A hard tweak: TeachNZ criteria and the Smith proposal

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ABSTRACT

The Hon. Dr Nick Smith suggested in 1999 and 2003 that 'men' be recruited as primary school teachers through the TeachNZ scheme. This thesis analyses the attendant policy making processes, and the influence of ideology. Six interviews were conducted and are considered against political events over the years 2003-2004. The work of Kingdon (2003) and Matland (1995) proved valuable to the analysis as they provide complementary models for discussion of data.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

In July 1999, the Minister of Education, Hon. Nick Smith (Smith, 1999) (Appendix 1), suggested that the TeachNZ sponsorship scheme be used to train some men as primary school educators and so address balance within the sector. Later that year the policy was abandoned. It was not clear at the time why this happened. This thesis is an attempt to investigate the reasons the policy was abandoned and the connections between the Minister's proposal and the early childhood sector, but principally the policy processes at work.

Specifically it was hoped to discover why it was decided not to use the TeachNZ scheme to target and recruit males as primary educators in 1999. The research aims were finalised in May 2003 and were intended to be used to determine:

- The policy basis on which the decision was taken, and by whom;

- Who the influential lobbyists were, and what were their motives;

- The linkage between this issue and early childhood care and education (ECCE).

An attempt has also been made to assess how greatly ideology might have affected educator balance in 1999, today, or in the future.

For the purposes of this study the term educators includes all those who are involved in the early learning of children (0-11 years), particularly those who are involved subject to government regulation and funding. It is not an easy task to order the literature surrounding male involvement in early education but what is abundantly clear, both nationally and internationally, is that males are a minority in both the primary and early childhood teaching cadres.

Background

It is first necessary to link the primary and the early childhood care and education sectors together.

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Linking the sectors

Livingstone (2003) suggests that generally there are four major types of arguments in favour of involving more men in early learning, although he specifically restricts his concern to the primary teaching sector. Livingstone (2003, p. 35) points to "widespread concern about the proportions of male teachers in schools" and summarises the arguments for involving more men as: *Academic*: to address perceived learning deficits of boys; *Social*: to cater better for perceived social needs of boys; *Environmental*: to reduce the overly "feminised" nurturing ethos in primary schools; and, *Representational*: to make primary school staff more representative of society at large. In Livingstone's (2003, p. 40) assessment it is the representational class of argument which has most to offer, and he (following Alton-Lee and Praat, 2000) states, "[s]ociety is a diverse place, and primary schools should be microcosms of society".

It seems clear that if the representational style of argument proposed (Alton-Lee and Praat, 2000; Farquhar, 1997; Farquhar, Cablk, Buckingham, Butler and Ballantyne, 2006; Livingstone, 2003) should hold the same "ought to be the case" over the entire early learning sector, not simply primary schools. The addition of an early childhood dimension into the policy discussion about sponsoring males into the primary service through TeachNZ scholarships is clarifying in a number of ways. Educators in the two early education sub-sectors share roughly similar professional responsibilities, may belong to the same teacher union (NZEI), and their pay scales are progressively moving toward parity. An important difference however is that much of the early childhood provision in the country is privately supplied and subsidized by the government. This is in marked contrast to the primary service which is for the most part directly supplied by government. Scrivens notes, "strain between early childhood services and the government since 1986 has been characterised by tensions between [a] New Right agenda and the growing professionalism of early childhood personnel and services" (2002, p.158). Ideology is, therefore, a factor to be considered.

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Comparative numbers

In 1978 the 'Hill Report' (Department of Education, 1978) recommended that men be included as a category within a 10% quota for entry into teachers colleges. Between 1979 and 1981 (Department of Education, 1982) women increased their representation as principals from 4.7% to 7.9%. By 2004 the MOE (2004) reported that 43% of all primary principals were women. Livingstone (2003, p. 31) observes that between 1992 and 2001 the percentage of men in the primary service slipped by 4% and that the absolute numbers of men also declined correspondingly. Over time, the senior male workforce in primary schools was not being replaced or retained at lower levels. In 1992 (Farquhar, 1997) 2.1% of teachers in childcare and kindergartens were men. Ministry of Education (2005) figures for year 2004 show this toehold eroding to just under 1%. In 2006 (Farquhar et al., 2006), for the first time, a small group of men at different levels in the early childhood sector worked together with an education researcher to respond to the situation. In the primary service the comparable response had come from the teachers' professional union , the NZEI. (Livingstone, 2003). While this difference may seem hardly worth mentioning, it is vitally important for two reasons. First, because of the level of power the NZEI holds over their members ability to interact normally with children through its Code of Practice and second, it has important implications for this thesis, because of NZEI's capacity for making 'non-decisions' as described by Bachrach and Baratz (1962, 1963) restraining the teaching practices of its members . The NZEI is a powerful lobby in early education and has strong traditional links with the Labour Party.

Inhibitors

Sumison (2000, p. 87) asks whether the under-representation of men in early childhood, matters. She suggests that two basic inhibiting factors exist for men moving into traditionally 'women's occupations': poor economic prospects, and social pressures about the roles men ought to play in the community. In the case of early childhood, Sumison (2000, p. 88) further notes, that deterrents "are exacerbated by community mistrust of men's motives for choosing to work with young children and suspicions about their sexual orientation". As these themes also figure strongly in the primary service literature

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(De Corse and Vogtle, 1997; Goodman, 1987; Livingstone, 2003; Skelton, 1991; Thornton, 1999), it is worth considering the issue as a whole.

A smaller set of studies (Farquhar, 1997; Seifert, 1988; Shaham, 1991; Sumison, 1999) comments on the interaction of male and female staff in early education. Farquhar (1997), in common with Sumison (1999), suggests that under-representation of men in early childhood is not helped by direct and indirect discrimination. Seifert (1988) notes, that "on the surface, male teachers seem much like female teachers. In the classroom the two genders behave in largely similar ways, and show many of the same qualities." Galbraith (1992) reports that a 1978 study by Robinson and Canaday found that male and female day care workers scored similarly on the male and female dimensions of a test of sex role identity. On the other hand, Farquhar (1997) found that differences in perspective between male and female teachers meant that men had much to contribute to the early learning situation, and finds, in common with Livingstone (2003), that under-representation is a problem.

Wages and conditions (and presumably incentives where they exist) have been a long standing issue for all those working in the early learning sector, but more specifically in early childhood. Seifert (1988) notes that even in situations where pay and conditions are comparable to other male dominated educational specialties, men do not often choose to work in early education. Kimmel and Messner (1995, cited in DeCorse and Vogtle, 1997) suggest that men who are direct, aggressive and have monetarily oriented career goals tend to shy away from female-dominated professions. Williams (1992) contrasts the position of women entering male-dominated, and men entering female-dominated, occupations. Whereas, Williams (1992) noted that women tended to find that discrimination from within 'men's occupations' restricted their career path in a phenomenon known as the 'glass ceiling', men in 'women's occupations' tended to suffer discrimination not from inside the organisation but from the public perception of them as failures or sexual deviants. According to Williams, such perceptions of men result in them being removed to ""legitimate" practice areas" (Williams, 1992, p. 263). Williams terms this phenomenon the 'glass escalator', and concludes that wages are not the only, or perhaps even the major, impediment to men's entry into 'women's jobs', and

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that "further research is required to explore the ideological significance of the "women's wage" for maintaining occupational stratification" (Williams, 1992, p. 265).

A shift in emphasis

It is interesting to review the history of the early learning sector in this light. In 1975 when men first applied for kindergarten teachers college entry, a concern was expressed by a member of the TEACAPS Advisory Committee (Department of Education, 1982, p. 5) about the possible "infiltration of men looking for fast track career opportunities in early childhood, and particularly at the women allowing it" (May, 2001, p. 152). Thirty years later there is no evidence to corroborate that this fear was well founded, despite the achievement of pay parity in many parts of early childhood. A parallel possibility, since the 1982 TEACAPS report, is that the primary service has increasingly become viewed by potential male students as 'feminised' (Galbraith, 1992; Livingstone, 2003), offering a 'women's wage', and a socially difficult career path.

There is a dearth of empirical research work in the literature on any particular value men might offer children in early learning. There is, however, a vast range opinion surrounding the topic. In 2003 the Ministry of Education (Farquhar, 2003) released a report entitled Quality Teaching Early Foundations: Best Evidence Synthesis (BES). The report was only one of a series of best evidence syntheses within the education sector but it was *the* only one to suggest teacher gender as an influence on student behaviour or outcomes, and the evidence was slight.

In Britain the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission (EOC) (2005) has begun to advocate for gender desegregation in the British workforce, particularly in the childcare and after-school care sector. In part this is to assist a massive recruitment drive to match the government's *Sure Start* programme. Despite a lack of empirical material from within the education sector indicating a need for more men in teaching, the Daycare Trust (EOC, 2005) had even gone so far as to advocate 'fast-track' programmes to induce men to commit to childcare as a career.

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In 2006 TeachNZ (MOE, 2006, p. 4) recruitment material suggested that men were "particularly welcome in early childhood and primary teaching". What was not as well spelled out in 2006 TeachNZ recruitment material was that men might well be eligible for scholarships if they entered into the early childhood sector, but not into mainstream primary teaching.

Other stories

There are many other possible accounts of the Smith proposal, TeachNZ scholarships and the early education sector which are not told within the present account. One such story is of the number of men working in the Kohanga Reo movement. In 1995, Ministry of Education figures (Sue McGeough, personal communication, 27/01/04), suggested that 14% of the paid staff in Kohanga Reo were male. Compared with mainstream figures for early childhood in the same year the result is not only extraordinary, but world leading. In 2007, a leading Belgian early education commentator, Jan Peeters, noted that around 30% of Kohanga Reo teachers were male with "about half of these qualified and half in training" and that such a result warranted international study (Booker, 2007, p. A6).

An outline of the present study

This study follows up Smith's 1999 proposal to provide men with a scholarship as an incentive to become a primary teacher, through a set of six (6) interviews in order to determine the issues key players wished to bring to the government agenda. After having been knocked back, Smith reissued his call for TeachNZ incentives for men in 2003. A further important part of this study follows the political activity of advocacy coalitions (Sabatier and Jenkins, 1993), over the next two years, as extra-sector issues became connected with Smith's proposal. Kingdon's (2003) adapted Garbage Can model has been used to illustrate the process as agenda-setting initiatives by coalitions edged existing government scholarship criteria toward wholesale restatement. TeachNZ policy underwent change, as did NZEI's Code of Practice. Matland's (1995) work has been used to explain some aspects of these changes.

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Chapter summary

The thesis moves from the very broad to the very specific. Chapter 2 is an extended literature review of policy making. It focuses initially on what constitutes 'policy analysis', moves to an outline of the major types of approaches to the discipline, the ways in which questions of value are dealt with, power, the interaction of policy networks and interest groups with each other and the state, and then to the important issue of how symbolic issues can be used to exert leverage. Chapter 3 provides a basis for analysing the material gathered in the study. Chapters 4, 5, 6 are concerned respectively with the methodological approach used for the study, the interviews conducted, and in the last of the three chapters, a number of media events over the 2003-4 period which are important in terms of the study. Chapter 7 is a discussion of the data gathered and uses both the garbage can model (Kingdon, 2003) and Matland's (1995) typology of implementation research. The final chapter, Chapter 8, makes tentative conclusions about what occurred in relation to Smith's proposal, the ideology of key players by using criteria established by Vickers (1965, 1968) and the extent to which the Smith proposal was shaped by ideology.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

In this thesis the important issue is not whether male early educators should be better represented in the early education workforce but what the mechanisms and ideologies are that influence the present situation, whether they might be changed through the exercise of social policy and how that might come to be. There is a vast body of literature concerning social policy and it is important to restrict a review to what is necessary for the occasion. Accordingly the literature review is not exhaustive.

What is covered are established definitions of 'policy analysis', landmark approaches to making and understanding social policy, the ways in which value conflict is resolved in social policy, the activity of interest groups in relation to the state and its capacity to redistribute resources, networks, potential tension points between the state, its mandate, responsibility and supply and finally a short, particular review of symbolic issues as they affect male early educators.

Definitions of 'policy analysis'

Heclo (1972) is adamant that while 'policy' is not a self evident term, general agreement exists about what it is. Heclo (1972, p. 84) notes, "as commonly used, the term policy is usually considered to apply to something 'bigger than particular decisions, but 'smaller' than general social movements", and at its core "policy is a course of action intended to accomplish some end". Shaw and Eichbaum (2005, p.2) note, however, that Heclo understates the "extent to which the course of policy can be dramatically altered by a major policy decision".

There are distinct differences (Hill, 1997; Hogwood and Gunn, 1984) between analyses which evaluate a policy, those which advocate for a particular policy programme, and those which seek to study elements or examples of policy. Hogwood and Gunn suggest that the term 'policy analysis' can be interpreted in many different ways and add that in

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practice, "more than one approach may be used in a particular study perhaps with the analyst being unaware that he [sic] is moving from one the other" (1984, p. 31). These authors suggest that analysts should be clear about the type(s) of analysis they employ (p.31). It is Lasswell's contention that social scientists should neither "engage full time in practical politics nor spend time advising policy-makers on immediate questions" (Ham and Hill, 1993, p.6). Merelman nevertheless identifies a variety of roles Lasswell assumed at different times in his career; "physican to the political personality, social engineer, intelligence gatherer, policy advocate, and scientist of public administration" (1981, p. 492). Lasswell demonstrated (Merelman, 1981) through this last role that he believed social scientists should ever seek to clarify the processes through which policy is made.

If a range of policy analyses are possible in any given case, each particular type of analysis not only requires theoretical and methodological underpinning, but it is also necessary that it should be located in relation to other types of analysis. Hogwood and Gunn (1984) and Hill (1997) identify their own approaches as being concerned with policy as a process rather than with the content, outputs, or evaluation of policy, or with information gathering for policy making, process advocacy or policy advocacy. These authors, in common with Lasswell, point to dangers to the academic analyst's objectivity should they stray deeply into the political fray of policy making. Hill asserts that, "we must continue to try to understand the policy process - however irrational or uncontrollable it may seem to be - as a crucial first step towards trying to bring it under control" (1997, p. 5). As part of developing such control Hill identifies a need for more sophisticated approaches to policy making and implementation, based on the analysis of real life examples.

There is considerable debate in the literature about how policy 'is', and 'ought' to be made. Three major approaches to policy process are evident in the literature, which are buttressed in various ways by subsections of supporting literature. Integrating the literature in a manner that is useful in terms of an individual study is challenging. The

three major approaches are; the rational or stagist approach, the incrementalist approach, and the non-rational or garbage can approach. Each of these will be considered briefly within this review but for the purposes of the study as a whole, it is the non-rational or garbage can approach which seems the best explanatory tool for the case at hand.

The Rational/stagist approach and the policy making process

The rational or stagist approach to problem-solving and policy-making places great importance on the availablity of complete information about a problem. Policy process is often discussed (Bridgman and Davis, 1998; Easton, 1965; Hogwood and Gunn, 1984; Howlett and Ramesh, 2003; Lasswell, 1958, 1964; Parsons, 1995; Simon, 1997; Stone, 1997; Tiernan and Burke, 2002), as cyclic, and as an outgrowth of rational, stepwise, problem solving. The number of stages identified varies according to each writer's model (Parsons 1995) and range from three to nine. Identified stages are commonly used to describe (and prescribe) the stages a decision maker works through when formulating policy. Elements of a rational/stagist approach include: defining a problem, gathering information about it and possible responses, evaluating possible responses, and choosing between them on a rational basis. Although some authors allow for reiteration of stages, generally, each model describes the policy making activity as an orderly sequence of development from problem identification and definition, to a solution, implementation and evaluation. The key feature of such models is that they represent attempts to take total account of a policy problem and its solution. While Dror, Etzioni, Lindblom, and Simon and March all reject the idea of a pure comprehensive-rational model, none of these authors is prepared to abandon rationality altogether as unimportant to the policy-making process. While rational stagist models (Parsons, 1995) can provide useful frameworks around which to organise theoretical thinking, they also suffer from severe limitations. Parsons notes that such models encourage a narrow 'managerialist' or 'top-down' approach and therefore a view of policy analysis as "an elite resource rather than as involving a wider social enlightenment" (1995, p. 81).

Lindblom's (1959, 1979) work suggests that while a rational-comprehensive model might act as an heuristic blueprint through which political actors intend to produce policy, this does not make them accurate reflections of practice. Neither does the fact that they can be used in this way point to their efficacy. Simon and March (1993) accept that decision makers work within a self imposed, limited, frame of reference in relation to rationality, and that it is only in exceptional cases that optimal choices are available. The literature (Fernandes and Simon, 1999; Forester, 1984; Lindblom, 1959; Parsons, 1995; Simon, 1997) points to limits of human cognitive capacity to exhaust all possible solutions to problems and the consequential inability of decision makers to make fully rational-comprehensive decisions. It is Simon and March's (1993) contention that policy makers are forced to 'satisfice', or accept satisfactory solutions rather than optimal solutions especially where uncertainty or ambiguity exists. Simon (1997) refers to such limited rationality as being 'bounded'.

Lasswell's construction (1964), as an example of a stagist model, consists of seven functions: prescribing; recommending; intelligence; invoking; application; appraisal; and finally, termination. These functions Lasswell (1964) maintains, are carried out in different parts of the polis and that together they provide an 'ideal' model for policy development. Lasswell (1958, p. 205) also identifies four sets of policy instruments which are part and parcel of the policy making process. These instruments assist the policy maker to manage external relations with others: they are information (words), diplomacy (deals), economics (goods), and force (weapons). Howlett and Ramesh (2003) note that stagist models lack an explanation of the forces which move decision maker attention from one stage to another. According to these authors, confusion also exists as to whose view is reflected when using a stagist approach to describe a 'policy cycle'. Lasswell's construction (Parsons, 1995) is, however, far broader in scope than most stagist models as it focuses on the wider social context within which policy making occurs and is not itself concerned with policy advocacy.

