departmental officers for a week to compile the *Draft Review of Special Education.* The document noted that: "Clear support has emerged for the principle of equity for all, which requires the fullest possible inclusion of all students in regular settings, rather than the continuation of a parallel system." (Department of Education 1987, p.16)
The separate system, established to segregate some learners for special support, failed to address the requirement that equity be an outcome. The document stated special educational issues were being advanced 'off-shore' and now the change had to occur in New Zealand.

> Education systems have dealt with many individual differences by a process of exclusion . . . While special education is still required for many students with handicaps it is now internationally acknowledged that they should not be segregated from their age peers without the most compelling reasons. (Department of Education 1987,pp. 16 -17).

These statements indicated that there was little doubt in the departmental officials' view that special education services should be delivered to students in such a way that maximised the potential of an inclusive educational setting. In clarifying the term 'inclusive' Ballard (1999) suggests that:

> To be inclusive requires that we strive to identify and remove all barriers to learning for all children. This means that we must attend to increasing participation not just for disabled students but for all those experiencing disadvantage . . . (p.2).

Such a clarification signalled a shift in thinking away from a model locating educational deficits 'in' the child - to scrutinising the environment which the child is 'in'. The first model follows the medical discourse and the traditional response toward special educational needs, the second model embodies an individual response to special educational needs and sits more comfortably with the rights discourse elaborated by Fulcher (1989).

When it passed the Education Act 1989 the Fourth Labour Government changed educational provision for children with disabilities and special needs. This enabled all students to enrol and attend at their local school, for the first time. The intention of the Education Act 1989 was very clear: " . . . people who have special education needs (whether because of disability or otherwise) have the same rights to enrol and receive education at state schools as people who do not . . ." (Section 8) . This provision enabled students to be 'mainstreamed', on the basis of their parents' choice, rather than an education official's approval. Those employed in the special education 'system', were made aware that their position and knowledge base was no longer one of absolute power; parental choice was now legitimated and regarded by many as a right.

The Establishment Of A Dual System In Special Education

The provision of mainstreaming made possible by the Education Act 1989, established a dual system allowing choice in enrolment for special education provision. This dual system however did not keep up with developments in special education occurring in some states of the USA. While there were 'choices' available for special education provision in New Zealand they effectively forced a thinner 'spreading' of financial resources and specialist expertise; thus slowing up the possible depth in development of local approaches and practices in the mainstream. By way of contrast in the United States the Regular Education Initiative formalised mainstreaming of students with mild to moderate disabilities (Haring, 2000). This gave rise to a further demand that schools commence a much deeper philosophical shift towards the inclusion of all students. A model embracing diversity was regarded as preferable to using approaches and supports that were based upon a view of the inability of the student to be educated within the school. The meaning of 'inclusion' was a challenge to the belief that only with specialist resources and additional funding could a student be fully integrated into a regular classroom or school (Lipsky and Gartner 1989; Stainback and Stainback 1996; Thousand and Villa 1989.) The shift sought was based upon a broad based philosophy of educating all students, not subsidising the relocation of segregated thinking and practice into the 'mainstream'. This revision had been critical to ensure the development of inclusive approaches and linked to the rights discourse (Fulcher 1989) with its integral concept of social justice and community membership. These connections sit well with the concepts of citizenship and community that is embraced by the American public education system.

Writing reflectively a decade later in New Zealand, Keith Ballard (1998) suggested that the movement toward inclusive education that had commenced in New Zealand during 1987 must not be based just upon the relocation of the practises or policies of special education (segregation) into the regular or mainstream environment. He suggested to his readers that "different instruction, different curriculum, and separateness . . . cannot be part of an inclusive education." Such a declaration meant that the links between classroom practice, educational philosophy, regulations and legal provision and political beliefs all needed to be clearly understood. While many of the parents, educators and government officials were ready to move to an inclusive

model of special education the political will needed to support this was not certain beyond the term of the government. The members of the then Labour cabinet wanted to change the prevailing 'arrangements' in special education. Russell Marshall (Education Minister from 1984 -1987) identified the intentions of the government rather bluntly, when he stated "Special schools would have gone. . ." (Brown, 1994, p.101).

With the passing into law of the Education Act 1989, and its implementation from January 1990 there were now two systems in place. One represented all the accumulated knowledge and resources that were linked to the institutions for those students with sensory impairments, the residential special schools for students with behavioural disorders, the day special schools and their satellite classes for students with intellectual disabilities, units for students with physical disabilities, and special classes set up by schools (Mitchell and Mitchell, 1985). The other model, educating students with special needs in the mainstream relied on the commitment of teachers to uphold the rights of students to be in their class and their ability to base their classroom practice on a set of values and philosophy, rather than solely relying on special resourcing. A similar dualistic approach also was evident in the areas of curriculum, pedagogic approach, and the provision of additional or specialist support.

The emergence of mainstreaming as an approach to learners with special needs upset the traditional response and what some authors, described as " . . . an implicit contract . . . between regular and special education . . ." (Moore, et al. 1999, p.7). This arrangement worked to meet the needs of the different providers of compulsory education by ensuring that "Those in regular education would support special education in gaining resources and staffing. In return, those in special education would take over the troublesome and troubled students from regular classes." (ibid p.7)

Less than a year after the introduction of the Education Act 1989 the government changed at the general election in November 1990. The new National government's approach supported the 'market model' and 'parent choice' as the critical drivers for education in New Zealand and enabled a move away from the rights based inclusionary stance of the previous government. This slowing up of the shift to the

inclusion of all students in regular schools was re-iterated by the Ministry of Education in 1991 when it indicated that: "The current choice of special schools, attached units, or regular classes for students with disabilities will continue." (Ministry of Education 1991 (b), p.5)

While the move to update approaches in special education had gathered momentum they were occurring within a framework of reform based upon managerial principles and practices that were to be further strengthened by the change of government and the powerful influence of the Treasury over public policy formation (Goldfinch, 1997). These changes were to stymie any further developments in special education based upon the government's response to the concepts of inclusion and rights. The option of 'parent choice' enabled the National Government to be seen to embrace the hard won 'right' of inclusion without needing to ensure that the special education practice in schools was truly inclusionary. As schools were already self-managing they were free to interpret the requirements of Section 3 and Section 8 of the Education Act 1989 (which detailed the right of children with special educational needs to enrol and attend at their local school) in a way which they saw fit as there was no policy detail provided by the Ministry of Education.

The Impact of Reforms Upon Special Education Policy

The implementation of Special Education 2000 must be placed into the context of the reform of education in New Zealand, a part of the overhaul of the 'welfare state'. This change, described by Rudd and Roper (1997) as a move from the economic orthodoxy of Keynesianism, which had prevailed in New Zealand since the mid 1940s, " . . . to neo-classicism, generated the paradigm shift in policy making from social democratic Keynesianism to New Right neo-classicism . . ." (page v). These were initiated by the Fourth Labour Government in the mid 1980s and were a part of the much bigger reform of state sector provision and involvement in social services that we have come to know as Rogernomics, and identified and critiqued by Kelsey (1997) as being a social experiment.

While the drives for efficiency down played the concept of social justice and the associated drivers of social, sexual, political, and economic equality, the Labour Government still tried to retain some trace of this in their approach. Interviewed in 1992, David Lange spoke about the passing of the Education Act 1989 and its provision for children with special educational needs to enrol and attend at their local schools. The discourse of rights contradicted the prevailing drive of monetarism from the Treasury. The Labour members of the parliamentary caucus still held a moral sense based upon social intervention, in spite of their becoming " . . . the party of efficiency and enterprise and international competitiveness. This was one area of life where they could actually say, 'Look we are Labour' and they did." The vestige of social values remained, at least in Lange's recollection. (Lange, cited in Brown, 1994).

Four key documents shaped the reforms in education between 1984 -1988:

- The first, *Economic Management*, prepared by the Treasury (which first identified their social policy agenda) and was delivered to the new Labour Government in 1984.
- The second, *Government Management*, the Treasury document of 1987 spelt out the response to be taken to what was portrayed as a state fiscal crisis by reducing education expenditure and altering the education structure.
- The third, the Report of the Taskforce to Review Education Administration, *Administering for excellence: Effective administration* (1988), (the Picot report)

which suggested that while there were good people in administrative roles, the education system they worked within was deeply flawed. This formed a white paper for discussion.

- And the fourth, the response from the Minister of Education and Prime Minister the Rt. Hon. David Lange to the 'Picot report', *Tomorrow's Schools : The reform of education administration in New Zealand.* (1988), which spelt out the mechanisms that would decentralise administration and place responsibility for school governance upon local volunteers. This was the green paper and the government's policy position.

The reforms in education administration and management were to dominate education with their demands being felt across the whole of the sector. The requirement that schools be governed by Boards of Trustees, (BOTs) elected like high schools Boards of Governors from community members, captured the interest and energy of many parents of children with special needs. They saw Board membership as a way to influence the possible educational outcomes for their child particularly as now there was clarity about the right of their child to enrol and attend at the local school, but uncertainty as to how best achieve their inclusive education.

Tomorrow's Schools A Toolkit For Delivering The Reform Of Education In New Zealand

The introduction in *Tomorrow's Schools* sets out nine principal features for the reform of education administration, their dis-aggregation leaves the following key elements:

- Decentralisation of educational management
- Governance through a board
- Objectives set by state particular to the school through a charter
- A partnership between the professionals and the particular community in which it is located
- Mechanism for such a partnership will be a board of trustees.
- Each institution [to set]own objectives
- National guidelines set by the state

- Charter will act as a contract between the community and the institution, and the institution and the state
- Compliance with standards
- Accountability measures
- Regular reviews of every institution.
- Efficiency gains overall effectiveness [a business model]
- Institutions will be free to purchase services.

(Adapted from Lange 1988, pp. 1-2)

Schools were to be governed through a chartered relationship to the Ministry of Education. Charters included a range of prescribed statements and were required to address a range of goals that were:

> To enhance learning by ensuring that the school's policies and practices seek to achieve equitable outcomes for students of both sexes; for rural and urban students; for students from all religions, ethnic, cultural, social, family and class backgrounds and for all students, irrespective of their ability or disability.
>
> (Ministry of Education 1989, p.10)

While the demands stipulated by *Tomorrow's Schools* (Lange 1988) were very particular in the context of the schools becoming self-managing, they were less dominating than the major changes in New Zealand's political economy that underpinned the public sector reforms. Mitchell (1999) described the changes in special education policy and identified how changes in educational administration were of significance and how changes in special education were to become driven by wider government concerns about the model of new public management. These reflected the changes in the broader public sector as well as education, among them were:

> . . . principles of :(a) separating policy, regulatory and delivery functions; (b), reducing public monopolies and maximising contestability; (c), shifting the balance of responsibility for the governance, management and accountability of learning institutions from the centre to elected boards of trustees (BOTs) responsible for individual institutions; (d), moving from the use of input controls to

> quantifiable output measure and performance targets; and (e), moving towards greater parental choice. (Mitchell 1999, p.199)

The range of changes detailed by Mitchell (1999) were established to achieve a somewhat different series of outcomes than the visions of equality and democratic participation that the Ministry of Education charter goal statement might evoke. In the words of *Tomorrow's Schools* (Lange, 1988) " . . . more immediate delivery of resources to schools, more parental and community involvement, and greater teacher responsibility." (p. iv) In his preface to the policy document Lange (1988) emphasised the importance of being socially just, ensuring participatory democracy and the desirability of this for all of New Zealand's children, including Maori. The reforms were based on the stated intention of improved outcomes for children. As the future would be largely shaped by their education effective administration of this was to become the key to their individual and collective future development.

Tomorrow's Schools set out the scope of the substantial structural changes in the education system that were linked to a 'market model' for education. New Zealand economist and commentator Brian Easton (1997) identified these changes as " . . . the commercialisation of the core education system." (p.200) To deliver the functions previously undertaken by the Department of Education numerous new Crown agencies were established. The intention to curtail the role of the state and substitute market economics and managerialism became the driver for education reform. Whilst control was devolved the support to communities for them to undertake their new roles and responsibilities was ultimately short lived. The Parent Advocacy Council, community education forums and the stipulation of detailed equity and Treaty of Waitangi provisions in School Charters were disestablished or abandoned during 1991-1992 before the newly elected Boards served their first three year term. The structures designed to enable community control and decision making were removed, leaving the responsibility to implement government policy to the Boards of Trustees elected for each school. While the decentralisation of education management was being implemented at a local school level other changes were taking place in the area of special education.

The Special Education Service - A New Crown Agency

In addition to the structural and ideological changes to education administration the process of the reforms brought about for the first time the co-ordination of a number of special education roles and services. A new crown agency, the Special Education Service (SES) was established. This provided for a self-managing organisation to be contracted by the Ministry to provide specialist services to schools and advice to the Ministry. The establishment of the new service brought professionals and specialists from a range of occupational groups together. Previously these special education advisers, advisers for deaf and visually impaired students, visiting teachers, speech-language therapists and educational psychologists had worked for different 'arms' of the Department of Education. The agency's service delivery was controlled through an annual contract with the new Ministry of Education. It had been proposed in *Tomorrow's Schools* that the funding for overall special education service provision be vested across the compulsory sector. The agency was to retain the major portion (80%) with the balance being released to schools as part of their bulk operational funding, allowing them to control the purchase of specific services. This contestability of funding was not implemented at the time of *Tomorrow's Schools* but it remained a feature of the reform model.

The implementation of *Tomorrow's Schools* had commenced on October 1st 1989. In March 1990 the Ministry of Education commenced a review of the processes and emerging outcomes from the reforms. The review was also charged with making recommendations for improvements in the new structures and organisations (Lough,1990). In the foreword to his report Lough noted a perception in the compulsory education sector that associated the reforms with greater control from the centre, more work in schools and less support to achieve the demands. Lough reported that schools were concerned with the rapidity of change, a lack of clear communication about the direction Ministry policy was headed in, and their experience of under-funding the cost of school administration.

When writing some years later reflecting upon the changing role of the state in New Zealand Dale described the function of the state in education as having ".

. . much more to do with the control, administration and management of the education system - its *efficiency* - than with its curricular, pedagogic, and organisational *effectiveness*." [emphasis in original] (Dale 1994, p.70) Critically, this indicated a reduction of the state involvement in education. The responsibility and accountability for the delivery of the national curriculum and compliance with administrative goals and structures previously managed by regional Education Boards and the Department of Education were now placed upon each school Board of Trustees.

In reviewing the establishment and delivery of service by the Special Education Service after six months, Lough noted both the lack of efficiency and equity in the allocation of support to learners and the disproportionate allocation of funding to learners in segregated settings. Two proposals were presented to address these problems. The first was the phased closure of selected special schools and units and the second was the establishment of contestability over the services delivered by the Special Education Service. Lough also advised that a system needed to be in place to ensure that special education provision must be:

- Equitable and based on objective criteria,
- Responsive to the changing needs of learners,
- Efficient,
- Accountable,
- Targeted to the needs of learners, their families and schools through the creation of an individual developmental / educational plan that draws upon professional advice and support,
- In line with government policy.

(Lough 1990, p.46)

Dale critiqued Lough's Report and suggested that it ". . . clearly intended to claw back some of the ground it was perceived had been ceded to professionals during the implementation phase." (Dale 1994, p.72).

The impact of the Lough report on the Special Education Service was to firmly guide the new crown agency away from the 'rights' base advocated by parents and many

professionals and point it toward working with a 'needs' model based upon the 'corporate discourse' of managerialism (Fulcher,1989). The *Lough Report* reiterated the five fundamental principles for all the education sectors as a part of the reforms of *Tomorrow's Schools*:

> Equity - Access to education for all; equal employment opportunities for those working in education; a recognition of the special relevance to education of the Treaty of Waitangi.
> Quality - A recognition of the Government's responsibility for standards in education.
> Efficiency - A recognition that resources in education are limited and that the best use of the limited resources will be decisions about their use being made at the level of the institutions.
> Effectiveness - A recognition of the need to ensure that the resources deployed in education achieve the desired results.
> Economy - That the community receive value for money for the considerable investment of resources in education.
> (Lough 1990, pp.62 - 63)

A National Government Continues Reform

With the election of the National Government in 1990 further moves away from a strongly rights based education of students with special educational needs was evident. However this occurred under a discussion of choice The Ministry of Education stated: "The special education policy of the incoming government in 1990 identified the need for a flexible approach. The key element of the policy was to retain a range of fairly resourced options to provide choice for parents of students with disabilities." (Ministry of Education 1991 (b), p.4)

Whilst Labour had been the instigator of the reforms in education the underlying ideology was shared by National also. National's policy on special education was to retain special schools - mainstreaming was an "inflexible option", to support satellite classes and attached units - as socialisation for the handicapped was important, and to allow mainstreaming where other parents and the school consider it appropriate and where the resources would be available (National Party Manifesto, 1990). In July 1991 the education policy document *Investing in people: Our greatest asset* was

released. It announced that the education system and educational professionals were to be focussed to achieve economic growth and created a link between education and the nation's economic prosperity. The document stressed concepts of investment, educational achievement and economic strategy. The impact for teachers was clear when it was stated that the goal would be achieved when professionals " . . . adopt policies to make education . .more responsive to the labour market." (Ministry of Education 1991(a), p.10)

These statements were indicators of the National Government's regard of education to meet the demands of 'the marketplace', enabling the government to move toward meeting its economic goals. The profession of education was being commandeered to support the 'values' of neo-liberalism and teachers were required to respond to the needs of the 'market'. This re-positioning of the purpose of education would be unlikely to meet the special educational needs of students in the mainstream whose place in regular schools 'as of right' was still tenuous.

National And Special Education

Twelve months elapsed between the election of the National Government in 1990 and the release by the Ministry of Education of the policy document *Special Education in New Zealand: Statement of Intent* in November 1991. During that time there was a complete absence of any new special education policy detail . The traditional dual system of provision of special education was continued under the guise of 'parent choice', a part of the rhetoric of education reform. The lack of any policy announcement, coupled with the Minister's public expression of personal opinion regarding the mainstreaming of students with multiple disabilities, combined to generate a high level of concern among those involved in special education. Dissatisfaction was being voiced across the education sector, and many parents, teachers, schools, professional groups and organisations were voicing their feelings of frustration, and sense of disempowerment. A combined lobby of teacher unions, disability sector groups and parent representatives was called together and met on two occasions in Wellington. Detail of this dissatisfaction is found in the 1994 chronology of special education policy from the IHC Advocacy Centre. "February 1991 - Special education lobby group set up. Their first task was to complain to the government about the lack of any special education policy."(IHC Advocacy Centre 1994, p.1)

The *Statement of Intent* (1991) (b) was based on the work of a project team of Ministry officials who had been part of the earlier writing group for *Educational provisions for learners with special: A review of policy* (Ministry of Education, 1991) (a). This report took stock of the current mix of policies and provisions in the area of special education.
Concurrently (1990 -1991) a second group of Ministry officials, education sector, and teacher union representatives had been working on a document to align the current special education practice with the reforms under way in education.

The *Statement of Intent* drew upon the work of both groups and brought special education provision into alignment with the reforms in the rest of the compulsory education sector. *The Statement of Intent* proposed that the resourcing to students with identifiable physical or intellectual disabilities or sensory impairments be maintained (Ministry of Education, 1991(b).) It suggested a new framework that would allow schools to be resourced to meet the needs of students with learning difficulties; each school was to decide the way that was most appropriate to achieve this. The key elements underpinning the *Statement of Intent* were later summarised by the Ministry:

- resources to education providers targeted and tagged
- minimise gaps, duplications and other inefficiency.
- require schools to have the primary responsibility for providing an appropriate education for all students
- maintain choice, where realistically possible, through special schools, attached units and mainstream
- families to make informed choices
- programmes for students developed by provider in association with family
- [provide] support teacher funding
- teacher support and training
- establish resource centres to provide specialist assistance and advice
- special schools and units which were to be retained where supported by enrolments. (Ministry of Education 1993, pp.1-2)

A protracted period of consultation based upon structured 'rounds' of meetings canvassing responses to discussion documents followed. This was undertaken through the work of the Special Education Policy Implementation Team (SEPIT) whose fifteen members; (consisting of Ministry and Special Education Service officials, school principals, sector representatives and parents), sought participants' views and opinions over three cycles of consultation taking two years. While the terms of reference for SEPIT sought recommendations for the most effective way in which to implement the policy for special education announced in *The Statement of Intent* (1991(b)) however the outcomes of the process were to deviate from this. The sequence of national consultation meetings was a continual frustration to the special education lobby that was seeking to further clarify the position of children with special educational needs in the mainstream. As the policy detail being sought was delayed while the consultation process was undertaken many issues and concerns were left unanswered. The likelihood that these would be resolved once the process was completed seemed remote to most of the special education lobby and in a sense left a 'black hole' in the policy process.

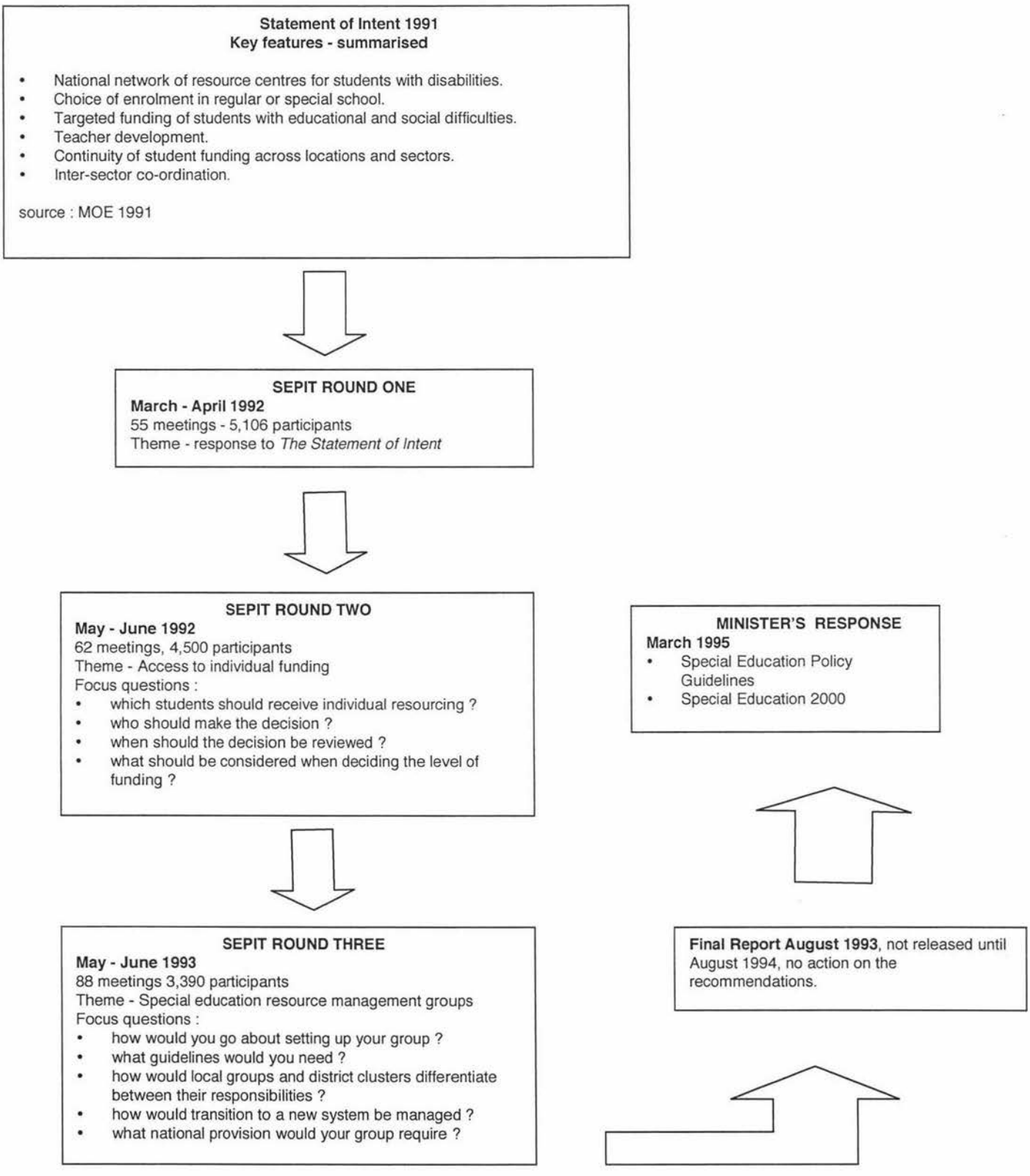


Figure Two. The sequential development of the National government policy position on special education following its election in 1991. (Derived from MOE 1993).

Figure Two depicts the National government policy position following its election in 1990. It shows the relationship between the *Statement of Intent* and the sequence of the consultation rounds with their focus questions, and the resulting policy response from the Minister of Education. The *Final Report* was completed in August 1993 but the Minister declined to release the document at the time. (The document was finally released following a ruling by the Ombudsman in August 1994.) In proposing the implementation of a special education resource centre model the authors of *The Final Report* also noted that: "There are other important recommendations related to the clarification and promulgation of policy, updating criteria for eligibility and planning for equitable distribution of resources." (Ministry of Education 1993, p.1)

The rounds of consultation provided opportunities to hear of the concerns of numerous groups and individuals. Many no longer had confidence in the status quo and the dual systems used to deliver supports and services to learners with special educational needs.

Whilst the concerns and difficulties being voiced by the participants in the SEPIT consultation were about their everyday experiences and realities, the Ministry of Education was working with an agenda for change based upon managerialism and efficiency derived largely from the Lough Committee Report. Such a situation could be identified as a crisis.

Grace (1990) identifies that a crisis in education policy terms consists of both the constructed or perceived and real dimensions. A further essential component is the ability to convince others of the existence of the 'crisis'. According to Grace (1990) the construction of crisis may arise when:

> . . . critics of the established consensus are able to demonstrate by reference to legitimated and independent sources of evidence that the system does not have the confidence of a significant number of citizens or that the system is patently failing in terms of its own stated objectives. (p.167).

Given the background to the changes and the decentralisation of management to schools, along with the establishment of the new Crown agency the SES and the time lag; arguably from the perspective of parents and teachers involved, a crisis now

prevailed in special education in New Zealand, between the people and the government.

Comparison of policy statements shows that the position finally adopted by the National government in its 1995 policies was first signalled in the purpose of the original *Statement of Intent* some four years earlier. The equity of access to quality education for participation in society was now the desired goal.

The evolution of special education and its implementation took place during two phases of special education reform in New Zealand (Mitchell, 1999). The first from 1989 until 1995 where much of the work being done was linked to the demands of administrative reform at a central level, and the second from 1995 until 2000 which Mitchell (1999) identifies as " . . . having its genesis in . . .earlier events." (p.201). These events created assumptions that difficulties were endemic within the administration of special education. The linkage was made between administrative reform and the philosophies providing the foundation of *Tomorrow's Schools* in 1989 and the rationale for change expressed in the *Statement of Intent* in 1991. The second phase built around the SEPIT consultations was to focus upon issues of administration and systemic efficiency. However a crisis remained in special education in the view of many teachers, special education professionals and parents. To succeed the policy response of the Government for the future of special education had to address the realities and perceptions of all those involved; or be judged as either a crude attempt at marketing or window dressing.

The Policy Making Environment

This section discusses the conditions surrounding policy making that were to emerge as a part of the overall reform of the state sector and the move toward market models and contestability. The documents that described the special education policy intention and detail of the National Government from 1995 until 1999 are discussed. At the time of their release many were read as a stand alone documents by the special education sector . This study links the documents into the policy sequence which was to be phased over a period of four years .

Within the New Zealand policy making and implementation environment of the mid 1990s the trend was for the provision of policy analysis and advice to become a technical activity (Cheyne, O'Brien & Belgrave,1997). This change saw policy being rendered in a way that re-emphasised a values free approach to its development. As a consequence of reform in the public sector and the requirements of accountability demanded by statute, performance agreements and purchase requirements were likely to contribute to the diminishing quality of policy advice (Cheyne, et al. 1997) In 1991 the State Service Commission conducted and published the *Review of the Purchase of Policy Advice from Government Departments*. This document signalled that the quality of policy could be assessed by 'production line' dimensions such as delivery time and cost. The shortcoming of this 'technocratic' approach were identified by Fay (1975) where technical and descriptive elements of policy analysis became dominant at the expense of a more critical investigation. Where the perspective of policy science is best achieved through undertaking " . . . a rational activity in which policy is made on explicit objective, impartial criteria of efficiency . . ." (Fay 1975, p.29), so displacing 'critical investigation' into the policy area.

The move toward the managed delivery of policy advice further shifted the activity of policy makers as it changed the audience for their policy delivery. As the purchaser of policy advice the Minister was the client, and not the community, public, or users of the particular service that the policy advice might impact upon. Technocratisation of the policy process minimised any democratisation that may have been signalled through consultation and negotiation with particular sector groups. This approach has left much of the education policy in New Zealand resembling what Ball (1998) calls a

" . . . complex, fluctuating disarray of policy strategies, political projects and desires . . ."(p.188).

The New Zealand education policy environment is a reflection of the larger ideologically framed project of the New Right. Writing about international perspectives of education reform and policy implementation O'Neil (1995, p.9) identifies a shift ". . . in the relationship between politics, government and education in complex Westernised post-industrialised countries . . .". Drivers for government intervention are those of; improving national economics productivity and trade, enhancing employment related skills, establishing direct control over curriculum and assessment, reducing the government costs; and increasing the community decision-making and pressure of market choice. (O'Neil, 1995).

Special Education 2000 - Preliminary Announcements

This Ministerial press release on March 5th 1995 announced the intention to develop a new direction for special education in New Zealand and the release of the Special Education Policy Guidelines. The release directed the expectations of the sector away from the range of recommendations of the final SEPIT report, particularly the resource centre model for special education that the SEPIT project had emphasised as a way of managing the administration of special education resources and services.

The Minister signalled a lack of policy progress in the preceding period and stated the intention to plan afresh to " . . .enable the community and the Government to shape special education in a way which reflected contemporary rather than historical needs." (Smith 1995, p.1). The Minister was setting out to establish some gains for special education from efficiency, effectiveness and the decentralisation that had been sought in other areas of education administration. To this end the Minister responded to three of the recommendations of the SEPIT team by establishing the National Advisory Committee on Special Education, developing criteria for the allocation of resources and developing special education policy guidelines.

Special Education Policy Guidelines

The publication of the *Special Education Policy Guidelines* were to be the first step in a planned sequence to implement the *Tomorrow's Schools* reforms in the delivery of special education.

The *Special Education Policy Guidelines* were first published in the Education Gazette during June of 1995. The Gazette is used as the official channel for the delivery of information and announcements of policy within the education sector. The Minister linked his announcement to the earlier work of SEPIT and indicated that the new National Advisory Committee on Special Education (NACSE) was to provide advice for Ministry officials to enable the development of proposals for the " . . . future direction for special education - Special Education 2000." (SE2000). Having named the new policy he elaborated upon its priority to focus upon resource allocation and management from 1997 onward. The *Special Education Policy Guidelines* were intended to inform school based practice and planning and were the foundation element of the policy.

According to the Ministry of Education (1995) the *Special Education Policy Guidelines* are underpinned by seven principles:

1- Learners with special education needs have the same rights freedoms and responsibilities as people of the same age who do not have special education needs.

2 - The primary focus of special education is to meet the individual learning and developmental needs of the learner.

3 - All learners with identified special education needs have access to a fair share of the available special education resources.

4 - Partnership between parents/caregivers and education providers is essential in overcoming barriers to learning.

5 - All special education resources are used in the most effective and efficient way possible, taking into account parent choice and the needs of the learner.

6 - A learner's language and culture comprise a vital context for learning and development and must be taken into consideration in planning programmes.