Perhaps the most rigorous application of the rational, stagist method was the Planning –

Programming - Budgeting System (PPBS). Dror notes that PPBS was "a restatement of earlier budgeting theory combined with systems analysis...put into a coherent and integrated framework" (1967, p. 197). Parson's (1995, p. 407) illustration of PPBS bears all the hallmarks of other stagist policy cycle models derived from the classically rational approach. An important feature of the PPBS was its explicitly experimental approach. Vickers (1968) suggests the value of PPBS is limited because of its crude simplification of objectives and the temptation it provides to select a best means for achieving outcomes. The early childhood sector (Rivlin, 1971, p. 102) was no stranger to PPBS methods as the longer term benefits of the HeadStart programme started to be explored. In the opinion of Dror (1967) PPBS had seven important weaknesses: a reliance on quantification to describe variables, an incapacity to deal with conflicting values, a requirement for clear cut criteria, a neglect of political feasibility, a lack of significant treatment of extra-rational decision elements, a destruction of the Gestalt of a problem through sub optimization, and a lack of instruments for taking account of human behaviour. Parsons (1995) argues that although the use of PPBS was largely a failure, and its use discontinued, the way was opened for the use of a more comprehensive use of cost benefit analysis by governments to inform policy making.

Incremental approaches and the policy making process

The incrementalist approach to policy (Colebatch, 1998; Ham and Hill, 1993; Parsons, 1995) tends to regard the policy making process as a series of departures from extant policy and has its earliest associations with Lindblom. Lindblom (1959, 1979) is in general agreement (Ham and Hill, 1993) with March and Simon's (1958, 1993) assessment of the rational-comprehensive model as an unrealistic depiction of policy making process. Rationality for these authors acts as an 'ideal' which for the most part can only be approximated. In Lindblom's 1979 discussion of 'muddling through' he teases out three meanings for incrementalism as policy analysis; simple incrementalism (limited to consideration of variations of existing policies), disjointed incrementalism (more complex consideration of alternatives, values, and consequences by diverse

analysts), and strategic analysis (analysis of complex policy problems through simplifying stratagems). In each of these three scenarios the status quo is regarded as the starting point for policy action rather than any 'ideal state'.

In contrast to March and Simon (1958), Lindblom (1959) and Lasswell (1964) allow for the operation of multiple frames of reference on policy problems. Forester notes, however, that "debates between rational-comprehensive, satisficing and incremental, and more political positions center upon the assumptions made about the actual decision-making situation" (1984, p. 25). In 1994, as an example, Lindblom stated "change is a matter of struggling, not of peaceful cooperative joint effort" (Argyris and Lindblom, 1994). Whereas, according to Forester (1984), March and Simon (1993) propose a fallible actor or cooperating actors as policy maker within a secure context, Lindblom (1959, 1979) concentrates on actors located in competing interest groups whose bargaining contests produce increments of change to existing policy. Lindblom (1959) describes such processing of policy as 'muddling through'. Parsons suggests that it is clear from Lindblom's later works that "Lindblom is not against analysis as such, but is hostile to the ideology that rational analytical techniques could in some way supplant the need for political agreement and consensus" (1995, p. 284).

A number of attempts have been made to synthesize the stagist rational-comprehensive, and incremental, approaches. Notable among these are those of Dror (1964, 1967, 1983) and of Etzioni (1967, 1986). Dror (1964) acknowledges Lindblom's (1959) article as a very valuable contribution to the debate about policy process. Dror notes that Lindblom's approach "is more closely tied to reality, more sophisticated in theory, and more adjusted to human nature" (1964, p. 153). Nonetheless, Dror (1983) remained unconvinced that policy making ought to be reduced to, in Lindblom's words, "seat of the pants...strategies" (1979, p. 519). Dror designed his own policy process model which took account of the relationship of the rational (reality) and extra-rational (value) aspects of human decision making. Dror's (1983) model is an attempt to take account of the 'real world' of policy making. In common with later commentators such as Hogwood and

Gunn (1984), and Bridgman and Davis (1998), Dror uses a cyclic, stagist framework for his model. In Dror's particular case, however, the policy cycle he uses is marked by 18 distinct stages and substages. Dror's cycle initiative is at odds with Lasswell's approach in that it takes "a very technocratic view of the role of policy sciences" (Parsons 1995, p. 437). Dror's work, like Simon and March's (1993) model, assumes a powerful decision-maker in control of the value system and the resources to be applied to the policy process.

Etzioni (1967, 1968, 1986) approach to the middle ground between the rationalist and incremental camps is different to that of Dror. Etzioni's work (Hill, 1997) on mixed-scanning distinguishes between two types of policy-making: fundamental decisions, and incremental decisions. Etzioni opts to discriminate between when one approach is warranted instead of the other. Mixed scanning allows a decision maker to review a decision context and to actively choose the type of decision making which is appropriate to the situation at hand, fundamental or incremental. Smith and May (1980, cited in Hill, 1997; Parsons, 1995) point out, however, that what might be fundamental in one context might be incremental in another. Hill (1997) suggests that a declaration of war, for example, might be deemed either a fundamental or an incremental decision based on the actual circumstances.

Etzioni's (1968) approach could certainly not be labelled 'technocratic'. Central to Etzioni's thesis was that intellectuals, experts, politicians and the wider public are dynamically involved together in the creation and critique of community based value systems which affect social decision making. Etzioni also makes the point that incrementalism is most compatible "with the acceptance of existing power relations" (1986, p. 11). For Etzioni this does not square well with his vision of a society which makes policy based on taking into account other actors and the relationships between them. Etzioni (1986) insists that the obvious basis for a moral community is a global one. A nation state policy-maker, therefore, acts less as an elite member of that society and more as part of a community which is linking, and reality testing its own moral codes, with those of other interdependent supranational communities. A nation-state decision

maker under Etzioni's mixed scanning method, unlike Dror's (above) is not assumed to have complete control over the value systems which influence a policy decision.

The Garbage Can model approach and the policy making process

Cohen, March and Olsen (1972) proposed an alternative way of thinking about policy making which bypassed the rational-incrementalist debate altogether, under certain conditions. Some organisations appeared to Cohen, March, and Olsen (1972, p. 1) to act as 'organised anarchies', particularly universities. The authors described situations of this type as having both unclear goals and unclear technology for meeting those goals, fluctuations of attention on decisions, and members who become active on an occasional basis. Cohen, March and Olsen (1972) proposed a 'garbage can model' for describing the process of reaching decisions under such conditions. Decisions under the model (Cohen, March and Olsen, 1972, p. 3) are said to develop from the interaction of four streams: problems, solutions, the entrance and exit of participants, and choice opportunities. In this early paper Cohen, March and Olsen illustrated the model with a computer simulation and through this managed to demonstrate the complexity of possible interactions in decision situations marked by ambiguity and conflict.

In 1984 Kingdon (Kingdon, 2003) presented an empirical study of 247 interviews conducted between 1976 and 1979. The interviews were with a range of high level, interacting, American policymakers. Kingdon defined 'the agenda' as "the list of subjects or problems to which governmental officials, and people outside of government closely associated with the officials, are paying serious attention at any given time" (2003, p. 3). Kingdon chose an adapted garbage can model comprised of three streams (problem recognition, policy proposal refinement, and politics) to organise his findings, noting that while some issues never make it to the decision agenda, others do.

Using his interview data, Kingdon analysed the conditions under which problems do reach the agenda. Kingdon's assessment is that a given solution is more likely to succeed

where:

> [a]dvocates of a new policy initiative not only take advantage of politically propitious moments but also claim that their proposal is a solution to a pressing problem (2003, pp. 201-2).

Kingdon also suggests that,

> those concerned about a particular problem search for solutions in the policy stream to couple to their problem, then try to take advantage of political receptivity at certain points in time to push the package of problem and solution (2003, p. 202).

Certainly, Kingdon indicates the operation of policy networks, reporting that some participants are less visible than others. The most interesting facet of Kingdon's (2003) model, however, is that he, like Sabatier (1986, 1991, Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith, 1993) and Cohen, March and Olsen (1972) strongly emphasize temporality. That is, that what may not come into being on one occasion is (perhaps in a modified form) still, possibly politically feasible at another time. The importance of timing is also confirmed in the work of other authors in the area of agenda setting including Cobb and Elder (1972, cited in Parsons, 1995), Cobb, Ross, and Ross (1976), and Baumgartner and Jones (1991).

A review of the major approaches to policy process (stagist, incrementalist and garbage can) suggests that problem definition is of critical concern. Kingdon (2003) notes that it is only when a condition, with solutions to hand, becomes regarded as a problem that any action will be taken. There are many, varied, accounts in the literature of *how* (Deutsch, 1963; Easton, 1965; Edelman, 1988; Hogwood and Gunn, 1984; McCombs and Shaw, 1972; Sabatier, 1986; Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith, 1993; Stone, 1989), and of *how fairly* matters of value are treated in relation to social policy once they are deemed problematic

(Bachrach and Baratz, 1962, 1963; Crenson, (1971, cited in Parsons, 1995); Dahl, 1957; Dahrendorf, 1958; Edelman, 1960; Gaventa, 1980; Lukes, 1974, 2005). What seems consistent is that images of a problem are manipulated through the operation of power and influence in contexts that involve more than one actor (Stone, 1989).

Value conflict and resolution: power in the policy making process

It is generally accepted within social policy literature that there are three major treatments of the concept of 'power'. First, the pluralist approach of the kind examined by Dahl (1957), secondly, the two dimensional (so called neo-elitist) approach offered by Bachrach and Baratz (1962; 1963) and thirdly, the three dimensional or radical view outlined by Lukes (1974). This last view affords Lukes an opportunity to define the concept of power by saying: "that A exercises power over B when A affects B in a manner contrary to B's interests" (1974, p. 34). Lukes not only makes it clear that "'interests' is an irreducibly evaluative notion," (1974, p. 34) but also claims that it is not always the case that a person or group can discriminate between their own 'real' and subjective interests. In a later edition of *Power: A Radical View* Lukes disavows his earlier definition of power stating that power "is a capacity not the exercise of that capacity" adding that it may never, or never need to be exercised (Lukes, 2005, p. 12). That is, potential may have a crucial effect.

Dahl (1957) proposed a definition of power which assumed an elitist/pluralist dimension of power. Lukes (1974) is particular in distancing Dahl from a pure formulation of pluralism but notes rather, the decidedly behaviourist tone Dahl adopts. In Parson's view Dahl, and other pluralists, sought to show that power was distributed widely and "the political system so organised that the policy process was essentially driven by public demands and opinions" (Parsons, 1995, p. 134). Dahl's conception therefore appears to be that for the better part, politics is bias free and allows all to contribute to decision making rather than only being subject to elite control. McLennan notes that Dahl rejected 'that the undeniable persistence of class division in society' meant that class "was always

and everywhere the major determinant of politics" (1998, p. 53). What Dahl (Lukes, 1974) was vitally interested in was the rate of successes and failures of participants political initiatives, which he attempted to measure as relative power.

Lukes (1997, p. 45) characterises the one-dimensional view of power as focussing on key issues of decision making which illustrate conflict of an open nature, but only where these are observable. Full understanding of Dahl's (1957) position is not helped by a lack of clarity in his exposition of power. Dahl confounds the terms 'influence', 'authority' and 'power' under the notional term M and thus weakens his construction. Lukes (1974, p. 11) notes Dahl initially gave two different versions of his 'intuitive idea of power', the second of which has a clearly quantitative tone and requires successfully completed action or concrete decisions (Bachrach and Baratz, 1962, p. 948; Lukes, 1974, p. 13) to take effect. Pluralist literature on community power (Merelman, 1968; Wolfinger, 1971) staunchly defended a position that society was not controlled by small powerful elites by insisting that contrary views be empirically tested.

Bachrach and Baratz (1962) present a classic case for a second face of power. While noting a plethora of contradictory studies about power in communities, these two authors point to a basic misalignment of methodology. In their view Dahl's work was assailable because of the stress given to actual observable behaviour in those studied and a lack of distinction between relatively important and unimportant conflicts. Luke (1974, p. 12) points to the elision of the concepts of 'power' and 'influence' among the work of Dahl, and others focusing on the pluralist/elitist dichotomy, which cannot be supported by behavioural study or evidence of actual conflict alone. For Bachrach and Baratz (1962, p. 948) the pluralist view falls short of a complete theory because of its failure to account for problems relating to 'measurement'. The authors point to ways in which influence can be brought to bear, but which remain difficult to measure. In Bachrach and Baratzs' (1963) view, the class of decision which is 'non-decisions' is of great importance when discussing power. They define non-decision making as "the practice of limiting the scope of actual decision-making to "safe" issues by manipulating the dominant values, myths,

and political institutions and procedure" (p.632). Such non-decisions obviously present difficulty in terms of measurement.

Bachrach and Baratz add another dimension to the problem of defining power thus:

> Of course power is exercised when A participates in the making of decisions that affect B. But power is also exercised when A devotes his [sic] energy to creating or reinforcing social and political values and institutional practices that limit the scope of the political process to public consideration of only those issues which are innocuous to A. To the extent that A succeeds in doing this, B is prevented, for all practical purposes, from bringing to the fore any issues that might in their resolution be seriously detrimental to A's set of preferences
> (1962, p. 949).

Following Schattschnieder, Bachrach and Baratz (1962) term this second type of power as 'the mobilisation of bias' noting that some issues are organised into, and some are organised out of politics, thus ensuring that only safe issues make the policy agenda. In their view, while this weeding process may be an unconscious activity, the possibility that someone, or some group, could influence political decision-making by overlooking certain issues rather than acting is too great to ignore. While in Luke's opinion this view of Bachrach and Baratzs' goes some way to revealing shortcomings in the pluralist/elitist framing of power, he criticises it as too limited in that it fails to account for inactivity in leaders and the "sheer weight of institutions"
(1997, p. 46).

Bachrach and Baratz (1963) are insistent that methodologies for obtaining compliance can be typified based on the categories, power, influence, authority, force and manipulation. The authors regard manipulation as a subset of force rather than of power directly. In response to pluralist critique, Bachrach and Baratz (1970) modified their definition of non-decisions. Hill reports the new definition as "a decision that results in

suppression or thwarting of a latent or manifest challenge to the values and interests of the decision-maker" (1997, p. 39), and points to Bachrach and Baratzs' examples of non-decisions, such as the use of force to prevent demands, co-option of groups into decision-making, and the use of rules and procedures, to rebuff challenges. Ultimately, however, for Bachrach and Baratz, non-decisions remain a class of behaviour and the theory therefore suffers because of its consequential quest to catalogue and rate all types of behaviour.

The three-dimensional view, or third face of power (Lukes, 1997, p. 47) offers the possibility of investigating the inactivity of leaders. This is subtly different from Bachrach and Baratzs' construction because it does not consign inactivity to a class of behaviour, but rather, gestures at the infinite possible scope, conscious and unconscious, which we all face at any given time in relation to a cue, and the potential affects on others. This last raises the possibility that power does not necessarily always vest in individuals. Lukes (1997, p. 48) notes that more than one individual might exert an action on a targeted person, achieving the same effect as if another subset of individuals had acted. Lukes (1974) politely refers to the distinction as 'exercising power', as opposed to the 'exercise of power'. Under this construction, 'prevailing thought' might be thought of as a means of exerting power, or as active ideology. Lukes (1974) qualifies his concept of sufficiency for 'exercising power' so that it is restricted to examples where such exercise is effective, but later abandons the concept altogether (Lukes, 2005, p. 70). Nonetheless, Lukes (1974, 2005) allows for not just multiple agents, but also conflicting sufficient causes.

Lukes's construction therefore makes room for the interaction of ideologies and of discourses, but his is clearly based, as is Bachrach and Baratzs', in the Marxist concept of false consciousness. 'False consciousness' in a Marxist sense, implies that subjects are not able to objectively assess their own 'real' interests, having been cowed, deluded, distracted, or duped, into an 'unreal' subjectivity by powerful wielders of capital. Lukes notes:

'False consciousness' is an expression that carries a heavy weight of unwelcome historical baggage. But that weight can be removed if one understands it to refer, not to the arrogant assertion of a privileged access to truths presumed unavailable to others, but rather in the cognitive power of considerable significance and scope: namely, the power to mislead (2005, p.149).

Lukes (1974, 2005) acknowledges that with a position such as his it is essential that assumptions about power are made transparently clear because of the methodological implications for research.

Lukes's (1974, 2005) third face of power begs the question of what real (and hidden) interests an elite might wish to protect by engendering (or failing to prevent) a faulty assessment by others of a policy situation. In Lukes's (1974) opinion it is possible for people to be socialised into believing that what is actually in the interests of the elite, is in their own interests. Lukes (2005) defends the possibility that people thus dominated may accord legitimacy to those who shape their choices. As a consequence, whereas Bachrach and Baratz are merely consigned to look for evidence that certain issues are kept off the agenda by powerful elites, Lukes (1974) has the task of debating the objectivity of self interest assessments made by those less powerful than elites.

Later, Lukes states that it is too simplistic to say that "'willing' and 'unwilling' compliance to domination are mutually exclusive: one can consent and resent the mode of its exercise" (2005, p. 150) and cites as an example, how plastic surgery can be used rationally as a tool to lift economic chances and personal happiness without internalising illusions about 'beauty'. Following Lukes, therefore, it becomes methodologically possible, at least in part, to enquire directly of the less powerful about their own interests and the impediments power places before them, but it is not necessarily true than the less powerful can provide insight into what is withheld from them, or the manner in which they might be misled.