> 7 - Learners with special education needs will have access to a seamless education from the time that their needs are identified through to post school options. (Ministry of Education,1995.)

The *Special Education Policy Guidelines* were broadly distributed as part of the process of policy implementation for SE2000. Whilst their emphasis on rights, partnership and cultural responsiveness sent a clear message to the education sector, and served to reinforce the point of view long held by parents and advocates supporting an inclusive response toward students with special educational needs, there would be difficulties turning their content into action. The intention of the document as an instrument of policy was clear, however it remained weak in its ability to impact upon school based practice. There was no demand made for compliance with the *Special Education Policy Guidelines,* compared to the requirements of administration and curriculum which were subject to mandatory review by the Education Review Office, on behalf of the Ministry of Education.

The actions of the then Minister Hon. Lockwood Smith in releasing of the forthcoming policy SE2000 and the underpinning statement of the *Special Education Policy Guidelines* were an attempt to address the failure to achieve 'traction' at an earlier time. The interval since the promulgation of the rights of all learners to enrol and attend at their local schools with the passing of the Education Act 1989 was too long . The Minister himself acknowledged this in the press release indicating a lack of progress over the previous four years. (Smith, 1995). While the announcements were of significance for their indication of future intentions in the area of special education they did little to address the vacuum that had prevailed since 1989 when the legal provisions were changed. The options available to students with special education needs had been broadened to include the regular school environment. What was not addressed by the *Special Education Policy Guidelines* were the mechanisms of needs identification and resource delivery at a school, community and regional level.

Conclusion

The span of time and events described in this chapter has moved across the historical range of service provision, albeit piecemeal, that commenced not long after the introduction of free secular and compulsory education with the passing into law of the Education Act 1877. This led to the establishment of the first institution for students with special educational needs in 1880.

Five discourses that can be found in the policies associated with disability and special education. New Zealand's first special education provision fits clearly to the lay, charity and medical discourse of disability. There were two further discourses identified that were to dominate the changing in thinking and the state response toward students with special educational needs. They were to emerge nearly one hundred years later and dominated much of the public and official response to special education from 1987 until the time of the study.

The *Draft Review of Special Education* was released in 1987 and placed an emphasis upon the rights of students with special educational needs as well as the need for an effective management of resources for those students. These dual strands of concern, rights and managed efficiency have been evident since that time. Following the reforms initiated by Lange's 1988 *Tomorrow's Schools* there was the development of the Crown agency, the Special Education Service. While the state funded organisation provided services to students with special educational needs and students who now had the legal right to enrol in any school with the passing of the Education 1989 anomalies continued to exist. Under the market model that emerged with the reform in education parent choice was to be an important tool. With the National Government of 1991 committed to maintaining this choice in special education there was little chance of the drive toward full inclusion that the previous Labour Government had commenced becoming a reality. There was a lengthy hiatus from where no policy detail was released, from 1991 until the launch of the *Special Education Policy Guidelines* in 1995. During that time substantive national consultation took place with a group initiated by the then Minister of Education, Hon. Dr. Lockwood Smith. The Special Education Implementation Taskforce operated for a period of eighteen months. SEPIT made a final report to the Minister before the end of 1993. It remained until March of 1995 before the Minister responded with the release of the Special

Education Policy Guidelines and the signalling of the intentions of Special Education 2000. By now both the education and public sector lobby groups for special education were frustrated and sceptical of any new policy direction as there had been no response for such a protracted period. At that time within the environment of school self-management by principals and governance by Boards of Trustees, a new directions was being signalled which was to challenge the notions of managerialism and efficiency set in place by the reforms. Without specifically referring to human rights, anti-discrimination and social justice a policy platform was launched the declared the government's intention to achieve equitable learning opportunities for all students through an inclusive system that could be benchmarked as being world class. This became the basis for the policies of Special Education 2000 that the participants that are the focus of thesis were required to implement.

CHAPTER THREE

Special Education Policy

Introduction

This chapter shows the new policies in special education being located in the government reforms of the mid and late1980s, and Special Education 2000 as the last piece of the education reforms commenced by *Tomorrow's Schools*. The shift from a model of state provision of special education under the Education Act 1989 to a decentralised model based upon school managed provision and a quasi-market model of support for learners with special educational needs is discussed. A range of policy instruments and a schema for their comparison and discussion is created to enable further exploration of particular policies and their impact.

Special Education 2000 - A Policy Response To Crisis

It is important to understand the intentions of the policy and its implementation and to make a distinction between the manifest and the latent intention of the policy. Codd (1988) declares the need to explore the gap between what is stated and what is intended in education policy documents. Policy documents are regarded as ". . . *expressions* of particular information, ideas and intentions the task of analysis becomes one of establishing the *correct* interpretation of the text." (p.238 – emphasis in original). This challenges the technical view which would regard educational policy as a means to achieve a given ends.

Codd, Gordon and Harker (1997) indicate that both the work of the 'Picot Report' and the subsequent response of *Tomorrow's Schools* differs from other educational policies. They declare that in Offe's (1984) terms, it is a 'structural' policy. This requires that output is at a level that is reasonable or affordable, while managing demands in a way that appears compatible with available resources. The balancing of the demand for special educational support services with the supply of necessary resources appears as a feature of the Special Education 2000 policies. Offe's discussion of 'structural' policies suggests that they are utilised to manage economic or organisational crises. The economic parameters of activity or service and the parameters of organisational interest or concern, which together constitute the nature

of the problem, become subject to redesign. The overall impact of the redesign of special education administration and funding delivery which shifted responsibility of special educational and management of prescribed funding to meet school wide special needs was not made immediately clear to those required to implement the policy. The impact of shifting responsibility to schools while the Ministry held the control over funding would become apparent later. The state provision of special education shifted from service delivery and management to the task of shaping policy input and economic supply. Politicization of the local school, its community, parents and families occurred as they took up the tasks of governance and management previously met by the Ministry. And in turn schools shouldered the blame for the failure of systems and policies that previously was placed upon departmental officials and bureaucrats. The public expectation of the government to provide specialist service and appropriate education for children with special needs remained fulfilled. The public's understanding remained limited by the powerful historical construct linking special educational need, disability or deviance, to an expected response of state provided institutional welfarism. This was still evident in the existence of such institutions as The Wilson Home - for crippled children, Homai School for the Blind, the Deaf Education Centres at Kelston School for the Deaf and Van Asch College. Also facilities were available for students with intellectual disabilities at the special schools spread throughout the community. These institutions were all based upon the medical discourse and supported by a community responding through charity (Fulcher 1989).

The use by lobbyists and parents of a rights based analysis and the emancipatory policy development of the Fourth Labour government was not sustained by this policy shift. Many students were redefined by the policy as now having only moderate or low special educational needs and were no longer eligible for direct state support. Their 'right' to expect the state to accept responsibility to meet their special educational needs and provide the support to them that their parents had come to expect, wherever they were enrolled, was abandoned. Welfarism was replaced with a formula driven subsidy. The Special Education Grant became the medium and their local school and Board of Trustees became the state's agent in the interpretation and addressing of their special educational needs.

According to Codd et al. (1997) 'politicization' and the shifting of responsibility to a local level was at the core of the reforms in education and it can be seen to be continued with the policies comprising Special Education 2000. The shift from state intervention and provision to politicization, and the decentralisation to Boards of Trustees, was signalled by the Secretary of Education in 1999 "Special Education 2000 represents a major rethinking from past policy approaches in this area. . ."
Fancy (1999) indicated the importance of three inter-related elements: the need to link different policies together, the need to create a more predictable special education structure, and the need for this to be financially sound. These three features of policy in responding to the administrative demands were to displace the primacy of students' individual needs the policies were intended to support as they brought a quasi-market into place. Marginson (1997) identifies the creation of a quasi-market as being when government control limits any of the following dimensions; individualised commodities, activity in a defined field, the occurrence of monetary exchange, competition among producers, and market 'behaviour'. Thus the range of new policies sets in place a variant of the market model in education to address issues predicated upon a basis of student rights and non-discrimination guidelines.

Policy Instruments

Before exploring the key elements and documents of the Special Education 2000 policy in the following section consideration must be given to the range of instruments or tools available for the government to implement its policies in special education. It will be seen that policy instruments, or policy tools are "governing instruments" used to put policies into effect (Howlett and Ramesh 1995, p.80). Their selection demands another set of decisions to be made as on many occasions the choice of policy instruments and their use in policy implementation will sometimes have as much impact as the policies themselves. This amalgam of policy design, instrument selection and implementation is central to this study.
Bridgman and Davis (2000) in considering the policy making cycle in contemporary Australian social and public policy summarised four types of policy instruments available to government at a federal, state or local level:

- advocacy - where a case is argued,
- money - utilising both spending and taxation powers,
- government action - where services are delivered by government agencies,

- law - where the power of official authority is expressed by legislation and regulation.

Resolving the dilemma of choice created by such a range of possible delivery approaches is at the heart of robust policy making. They assert that "Good policy advice relies on choosing the right mix of instruments for the problem at hand." (p.67) In identifying the problem of the selection of the right mix of instrumentation Bridgman and Davis (2000) suggest that any criteria for selection must incorporate both the technical understanding of the policy instrument and an informed view of the likely political impact.

Similarly Hood (1983) identified four broad categories of instruments all concerned with the governing of resources; "nodality" whereby governments use information to influence public behaviour, "treasure" where the use of government funding or resources shaped public actions, "organisations" whereby programmes were delivered by government agencies and "authority" the use of legal or official powers by government (pp. 4-6).

Howlett and Ramesh (1995) have also developed a framework of analysis for studying policy. Theirs is based upon the concept of cycles in policy making which they attribute to Lasswell (1951). Howlett and Ramesh also draw upon the earlier work of the economist Kirshen (1964), who indicated that there were 60 types of policy instrument available to government for implementing economic policies and acknowledge the influence of political scientists Doern and Phidd (1992) who classified policy instrument according to their ranked levels of legitimate coercion. Self-regulation was the least coercive, and public ownership the most coercive, of the instruments available to government. Howett and Ramesh then use these to produce a schema including instruments ranging from voluntary to compulsory and incorporating various levels of state and public provision and matched them to the level of state power that was present in their use. This thesis will explore the policies and instruments utilised in Special Education 2000 using Howlett and Ramesh's (1995) schema to deconstruct selected policy documents.

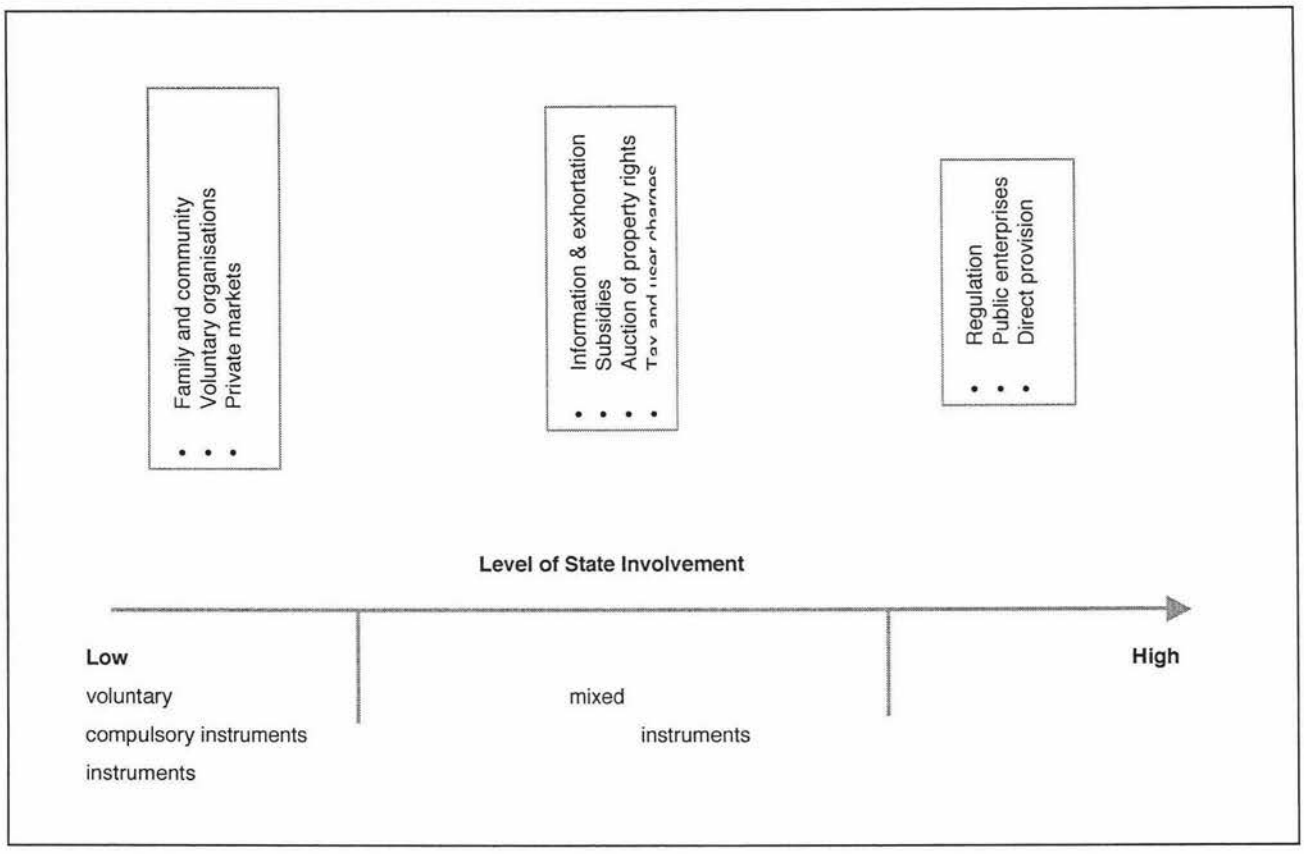


Figure Three: A Spectrum of Policy Instruments (adapted from Howlett and Ramesh 1995, p.82.).

Howlett and Ramesh (1995) have noted that most policy objectives can be accomplished by a number of instruments thus enabling substitution between the instruments themselves. However there may be too great a variation of effectiveness, efficiency, equity, legitimacy or popular support between particular instrument to allow their substitution without a loss or trade off of the intended impact or outcome of the policy. Among the range of tools available often voluntary instruments may be preferred because of their low cost and the frequent use of family and community cultural norms.

For the purpose of examining the policies of Special Education 2000 the three fold distinction between voluntary, mixed and compulsory instruments will be explored. Howlett and Ramesh (1995) discuss the following *voluntary instruments*:

- Family and community may be a source of numerous goods and services and governments may take action to use them to achieve policy goals.

- Voluntary organisations involve activities that are free of coercion by the state and free of the restrictions of cost.
- Private markets will respond to the self interest of individuals and where demand is sufficient to produce what is sought at the lowest possible price.

Many of the elements of *Tomorrow's Schools* could be characterised as appearing as voluntary instruments.

Mixed instruments attempt to combine the features and benefits of both voluntary and compulsory instruments. Examples that Howlett and Ramesh (1995) use are:

- Information and exhortation - this may require a sustained effort to change the behaviour of individuals and groups, rather than just informing people.
- Subsidy - a financial transfer to reward a particular activity. The subsidy may take one of several forms; a grant, tax incentive, voucher or loan. As the financing of any of these must come from some existing or new source their legitimacy and establishment is sometimes challenged by others who believe they will lose out from the new policy and the spending of state funding to support it.
- Auction of property rights - where a fixed quantity of transferable rights to consume a designated resource is set, and made available for a price, obtained at the rate established because of the artificial scarcity created by the market in the situation which did not previously exist.
- Tax and user charges - while the main purpose of a tax is to raise revenue it can also be used as a way to prompt a desired behaviour or dissuade a behaviour that is not wanted.

The range of mixed instruments used included subsidies by way of direct grants and targeted additional funding which supports much of the service provision under the new policy. Whilst the provision of information has been utilised in the delivery of policy messages to a broad range of audiences, and training to selected groups such as Boards of Trustees members.

Compulsory instruments - can be regarded as directive as they leave no room for a variable response. They should allow the government to do whatever it chooses within the limits of the constitution and leave little in the way of options for any targeted groups or individuals.

- Regulation - regulation is a prescription by the government which must be complied with by the intended targets.
- Public enterprise offers the potential of an efficient economic policy instrument where goods and services produced by the private sector offer high capital returns or profit.
- Direct provision is the most basic and widely used instrument and avoids the need under most circumstances for discussion or negotiation.

The identification of the use of particular individual or mixed instruments to achieve the policy aims of Special Education 2000 are a feature of this study. Whether the participants, as implementors of the policies applied the instruments in a way in which those developing and launching the policies sought of them will be identified and discussed as policy implementation is explored further.

Prior to the announcement of SE2000 and the subsequent supporting policies, the Education Act 1989 provided a legal basis for the enrolment and attendance of all students at their local schools. However there was a lack of specific regulatory detail that would prescribe and bind Boards of Trustees and schools to the education of students with special needs. The legislative framework that requires an equitable response toward students with special educational needs is very straightforward. "The Education Act 1989 provides for special education for people under 21 in mainstream schools, special schools, classes, clinics or specialist services. The Act expressly state the right of inclusion for students with disabilities." (Human Rights Commission 1996, p.2). Section 3 of the Education Act 1989 gives every child or person the - "Right to free primary and secondary education . . . free enrolment and free education at any school . . ." Section 8 reads ". . . people who have special educational needs (whether because of disability or otherwise) have the same rights to receive education at state schools as people who do not." There were no national policies to ensure that these rights were translated into equitable educational outcomes. In the absence of any guidelines being available until 1995 when the *Special Education Policy Guidelines* were published there was a considerable reliance upon both Ministry officials and employees of the SES to signal policy detail and the related delivery of 'best practice' through individual interpretation and action.

While the characteristics of the various instruments have been briefly stated, it is the context of any particular situation and the relationship between the state and society that is of as much significance (Howlett and Ramesh, 1995). This relationship, between the state and citizenry had been altered significantly by the process of government reform. The announcement and release of the Special Education 2000 policies created a series of tensions. For example; issues of students' rights to enrol and attend versus the costs of this having to be addressed by the school at a local level. The impact of the mix of policy typologies where the range instruments the incorporates voluntary mixed and compulsory will be explored later in this thesis. The clash between categorical funding being targeted to groups of the student population versus the expectation that all students would be supported to attend in the regular classroom and experience delivery of the same national curriculum. Whilst the policy makers choose particular instruments to support these policies, the implementation was left to school principles and Boards Of Trustees who had the power to interpret policy demand and resource utilisation. This clash between the top down delivery of policy and resourcing and the bottom up implementation will be explored further in this study.

The Policy Framework Of Special Education 2000

This section identifies the critical policy documents released over the period May 1996 to July 1998 and discuss their interrelationship as parts of the overall initiative of Special Education 2000. There are many elements in the Special Education 2000 policy which have been announced and implemented over a six year period. The range of their provision is across the compulsory education sector with some provision being extended for supporting young children with high or very high special needs in early childhood centres. During the course of this study only four of the policy areas had been implemented however they were the most critical elements as they had considerable impact upon all of the schools in the area of the study.

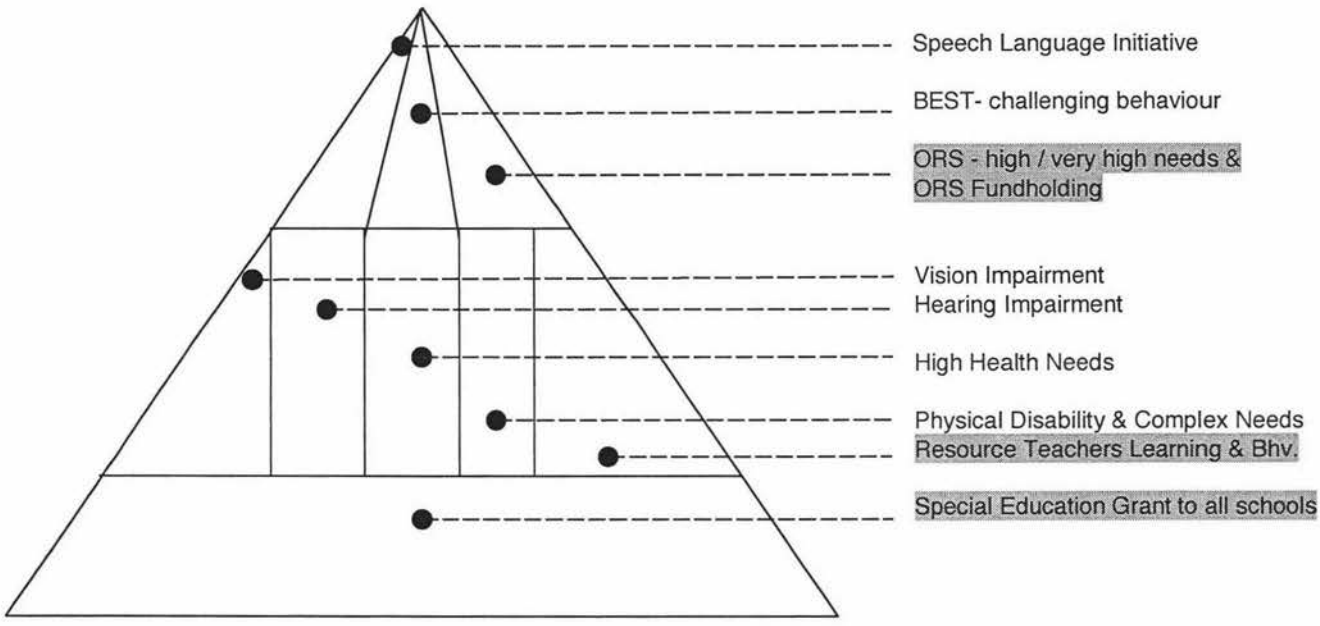


Figure Four : The multiple elements of SE2000 that apply to the compulsory education sector (Adapted from MoE 1995).

The depiction of the policies in a pyramid shaped array reflects the percentage of eligible students within the compulsory sector for whom the resource provision is intended. The Special Education Grant (SEG) forms the broad base of the funding, it is provided to all schools and utilised by the greatest number of students, those with low special education need as defined by their school. At the next level among other initiatives the Resource Teachers Learning and Behaviour (RTLB) are provided to clusters of local schools and their services will be available to the student population with moderate special education need. The upper most level of the pyramid is the point where the targeted programme of Ongoing Resourcing Scheme (ORS) is positioned among the other targeted programmes for students with behaviour and communication support needs. By verifying their eligibility only 1% of students will be able to access this resource, those students have high or very high special educational needs.

The shaded elements (the Ongoing Resourcing Scheme, fundholding for this, Resource Teachers Leaning and Behaviour and the Special Education Grant) are discussed in the following section covering the integrated nature of the policies from Special Education 2000. The Ministry of Education's view of the link between Tomorrow's Schools and the Special Education 2000 policies was:

> The thinking behind the Tomorrow's Schools reforms is only now becoming applicable in the area of special education. The size and complexity of the policy has meant the policy has had to be phased in. This means it will take some time before the full effect of the reforms is fully evident. Because the reforms create new opportunities and options for parents and schools, it will take a while for different and more effective partnerships between schools and parents to develop. (Secretary of Education Howard Fancy speech to the SE 2000 Research Conference, Auckland 1999).

It is evident from this statement that there would be local variation as each policy was implemented with differences between schools and across regions as interpretation of the particular detail and use of the policy provisions occurred over time.
Features of the selected policies identified and discussed in detail in the remainder of the chapter are summarised as Figure Five, overleaf. This representation allows the key elements of the policy to be seen as a whole.

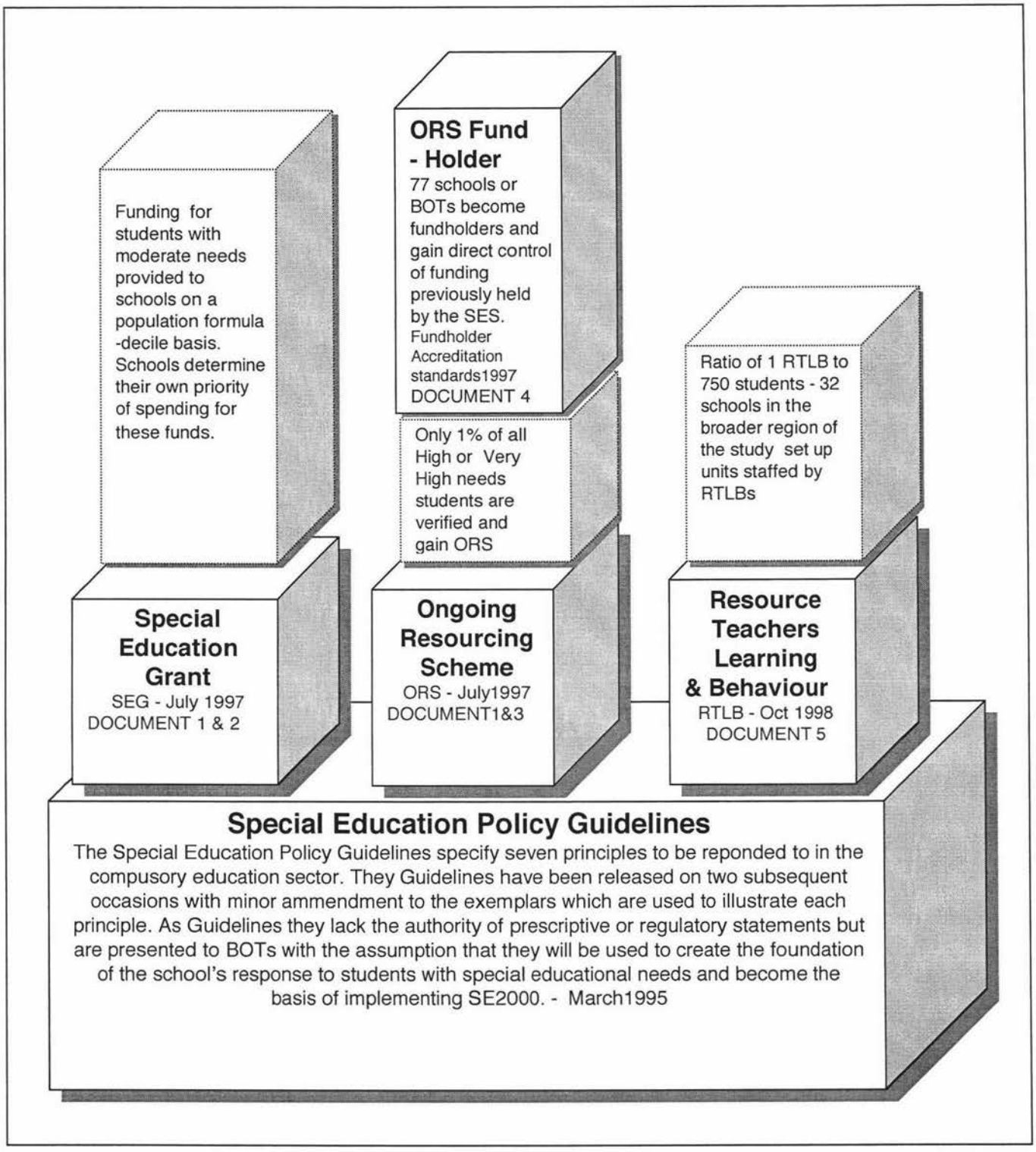


Figure Five: The Special Education Policy Guidelines and the five policies of Special Education 2000 that relate to the compulsory sector.

(This figure will be repeated at later stages of the document to depict the inter-relationship among the policies under discussion)

Integration of Policy Elements

Unlike the National Educational Goals and the National Administration Guidelines (Ministry of Education 1995) the Special Education Policy Guidelines are not framed as regulatory requirements, and schools are not audited against them by the Education Review Office. However they do present the coherent base for the development of school charter statements, policies and procedures in order to make use of the four other elements of the policy that have been identified in Figure Five. All state schools receive SEG funding for use in supporting their students who have low to moderate special educational needs. School are expected to develop policies and procedures which shows transparent use of this funding. The Board of Trustees, their management of the school, and the use of all funding is monitored by Education Review Office.

Where a school needs additional support for the teachers of students with learning or behavioural needs (often associated with moderate special educational needs), they are able to seek additional support by making a referral to their cluster management committee for RTLB support. The RTLB works to support the student's classroom teacher/s in more effectively working with the student causing concern.

All students enrolled at state schools with high or very high special educational needs are eligible for application to be made on their behalf for entry into the ORS. Applications are processed centrally and involve a team of expert verifiers determining if there is sufficient evidence of need for special education support at the level sought. If a school has sufficient verified students or joins with another school to have a total of twenty or more verified students, they may apply to become their own fundholder and control the management and use of the aggregated funds for all of the students who are verified under ORS.

After 1989 the provision of operational funding to schools, together with maintenance provision for property and roll-linked staffing funding were channelled by the Ministry to schools. Now with the new provisions of SE 2000 there was an additional role for school principals, to maximise the outcomes possible for students with special needs.

This demand had come from *Tomorrow's Schools* and the reforms which aligned the administration of education to managerialism and the New Right ideologies. These sought to decouple the development of policy advice from policy implementation. To support such changes school principals were expected to increase the impact of their budgets through being rational utility maximisers. This shifted the emphasis from their professional leadership of education to the management of schools and was accompanied by a raft of " . . .new reporting, monitoring, and accountability mechanisms." (Boston et al. 1991, p.9). While the resourcing of the new policies were causing some concern, they were not being rejected 'wholesale', in fact there was a level of critical acceptance of the financial imperatives associated with the new policies.

The policy elements of Special Education 2000 combined funding delivered to schools to purchase teacher aide support for targeted students who had high or very high special educational needs, with a population linked formula. The use of local school networks to form clusters to manage and utilise the new specialists RTLBs was established. The possibility for schools meeting accreditation criteria to opt to control all their special education funding was introduced, thus achieving contestability of the Specialist Education Service as first proposed in the *Statement of Intent* in 1991. Self management and the demands for transparency, efficiency and effectiveness were incorporated in all aspects of the policies as schools undertook their implementation. Nonetheless the possibilities for re-interpretation of policies by their 'bottom-up' implementation was high with their being few mandatory audit points in the process that schools were left to follow. This likelihood will be explored further in the interviews for this thesis in Chapter Seven.

Selected Policies Of Special Education 2000

This section presents the five policies that create the core of the Special Education 2000. These have been selected because of the potential they hold for all schools, the resource provision that they deliver, and the implementation demands they pose. In the first instance the policies are described using Ministry of Education material and then the response of some sector groups is indicated. Finally the immediate impact or evident implication of policy detail is commented upon.

Special Education 2000 (SE 2000) May 1996

This document set the overall scope and focus of the policy and included the timelines and details for provision in early childhood education as well as the compulsory education sector. The key element of the policy was stated:
"The Government's aim is to achieve, over the next decade, a world class inclusive education system that provides learning opportunities of equal quality to all students." (Ministry of Education 1996a, p.5)

The policy was described by the Ministry as being a 'phased strategy' to improve educational outcomes for students with special educational needs. There were two major components;

> Information, education and specialist support to assist families, schools and teachers achieve the best possible learning environment for all students with special educational needs. A significant increase in funding to provide assured and predictable resourcing for individual students and schools. (Ministry of Education 1996a, p.5)

The policy content when summarised presented a number of 'key elements' which indicated that there would be:

- an increase in funding over three years from 1998
- a guaranteed, and transferable, level of resourcing for students with high needs
- choice between regular or special school
- continuation of attached units and their staffing
- an annual Special Education Grant to schools

- ongoing support, from either the Special Education Service (a Crown Agency established in 1988) or from an alternative accredited agency
- a separate early childhood policy would be released within twelve months.

(Ministry of Education, 1996a).

The publication indicated a three year programme of policy implementation. In 1996 the Ministry would establish the prevalence of special educational needs among school students, develop a definition of high needs and commence a communication programme to schools about the policy. During the second year, 1997, the bulk funding of a Special Education Grant to schools would commence and work on individual entitlements for students with high needs would be finished. The third year of the programme, 1998, would see the individual entitlements being introduced for students with high needs and the commencement of the contestability of service co-ordination for those students where previously this work was undertaken by the SES.

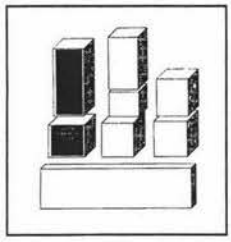
Responses To Special Education 2000

The implementation messages were received in different ways across the sector Parent advocates and lobbyists supporting inclusive education were pleased with the policy. Brown and Wills (2000) noted that " . . the policy highlighted the importance of the involvement of families in the delivery of special education."(p.7). A number of statements were made which indicated that families were to be at the centre of decisions about their child's education. The Ministry of Education (1996a) noted that "It is the family which has long term responsibility for the child and knows the child best. It is therefore the family which will make the most important decisions on the child's behalf." (p. 10). The policy also promised parents that it would; " . . . promote greater understanding of the rights of parents to choose their child's school." And for this to be a success that there would be action to ". . . make schools aware of the responsibility they have to all members of the community." (p.11) These statements linked back to the earlier 1995 *Special Education Policy Guidelines* and the principles they contained, in expecting partnership with parents and supporting parent choice in selection of the type of education for their child with special needs. However, the new mechanisms of central

verification of the level of special educational need were channelling the majority of students toward the mainstream. Parents who had chosen a segregated education, were concerned by the way in which the policy would preclude their son or daughter from receiving the type of special education they wanted for them. What they believed was that there was a deliberate redefining downward of their child's level of need and a reduction in the level of direct funding for their individual support. In particular the group of students enrolled in attached units seemed to be those most often affected by this re-categorisation.

This concern continued and was reported by the media coverage of the policy in its implementation phase two years later. *The Listener* in early 1998 ran a background story on the impact of implementation highlighting the lack of support the new policies provided to existing parent choice. " . . . . she is due to start in the College's work experience unit, but with the funding changes there's no guarantee she'll be able to stay there". . . . "Children like her, who don't have a behaviour or speech problem either, don't fit any criteria. The education Ministry is letting us down. They're not meeting the educational needs of our child at all ." (Listener January 24, 1998 p.36)

One of the major impacts of the policy had been to negate the choice for many of the students to attend special needs units under the provision of Section 9 of the Education Act 1989. As the new policy verified that fewer students were meeting the criteria of having ongoing high or very high special educational needs; schools were no longer entitled to the level of funding needed to support the choice of educational placement parents had made for their child. The Ministry of Education commissioned longitudinal research; results showed in the 1998 - 1999 year that 61 per cent of the applications for individual support were granted, by 2000 this was down to 54 per cent (Massey University 1999, 2000).



The Special Education Grant (SEG) June 1996

(The highlighted thumbnail shows the inter-relationship of the policy components fully detailed on p.46)

This document sets out the rationale for the redistribution of funds for special education support, the majority of students are now to be 'bulk funded' through their schools. The document was intended to be read together with the Special Education 2000 policy statement.

The Grant was to be implemented from the beginning of 1997. The introductory document stated: " The grant is primarily targeted towards students with moderate special education needs such as learning and behavioural difficulties." (Ministry of Education, 1996b p.3) The following diagram taken from the document show the distribution of students with special educational needs, being targeted by the various funding categories of the policies, as percentages of the overall student population.

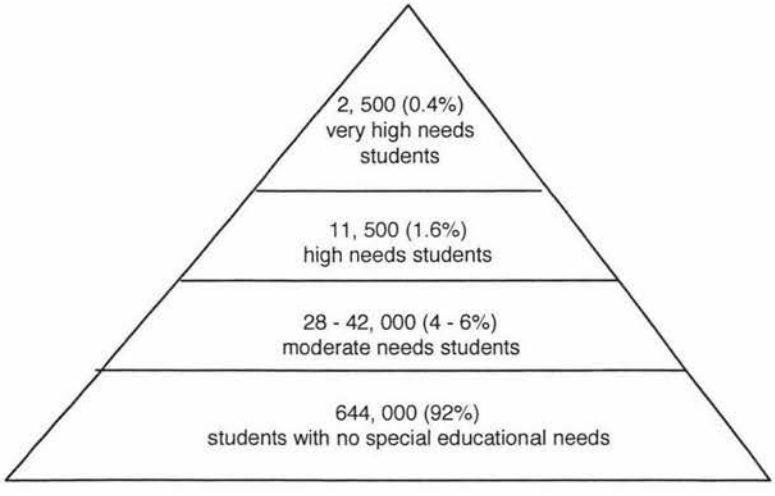


Figure Six : The distribution of students with special educational needs among the NZ student population (Ministry of Education 1996b, p.3).

The assertion was made by the Ministry that there was a distribution of learners with special needs across school populations, and there was a " . . . .correlation between students with moderate special educational needs and socioeconomic status . . ." (Ministry of Education 1996b, p.3).

The table following shows how the decile ranking determines the funding per student.

Table One: Calculation of the Special Education Grant formulae showing the link between decile and student funding. (Ministry of Education 1996b,p.4)

School Decile Ranking	Funding Rate per Student
1	$34.50
2	$31.10
3	$27.70
4	$25.30
5	$21.90
6	$18.50
7	$15.10
8	$11.70
9	$8.40
10	$5.00

The document described the over demand being placed upon the previous system where Special Education Discretionary Assistance (SEDA) funding was awarded to schools and their was no uniform approach in place to control its utilisation by Ministry officials (Ministry of Education, 1996b).The Special Education Grant aimed to provide additional assistance and resources for students with special educational needs. The grant would be paid quarterly as a part of each school's operations grant. The intention was to shift the focus of support so to reach more students with learning and behavioural difficulties. The funding level for a school was determined by the use of population data that described the socio-economic status of the school's community, and thus set the decile rating. Utilising the decile rating the funding calculation was made based upon the total school roll number. This method decreased the bureaucracy associated with awarding support for students with moderate special educational needs who were now be funded from the use of the Special Education Grant. This mechanism would place the responsibility for decisions over resource use and special educational programmes with schools.

Implications Arising From The SEG

How staff were used to teach students with special educational needs remained a critical dimension of the successful implementation. Because of the expectation that the majority of students with special educational needs would be educated in regular classes, with their same age peers, the way they would be taught was crucial. Only a

minority (less than 3 per cent) of the students at a school could expect additional resourcing or support on a medium or long term basis. This demanded greater degrees of adaptation of the curriculum and its delivery to accommodate the variations in student learning and support needs. The responses of the participants in this thesis has shown that they were clear about teachers changing or needing to change their approach in the classroom for the policy to succeed.

Previously the SES gave advice and guidance to schools, supported by SEDA funding from the MoE. This change de-centralised the responsibility for support provision for the majority of students with special educational needs to school Boards of Trustees and the teachers they employed. (Ministry of Education 1996a) The direct cost of supporting the students had been met by the Ministry of Education, and professional support had been provided by the SES, at no charge. Those students with high and very high needs would be granted funding to meet both direct support costs (teacher aide) and the cost of professional input from the SES. While this mechanism was being put in place the current funding arrangements were to be continued for the second half of 1996 and all of 1997. The policy document asserted that students already receiving funding would be guaranteed the same level of resource throughout 1997. The new policy would increase the range of special needs that schools were expected to meet, and gave them funding for this.

Responses To The SEG Provision

Responses within the education and disability sector to the policy were varied. Where inclusive education was favoured the reaction was typified by the statement made in the Inclusive Education Network Newsletter:

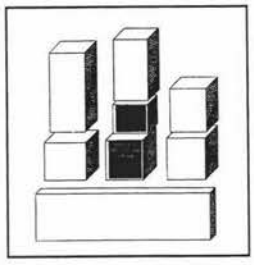
> We have given the proposal our cautious approval. 'Cautious' because there is a lot of detail yet to be worked out, and the detail is crucial; 'approval' because it gives parents of children with disabilities some certainty of funding at last, and it supports parent choice. (IHC Advocacy Centre 1996,p.1)

The Education Review Office (ERO) noted the emergence of a variation in use of the SEG funds during initial implementation. This trend was reported upon by ERO in June 1998 and showed a range of variations in awareness and use of the SEG by schools. Their report was based upon the analysis of 147 ERO Accountability Review

Reports that were confirmed between November 1997 and April 1998. A broad range of uses were reported by ERO; however they noted that twenty-nine percent of the schools needed to establish criteria for the use of their SEG funding and commence self-evaluation of the criteria. (ERO, 1998).

Within a year the complexity and demands of the policy, coupled with its variable implementation by schools that were asserting the right to be 'self-managing', had given rise to worry and concern. The New Zealand Education Institute (NZEI) the primary teachers union reported that "The 1997 and 1998 annual meetings of NZEI Te Riu Roa were dominated by concerns about the impact of Special Education 2000." (NZEI Te Riu Roa 1999, p.4)

The Ongoing Resourcing Scheme (ORS) May 1996



(The highlighted thumbnail shows the inter-relationship of the policy components fully detailed on p.46)

The purpose of this policy was to ensure that students with ongoing needs often arising from disability, were resourced in an equitable manner removing influences and pressures for resourcing that has previously generated an 'over demand' for additional support. This was scheme was introduced in May of 1996 to enable applications to be received for entry into the scheme and its funding for the following year. (The scheme was later expanded in 1998 to include children in early childhood education settings and the word transitional added to its title, Ongoing and Transitional Resourcing Scheme - OTRS.)

The Ongoing Resourcing Scheme (ORS) would provide "guaranteed resourcing for school students with high or very high special educational needs, irrespective of school setting or geographical location." (Ministry of Education 1996a , p.1) An independent group of special education experts would be established as a body to verify student eligibility for entry into the scheme. Criteria were advised for the two levels of need. Students with very high needs were to be identified by their matching one or more of the following criteria:

- Total adaptation of all curriculum content (in comparison with students of similar age who do not have special educational needs);
- Special assistance to engage in all face-to-face communications;
- Specialist one-to-one intervention at least weekly and/or specialist monitoring at least once a month, together with daily special education support provided by others to meet the student's personal care or mobility/positioning needs.

(Ministry of Education 1996, p1.)

This differed for students with high special educational needs where the criteria were one or more of the following:

- Significant adaptation of almost all curriculum content (in comparison with students of a similar age who do not have special educational needs);
- Specialist teacher contact time for at least half a day a week;
- Specialist one-to-one intervention on an average of once per month and/or specialist monitoring on an average of once per term, together with daily special

education support provided by others to meet the student's personal care or mobility/positioning needs.

(Ministry of Education 1996, p1.)

Implications Of The Ongoing Resourcing Scheme

The level of special educational need of the student was ascertained by the completion of a twenty-three page application document, usually by the child's teacher with another special education professional and often directly involving the child's parent. Upon receipt of an application for verification the student's detail was entered by the Ministry of Education onto a new national data base. Where successful the student's status would not be changed for three years, if the application was unsuccessful then a further application could be made. As well as re-applying there was an appeal provision under Section 10 of the Education Act 1989, however this was rarely used.

On the first occasion 13,460 applications were received. Twelve Ministry staff took three months to process these, completing the work by the end of August . (Personal communication, Margaret Parkin, Chief Verifier; 11/9/2000.) From the applications received, only 4,500 students were granted access to the ORS fund for the following year.

The first year of Ongoing Resourcing Scheme was 1998 and the scheme was run on a 'trial' basis by the Ministry. Both the focus of the verification process and the validity of data generated from the application pack were under review by researchers from Massey University who were conducting a longitudinal study of the policy (Massey University 1999, 2000).

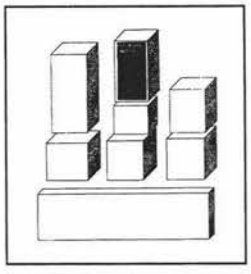
The outcome of this trial was the further refinement of the verification process for special educational need completed by Ministry staff. It took the Ministry three years to develop and release the *Ongoing and transitional resourcing scheme: Guidelines and application form for school students* (June 1999). While the veracity of the Ministry's internal process was important the absence of any published guideline on how to make a successful application for Ongoing Resourcing Scheme funding was problematic for many schools and parents. The Ongoing Resourcing Scheme was criticised for the narrowness of its targeting, the mismatch between actual support

cost and funding level for students (NZEI Te Riu Roa, 1999); and for creating a misunderstanding with parents that the funding it allocated was an entitlement for their child's support (Wylie, 2000).

The Ongoing Resourcing Scheme has been used as a mechanism to control expenditure within special education. While the previous definitions and the mechanism of allocating resourcing the Special Education Discretionary Allowance (SEDA) were broad and allowed many students to access support, approximately half of those previously resourced by some level of direct assistance were to miss entry into the Ongoing Resourcing Scheme (NZEI, 1999). The impact has been the pressuring of schools to provide the support needed by students directly from their Special Eduction Grant funds and to adopt a more inclusive classroom and school approach to special education.

The Ongoing Resourcing Scheme - Accreditation Standards for Fundholding (Fundholder Standards) 1998

(The highlighted thumbnail shows the inter-relationship of the policy components fully detailed on p.46)



This policy enabled the contestability of the services delivered by the SES, this had been first mooted in *Tomorrow's Schools* and was not adopted until the principles of those reforms were put into place by Special Education 2000. This document set out the conditions and requirements to be met by school Boards of Trustees and organisations prepared to assume ". . . full responsibility for organising the provision of a co-ordinated service for students with high or very high special educational needs." (Ministry of Education 1998, p.9) Whilst the Ministry of Education stipulated that those applying for fundholder status had to be responsible for twenty or more students verified under the Ongoing Resourcing Scheme, provision was also made for those with fewer than twenty students if they were to " . . . manage the fund . .. in a cluster with other boards of trustees. . ." (p.9)

A varying scale of funding would be made available to meet the students' needs; fundholders were expected to aggregate this amount and use it to meet the costs of additional teaching, specialist and therapy support for their students. The amounts to be granted were linked to the location or type of class or school the student was attending. In 1990 the initial funding schedule was replaced with a simpler two tier subsidy linked to the verified level of special educational need.

Table Two- The level of subsidy to fundholders (MoE 1998, p.10).

Student Level of Need	High	Very High
Regular Class	$6,000	$10,000
Attached Unit	$3,000	$5,000
Special School	$2,500	$4,500

As the primary, or manifest, purpose of the Special Education 2000 policy was the achievement of " . . . inclusive education system that provides learning opportunities of equal quality to all students." (Ministry of Education 1996, p.5) whenever a school decided it would maintain a unit as the segregated settings for students with high and very high levels of special educational needs that policy purpose was being frustrated.

The policy of fundholding with its structure that enabled a school to compete against support provision by the SES had defeated the original manifest intention of the policy. By creating a situation where central provision was contested by a private market receiving a state subsidy (with governance by a volunteer Board of Trustees) the Ministry had continued to support 'parent choice'. However, in doing so they had created a policy trade off that made the decision regarding the place of education for students with high or very high needs the subject of a financial rather than a philosophical or pedagogic consideration.

In 1998 the Ongoing Resource Scheme was expanded to include students who were five to seven years of age whose special education need may be linked to their school transition. (Ministry of Education, October 1998) The funding for these students was set at the same level for those in the ORS, and the level of funding was increased by three per cent. The distinctions previously set by the location of the class or type of school the student was attending was dropped. The traditional special education model had often linked a disability to the occurrence of special educational needs by general categorisation. In this way children with Down syndrome would be seen to have high or very high special educational needs. The new ecological model of the policy made use of comparative student assessments that took into account the impact of teaching approaches and school wide resourcing levels to ascertain the level of student need. Thus identifying which students with special educational needs could be supported with the Special Education Grant and input from the Resource Teacher Learning and Behaviour and differentiating them from students whose needs would be higher again, indicating the need for ORS.

At the time of the interviews for this study the increase of the amount was announced, as detailed on page 60 of this study. In addition to the funding rate increased staffing attachment of 0.1 or 0.2 FTE teacher time was allocated per pupil with high or very high needs.

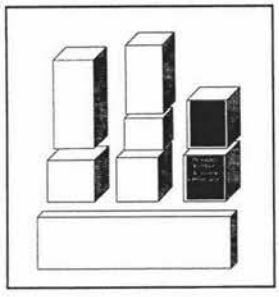
Table Three - The increased level of funding provided to fundholders for verified students on the ORS (Ministry of Education, October 1999).

Level of student need	1998	1999	2000
Very High	$6,000	$7,250	$7,511
High	$10,000	$12,500	$12,950

While previously debates had occurred in the sector regarding the contestability of the Specialist Education Service as the sole provider of services under contract to the Ministry of Education there had no direct challenge to their delivery of services to schools. With the implementation of this aspect of SE2000 the early position of the SES was under threat. (Personal communication 14/9/2000 with Chris Hilton-Jones , SES Regional Manager.)

Resource Teachers Learning and Behaviour (RTLB) July 1998

(The highlighted thumbnail shows the inter-relationship of the policy components fully detailed on p.46)



This policy was to enable the delivery of itinerated support to schools for students with moderate to low special educational and/or behavioural difficulties. In doing so the re-deployment of a considerable number of existing staff into the new occupational category took place. A preliminary trial of initiatives in the Waikato region during 1998 established a range of behavioural supports different from those previously offered by the SES. The announcement of this new service advised that:

> "The initiative has two elements Resource Teachers Behaviour and Learning and Behaviour Specialist Support Service. . . . the initiative will be complemented by new professional development opportunities for the resource teachers. . . (Education Gazette December 1st 1997, p.2)

The new position of RTLB, to support students with moderate learning and behavioural needs that impacted upon their learning and classroom conduct was 'backed up' by a team intervention model. The Behavioural Education Support Team (BEST) was to support students with severe challenging behaviour. Both service models itinerated professionals to schools within particular geographical areas.

The government fiscal policy in place at the time forced the establishment of Resource Teachers Learning and Behaviour (RTLB) to be dealt with differently from other aspects of the policy. The decision to implement the RTLB scheme was made just three months into a planned year-long trial period. This was precipitated by the anxiety of Ministry officials involved in the implementation of Special Education 2000 that this next piece of the policy could be lost because of a 10% curtailment of government spending. To avoid an effective funding cut and loss of the behavioural aspect of the policy it was announced and implemented some nine months ahead of schedule. At the same time the settlement of the Post Primary Teachers Association (PPTA) contract was being finalised. This was delayed by the union until the coverage it wanted for those members, who were to be a part of the new vocational

group, was achieved. The Minister of Education Hon. Wyatt Creech announced this aspect of the policy in July 1998.

The scheme itself provided for the retraining and deployment of all existing Guidance and Learning Unit Teachers as well as Resource Teachers Special Needs and Experience Unit Teachers - a total of 380 teachers were translated into these new positions in 1998 and a further 210 new positions were established to enable a Resource Teacher Learning and Behaviour to student ratio of 1:750 (Brodie, 1998).

A directive stating the purpose of the scheme was faxed to schools in September. This was followed within a few days by a package containing an implementation timeline (the task was to be completed for the beginning of the new school year) along with a Memorandum of Agreement detailing employment arrangements for the staff and information about provision of the ongoing training for the RTLBs. A series of meetings was held in schools where local Ministry of Education officials answered questions as an attempt was made to settle the finer detail of implementation.

The range of policy provisions described in this section shows the clear intention of the Ministry of Education to provide a range of policies and policy tools to support the delivery of additional support to students with special educational needs. The policies shifted the responsibility of funding management and provision of support for students from the central authority of the Ministry to local schools and their Boards of Trustees.
The range of funding available was linked to levels of special educational need and targeted to individual students and particular schools by new mechanisms of verification and population based formula. Schools that previously may have competed for enrolments were forced to form new groupings for the management of specialist staff.

The process of implementation was driven by an extensive communication campaign where policy detail was fed to schools, BOTs and parents incrementally. This staged release of information and the overall complexity of the policy scope was often confusing for all parties involved. As well as needing to understand the policy components and their implementation at the same time there was significant change to

the level of funding being made available to many students previously receiving individual support.

The changes in the provision of services on the basis of contestability of funds previously held by the SES was to be an ongoing problem for policy implementation. In the *Briefing for the incoming Minister of Education 1999* (Ministry of Education 1999) the Ministry signalled the difficulty created by this part of the policy. "There will need to be work done on the nature of the Crown's ownership interest in Specialist Education Services to determine the extent to which it should retain a mixture of funder, provider, and gatekeeper roles." (2000, p.2). The difficulties caused by the fundholder arrangements were spelt out further by Wylie (2000) when she stated that "Contestability between OTRS fundholders has created fragmentation and uncertainties about responsibilities for enrolment, quality and accountability." (p. 31). Fundholding took cash away from the SES and created a situation where the SES had an annual shortfall. The level of deficit since 1998 had exceeded $2 million a year and was be 'topped up' by the Ministry of Education. Yet on the other hand, the majority of fundholders, special schools, had now attained a level of funding they declared to be essential for them to offer optimal special education support and remedial therapies to their students.

Conclusion

This chapter has presented critical policies of Special Education 2000 and the range of policy instruments, or tools, that are intended to meet the overall policy objectives of Special Education 2000. While the mix of policy instruments is broad, encompassing voluntary, mixed and compulsory instruments (1995) they are all to be implemented into an environment of educational reform and marketisation. The policy instruments are in some cases as powerful in their influence and impact as the policy objectives they are designed to support, for example the potential to amass large levels of funding by meeting the accreditation standards as a fundholder for students on the Ongoing Resourcing Scheme creates a very powerful incentive to a Board of Trustees. Using the position to meet the requirements of Special Education 2000 within the context of the Special Education Policy Guidelines is not a part of the ongoing evaluation of the school's performance. These and other comparable examples are common as the policies have been handed down to schools and their

Boards for implementation. They are neither a feature of the policy design nor a failing of any one school or its Board. Rather than being identified as partial failings of the policy design or implementation these variations need to be regarded as the 'side effects' of Special Education 2000.

CHAPTER FOUR

Policy Implementation - Theoretical And Practice Issues

Introduction

This chapter will identify a range of problems associated with top-down policy implementation and discuss a possible solution, the conceptualisation of implementation as accountability and trust (Lane 1997), in more detail. By examining the transmission of policy *down* to the school and policy implementation *within* the school insight will also be gained into the 'linkages' established between different parts of the system of compulsory education.

Implementation - The Disjointed Incremental Approach

The approach adopted from the development and release of the range of policy details of Special Education 2000 was similar to that of the SEPIT project which was undertaken some four years earlier. Both the SEPIT project and the ongoing release of detail to support the implementation of Special Education 2000 were based upon the promulgation of various regulations and guidelines within the legal provisions of the Education Act 1989. This is a clear example of what Lindblom (1979) defined as disjointed incrementalism. Such an approach is likely to result in limited options arising from the approach as there is often the inter-weaving of policy goals and values. The analysis utilised is restricted to an analysis of the problem not the possible solution. As few possible solutions emerge a 'trial and error' response to identify the best possible approach is likely. Many of these features can be identified in the implementation of Special Education 2000. The policy documents for Special Education 2000 were being 'drip-feed' to schools. With announcements often months apart the waiting for operational detail and clarification of policy interpretations became a feature of the implementation process for the participants in this study.

Implementation - The 'Top-down' Model - Strengths, Weaknesses And Local Issues

A second approach to considering policy implementation is that identified by the transmission of policy from the Ministry of Education to local schools is both hierarchic and utilises a chain-of-command but is best described as being 'top-down' (Hogwood and Gunn, 1984). The effectiveness of top-down implementation may be appraised by examining both the level of maintenance of policy objectives during implementation and the measurable policy outcomes upon completing implementation of the policy. Sabatier (1997) pointed out that " . . . the essential features of the top-down approach are that it starts with a policy decision by government . . ."(p.273).Estimation of the likely effectiveness may be achieved by examining a range of factors such as:

a) - the monitoring of the consistency of actions taken by officials and target groups against the objectives and procedures

b) - the measure of attainment of the policy objectives over time

c) - the clear identification of factors influencing the outputs and impacts of the policy

d) - the level of reformulation of the policy based on its implementation to date.

Adapted from Sabatier (1997).

Sabatier (1997) suggests that for the effective top-down implementation of a policy there are six necessary conditions:

1) - *Clear and consistent objectives* - and providing a standard of evaluation and can be used as a legal framework by officials charged with their implementation. The policy objectives for Special Education 2000 were stated very specifically in the initial document (Ministry of Education June 1996) (discussed earlier in Chapter Three) however as time passed the original policy purpose had become superseded by the implementation of details of subsequent policies as more attention was given to their particular requirements and the resources linked to them.

2) - *Adequate causal theory* - policy interventions should be linked to an obvious and acceptable theory about social change. The ongoing debate over issues of 'best practice' was left unsettled by the policy development and implementation process. During early phases of the policy work substantial literature reviews were commissioned that examined the philosophy and pedagogic approach for supporting

students with high and very high special educational needs. The earlier *Special Education Policy Guidelines* (Ministry of Education 1995) and their detailing of principles of an inclusive response and exemplars of practice for inclusive education where confirmed by this work.

3) - *Implementation processes should be legally structured* to ensure that there is compliance at all levels by those implementing them. The Ministry of Education had a predominantly 'hands off' approach toward enforcing its own policies in the area of special education and relied on information and training to ensure compliance. This allowed a significant school by school variation in meeting the legal obligations under the Education Act 1989 for students with special educational needs.

4) - *Committed and skilful implementing officials* - as there may be decision making authority at their level of operation which assumes their full agreement (with the policy) and professional conduct in support of it. Two Ministry of Education Liaison Officers were responsible for the implementation in region where this study took place. They were part of a group of twelve employees working from regional offices around New Zealand and supporting the delivery of policy implementation and the particular detail supplied by a project team that varied in number between five and seven individuals who were based in the national office of the Ministry in Wellington.

5) - *Support of interest groups and sovereigns* - and the recognition of the need to be supported through the duration of the implementation process by interest groups and those in positions of ultimate legislative and executive authority (Bardach 1974, Sabatier 1975). At the time of the field interviews supporting this study and since the announcement of the policy in 1995 there had been three different government ministers responsible for the education portfolio; all members of the 1990 - 1998 National government. With the subsequent election of a Labour lead government in 1998 there were a further two ministers whose brief in education had included special education. Thus a total of five ministers held responsibility since the first policy announcement in 1995.

6) - *Changes in socio-economic conditions* - these could have dramatic repercussions on the political support required for the satisfactory implementation of the policies or their continued relevance as the best way to address the policy problem. The introduction and implementation of the policies of Special Education 2000 have been supported with substantial increases in budget both through re-allocation and the

introduction of 'new money' to support the range of students with special educational needs.

While Sabatier (1997) has detailed six conditions to ensure perfect policy implementation it is clear that only two, an appropriate causal theory and unchanged in socioeconomic conditions, have prevailed through the duration of the policy implementation. Many of the other requirements have been absent at different times during policy implementation and exhibited geographic variability. In the area of the study this was no different.

Sabatier (1997) suggests that the error of top-down models is that they all too often overlook the role of other policy actors whose views differ from those held by the policy decision-makers. Sabatier's proposition is that top-down models regard the framers of the policy decision, whether they be politicians or Ministry officials, as the key actors. In turn all others are regarded as being likely to obstruct the implementation of the policy to varying degrees. There is also the likelihood that if too many agencies, individuals or groups are involved a top-down model is more difficult to utilise given there will be less predictability of the outcome of complex situations. On the other hand, top-down approaches will be useful where there is a strong programme involving the broader community in the policy area concerned. However where the policy area and implementation involve many groups and individuals of public and private actors - the bottom-up approach is more likely to succeed.

A similar view to Sabatier's was expressed by Bowe, Ball and Gold (1992) when they wrote that " . . . policy intentions may contain ambiguities, contradictions and omissions that provide particular opportunities for parties to the 'implementation' process, which we might term 'space' for manoeuvre." (p.14). Exploring this theme further, Ball cautions that the unpredictability of policy actors and their response to local conditions and particular implementation demands should not be ignored because of the importance placed in a set of dominating political views as there is likely to be " . . . a misleading neglect of transformative activities and the possibility of surprise." (Ball 1994, p. 118)

These cautions regarding the fallibility of the top-down model to meet the state's policy intentions cannot be overlooked. It encourages us to look to refine an approach that explains policy implementation. The section that follows investigates these particular issues further.

Implementation, Accountability And Trust

In exploring implementation issues the Swede Jan-Erik Lane (1997) highlights the dual meaning given to the term, in essence – " . . . *execution on* the one hand . . . and . . . *accomplishment* on the other." [emphasis in original] Lane states that "The performance of activities need not lead to the fulfilment of objectives." (p.297) At the time of this study the original policy purpose was clearly stated in two documents with a further 30 or more being provided to detail subsequent policies to achieve the original purpose. Clearly, guidance of activities toward the policy goal was the focus of the Ministry and achievement of the policy intention was going to be of lower importance. Much of the communication from the Ministry during the implementation of the policies was focussed upon informing schools about the 'how' detail of the policies and their particular instruments - the practical aspects. A lower level of attention was placed on the 'why' of the policies and the pedagogy and philosophy behind them.

There is no one model of policy implementation that will guarantee certainty of accomplishment. Lane (1997) suggests that while implementation theory has sought a way of achieving perfect execution it has instead created a polarity between control, planning and hierarchic models and those approaches incorporating spontaneity, learning and adaptation. This stalemate between the top-down and bottom-up approaches is not resolved by Lane, but used as a basis to explore the situation where any number of implementation processes have found vogue because of the " . . . loose connection between implementation as an outcome and . . . as a process." (Lane 1997, p.312)

Lane (1997) surveyed nine positions from the literature and responded with the formulation of a tenth. The first nine are summarised briefly with the tenth being discussed in more detail.

1 - *Implementation as perfect administration.*

A single administrative system and line of authority enforcing rules with set objectives are achieved through obedience and co-ordination; in the absence of constraints imposed by time-frames and resource limitation (Hood, 1976).

2 - *Implementation as policy management.*

The identification of the desired changes in behaviour to achieve objectives. Relying upon management and political skill and commitment to policy goals. Objectives embedded in statutory requirement supported over the time of implementation by neutrality of the courts (Sabatier and Mazmanian, 1979).

3 - *Implementation as evolution.*

Inevitably this position would lead to the re-formulation of whatever policy ideas were being implemented (Majone and Wildavsky, 1978).

4 - *Implementation as learning.*

Those implementing programmes coming up with improved goals and approaches to support the implementation. However as this model relies upon the top-down implementation by public administration officials possible accountability is placed at jeopardy (Browne and Wildavsky, 1983).

5 - *Implementation as implementation structures.*

From a bottom-up perspective implementation may be regarded as a series of events or pieces constituting a whole. Lane (1997), raises a series of questions with regard to the 'whole'. What is the nature of each piece, what is their respective function and boundary ? These questions are posed as issues of 'demarcation' and 'identification' and can be applied to the actions and roles of the many individuals and organisations who are participating in implementation of a top-down driven process. What ties the actors together in such a 'model' will be their attitude toward the programme they are having to implement.

6 - *Implementation as outcomes.*

In a theoretical world of perfect co-ordination, excellence in administration and political acceptability of policy, there may still be no certainty of successful implementation. Barrett and Fudge (1981) point out that if the performance of implementation overrides conformity with the policy objective then compromise of the policy intention is very likely to occur.

7 - *Implementation as perspective.*

The demands upon the implementation practitioners are argued to create an implementation perspective (Williams,1980). This perspective 'belongs' to those implementing the policy not the theoretician responsible for the policy.