Lukes (2005) cites Foucault as an important figure in relation to thinking about power, and notes that claims have been made (Digeser, 1992) that Foucault's view constitutes a fourth face of power. Digeser (1992, p. 979) suggests that Foucault provides for a fourth face of power (power[4]) which relates to the structures that govern the thinking of subjects and operating. In Digeser's assessment, Foucault understands subjects not as individuals themselves but as constructions resulting from the practices within social contexts, and whose creation can be historically described. This leads to a different type of enquiry. Rather than asking as Dahl does,'who has power?', or as Bachrach and Baratz do, 'what is kept off the agenda and by whom?', or as Luke's does, 'whose interests are harmed?', the question becomes, 'what kind of subject is being produced?' To investigate power[4] Digeser suggests "focusing research not on the effects of biases on issues or on the violation of true interests, but rather on the sources and effects of norms and values regardless of their bias or truth" (1992, p. 982).

Lukes notes that Foucault (1980) extends the concept of power so that it encompasses not only repression but production. Thus, as Foucault has it,

> [w]hat makes power hold good, what makes it accepted, is simply that it doesn't only weigh on us as a force that says no, but that it traverses and produces things, it induces pleasure, forms knowledge, produces discourse" (1980, p. 119).

Foucault's central point seems to be that power is so tightly woven into every aspect of the social system that "one should not assume a massive and primal condition of domination, a binary structure with 'dominators' one side and 'dominated' on the other, but rather a multiform production of relations of domination which are partially susceptible of integration into overall strategies..." (1980, p. 142). Operating,

> not built up out of 'wills' (individual or collective), nor [...] derivable from interests. Power is constructed and functions on the basis of particular powers,

myriad issues, myriad effects of power. It is this complex domain which must be studied. That is not to say, that in a capitalised society, power is independent or could be made sense of outside of a context of economic processes and the relations of production (1980, p. 188).

A vast resource is generated within capitalist society, a variable proportion of which is stored privately or reinvested in the means of resource production, and a proportion held by the state in the common interest. While the distribution and redistribution and regulation of the resource base (Lowi, 1972), and its means of production (Millibrand, 1969, 1994; Offe, 1984, 1985; Pierson, 1998; Poulanzis, 1973, 1978; Salaman, 1981) must remain of concern, this present thesis is focused more keenly on the interplay of actors and networks which are interested in the way resource distribution is handled.

Structural considerations: network theory

Hill (1997) alerts us to theoretical changes over time in the way the state is regarded. Hill suggests (1997, p. 41) that earlier approaches to the state (such as corporatist, pluralist and elitist theoretical accounts) failed to regard the important parts: policy networks, the 'bureau shaping' activities of civil servants, the 'core executive' of the state, and constitutional constraints placed on the state may play in the policy making process. It is Hill's (1997) view that "quite complex social, cultural and institutional analysis is needed to explore the role of the state in the policy process" (pp. 96-97). This involves examination of the ideology and beliefs of policy contributors. Not only, according to Hill, is the 'state' not 'monolithic' but a vital part of understanding its operation is to investigate the continuous bargaining and interaction process it has with both the public and private sectors through the medium of networks.

Wellman (1983) describes several traditions of network analysis but strongly notes that they have been built up only from empirical research and oral lore. Wellman suggests that network analysis has not yet developed a cohesive theoretical underpinning but

"analysts start with the simple, but powerful, notion that the primary business of sociologists is to study social structure" (1983, p.156). He points to the way network research deemphasizes the reasons people do certain things and concentrates on the structural constraints on behaviour. Wellman suggests that there are a range of approaches and not all network analysts ignore people's reasons, but that the quest is to search for "*deep* structures – regular network patterns beneath the often complex surface of social systems [emphasis in original]" (1983, p. 157).

There are a number of expressions of network analysis within the social policy discipline, of which the garbage can model (above) is one. The garbage model does, however, focus principally on agenda setting rather than discussing deeper structural patterns. Kingdon (2003) discusses the potential for 'spillovers' between policy domains but does not discuss them in specific terms. Others (March and Rhodes, 1992; Smith, 1992, 1993) make greater efforts to find structural patterns including those of exclusivity, ideology, duration and cohesion in policy. Smith (1993), for example, identifies eight dimensions of difference which allow for differentiation within policy *domains*, and between policy *communities* and issue *networks*. These dimensions are: size, continuity, frequency of interaction, consensus, exchange relationships, resource, the importance of power, and the structure of organisations.

Smith agrees with Laumann and Knoke, defining a policy domain as "a set of actors with major concerns, whose preferences and actions on policy events must be taken into account by other domain participants", and also with Hogwood that "potential policy networks can be arranged along a continuum from an issue network to a policy community" (1993, pp. 76-7). Smith (1992, 1993) argues the need to identify exchanges of resources and to reflect on changes over time. The point at which any given 'policy network' ceases to be a discrete unit in terms of its relationship with the state, is critical. This point is key to discussing spillovers as identified by Kingdon (2003). Padgett (1980, p. 585) identifies a mechanism of this kind within the United States administration, from a garbage can perspective, as do Hogwood and Gunn (1984, p. 104) within the British

context, from a mixed scanning policy making perspective, as issues are 'kicked upstairs'.

Benson (1975, 1982) suggests that in the process of policy making, the operation of inter-organisational networks can be evidenced. Two essential elements must be considered. First, the limits (Benson, 1982) which are placed on resource dependent actors in an inter-organisational context must be understood, and secondly, similarly, the limits under which the political-administrative system itself operates (Offe, 1984) have to be appreciated. Benson suggests that 'policy sectors' (such as the inter-relating organisations which make up the early education sector) are arenas "in which public policies are decided and implemented...and are commonly held typifications that are part of the stock of knowledge held by politicians, bureaucrats, lobbyists, and others" (1982, p. 147). For Benson, such policy sectors are multileveled and governed at each level by a set of patterned practices.

Benson (1982, p. 149) distinguishes the following levels:

Level I:
1. Administrative arrangements (division of labour)
2. Policy paradigms
3. Interorganisational dependencies

Level II:
1. Interest-power structures
2. Rules of structure formation

Benson contends that at the most surface level administrative arrangements are relatively volatile, and to some extent conflict and difference within a policy sector is able to be tolerated and accommodated. At the paradigm level too, policy directions for the whole sector change over time. Benson notes "a policy paradigm must be inferred from the practices followed within the sector" (1982, p. 150). At the inter-organisational level

Benson observes that many policy sectors may interact and be dependant on the same flow of resource. Although coalitions form at this level and may be observed to compete, Benson is concerned to analyze, "the connections between policy paradigms, administrative arrangements, and resource dependencies in historically specific macro-structural contexts" (1982, p. 152). To do this in the early education sector would be to locate such connections, and to follow them over time in preparation for a fuller analysis.

At the deeper structural level (Level II) of interest-power structures Benson identifies four groups of participants: demand groups, support groups, administrative groups, and provider groups. These groups make claims on how things should be done in the policy sector and are involved in a constant struggle for dominance. There is a point at which significant changes in the interest-power structures of a sector must be reflected at a deeper social and structural level. The 'deep rules of structure' (Benson, 1982, p. 167; Ham and Hill 1993) govern structures which are at any given time internally contradictory. If these contradictions become too great, either through drifts, in practice or excessive demand, a crisis occurs and change may be forced to structures or deep rules.

There is some resonance between Sabatier's (1988, 1991; Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith, 1993) account of policy subsystems and Benson's. Whereas Kingdon ([1984], 2003) simply describes the operation of interest groups in agenda setting, a pluralist position, Sabatier's (1988) advocacy coalition model of policy subsystems, asserts the importance of elite opinion. In Benson's (1982) typology, both Kingdon's (2003) and Sabatier's models would be located at Level II (1) or within interest-power structures. Sabatier (Parsons, 1995; Sabatier, 1988; Schlager and Blomquist, 1996), however, offers a way of describing progressive change to the belief structures of interest coalitions from the moderately easy secondary aspects (instrumental decisions), to policy core (fundamental policy and strategy positions), to the very hard to change deep core of fundamental norms and beliefs. Sabatier argues (Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith, 1993), as does Parsons (1995, p. 614) that research should focus on changes in elite opinion over a long period in time to

understand the factors which induce change.

Offe (1984) points to essential subsystems which make up the capitalist state, and which are in continual tension. In Offe's account each of the economic and legitimation subsystems feed the political-administrative system with unique vital resources, money and mandate. The political-administrative system influences the rate of exchange between the economic system and legitimation system through the tolls of regulation and provision of welfare state services. In a mixed economy, however, it would be a serious mistake to equate legitimation with a suggestible voter population. Offe (1984, p.26) emphasizes the normative action of interested parties. A serious anomaly in the trade off between economy and legitimation may result in tension *within* the political-administrative system. If Offe is to be believed, destructive tension within the executive and how it is handled is, therefore, a critical part of policy analysis within a capitalist state. Offe (Ham and Hill, 1993) suggests that various ideological and procedural exclusions operate (Bachrach and Baratz 1962, 1963) to prevent the entrance onto the agenda, of non-capitalist demands and considerations.

An appreciation of the complex dialogue that occurs between the state and its environment in a structural sense seems to be vital to an analysis of an instance of government policy making, but is perhaps not the sole requirement. As Hill insists (above) social and cultural considerations are important as well as the institution of the state and networks. Ideological content is a feature of these types of interaction.

Symbolic issues in the policy making process

The attention that Bachrach and Baratz (1962, 1963, 1970 cited in Hill, 1997), Lukes (1974, 1986, 2005), Gaventa (1980) and Offe (1984, 1985) pay to the possibility that powerful elites can prevent others from accessing the agenda with potentially 'dangerous' policy proposals begs an important question. What are the means, media and structures that groups and individuals *could* use to access the agenda? That is, over what would an

elite have to have the capacity to control in order to ensure that the policy agenda remained innocuous to its interests? It seems obvious that first, symbolic reinterpretation of nascent issues would be a necessity, and second, that points of entry would be critical to such a strategy,

Symbolic control applied to elites is often referred to as 'hegenomy'. For the present purpose it is sufficient to define hegemony (after Laitin) as:

> the political forging - whether through coercion or elite bargaining - and institutionalization of a pattern of group activity in a society and the concurrent idealization of that schema into a dominant symbolic framework that reigns as commonsense (Laitin, 1985, p. 287).

Edelman (1960, 1971, 1977) concurs, suggesting that it is not possible for a political perception to persist unless others share and believe in it. March and Olsen (1976), and Edelman (1971) pay specific attention to the phenomenon of public controversy, and its relation to the symbolic reassurance by organised groups, of the disorganised. March and Olsen suggest that most "theories of decision making emphasize the decision process as a procedure for producing outcomes" (1976, p. 47), but observe a tendency for major policy decisions to lead to little change. They attribute this to the "main concern and pleasure" (ibid) being in the symbolic content of the debate, the exercise and reinforcement of ideology, and the education that takes place, rather than implementation. Edelman also links symbolic interpretation and policy stating that, "Because public policies and rhetoric can create misleading beliefs about the causes and the nature of...problems, they also ensure that the problems will not be dealt with as effectively as they might be" (1977, p. 28).

Moral panic

Although social problems and moral panics overlap (Goode and Ben-Yehuda, 1994), a

'moral panic' is a special case of symbolic debate which occurs only in the presence of a 'folk devil'. Goode and Ben-Yehuda note that in the presence of a 'folk devil', collectives may evolve whose behaviour is, "relatively spontaneous, volatile, evanescent, emergent, extra-institutional, and short-lived" (1994, p. 104). An example of particular relevance to the present thesis is the concept of the male paedophile teacher, who, at least in the imagination of some members of the public, presented a realistic threat to children in early childhood, primary and secondary schools. 'Panic', however, seems to have affected early childhood services earlier than other New Zealand educational institutions. Goode and Ben-Yehuda (1994) note that moral panics have four essential characteristics: topicality, ambiguity or uncertainty/doubt, the ability to produce anxiety, and a factor of credulity or willingness to believe.

Three theoretical possibilities (Goode and Ben-Yehuda, 1994) suggest themselves as explanations of the creation and maintenance of moral panics: a grassroots explanation, an interest group explanation, and an elite engineered explanation. Goode and Ben-Yehuda argue that in most cases elite engineered models are unsatisfactory but that a grassroots explanation serves to shed light on the fears, moral content, and ideology surrounding a moral panic and a interest group explanation "enables us to see how this raw material is intensified and mobilized" (1994, p. 142). Cohen (1972, cited in Goode and Ben-Yehuda; Parsons, 1995; 1987, cited in Hood, 2001) illustrates the powerful way in which the news media can influence the development of moral panic by creating and distorting the stereotypical threats, and shaping their context. Hood says it all, stating "scientific reality is one thing and social reality is something else again, and the social reality was that child abuse was an idea whose time had come" (2001, p.46). For male early education teachers in New Zealand, events surrounding the 'Christchurch Civic Creche case' produced a unique insight into folk devildom.

Summary

The issue of dwindling numbers of male early educators cannot be isolated from other social policy problems and the ideological preferences of interest groups. Using public money from the TeachNZ scheme to restore gender balance in the sector has its critics but the extent to which a policy entrepreneur such a Smith can propose and influence such policy decisions is a fascinating question.

The chapter above has broadly identified the major approaches to policy making. It should be helpful as an aid to understanding both the interviews which form an important part of the material on which the study is based and to interpreting media accounts gathered as indicators of negotiation and bargaining between interest groups.

The following chapter provides a framework for analysing the data gathered as part of the study. A framework has been constructed using the adapted garbage can model (Kingdon, 2003) to describe the agenda setting process. Matland's (1995) typology of implementation research has also been used to allow fuller discussion of 'spillovers' as described by Kingdon, to protect against some flaws critics have identified in Kingdon's work and to provide the possibility of following policy making action beyond agenda setting and through to the implementation phase. To do this it is important to understand something of the nature of Smith's proposal and the means necessary to implement it.

CHAPTER 3: A FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYSIS

This thesis is concerned with events in a very large policy sector. Early education involves the families of the greater percentage of those with young children, and makes a huge contribution to the economic system simply by liberating people to work or take part in other activities rather than tending to their children personally. This is the case not just for early childhood centres and services, but also for schools. The sector also provides for the early education of young children and as a result many people have a stake in education policy. These people include the government, the bureaucracy, businesses and the media in addition to the public, children, their parents, and the teaching workforce itself. Many individuals and groups are actively involved and the networks involved in policy making interaction complex because early education acts as both a valuable service and resource for many different purposes.

Kingdon's (2003) adapted garbage can model outlined in *Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies* has been selected as the principal descriptive tool for analysing policy making interaction. Matland's (1995) typology provides an opportunity to examine the contexts in which policy making and implementation occur.

Kingdon's adapted garbage model

Kingdon's (2003) model is an important part of what is required in the present circumstance. As an example of the garbage can approach Kingdon's (2003) approach differs from the classic garbage can model of Cohen, March and Olsen (1972) in that it features three, rather than four, largely independent streams of policy making activity. Whereas the original garbage model proposed streams of problems, solutions, participants and choice opportunities, Kingdon's account distinguishes only three streams: problems, solutions and politics. Choice is, however, not neglected by Kingdon. He suggests that policy 'windows' may open for well prepared actors (policy

entrepreneurs) and that such windows are combinations of political circumstance and current events creating favourable climates for entrepreneurs to propose solutions to perceived policy problems. Kingdon notes, that some policy windows such as when a policy is reviewed occur predictably but others are quite unpredictable (2003, p. 165). He further suggests that "[t]aking advantage of a given window sometimes establishes a principle that will guide future decisions within a policy arena [and at] other times, a precedent spills over from one arena into an adjacent one" (Kingdon, 2003, p. 165). Thus, for example, a window which opens for primary education, might be an indication that a similar window might soon open for early childhood.

Kingdon cites four core groups as being particularly important: the bureaucracy; interest groups and the media; politicians, and academics. He proposes that their interaction takes place in two kinds of network cluster, hidden and visible. Kingdon (2003, p. 68) notes that although the cluster types overlap, hidden clusters are comprised of specialists, academics and researchers and career bureaucrats who operate outside the glare of the media, and visible clusters which receive a lot of press. Interest groups "travel between the two clusters, with some of their activities very public and others hardly visible at all" (Kingdon, 2003, p. 68). In both accounts it is suggested that "participants drift in and out of decision making" (Kingdon, 2003, pp. 84-5). This networking produces, and churns, problems and solutions but it is the policy entrepreneurs, according to Kingdon who, in light of political and current events, fashion combinations of solution and problem and attempt to place them high on the government agenda, through good timing and readiness.

Tiernan and Burke suggest that to,

> many academics, [Kingdon's] model may seem deceptively simple, offering new categorisations on the fairly obvious theme of policy-making, but its contribution to applied policy-making knowledge is the model's greatest value. By offering a real-world framework for understanding the patterns and structures of agenda-

setting - in particular, the loose relationship between problems and policies - participants and stakeholders become more informed and perhaps better equipped to pursue a more genuine problem-solving approach. (2002, p. 88)

Care must be taken with such analysis, Mucciaroni (1992) suggests. There is a need to demonstrate how issues become salient over time. While nothing in the garbage can model excludes examining the impact of historical antecedents, Mucciaroni finds Kingdon's account deficient because we want to know not only that

problems existed and how they caught people's attention, but also how the problems got to be that way and why people came to think of them as problematic. This requires showing how problems evolve over time, rather than how they suddenly "get hot"
(1992, p. 471).