8 - *Implementation as political symbolism.*

Under such conditions those charged with becoming policy implementors may resist the changes required or ". . . approach both objectives and programme in terms of their own interpretation." (Lane 1997, p.306) In which case those making the policy may find necessity or advantage in overlooking the execution of their policy.

9 - *Implementation as coalition.*

Lane (1993) notes how Sabatier evolved his position from that of a 'top-downer' (Sabatier and Mazmanian 1979) to advocate for a combination aspects of top-down and bottom-up models of implementation. This combined model offers a model of the implementation process that creates " . . . advocacy coalitions." (Lane 1997, p.307)

Whilst the preceding nine formulations of 'top down' implementation have broadly surveyed various theoretical critiques a new position is offered by Lane (1997) to address some of the problems identified. This position brings policy actors together and allows their relative positions as top-down and bottom-up to operate together to achieve the policy purpose through implementation.

Implementation As Responsibility And Trust

The tenth formulation (Lane 1997) identifies the shortcomings of both top-down and bottom-up models of implementation. The implementation of policy must take place within a climate of accountability. Accountability may once have been found in the political process that held the bureaucracy of the state to account for its actions (Parsons, 1995). However as society and government have changed and become more complex Day and Klein, (1987) posit the view that accountability be seen as " . . . a system which is woven into the fabric of political and social life as a whole. . ." (p.248) The Ministry of Education identifies seven documents that create a framework for accountability for special education, they are:

- The Treaty of Waitangi
- The Education Act 1989
- The Human Rights Act 1993
- The Privacy Act 1993

- The National Education Guidelines
- The New Zealand Curriculum; and
- Te Whaariki: Guidelines for Developmentally Appropriate Programmes in Early Childhood Services.

These documents frame up the dimensions of accountability for schools and their Boards of Trustees. They are expected to be taken into regard alongside the particular detail and requirements of the Special Education 2000 policies being implemented. The administrative, political, and professional dimensions of accountability (Lane 1997) can all be considered and those undertaking the policy implementation are able to operate within that accountability framework established by these dimensions. Accountability is sustained by inquiry into the level of the achievement of objectives by assessment of the outcomes of work activity or implementation.

Should trust be the only basis for implementation then those implementing policy are more likely to substitute variants for the original policy goals. Trust must sit within the accountability framework that shapes responsibility. "An implementation process is a combination of responsibility and trust, both in relation to citizens and the public sector in general and in the relation between politicians and officials." (Lane 1997, p.309)

The Ministry has stayed away from demanding too high a level of responsibility for perfect implementation as that is likely to restrict the implementors. Heightened responsibility and the top-down model is likely to displace the necessary reciprocal trust between parties with blame if difficulty in implementation arises (Lane, 1997).

This section has explored aspects of the modern practice of policy study and some of the related debates that are apparent when the policy process associated with Special Education 2000 is explored in more depth. The formulation of the Special Education 2000 policies has been both disjointed and incremental and their implementation has relied on top-down transmission. Of the six conditions identified for effective implementation it is likely that only two have prevailed for any length of time. As policy actors can be unpredictable in their responses a long phased implementation is likely to see the displacement of policy goals. To counter this and to ensure that top-down implementation achieves accomplishment of objectives and not just execution of the policy requires a balance in relationships. This sets implementation within a

framework of responsibility achieved through political, administrative and professional accountability demands and in a relationship between different parties based upon trust. It is this formulation of implementation as responsibility and trust that well describes the essential approach for the implementation of Special Education 2000.

Implementation And Practice Issues

This section examines policy implementation models including an approach emphasising responsibility and trust, alongside the demands faced by principals to resolve short and medium term requirements of management and leadership in schools. Elements of school management, the role of the school principal as a bureaucrat, and leadership for inclusive schooling are examined.

Peters and Olssen (1999) offer the view that under *Tomorrow's Schools* a limited devolution of authority to schools and their communities occurred. Under the political economy of reform established by the Treasury a form of 'delegation' of authority was developed. This embraced the new public management model of 'principal - agent theory' and positioned this alongside the construct of 'self-managing schools.' The 'delegation' utilises a contract relationship between individual principals and their BOTs, monitors their performance, and may apply incentives and sanctions so that school principals act as managers to meet defined objectives rather than follow their own goals.

After a decade of *Tomorrow's Schools* the level of autonomy and control given over to a school principal in their management endeavour has increased. Which as Butterworth and Butterworth (1998) note when reviewing the structural reforms of education " . . . is largely what the designers intended." (Butterworth and Butterworth 1998, p. 234).

This shift brought about by the increased influence of the school principal as a manager often bringing as much influence as the external demands coming from the Ministry and the local community. Frequently this meant that the mid and long term future prospects of the school were being significantly affected by the principal's work.

The likelihood of the distortion of policy goals as the activities to implement them displace the original intention has been identified by Merton (1957). As professional roles drew upon the bureaucratic process rigidity and rationality often emerged to control internal relationships and maintain the organisational status. In this environment a different attitude toward school management may prevail from that held by those officials executing Special Education 2000 by the top-down delivery of policy.

The Impact Of Central Policy Development Upon Principals' Control

The leadership and management of schools is crucial for the successful implementation of Special Education 2000. As Caldwell and Spinks (1998) note the centrally managed implementation process will create a series of tensions. Since 1989 leading a self-managing school has meant working with broad authority and responsibility for the decision making required to run the school. Previously much of this activity had been managed by a central authority. The degree of compliance and 'buy in' required for successful implementation of policies may generate resistance if a greater than usual 'accommodation' of central authority is required from the school principal and staff. Whilst Caldwell and Spinks (1998) have noted that self-managing schools operate with significant levels of authority and responsibility, goals, policies and standards are often centrally determined.

Alongside the shifts in authority and responsibility in all aspects of the education system there has been a redistribution of power as a consequence of the educational reforms. These changes have been in two directions: the majority have shifted power from the centre, outward; while some shifts have gone from the schools back to the central authority of the Ministry of Education (Mitchell,1999). Viewing special education, prior to the 1995 -1996 release of the SE2000 policies Mitchell paints a picture of a "centralised sector, . . .top-down legislation and guidelines, . . . non-contestable SES and centrally determined provision." (Mitchell 1999, pp. 206 - 207). While the policies of Special Education 2000 moved power outward from the centre, such a move with formula resourcing of special education funding (SEG), the local cluster management of specialist positions (RTLBs), and the opportunity for schools to manage all their special education funding (ORS fundholding) merely introduces changes already found in the rest of the education sector.

While the new mechanisms for resourcing and managing special education are well detailed in Ministry material, they are based upon fundamental changes to the underlying philosophical and pedagogic practices. These may have either been less clearly communicated, or they have been accepted by the education sector to a lesser level than that which the policy makers have sought.

As Caldwell and Spinks (1998) point out self-management in education is neither self-governance, nor is it autonomy. The Education Act 1989 requires that schools are accountable for the use of their funds, accordingly the Ministry of Education requires that schools respond appropriately in the development of a range of goals, policies, procedures and accountability measures for the delivery of teaching and learning support to students. *The Special Education Policy Guidelines* (Ministry of Education 1995) prescribe seven principles for the achievement of inclusive education of students with special educational needs. The expectation of the Ministry of Education was that school principals would link the policy components together in such a way to be congruent with these *Guidelines* as they undertook their implementation, thus creating a critical role for principals as leaders of implementation.

Leadership and School Change

Both the content and context of the Special Education 2000 policies are significant. The key educators and researchers involved in the development of professional training to support the new range of policies Moore et al (1999) warn that special education in New Zealand is 'at a cross-roads'. Increasingly students identified as having special education needs have been educated in segregated education settings. While the impetus for mainstreaming in the 1970s and 1980s attracted many parents to enrol their children into regular schools, this did not challenge the dominant assumptions of special education. They note that " Much of the Special Education 2000 policy however, is based on a different underlying premise: that of inclusion. (Moore et al. 1999, p.5)

The new policies is an attempt by the Ministry of Education to move special education provision into line with the all other aspects of education in the compulsory sector 'post Picot'. Much of the policy intention is to shift the thinking and response that teachers and school leaders have towards students with special educational

needs. The task of implementing the policies has been made considerably larger by combining the two sets of policy intentions. The requirement for a clear approach in communicating about change through policy implementation is re-iterated by the education union NZEI when it advises school principals that: "The manner in which new information and ideas are presented strongly influence their acceptance. Vision and ideas need to be articulated clearly." (NZEI Te Riu Roa 1999, p.2)

This need for principals to understand the values and approaches behind the policies to become leaders of inclusive schools has been overlooked by many of the Ministry's implementation demands. The need for there to be the right personal values to support the policy direction and implementation in schools is nothing new to policy makers in New Zealand. On several occasions from 1990 to 2001 leading officials from school districts in New Brunswick, Canada have visited to share their model of inclusion. Their experiences showed that for school principals this change started at the personal level where " . . . making a commitment to integration [inclusion] meant overcoming fears and prejudices, and changing attitudes about students who have special needs." (Perner 1991, p.157) Commenting on the New Brunswick model Wylie (2002) notes that "Considerable emphasis has been placed on building an infrastructure to ensure that teachers and principals have knowledge and skills to work with *all* students . . ." [emphasis in original] (p.6)

The importance of communication and leadership efforts both by policy makers and those working 'in the field' undertaking policy implementation, is crucial in the effort to create inclusive schools. Particularly in New Zealand where Moore et al. (1999) have identified that there are two competing conceptual paradigms for considering special education. The first is based upon the thinking that 'locates' the special educational need as a deficiency in the student and the second proposes that the instructional approaches and structure of the classroom needs to be changed to meet the students' needs. Moore et al. (1999) argue that there is a need to understand the differences and limitations of both paradigms to be able to successfully respond to the challenges of Special Education 2000. Aside from an optional two hour training session covering the range of policies and the philosophy which was offered as an option to schools during the first phases of implementation in 1998 - 1999, little direct effort appears to have been made by the Ministry of Education to clarify this situation.

For many principals including those in this study the question from their teaching staff arises as to why there should be a change to the status quo when the availability of special schools and satellite classes has not altered.

Moore et al. (1999) state the need to clearly understand the distinctions between the models of the past, based upon a 'deficit' view of students with special educational needs, and the new policies of SE 2000 with their demand for an inclusive responses and a different approach from teachers towards this group of children. They state: "Without this understanding, we are in danger of resolving the tensions between them by reverting back to the old, but still powerful, story". (p.13)

Principals' Leadership

To understand further the problem that may be faced in policy implementation by school principals, recognition must be given to how schools are currently managed. Traditionally efficiency and effectiveness are achieved by matching tasks with appropriate divisions of labour (Burrello, Lashley, & Besatty , 2001).They suggest that in the management of schools discrete steps may be defined and performed over and over again by staff who are specialised in their work. Thus an organisational form that is mechanistic is developed and managed by school bureaucracy. Whilst this description may be reductionist it reflects many of the expectations of the Ministry with their demand for clear policies and procedures to be in place and followed to meet the National Education Goal and National Administrative Guidelines and delivery of the National Curriculum. This managed system identifies special educational need as a problem to be remediated on an individual basis by specialists using practices that are expert for that purpose. Until recently this usually did not occur in a regular classroom or local school. The managed response to special educational need may not be the best model or method to drive the school by school implementation as the intention of Special Education 2000 is that all schools have an inclusive response to students with special educational needs.

Some of the management approaches and values must be changed. When considering an inclusive response to students with special educational needs Wheatley (1992) contends that schools should be understood as complex adaptive systems. This view utilises the connections, interdependencies and interactions among and between many

people to bring about change within a whole school. In such a model the school is regarded as non-linear system. The model of change in a nonlinear system offers great possibilities for systemic change.

Ettinger (1999) identifies six potentials for transformation in nonlinear systems:

- Change can be rapid and revolutionary
- Small shifts or changes can generate big impacts
- Interactivity between parts of the system mean the whole will be greater than the sum of its parts
- Elements in the system interact in all directions
- Outcomes are uncertain and allow for considerable opportunities and growth
- The likelihood of growth and change is high when there is a lack of predictability and stability in the system.

These potentials can combine for the transformation from a managed response to individual students' special educational needs to a whole school approach toward all students' needs.

Understanding why school principals have difficulty in making the shift necessary to support the implementation of the policies of Special Education 2000 in such a way that the policy goals are met are a key feature of the overall research. When writing about moral leadership in schools Sergiovani described two common problems that limit individuals efforts in leading others:

> Trained incapacity and goal displacement compromise powerful scripts that program what we do. The result is a gridlock on the kind of thinking and initiative needed to resolve problems, as well as on the leadership drive and vision necessary to inspire extraordinary commitment and performance.

(Sergiovanni 1992, p.5)

Conclusion

This chapter has explored a range of theoretical models and their related criteria for success in policy implementation. These models and issues impact upon the experience, role and leadership demands of school principals as they receive top-down policy to develop an inclusive school wide response to the policies of Special Education 2000. It is clear that that the experience of principals as policy implementors for Special Education 2000 will reflect the tension that exists between self-management and centrally imposed policy demands. And whilst the details of the policies have been extensively communicated their presumption of a re-alignment to an inclusive philosophy and pedagogic approach within schools has been an understated dimension of the implementation process. It is likely that many of the implementation issues will have as great an impact on the policy outcomes as the components of some of the policies themselves.

CHAPTER FIVE

Methodology And Findings

Introduction

This study investigates the responses of a group of secondary school principals in implementing the policies of Special Education 2000 (Ministry of Education, 1995, 1996, 1998). The purpose of education, and the intention of Special Education 2000 as well as its adequacy in meeting the purpose of education will be examined. The implementation process within the participants' schools, the demands placed upon them as principals, and the outcomes of the implementation will be explored. In doing so the juncture or disjuncture between the stated policy demands and their implementation will become apparent.

This study combines two aspects: content analysis of documents, at a secondary level - which is applied to selected policy documents; and the interviews of school principals around their implementation of policies.

To investigate the nature of the selected policies of Special Education 2000 a number of avenues are available. The traditional approach to document analysis and interpretation would seek to examine the content of each policy by applying a word-frequency count and lead to a process of coding and categorisation (Sarantakos, 1993). This would be considered primary analysis of the document content. The analysis of each policy document by searching for statements that would indicate the requirement to use a type of financial management approach, or particular curriculum or pedagogy, or policy tool for their implementation would be considered as analysis at a secondary level. Content analysis at a secondary level is undertaken in this study to identify the typology of policy instruments being used to implement and operationalise the policy. By applying the schema of Howlett and Ramesh (1995) it was possible to identify both the categories of policy instruments and the likely levels of state involvement with the implementation and operation of the policy. From this analysis a further set of inductive conclusions regarding the use of technical operations and the network of " . . . material, social and symbolic resources . . ."(Hodder 2002, p. 278) to achieve the policy goals was made.

Principles Of Qualitative Research

Qualitative research is rich in detail and attempts to be close to the participants' perceived world. Some of the central principles of qualitative research that are important for this study are identified by Lamnek (1988, p.104) as being:

- Openness - the formation of hypotheses is the aim of the research, not the driver of investigation for their proof
- Research as communication - communication is between the researcher and respondents their experience and reality is crucial to the researcher
- The process-nature of the research and the object - explanations of social reality emerge from the research activity
- Reflexivity of object and analysis - meaning of expression is understood through examination of context and experience
- Explication - the steps of the process and approaches toward respondents are made clear
- Flexibility - research is flexible and may change during its undertaking.

Comparison between features of quantitative and qualitative research approaches (Sarantakos, 1993) shows a range of features that are significant for their application and usefulness in this thesis. By exploring my 'question' through qualitative methodology, and in particular adopting the range of approaches stemming from the position of critical inquiry and critical theory I will endeavour to come to a closer approximation of the 'truth' that is to be found in the accounts of the participants. Table Four below illustrates and compares a range of the features of quantitative and qualitative analysis. Shading has been applied to the areas of greatest significance for this study.

Table Four . The essential features of quantitative and qualitative analysis.

(Adapted from Sarantakos 1993, p.319)

Dimension Or Feature	Quantitative	Qualitative	Importance Of Qualitative Feature For This Study
Social Life	Explains	Understands	-
Theory	Theory Testing	Theory Building	High
Approach	Objective	Subjective	-
Questions Aim To Discover	Why	How	High
Focus	Ahistorical - Spans Space & Time	Historical - Real Cases	High
Methods	Closed Approach - Strictly Planned	Open & Flexible In All Aspects	High
Research Process	Predetermined	Influenced By Respondents	High
Researcher Role	Remains Distant From Respondents	Is Close To Respondents	High
Characteristics	• Static / Rigid • Inflexible • Deals In Particulars	• Dynamic • Flexible • Is Holistic	High
Priority In Discovering	Differences	Similarities	-
Data Analysis	Reductive	Explicative	-
Level Of Measurement	High	Low	-

The key features of data analysis utilising qualitative approaches that will impact upon this study are the way in which analysis of data aims to understand the social life of participants, and build theories from results that show 'how things are'. The analysis will be subjective and will focus upon the reality of the respondents, not the hypothesis of the researcher. Methods employed in the research and subsequent data analysis will remain open and flexible. The researcher is open to the ideas of the participants. The overall characteristics of the essential features of qualitative analysis are that it remains dynamic, and uses flexible approaches to develop an holistic understanding of the participants' experience. The second aspect of the study, the use of interviews with the participants, will explore the way in which ideology may have impacted upon their self-management of schools and also to investigate the way that power relations have become enmeshed into the process of policy implementation.

Drawing on Kincheloe and McLaren (1994) the juncture of qualitative research and critical theory can be seen to encompass a number of key dimensions. The set of policies that constitute Special Education 2000 and the role and action of the participants in their implementation can be framed within a socio-political model, of neo-liberalism and education reform. The ideas that have constituted much of the philosophy and pedagogy of the policies can be located within the theories of special education emerging from models of effective education and anti-discrimination policies. By examining the policies and participants' responses to them a critique of this broader framework will emerge. Kincheloe and McLaren (1994) propose that a researcher using their work as a form of social or cultural criticism needs to accept some basic assumptions. This study is examined against each one of these seven assumptions in the following material.

All ideas and thoughts are shaped by the power relations that exist between people over a period of time. This study primarily captures the position between the Ministry of Education and the principals as policy is executed through its development and release over a protracted time frame. As policy actors, the school principals may support, contest or ignore aspects of the policies under study. (Ozga, 2000) However the participants are merely a few of the many educationalists working in what Mitchell and O'Brien (1994) have identified as the third occasion (since 1877 with the inception of free, secular and compulsory education) where economic and political factors have very directly shaped special education policies and provisions .

It is not possible to isolate facts from the ideology and the values that surround them. This study, the policies it examines, the participants' responses and their 'voice' are all located within the ideological framework and values constructed by the process of educational reform. The statement made by the Secretary of Education, "Special Education 2000 completes the reforms initiated under Tomorrow's Schools . . ." (Fancy, 1999) reflects the backdrop of neo-liberal based public sector management that the policies embrace. The policy documents and implementation materials constitute written records produced by official sources to transmit information. These sit beside guidelines and regulations that constitute the policies designed to support and achieve educational and economic ideals and values.

Relationships, whether they are, on the one hand, between such things as the concept and object of ideas, or on the other between people in different power roles; which Kincheloe and MacLaren (1994) have identified as ". . . the signifier and the signified . . " (p.139) are likely to encompass two significant factors. The first that they are likely to be neither static nor stable, and the second that they are very likely to be influenced by such things as socio-cultural and socio-economic factors. The fluidity of relationships may be evident in a number of ways; whilst the participants may talk of 'the Ministry' they are often referring to regional staff they have a personal acquaintance with. When they talk about 'other schools' they are referring to professional colleagues. When they talk of staff, parents and pupils these are all people they are in daily contact with. The demands of the policies, and the ideology and values associated with them impact upon these people and in turn have an effect upon the relationships with the participants in this study.

Language is central to the formation of subjectivity and awareness and is both conscious and unconscious. The written policy and implementation materials utilise language which will generate both direct and indirect meaning and the spoken language of the participant's during their interviews will reflect ideas and understandings that are sometimes intended and sometimes unintended.

The privileged in society are likely to be the oppressors. Often individuals and groups in society are privileged over others. This position creates an oppression that is greatest when the under-privileged individuals or groups accept the inevitability of the status quo. In this study the position of students with special educational needs represents this oppression. While some of the policy objectives are designed to change this situation, individuals such as the participants in the study are in a position to alleviate or continue to ignore their oppression. Whilst the policy documents state an overt position, much of the process of their implementation and operationalisation deals with professional power.

Oppression is not singular but multiple. Dealing with just one aspect will not be productive where the interrelationship between oppressing factors needs to be addressed.

Too much focus toward one form of oppression and the ignoring of others by 'de-coupling' them will do little to alleviate the position of vulnerable and marginalised individuals or groups. The causal factors linked to the issues oppression arising from differences of race, gender, income, housing and health status are outside the direct scope of this thesis however any one of these conditions may contribute to lowered educational performance and outcome.

Often unintentionally, research practices will reinforce the conditions that give rise to marginalisation and oppression. This is particularly so if researchers fail to challenge the way that systems of oppression operate. This study may fall into this position too unless I establish and maintain a critical perspective throughout the work.

This study will build on the small body of New Zealand research and writing examining special education provision and the response of educators. It will complement the range of research recently undertaken on contract by Massey University staff for the Ministry of Education as part of the design and evaluation of Special Education 2000 programme. It is anticipated that dissemination of the findings of this study among the participants and their peers will aid the promotion of broader discussion within the membership of their local Principals Association. (This body represents over 120 schools in the region of the study). Consequently there may be an impact upon the interaction between the Specialist Education Service, at both a management and field level with members of the Inclusive Services teams working in the local schools. In addition the participants are likely to use the data from the research in their interaction with staff from the Ministry of Education who are involved with student support, special education policy, and funding at both local and national levels.

Sources

Issues of scope and manageability of the overall project create limitations upon the amount of data that can be gathered and analysed. This meant focussing upon a small cohort of participants and restricting analysis of policy documents and implementation material to those developed and released by the Ministry of Education

as part of the policy implementation. The following sources provided the data for this study:

1 - Policy documents.

All the Ministry of Education policy documents from the period 1995 - 1998 were gathered. These were part of a much larger body of material amassed since 1987 covering the education reforms, and the development of special education policies and the Special Education Service.

2 - Implementation guidance material.

Key policy documents utilised in policy implementation were selected and the linkages between the characteristics of the policy instruments they employed and levels of coercion and control were established by using the Howlett and Ramesh (1995) schema. This process provided a picture of the top-down model the Ministry of Education had developed for the execution of its policy.

3 - Interviews.

- A pilot interview was conducted and its transcription analysed thematically.
- Local school principals were recruited for the study. They were interviewed and thematic analysis was applied to the transcriptions of the tape recordings. The interviews were undertaken to investigate the experiences of those implementing the policy and their responses to the implementation demands from a bottom-up perspective. The scope of the interviews included:
    - the purpose of special education in relation to regular education
    - the intention of Special Education 2000
    - the positive and negative aspects of the policies' provision

The interviews also focused on three key areas regarding the impact of implementation:

- the impact upon the school of the policies - and the outcomes for students
- and the impact of central policy demand on their local management of the school.
- leadership - and the role the principal has undertaken in policy implementation to achieve the policy purpose.

This combining of methods is described as bricolage and the researcher as a bricoleur According to Levi-Strauss (1966) a bricoleur is " a jack of all trades or a kind of professional do-it-yourself person" (p.17) the various practices used to find solutions

are linked together to produce ". . . an emergent construction." (Weinstein & Weinstein, 1991, p. 161). Becker (1989) suggests that a qualitative researcher as bricoleur will apply whatever strategies or methods, or empirical materials are at hand. So researchers as bricoleurs will work between competing and overlapping perspectives and paradigms (Denzin and Lincoln 1994).

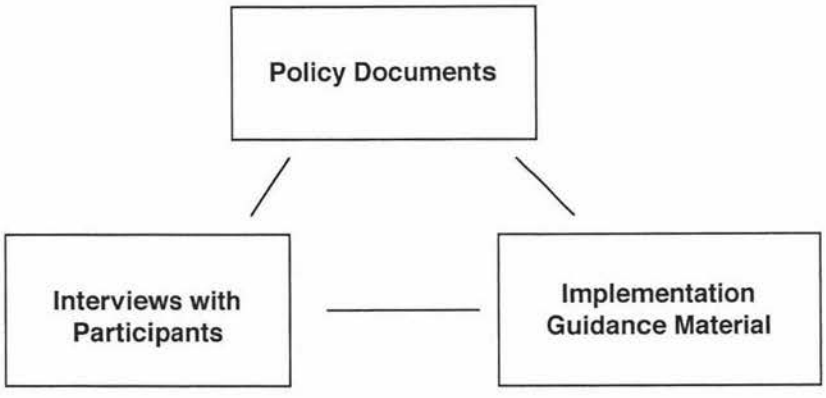


Figure Seven. The interrelationship of the three sources of data.

A bricolage of critical, content and thematic analysis will be applied to the Ministry of Education policy documents and implementation guidance material. Interviews will be analysed to identify the emerging 'voice' of the research participants. From these three sources it may be possible to identify the implementation gaps emerging in schools as Special Education 2000 is put in place.

Focus Of The Investigation.

As has been stated this study will incorporate two approaches to the gathering and exploration of data from the identified sources. The first is a critical examination of the policies and implementation guidance material of Special Education 2000. Content analysis can be used to characterize the content of documents (Lowenthal, 1962) and traditionally employed quantitative approaches of sampling and measurement. Content analysis may also involve the interpretation of attitudes and values from ". . . the content of texts." (Shuker 1999, p.317). In this study the content analysis of the policy texts investigates the range of policy instruments and the related levels of state intervention and control by using the Howlett and Ramesh (1995) schema. The second approach is set against this background of core policies and guidance material is an examination of the responses of a group of local school principals implementing the policies through key informant / stakeholder interviews.

Policy Texts

The first element of this study is the selection and investigation of the critical policy documents of Special Education 2000. A feature of the development and implementation of Special Education 2000 has been the vast flow of communication materials from the Ministry of Education to the various policy audiences. Most of this was in print form, although two video tapes were made and released in the early phases of implementation. As well as print media the Ministry of Education web site has a section covering special education and much of the material is available on this.

The application of critical analysis to the secondary analysis of document contents will focus on getting beneath the surface of the material and the oppressive social structures that it may mirror (Harvey, 1990). The critical approach will aim to reveal the underlying nature of social structures, this may show how oppression operates and will examine the link between social relationships and the broader socio-political context of disability and special education policy. These links may be about any or all of the following policy issues:

- The policy source and the interests it serves
- The policy scope and what it assumes to do
- The policy patterns in terms of relationships and organisational structures.

The range of Ministry material gathered for possible inclusion in analysis is of considerable breadth and sits within the broader definition that Ozga (2000) is seeking:

> There is a distinction to be made between formal policy texts and texts that we, as researchers, choose to interpret as policy texts. What I am trying to say is that we should not restrict our understanding of texts to those that come with 'policy text' stamped all over them . . . (p.95).

This project will set a boundary within Ozga's framework by examining the same policy texts that the participants have received as part of the communication strategy undertaken by the Ministry of Education. The material to be subjected to analysis will be drawn from the 38 different policy statements, briefing documents and press releases produced by the Ministry up until the time of the interviews in October 1999.

Principals' Interviews

The rationale to interview principals is reinforced by Michael Hill (1997). In writing about the policy process in the modern state he argues for a 'bottom up' model of scrutiny of the policy-implementation relationship: ". . . this approach . . . is relatively free of predetermining assumptions. It is less likely to imply assumptions about cause and effect, about hierarchical or any other structural relations between actors and agencies, or about what should be going on between them." (p.138) .The decision to interview school principals as opposed to other staff in schools implementing the policies of Special Education 2000 was based upon the understanding I formed about the process of policy development and implementation when scoping the study. School principals were a specific target audience for the initial communication of all written policy material. They were often invited to participate in district briefing meetings where the SE2000 project team presented policy detail. These meetings were repeated in the evenings for a parent audience. This process became known as 'the road show' and the graphic of the linking the policy detail, was often referred to as 'the pyramid', because of its particular design. It seemed important to talk with the principals as they were being given the task of implementing policies and having to address issues of educational leadership, organisational management and communication with their school communities, as they interpreted the implementation requirements for their schools.

Hill's (1997) position allows for a clearer picture to be established of the relationships and networks within which "decision making actors" (p.139) carry out their activities. The importance of this picture is further argued by Barret and Hill (1981):

> To understand the policy-action relationship we must get away from a single perspective of the process . . . we must try to find a conceptualisation that reflects . . . the evidence of the complexity and dynamics of interactions between individuals and groups seeking to put policy into effect, those upon whom action depends and those whose interests are affected when change is proposed. (p.19).

As a key feature of the *Tomorrow's Schools* reforms has been the move to the self-management of schools, interviewing the individuals closest to the implementation

of Special Education 2000 is one approach likely to offer rich data about the interface between their self management and the implementation of the new policies.

Ethics

Ethical approval for the study was sought and gained from the Massey University Human Ethics Committee in September 1999. The ethical statements provided to participants are attached as Appendix One. The range of issues to be addressed when regarding the ethical concerns linked to social research cover the six following dimensions (Kellehear, 1993) each dimension is presented with some brief discussion as it relates to this thesis:

- Privacy of subjects - ensuring there is no undue intrusion upon the participants life. In this study contact was made by a key informant distributing an invitation to participate. Possible participants contacted the researcher if they were interested, and an information pack was sent to them if they wanted to proceed further. No follow up calls were made. The first communication I had prior to interview was the phone call from the participant to set up a time to meet. After the interview the completed transcript was sent for checking and agreement.
- Consent of subject - a full disclosure of the purpose, methods of investigation, rights of the participants to withdraw from the study and have their data removed and to check transcriptions were provided in writing prior to any contact or discussion with the researcher.
- Confidentiality of subject - and anonymity disguising identity and avoiding gender identification of the participant. As well as disguising the possible identity of the school or participants using pseudonyms, modification of the pronouns in the sections of the transcript used, to remove gender, disability and ethnicity identifiers when reference was made to staff, parents or pupils at the school occurred. The tapes and original transcripts are held in locked files in the researcher's office and will be destroyed at the completion of the investigation.
- Protection from harm of subjects - as the research limited the participants' participation to one interview and the utilisation of the transcription and analysis of the interview content there was no risk of physical harm. Issues of exposure to 'professional risk' through disclosure of the participants' identity when the data was analysed, written up and published were managed by the process of checking transcripts prior to use - as previously described.

- Cheating - avoiding deception of subjects, colleagues, and community. This may be a greater possibility in research involving quantitative methodology. Particularly in studies involving large scale samples or surveys where minimum numbers of participants are required to establish statistical validity. In this thesis the mechanisms of checking interview transcripts and gaining agreement prior to use prevented embellishment of data. The conventions of referencing all other sources of material following the American Psychological Association publication manual conventions are maintained.
- Negative use of research by self or others. While control over the publication of findings is a dimension of possible negative use this can be managed to some degree by the placement of the thesis in the university library which applies restriction upon the borrowing of such manuscripts. The broader issue of research activity and purpose is fundamental to this dimension of ethical concern. Whether research such as this thesis serves the sole purpose of academic 'credentialing' or is part of working toward a larger goal. In the case of this study the role of the research activity and the overall purpose and direction have already been examined in Chapter One where my overall goal was explored further.

Pilot Interview

Using a semi-structured interview, it was important to ensure that the design and structure of questions, or discussion topics should effective in enabling rich data to be gathered. A pilot study or a small scale replica would be useful in checking for difficulties in conducting the interview (Sarantakos,1993). Such things as the language used in framing a question, and the placement of the questions in the sequence of the interview schedule could be assessed and any necessary changes made. As well, establishing a likely overall length of time for the interview to ensure that participants could allocate sufficient time for their interview. The questions developed for the interview were structured to achieve an easy discussion based upon the participants' understanding of the policy details, intentions, and the demands created by their implementation. The interview schedule was sufficiently flexible to be used as a framework so that each conversation reflected the participant's own views and experiences. Rather than starting the interview with an 'open page' I structured the questions in such a way that they would focus upon the policies and school demands that were tied to the equity goals of the policy. The literature drawn

upon for the study and the scope of the policy documents and guidance material from the Ministry provided a framework against which I wished to test the response of the participants. The construct of inclusion, the rights discourse, leadership and management in self-governing schools were all a part of this framework. As well, the major policy information and implementation detail developed by the Ministry of Education was able to be utilised in such a fashion that it offered a clearly defined model against which interview data could be analysed and discussed.

The outcome of the pilot study confirmed the usefulness of the interview outline (see Appendix Two) . The schedule used for the semi -structured pilot interview was manageable with respect to the time it took to cover the eleven questions. It had been provided to the informant in advance of the interview to enable some consideration to be given to the focus of the discussion. It provided a framework for undertaking a semi-structured interview which lasted between sixty and ninety minutes and would generate a transcribed document between fifteen and twenty pages in length.

The Participants, Their Recruitment, And Interview

The aim was to recruit up to ten school principals from among the over one hundred members of the local Principals Association. Recruitment from this group was influenced by the existing relationship I had with three school principals; one each from a primary, intermediate, and secondary schools in the district. These individuals were approached and asked if they could pass on to potential participants invitations to become involved with and information about the study. (The invitation is included as Appendix One.)

As I had an ongoing relationship with each of these individuals through the education of my children at their schools, rather than acting as participants who would have some potential of bias arising from previous and ongoing contact with me they were not interviewed, however they were useful in achieving a 'snowball sample' (Sarantakos, 1993).The methodological limits arising from such an approach need to be regarded as features and not restrictions of the investigation. Sarantakos (1993) drawing upon the writing of Lamnek, (1988) and Miles and Huberman, (1984) identifies that qualitative sampling will:

- be directed towards typical cases - not large numbers
- change in size and type of subject - not using a fixed sample determined before the study commences
- seek suitable cases - not statistical or random sampling to achieve representativeness
- engage with participants as the study develops - not pre-selected individuals. Adapted from Sarantakos

These features can be found in the approach undertaken in this study.
The outcomes of the recruitment approach were different from those sought. Each principal was given ten 'recruitment packs' to distribute among their colleagues and was asked to do this at the beginning of the third term in 1998. No responses were received from primary principals, and the intermediate group decided to discuss the request at a principals' group meeting. Only five secondary principals responded within three weeks of the beginning of the third term. Clearly the selection of the individuals to build up a 'snowball' had not generated the response I had hoped for within the time-frame available.

Follow up requests to the primary and intermediate 'contact principals' generated offers from each to be interviewed which I declined, in both cases pointing out the potential for bias. Left with this situation it made sense to focus on using the five secondary principals as the cohort as their common experiences would strengthen the data that would emerge from the interviews. I had already determined from the pilot study how much data one interview might generate by completing the transcription and initial coding from that interview. Four interviews were conducted over a three week period before the end of the school year in 1998.

The interviews were all undertaken in the participants' offices. I took the participants agreement, and two copies of the interview schedule with me. Copies of these documents and the information sheet had already been sent in advance to the participant. After introducing myself, explaining a little about my studies and involvement in special education and my research interests I would invite the participant to clarify any questions they might have. We talked about the steps involved, aspects of confidentiality and the possible use of the research for other forums than the thesis, such as journal articles or conference papers. These exchanges

served to settle the two of us into the topics of the interview. Once the participant agreement had been completed the interview would commence. While I felt confident in the role of interviewer I was not confident of my success as a technician and sound recordist. At the commencement of the first three interviews I checked the recording level for play back quality. This was far more critical than I thought as the subsequent transcription process was undertaken with equipment that gave less audio clarity on playback than the tape recorder at the interview. The subsequent checking and correction of the transcriptions took many hours. I learnt that the initial transcriptions were made using equipment that was poorly maintained leaving me with large amounts of reviewing and correction to attain completely accurate transcriptions.

In each interview individual interview there was a time of 'warming up' for the participant as they became confident and spoke more expansively in answer to the questions. Even though participants were sent the interview schedule in advance few had done more than apply a cursory examination to the range of questions for the interview. One participant made the point that they felt they would be more open in their replies if they were not to prepare them beforehand. While one interview took nearly ninety minutes to complete the others were all finished in sixty or seventy minutes.

Analysis Of Interviews

Babbie (1998) suggests that the coding of data in content analysis should be conducted against some conceptual framework. Coding may consider the manifest content of the transcription. When searching a document for a pre-determined 'unit' of text, usually a group of words or sentence containing words from a list, relevant to the topic under study can be identified. The advantages of the ease of coding and the reliability of the aggregation of coded data are likely to be offset by a lowered validity as the meanings of the text units may lack richness and depth. The alternative approach to coding would seek the " . . . latent content of the communication: its underlying meaning." (Babbie 1998, p.313) While this method may enable exploration of the underlying richness and depth of meaning the caution is made that " . . . its advantage comes at a cost of reliability and specificity." (ibid, p. 314)

Once the transcripts had been completed corrected and checked for their accuracy I set about creating my working documents. Using double line spacing I utilised the format feature of Microsoft Word to apply numbers to each line of the transcript before printing them. Now I was able to start to read them for data analysis. Sarantakos (1993) proposes that this process is cyclical. My first exposure to the data was during the exacting and repetitive process of reviewing and checking the transcriptions. Now the reading was giving a much greater sense of the overall flow and content of the discussion and the detailed elaboration of some responses. The initial reading of all the transcripts was undertaken twice. I used a highlighter pen on the second reading marking up anything that caught my attention. It was apparent at this point the range and depth of responses was varied and that in some instances an absence or lack of elaboration to a repeated question would become a valid response. The cycle of data reduction, data organisation and interpretation is a useful starting point (Sarantakos 1993). The transcriptions encompassed 55,000 words over 120 pages and some starting point was necessary. One interview was selected, that with the principal of Pine High School. This transcript was re-read to identify if there were other selections or phrases that were in some way significant - as I wanted to establish an initial reduction or cut of the data. Having marked up all that I thought was of some importance I started to try to find themes by re-reading these sections. There were the obvious statements and responses and then within them mixed data that sometimes would fit to multiple categories. After several more attempts I had expanded my technique to using six different highlighter colours and allowing the possibility of multiple combination of these in any section of the numbered lines of the transcript. The following themes started to make some sense:

- Conflict - among and between anyone involved with the school and the policies
- Supply - of money, human resource or equipment
- Pedagogy - approaches toward learning and teaching
- Implementation - the role of the principal, MOE or BOT in putting the policies of SE200 into place
- 'Mmmm' - anything else that I thought was interesting that did not fit a category

As well as there was the possible multiple categorisation of any section of the transcript.

Using these categories and the format feature of Microsoft Word, I then copied and compiled the extracts into five different document files

I was now starting to apply some interpretation to the data within the selected interview. To be certain I was heading on a productive track I met with the supervisors of the thesis and spent several hours presenting the data and defending the processing of reduction, organisation of coding into categories and establishing likely interpretations of the material. Their response was to proceed with the remaining transcripts using a similar process.

The resulting pages of colour coded interviews and newly compiled files revealed as much about my process as they did about the respondents and their experiences. I was able to cut and re-assemble the selections from each interview into the themes, printing new sections of text with only the 'snipped' pieces from each category together, then these could be combined across the respondents replies, so all the data on one theme or category could be viewed and read together by mounting the newly printed sections onto long pieces from a brown paper roll. I was not as productive using this larger process of organising the data by categories or themes as I had hoped to be. Reducing the combined samples down again by looking for key statements or message or phrases enabled me to count occurrences - but rather than seeking to build up a numerical analysis about percentages of response I wanted participants' voices and stories to emerge.

Differences were becoming clear however; the entrepreneur, the good person, the apologist ever concerned with cost and the principal driven by a sense of equity where issues of ethnicity and gender were involved in the school. These features were clear if little else was emerging and I was becoming very familiar with my data. I decided to recommence the data analysis cycle - this time the data reduction was organised along the thematic lines of my interview questions and the transcript of the discussion with the respondents was grouped together by each question. A much clearer and more illuminating picture was obtained, by not cutting and assembling but leaving their replies intact I had bigger pieces to make my interpretations from and much more of a story was emerging.

Eckhardt and Ermann (1977) suggest that a qualitative technique building up categories of the occurrence of themes and selected key words, will create an aggregated record which gives a sense of the subjective information, such as motives, attitudes or values 'behind' what is read in a document or text or spoken in an

interview - the iterative process. To achieve the understanding sought by adopting a critical stance robust interpretation and analysis of coding will be essential. Trial coding will be important. However the desire to change definitions and variance of standards during coding will create an attraction toward the ongoing re-appraisal and re-coding of data.

Conclusion

The combination of analysis of policy texts and field interviews of policy implementors has produced two sets of data related to the Special Education 2000 project, the policies and their implementation. The results of the textual and content analysis of selected policy documents and discussion of these results appears in Chapter Six. The results of the analysis of the transcriptions of the interviews appear in Chapter Seven and Chapter Eight and the discussion of this data is presented in the Chapter Nine.

CHAPTER SIX

Results Of The Analysis Of Selected Policies And Instrumentation

Introduction

This chapter uses the Howlett and Ramesh (1995) schema to analyse the instruments of the selected policies for students with special educational needs the policies are first described in Chapter Three. The analysis of each policy will be presented graphically with detailed discussion. Each section will show the areas of tension created by the mix of instruments. The shift in emphasis from the provision of service by the Specialist Education Service and the Ministry of Education to the demands of the new policies will be shown.

The Overall Policy Of Special Education 2000

The figure below shows the selected categories of policy instruments chosen to implement the 'key elements' of the policies of SE2000.

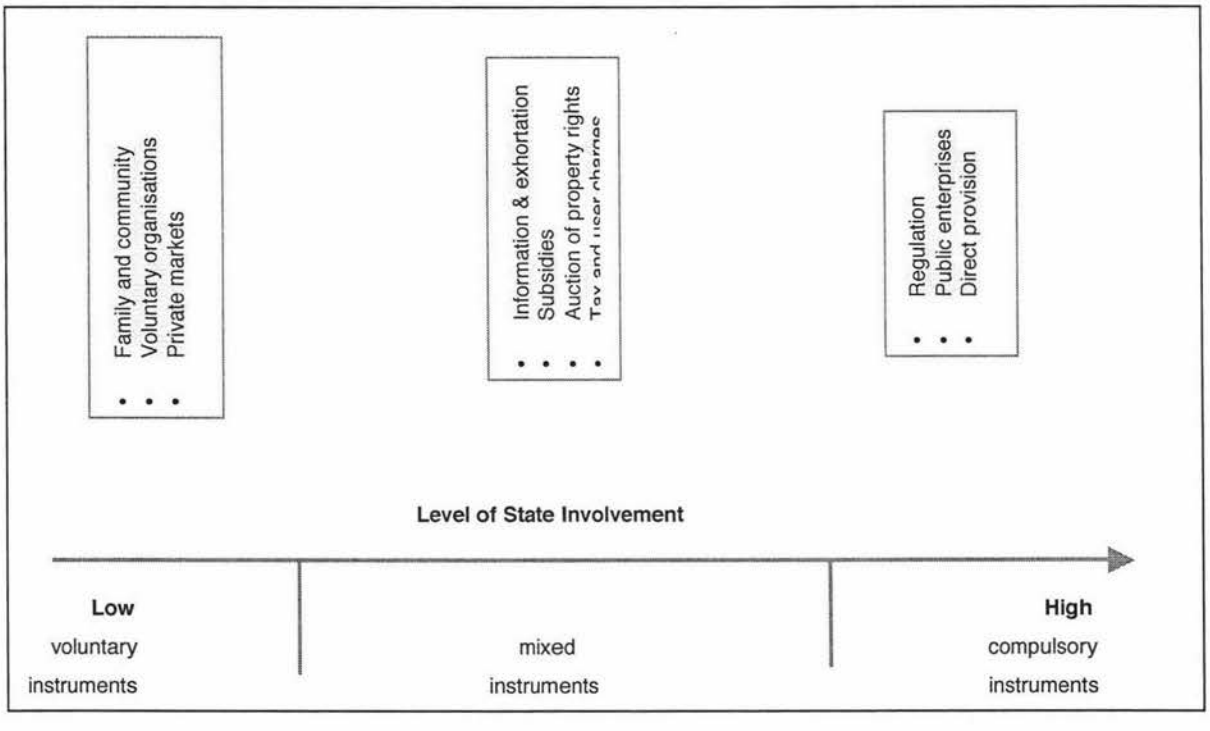


Figure Eight : The range of instruments selected for the implementation of Special Education 2000 (Adapted from Ramesh and Howlet, 1995).

The model in Figure Eight shows that the government was intending to use a wide range of policy instruments to implement its new policy. Among these were:

Voluntary instruments - which have an inherently low level of state involvement.

Family and community

- The acceptance of the range of policies (and their instruments) by families of children with special educational needs was essential for their successful implementation and the development of a climate of partnership that schools were expected to work within.

Voluntary organisations .

- The mechanism of voluntary community control of a school by the elected Board of Trustees who were to govern the use of an annual Special Education Grant by the school as part of their financial accountability under The Education Act 1989 Section 81(b) and other regulatory requirements. A tension exists with the control of the Board Of Trustees by the range of regulatory requirements under legislation.

Private markets .

- The potential that independent special education professionals, or other organisations could offer alternative services for schools to purchase using their SEG funding, thus contesting the position of the SES as the sole provider of service.
- The ability of the SES to compete with the private provision of services by charging a fee for services purchased by schools.

Mixed instruments - which have a moderate level of state involvement.

Information and exhortation

- Information about the changes in the way in which BOTs school principals and staff were expected to respond to students with special educational needs was delivered in print form to all schools.

National training to support for this change in approach to school staff and BOT members was provided by a professional development programme. This and the provision of substantial print information to all schools, families, and voluntary sector disability agencies and were features common to all of the policy implementation during the time of the investigation for this thesis.

Subsidies

- Students with high and very high needs would be supported by an additional staffing subsidy for the employment of specialist teachers and teacher aides. This was provided in addition to the base salary funding for schools i.e. the Grant Maintained Funding Scheme for secondary schools.

Tax and user charges

- Schools were now to pay an hourly charge for services purchased from the SES (by schools using their SEG) where these services were previously delivered at no cost to schools.

Compulsory instruments - which have an inherently high level of state involvement.

Regulation

- The continuation of the right to enrol and attend at the child's local school with the obligation upon the parents to ensure that the attendance was regular (Sections 3,8 & 20 of The Education Act 1989).
- The requirement for all schools to deliver the same National Curriculum to all students (Sections 60 A (b) of The Education Act 1989).
- The requirement for the school Board of Trustees to discharge its duties and responsibilities in a manner that was without prejudice to students with disabilities or special educational needs (Section XX of The Human Rights Act 1993).

Public enterprise .

- The desirability of the crown agency the SES, to develop and provide a wide range of services on a hourly costed basis in competition with private sector providers.

Direct provision .

- The expansion of the range of services purchased by the Ministry of Education from the SES to support the needs of students under new areas of the SE 2000 policy (e.g. BEST, Speech Language Initiative).

The identified selected instruments can be associated with varying levels of state coercion (Howlett and Ramesh, 1995). They clearly signalled the 'manifest' intention of the policymakers' that the education of students with special educational needs should take place in all schools. How this shift to an inclusive approach toward special education was to be achieved was the focus of much of the communication strategy supporting the top-down implementation of the policies. Usually this demanded a comprehensive process of communication and associated training and professional development. This would be an observable feature at the commencement of each of the policy programmes and would continue for varying periods of time. Once the implementation goals were achieved the emphasis of communication among the mix of policy instruments would diminish. While the training and information delivered to schools addressed the operational demands of the new policies much of the change needed relied on an underpinning philosophy and pedagogy of inclusionary education that would support the policies. This shift has already been identified in earlier sections of this thesis where the move in services for disabled students from institutions, to segregated special schools, and most recently to the mainstream has been detailed. The 'latent' intentions of the policy makers, to introduce the new public management approaches of the reforms in education into special education will be seen in the analysis of the selected policy instruments. This analysis will be undertaken in each of the subsequent sections that describe selected policies from Special Education 2000.

The Special Education Grant

This policy brought about a cessation of the direct state provision of services to students with moderate or low special educational needs from the Specialist Education Service and required that schools provide the support to these students instead.

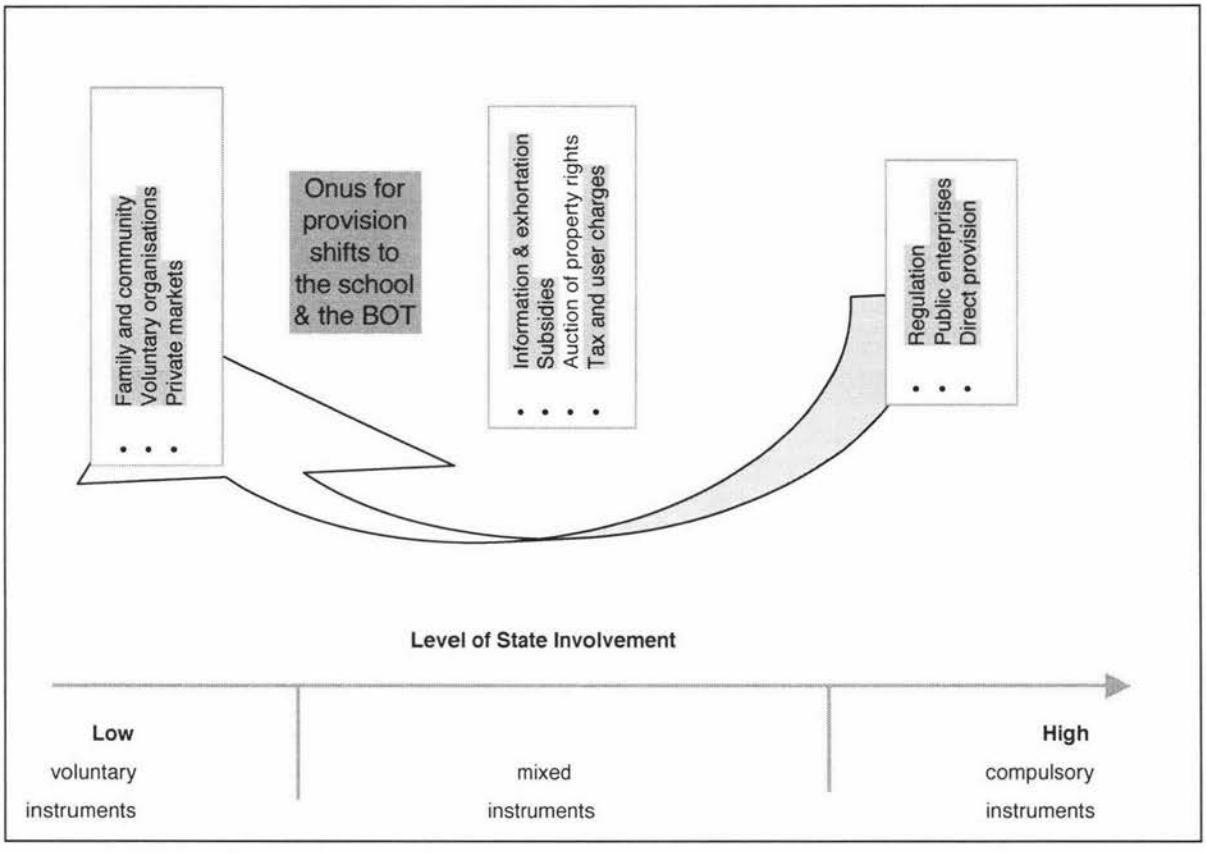


Figure Nine : The range of instruments used to implement the SEG with emphasis added showing the tension created by the reduction of individualised service to students by the SES and the shift of responsibility of provision to BOTs. (Adapted from Ramesh and Howlet, 1995)

Figure Nine above is highlighted to show the mix of instruments selected to implement the Special Education Grant. Their typology spanned across the range from voluntary to compulsory. The policy provided funding and guidelines to meet the low to moderate special educational needs of students. The analysis of the instruments using the Howlett and Ramesh (1995) schema gave the following results:

Voluntary Instruments

Family and community

- School Boards Of Trustees were expected to consult with families to ensure their input was given in the development of school policies and procedures to utilise this grant. They may form coalitions to advocate for the use of funds to meet their child's' special educational needs if they were not involved by the school.

Voluntary organisations

- Boards of Trustees would establish policies and govern the use of the grant to meet the range of special educational needs exhibited among the students enrolled at the school. This action created a 'quasi market' environment within the school and among its pupils.

Private markets

- Schools were free to purchase service from any provider to met the needs of students with the funding awarded by the grant.

Mixed Instruments

Information and exhortation

- The implementation of the Special Education Grant policy was supported by extensive communication and some training and professional development for Boards Of Trustees and staff of all schools. The communication material was distributed early in the implementation cycle and the training followed a year later.

Subsidies

- Funding was delivered directly to the schools on a population demographic formula (decile rating) tied to the school roll. This funding was supplied to support the majority of students with special educational needs in all schools. Approximately 4 - 6% of students were estimated to have low to moderate special educational needs (Ministry of Education, 1995). This grant was paid separately from the other funding received from the Ministry and was provided to schools irrespective of the actual number of students with identified special educational needs. This approach penalised those 'magnet' schools where disproportionate numbers of students with special needs were enrolled because of their

reputation a welcome and inclusive response. Schools were free to 'top up' their funding from other sources if there was a shortfall between the funding awarded and the costs of student support.

Tax and user charges

- If the level of grant paid under the Special Education Grant was insufficient to meet the cost of specialist services for students, i.e. those who were not verified as having high or very high special educational needs the school was now expected to pay for their services from the Special Education Grant funding they received. As this was not linked or indexed to the actual number of students with special needs it was possible to have insufficient funds to meet the actual costs involved in providing support for these students. At the this point a user charge would be attracted by the school when it contracted the SES or another provider to meet the students' needs.

Compulsory Instruments

Regulation .

- All schools are expected by law under Sections (3) & (8) of The Education Act 1989 , to accept application for enrolment from students unless there is an enrolment scheme in place under Section 3 (2) of The Education Amendment Act 1991.

Public enterprises

- The Document of Accountability, the annual contract between the Ministry of Education and the Specialist Education Services, stipulated there should be delivery of additional 'outputs' on a fee-for-service basis to schools wishing to purchase these services with their SEG and other funding.

Direct provision

- A cessation of direct provision of SES service for students on a 'demand basis' occurred with the introduction of this policy. Alongside this change the direct provision of funding for teacher aide support was restricted to verified students. Once fully implemented the combined impact of these changes was considerable.

The implementation of the Special Education Grant was predicated upon schools operating congruently with the Special Education Policy Guidelines (Ministry of Education, 1995) which meant the basis of existing school practice was expected to sustain the policy demands of educating a broader range of students in the 'mainstream'. However this was not the case and the process of decreasing support to categories of students was moved through a series of transition phases slowing up the achievement of implementation targets.

The shift of the responsibility to schools for funding management and for direct support provision to students with special educational needs took place with this policy. This significantly de-emphasised the role and the responsibility of the Ministry of Education as the provider of support to students with special educational needs. As shown by Figure Eight it was now the responsibility of each Board of Trustees to meet the obligations of students with special educational needs. And this was irrespective of the level of funding the school received or the ability or desire of the teaching staff to work with these students.

The Ongoing Resourcing Scheme

The following figure presents the results of analysis of the range of instruments selected to support the Ongoing Resourcing Scheme policy which was to deliver services to students verified as having ongoing high or very high special educational needs.

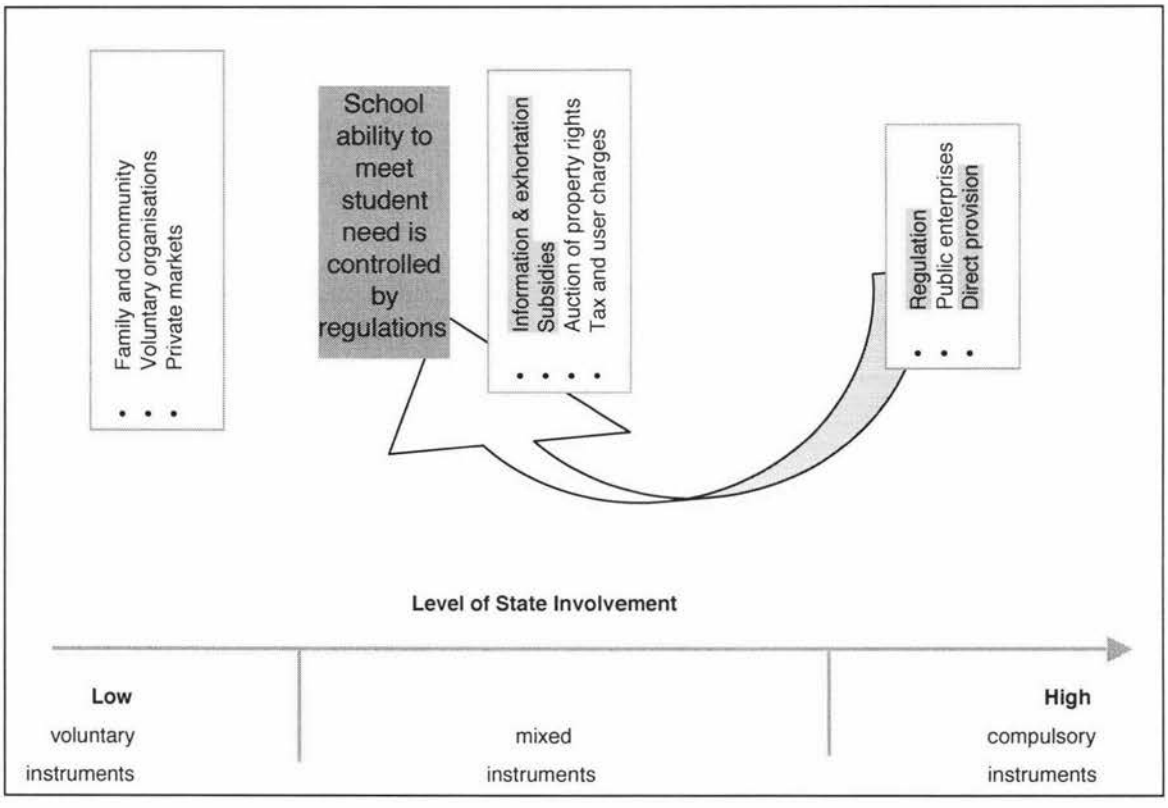


Figure Ten: Instruments selected to implement the Ongoing Resourcing Scheme illustrating the dominance of regulation and the gate keeping of student need. (Adapted from Ramesh and Howlet, 1995)

As illustrated the range of instruments selected to implement the Ongoing Resourcing Scheme was particularly narrow. These focussed upon the verification of students' needs and the provision of funding to service providers, either the SES or individual schools who were fundholders. The use of compulsory and mixed instruments was the key to this policy.

Mixed Instruments

Information and exhortation

- The Ongoing Resourcing Scheme policy was advised nationally to all schools and communication regarding the process of making application for entry into the scheme was monitored closely in the first year.

Subsidies

- The Ongoing Resourcing Scheme was to rely substantially upon the awarding of a dollar amount of funding linked to the verified level of special educational need, either high or very high. This funding was primarily to employ teacher aide support for the student although monies were also directed to meet the cost of specialist services, co-ordination and planning. A further component of the funding was used to employ part time specialist teacher support. Aside from tracking the level of spending against the level of allocated student support there was no attempt to monitor the educational outcomes achieved by the additional spending on any student.

Compulsory Instruments

Regulation

- The use of verifiers to control entry into the Ongoing Resourcing Scheme relied upon the use of an application process that would control the numbers of students gaining access to the funding. A restrictive entry process was developed and trialed over 1996 - 1998. With reviews of the outcomes of applications being monitored internally by the Ministry of Education and externally by researchers.

Direct provision

- The cost of services to those students verified as having a high or very high special educational need had to be met from the budget of the fundholder held and managed on behalf of the student. This requirement was applied to both the Specialist Education Service and schools who were accredited as fundholders.

The use of these instruments created a model of 'gate keeping' for the Ministry of Education verifiers to restrict access to the higher levels of resourcing and support that would previously have been available to a greater number of students. This component of the policy relied on the tools of 'managerialism' to achieve the policy goal, by using targeting for 'efficiency' and transparency in reporting of distribution to demonstrate an attempt to achieve 'equity' by the redistribution of resources. The implementation created an unresolved series of tensions between 'parent choice' and 'rights' that were embodied in the overall policy statement released in May 1996 and Ministry funding of verified special needs of students'. This section suggests that by constructing student need as a commodity, which is then managed, control can be exercised over the cost of the financial supply to meet that need.

Fundholding For The Ongoing Resourcing Scheme

By having twenty or more verified students under Ongoing Resourcing Scheme a school could apply to hold all the Ongoing Resourcing Scheme funds for those students. (Ministry of Education, n.d.) The results of the analysis shown in the Figure Eleven below identifies a narrow range of instruments used to implement this aspect of the policy as illustrated these were mixed and voluntary.

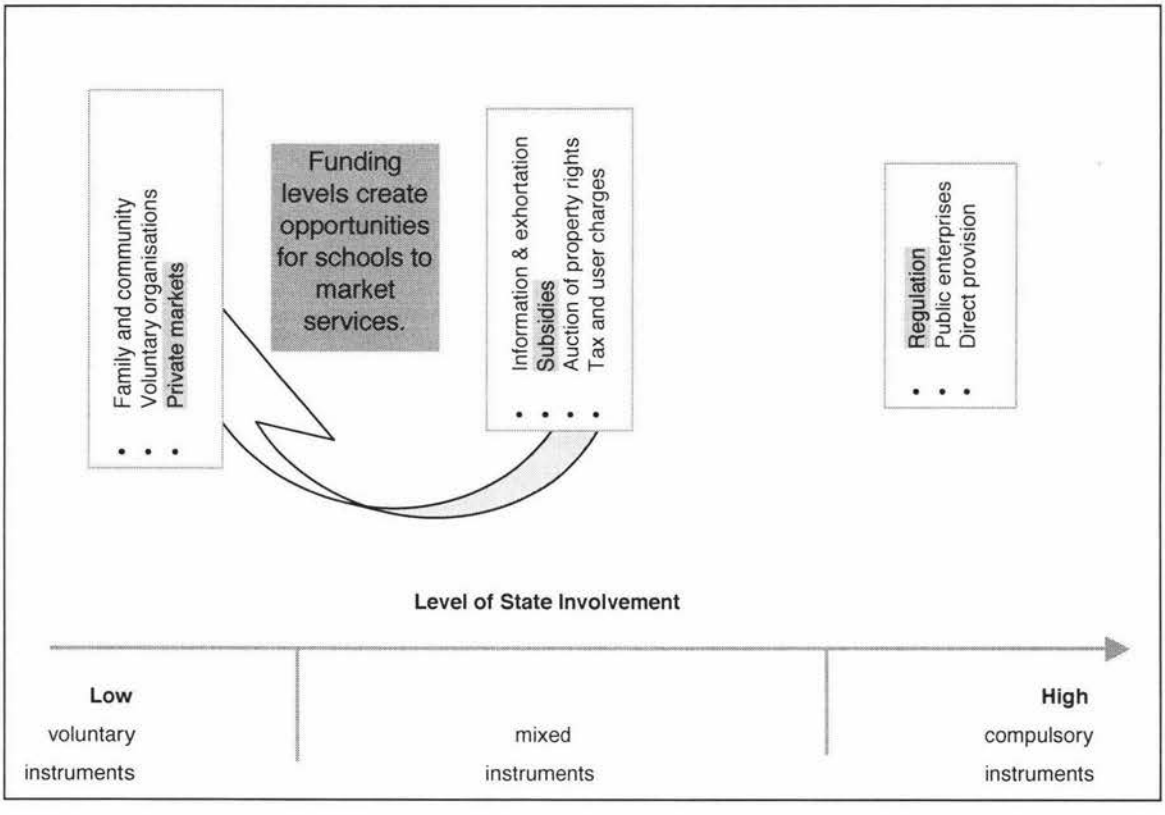


Figure Eleven: - Policy instruments supporting establishment as a Fund holder and creating opportunities for service delivery – the payment of subsidies created a market model for service provision.
(Adapted from Ramesh and Howlet, 1995)

The selection of instruments to deliver this aspect of the policy, creating the contestability of provision was very effective. The possibility of a school becoming a fundholder was attractive to Boards of Trustees. These schools electing to become fundholders and meet compliance requirements, were funded at the same level as the Specialist Education Service. They would be a competitor with the crown agency the SES in providing support and services to students verified as having high or very high special educational needs. The school received the same level of support funding per student as the SES however the school had a much lower operational costs to deliver the same services than the SES. This policy created a quasi-market model by the

direct subsidy of schools. The attraction of enrolments of verified students to the school could add disproportionate advantage to that school enabling them to act in a manner to influence further enrolments and special education demand by expanding their role as a provider to that of a 'centre of excellence' model.