Tiernan and Burke (2002) suggest that this problem in Kingdon's exposition may be addressed by applying the model within a specific institutional situation. If this is done, Tiernan and Burke (2002) suggest, the relationship between the occurrence of poor combinations of problem and solution in an institution's past can lead to better understanding of policy process and improved pathways out of chaotic decision-making.

Although Kingdon's ([1984] 2003) approach has perceived limitations (Hill, 1997; Mucciaroni, 1992) his adaptation of the garbage can approach to policy process is an attractive descriptive tool for the issue at hand. Kingdon (2003) describes the manner in which policy entrepreneurs wrestle with problem definitions, potential solutions, political currents and events, to place their own preferences high on the government agenda. In Kingdon's model readiness is everything, and what may not be possible at one point in time may be very achievable at another, if packaged correctly. Mucciaroni's (1992, p. 482) three overall points about the garbage can approach should, however, receive methodological attention, they are; first, that the model is set at too high a level of

generalization, second, that it neglects structural factors in favour of the temporality and, third, that it emphasises the independence of problems, solutions and politics, rather than the linkages between them. Mucciaroni is concerned to know "*what kinds* of problem are coupled with what kinds of solution and, in turn, the kinds of political conditions that make it more likely for them to get on the agenda" (emphasis in original 1992, p. 464).

Matland's typology of implementation research

Whether the fact that Smith's TeachNZ proposal (1999) was not included in the budget round for 2000 counts as an example of 'failed political implementation' (Matland, 1995) is a moot point. Given the reality that National lost the general election that year it hardly mattered. It definitely could be considered an example of failed agenda-setting by a Cabinet Minister. More interesting was that the issue surfaced in the subsequent election year. By then Smith's political context had completely changed. He was no longer attempting to implement the policy, but to put it on the political agenda.

Matland's (1995) work complements Kingdon's approach and is necessary here for two reasons. First, through his use of 'conflict' and 'ambiguity' as variables Matland is capable of not only categorizing implementation research (the original intention), but also of locating diverse activity in all phases of policy making. Matland's (1995, p. 147) approach emphasises the intertwined nature of the agenda setting, policy making and implementation processes, and how they (and those responsible for each) influence one another and outcomes. Bachrach and Baratz agree and suggest that for the purposes of analysis, the issue, decision, and implementation processes can generally be treated in the same way" (1970, p. 62). Secondly, and more specifically, the agenda setting process for a new policy or a change in policy inevitably competes with the implementation process of other policies. Both 'agenda-setting' and 'implementation' require to be mapped onto the same framework for analysis purposes.

The diagram below is adapted in title only so as to demonstrate its applicability for use by

policy entrepreneurs who wish to influence policy outcomes. Matland's (1995) distinctions are left unaltered.

Figure 1: *Requirements for implementation by relative conflict and ambiguity combinations.*

CONFLICT

	Low	High
Low	*Administrative Implementation* Resources Example: Smallpox erradication	*Political Implementation* Power Example: Busing
High	*Experimental Implementation* Contextual Conditions Example: Headstart	*Symbolic Implementation* Coalition Strength Example: Community action agencies

AMBIGUITY

(Adapted from: Matland, 1995, p. 160)

If policy entrepreneurs, visible or hidden, are to use agenda-setting processes to ensure the implementation of particular 'solution/problem' combinations, as suggested by Kingdon (2003), they need a very clear idea of the direction in which to head for resources and authority, and the tools (Lasswell, 1958, p. 205, 1964) required.

Matland (1995, p.145) provides a more structural tone than Kingdon, and he variously associates each of the four possible high/low combinations of conflict and of ambiguity with paradigms of implementation research. The paradigm labels Matland uses for his quadrants are: *administrative, political, experimental* and *symbolic*. It should be noted

that the foundation of Kingdon's ([1984] 2003) own work, the garbage can model, is associated with the experimental quadrant. The administrative quadrant features the "rational decision-making process...Goals which are given and a technology (means) for solving the existing problem is known" (Matland, 1995, p. 160). The political quadrant needs little explication, but the central importance of the symbolic quadrant to the present case, however, does need to be outlined.

Smith and Matland's symbolic quadrant

In 1999 and 2003 Smith was fighting an election. In those years he also attempted to engineer a shift in the re-distribution of government resources to encourage men into primary teaching. This required a 'tweak' in existing policy. On both occasions, however, Smith was without the power base to make that change and his only recourse (or perhaps purpose) was to gather support from a range of quarters. This last is critically important because the TeachNZ scheme was already providing subsidy to a wide range of people. As a policy entrepreneur, Smith had chosen a definite problem/solution set and by 2003, he would have been aware that the early childhood sector was also vitally interested in the scheme because of its relevance to the *Strategic Plan* (MOE, 2002). Smith decided that if his agenda setting activity stood a chance of being implemented in terms of government endorsement and resources to back it, it would arrive at that point through symbolic means. In this sense the use of Matland's (1995) framework is entirely appropriate.

'Quadrants' have little to do with particular institutions but everything to do with the nature of a policy and the means necessary to implement it. Matland identifies the symbolic quadrant as rife with both conflict and ambiguity. It is the symbolic nature of the activity which takes place and its attributes which are important. Symbolic activity surrounding a policy might well take place in Cabinet, or business interest groups, early childhood centres or schools, for example, but is simply more visible and accessible an activity for a potential entrepreneur, particularly those without networks or resources,

through the eye of the media.

Matland (1995, p.157) discusses both ambiguity of goals and ambiguity of means, noting that ambiguous policy (p.158) can have the effect of reducing conflict and leaving groups and individuals to have multiple perspectives of what is a 'real' problem, especially when the means for solving it are uncertain. Policy construction through agenda setting is more dynamic than the implementation of received policy but as Matland (1995, p. 159) adds, although he presents ambiguity and conflict as dichotomous,

> this is strictly to simplify the exposition. The theoretical constructs are continuous. As a policy gradually moves across a dimension, for example from low to high conflict, the implementation process is expected increasingly to show the characteristics of the paradigm being moved toward and decreasingly to show the characteristics of the paradigm being moved away from. There is no tipping point…

Ideological groups (policy elites) compete, but they also can negotiate with one another (Edelman, 1971, 1988; Kingdon, 2003; March and Olsen, 1976; Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith, 1993) to ensure that their interests are protected, and that their perception of problem and solution would prevail should ambiguity no longer exist, conflict emerge, and power be applied. Adjusting the scope of their earlier position, Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1993, p. 221) point to layers of the belief system of groups and individuals in the hope that policy learning can be improved if such belief systems are given internal categories. At the most outer layer, the authors suggest, secondary aspects such as beliefs related to instrumental decisions are relatively easily traded as a price of coalition building, but at the 'policy core' and the deep core of fundamental norms and beliefs change is progressively more difficult.

Tools for analysis

Vickers (1965, 1968) has provided four general categories of analysis to consider. It is Vickers' view that policy decisions must be analysed with an appreciation of the value/reality construction of decision makers in order to understand the difficulties under which they operate. Vickers (Parsons, 1995), like Tiernan and Burke (2002), also notes the importance of the institutional settings in which decisions are made including limitations, change, accountability and what is meant by success. There are also, according to Vickers (1965), situational considerations to be taken into account, that is, the relationship between the worlds of ideas and events. Vickers is interested in whether a decision has been made as a result of conflict and bargaining, for instance, and emphasises the necessity of concentrating on the multiple values that are involved in making decisions. Finally, Vickers (1965) is concerned to know about how a decision affects society as a whole, its ecological importance and the function the policy making process performs in terms of social learning.

Summary

Kingdon's (2003) model, combined with that of Matland (1995), provides a reasonable guide in the present case. Matland's (1995) review of the policy implementation literature provides some insight as to how to construct a suitable map, and Kingdon's ([1984], 2003) work provides a descriptive tool for the long term policy network dynamic which operates in the early education context.

At least four results are possible. First, given its lack of ambiguity and with political backing from the government, a Smith-like policy proposal would be forwarded to the executive branch for implementation. Secondly, if a Smith-like intention could not be welded with a government endorsed policy solution, the issue would fall back to the sector to implement. To prevent this, government backing must be sufficient to impel the bureaucracy and political competitors. Thirdly, failing a reduction of ambiguity and a

solution implemented from the top down, the sector would either respond by solving the highly ambiguous problem in a low conflict environment, or fourthly, due to increasing conflict which could not be absorbed into one, either, or both early education environments (primary and ECCE), a return of the 'problem' to the symbolic arena where it would remain on the pseudo-agenda and continue to lie in wait for a policy window for placement on the formal agenda, and political attention.

The following chapter concentrates on the methodological approach required to enact the framework for analysis above. It seems there is an inescapable need to appreciate the beliefs of participants not just in terms of ideologies but the strategies they use for promoting their beliefs and the trade-offs they are prepared to make. This involves careful methodological planning and an open approach to data gathering both in terms of what might 'count' as important, and time. In later chapters special attention is paid to apparent similarities and differences in the accounts of the participants. The organisations and groups which participants regard as significant players in the political process under review need to be identified, with an eye to their location in terms of the policy networks known to be operating on the issue.

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY

It should be emphasized that the methodology used allows only for an exploration of the political context of the proposal. There are multiple reasons for this, many of which were only fully appreciated during the course of the research. Not only is the number of people participating in the study very small, but the number of people interested in the general topic very large. As noted above, the actual problem which Nick Smith attempted to address is extremely difficult to define. It would be a mistake, here, to attempt more than a description of the problem, to gather opinions about it, and to chart its policy course.

Where the names and/or positions of participants in the study are not necessary to argumentation, confidentiality has been provided. Two politicians were interviewed, Nick Smith from the National Party and Deborah Coddington from ACT. Two senior Public Service policy analysts participated, as did the CEO of the Early Childhood Council Sue Thorne and a young male early childhood worker. These six (6) people all influenced and reacted to both primary and early childhood policy in some way. By reflecting on the views of these people it was hoped to determine, where the decision was taken not to use the TeachNZ scheme to recruit men specifically, by whom it was taken, and for what reasons.

Methods

If the Smith proposal is narrowly seen as a struggle for competitive advantage over limited government funding, clearly, it is either an unusual example of what is a fairly common problem with the redistribution of state funding, or an unwarranted 'grab' of additional funding by an undeserving group. Taxpayers, beneficiaries, newborns, and others are involved and unless benefits of the policy proposed accrue to such groups, many might see scholarships for men as being unnecessary and unfair. Defined as an indication of a social problem, however, significant questions arise in terms of cultural

value placed on men's work in early learning. Given the scale of the study important perspectives will be unavailable and that the consequences of those perspectives being unavailable, unknowable. Great care is needed when making conclusions. They need to be tentative.

Because of the actual policy status of the Smith proposal, the study is to some extent 'something about nothing'. The proposal did not proceed in its suggested form either in 1999, or in 2004, or even in 2005 when significant changes were made to TeachNZ target groups after a period of intense political struggle. Significant early education scholarship funding (without regard to the sex of the recipient) was, however, made available in 2004. There is a risk that more could be read into Smith's proposal than is merited. No attempt is made to attribute 'blame' for the success or failure of the proposal, but rather, effort has been given to understanding the relationships between regulations, processes, stakeholder groups, and belief systems, which might have affected its course.

Obtaining accounts from the participants was more difficult than anticipated and took far longer than the initial time line available. The difficulties involved in these processes were minimal, however, compared with the problem of balancing and locating the participants' accounts. Participants, for example, were not consistent in their use of terms such as 'family' or 'community'. The accounts are ultimately expressions of opinion. The responses which participants offered during the interviews reflect their own understanding of the dimensions of the topic. If the study is to represent more than the collection of six sets of opinions, these opinions must be considered as examples from multiple contexts, and their relationship within the overall policy making process explained.

Significant and powerful opinions are missing from the account. A detailed exploration of the policy making context is, therefore, not possible through the interview accounts alone. The accounts were registered against a common public record. A running media account seemed most practical for that purpose but the accounts must also be considered

in relation to the backdrop of Government regulation and initiatives, research, and other stakeholders' interests (Alton-Lee and Praat, 2000, p. 293). There is a danger that breadth of scope could lead to missing important detail if the framework were either not robust or not generally acceptable. As defined the Smith proposal has implications which ensure that different people define it and react to it differently. At a simple level it would possible, for instance, for an interested party to define Smith's proposal as a desirable social goal in itself, as a policy instrument, or, perhaps, simply as a device to alert attention to a vaguely defined social problem. One way of teasing this difficulty out is to reveal the kind of implementation necessary to enact Smith's proposal as a policy noting which interest groups might support it, and some possible reasons for their support. It is essential as well to explore the political feasibility of Smith's proposal.

The interviews were audio taped and transcribed as soon as practicable. A draft transcript of each participant's interview, for correction and edit, was returned simultaneously with the exception of the final participant whose interview did not take place until 2006. One participant requested minor changes in the script. Subsequently, the transcripts were committed to computer file. Two of the participants asked at the time of interview for an indication of the context in which their interviews would be placed. Attempts were made to comply with these requests. It is not known, however, whether these attempts were helpful.

Participants

Choosing participants

The criteria for selecting participants were as follows:

-       Knowledge of the 1999 decision not to offer TeachNZ sponsorships to train men as primary educators;

- Insight into the value and gender politics of specifically recruiting males to work with young children

- Willingness to respond to the political positioning of the other policy makers;

- Involvement whether as individuals or members of institutions, in national early childhood decision-making within the period between 1995, and 2006.

Clearly, six people could not have complete knowledge of the circumstances of such an issue, and in fact, no claim is made beyond the participants having interesting perspectives and a practical interest in the issue. Some of the individuals selected made strong caveats regarding the extent of their knowledge, or their ability to speak about a particular aspect of the issues involved. Such caveats can only be respected and thus ensure incomplete coverage of the issues overall. The range of participants is, however, such that the policy problems and processes involved in the '1999 Smith proposal' can be discussed in an informed, if not complete, way.

An equal number of men and women participated in the study.

Gaining access to participants

Initial requests for interview were sent in early August 2003. The first return was received in the first week following. Fourteen contacts were eventually required to produce the participant group of six.

Several difficulties were experienced. The most obvious of these difficulties was that all potential participants were/are extremely busy people. The selection process itself forced a consideration of the very wide range of people who had an active interest in the topic, both in relation to early education, and in terms of social policy making. Three politicians were approached with invitations to participate. One did not respond to an initial request,

but after a subsequent invitation, wrote to decline. The two other politicians provided interviews.

The invitation caused some difficulties for teacher representative groups. It was not until a second contact was made with a large organisation representing professional educators that it became clear that another closely related initiative was about to unfold within the political environment. This event was the launch, in late September 2003, of Ian Livingstone's research *Men in Primary Teaching in New Zealand: A Literature Review*. This work was commissioned by the NZEI and embargoed until its release date. Both NZEI and the author supplied copies of the review during the period of the embargo so it was possible to observe media coverage following the release of the review, and to appreciate the way the issue was made topical in the minds of political figures.

Despite the obvious interest in related issues shown by teachers' organisations it was not possible to interview a representative of the major teacher union. Neither was it possible to obtain an interview with a representative of the Teachers Council. Both organisations declined to provide a representative. To counter this difficulty a more generic definition of 'union' was adopted, which nevertheless met selection criteria. This afforded an opportunity for a group of co-operating private providers to be represented and for consideration of early childhood workers covered by individual contracts rather than awards. The inclusion of a contribution of the Early Childhood Council CEO can be justified on the basis that the Council operates on similar structural lines to organisations such as Te Tari Puna Ora o Aotearoa/NZCA. These organisations act as important generators of early education policy which affects both educators and employers. Each of these organisations is also strongly linked to the wider political context.

Gaining access to a representative of the Ministry of Education (MOE) was without doubt the most difficult problem in terms of gaining access to a participant. An assessment of the MOE corporate structure (Ministry of Justice, 1999) indicated several areas which might be influential in terms of the aims of the study. It was a bewildering

task, however, to assess the level at which to make contact. Duke (2002) and Sarantakos (1998) note that access and establishing rapport can be difficult when researching policy networks. After an initial request was made the researcher was referred to two other possible participants. Of these, one replied but was unable to assist due to workload. As the involvement of a Ministry participant was critical to the study I sought advice through a personal contact and was swiftly, and successfully, referred to a Senior Early Childhood Policy Analyst.

In sum, six interviews were conducted, two with politicians, two within the greater bureaucracy, one with an early childhood organisation CEO, and one with a newly qualified male early childhood worker. Three of the interviews were conducted in Auckland, and the remaining three over a two day period in Wellington.

Justification

The study

Few studies are available on male involvement in early education. It is not known if any exist on the specific area within the specific social policy or political domains. It is highly likely that the present study represents new ground in this regard. Beyond this, because of my personal involvement in early childhood education over a number of years, it is to some extent a 'lived study'. The issues surrounding male and early education and males working with young children have attracted considerable media coverage over a period of five years, particularly in relation to the abuse of children. There seems to be some merit in bringing an inside view to the debate and relating it to the overall policy struggles in the early learning sector.

A further set of reasons to justify the study can also be found in terms of social policy. The point at issue in Smith's proposal is an excellent example of a 'wicked' problem (Churchman, 1967; Bridgman and Davis, 1998) in that it is difficult to solve because of

the complexity of its component parts. To solve such a problem a rigorous process of definition is required. Successful investigation of the topic, therefore, is likely to produce insights as to how the social policy machine deals with problems of this nature.

The methods

The early learning political environment can be highly charged. People can be extremely sensitive about the idea of men working with young children. For this reason the protection of participants, and self protection, were important issues. It was decided that the methods used should be as simple and uncontentious as possible.