Voluntary Instruments

Private markets

- Schools were able to establish themselves in opposition to the state funded services provided by the SES and undertake the same activities for the purpose of supporting students with special educational needs. In most cases schools were able to provide more specialist services to students than the SES had done before. This quickly led to a situation where the value of the individual student's Ongoing Resourcing Scheme funding was an incentive for the provision of services and a powerful disincentive if they had been denied entry to the scheme. Those students with moderate to high needs who did not meet the entry criteria for Ongoing Resourcing Scheme were regarded as undesirable consumers of special education support.

Mixed Instruments

Subsidies

- If a school decided to become a fundholder for students verified as being eligible for the Ongoing Resourcing Scheme the aggregated sum of their funding was given over to the school to manage and to meet the identified needs of all of the students. While the mechanism of providing a subsidy is regarded as a grant toward cost, this aggregated sum often reached a quantum that was considerable and acted as an incentive to the fundholder. The impact of this was that rather than just delivering services at a level sustained by grant funding the fundholding enabled the school to compete and deliver superior services to those previously offered by the SES. The impact upon parental

perception was that these changes had led to the fundholder doing a 'better job' than the Specialist Education Service.

Compulsory Instruments

Regulation

- The regulatory tools used to implement the fundholding provision were a prescribed series of standards for fundholders. A mechanism of monitoring the achievement of these standards and completing a series of reporting cycles was put in place in each fundholding school. The individual students' IEPs were made the central tool for the focus of planning and provision of their support within the fundholding school.

Special schools and schools with large rolls of students with special needs were able to adopt a strong market position and become entrepreneurial in their use of the policy provision. While the immediate needs of the students were being met by these actions the certainty and future of the schools were also being improved as they became more 'attractive' to parents seeking to exercise their choice by maximising the benefits of the services available for their child.

Resource Teachers Learning and Behaviour

This new professional position was created to enable the support services to teachers of students whose behaviour and learning needs required modification and support to be itinerated. Compulsory, mixed and voluntary instruments were evident in the analysis of policy instruments summarised in Figure Twelve. To implement this aspect of the policy the Ministry of Education was relying predominantly on three instruments. Direct provision of personnel, provision of information for their training by contractors, and in the field the management of staff by the voluntary mechanism of school Boards Of Trustees representatives working together in a 'geographic cluster'.

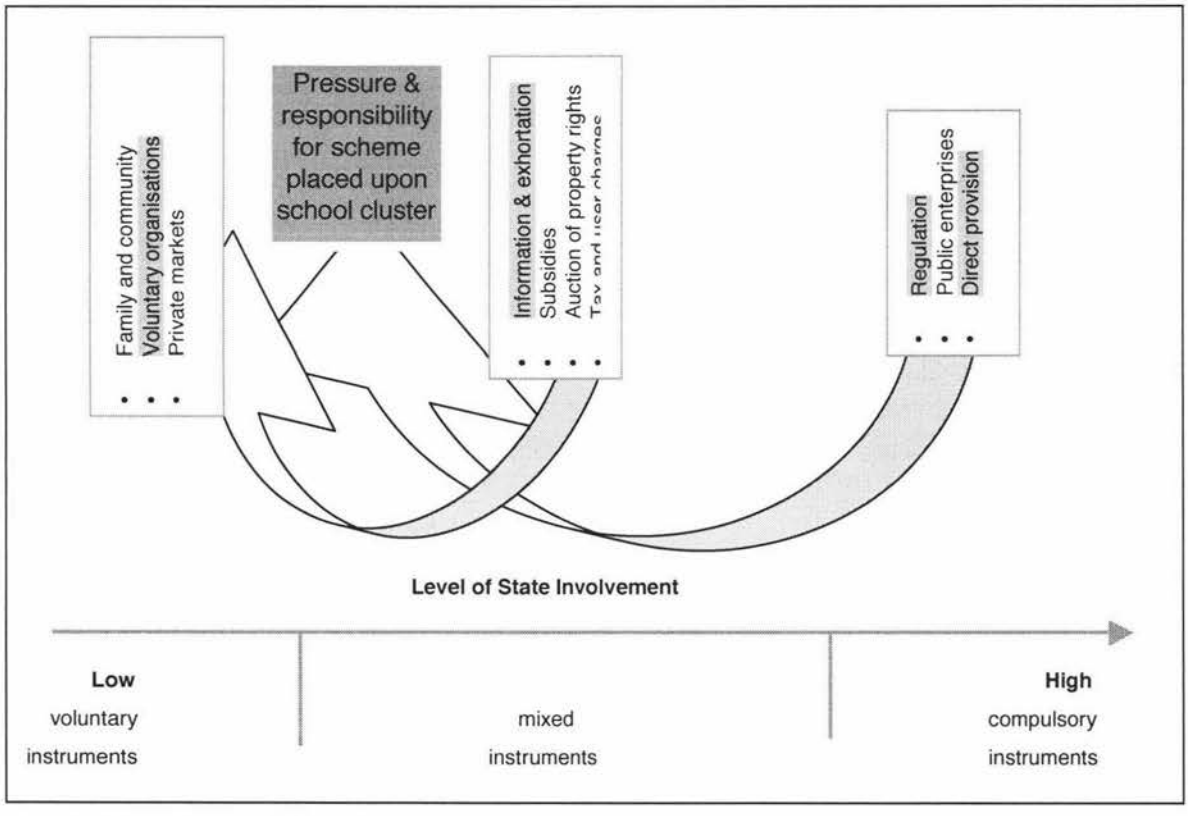


Figure Twelve: Policy instruments selected to implement the RTLB scheme and the consequential pressure placed upon schools to jointly implement and manage the resource .

(Adapted from Ramesh and Howlet, 1995)

Voluntary Instruments

Voluntary organisations

- Boards of Trustees or their representatives, were charged with the task of collaboratively managing the new professional group of Resource Teachers Learning and Behaviour. These staff were assigned to geographic clusters of schools - formed solely for the purpose of the administrative and professional management of the new staff.

Mixed Instruments

Information and exhortation

- The training of staff in these new roles was delivered on a national contract by a consortium of universities. Training took place while the staff were in-post. While this was staggered among regions nationally the training was conducted during the working week reducing the hours of coverage available by any RTLB to that of a 0.8 of a full time equivalent position.

Compulsory Instruments

Regulation

- The regulatory component of this policy was defined in the Memorandum of Attachment sent to the clusters of schools. This described the employment responsibility devolved to them by the Ministry of Education. The delivery of scant detail in the written information was coupled with a time frame that was much shorter than any other of the major policies of Special Education 2000 and this gave rise to negative reactions from many schools.

There was uncertainty as to the best model of deployment for the new specialist staff. As many were trained as primary school teachers there seemed to be a lack of 'best fit' with the approaches sought by secondary school. The Resource Teachers Learning and Behaviour were in training for the first two years of their newly created roles and the best advantage of their direct service delivery was unable to be tapped into immediately.

The newness of the model to support schools and the devolved co-operative management of the shared resource was difficult to implement. This was hampered further by the nature of relationships among many of the cluster schools. In large metropolitan areas these schools were competing for enrolments, being driven by the quasi-market model that sustained parental 'choice'. The mix of policy instruments, with a range of compulsory, mixed and voluntary elements relied upon schools to work together to implement the policy provision.

Conclusion

While the four policies that support the operation of Special Education 2000 have all been analysed for their particular range and mix of policy instruments the impact of the combinations of these instruments has come to dominate all of the operational policies. The Special Education Grant whilst being a policy based on funding serves the purpose of shifting operational responsibility for the majority of students with special educational needs to school Boards of Trustees. The Ongoing Resourcing Scheme provides a continuity of resourcing and support for students, yet the mechanism of verification acts as a 'gate keeping' process and severely restricts the numbers of students who receive direct support. Where schools become Fundholders of the Ongoing Resourcing Scheme the level of direct subsidy is sufficiently high to establish and maintain quasi-market model. Under these conditions the principles of inclusionary education and students' rights are displaced by the drive for funding before special education needs are met. The final policy examined in this section of the study was that of the Resource Teachers Learning and Behaviour. The Ministry demand that schools jointly manage these personnel within a series of guidelines enabled an interpretation to be made by cluster committees that saw the many of teachers placed in special education units, preventing those staff itinerating their services and failing to meet the overall policy goal.

CHAPTER SEVEN

The Participants' Responses to the Policies of SE 2000

Introduction

The policy analysis of the previous chapter was supplemented by interviews with a small number of secondary school principles who were grappling with the issues of implementation. This material is presented in two parts. This chapter presents a discussion of the overall policy and the following chapter which explores details of its implementation.

To gain a greater understanding of the policy implementation experience it is important to hear the voice of those involved in leading the implementation in schools - the principals. The very nature of the sequential development and release of the policy detail by the Ministry, the decentralisation and politicization of special education and the Ministry's push for a paradigm shift in educational approach within short time-frames are features of the implementation landscape.

Each principal participating in the research leads a school which is governed by an independent Board Of Trustees. The Ministry policies they are required to respond to are the same for each school and the policy outcomes are expected to show some similarity between the schools and remain congruent with the policies' goals and objectives. This chapter presents analysis from interviews with principals. The presentation is in sections:

- The purpose of education and special education
- The existing policy landscape created by *Tomorrow's Schools*
- The contesting of the definition of special educational need
- The place of partnerships in implementing and operating the policies
- The impact of the policies upon the existing organisation of the school

The Purpose Of Education And Special Education 2000

Implementation cannot be understood without some grasp of the participants overall perception of the place of education and the relationship to Special Education 2000. When discussing the general purpose of education each of the participants framed their response within the prevailing socio-political view of education. Thus they emphasised lifelong learning as being a responsibility of the state that occurred within the self-governed and managed local institution established by *Tomorrow's Schools*. From the discussion with the participants it was evident that they viewed education as being about the development of each *individual student* to increase their knowledge, to demonstrate the necessary skills and to gain the appropriate qualifications leading to employment. They all emphasised the need for personal skills to gain employment. Thus a high emphasis was being placed upon the instrumental role of education for each individual. The principal of Elm school said:

> ". . . it's just about maximising life chances for kids in really all sorts of ways, academically, socially, just feeling good about themselves and not being afraid to keep learning." Elm interview.

The principal at Rimu school saw the responsibility of the school to educate all of the students from the local community.

> " . . . I think it should be inclusive and certainly in state education you should be responsible for your local community, every student in your local community . . ." Rimu interview .

The Totara principal saw the necessity quality for state funded education to meet demands for individual educational achievement within a competitive labour market:

> ". . . it's competitive, the message that you're obliged to give students that it's competitive out there , if you don't get these qualifications you're not going to get a job." Totara interview.

The emphasis upon individual achievement and competition detracted from education for citizenship. The process of developing each individual student and how this is best achieved raises the issue of special education. The goal of Special Education 2000 and its relation to the overall direction of education was discussed during the interviews, even when the participants were unable to recall specific detail of the policy material.

All of the principals spoke about the overall intention of the policy. One principal captured the full range of concerns voiced by all the others, in relation to policy intention .

> ". . . it was a very simple statement which made a lot of sense to me but I thought what a lot of work to get there and how hard it is at this school to try and do that for those students, where we don't have enough money." Totara interview.

These principals supported the overall policy of Special Education 2000 and sought ways to overcome some of the difficulty the Totara principal had indicated. For the principal at Elm a philosophical shift to inclusive educational values was the starting point:

> " . . . I've made I think a philosophical switch in the last year or so regardless of Special Ed 2000 . . ." "Yeah - It seems to me, my view was it virtually seems to be looking to take the 'special' out of special education; but other than that the issues to me have been largely on the implementation side . . ." Elm interview.

For another principal Special Education 2000 was viewed in legalistic terms as part of a framework where the requirements of the Education Act 1989 and the National Education Goals set a direction that included special education:

> ". . . .we take very seriously the Ministry guideline, you know identifying barriers to learning and doing something about and that's where learning support as it's structured now and where ESOL came from as well as the transition department . . ." Pine interview.

The Ministry's policy sought equity as an outcome for students with special educational needs and incorporated different mechanisms to attain this - resource targeting, the maintenance of students' legal rights and the spelling out of schools' obligations by the Ministry of Education. All of these mechanisms sought to achieve equity. Yet the concept was difficult to specify in terms that all the participants saw in common. Rather than showing unanimity with the policy makers' intentions there were variations in the participants' understanding of equity within special education. Equity was variously seen as something that was achieved with state funding, would be promoted by other students within the school, something that would only be

available to students from the local community, would not happen at some schools, and should be limited to selected students with special educational needs.

The principal of Totara school discussing the equitable distribution and use of resources stated that:

> ". . . the important factor is to have state funded education that's available for every young person as well as a fair and equal opportunity of getting that education." Totara interview.

The importance of other students learning about equity as a social issue was identified by the principal at Pine school when explaining how the whole school benefited:

> ". . . every child in the mainstream has a far sharper appreciation. . . [of their own situation] . . . just noticing [students with special needs] . ." Pine interview.

But in the view of the principal at Elm school the obligation to provide an equitable response should be limited geographically to the local community and families within the particular catchment of the school:

> "If a student lived in this area then we would expect him to come here, I would expect to deliver hopefully quality education to them but it's just that if you, I wouldn't be quite so happy if there's one come across from Central, Black Stump or North." Elm interview.

The principal of Rimu school was aware that not all schools acted to meet their legal obligations to ensure equality of opportunity for students with special educational needs:

> "Some other high schools elsewhere decided that they would through a variety of mechanisms actually illegally excluded special needs students ." Rimu interview.

This situation was influenced by the demands of the community which the Rimu school served. The community perception of what constituted a quality education and the specific features that a broader community sought from their local school may have no place for special education.

> "Our community . . . expect to have high academic success, some interest in sport, that's the image we have . . . our niche is not the specialist school that does a great job for students needing special education." Rimu interview.

It was apparent in discussion with the principal at Pine school that a balance was being sought to minimise the impact of students with special educational needs upon the other students at the school. Choosing which students were mainstreamed was the school's approach to the situation:

> ". . . we give mainstream opportunities for a selected group of youngsters according to their need but with respect to other users of the site." Pine interview.

The principal believed the school should manage the situation and realised this would create problems with parents who viewed equity differently:

> ". . .there is a degree of tension in that, the parents say "Well under Special Ed 2000, I should be able to [have my child in the mainstream] . ." Pine interview.

These tensions identified by principals alongside the other points have helped place the issues and problems of equity in the Special Education 2000 policy into the 'too hard basket'.

In summary, when asked about the Special Education 2000 policy and its broad model none of the participants could easily accommodate all of the provisions and demands of the policies into the daily operation of their school. While there were many areas that created opportunity for students with special educational needs it seemed there were as many concerns by the participants about their operational detail. These issues are at the core of the implementation of the policies and are discussed in the next chapter

The Existing Policy Landscape - Special Education 2000 And *Tomorrow's Schools*

The responses of the principals to the policies of Special Education 2000 were often shaped by the autonomy in school management that they had become used to as a result of the changes arising from *Tomorrow's Schools*. One principal saw Special Education 2000 as a continuation of the reforms.

> "I feel Special Ed 2000 I suppose, it does seem like an arm of the *Tomorrow's Schools* I suppose to give schools the autonomy I suppose and flexibilities in education for all kids and take away some of the control, and free up some of the bureaucracy so the schools benefit . . .'' Elm interview.

As principals of self-governing schools it was clear that their responses to the policy objectives would vary according to their views of autonomy school management and self-government . The principal of Elm school picked up on the potential of the extra resources offered by the policy:

> " . . . it would be really good to . . . manage yourself, give us a fair allocation of resources and we will try and ensure better delivery for those kids." Elm interview.

However this differed for the principal of Rimu school who saw a tension created by the provision of special educational support and the demands of the market model in education. Particularly, this was in the way it had created a need for the school to continue to attract enrolments from parents who might be put off by students with special education needs being mainstreamed in the classroom alongside their children.

> ". . . . there's a real clash in my mind between schools being told that they are competing businesses and the inclusion that is in Special Education 2000 . . ." Rimu interview.

For this principal, roll growth other than mainstreaming appeared to carry more pay-offs for the school:

> "You get more resources if you grow and so it's money and you've got more money, more scope and you can do more programmes and you can do more for students . . . . " Rimu interview.

The provision of resources at inadequate levels would inevitably counter good intentions. The situation became a problem when the principal was forced to balance the cost of delivering special education against the need to maintain budget targets with a declining school roll. This situation was seen to work against the values of Special Education 2000:

> ". . . if you're in a market model, then you exclude people, you have no choice to do that to survive, to prosper. . .it really conflicts strongly.." Rimu interview.

A similar concern was voiced by the principal of Pine school who felt that the many diverse needs individuals had (not all of which could be addressed by education) were seen by policy makers to be covered by the Education Act:

> "And you see this one size fits all business, if that has been, that's the heart of my criticism of all reforms. One size fits all, it can't fit all. I'm expected, I'm charged by the Act to bring individuals from where they are, through to where they need to be and yet one size fits all as far as the stuff coming down and one size doesn't coming up. I've found the clash of those two things quite difficult to deal with." Pine interview.

The increased opportunities and potential for growth and arising from *Tomorrow's Schools* have been identified alongside the constraints of financial management placed upon school principals.

The Totara school principal was concerned for the broader community and its inability to provide for its own needs as is implied under the self-governing model. There are potentially negative dimensions of self-government and management that sees the local school community as being supported by school activity.

> ". . . funding has changed for many things, . . . education, health or social welfare. It's become very much a New Right philosophy, which states that it's up to the individual to find these things and get these things for themselves and I think that it puts a huge pressure on poorer families or families out of work . . ." Totara interview.

The principal of Totara was concerned that the SE2000 self-governing model would be used to 'mop up' a range of broader social and health issues that would be re-categorised to fit within the range of intervention provided by the school. Thus not only the school size and balancing delivery costs but also what was the responsibility of education rather than broader social service sector were issues demanding resolution.

The Scope And Definition Of Special Educational Needs

Although there was a reluctance for special education in secondary schools to be seen as a way of mopping-up all social service needs, there was a corresponding desire that the Special Education 2000 policy take a broader view of what constituted special educational needs. The Ministry's policy *intention* of establishing an inclusive education system that gave equal access to learning for all students was shared but the actual meaning contested by the schools. The more traditional definitions that limited special education to disability or behavioural support needs were challenged by the principals. In their views if schools were going to deliver the policy effectively an expanded view of what constituted a special need was required. Three of the four participants wanted to expand the definition of special educational needs from that provided by the Ministry.

The Elm school principal disliked the narrowness of the Ministry definitions and the traditional 'deficit model' of response to diversity in students. Ironically in spite of the policy demand for an inclusive educational response the policies utilised definitions of special educational need that were based upon student limitation. In the principal's view this was no different from the past approach which had relied heavily upon similar categorisation.

The Totara school principal saw a broadening was desirable which embraced ethnicity and socio-economic distinction as a part of special needs:

> ". . . it's the Pacific Island and Maori students that do least well and they tend to be the ones who are in the lower socio economic groups as well." Totara interview.

It was the Elm principal who broadened the definition of special needs to reflect the range of student diversity and include both less able and more able students. The same emphasis was seen by the principal of Totara school who recollected that previously other students were being supported:

> " . . . I would call those sorts of students slow students and in the past they seemed to have a reasonable amount of teacher aide support here and even with help, teachers tried to support the students and that seemed to work reasonably well." Totara interview.

The principal at Rimu school saw that it would be desirable for all students to be assisted at times, yet some were missing out because of the narrow scope of interpretation:

> " . . . there are other students who fall within the normal range who could do with some advice and guidance and are not getting it so there's that issue." Rimu interview.

As there was no agreement between the principals as to what could constitute a special educational need and how it would best be met, it was unsurprising that this would have an impact upon how the principals worked to implement the policies of Special Education 2000 in their schools.

Partnerships Within Special Education

The concept of partnership has many meanings within the field of special education. These include classroom practices based upon co-operative leaning among students, collaboration between special educational professionals and teachers, and the partnerships established between the school and parents. All of these were potentially encouraged by Special Education 2000. In particular partnership with parents was identified in many of the Ministry statements as a key to the effective delivery of Special Education 2000. Specific detail about working with parents was provided to

every school in the country during the implementation phase of the policy programme. However during the interviews there were only two explicit mentions made of the parent role by the principals. This itself was indicative of the narrow range of views of what constituted self-governance of the school by its community and partnership as part of this. Thus self-governance was frequently seen as something to do with the principals and their management of the school rather than a broader community function.

The principal of Pine school acknowledged 'parent choice' and how it was now a feature of special education:

> " . . but now of course with parental choice, with them saying okay, this is my school and in a sense being able to expect the school to be able to be all things to all people, um, so they've got more choices now. . ." Pine interview.

The principal of Totara school was less confident that parents would be able to exercise the choices required under the model. Many of the parents had negative experiences themselves with schooling and this dissuaded them from being involved in their own child's education. Thus educational disadvantage was being potentially reproduced generationally without challenge by the school.

Another dimension of parent - school partnership is found in the parents' understanding of their children's educational rights ant their willingness to lobby to ensure these are secured. The participants in the study acknowledged the issues of parental rights from their varying perspectives. One principal was very was clear about the rights of parents and the requirement of the school to respond positively:

> "Well I think it is to give the parents the right to go to their local school and ask that their child, regardless of their special education needs, more or less, can be nurtured in the local school." Pine interview.

Whereas the parents developed their response on the understanding of individual rights the principal's own views in contrast (and somewhat contrary with the law) saw the needs of the whole school population ahead of any individual's rights:

> ". . . I have to say that my responsibility has to be first; the other thousand and needs of a thousand that outweigh the needs of one particular child and so I am put into a state of tension." Pine interview.

Section (9a) of the Education Act 1989 included provision for the Secretary of Education to direct enrolments of students with special educational needs to particular schools for their education. In spite of the inclusive nature of the policy the principal of Pine school still wanted this to occur:

> " . . . .it was never the intention to put all of the youngsters out in their local schools, there was still going to be a degree of being able to direct people to the appropriate level of support." Pine interview.

In summary ideas of a partnership in Special Education 2000 and its delivery held a differing meaning for principals than that of parents. The view from parents was close to that desired by the policy, but the position of the schools reflected the autonomy emerging from the model of self-governance and the desire by principals that this be retained through their management of their schools.

The Impact Upon The Existing Policy Organisation - The School

The comments from the participants regarding the approach toward the planning, resourcing and teaching of students with special educational needs is gathered together in this section. It became clear from discussion with principals that the success of Special Education 2000 is contingent upon on a range of pedagogical factors being addressed and resolved. In addition there is the requirement to fit the policy provisions into the existing mechanisms of self-management and governance of the secondary school.

The fundamental teaching approaches to support students with special educational needs were regarded as essential to the policy and thus had implications for both pre-service and in-service training delivery. Pre-service teacher training was regarded as crucial by two of the principals. Whilst this was not an element of the Special Education 2000 policies in their view it could to contribute to the success or otherwise of the policies. For example one stated:

> ". . . I just think there needs to be more training, basic training at teacher training stage if we're going to have special needs students

> mainstreamed even more and more, I think that teachers have got to be trained to work with them and to understand, how to work, how to teach." Totara interview.

The policy intention of an inclusive education for all students meant that the location of the special education classroom within the school was important. By contesting the location and style of special educational provision in the school the principal of Elm school sought to bring it into alignment with the rest of the school. Students with special needs had to be a visible part of the school, not isolated out of the way somewhere:

> ". . . My concern about special needs in some schools, I believe it's a prefab in the far corner of the school syndrome, it is the little closet room, and it's little broom closet ladies, on a good wicket, talking to kids on a one to one basis, it's not really delivering, it's not inclusive . . ." Elm interview.

However to be truly inclusive those students would need to be distributed across the different year levels of the school so that most of the students were being taught in classes with their same-age peers. By ensuring that students were being taught within the main body of the school extra work demands were then created for a bigger groups of teachers. The principal of Elm school spoke about the focus and scope of special education changing the school:

> ". . . we've sharpened up staff perceptions . . . we've called on a wider spectrum of skills of the existing staff and we've supplemented them and there's much more in the way of an established team to do things now . . ." Elm interview.

To achieve this approach all of the staff involved would require in-service training and professional development. Linking the staff teaching students with special needs, as well as the students, back into the main body of the school was regarded as a significant process to support the delivery of the policies. For two participants these were among the positive aspects of Special Education 2000 at their schools.

> ". . . I think that mainstreaming of the staff has been as critical a factor as the mainstreaming of the kids." . . . ". . . because it's very integrated here, the mainstreaming, it involves a lot of the staff to a

> degree within the mainstreaming process and there are more people and expertise to draw on." Pine interview.

The Rimu principal held a similar view:

> ". . . we interpret mainstreaming as mainstreaming of the staff as well . . " Rimu interview.

It was not just the teaching staff who could be utilised more broadly in the school. Thinking how para-professionals or teacher aides could be used when supporting students with special educational needs was another key to making the policies a success. The principal of Totara school recalled that previously there had been a withdrawal model with the teacher aide and an individual student working together out of the classroom. The new resourcing levels forced changes. Now teacher aides provided support to a broader group of students in the classrooms:

> ". . . we just can't afford the luxury of having one to one type stuff any more, they're there to work with the class as a whole and assist the teacher in that class." Totara interview.

While teachers and teacher-aides could be used in many ways to achieve a more inclusive education for students with special educational needs the dominance of curriculum content over effective delivery approaches was another concern for the Totara school principal:

> ". . . we are content driven and therefore not considering other ways that we could teach, that would actually probably be of greater benefit to the students." Totara interview.

Thus the dominant pedagogic approach taken by the school's teachers had to change and become more inclusive of all the students at the school and their range of learning styles and support needs.

A further dimension of partnership, other than those previously mentioned, was that needed within the institutional structure of the school. The collaborative method of planning and teaching using the Individual Education Plan was crucial at this school. The principal of Elm school identified this when stating:

> "It often comes down to the right person talking to the right person in the right way and with that happening, it's usually not a problem, it's just about doing it and we are adopting a collaborative culture where people talk to the kids and their parents and work through the IEP with them. . ." Elm interview.

This was an example of exactly what the Ministry of Education officials had sought from the policies. At another school taking the time to carefully identify the student's learning achievement and pinpoint areas for support was the key. The principal of Pine school described the process used to achieve this:

> ". . . find out where they're at, pick them up from there and move them on . . .we use the same basic process with learning supports and with ESOL . . . withdraw from the mainstream until you can cope. . ." Pine interview.

Whilst being clear about the diagnostic and teaching sequence the principal at Pine school foresaw problems if too great an emphasis was placed upon an individualised response to any one student with special educational needs. Over-individualisation became problematic as the school was organised and managed to work with a mass model of education which the principal still clearly preferred:

> "It's been too hard because it's the only area in secondary education where they have had to focus on individuals and so there is a myriad of responses and there's a myriad of needs and that's the link, the heart of why it's been in the too hard basket . . ." Pine interview.

For the principal of Totara school there was a concern with the impact of increased demands upon the workload of the school staff. The additional planning and meetings that were a part of the individualised approach in special education had long been an accepted part of the primary school classroom. However it wasn't until the policies of Special Education 2000 were being put into operation that this demand was expected to become part of the regular routine of the secondary school. This situation led to the view that this new policy placed another unwanted demand upon the school staff.

> " I mean coming through all the time is the big expectation that teachers will do this, do that and do the other thing and it's coming through in all sorts of different things, as well as special education." Totara interview.

And the principal saw that whilst teachers at the school would work with students this might not be undertaken as effectively as possible. The principal was concerned that the students with higher levels of need would be disadvantaged as their requirements for greater ongoing levels of individualised planning and teaching were significant and likely not to be fully met.

> " . . I think the people who suffer the most are the students who have special needs, particularly the high special needs students, they have got the special programme that has been written for whatever it might be . . ." Totara interview.

The approach sought by the Ministry of how to best meet particular types of student need had not arisen until the discussion with this participant. The principal at Pine school was unhappy that all students were to be educated in the mainstream of the school.

> ". . . your mainstreaming must reach cut off point and that's the problem of the policy because it gives no indication at any stage [of] there being a cut off . . ." Pine interview.

The validity of the Ministry policy to meet the full diversity of students' need within the school environment was queried by the Pine principal who had a different view as to how the problems caused by their inclusion should be solved.

> ". . . well we've got the intellectually impaired at that level, Miro [the local special school] has got them at that level, [and it should be decided] who has got physically disabled, who has got aurally disabled, who has got visually disabled and we should it seems to me, regionally have some sort of plan, well each one of us should have our part to play in the local picture." Pine interview.

While the response was a perception of the situation at the time of the interviews it failed to address the policy requirement for each school to respond to a range of students' individual needs in an inclusive manner. In essence the principal proposed a return to a model of segregated specialisation that could be found among special schools.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown how the policies of Special Education 2000 are easily overtaken by the demands of each school. The chapter has highlighted four of these areas of demand and explored their significance and impact for the secondary school principals in policy implementation. The instrumental emphasis of the purpose of education and the relationship of this to secondary schooling were identified. The particular demands this model makes for operating the school within a budget and meeting special educational needs was discussed. The place of partnerships and the desirability of these operating in a variety of forms within school and community was suggested. And finally the multiple impacts of the policies upon the institution of the school, its staff, organisational practices and pedagogy illustrate that Special Education 2000 was not introduced to a vacuum. The following chapter will examine the experiences of the participating principals in their implementation and operation of particular policies of Special Education 2000.

The following chapter will examine in more particular detail specific provisions of the policies and the experiences of the participating principals in their implementation and operation.

CHAPTER EIGHT

The Policy Provisions - Resourcing And Implementation

Introduction

This chapter focuses upon the participants' experiences of the implementation of the various policies that served to create a quasi-market model. The central role of the Ministry of Education in the development of policies is contrasted with the local experience of the participants who were required to interpret them. The nature of the policy development has previously been identified as typifying that of disjointed incrementalism (Lindblom 1979) This model of policy development when coupled with implementation demands can only be successful when both accountability and trust are devolved to the local implementors (Lane 1993), in this case the secondary school principals

What is evident in the principals' account is the overwhelming influence of policy instruments selected by the Ministry of Education, for principals and Boards of Trustees to utilise in the implementation of the policies. The consequential outcome has been the creation of a market type approach which has displaced the stated policy intentions of partnership with parents and the vision of inclusion. This has occurred to such an extent that students' rights, their inclusion in the mainstream for their education, and partnership with their parents in achieving this have been reduced to the level of a 'leitmotif' or repeated background theme. In a similar way the Ministry of Education's own catch phrase of "Getting it right together" has become a 'banner' heading the documents provided to support implementation, rather than a real policy focussing upon partnership. What has arisen instead of rights, inclusion and partnership is a very powerful quasi-marketplace for students with special educational needs.

The participants' responses to the various policies and their implementation was often influenced by the nature of their relationship with the Ministry of Education. At times their perceptions and feelings regarding the implementation experience was as influential as the policies themselves in determining the eventual policy outcomes that

emerged in the school. The following material is presented as an account of what occurred as the principals implemented the series of polices that were parts of the overall project of Special Education 2000. These policies included: the Special Education Grant (SEG), the Ongoing Resourcing Scheme (ORS), the accreditation to be a fundholder for this scheme, and the Resource Teachers Learning and Behaviour (RTLB).

The Special Education Grant

The Special Education Grant (SEG) is provided to schools to support students with low or moderate special educational needs. Funding is allocated using a demographic based formula or decile ranking and is calculated on the basis of the number of students enrolled at the school. The SEG was the first of the policies put in place to enable schools to manage their resourcing in a way that allowed them choose how to be more responsive toward students with special educational needs. This provision of 'bulk funding' for special education support to each state and integrated school throughout the country was the cornerstone of the model of Special Education 2000. The funding levels are indicated earlier on page fifty-three of this study. Whilst the grant was available for the school to freely use, it brought with it several problems. These included a perception of inadequate levels of funding, and an increase in administrative workload for the principals.

Whilst previously the Special Education Service controlled access to all discretionary resourcing the new policy removed what schools considered was a barrier. The principal of Elm school notes:

> ". . .when I first took up my first principalship it seems to me I noticed that there were a lot of kids who I believed needed extra support and didn't get it and then I asked, [about their support] - "oh we've applied for years and never got it from SES" . . . I remember when we were meeting in Auckland it had been mooted about wouldn't it be good to get rid of that [SES control] . . . " Elm interview.

Provision of the SEG increased the responsibility of the principal of Pine school who now had to balance the need for clear assessment and planning as well as student support. This all took time as well as the funding the grant provided.

> ". . . so I've got to have a lot more teacher aides to implement [programmes] and that's where the SEG grant goes you see, well half of it goes into the assessment and the other half goes in the other four days a week." Pine interview.

The principal at Elm school also spoke of the possibilities of broadening how the money from the SEG could be spent to meet the needs of students.

> "At times we need to get more lateral so I'll be increasingly lateral with more dollars in your pocket because you have to have the resources, like staff people, teacher aide, a whole range of things." Elm interview.

However the flexibility that came from making the SEG grant fully available to schools increased school's awareness of Ministry control of other activity. For the principal of Totara school Ministry funding of students with special educational needs was too narrowly set and this too could be broadened to allow for greater school control and management. This was seen as maximising the educational outcomes for students:

> " I mean there's great ideas in Special Ed 2000 - I think they are finally realising that . . . had they not considered if they had a little more flexibility in their staffing patterns at school, had a little more flexibility in the funding of the operation grant, so we could have more ancillary staff to do the clerical type work that perhaps things might flow a little more easily . . ." Totara interview.

The manner in which student numbers and the decile rating of the school were used to calculate the SEG payment also created problems. The schools with higher decile ranking were provided with less funds than schools of a comparable size with a lower decile ranking irrespective of the need for special educational support. This led the principals of Elm and Pine schools to voice pessimism about the way in which the grant was calculated and awarded without regard to the impact upon their schools. This was seen as a short-coming of the Ministry officials who might have acted to ensure this did not occur:

> " . . .they walk away from responsibility by making it formula driven." Elm interview.

Self-governance and management of schools required that the principals be managers of the total school resource. Their control of the special education funding required budget management as well as planning for possible future expenditure. The SEG funding had to be available to students already enrolled as well as those who might come at some later stage of the school year.

> " . . we get about $21,000. $14,000 we use to employ a teacher aide who does learning support with students and the other $7,000 we're sitting on because we're not sure who might come through our gates later." Rimu interview.

Any shortfall between the amount of spending on service delivery and grant funding had to be addressed within the overall annual budget.

The principal at Elm school grappled with the situation and finally declared:

> " . . . where I get that resource from I don't know, Foreign Fee Paying students ! " Elm interview.

There were 'set up' and compliance costs in order to make use of the funding provided by the Special Education Grant . These were often linked to the demands placed upon the principals' time. The principal of Elm school was very critical of the time taken attending meetings to implement the SEG policy at the school.

> " . . . I mean the number of meetings I've had to go to when I think about the cost of my hours and so on, versus the benefits I'm getting. Clearly I'm not on the right side of the ledger at all." Elm interview.

Further set up costs were incurred by the very task of attempting to clarify the overall policy objectives in order to implement policy. For the principal of Pine school the objectives of the policy makers were often difficult to distinguish from the policy detail:

> ". . . I found it really difficult to see an overall picture of where we were going. . . .Boy we had to work hard to feel our way through it, all along the way." Pine interview.

When the Education Act 1989 was being implemented previously there had been a lot more clarity in the policy intention that enabled students with special needs to be

'mainstreamed'. With Special Education 2000 this was more confusing. As well as a lack of a clear overview of the policy intentions the Pine principal became aware of a new set of language and structures emerging with the implementation of the policies:

> "And a lot of the special ed stuff has been a bit bureaucratised and a bit heavy on words and difficult to understand . . ." Pine interview.

The SEG funding level created a financial cap. Some schools choose to balance their books and control their special education cost by restricting student entry. This was done by establishing an enrolment scheme which prescribed who might enrol at the school and limited the school exposure to the additional cost of special educational support. There was a knock-on as those students were now enrolled at schools like Elm which had a higher proportion of students with special educational needs. The principal at Elm school expanded upon the position the school faced as it had more than its 'share' of students with special needs, yet the school attracted no additional funding for any of those individual students because their level of need was not great enough.

> "Formula funding is a misery as well, it's not fair in practice. You get back to enrolment schemes and in fact non-ORS kids are very expensive some schools just won't accept them at all and they end up coming to us here." Elm interview.

This anomaly in the SEG policy had created the potential for 'perverse' incentives within Special Education 2000. Knowing that other secondary schools were able to exclude some students with special educational needs but still receive a comparable level of SEG funding if school rolls and deciles were comparable led to some inequities in resourcing. The Elm principal declared:

> "It's not fair, schools with enrolment schemes still get their SEG - I think they should examine [them] very closely as how the people have the right to do that. . ." Elm interview.

The market-like conditions and the dynamics the policy created were particularly acute in the urban settings. One principal maintained a view that choice and competition worked against the inclusive ethos of the policy. The school principal expressed reluctance to implement a policy that did not reflect the local educational 'climate'.

> "This model may apply in the country town, one school, OK but here where we are competing, it doesn't work and nobody will want to take responsibility, not just the behaviour students but nobody will want to take responsibility for all of the children needing special education help in their area because we all protect what we need. I'm repeating what I've already said, it's trying to place one model on the whole country." Rimu interview.

It is clear that the market force of choice was insufficient to attract enrolments to the school with a greater likelihood of some schools being left with the wrong 'mix' of students. The principal's solution to the problem was to protect resourcing rather than an offer an inclusive school philosophy and educational approach toward students with special needs. Whilst having to avoid difficulties with the budget and lowered enrolments the principal saw the school caught between two competing paradigms.

> " . . . the current economic philosophy says competition breeds excellence, which is garbage ! But that's what we are told should be happening, but we're also being told that you're suspending too many students, you have a responsibility to care for them. That's just the system's creating the problem." Rimu interview.

The formula rates for calculation and payment of the Special Education Grant were regarded as being too low. The reluctance of some schools outside the immediate geographical area of the study to readily accept students with special needs forced those in the study to enrol them with no greater rate of funding. Whilst all of the principals regarded aspects of the policy as being positive to implement there was some wish that the flexibility it offered be extended to other areas of operational funding of their schools.

The Ongoing Resourcing Scheme

The second piece of the implementation puzzle was the Ongoing Resourcing Scheme (ORS). This was a policy designed to identify and resource students with high or very high levels of special educational needs. A process of external verification of need, was used to control entry into the scheme. Bands of funding linked to levels of need were available to support the student. By comparison to those previously receiving

individual support the rigid entry criteria of Ongoing Resourcing Scheme limited the number of students able to access these funds. At the time of the study it was usual for the Specialist Education Service to be the fundholder. The cost of teacher aide support, specialist services and administration for each student were to be met from the funds allocated for their support. There could be a pooling of funds to address the common costs of the fundholder. It was easy for two of the schools involved in the study to be fundholders under the scheme, however the remaining two did not meet the new requirements.

The number of students defined as having high or very high special educational needs under the Ongoing Resourcing Scheme was rather low. This caused controversy among the principals who perceived the new definition of special educational need being used to exclude many of the previously eligible students from any individual support. The principal of Elm school reflected the surprise expressed by many others in the education sector when a year after the first announcements of the policy details the target percentage of students eligible for the Ongoing Resourcing Scheme was announced.

> "Well I don't go with that it's not two per cent but one per cent - I don't believe it's one per cent , that's simply wrong ! . . . I don't know whether you can classify that you're going to have one per cent, I think it's way too harsh even by international standards." Elm interview.

The principal at Rimu school was aware of the tightening of the criteria but disagreed with the policy purpose this was to serve:

> "The ORS definition of the criteria, I think it's set too high . . . and too inflexible too . . ." Rimu interview.

However, despite the access to the higher level of funding available through the Ongoing Resourcing Scheme being restricted by the Ministry process of verification, the principals still expressed a commitment to work within the available resources. The Elm school principal explained:

> " . . . we've committed to achievement with the optimum resources to be able to deliver special education and that has some potential. I just think it's a little tight in the high and very high needs funding." Elm interview.

As well as noticing the emergence of additional administrative costs and requirements the principal of Pine school did not trust the officials involved in implementation to provide all of the information about the policy. In the principal's mind there was an incomplete picture of the policy development process and a sense that the crown agency the Specialist Education Service had an 'agenda' of their own. This agenda was to secure their position as a monopoly provider of services by controlling the use of the Ongoing Resourcing Scheme. The earlier experiences of educational reform linked to the implementation of *Tomorrow's Schools* caused the principal to be mistrusting and harbour suspicion:

> " . . . we know from bitter experience with reforms of ten years ago, Tomorrow's Schools that we thought we were going to get the bureaucracy salary locally to do the job. Never happened." Pine interview.

And the new policies gave a sense of deja vu:

> ". . . grim experience with Special Ed 2000 has taught you, don't wave out too much until you hear the real oil and I haven't yet . . . I've still got a lingering suspicion that too much of the reform was driven by the Special Education Service . . ." Pine interview.

The principal was wary and mistrusting of the influence of the SES over policy development and implementation.

Having an awareness of the contradictions and difficulties posed by the policies didn't mean that an acceptable solution to the problem was any more apparent. While reluctant to move from the past philosophy the principal of Rimu school was clear that the new set of imperatives had to be responded to:

> "Nobody wants to change the essential climate of the school which is an inclusive one, but yes the funding does, the lack of delivery of resources does mean that we have to look seriously at that [providing for students with high / very high special educational needs] and you talked about being self managing, I see my role as the future prosperity of Rimu High School . . . ." Rimu interview.

The tension between the implementation of the policy in such a way to meet students' needs in an inclusive manner and the realities of the economic management of the school were unresolved. The limitation of entry into the Ongoing Resourcing Scheme

was an intentional feature of the policy. This supported the shift away from a rights-based model of special education and the demand for resource provision. The managed model of individual funding for fewer students put financial principles in place as part of a market environment:

> "So my job is managing and I suppose Special Education 2000 has involved me in making some harder decisions than I've been faced with elsewhere, harder in the sense of being really hard headed about money and not going where your emotions want to take you." Rimu interview.

The principal of Rimu school felt a turmoil created by the contradictory demands of the inclusive policy philosophy and prudential school management. This brought about the need to adopt the same principles of efficiency and effectiveness of resource use in special education as that prevailing in other areas of school operation. As the principal at Pine school noted this created a desire to limit the responsiveness of the school:

> "OK we can't be all things to all people. In a sense you're forced into a boutique situation when you say right which part of the spectrum are we going to deal with?" Pine interview .

Limiting the school's ability to over state its need for resources and capping the level of the subsidy provided for any individual student, allowed the Ministry of Education to move schools toward greater transparency of spending and increased accountability for educational outcomes. In essence this meant introducing a model of 'inputs', 'through puts' and 'outputs' thereby commodifying students' special educational needs.

One method of dealing with the diminished funding level and the budget shortfall was elaborated by the Totara school principal. The school had to subsidise the difference to maintain continuity of support for students and used funds which had to be repaid to the bank at a later stage:

> "At the end of last year we made a decision to use the money that we borrowed to employ two and a bit teachers." Totara interview.

Under the earlier model of the Special Education Discretionary Allowance the school would have pressured the Ministry to provide the additional monies, however with marketisation in place the school had to either rely on parents, local community sources, or commercial arrangements for funding shortfalls. Thus the principal's

management choices were being pushed toward limiting the provision of student support or getting private funding. It was no longer possible to bring pressure to bear upon the Ministry as a funder for any shortfall. The principal at Elm school also had concerns about financial pressures caused by the Ongoing Resourcing Scheme and expressed the view this way.

> ". . . .I have no ORS funded kid - no, one ORS funded kid not in the unit." . . . " I've inherited a unit, we have kids who clearly need support and in fact given Tomorrow Schools, then special needs kids become a liability . . ." Elm interview.

This section of the interview with the principal of Elm school captures the dilemma faced by schools who had enrolled students into special needs units and now with Special Education 2000 were finding that the students were not eligible for funding at a sufficient level to support the cost of their being the unit. The difference between the operational budget and the actual cost for running their units meant incurring an operational loss for the school. Prior to Special Education 2000 staffing ratios for units were set by provision of the Education Act 1989 and teacher aide funding was provided by Ministry administering the Special Education Discretionary Allowance to schools. Whereas under the Ongoing Resourcing Scheme there were no preserved rights This situation was intentional as the Ministry of Education moved to control the provision of unit based special education in regular schools as part of the move toward a more inclusionary model of special education.

An alternative to cessation of services for students was to attempt to reduce the cost by changing the level or type of service. As the implementation of the new policy changed funding for some students at Totara school the principal became fully aware of the cost of supporting their daily schooling. The school was forced into reducing the level of service that it would provide to them:

> " When they brought in this new process and that happened, well the funding – the old funding stopped in the last term of last year suddenly what we found was that individual teacher aide support was withdrawn and we had students floundering seriously because they just couldn't cope without that help . . ." Totara interview.

While the shift to a quasi-market in special education had become a major feature of the policy the participants were generally accepting of the conditions and tensions that the policy operation caused. However there was far less acceptance of the way in which the policies were being developed centrally and implemented at a local level. The situation gave rise to some participants challenging the integrity of the Ministry of Education. In comparing the policy implementation with school operational demands the principal was very frank.

> ". . I actually think there's been some major failings in the Ministry about the way it operates, if we operated our schools like the way they operate the Ministry we would be out of business. . . ." Elm interview.

The point was made that because leadership was absent from the process of policy implementation, the best outcomes did not occur:

> "I think personally I believe this government and the Ministry model is the hands off function . . . it certainly is a sort of bean counters approach to things so I like to be fired up and feel like I was going to be led somewhere by something that was good – but in the end all I'm doing is getting another form to fire back and I'm doing a lot of work for the Ministry." Elm interview.

Fundholding and the Ongoing Resourcing Scheme

Under the policies of Special Education 2000 a school or combination of schools with twenty or more students eligible for funding under the Ongoing Resourcing Scheme could elect to hold those funds and manage them to meet the special educational needs of the students. Schools had to apply to the Ministry for approval to become an Accredited Fundholder. A series of administrative and special educational measures had to be met and ongoing compliance with these measures was required. The levels of funding were detailed earlier in this thesis on pages fifty-eight and sixty. In addition to this funding level was the allocation of extra staffing at a rate of .1 FTE or .2 FTE per student for high or very high needs. Prior to the implementation of Special Education 2000 this style of provision was only available to special schools. With implementation they were available to any qualifying school or schools working in concert to meet the requirements. Those who took up the opportunity were the special

schools and schools with large enough rolls or existing units with high numbers of students with the higher levels of special educational needs.

Each of the participating school principals had a special education unit in their school at the time of the interview. Two of the schools were funded under Ministry of Education arrangements for student support that were likely to be changed once the full scope of the Special Education 2000 policies were in place. This meant that the continuity of their present funding was uncertain. The units at Elm and Pine schools were now fully funded under the policy provisions of Special Education 2000.

For the first two years the Ongoing Resourcing Scheme was run as a trial and this implied that any school which elected to become a fundholder could not rely on the continuity of their role in fundholding. This situation coupled with the earlier enrolment of students into the unit who were now declined verification for ORS led the principal of Elm school to raise to the following concern about discontinuity in students' funding:

> "OK, we understand that and we think it's fair but the resources have to come with the kids and until this stage, [at this stage]the resources haven't come with the kids, we've been boxing along, make the best you can, "cope, cope, cope, cope, cope" and so I suppose that's why that residual suspicion is there, did we get all that was coming to us?" Elm interview.

The project nature of the policy had left the principal with reservations about the outcomes from being a fundholder.

All of the schools were having to develop systems to deal with new budgets in special education. But for those opting in to fundholding the links between their spending and outcomes for students had to be made more transparent than before. This required schools to develop an administrative system and the related procedures without particular support and guidance from the Ministry. Moreover, each school tended to tackle this on their own rather than collaborate with other schools attempting the same task. Schools no longer had the ability to call upon the Specialist Education Service for such advice. These operational or compliance requirements had now become the 'costs' to be borne by the schools who choose to compete with the now contestable

crown agency the SES. These were both the actual cost and the time involved in developing the required policies and procedures.

> ". . .why isn't there someone to help and why don't they send every school out a range of generic policies and say these would be the things rather than having people re-invent the wheel. . ." Elm interview.

This general sense of frustration was shared by all of the participants regarding the various dimensions of implementation that were seen to have prevented them from making an easy transition into fundholding or a continuing their school units. On top of the compliance requirements and the amount of ongoing documentation and paperwork, there were shortened or lengthened time lines, the frequency of meetings that seemed unduly long and a lack of preparedness by Ministry officials at the meetings. The situation was summarised by the principal of Elm school:

> "I think it is an appalling process really in a lot of things. The rules change and you get unbelievable deadlines, there is no preparation, endless meetings that go nowhere. . . I think the implementation is poor." Elm interview.

The principal offered some alternatives that would satisfy these complaints which included; a clear sense of vision, innovative responses to problems, and more timely implementation supported by resourcing.

> "Sometimes you just wished that you could be left to really run the school and get on with things. Although I suppose what I'm looking for is a Ministry of Education with a vision or a government with a vision of education – some forward innovative approaches and some consistency, not with rushed implementation, or the resources not worked through." Elm interview.

However for some of the principals the opportunity to re-structure as a fundholder presented other problems. The principal at Rimu school was unable to meet the financial costs of running a special needs unit that was no longer fully funded under the new policies of Special Education 2000. The principal had already indicated that there was no substantive roll growth for the school to be found by pursuing this area of the education market. The principal considered the ongoing enrolment of students with special educational needs at the school as being a negative consideration for the

majority of families in the community where enrolments were sought from. Now the only solution appeared to be the closure of the unit that Rimu secondary school operated:

> ". . . special education is in fact not a great deal on this school except for the fact that we have a special unit which I'm meeting this afternoon with Smith from the Ministry to discuss closing it because special education makes it uneconomical for us to run." Rimu interview.

For those principals operating a unit as fundholders there was a tension with the prevailing arrangements that saw the Specialist Education Service being funded at the possible expense of their own school based enterprise. The principal at Elm secondary school seemed prepared to accept the direct and indirect compliance costs linked to being a fundholder. However there was little satisfaction with the conditions now faced when seeking to utilise the local Specialist Education Service and their service delivery, where previously this had been free now the school had to pay.

> "I've had to pay a lot more money this year to get exactly the same services I've had in the past because the costs are being passed on and I feel of all the parts of the reform, that's the part that upsets me most." Elm interview.

The view that the local Specialist Education Service was consuming funds that should be reaching students and schools as support services was held by the Pine school principal. The 'bottom line' for the school principal was made apparent in their view that:

> " . . . now I'm an ORS fund holder here right, and we did that specifically because we wanted more money to go here rather than to go into Special Education Services." - Pine interview.

Competition was now an aspect of special education delivery. The role of fundholder had intensified the critique of the local SES and many participants saw that their schools were now competing for the special education funding with the crown agency. The Elm school principal suggested that in spite of contestability the SES service delivery could still be enhanced by removing inefficiency:

> " . . . if I'm putting my finger right on it, I would say there's still too much money going into bureaucracy and too little going to service on the ground." Elm interview.

The possibility of delivering special education within the school and maximising the financial outcome through fundholding required some changes to which classes the students were in and who was to teach them. All the verified students would be grouped together in the unit the school operated.

> " . . to a degree we manipulated [resourcing] so that we would be able to manage it, the way we set it up and that meant that we had to have a bigger percentage of our students as ORS students because basically we wanted to have enough funding that we could give continuity to the kids and continuity of staffing so we let that decision drive what we could do." Pine interview.

The school charter statement, which covered the provision of mainstreaming was side-stepped as verified students were recruited to be placed into the special education unit:

> " . . . if we were going to preserve a status quo and build on it, you have to have more ORS students so we went shopping . . ." Pine interview.

The school now legitimately sought to attract enough students to expand the unit and gain the maximum funding possible under the Ongoing Resourcing Scheme. The value of students with special educational needs was greatest if they were grouped together and segregated from the rest of the school for their education; because this kept the cost of their staffing down to the one or two classes that they were all placed in.

In conclusion, from the discussions with the principals it can be seen that there are a number of common impacts arising from policy implementation with opportunities emerging for some schools but not others. All principals faced the uncertainty of the longer term arrangements under the fundholding policy although the greatest impact was upon schools whose units contained students no longer eligible for ORS. All of the schools were required to budget and plan to manage their new special education

funding. The extra work to become a fundholder was not supported by the Ministry of Education. A scale of economy was identifiable in smaller schools with fewer students with high or very high special educational needs the cost of their support in a unit was unsustainable. Having a unit was not a drawcard for overall roll growth. The schools were increasingly aware that the Ministry funding of the SES would no longer translate into services for them, but served to allow the SES to compete with fundholding schools. Yet on the other hand there were instances of schools with the right mix of student numbers and levels of need that could maximise their opportunities under the policy and its provisions.

Resource Teachers Learning and Behaviour

Resource Teachers Learning and Behaviour were also introduced as part of the reforms of Special Education 2000. This policy saw the establishment of a new professional role. The administrative structure was implemented at a local level among schools and the new professional role sought to provide support to teachers who had students with behavioural problems or social difficulties. These needs often occurred among students with moderate level of special educational need who did not meet the criteria for gaining ORS funding. The RTLBs were 'allocated' by the Ministry of Education to local clusters of schools at a ratio of one RTLB to every 750 students. Most of the new RTLBs had previously been employed as guidance and learning unit teachers or special education advisers.

Three of the principals spoke of the professional value and worth of the individual teacher delivering the RTLB service within their school. They were able to delineate the features of the professional role required for success. These included personal commitment, professional skills and experience, and the ability to work within constraints of existing systems whilst meeting diverse needs in a flexible manner.

> "The RTLB at this school is absolutely brilliant. I've got this guy, he has been a principal of a primary school, he knows youngsters, his heart is first with youngsters and then he understands bureaucracy, what needs to be done to do it. He is absolutely brilliant. I think the RTLB thing is one of our finest parts to be honest in the special ed reforms . . ." Pine interview.

And the principal of Totara school expressed similar confidence in the RTLB involved with the school.

> "Doing her best - doing a very good job - and doing her very best to meet the needs of these students but it is very difficult . . ." Totara interview.

For the principal of Pine school the RTLB complemented other support initiatives in the school:

> ". . . we're going to have to extend the RTLB thing, . . . it works really well here because we've got now three things on the go. We've got the learning support department with the focus on literacy and numeracy, we've got RTLB with the focus on behaviour and we've got computer assisted learning which is English, Maths and Science. . . . " Pine interview.

And in particular for the principal of Pine school there was an aspect that stood out:

> " . . . it was the behaviour part [we] needed, and this is where this guy has just fitted in just like that." Pine interview.

The model of appointing RTLBs to clusters of schools in which the services would be itinerated appeared to have succeeded by accident. There was no national criteria to establish which RTLB would be assigned to any particular cluster, as the arrangements for staffing were based upon a roll-over of most positions to the new job. While the advantages arising from having a particular Resource Teacher in their schools were evident to the three participants there were disadvantages with the policy provision. The model of classroom based intervention contrasted with the usual approach to planning and teaching at a secondary school where the orientation of teaching and assessment was narrowed by the single subject curriculum in each class. This was particularly the case for the principal at Rimu school.

> " . . . the national policy and the delivery model to secondary schools is inappropriate. I think we have this excellent RTLB but it's by sheer chance." Rimu interview

Given this situation the principal was very clear about preferring the funding rather than receiving the professional service so they continue their own initiatives:

> ". . . I would rather have the money than the RTLB and maybe they can tag it, put it into staffing or give me extra staffing which would be a more effective way to deliver it." Rimu interview.

The management and control of the RTLB scheme differed from other areas of Special Education 2000 policy. Rather than imposing central control over self-governance and management in schools the resource was given over to the clusters to manage in a way they determined appropriate. For the principals in this study the new model did not succeed. A particular difficulty with the RTLB scheme was the management of the staff by local committees, made up of school representatives. This situation forced a collaborative relationship upon the local schools who were often used to competing with each other. This competition took many levels, including sports activities, for community recognition of academic achievement or competition for enrolments. In the area of this study some of local clusters comprised nearly twenty schools. All of the participants in this study represented the only secondary school in their clusters. The point raised by the principal at Elm school highlighted the limitations that were inherent in the policy:

> " . . . I don't think secondary schools are well served by the RTLB in my view, partly it's to do, certainly I have no problems with the cluster, there's no animosity there but you're out-numbered. I mean there are seventeen schools in the cluster . . ." Elm interview

And this imbalance lead the principal to believe that there was an intention at a policy making level to force a particular type of support into the secondary school through the use of the RTLBs.

> "I think in a way it's all part of the general plan, there's not a conspiracy theory I think it's part of the model that's being developed." Elm interview.

That model was the focus of the RTLB training and worked toward providing support for teachers and students in the mainstream, which differed from the unit based approach used in all the schools in the study. Another problem arose when the cluster members decided to place RTLBs into units other schools were operating. This decision reduced the numbers of RTLBs available to itinerate their service to local schools and was a problem as the cluster committee decisions took control away from the principals' ability to meet the needs in their schools.

> ". . . you see in the Hill cluster three of the RTLB work in units, well therefore you're light already on that resource so that's an issue." Elm interview.

The RTLB provision of Special Education 2000 differed with other policies in the way that it provided a human resource and not funding but in common with all the other policies the principals' autonomy and management over their schools was challenged. None of the participants liked this situation. The Principal of Elm school saw that there was nearly a high enough roll at the school to generate a sole position that could be directly managed without the cluster. This would bring the service to the school and allow the principal to retain control of the staff involved.

> " . . we're big enough, we're not quite big enough to generate a whole RTLB, but we're pretty close that the 600 kids in the school . . . I'm tempted to say stuff it and just find my own teacher who will work with kids like this who will then liase with the RTLB." Elm interview.

Issues emerged regarding the delivery and scope of the training for RTLBs. Their professional training occurred at the same time as they were delivering services to schools. As well as fragmenting services the training was criticised for its focus and scope. The RTLBs participated in a two year part-time university based training programme. The training took place on one day of each week. This presented an immediate drawback for this principal who saw the credibility of the new role being placed at jeopardy:

> " . . . I'm not sure where the flaw is, either the policy or the mechanics of the thing where I'm concerned, I'm not getting at anyone - but people have been trained while doing their job which means that to me there's another implementation issue here. The way that you have credibility with colleagues and with kids is to be there and to have that regular contact . . ." Elm interview.

This lack of credibility arising from a part-time availability was not the only feature of the new service that the participants had no control over. From the principal's perspective there was a mismatch between the usual background of the RTLB and the culture of teaching at a secondary school.

> " I think it's difficult for the RTLBs in some schools because they're primary-trained and they're going to come in, tell this metalwork teacher who's been at the school for 25 years, oh this is the way you're going to treat this child and he'll say, what the hell do you know about it. It's like putting social workers in schools, disastrous." Rimu interview.

Like the other policies of Special Education 2000 examined in this study the implementation of the RTLB scheme also created a new range of structures that would impact upon the school:

> ". . . it looks to me pretty clear that you're going to have the local, the school bureaucracy, the central bureaucracy and very likely the cluster bureaucracy as well." Pine interview.

The creation of these structures frustrated the principal of Pine school as the practicalities required to action the policy requirements seemed to disappear and be replaced by lengthy processes:

> ". . . the bureaucratised stuff that you had to go through, all the cluster committees and accountabilities and instruments of this and that, I find that I'm a pragmatic person. . . let's get on with it ." Pine interview.

These principals all had special education units operating in their schools and faced higher operational costs and increased pressure to maintain these services. Other cluster members, i.e. primary school principals, could more readily utilise the itinerant model throughout their schools while the secondary school principals all sought more teachers for their units. The Ministry of Education provided little support for resolution of these issues at a local level.

> " . . . I think that was a nasty little job to give to schools because there are industrial issues in there. There are units and there are a whole range of things so once again, just walk away and you say, well you guys you work out what you want . . . " Elm interview.

The policy establishing the RTLBs and their management by school clusters differed from others in Special Education 2000. By taking an existing staff resource and re-deploying and retraining guidance and learning unit teachers a largely primary teacher trained workforce was deployed among local schools. The potential mismatch of skills and approaches was a concern for the principals. Perhaps of greater worry was

the loss of authority and control over staff working in their school. The discontinuity of service caused by the training model for the RTLBs gave rise to criticism too. And finally the creation of additional levels of bureaucracy through the cluster management committee did not offset the annoyance over the Ministry leaving industrial issues up to the clusters to resolve.

Conclusion

The implementation of Special Education 2000 established 'in school' resourcing for students' support. The Special Education Grant, the Ongoing Resourcing Scheme, and fundholding of the ORS. These all increased the range of service delivery and management controlled by the schools. The remaining policy of the Resource Teacher Learning and Behaviour scheme placed specialists among groups of schools to deliver itinerated support. Their management was the responsibility of the school clusters in which they worked; and on the basis of this joint management the RTLB policy differed from the others. However all of the policies used subsidy, payment or grant in their implementation and service provision. Restrictive eligibility tests were applied to the children with the greatest levels of special educational need.

As a consequence of this selection of instruments for policy implementation and operation a shift occurred away from the earlier values and rights approaches towards special education. In their place a quasi-market was being established at the local school level and this was being met with mixed reaction by the principals in this study. The Ministry of Education had placed an emphasis upon partnership in implementing the policies. The school principals however redefined partnership and the scope of inclusion they would offer to students by their implementation of the broader 'bundle' of policy measures.