It was clear prior in the interviews that participants had differing obligations and restrictions placed on them as a result of their employment and interests. As a researcher removed from the sphere of operation of the participants it was difficult to anticipate fully their circumstances or interests. The interview framework had, therefore, to afford sufficient freedom for participants to make their perspectives clear and to exercise some measure of control over the structure of the interview. To allow for this to happen the initial questions were simply intended as discussion starters.

It became clear after failing to gain access to some key decision makers that key ideological positions could not be responded to based on the interviews. This had the potential to undermine the validity of the study. To counter this potential weakness, freely available information was sought from media accounts, policy statements, government media releases and Ministerial Announcements, and parliamentary proceedings. In this way it was hoped to keep an overview of the issue and the context in which it was debated. The approach had the merits of being cheap and readily accessible and also required little specialised knowledge of political process over the collection period. In addition, copies of Government media releases and Ministerial Announcements since 1999 were available. These afforded some understanding of the ebb and flow of policy networks.

The accounts

Story gathering

The interviews themselves were conducted as semi-structured interviews (Sarantakos, 1998). As noted, while each participant was presented at the time of selection with a list of seven basic questions (Appendix 2) these were only intended as a starter for the interview process. Each of the participants was assumed to have a unique perspective to offer. It was hoped to encourage them to share their perspective either as a representative of their organisation, or in terms of their personal belief. Naturally, some of the starter questions were more productive in relation to some participants than others. In several cases the interview turned to considerations not previously anticipated.

Part of one interview developed into what is called a 'focused interview' by Sarantakos (1998, p.253). A range of themes associated with the topic were actively explored and a number of possible political scenarios discussed. Unfortunately this section of the interview was irretrievably lost due to equipment break down. While no record of this discussion is available, the act (and experience) of sharing ideas with the participant was very helpful in terms of broadening my own perspective of the topic. In the interview, the line between the personal and professional opinions of the participant seemed to become very fine indeed, probably due to the line of questioning. No doubt this reflected my own interest in the issue. Powney and Watts note that "if [an] interview is thought of as a way of collecting talk, then it is important to remember that talk is dynamic – a quality it loses as soon as it is collected in any way" (1987, p.16).

Adopting a semi-structured interview as the main method of data gathering was rewarding. A semi-structured interview is not so rigid as to exclude participants from co-constructing the interview (and therefore to represent their view more fully), but is sufficiently organised to illustrate differences between participants' positions and any

commonalities. In these interviews, the focus was less on achieving definitive answers to the interview questions and more on the actual people involved, their opinions and their interrelation.

Two of the participants asked (one at the time of interview, and one after the transcripts were made) to see how their material would be used and the context in which it would be used. These participants were provided with an opportunity to receive an indication of the context and an intended structure for the study. Both accepted the offer. Copies were also sent to my supervisors. On advice from my supervisors it was decided that the study should be more of an exploration of policy process than the original approach indicated to the participants. Each of these participants was emailed an outline of the revised approach.

Comparing stories

The design of a comparative framework through which to discuss similarities and differences between participants' accounts is a critical issue to the success of a study such as this. The accounts must be considered in relation to the backdrop of Government regulation and initiatives, research, and other stakeholders' interests (Alton-Lee and Praat, 2000, p. 293). Such breadth of scope could lead to a lack of direction if the framework were not thoroughly robust, and generally acceptable. The Smith proposal has implications which mean that different people might define it and react to it differently. One way of teasing this difficulty out is to see what kind of formulation would be necessary to enact Smith's proposal as a policy, noting which interest groups might support it, and some possible reasons for their support.

Smith's interview as presented below acts as a marker for the discussion. The interview goes some way to defining the problem that the proposal was designed to fix. The five other accounts are used to illustrate, elaborate, and to present other points of perspective surrounding the proposal made by Smith. All of the accounts are then set into an

ambiguity/conflict framework as described by Matland (1995) and an analysis made of the agenda-setting process which occurred. The object is not for one or another argument or perspective to prevail, but rather, that essential elements of the problem are recognised and located, to the extent that the data can support this. Overall, the results sections set out the participants' views and media observations at the highest possible level of concordance without removing key points at issue. It is vital to keep foremost in mind that the thesis is to explore the political feasibility of Smith's proposal not whether the proposal would in fact be successful in fixing the problem, of the types of support it might attract, and other potential political knock-on effects.

As noted above, given the selection process, many important data sources were not available for inclusion in the study. Some limited inferences about uncanvassed interest groups were, therefore, necessary. The results section sets out a wide range of views at the highest possible level of concordance without removing key points at issue.

Locating elements in the accounts

The methodology this thesis uses explores the fate of a very specific social policy question: the possibility of introducing scholarships to arrest the declining number of male early educators. In order to explore the implications of this proposal by Smith (1999) fully, from a social policy process perspective, it is necessary to map the issue comprehensively.

There are a number of key issues. Educator training and supply in early childhood care and education is handled by an extremely diverse set of providers, and is in many ways dissimilar from the primary service; a significant proportion of the early childhood sector is in private ownership, although distinct professional fields, primary and early childhood education have considerable overlap with, a shared bureaucracy, political environment, and public, as policy matters are steered onto the government agenda. The framework used for mapping participant accounts must, therefore, cover a lot of territory.

Methodology

Triangulation

Mathison (1988) notes a conception of triangulation which when used to focus on data, seeks to explain convergence, inconsistency and, the contradictory. This present study cannot be said to employ triangulation to any significant degree as it only employs a single investigator for a single interview set, and a small range of data but even the range used provides considerable challenges to what Mathison calls "the construction of plausible explanations about the phenomenon being studied" (1988, p. 17). It is the exploration of policy process which is the objective together with the fit between the data and any (tentative) findings, rather than the findings themselves which are important.

Data range

Apart from the participants' interviews, government documents, and academic literature the other major source of material has been media accounts. Media use provides an opportunity to 'double check' interview material against other data. The use of such data only provides minor confidence for a researcher however, in terms of attributing statements to politicians. Heated exchanges occur regularly in Parliament (for instance, see Parliament, Hansard, 31 Aug- 2 Sep 04) over just such attribution of comment to politicians. Attributions to those who were not interviewed have been handled very circumspectly, and the opinions to those who were, commented on cautiously.

Government papers provide better confidence than media accounts. All the government papers used as data in this study are of the type Duke (2002, p. 42, citing Scott), refers to as "open published documents of State origin". The use of open documents makes verification by others an extremely straightforward process, provides for triangulation, and has the benefit of restricting debate to issues, rather than personalities.

Methodology

Ethical considerations

This study required the approval of the Massey University Human Ethics Committee. The initial ethics proposal (Appendix 3) was submitted to the committee and approved in June 2003 subject to a clarification of storage arrangements for consent forms, a reconsideration of the time accorded to participant interviews, and two small changes to information sheets for participants.

Participants

It was expected that participants might interact with one another about the study directly or about related issues. While the participants were not identified to one another it became clear that some contact between participants did occur, but not necessarily about the study. It is unknown what effect publishing the study could have on relationships between participants. Probably very little. No doubt this was part of the risk assessment each made when giving permission to be interviewed. Risks for participants were not discussed in any depth as part of the interview process and was not an obvious concern to participants.

While no participant said they wished to contribute an account anonymously, there is an ethical obligation for the researcher not to expose participants to needless risk. It would, however, be virtually impossible from what was said to make anonymous three of the participants' accounts without rendering the data meaningless. These participants are therefore named. For the remaining three participants confidentiality has been provided, although, for reasons unknown to the researcher identities may immediately be obvious to 'insiders'.

Researcher

A personal long term investment in the question of males working with young children

may distort my view. I am aware of my interests and guard against giving a prejudiced or unfair account of the participants' views.

Inevitably the thesis will be received as a political act by some stakeholders, endorsed by some and rejected by others. Very strong loyalties and antipathies exist in the early childhood sector (May, 2001).

University

It is unlikely that any particular risk should attach to the University itself.

Data

Some data types, such as media cuttings, were of a more public nature than other types. Naturally participants' tape recordings and transcripts were kept securely. No special security was given to media accounts and other corroborative material.

There is a risk that media packaging of issues could influence a study such as this but it is less likely to be true over a long term period where changes can be noted. Early preparation was made by practicing building data coding themes through managing the media and research collection built up over the period of study. Over time, public and media focus changed. Modification to code stems was necessary. One significant theme, for instance, which had been labelled as the 'Christchurch Civic Creche case', re-emerged at the time of the interviews as the 'Peter Ellis syndrome', as issues became shaped to the apparent needs of interest groups. Virtually all the material collected could ultimately be subsumed under the title 'men and young children'. The use of media data should not to be taken as the use of a 'sample'. The process is not sufficiently rigorous (because of the elasticity of the categories by the media), and it is articial. Nonetheless there is reason, especially in a social policy study, to be aware of changes being wrought in the media environment if for no other reason than that is how Smith's proposal came to

have currency initially.

Replicability

Although the frameworks used in this study are theoretical and very flexible, their use may allow others different insights into the use of power and discretion in early education, through further studies. The data materials used are comparatively cheap and easy to obtain and all that remains in terms of replicating the study are a long standing social policy problem, access to decision makers, time, and fortuitous political conditions.

The real test of this methodology, however, is that others involved in early education should be able to use the study as an aid to adjusting the adequacy of provision, as policy entrepreneurs.

Summary

The methodology has provided a basis for gathering information both from participants and from publicly available sources. The following two chapters contain the results. Chapter 5 contains six (6) synopses of interviews made with a range of decision makers with influence in the early education sector. These are not to be taken as full representations of the positioning of the participants, but they do fit together so as to provide a picture of the structure of the decision making process. Chapter 6 is a brief running account of highlighted media events over the 2003-4 period. In Chapter 7 the data from the study as a whole is remapped onto Matland's (1995) analysis of policy implementation type, and in Chapter 8 the tools that Vickers (1965, 1968) provides are used as the basis of the conclusion.

CHAPTER 5: RESULTS - Interviews

The following accounts are representations of six interviews undertaken as part of the study. The accounts are not full elaborations of the participants' views. They are no more than synopses of the issues canvassed, and are not presented chronologically. Further material from each is included as part of the discussion chapter.

The first account is of an interview with Hon. Dr Nick Smith and relates to his concerns over the falling numbers of men as educators and about boys' education. The second is of an interview with a policy analyst employed by the Ministry of Education. Each perspective presented provides minor, but important, examples of the relationships and issues between Minister and Ministry and the early education sector. By presenting material from these two interviews first, a baseline is established around which the remaining through interviews can be added. From such a vantage point it might also be possible to access what might be missing overall from the account. Much more information than is presented here is required about actual historical events over the period 1995-2006, if the debate over TeachNZ is to be explained fully as a policy struggle.

The third account is of an interview with Deborah Coddington M.P. of the ACT Party, the fourth, with a Child Advocate employed by a Crown Entity the fifth, with Sue Thorne CEO of the Early Childhood Council and with final account is of an interview with a male early educator in his early 20s.

For clarity, the account of Smith's interview sets up later discussion introducing and using a small number of categories. Broadly, the categories are: problem definition; environment and settings; perceptions about responsibility; and suggested solution set. These categories are added to over the accounts, and compounded as necessary.

Interview with Dr Nick Smith

The interview with Dr Smith took place at Parliament in his office in mid October 2003. After a brief wait, he was able to release himself from the session which was taking place at the time. The amount of time available was less than expected but Smith was well prepared. Smith took the lead and generally little more was necessary than to paraphrase and seek elaboration.

It is worth recording Smith's opening statement:

> I only did 10 months as Minister of Education in'99, but one of the underlying issues that worried me then and still worries me now, is the whole philosophical basis of the approach to boy's and girl's education. In my view there's an overriding philosophy in the sector that says that boys and girls are the same, that there are no differences. I come from the underlying view that men and women and boys and girls are different but equal and, if you come from the point of view that they are different, then issues of sex become relevant. They become relevant in terms of the styles of teaching, the way in which children learn, the sorts of activities that they enjoy and benefit from. I think the underlying issue is, that we had a very strong 'Girls can do anything' campaign going back to the 1970s and that it's been brilliantly successful. We should celebrate it, but we should also recognize that the times have changed for men and boys and, equally, change is required in that sector. My worry was the strong decline in the numbers of male educators, particularly at the primary level.

From this statement, two issues of concern are evident, not one. The first concern is to do with educational philosophy and presumed differences between boys and girls, and the second concern has to do with educator sex. Part of the changes he desired in education

involved male educators, but he wished to avoid 'a male versus female argument'. Throughout the interview Smith reinforced that despite, in his view, the fact that important differences exist between genders in relation to teaching and to learning, these should not be exaggerated:

> Ninety percent of what a classroom needs is a very good competent teacher, but in the other 10% of factors, the sex becomes…In other words, I'm not saying, look, this is the only issue, of course it's not. Lots of other things are more important, but it's a factor and that is why I'm saying it's an issue we can't just go on ignoring…

> …I think it's very important that right from the word 'go', we start from the premise that this is not about trying to take away any of the huge gains that have been made be the feminist movement for women. That's not on the agenda, but I think it is true to say that there has been an over correction…or rather, that [the] feminist movement and the 'Girls can do anything' campaign has forced a reappraisal of girl's education that has brought it up to date, and that boy's education has failed to keep up with the times.

Smith described the Ministry as "less than enthusiastic" about his idea of introducing TeachNZ scholarships for males seeking entry to Primary teacher professional education. He suggested that many people had seen the issue of declining numbers of males in Primary teaching only in terms of pay structure:

> I gave a speech and said I'm worried about this. I think that we have simplistically said the issue is solely an issue of pay. That said, even two years after parity [with formally higher paid secondary teachers] had been introduced there had been no change at all in the trend.

The trend line was still very negative in terms of male participation in primary

education and those choosing to go training and so, on the basis of that, I announced that the government was going to introduce TeachNZ scholarships for male teachers, and asked the Ministry to put together the work for a budget bid to be included in Budget 2000. Before I got there, there was a change in government and the new Minister of Education said that he did not want to pursue it.

Early in the interview Smith noted that he had devoted more attention to the Primary than the early childhood sector. In part, he said this was due to children being compulsorily enrolled in primary school for eight years and attending 25 hours a week and that "the early childhood sector has always been predominantly female." I took this to mean that early childhood did not, traditionally, have a gender balance in its workforce.

Smith noted that the decline in the number in the male educators had not been as marked in the secondary sector as in the primary. In his view there were also important differences between the roles and responsibilities of families and the compulsory education sector. Despite the differences, Smith made several points which suggested that the fear of "being accused of being an abuser of children" was a common theme affecting male participation in family and educational environments.

Smith stated emphatically that "sending signals" is required in order to alert others to the problem, and that advancing the argument is his political responsibility. He noted, "It is the job of political leaders to read, to listen, to engage and identify what are the issues of the day, and I see this tsunami wave of boy's education coming down on us." It seemed that Smith was prepared to be actively engaged in building support for his perspective and took a long view about successful change.

Smith's core position was that a Commission of Inquiry should deal with the issues surrounding male teachers and boy's education generally. In his view, this should happen out of the realm of politics:

You've got to say, 'What are the things that, from a factual public policy point of view, mean, that our boys are not achieving as well as they could?' 'that they're not getting to their full potential?' and then try to, outside the realm of bureaucracy or the politics, bring together a panel of experts who can ...address the issue.

Smith saw two major problems in attracting men into primary teaching. First, he thought, male teachers fear, "being accused of being an abuser of children." Secondly, in his opinion, teaching does not fit in with the image of the 'kiwi bloke' and this had to do with deeper social issues including the collapse of a number of jobs in labouring, manufacturing, farming and construction, in favour of the service industry. Smith felt that, "the male character is not yet completely comfortable" with such jobs, including education.

Smith had three major suggestions. First, that , as a country, it was important to send positive signals about teaching as an honourable profession for men to be involved in, and that it is a profession that "commands respect". Smith frequently referred to the 'Girls can do anything' campaign throughout the interview as an example of the type of approach required. Secondly, he felt that the legal framework around issues of sex abuse and how such cases are handled needs revisiting so that male teachers can feel confident "that they are not going to be pinged wrongly, if they pick up a child and comfort them." Such an adjustment would include government managing the risks so that abusers are kept out of the service and competent males made to feel safe. Thirdly, Smith felt that the female culture within the profession had to change so that males did not feel dominated. In his opinion, TeachNZ scholarships might be necessary to effect such change. Smith noted that the current Minister, Trevor Mallard, had said that he did not want to pursue such a plan. Smith said he was convinced Mallard was wrong and that he was going to win the argument that there was a real issue.

Smith said little further about the practical process of constructing policy or the policy

process itself. He seemed far more focussed on advancing the issue.

Interview with a Ministry Policy Analyst

At the very outset of this interview two clarifications the participant wanted to make about answering the questions were addressed. First, that the participant had not been directly involved in decision making in 1999 concerning male scholarships for primary teaching and could, therefore, not answer questions about why decisions were made one way or another. Secondly, the participant could however, "speculate on the context within which those decisions were made" but that the view could be that of an interested person rather than an informed one. The participant identified three aspects of the issue which are discussed below. These are the legal aspect, the social aspect, and the fiscal aspect. The focus of the interview was, therefore, distinctly different from that with Smith and oblique.

Asked if the context of decision making had changed in relation to Smith's proposal, the participant thought it had:

> Yes it has…but in terms of the legal context, I don't think that's changed, I mean, Oh well maybe, but if anything it's firmed up…you've got scholarships in early childhood and the school sector… [they are] in contravention of the Human Rights Act except in certain circumstances (including, in advice to Ministers)…and the only grounds that are acceptable for that sort of discrimination are that there is an under representation of a group in the workforce that is affecting outcomes.

It was apparent over the course of the interview that some problems or desired outcomes rather than others were easier for the Ministry to address through affirmative action under human rights legislation. Early childhood teacher education scholarships, for instance, were available as government policy for Maori and Pasifika in order to increase the

participation of children from these groups. The participant suggested that the use of affirmative action could therefore be justified because, without it, parents would say, "Oh well, I'm not going to attend a service unless I feel comfortable in it in terms of my culture and language."

The participant pointed out that the government was simultaneously engaged in raising quality through increasing teacher qualifications:

> That's a big thrust. It's raising qualifications level at the same time as trying to pull more people in, so there's a real potential bottleneck here if they don't raise the qualifications of Pasifika and Maori teachers, because those services, if they can't meet the new qualifications group, [they] have to close down and in consequence you would get participation losses, which is the opposite of what the government wants.

At the time of the interview the Ministry had successfully defended challenges to the affirmative action it was taking in the early childhood sector, by targeting TeachNZ scholarships to groups "where participation's lowest". The participant speculated that if one wanted to "apply the same test to recruiting men through scholarships you'd have to be careful that you met that test." It was very evident to me that the test of participation to which the participant referred was related to children's participation rather than that of adults.

A second aspect of the issue was social context. The participant suggested that social attitudes and expectations towards fathers in nurturing roles had changed in the last 10-20 years, and that the adoption of such a role was not only permissible but encouraged at home and in public. We began discussing how a male perspective might be available as part of early childhood assessment processes:

> ...it is an issue for early childhood, as it is...as you've identified for primary, that

that male perspective isn't there. I think it becomes more of an issue over time when you get more single parent families that are female so that male perspective isn't at home either. If you talk to people in the sector they say the kids respond differently to males in early childhood services. Males respond differently to them. For example, the males are, in the early childhood service, as I understand it, more likely to go outside and do rough play with balls and that sort of thing with kids, and kids tend to relate to them differently as a result. And if you say, this is the male perspective being brought into it, and this is a healthy thing to happen, obviously it is. And, when you've got the only role model for the child being female, I think everybody would agree that it is an issue.

The participant felt that "governments do want to increase the number of early childhood people and primary teachers", having earlier supposed, "you could say there's a problem here because the [Human Rights] Act is stopping government doing something that's quite sensible. That is, increasing the number of men in early childhood services." The participant said, however, that men weren't "particularly well organized in this." Drawing a comparison between the present issues with those faced by the women's movements, the participant noted:

I think the women's movement did a wonderful job of putting their issues up to government, but I mean there are issues for men in teaching that are beyond just representation, and I mean that some of the issues around boys are around the fact that they are failing in greater numbers than girls now…that the achievement rates for girls are now higher than boys.

The participant suggested that a third way of looking at TeachNZ was through fiscal analysis. In addition to the cost of investing in scholarship schemes, the participant suggested that there was potential for lost opportunity costs where bonding requirements were not met by trainees. A further risk mentioned by the participant was the 'deadweight cost' incurred where all that happened is that the males who would train anyway, whether

or not they would receive a subsidy, were subsidized. Deadweight cost of this sort would result in a straight loss to government. I gathered that the MOE analyst thought the Treasury perspective of TeachNZ funding was that it be directed towards opening hard to obtain pools of recruitment not subsidizing established ones.

The participant also identified pay parity rather than scholarships as the preferred tool underlying the Ministry's work in providing incentives for teachers. The participant indicated that the use of parity was easier, and likely to be more effective, than scholarships. Social engineering campaigns such as the drink/drive and Te Mana campaigns were thought highly expensive, but, said the participant, "do achieve effectively if you [put] enough money into it." In discussing the efficacy of scholarships and pay parity the participant noted:

> You're really just talking about two different...policy instruments to achieve what may be the same end. I think that parity...to be fair, pay parity hasn't been, the discussion hasn't been along trying to get more men into the early childhood workforce, but it's a possible benefit of pay parity.

Asked about the attendant disruption brought about by changes of government, the participant said:

> At a micro level it's quite disruptive, so you'll get, and I have seen this situation, where a project you're working on, which has been supported by the government to change policies in particular areas, can be completely canned by government. Particularly if it's been...politicized and the sector hasn't taken any view of it except to support maybe, then the change of government won't make any differences to that set of policies. And vast numbers of policies are in that category. They just carry on.

The participant suggested that, "Another way of looking at governments of different hues

is that they are all trying to achieve the same outcomes. So, Nick Smith is trying to achieve an outcome in the same way that Trevor Mallard is trying to achieve that outcome," and what the Ministry "tends to have to do, is to determine the extent to which current policies have to be changed to achieve the same end in a different way."

Interview with Deborah Coddington

This interview is valuable as it illustrates the manner in which a person may be part of multiple networks, performing different roles. Coddington was at once a parent, an author, journalist, and a member of a strongly neo-liberal political party (ACT). An attempt has been made to include aspects of each dimension within the account.

Coddington said that she only vaguely remembered events surrounding the 1999 suggestion of using the TeachNZ scheme to attract males to primary teaching. She did, however, oppose targeted sponsorship of this kind. In this respect she saw herself agreeing with Trevor Mallard's position, as she saw it, that the focus should be on quality and not on accepting second or third rate teachers, "just because they are men." In her opinion the standards for entry to teacher education ought to be raised rather than lowered.

Asked about the qualities of a good teacher Coddington said, there are "a multitude of things that go into being a good teacher, and sure, it's hard to pick before they do their training, but that is the job of the providers…" Coddington believed that the concept of achievement was important and desirable in education and that this was not the same as competition. With competition, she noted, "…there are winners and losers. Achievement means you are very achievement oriented and you take everything up with you…"

Coddington identified issues surrounding pay, status, and a fear of being accused of being an abuser as considerations in terms of men's involvement as educators. Coddington stated:

You're not going to attract good quality people into teaching and keep them there unless you look at the way teachers get paid. They're actually in the top 15% of taxpayers but the problem is that while they graduate on a reasonable salary, they move up very quickly and then they reach a ceiling above which it's very difficult for them unless they go into management positions. Often those are people who are very gifted in a classroom and want to stay in front of a classroom.

Asked if this affected men and women in the same way, Coddington suggested, "I think that for men it's even worse because...I think that a lot of men then can go out into management positions in the private sector and get more money." The comparative status of teaching with other professions, such as law and accountancy, was also a concern and thought that ECE and primary teaching were seen as third class professions and "early childhood teaching for men...increasingly seen as 'couldn't get a real job'." This last, Coddington said, was "bizarre when you think, that...children who don't go to [an] early childhood provider are taught by their families at home."

It was difficult to isolate precisely the crossover implications Coddington saw between changes in family structure and the education sector. She argued that the increasing incidence of state supported single-parent families had an important effect on the sector and strongly felt that some of the features of the Domestic Purposes Benefit (DPB) and the Family Court reinforced a social attitude that, "fathers don't matter, that women on their own are just as capable of raising children, as a woman with a man."

Coddington was interested in the issue of teachers feeling vulnerable about the possibility of being accused of child abuse as a result of their work. She shared the concern that her own work, *Paedophile and Sex Offenders Indexes* (1996, 2003), was in danger of being captivated as a result of some "people out there who think that 'the Peter Ellis Syndrome', all of this, is driven by femi-Nazis and male haters." That attitude, she found to be, "sort of conspiracy theorist" and might result in merits in the work being

overlooked. Despite some skepticism about male teachers feeling particularly singled out in cases of suspected abuse, Coddington noted that:

> If male teachers are saying [they], especially preschool, are too scared to put their arms around a child, then obviously…if they're too scared that they are going to be accused of sexual abuse, that's why they don't go into teaching, then there is a problem.

Commenting on social attitudes towards men as teachers generally, Coddington stated that for her, it "Wouldn't even cross my mind actually whether they're men, women, gay, Maori, Polynesian…as long as they're good teachers…" We later discussed some qualities that men might bring as educators of young children. Coddington offered:

> I think men bring different skills into it…[ ] …And I'm not saying they're better or worse, but I'm saying, in early childhood, where children are a lot more dependent on that nurturing…I think that, in general, and I'm very careful about saying 'across the board', that, I think women are just biologically better equipped to cope with that.

That said, Coddington later added, "I actually think that if you're a good male teacher, educator, whatever…with a young child under five…they can be, they're streets ahead of women." Coddington listed a number of qualities that men might bring to the role of early education including rough and tumble play, sense of humour, high expectations, a capacity to challenge, and an ability to be comfortable with risk.

We discussed the question of responsibility for any changes required to the education system. Coddington was adamant that responsibility for decisions about the provision, staffing, and monitoring of early education should be devolved to communities, schools and parents. In her opinion this necessitated the implementation of a 'voucher' system where funding followed a child. Coddington felt that parents, schools and communities

had the responsibility for vetting and employing staff, that they were capable of this and should be able, if wished, to appoint educators based on staff sex balance. She also noted that change to the Human Rights Act would be necessary to allow advertisements for such appointments and indicated that only government had the power to make such change. Coddington indicated that if she was in a position to do so, she "certainly would". Coddington noted that governments have considerable discretion through schedules to Acts, and can in some cases make far reaching changes in Cabinet alone.

We also discussed the processes surrounding political lobbying and how a government came to know that an issue should be prioritized. Coddington suggested that lobbying by groups such as the Early Childhood Council or Association industry groups would be a possibility but was clearly not convinced government would listen. In addition to informed public debate, such as that provided by in depth journalism, the most effective method thought Coddington was if lobbyists:

> All get together…so they are coordinated and talking with one voice…so they can go to government and if the government won't do something then they go to an opposition member, and see if they'll introduce a Private Member's Bill which is a lot slower of course, you've got the luck of the draw in the ballot.

The question of ACT's political role was discussed. Coddington stated that she didn't think that ACT would ever become 'the government' and thus must influence whichever party was in power. Further, "We don't care who adopts our policy so long as they get adopted." In terms of the question of scholarships per se, ACT's position was that it opposed both Nick Smith's promotion of scholarships for males into Primary teaching and Labour's use of such schemes for providing targeted selection for certain groups. Coddington's view was:

> …make it attractive to everyone, you are then able to select the best, no matter where they come from, no matter what ethnic background, or gender, or whatever,

or socio-economic background they come from…the more people want to go in…

Some discussion occurred about the difference between studentships and scholarships. Coddington remembered studentships from the 70s saying:

All I have is [the] anecdotal evidence of a lot of my friends at school…who I went through with, who were top students at school. Went into teaching because…the studentship…They did go into it because of the studentship and [to] do, perhaps, their degree…and these were people, not from low income families, they were from middle income families, they were from middle income New Zealand. Middle to high income…The bonding…it didn't put them off.

Asked if she would be in favour of introducing studentships Coddington said, "Yeah, I, in principle, yes, but I'd have to compare it with the student loan scheme, and test it on people…in financial terms, and attractiveness."

It seemed clear to me that whichever process was involved in the recruitment and retention of educators, that for this participant it should involve a wide initial selection of the best possible candidates, basing remuneration on:

…a lot more on how well they…all those things [that][relate to class, get results, get respect…[they] manage their classes, all those sorts of things. If you could base it more on that, and say, 'Well these teachers will get a pay rise and they'll get promoted…These teachers aren't achieving it, they won't'. Then you'll get a self weeding process too, cos the teachers who aren't good will get the message that they should go and get another job perhaps.

Interview with a Child Advocate

This interview enables an account based on the ways policy affects children rather than

the specifics of early education. It is the perspective of another policy entrepreneur concerned with different problems and solutions, but nevertheless with a potential to influence the early education sector. The participant's role included active public education about children's rights as well as assisting with a reduction of fragmentation and barriers to communication between those acting on behalf of children. A critical objective, the participant told me, was to ensure that Cabinet would view a child impact checklist for all emerging legislation.

The participant said that a proactive initiative to attract men into the primary service was required in the way it had been for women, Maori, and Pasifika, so as to get a range of people into teaching. The participant was not aware, however, of the facts around abandoning the idea of using the TeachNZ scheme in such a way to include more males as educators.

In the participant's view, the time between birth and five years was absolutely vital in terms of a child's future wellbeing. The participant stated, "It requires a huge investment...It is an investment that is urgent and will reap benefits for individual children and society generally." For this participant, affirmative action directed towards males as educators should not be seen as an end in itself but as part of much wider initiatives, not least, children's rights under the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child.

The child advocate saw the issues surrounding status as important to male involvement in early childhood education. From experience as a school careers counsellor, the child advocate said that early childhood education was not highly regarded as a career choice, "I think...our brightest boys and girls should be shaping those early years...It's at the bottom of the heap really, in terms of training, salary..."

The participant's foremost consideration was the safety of children and this required getting detail about policy and procedures. The participant had recently finished an

investigation into the deaths of some children, and expressed the opinion that, "We've got to stop this sector by sector approach to children and get professionals talking to each other, and to get families talking with professionals, on an equal playing field, and to get the education system talking the same language as the people that they're relating to." The participant stated that there are "huge, disturbing levels of abuse in families and communities…It's about managing that risk…If you were to do that in the early childhood education sector you'd have it as part of the core training."

The participant reflected on social stereotypes:

> some assumptions out there…are unhealthy. One, that any male that goes into…um, early childhood particularly…they must be a bit bent…There's this thing in people's minds…*if, male early childhood educator…is male…and if they're gay…they're bound to abuse…*So there's that erroneous link between gay men and paedophilia…And it's about discrimination about men and discrimination about sexuality choices.

We talked about the recent media portrayal of "The Peter Ellis Syndrome" in relation to male educators. The participant said:

> …it's been interesting for us to watch because, two things occurred…there's been a concern expressed by both teachers and male family members that if they are going to be closely involved in their children, then they're vulnerable to judgment, or litigation, or whatever, about their involvement just by virtue of them being male. And then you've got the reaction which is about this moral panic idea that. Um you know, it's all a load of rubbish, and…'Men should be actively encouraged to get into early childhood'. Yes, I believe they should be involved in…families, in every part of children's lives, and it is, it's not about having a position, it's about having policies and procedures that ensure that there is safety for the children foremost, but also the people working with them, or that

they're involved with.

Later, the advocate noted that there was an absence of voices talking about men and early childhood and said that there was a predominance of women as social workers, health providers, anything to do with children. "I think we're still limited by our personal and collective ideologies around children, foremost, about who's good for children," the participant suggested.

The participant stated that considerable progress had been made in regard to children between 1995 and the time of the interview, saying "I may...have a jaundiced view about that...Yes, there's great levels of agreement about what are the gaps for children and young people in New Zealand...and what are the solutions. [There's] a groundswell of 'best practice' type of initiatives occurring across a range of sectors, so, you know, I think there has been...enormous progress in terms of the way we view and value children, in terms of both policy and practice."

What is required, thought the participant, is "Good social policy that encourages good political decision...Government determines the social policy agenda, so it's working now with all those key groups, and the sector. Working now, to get good policies going into the next elections...that determine, you know, the work programme within government departments. I asked, "So you would see this as a lobbying process?" The participant said, "Child advocacy is about that."

Interview with Sue Thorne

As CEO of the Early Childhood Council (ECC), Sue Thorne is involved in a wide variety of issues, many of which impact on Early Education generally. She is often involved at national level lobbying on behalf of, and representing, member organizations. Thorne has also been invited onto the Education Forum. The interview was a long one and it was not until virtually the end of it that I was struck by the dimension it covered, and some of the

implications. Simply, I obtained a fuller appreciation of the range of sectors where change was necessary if Nick Smith's proposal were to be realized.

Thorne was very clear about responsibilities for educator provision:

> I think the government has the responsibility to have the best teachers in front of children they can, and to get the best outcomes includes having a good gender balance.

In her opinion, Thorne felt there was no point however, in embarking on a campaign to attract males to teaching if they were not going to stay. Notwithstanding this, the ECC had gone so far as to inquire of the Human Rights Commission about the Ministry of Education's apparent stance on gender and the use of the TeachNZ scheme. The Human Rights Commission was of the opinion that the Human Rights Act could not be used to allow sponsorships of males by virtue of their sex.

In terms of retaining male teachers Thorne suspected, "there's more than money, I mean money does play its part…if this is to be a serious job, for anyone really, but particularly for males, we have to look at the level of wages. It would be very hard, I think, for a man to support his whole family on the wages you might get in an educational centre." Thorne noted the prevalence of part-time employment and cited this as a possible barrier for men. Many of the centres were open 10 hours a day and worked split shifts.

Thorne indicated that accessing additional money was a matter of constant present concern for centres, particularly as compliance costs increased. Over the course of the interview several categories of cost were identified, but Thorne noted that among these increased requirements for qualified staff was very pressing. In terms of finding additional funds, centres had two options:

> …they can either get that from charging high parent fees, which is what they

need to do at the moment…with the current level of subsidy, or, the government can say, 'We really think this is terribly important and we need to contribute more than 4% of the Education Vote to early childhood education'…I get a little tired of hearing about the importance of the early years coming out of the mouths of MPs from all parties. And they've never been…they've never been any different. We've always had 4% of the Education Vote, didn't matter who was in. It's never changed.

Thorne was very definite in her views about the need to change public perceptions about males in early childhood centres. She was also quite clear about the way unnecessary fear surrounding children's safety could affect child care centres through incremental regulation. Thorne stated, "I can identify in the [Early Childhood] regulations specific regulations that have been written to try and solve a problem, or a perceived problem because one centre did something inappropriate…so it's suddenly changed." Thorne thought that, once such a solution was applied, "rather than [doing] a measure of 'What is the problem, how big is the problem?'…You can turn something that isn't a problem into something in people's minds as being much bigger than it is." Thorne said that she thought that risk was something that ought to be managed, rather than events being merely responded to by 'knee-jerk' reaction.