CHAPTER NINE

Closing Summaries

Introduction

This chapter addresses some of the key points and critical issues raised in the earlier chapters of this thesis. Linkages are made between the analysis of the data, the literature presented earlier in the thesis and the emerging issues of the study . The material is presented in five sections which follow sequentially from one to another. The sections are:

- Policy formation,
- Implementation,
- Implementation gaps,
- The market in special education and
- The future of Special Education 2000

Policy Formation

A break with the history of special education provision in New Zealand occurred with the introduction of Special Education 2000 in 1996.The overarching policy goal of creating an inclusive education system through the provision of learning opportunities of equal quality for all students was supported by a range of specific policies and policy tools. The policy relied heavily on a shift in the responsibility for management and delivery of specialised practices to local schools throughout New Zealand. This broke away from the evolving practice that up to that time saw the provision of special education funding by the Ministry of Education and support for students and schools by the crown agency the Specialist Education Service. The shift in service responsibility for the majority of students with special educational needs was based upon the provision of subsidies and direct grant to schools. Special Education 2000 was introduced as a 'policy bundle' to complete the work commenced by the reform of administrative goals in education by *Tomorrow's Schools* (Fancy,1999). Alongside the changes for the majority of students was the retention of the specialist services for the smaller number of students with high intensity special educational needs such as physical disability, intellectual disability and vision or hearing impairment (Ministry

of Education, 1996). The provision of special education in special schools and units was to continue but in a new 'climate' where the management practices of the reformed public service sector would predominate service delivery.

Educational researchers were contracted into the project to support the identification and local development of best practices that could be delivered in the 'mainstream'. These would to be either within the local school, between local schools in geographically defined clusters or in relationship with other specialist services in the community. The role of families was described as being one of partnership with schools (Ministry Of Education, 1998). Whilst intended to be phased in over a decade these changes very quickly created a discontinuity with direct state provision. One major part of the policy implementation was the development and release to schools of a redefined pedagogic model. This new model emphasised the school's capacity and the ability of the learning environment of the classroom to support students' special educational needs. This model was preferred to the earlier deficit model which emphasised the individual pathology of the student. However this shift in 'best practice' was not enforced in policy implementation and the methods of subsidy allocation to students with ongoing special educational needs reverted to more specific categorical definitions than those previously used.

There had been considerable use of the rights discourse (Brown, 1994) to shape the philosophy and practical reality of educating all students together. Those individuals and groups advocating for the right to an education in the mainstream for students with special educational needs were conversant with the deficit views of disability and special educational need and the connotation of 'deficiency' associated with the medical or professional discourse (Fulcher, 1989). Frequently parents' advocacy for their child's rights was a challenge to the segregated practice utilised traditionally in special education approaches linked to the medical model. The advocacy for children to be educated in the mainstream was often stymied by issues of resourcing. Whereas disability sector groups and organisations would tap into public perceptions and donations shaped by a charity discourse these views were rejected by parents who saw that the state was obliged to provide education for their children. Any reliance upon charity contradicted the rights discourse. The influence of the rights discourse upon special education was confused by the coupling of rights with the concept of 'parent

choice'. Those 'rights' were a tool of managerialism, encouraged by the administrative reforms in education and the corporate discourse that constituted its basis.

The impact of the passage of The Education Act 1989 was considerable. The legislation contained provision for the enrolment and attendance of students with special educational needs, free of charge, at any state school. This was read and interpreted as a student's right to be educated in the mainstream. This was the first time in over a century since the inception of state control of education that free, compulsory and secular schooling was available to *every* child at a *local* school. The development of *Tomorrow's Schools* made clear the intentions of the Labour government to bring major reforms into the administration of education. It was not without irony that the legislation enabling the rights of all children to mainstream education also carried into effect the changes sought to implement the administrative reforms in education through the decentralisation of school governance and management . These changes led to the creation of a new crown agency in 1989, the Special Education Service (SES). The task of the SES was the delivery by contract of special educational services, policy development, and advice to the Minister of Education. A contentious part of their establishment was the desire that the SES provided a contestable service (Mitchell 1999, 2000). The major reform tool of *Tomorrow's Schools* was the establishment of community governance of schools by locally elected Boards of Trustees. The function of the Boards was to undertake much of the work previously carried out at a regional level by the Department of Education. The Department was restructured into a much smaller and more centralised Ministry of Education.

Following the election of the National government in 1990 many of the features of *Tomorrow's Schools* were altered as reform goals driven by managerialism displaced the various bodies and avenues set up to complement the work of the Boards of Trustees. Community Education Forums, the Parent Advocacy Council and the mandatory school charter equity statements were all disbanded or removed (Mitchell & O'Brien, 1994). This change to the advocacy and participatory structures for parents was reflected in the tightened and reduced scope of the SES service contract *The Document of Accountability*.

The climate of policy making had become increasingly technocratic (Cheyne et al., 1997). As the influence of new public management shaped the purchasing of policy advice, critical investigation was often displaced with rational activity measured against criteria of efficiency stipulated in contracts. The policies of Special Education 2000 reflected both managerial influences and the scope of pedagogic and philosophic approaches flowing on from the research undertaken locally (Massey University 1999, 2000). This was to be most apparent when the mix of policy instruments utilised in the implementation and delivery of the policies was analysed (Howlett & Ramesh, 1995).

These instruments carried with them varying levels of state intervention, or coercion. The least coercive form of instrument used to inform implementation was the ongoing nationwide communication project. Other instruments used for implementation were more coercive, for example low levels of grant funding with triennial review as part of the school audit by the Education Review Office (the SEG). A higher level of subsidy payment was available to a much smaller number of students. Schools seeking to control this funding were subjected to the ongoing management and audit requirements of Fundholder Accreditation. All of the provisions of the Special Education 2000 passed responsibility for the implementation and management of the policies back to the school Board of Trustees (Ministry of Education 1996, 1998, 1999). Thus a group of community members essentially acting in a voluntary capacity worked within a highly prescriptive regulatory framework established by the Ministry of Education. Among these changes the policy instrument previously used the most, that of direct service provision, became the policy instrument used the least as the policy directed funding, management and delivery demands back to individual schools. The policy implementation was to complete the work commenced in 1988 by the release of *Tomorrow's Schools*.

The policy goal of Special Education 2000 was to develop an inclusive education system that could support a broad range of student needs within schools through the inclusionary nature of their education. The policies of SE 2000 were integrated to achieve this. Whilst each policy stood alone they were intended to operate in a synchronised manner.

The underpinning of the policies was derived from the seven principles found in the Special Education Policy Guidelines, but not all of these were translated into policy

provision. The notion of seamless education provision from early childhood to tertiary level and the primacy of a student's cultural identity and heritage were to prove to be too difficult to build universal policies upon and remained in place at a level of 'best practice', which on occasion would be achieved. It became apparent that ensuring the values based principles of student rights and parent partnership were interpreted evenly by Boards of Trustees and schools would be extremely difficult. In this study this left three of the original principles of the *Special Education Policy Guidelines* for schools to respond to: effective resource use, adherence to the National Curriculum, and an individualised education response. The study examined five of the policies that were a part of the broader overall policy 'bundle' of Special Education 2000. These particular policies were focussed toward students with differing intensity of special educational needs and they complemented each other in their focus and in operation to meet students' needs within ordinary schools. The Special Education Grant. the Ongoing Resourcing Scheme, and becoming a Fundholder for the Scheme, all placed extra funding into schools. The Resource Teachers Learning and Behaviour were the new professional group who would provide support and advice to teachers.

Implementation

The development of the policies that comprised Special Education 2000 commenced with the work of the Special Education Policy Implementation Taskforce (SEPIT) in March 1992 and was completed eighteen months later. While the consultation rounds of SEPIT were finished and their *Final Report* was written by August 1993 no substantial policy position emerged from the Ministry of Education until mid 1995. The Minister Hon. Dr. Lockwood Smith announced the Special Education Policy Guidelines and identified the intention to work toward the development and release of a 'greenfields' approach toward the difficult issues of special education - this was to be Special Education 2000. Following the Minister's initial announcement and subsequent releases by the Ministry a further year elapsed before the release of the initial policy documents for Special Education 2000. Over the subsequent three years, from May 1996 until the end of 1998 more than thirty five additional documents detailing policy, and providing implementation guidance related to the policies were to be released. The detail and direction provided moved progressively toward the achievement of policy goal first announced in 1996. The process was frequently characterised with the declaration of 'transition' arrangements whenever the particular

implementation steps were too great a shift from the previous arrangements, unfavourably received, or too difficult in their original form to action within the allotted time frame. This fragmented nature of the overall policy bundle and the manner in which there was often revision and tuning of implementation detail both contributed toward the disjointed incremental nature of the policy development (Lindblom, 1979).

Alongside the disjointed incrementalism of the policy development model was the implementation feature, of the top-down model (Lane 1997). This was the part of the policy programme that attracted major criticism from the study participants. For the principals the level of autonomy that they had grown accustomed to was challenged by the demands of top-down implementation. This challenge took on a number of direct and indirect dimensions. Among the direct challenges, the lessening of control over the status quo within their schools caused frequent frustration. The demands made by management of school activities and future planning for policy implementation both drew heavily on the participants' time and professional responsibility. As the nature of policy development and release saw frequent revision of aspects of policy programme details and implementation timelines the resultant pressures were difficult to manage. Coupled to these factors, the relationship with local implementation officials was reported as being unsatisfactory. Equally, the physical distance from those developing policies appeared to add to participants' dissatisfaction. At an indirect level, the experiences associated with the earlier reforms of administration from *Tomorrow's Schools* left an element of mistrust and suspicion which coloured the principals views of the processes involved with Special Education 2000. These views were particularly strong when there were costs involved resulting from changes to financial 'supply'. All of the schools had been providing a separate special education programme at the commencement of the implementation but only two continued. Expectations from the schools' communities had to be met and managed alongside the policy demands, whenever this balance was put at jeopardy annoyance and frustration resulted. At times a shortfall between the policy goals and the outcome at a school level was apparent. This situation arose when the implementation and operation demand of the policies was met, but not in the spirit of what the policy makers sought and had provided for with the policy instruments. This was most evident where the policies provided funding for students' special

educational support and schools used the funding in ways that segregated students from the mainstream body of the school.

Aspects of school self-management and leadership for implementation seemed not to approximate the Ministry policy material. Most of the participants in the study had moved toward a style of self-management in their respective schools that utilised hierarchic decision making and control to such a degree that other possible approaches e.g. establishing policies through the Board of Trustees liasing or consulting with the school community appeared to be excluded. This had arisen in the main because the principals had taken on much of the daily work of policy implementation themselves. This management style appeared to have reduced the likelihood of strengthening some of the underlining philosophical demands of the policies, in particular that of partnership (Brown & Wills, 2000). The clearest indicator was the absence of any real discussion of partnership and collaboration with parents and between the community and the school. During the interviews partnership was mentioned directly once, and alluded to on one other occasion. Another indicator of the failure to work collaboratively was the way participants spoke of difficulties and conflict within their schools, alluded to the same troubles for themselves and where adamant as to the shortcomings of the Ministry of Education officials in this respect. Both the philosophy behind the inclusionary nature of the policies and the complexities of the policy required considerable work at a team or partnership level for depth in successful implementation (Ballard 1999, Wills 1997).
Among all of the participants the view emerged that the focus and scope of the definitions of special educational needs the policies utilised were too narrow. For one of the participants the gaps in student learning and achievement were linked to ethnicity and class differences. This was insufficiently pinpointed by the decile mechanism as these differences were evident within the strata of the school but less evident in the broader community. This situation had arisen as a product of 'brown flight' and 'white flight' from the school leaving the residual student population no longer representative of the broader community catchment the school's decile was calculated upon.

The desire to broaden the definition of special educational need to reflect the diversity of student populations was expressed in the wish to include students who were slow

learners as well as the more talented students who would also gain from an individualised focus to their teaching and learning. This awareness reflected more recent views of inclusive education (Stainback & Stainback 1996, Thousand and Villa 1989). The desire to be more inclusive of the full diversity of students seemed to be the emerging concern of all of the participants. The construct of need was challenged by one principal who asserted that most students would *benefit* from the individualised responses made possible by the use of Resource Teachers Learning and Behaviour. It was evident to the participants that the definitions of special educational need that mattered most were the ones with the resources attached to them. Yet in one school there was a reluctance on behalf of the staff involved with the students to maximise the impact of the resources by developing the individual programmes needed to support the students' special educational needs.

The idea that teaching practices previously only used in units should be utilised throughout the school was expressed as the 'mainstreaming of special education' and was a possibility shared by several participants. However it was only one principal who understood that the educational philosophy, pedagogy and the physical location applied in teaching students with disabilities all had to be changed to make a positive difference. It was quite apparent that just an expansion of the definitions and the resourcing linked to them, would be no more certain of meeting the policy goals than under the criteria offered at the time of the study (Moore et al. 1999).
The range of instruments linked to Special Education 2000 policies provided sufficient choice and flexibility for the principals to arrive at unique local outcomes from implementation. The participants identified examples of other schools that clearly dissuaded students with special needs from enrolling and then discussed in detail how they managed their own student populations to maximise funding, or wished they could end service to students with special educational needs because of high cost. When considering the delivery of the National Curriculum to students with special educational needs the variation from what was sought under the National Education Goals was greatest for this group of students. The participants discussed the multiple factors preventing good teaching and quality learning outcomes for these students. The lawful *responsibility* of schools and their Boards of Trustees is provided for in seven pieces of legislation and regulation, discussed in Chapter Four. However there were very few checks and balances in place to ensure the Ministry demands for

accountability in achieving these requirements alongside the implementation of the SE2000 policies. Instead the Ministry relied upon the professionalism of principals rather than directly the monitoring schools.

The Implementation Gaps

The range of policy instruments (Hogwood & Gunn 1984, Howlett & Ramesh 1995, Bridgman & Davis 2000) utilised to implement the Special Education Grant were dominated by the payment of a subsidy to each school to deliver support to students with low or moderate special educational needs. This subsidy was coupled to a legal obligation under the Education Act 1989 to enrol all eligible students. The move of the Specialist Education Service toward a user pays basis and the antagonism toward the crown agency from some of the schools may well have created a level of hesitation in exploring how the support needs of students were to be met, other than through direct employment of staff by the school.

The provision of the Special Education Grant was welcomed by all the participants. Some queried the levels of payment being made through it. The principals were aware that the payment of the grant was not linked or indexed to the number of students attending the school that needed that level of support. Furthermore there was an awareness that some schools actively dissuaded the enrolment of students with moderate special educational needs (Wylie, 2000). These factors became issues of principle that the participants were disgruntled with. While the funding level may not have been as high as desired the freedom it gave was welcomed and the desire for a greater level of school discretion over other operational areas that related to students with special educational needs was expressed.

The Ongoing Resourcing Scheme was established to provide resourcing for students with high and very high special educational needs irrespective of the type (mainstream or special) or the geographic location of the school. The scheme would also ensure that if a student moved to another school their funding entitlement was maintained. The scheme was also designed to suppress demand for additional special educational support. The provision of the subsidy funding and the mechanisms employed to achieve this were of greatest concern to the participants. The initial policy announcement indicated a level of entitlement that was later halved as the resource targeting mechanism of the policy was refined. The discontinuity this caused

had great impact upon two of the schools. One used borrowed funds to continue providing student support, the other decide to end support provision and sought to close their special education unit. On the other hand the subsidy offered an incentive to another school to encourage students who were verified as being desirable to enrol at the school. This gave rise to concern from one principal as to the overall focus of the special education provision the school offered and just which students it was most important to attract to the school. In spite of the small scale of this study it reflected the common outcome of the implementation of the Ongoing Resourcing Scheme which reduced the overall number of students receiving costly individual support. The policymakers goal was being met.

An extension of this policy was for schools to focus on managing the total funding and provide support for greater than usual number of students with high or very high special educational needs. This was achieved by being awarded accreditation as a Fundholder for the Ongoing Resourcing Scheme. To achieve this twenty or more funded students needed to be enrolled at the school. This was an attractive proposition for two of the schools, and presented major problems for a third where the principal wished to 'reposition' the school and alter the perception the community had of it. The attraction of fundholding was that the aggregated sum of funds was considerable and allowed for entrepreneurship and school growth (Caldwell & Spinks, 1998). One principal however felt that the opportunity was stymied by the local Specialist Education Service who were identified as competitors. Where the principal was seeking to reposition the school within the community the previous association with special education delivery was now seen as a drawback that offered no future opportunity for growth thereby acting as a disincentive. One principal acted to ensure the maximum growth of the unit, and the associated level of funding. This meant the segregation (Dept of Education 1987) of the students for their teaching as the school would incur lower costs if they remained mostly in the special education unit. At another school this meant the funds gained had to be used to meet the increased cost of student support as all of their needs were now the school's responsibility. At the same school the principal wanted to ensure that students could be integrated throughout the school, an approach that was sought to gain the most of the opportunity being a fundholder could offer.

Overall the policy of Fundholding seemed not to have ensured the inclusion of students with special needs in the mainstream. It had instead created an opportunity for financial growth if schools were able to meet the demands of compliance and accreditation standards, and where there was the right mix of students and scale of operating economies in place within the school. The policy did ensure that after twelve years the Specialist Education Service was made contestable so meeting a goal originally prescribed in *Tomorrow's Schools*.

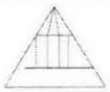
The last part of the policy bundle examined in this study was the provision of Resource Teachers Learning and Behaviour. The apparent outcome for most of the participants was a service that in spite of the expressed negative views about its implementation was of some usefulness to their schools. The desire they held for control and management was challenged by the way in which the implementation amongst the local cluster of schools was dominated by primary schools. There was concern too that the nature of the model of intervention that the policy was designed to deliver did not fit well with the teaching methods employed within a secondary school. However most of the schools had services delivered by RTLBs who were competent in those particular school environments.

The Market In Special Education

The features that typify a market model can be very clearly identified in education and particularly in Special Education 2000.These dimensions if controlled or limited by the government establish the conditions of a quasi-market model such as the one in place with Special Education 2000. This study found the following range of indicators to be present; commodification of special educational need,
mechanisms of funding including subsidy, a contestable market for service provision, active parent or consumer choice, and under the right conditions, the possibility of some economic growth from special education provision.

The commodification of special education need and special education service provision. The new categories of special educational need have been 'unpacked' from earlier models of support. These were often based upon the use of the Special Education Discretionary Allowance and case-by-case agreements for individual students with the Secretary of Education under provisions of Section 9 (a) of the

Education Act 1989. The categories and resources of the new policies providing special education intervention or support, were all aligned to the predicted rates of incidence or demand and managed delivery as identified in the adjoining thumbnail.



The interrelated components of SE2000 are indicated in the thumbnail detail.

Contracts and prescribed levels of spending have been used to define activities in a particular fields. This entails both defining the quantum of service delivery to an individual, and enables control of schools and providers by the Ministry of Education. All of the policy areas of Special Education 2000 as shown on the preceding thumbnail are linked to an area of specific service delivery. The funding for all areas of service to schools and students is annualised and controlled by budget measures - the largest single contract being the Document of Accountability between the Ministry of Education and the Specialist Education Service (Ministry of Education 1999). Under this type of regime the provision of services on a 'rights' basis is not possible.

The mechanism of partial subsidy by way of grant funding is used to meet the support costs of the majority of students with special educational needs (the Special Education Grant). The onus for their identification, provision of appropriate intervention and management of the funding to enable this had been passed entirely over to Boards of Trustees of local schools. For a much smaller number of students the access to funding bands and the linked staffing resource was controlled through the Ongoing Resourcing Scheme. Fundholding for most of those students was undertaken by the Specialist Education Service. This organisations internal costs were relatively high when compared with that of a school acting as a fundholder. The school would have the advantage of lower overheads and enjoy a greater level of funding gained when the monies for all students funded by the scheme were aggregated.

The contestability of the Specialist Education Service had always been signalled as a goal of the reform process. This was made possible through fundholding which also served to set up the necessary conditions for 'parental choice' between enrolment in the mainstream or in segregated special education and the possibility of enrolment at a school which was a fundholder. This later option has had the impact of drawing funds

away from the Specialist Education Service. Their response has been to limit the provision of free services to meet budget constraints, creating the perception of a decrease in their service quality. These circumstances have compounded and shaped the behaviour of school principals and BOTs. For example the schools in this study joined an initiative, with direct support from the Ministry of Education, to bypass the Specialist Education Service as the preferred provider of high level behavioural support for students in the area.

Parent voice and choice characterise an educational market. By making an informed selection of where their child will attend parents force schools to respond to that 'choice' by delivering more of what is sought to attract enrolments to the school. However it is evident in this study that there was no work done to build partnerships with parents. The reliance on choice alone is not a recipe for quality outcomes for students with special educational needs. It was also clear that some of the schools in the area of the study were not wishing to attract students with special educational needs at all as the community perception of such students was negative (Wylie 2000, 2002).

The market had prevailed in the way the policies were operationalised by schools in the area of the study. Without the market conditions it would be likely that the policies were not particularly desirable to implement. However the presence of these market forces meant that am imbalance existed where some students, those with high funding were more desirable than those who only attracted low funding or none whatsoever. Thus, a relatively 'over heated' quasi-market had been established for some students whilst a very lukewarm response existed toward others. While this quasi-market operated it did not reflect the philosophical under-pinning of the policies that prevailed as recently as 1995 with the Special Education Policy Guidelines. It was evident that the special education quasi-market was neither neutral nor was it fully inclusive of the spectrum of students that Special Education 2000 was designed to support.

The existence of the quasi-market conditions potentially conflicted with the values and rights that were intended to be a part of the policies. The provision of the Special Education Grant to schools commodified the special educational needs of students,

thus displacing the policy maker's overall goal. The choice of policy instruments in this area of implementation failed to have the desired impact. Rather than being regarded as a support to inclusionary approaches in education the provision of the grant to the secondary schools in the study brought to the fore the notion of costs and costliness of students with special educational needs to these schools. Because the schools were free to interpret how to best meet the special educational needs of their students a risk existed that the grant would become a subsidy to offset the support costs of individual students rather than to address the development of inclusive practices throughout the entire school. By implication, students with special needs were seen to be a burden to the school if their needs and linked costs could not be 'contained' within the available resources.

The potential for economic gain when a school acted as a Fundholder was real. Without any checks or balances being put in place the level of funding available offered an incentive to take the monies and use them to subsidise the cost of running a segregated education model for students with high and very high levels of need. This was both cheaper and easier to achieve than an inclusive education. The accreditation standards for a Fundholder provided some guidance but the final determination over the approach to student support student support in the school was often made by the principal. The level of contribution to fundholders by the Ministry was considerable. There was no differentiation between those schools who made a decision to fully embrace all aspects of the principles underpinning the policies and those schools that did not. There were no additional rewards for working harder at this task.

The Future of Special Education 2000

The policy makers' goals for Special Education 2000 were ambitious. They called upon the Ministry team to work widely within the education sector to devise policies that would integrate well and would be effective in their implementation by any school throughout New Zealand. The policy intention appeared clear enough and to have been given enough time, a decade, to establish an inclusive education system that was world class. The other part of the policy, to ensure the provision of learning opportunities of equal quality, appeared to be an exercise in the distribution of resources and supports for students and schools. This might be on either a targeted or a population based model. However the implementation and achievement of the

overall policy goal was far from straightforward. The terrain of the implementation 'landscape' (Ball, 1994) encompassed many variations. Not all schools included the same range of students, principals held individuals with diverse views and attitudes toward disability, the staff of the schools had different skills and members of Boards of Trustees all came from different backgrounds. These variations in the human capacity to implement the policy were inescapable and as seen in this study at times would contribute to shortfalls in implementation.

Many of the concepts and approaches the policies sought to utilise were based upon theoretical models of practice that were comparatively new and challenged long established practices in special education. The move from a deficit model of student need to an ecological model of student support required a complete paradigmatic shift to be initiated and developed as a foundation to change to the entire school's response to special education (Davies & Prangnell 1999, Moore et al. 1999). The tools available to implement and support this policy demand 'short changed' everyone involved in the process, with the greatest impact being upon students and parents. As subsidies and grants were put in place based upon demographic formula and resource targeting the policy emphasis shifted from inclusion to income and cost. The need to re-educate each school and its staff and parent community was met by a communication 'programme' consisting of a confusing flow of documents that exhorted 'getting it right together' which kept on changing the exact targets to be achieved. The disjointed incrementalist approach of policy development (Lindblom, 1979) and the use of a top-down method of implementation caused many difficulties (Lane, 1997). The re-interpretation of policy goals as they were implemented by school principals was inevitable. Their lack of trust of the Ministry and the displacement of self-governance of the schools with hierarchic management was to ensure the closing down of discussion and create an entrenchment of positions in response to the policy demands (Williams, 1980).

All these factors point toward an implementation scorecard marked as a fail. However if the policy makers' goals were expressed as a continuum, where movement *toward* an inclusive education response was acceptable and the access to educational opportunities of equal quality for *some* students was sufficient then their goals were partially met. What seemed to be occurring as evidenced by this study was a process

of policy trade-offs. These must have come as no surprise to the policy makers and may well reflect a position where the achievement of policy goals was *not* an absolute requirement and a continuum of change *was* acceptable. The future of Special Education 2000 in its present form may be short lived. Despite the inception over one hundred years ago, of free, secular and compulsory education; the right to an inclusive education for all children with special educational needs only came about in 1989. Three years after the announcement of Special Education 2000 the participating school principals were interviewed for this study. The impacts of reform in this complex area of education were becoming apparent. Whilst the implementation of the policy is continuing, one certainty appears to have emerged. For over a century the provision of segregated, deficit focussed special education has prevailed in New Zealand, and this study of the implementation of Special Education 2000 indicates little likelihood of change.

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AUCKLAND COLLEGE OF EDUCATION
TE KURA AKORANGA O TAMAKI MAKAURAU

Appendix One

74 Epsom Avenue, Epsom, Auckland. Private Bag 92601, Symonds Street, Auckland, New Zealand.
Telephone 09 623 8899, Facsimile 09 623 8898.

Centre for Special Education
25/5/99.

Dear Colleague,

I have asked a number of school principals in West Auckland to approach possible participants for a small scale research project examining the response of principals to the implementation of Special Education 2000.

Participants in the fieldwork phase will be interviewed in the next six weeks, with completion by the end of June. By making this approach indirectly I remove myself as a researcher from issues of bias in participant selection.

This work is being undertaken to fulfil the partial requirements of a Master of Arts (Social Policy) degree from Massey University.

I have enclosed an information sheet and the interview schedule for your perusal, along with my contact details. I am happy to answer any enquiry you may have about the research.

Please give this invitation your consideration.

ROD WILLS
Senior Lecturer, Special Education.

Information Sheet

Special Education 2000 and the emergent views of school principals

1. Identity of the researcher.

Rod Wills is a senior lecturer in Special Education at the Centre for Special Education - Auckland College of Education. The researcher is a member of the Coalition of Parents for Special Education and represents that organisation on the external reference group established by the Ministry of Education as a part of the consultation for Special Education 2000. The researcher is the parent of a 15 year old girl with Down syndrome.

2. How to contact the researcher.

The researcher can be contacted by telephone on 623 -8899 extn 8752 or Fax on 623 -8855 or e-mail : r.wills@ ace.ac.nz

3. Supervision of the researcher.

The primary supervisor is : Neil Lunt - School of Social Policy & Social Work-Albany, Massey University. He can be contacted by telephone at 443-9384. The secondary supervisor is : Dr. Joce Jesson - Auckland College of Education. She can be contacted by telephone at 623-8899.

4. The purpose of the study.

This project is being undertaken to meet the partial requirements of a Master of Arts (Social Policy). The research examines the discourse of school principals' in response to the implementation of the policy Special Education 2000. Critical analysis of the Ministry of Education policy and related implementation documents will also be made. This study will enable scrutiny, at a local level, of the congruence between the desired outcomes of the policy and the impacts upon leaders and managers of schools.

Publication of the results

The full report will be prepared in thesis form and deposited in the Massey University library. Results may be presented at conferences, or published in journals.

5. How might I be involved ?

Participants will be involved in two interviews each of 45 - 60 minutes duration, the interviews will be audio taped. Transcriptions will be returned to participants for checking of their accuracy before further coding and use in the research.

6. Anonymity and Confidentiality

Research participants will not be named, any details in transcripts of interviews that could be used to identify participants, such as names of persons, schools, details of services, will be altered so participants cannot be identified in any published reports.

Audio Taping

Audio tapes of interviews will be identified by an alpha-numeric code. The audio tapes will be transcribed by either the researcher or an assistant. If an assistant is used they will complete a legal declaration assuring confidentiality of the contents of the tapes and anonymity of the participants before commencing any work. Identifying data that has been audio taped, such as peoples names, will be altered in transcription so they cannot be identified. Tapes will be either returned to participants or destroyed as soon as possible following the correction of transcripts. (Participants will be asked to nominate an option).

7. Participants Rights

- You have the right to refuse to answer any particular questions

- You have the right to ask for the audio taping to stop if you do not agree to the interview being recorded.
- You have the right to withdraw from the research project at any time.
- You may withdraw your data and ask that any audio tape or transcript of an interview involving you be handed to you or be destroyed.
- You have the right to ask any questions about the study at any particular time.
- You have the right to provide information on the understanding that your name will not be used.
- You have the right to be given access to the findings of the study when it is concluded.

An Informed Consent form will be provide separately for you if you wish to join in this research project. Upon receipt of that completed form an invitation for you to participate will be made; and a time for interview established.

ROD WILLS.

Consent Form

Special Education 2000 and the emergent views of school principals

I have read the Information Sheet and have had the details of the study explained to me. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.

I understand that I may decline to answer any particular questions and that I have the right to withdraw from the study at any time at any time. If I withdraw from the study I may request any audio tapes or transcriptions be returned to me or destroyed.

I agree to provide information to the researcher on the understanding that my name will not be used. The information I provide will only be used for this research and publications arising from this project. I understand that the information will not used by the researcher in any activity he undertakes as a member of the Coalition of Parents for Special Education, or as this group's representative on the Ministry of Education's External Reference Group for Special Education 2000.

I understand that I will be asked to nominate whether the audio tapes of the interviews be handed to me or erased once the transcriptions have been checked by me.

I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet.

[ ] I agree to the audio taping of any interview I decide to participate in.

[ ] I do not agree to the audio taping of any interview I decide to participate in.

(Indicate by ticking appropriate box)

Signed .....

Name .....

Date .....

Transcription Confidentiality Agreement

Special Education 2000 and the Emergent Views of School Principals.

I agree in undertaking the transcription of audio tapes on behalf of **ROD WILLS** to maintain the confidentiality of the tape contents by:

1) – Having no conversation relating to the contents with any person other than the researcher

2) - Only copying word processing files to the floppy disc provided by the researcher and returning that to the researcher for secure storage

3) - Destroying any printed material that is not handed to the researcher as completed transcriptions of the audio tapes.

I agree to meet these conditions in undertaking the transcription of audio tapes ;

NAME _____

SIGNATURE _____

DATE _____

Special Education 2000
semi structured interview - probe questions

1 - What is the purpose of education in NZ ?

2 - What is the purpose of special education and how does this relate to regular education ?

3 - What is the intention of the Special Education 2000 policy ?

4 - Does the policy meet the purpose of education in NZ ?

5 - How is this policy being implemented in your school ?

6 - Does the implementation of the policy in your school achieve this ?

7 - From your experience, what aspects of the policy have helped the most for learners with special educational needs ?

8 - From your experience, what aspects of the policy have helped the least for learners with special educational needs ?

9 - What demands has the policy and its implementation put upon you as school principal ?

10 - What role would you say you have had to take to meet these implementation demands?

11 - Are there other aspects of your experiences as school principal, with regard to Special Education 2000 that you would like to talk about ?