Thorne's opinion seemed to be that overblown policies could end up creating a more fearful environment and put off any males intending to be teachers. Thorne said such males might respond to policy by thinking, "Goodness, this must be a really dodgy environment to get myself involved in because there are so many warnings…"Asked if policy and attitudes to men working with small children had changed between 1995 and 2003, Thorne thought that they probably had, but not in a particularly conscious or concrete way. She said, "It's possibly just more of what happens naturally…people start to see it as less of a threat and now it's kind of going away."

Thorne noted that few men worked in the centres she was involved with. The men in

ECC centres, Thorne said, were mostly co-owner/operators in husband and wife teams. Usually the male partner was doing the business or employment or administration work and the female partner was working with the children. She stated that she hoped more men did become involved in teaching, not only because of their work with children, but also because of their positive affect on staff dynamics. Thorne suggested that tensions often exist in all-female staff groups and that a mix of genders can make the working environment more normal. She also wondered if benefits could exist for adult relationships built with families and dads if male educators were involved. Thorne added, "I think the skills you would want him to have, and the level of training, and the qualities that he would have, are going to be highly sought after in other areas, so we are going to be competing to keep that person. He's going to have very sought after skills if he's going to be a good early childhood teacher. You can't just have anyone. They're going to have some very special qualities."

As mentioned earlier, Thorne took issue with aspects of qualifications requirements for staff. Thorne stated that the current situation was such that any of 23 different 'diplomas' could be deemed to meet the requirement. One implication of this, Thorne thought, was that the content of the diploma became less important than the fact that it met the requirement. Thorne was dubious that:

> If they've got an Auckland College of Education…or for that matter a Kindergarten Diploma…They're fine…they're quality.

> The fact [is] that they're…some of them might not have been too close to a 6 month old [laughs]. In Auckland, if you've got a diploma you can get a job and quite likely a senior position, and to me that's not a good way for any sector to be, where every single person can get a job, because there are some people who shouldn't be working. We should be able to filter out those people, but they will all have jobs.

Thorne suggested that if more males were to be encouraged into early education then public perception had to be shifted. "If you asked people," she said, "of a particular chap, 'He's going to be working here do you think he's likely to abuse?' They'd go 'No', but if you said, 'We're going to have 50% males and 50% females', I still think there would be some people that would be…just, feel uncomfortable about that until they actually got to know the individuals." From Thorne's perspective, "The biggest thing we can do for it to become a more normal thing [is] for [people] to stumble across a man in the early childhood centre…"

Thorne outlined other areas of major concern in terms of how to involve more males in early education. From her informal discussions with secondary school principals, Thorne said that some principals [of all boy schools] had concerns about an apparent feminization of Colleges of Education. Thorne knew these principals were actively recruiting male teachers from overseas, an option not available to schools in less affluent areas. It occurred to me that these schools might also be reluctant to steer male students towards Colleges of Education, and thence careers in early education.

In order to develop strategies for change, Thorne felt it would be essential to gather data about who currently works in early education and their career patterns. Thorne said, for example, that the average age of educators she was involved with was about 39 years. Many of these people had had a previous career and through parenthood had been involved in Playcentre training. Childcare work acted as a second career for these people and additional training had to be achieved through distance learning or in-service work. In Thorne's opinion it was simply not realistic to expect such people to uproot themselves for three years to attend college. Thorne seemed to feel that such difficulties were poorly understood by government in terms of increased training requirements.

Interview with a male early educator

This interview was conducted 2 years and 8 months after the first five which are outlined

above. Many of the issues and topics concerning the national policy-makers at the time of their interviews were impacting directly on this participant during the time he was attending university to qualify as a primary school teacher. It is interesting that since leaving university, despite his primary qualification, the participant has chosen to work in early childhood (without specific qualification), and to enrol in a post-graduate diploma in early childhood education. Completion of this advanced course would entitle him to begin the registration process as a fully qualified early childhood educator. Interestingly, as part of his early childhood individual employment contract, he had chosen to protect himself against suspicion of abuse in a manner which probably would be available to a female worker, refusing to change nappies. This obviously did not lessen his value to his employer.

The career path the participant had followed, first in primary and subsequently in the early childhood sectors was personal and particular. The participant reported that while he was at school he was unsure about which career to pursue. He stated, "at high school I never thought about it, at all...I wanted to be a physio, I wanted to be a P.E. teacher. I wasn't sure what I wanted to do, and then did the Camp America thing and had the experience of younger children and just absolutely loved it so...I really went from there." He described career 'expos':

> you've got the Police there, you've got the Army, you've got the Airforce there, you've got all those things that are easy. I guess you can chuck a tank in and people will want to see it. It's easy to show off, and appealing, but I can't think of any...places like early childhood or teaching generally which say, 'Hey you guys, come on over here and be a teacher'.

Reflecting on his career path choice into early childhood the participant said that although, during his university preparation, he had wanted to be a new entrant teacher he hadn't heard of any other male that was doing that. One day at the university it was advertised that, "a whole lot of men that were in the job [were] coming to talk to us, so I

went along to the lecture and...there was a guy, a very young guy, probably not much older than me...in that job...new entrants' teacher, and I thought 'wow'. So I was talking to him about it and yeah, he absolutely loved it...That was a good thing for me to know...there is actually a guy in that position..." The participant felt that although there are,

> lots of men out there that would love the job...it might never have crossed their mind...there's nothing to persuade or even acknowledge that you can do it, that you can get into the workforce, to do that thing.

The participant thought it would be fairly difficult for men to end up in early childhood saying, "even [to] have a go or the opportunity to do it is a big thing" adding, "I've been lucky in the sort of way I've slid into the position, really, like from nowhere." It became apparent that the participant did not feel that early education would be a valid career choice for all men. He felt that there were some men who simply wouldn't be interested no matter how well advertised the job was, stating, "I think you have to enjoy children."

The participant was adamant that he did not want to end up as a primary school principal. He said,

> you go through primary school or anything and they all talk about, 'oh you're going to be a principal because you're a guy'. I couldn't think of anything I'd want to be less than a principal...that'd be the worst job in the world...you might get paid the big bucks but you're pretty much in an office these days...that's not what I wanted to join...I want to work with children.

The participant's aim was to work towards running his own childcare centre whilst maintaining his day to day contact with children. From his own experience of childcare he considered it would be possible to strike a successful balance and not be consigned to an office all day as a primary principal would. He thought that owning too big a centre or

being part of a chain might be limiting saying, "if you got into that side of things then you'd probably be away from the centre and you'd be running a business again, and that's not what I want to do. It'd be nice to own your own centre and be financially secure..."

There were some surprises on working with women for this participant. He reported that it was a bit of a shock when he first started as he began to hear about, "all this womanly stuff, and I was like, 'Wow, really?'" He added that university had prepared him for this to an extent because, "there's hardly any guys there." It was also his experience that meetings tended to drag out, "because of talk, just nonsense you don't need...just get to the point." This, the participant thought, was attributable to differences in the way men and women operate. As a result of working exclusively with women the participant found himself isolated from male colleagues. He had only recently become aware that there were any men working in early childhood in Auckland.

The participant was employed under an individual contract and was not a member of any union or professional body. He said that lecturers at university were mixed in their responses about the value of union membership. From his own situation he described the major factors which influenced him. First, he knew very little about NZEI as a professional body, although he was aware that it acted on behalf of both early childhood and primary members. Second, that although it had been explained to him that "if anything happened they would pay all your legal bills..." and that, "being a man, he might find this "a great idea", there didn't seem, from his point of view, to be very substantial gains from joining. Third, there didn't appear to be anyone locally to meet with, and fourth, the participant explained that perhaps if he was working in primary and there were "other teachers to talk to, it might be more of an issue."

The participant had taken a definite stance on the issue of nappy changing. As part of his contract he had established an understanding with his employer that he would not be required to change nappies. This decision was discussed at some length during the

interview. When the participant was initially employed at the centre as a reliever he did not change children's nappies as there was a policy at the centre that relievers "don't do nappies anyway." He said though "as I became more and more comfortable, when it got busy...putting children to sleep, then I would do nappies but when I got offered the job, ah, I said that I'm not going to nappies or anything like that." His employer stated at the time that it was sad that "that's what the world has come to." The participant had then said, "Yeah, well, that doesn't matter, I'm still not going to do it, I'm still not going to take that risk." It seemed that it was this assessment of the personal and professional risk to him rather than a dislike of changing nappies, or a reluctance to take a full part at the centre, that had prompted his decision. The participant noted that his decision did have the potential to affect the workload of other staff members.

In this participant's opinion men have a great deal to offer small children, particularly in terms of their emotional development. He also thought that this was easier to achieve in early childhood rather than in primary simply because of expectations placed on children by adults. He stated that touch is, "more expected really...more demanded really at an early childhood centre, that there's touch...you're constantly giving children hugs," but that "even at primary school they still want hugs, the same thing, but as the policy is, there's no touch so they don't get...as much touch as they probably desire..." The participant did suggest that a few of the older primary teachers do not feel as constrained by 'the policy', saying "it doesn't even enter their heads...[hugging children is] just like part of them all the time." It was the participant's strong opinion that men were able to offer different and important role models for children.

The participant reflected on changes to the TeachNZ scheme during the interview. Although he affirmed that under-representation of men in the early learning sector warranted specific TeachNZ scholarships for men, he also suggested why politicians might not wish to enable such a scheme. The participant observed that "on the surface anyway..they just thought 'well you can't give someone something simply because they're male or they're Maori or something, that sort of thing..." and, "they're afraid that

they'd have to give other people grants...it would be a never ending thing..." but suggested that it was bizarre that such scholarships had not been made available in 1999, saying, "if it had happened way back then there would have been more males already."

Towards the end of the interview the participant talked about the possibility of 'proving' that the involvement of men was important in early education settings. He said, "you see, statistics don't tell everything...I don't know where you'd find real proof ...[but]...proof is talking to parents, talking to teachers and talking to people that see children grow and develop every day, that's where proof lies really." While he acknowledged that such talk might be anecdotal he suggested, "I believe if people who are working with children see the benefits of having males then, if everyone is seeing that, it's got to be true. It's got to be a real benefit". Finally he noted that the issue was, "probably not...taken notice of by people with the power to encourage it."

Summary

The interviews above cannot provide comprehensive coverage of the positions of participants. What is noticeable from the interviews is the association of each of the participants with at least one of the quadrants Matland's (1995) identifies in his implementation typology above. In 1999 Smith was a member of cabinet (political), and the Ministry Analyst and Child Advocate part of the bureaucracy (administration) but with responsibility to interact with other quadrants depending on their specific role. Sue Thorne and Deborah Coddington operated in public mainly in a symbolic quadrant prosecuting their ideological preferences, and the male educator was located in the (experimental) context of the field.

The participants shared a number of issues including agreement that replacing and increasing the male workforce in early education was important. The principal difficultly appeared to be *how* this might be done. In Kingdon's terms problem and solution combinations were available but contested. It was obvious, however, that several

participants were highly practiced at making their political and administrative concerns known, through a variety of forums. The noticeable exception was the male educator himself.

The following chapter builds on the material obtained from participants directly through a selected account of media activity over the period 2003-2004. The media accounts are intended as a device through which to locate the participants in relation to the policy making activity they are involved with as part of policy networks. It is obvious that the greater policy context in which the participants operate is neither simple nor entirely predictable but highly complex, and which demands a high level of political activity, negotiation and struggle.

CHAPTER 6: RESULTS – Media

Concerns about gender equity demand to be viewed in a wide context. Where affirmative action is attempted, especially the use of incentives, political conflict is to be expected because of the costs they bring. The following is an abridged account of media activity between key players and rival groups with the capacity to influence conditions for the recruitment and retention of male early educators in the period 2003-2004. Naturally because it is a view through the eye it is partial and doubly partial because it has been carefully selected. There is no claim to objectivity in the account, rather, the material represents a simple attempt to evoke the 'cut and thrust' of the policy making process.

Media accounts of selected events 2003-4

In May 2003 the Labour government appointed a taskforce to design an action plan for pay equity among public servants. Private employers were not represented on the taskforce and there was an immediate outcry from both the parliamentary opposition and Business New Zealand. Anne Knowles made the perspective of the private sector clear saying, "While nurses in public hospitals may get pay increases because of an artificial comparison with police, this will have a profound impact on the ability of, for example, private nursing homes for the elderly, to stay in business" (Knowles, 2003). Pay parity in the public sector, Knowles thought, would "inevitably impose large costs on the private sector" (ibid). Knowles' position was supported by members of the ACT and National parties. The following month Dr. Judy McGregor from the Human Rights Commission, noting a widening gap in pay between men and women managers among New Zealand's 500 largest employers, offered to act as a 'conduit' between the taskforce and private employers (NZ Herald, 2003).

A number of other highly contentious issues were also surfacing in the media over the early June 2003 period. These included, accusations that the New Zealand curriculum and its delivery was 'feminised', a high profile petition for a Royal Commission of Inquiry

into the Christchurch Civic Creche child abuse case and the conviction of Peter Ellis, a controversy about the management of a recently released child rapist, and the introduction of the Care of Children Bill to Parliament. All of these issues had some relation to the involvement of men with young children and evoked passionate responses. Smith chose this time to reiterate his proposal that TeachNZ scholarships should be made available to prospective male primary teachers. He said, "[t]he lack of male teachers and the huge disparity in educational achievement between boys and girls means that we need to take some initiative to get quality men into teaching" (Ross, 2003).

At the time Smith was under heavy legal pressure for his criticism of the operation of the Family Court. By mid July (TVNZ, 2003) Smith was deeply involved in defending himself against contempt charges, and possible ejection from Parliament. Smith was eventually convicted of contempt but remained in Parliament by the grace of the other members.

The connection between the TeachNZ scholarship issue and Smith's view of the operation of the Family Court can be made clear from his interview for this research. Smith proclaimed he was,

> ... 'donkey-deep' in issues associated with the Family Court and the rights of dads to be involved in [children's] lives...you've got the same thing where we have become obsessed with issues of abuse and created such a cautious system that even the most minor allegation of any form of abuse, and dads are locked out of their children's lives.

Smith also said, "I'm one of those who feel that, of course you need to be tough as hell on those that are sexual abusers, but you must be really careful that you don't paint the entire male sex with that abuse label. That has both fathers and male teachers isolated from children's lives when they are a key part of the social development of children." Asked about the Ellis case, Smith offered, "I think the Peter Ellis case is just one

particular high profile one, when there is a whole wider view of men being accused of being abusers and men feeling quite defenceless. The great difficulty is just to air the remote possibility of the accusation being made makes teachers extremely cautious of being in positions of responsibility for children." Between his advocacy of male scholarships and criticism of the operation of the Family Court, Smith had identified a very rich vein of social discontent.

Despite the release of Peter Ellis in February 2000, the case remained a significant rallying point for a wide range of people even in 2003. The case had attracted the attention of New Zealand author Lynley Hood, who wrote, *A City Possessed: The Christchurch Civic Creche Case* based on the events. Concern about the probity of Ellis's conviction reached a new peak. A major newspaper editor also published verbatim evidential interviews of children from the case and offered $100,000 reward for new information related to the case. These actions had the effect of renewing public interest in the case. Despite (or, perhaps, especially because of) its origins in early childhood the 'Ellis' or 'Civic Creche' case was picked up and used as a tool in a policy and political battle focused on the primary sector, with no obvious regard for outcomes in early childhood.

By the end of August the issues of sexual abuse of children and teacher safety were again being debated alongside each other in the media. Under the heading "Rogue teachers: can we protect our kids?" (Richardson, 2003) the Sunday Star-Times revealed that 58 New Zealand teachers had been deregistered over the previous three years for sexual offences against students, accessing child pornography and drugs and alcohol offences. The media attention coincided with the release of Coddington's *New Zealand Paedophile and Sex Offender Index 2004* which brought controversy (The New Zealand Herald, 2003a) itself because of its inclusion of a crime by a group of high school students which although sexual in nature, did not apparently have a sexual motive.

The release of Coddington's index of sex offenders predated the release of another report by less than a week. It was critical timing. On 22 September 2003 the NZEI lifted an embargo on a work they had specially commissioned, *Men in Primary Teaching in New Zealand: A Literature Review* by Ian Livingstone. The report outlined the decline in the number of male teachers in the primary service and drew together history and research in a short review aimed at identifying not only the problem but a rationale for including more men in teaching. Livingstone identified status, salary, and concern about physical contact with children as major difficulties for male primary teachers. The term, 'Peter Ellis Syndrome' was used as part of a media campaign accompanying the release of the report. As an expression of the interest in the case it is worth noting that the 'Peter Ellis Syndrome' was mentioned by participants in each of the five interviews conducted for this study. If one issue could be said to cement in the public understanding a similarity between the social pressures faced by male early educators in early childhood and primary schools, the Ellis case was that issue.

Debate ensued immediately after NZEI's report was released. Child health researcher Sarah Farquhar (GayNZ, 2003) noted that a negative "no contact" policy had been imposed on primary teachers after the Ellis case which she said did nothing to dispel paranoia or distrust of male teachers. Farquhar (1997, p. 172) had previously identified the NZEI as being one of the national early childhood organisations which had developed such protocols and guidelines. Many believe that such a policy is inappropriate for those working with infants and the very young, but the political use of Ellis as an example ensured that early childhood remained attuned to the refreshed debate about scholarships. Irene Lynch (National Manager TeachNZ Unit, Ministry of Education) again made clear (Ross, 2003) that in the Ministry's opinion human rights legislation prevented it from offering financial incentives to attract more men into teaching. Mallard said in the same article, "[t]he idea of giving men preference through a scholarship system does not appeal to me. I am yet to find a parent who would prefer their child to be taught by an inferior male teacher rather than a better woman teacher."

The next day Mallard (Mallard, 2003) delivered a speech at the NZEI Annual Meeting outlining the Labour government's priorities. At the forefront was the Early Childhood Strategic Plan (MOE, 2002). The plan, composed of seven steps, proposes a range of methods including scholarships to boost the numbers of qualified teachers in the service. Mallard also announced that through the budget the government had increased the number of incentive grants to services which would allow up to 500 under qualified early childhood staff to upgrade. Additionally, a total of 101 early childhood teacher education scholarships were allocated to Maori and Pasifika students. There was no mention of scholarships for mainstream ECE recruits, males, or indeed for the primary service. Also that day, at the PPTA conference, Mallard made it clear that 'network reviews' were likely to continue for some time. During 2003, seven such reviews had taken place designed to determine a match between demographic growth and decline and the level of school provision in communities. These had resulted in several school closures and some mergers actively affecting both secondary and primary schools. Ministry figures (MOE, 2005) for 2004 demonstrate how concerning this must have been for male primary teachers as 41% of them were either principals or in management.

By October the issue of network reviews was receiving major media coverage. Sunday Star-Times (2003, A8-9) noted that more than 230 schools had closed between 1990 and 2002. Mallard was quoted saying, "You are talking about 200-300 schools [closed]. I don't think it would be unreasonable to expect 300 over a 10-year period. That wouldn't surprise me." By 9 November (Sunday Star Times, 2003a, p. A11) it was revealed that the 'Network Review' process was designed to future proof the school system so that it was capable of coping with 61,000 fewer primary school pupils by 2018. Clearly such a drop would have major staffing implications, particularly in primary. It is worth noting that the Ministry (New Zealand Education Review, 1999, p.1) had, as early as 1999, pointed out that there would be an over-supply of primary teachers and suggested to professional education providers that they voluntarily cut back on intakes. Of particular interest is that this comment came just after the National government had increased the number of teachers college placements available significantly. The Ministry also made

the profession aware that recruitment mechanisms for secondary teachers could be insufficient to meet coming demand.

Over this period, Opposition parties sensed an opening for consolidation. On the 14 October MPs from National, New Zealand First, ACT New Zealand and United Future co-hosted the Parliamentary launch of the Education Forum's policy direction *A New Deal: Making Education Work for all New Zealanders* (*New Deal*) (Education Forum, 2003). Central features of the *New Deal* were changes to school zoning requirements and the introduction of funding vouchers which followed the child. Both of these policies are in direct conflict with Labour party policy, intensifying political conflict. The NZEI (Scoop, 2003) quickly identified both the Education Forum and the Early Childhood Council as linked to the Business Round Table.

Mallard (2003a) delivered an interesting speech to the Social Marketing for Social Profit Conference days after the Education Forum release of *New Deal*. While, on the face of it such a speech may seem unrelated to the present topic Mallard was directly competing with the Education Forum and its allies for media and public attention. Social marketing is one of the important, but expensive, policy instruments that the Ministry of Education and other government departments have at their call. It can also be effective. Essentially, social marketing uses the same media as advertising to induce voluntary behavioural change in a target group. Mallard emphasised that to be successful such an approach required a 'whole of government' approach and that this included "breaking down silos within and across departments and enhancing centralised coordination" (Mallard, 2003a). The concept of 'breaking down silos' had also surfaced in the interview with the child advocate participant. Mallard also identified two social marketing programmes which, in his opinion, had been highly successful. The first of these successful programmes was 'Breaking the Cycle' which was designed in the mid-1990s to help stop child abuse. The second was the contemporary 'Te Mana' campaign run by the Ministry of Education which was aimed at lifting young Maori participation in education, and their achievement.

The two campaigns identified by Mallard were both aimed at influencing behaviour but each required government action to support the responses made by the target group. Not only was it intended to trigger change in people but also to support such change through other types of provision. In the case of child abuse, implementation strategies included free phone support and counselling. In the case of the Te Mana campaign it was important to the success of the programme that the government could in fact foster educational environments in which young Maori learners were comfortable. The target group would not otherwise be retained. A range of complementary policies, such as the TeachNZ Scholarship scheme, was directed to support this change.

In the same week Mallard (Quirke, 2003) announced scholarships worth up to $17,500 for Maori graduates if they became secondary school teachers, in common with maths and physics graduates. Also announced were pay bonuses available to new teachers of English, chemistry, physical education, computing and biology if they were prepared to work in certain hard to staff areas. A PPTA representative was, in the same article, reported as saying that although the incentives were a step in the right direction, "it was disappointing that new teachers in other subjects did not qualify."

Important differences within early childhood began to reveal themselves in the media on 20 October 2003. The ECC was attacked by the NZEI over the issue of the desirability of all staff in early childhood being required to have a three year diploma and be registered as teachers. The NZEI linked the ECC to the Business Round Table, saying "[t]heir concern is the cost to the owners and managers of private and community early childhood centres of having qualified teachers" (Scoop, 20 October 2003b). Thorne retaliated later in the day (Early Childhood Council, 2003). Helen May (2001), records incidences of persistent disagreement between these two groups over the issues of cost, and profit. In 1995 (May, 2001, p. 221), for example, the ECC was the only community early childhood group not invited by the teachers' union to contribute to a major policy publication Future Directions. The ECC's exclusion was criticised at the time by the

Associate Minister of Education, Bill English, and the Ministry of Education.

On the same day Coddington made clear her position as "a Member of Parliament for a Classical Liberal Political Party" in a speech entitled "Unions in New Zealand", delivered to HRH Princess Anne (Coddington, 2003a). She accused unions of attempting to foist on the Early Childhood sector "the same centralised, one size fits all system that has failed school children" (ibid). By the end of the day the battle lines were quite obvious. LaRocque from the Education Forum said,

> The government's registration policy is probably good for the union. It is not clear that it is good for New Zealand children or families. Not content with having stuffed up the school system with its one-size-fits-all model, the NZEI is now looking to mutate its failed prescription of overregulation onto an early childhood sector that is successfully meeting the needs of thousands of families (Education Forum, 2003).

LaRocque further suggested that,

> What the NZEI really doesn't like is that there are now independent voices on early childhood policy like the Early Childhood Council and the Education Forum to challenge the self-serving commentary emanating from NZEI headquarters (ibid).

Towards the end of October 2003 Don Brash assumed leadership of the National Party. Smith was, for a short period, National's Deputy Leader and replaced as education spokesman by the deposed leader Bill English who had previously held the portfolio. Smith returned to his electorate in Nelson for two weeks on stress leave after acrimonious discussion with members of the National caucus. Later in the month he returned to Parliament but was replaced as Deputy Leader by Gerry Brownlee.

By early November (The Dominion Post, 1 November 2003, p. 3) the Teachers Council director Margaret Kouvelis had resigned. Established in 2002 to manage the registration of teachers from secondary, primary and early childhood sectors, the Teachers Council had suffered from a series of major setbacks. Two chairpersons had left since the inception of the Council and the cross-sector Code of Ethics, with which it was charged with producing, had not materialised. In April 2003 a crisis team from the Ministry of Education had been installed by the Minister to help clear the backlog of registrations. It is easy to see that the ideological right wing did not lack ammunition in its appeal to resist mandatory registration for early childhood workers. Up to, and including May 2004, when the Education and Science Select Committee delivered its report on the 2002/03 performance of the Council, serious concerns existed about the operation of the Council and its ability to perform the roles assigned to it.

Within a week of the launch of *A New Deal* by the Education Forum, concerned efforts were being made to counter the Government's early childhood education policies. Included in these efforts were Coddington and Thorne. Smith's political party had also agreed to cooperate in principle.

The ECC had, prior to Thorne's interview in October 2003, been involved in an exchange with the Human Rights Commission about TeachNZ's legal position in offering scholarships especially for prospective male primary teachers. The ECC was at the time of Thorne's interview deciding whether or not to take the issue up with the Ministry of Education. Thorne suggested during her interview that the views of the Minister and the NZEI were likely to be similar regarding whether males ought to be offered scholarships. Asked about Labour's policy in her interview Thorne stated, "...Maori and Pasifika being one of their focuses...I've never seen them anywhere ever say that a better gender balance in our centres is a priority for them."

It became clear in November 2003 that issues surrounding boys' education and adult male involvement were not restricted to primary school. As the result of a conference

held in 2001 in Nelson, the principals of 24 boys' secondary schools employed Celia Lashlie to research their schools' culture by talking to pupils and teachers. Following 14 months work Lashlie had apparently handed over the reins to the principals (Sunday Star Times, 2003b, p. A8) saying, ""I'm a women [sic] and it's not for me to tell men what to do – it's men's business."".

Debate continued to surround the school network review process. Jim Anderton (Economic Development Minister) and an analyst with the Children's Commission, Rod Davis, both expressed reservations about the reviews. Anderton said (Sunday Star-Times, 2003c) he preferred that falling primary school rolls proved an opportunity for reduced pupil-teacher ratios. The Commissioner's office registered concern "around both the safety of children and young people who may be required to travel even further from their homes and the need to support any reorientation of education services with the appropriate funding" (ibid). Coddington set up a website campaign aimed at halting the reviews. NZEI too suggested that the Government take a more cautious approach.

The Labour government, and Mallard in particular, began to come in for very heavy criticism in Parliament over November 2003 in relation to the network reviews. Mallard and Coddington (Education Forum, 2003b) engaged in a debate on the Education Forum website. Following his recent allocation of additional teachers for hard to fill positions in the secondary teaching service, Mallard acknowledged that over 170 primary schools had been either merged or closed between 1996 and November 2003, and that closures were chiefly based on demographic shift. In Mallard's opinion it was better to manage the demographic changes than to allow 'market forces' to account for schools which did not draw on a sufficiently large pool of children. Coddington appeared concerned that once savings were in the hands of the Government there was no telling what would happen to the money. Coddington's clear suggestion was that network reviews were a Treasury led revenue based exercises which failed to take into account the costs of school closure on local communities.

Throughout the rest of November and December a series of issues related to men and young children came to political attention. In particular, traditional notions about the family and its structure came under scrutiny as the Families Commission Bill went through its legislative course. The Christchurch Civic Creche case petition also reached the Justice Select Committee, but to little effect. The really politically divisive issue, however, polarising political opinion, was the Government's Foreshore and Seabed policy announced just prior to the Christmas break. While seemingly unrelated to the issue of TeachNZ scholarships scheme, political reaction to the Foreshore and Seabed policy was later to have major impact on the eligibility conditions of the scheme as both became the focus of public gaze on race based policies.

Towards the end of January 2004 Don Brash delivered his first State of the Nation speech at the Orewa Rotary Club. As leader of the National Party he said, in essence, "The Treaty of Waitangi should not be used as the basis for giving greater civil, political or democratic rights to any particular ethnic group" (Brash, 2004). The consequences of Brash's speech were an immediate lurch in political polls toward National, and a review of all affirmative action offered by government to ensure that targeting was directed on the basis of need not race.

Over the Christmas period pressure also mounted on the Government in respect of the network reviews. It transpired (Fisher, 2004) that over $16 million was in the process of being spent on Invercargill schools which were destined to be closed or their fate was yet to be decided. Continued scrutiny by the public and by opposition members in Parliament eventually led to a five year moratorium on new school network reviews. The moratorium was announced by Mallard on 23 February 2004. What was quite clear was that with fewer pupils predicted to enrol in primary schools in the future, a smaller teaching workforce would be required and thus fewer teaching positions available, irrespective of gender. Both the average age and seniority of male primary teachers would count against them in the consequent restructuring. The ideological battleground chosen by the major parties was how to manage the downturn rather than whether to use

the opportunity to provide for, for example, smaller class sizes or a better gender mix, through policy.

The Terms of Reference of a new review of race based policy were announced by Mallard (Mallard, 25 March 2004) as the Coordinating Minister, Race Relations in March. As the State Services Minister, Mallard was also responsible for the Unit charged with the investigation. Although Labour denied any direct connection between the review and Brash's speech, this seems altogether unrealistic. In August (Berry, 2004, A6) it became apparent that Race Relations Coordinator Joris de Bres had reminded the government in May of its United Nations obligations. De Bres welcomed the review "provided its focus is on achieving effective policies and programmes to reduce inequalities between different ethnic groups and it is not intended to eliminate any programme solely on the basis that it is focused on a particular ethnic group" (ibid). The detail of the Government's response was not clear until September, just prior to Mallard (Berry and Young, 2004, p. A6) announcing a revamped TeachNZ scheme when he said,

> scholarships based on ethnicity which had been offered since the 1990s could not be justified (ibid).

Over 2004 momentum had grown for increased participation and funding for early childhood education as laid out in its 10 year Strategic Plan for Early Childhood (MOE, 2002). Considerable attention was also paid to the issues surrounding the development of young males within society. Throughout the year these issues resurfaced in one guise or another, before the early childhood qualifications issue reasserted itself. In June (The New Zealand Herald, 2004) the ERO reported on the readiness of early childhood services to implement new qualification requirements for the 'person responsible'. The ERO conducted a survey and concluded that only 6.2% of services faced "considerable barriers to meeting the requirements" (ERO, 2004). The report also indicated that Pasifika language nests were most likely to be affected followed by Montessori and Steiner centres.

However, according to Ross Penman, "700 workers in the sector would no longer qualify as persons responsible, adding to the present shortage of 1200 staff" (New Zealand Herald, 23 July 2004, p. A3). Bluntly, in the ECC's opinion there were too few qualified professional early childhood workers to support the Government's policies and as a result it was likely that some services would not meet increased regulatory requirements by 1 January 2005 and be forced to close. ECC disputed the ERO's survey results. Thorne claimed (Thorne, 2004) that the ERO's report did not take into account staff holiday breaks or split shift arrangements. She estimated that services would require a minimum of three fully qualified staff to avoid breaching regulations. Again, on the face of it this situation ought not to impact on the present study except that the Government was committed to urgently facilitating the growth of the qualified workforce through scholarships. A vital possibility was presented for males to become involved, independent of any projected demographic downturn. The eligibility criteria for such scholarships, however, remained uncertain over the first nine months of 2004.

By late July Cabinet Minister John Tamihere had began to raise a series of issues related to masculinity and young males in preparation for the release of a Literature Review (*Young Males: Strengths based and Male-Focused, A View of the Research and Best Evidence*) written by Helena Barwick and commissioned by the Ministry of Youth Development. Tamihere set himself apart from Mallard's position saying,

> Some people have suggested that boys-only classes or schools, using "male-friendly" teaching methods, and providing more male teachers may help boys' learning and identity. I applaud the announcement by my colleague, Education Minister Trevor Mallard, that a group will be set up to support effective teaching of boys. However I believe the issue is wider than just educational achievement as a stand-alone issue, and I think we need to also be addressing the wider picture (Scoop, 30 July 2004).

Interestingly Tamihere later went on to endorse Smith's suggestion about TeachNZ scholarships. Tamihere was reported as believing, "the Government should consider paying men $10,000 scholarships to get more men into teaching as much needed role models for boys" (Young, 2004, p. A5). Tamihere also attacked the operation of the Family Court (Armstrong, 2004a). His remarks are virtually identical to those made by Smith in his interview for this research.

An agreement to pay parity between Early Childhood members of the NZEI and the Primary sector was announced in September. Later, in October, the NZEI (Media Release, 14 October 2004) negotiated (successfully) for parity for 1000 of their members working in 150 centres covered by the *Consenting Party Early Childhood Collective Agreement*. This outcome was important as it represents a blurring of the border between profit and non-profit services. While only 150 Early Childhood Centres were involved, some were private profit making centres. One result of this is that increased pressure would be more likely to fall on other small independent childcare businesses (such as those advised by ECC) to pay similar rates at a time when many were already under pressure from a shortage of qualified staff.

Over the 2004 NZEI Annual conference Mallard announced that approximately 700 full-time equivalent scholarships would be made available in the early childhood sector for people on low incomes. Successful applicants would be bonded and could work their bond off in mainstream services. While some scholarships for specialist programmes were reserved for applicants with specific language competencies, there was no ethnic or gender qualification. Given that young low-income males were not part of a current recruiting pool, there would have been little information or opportunity for potential male candidates interested in becoming early childhood educators which helped them to predict or prepare for the Government's decision. The eligibility criteria were determined very late. Up to 460 scholarship opportunities were also offered to prospective secondary school teachers in specific subjects including, Maori, maths, physics, chemistry and technology. No scholarships were made available to the primary mainstream.

It is interesting to note Mallard's announcements in relation to Joris de Bres comments (above). Presumably in re-shaping eligibility criteria the Government felt confident that a switch from ethnic to 'low-income' and skill based criteria, would fulfil any obligations it had in respect to particular racial groups based on the International Conventions and Treaties it had signed.

In October 2004, the United Future party released Treasury papers obtained under the Official Information Act. It became clear that the Government's May 2004 budget promise to provide 20 hours free community based childcare for all three and four year old children from 2007, had been resisted by the Treasury. Advice given to government by the Treasury criticized the plan as having no clear educational rationale and that universal approaches carry "high dead-weight costs due to the lack of targeting those groups currently under-participating" (New Zealand Herald, 4 October 2004, p. A3). The Treasury was also said to believe that there was no basis for restricting provision to community-based providers, and that such a policy might have a number of effects. The policy might, the Treasury thought, for example, provide an incentive for parents to make changes to their work or disturb care arrangements in private services, even those arrangements which were working well.

Epilogue

In December an NZEI member, Michael Neville, was acquitted on charges of indecently assaulting several of his pupils. Lynne Bruce, the National Secretary of the NZEI, welcomed the verdict saying, "It highlights an occupational hazard faced in particular by male teachers" (The New Zealand Herald, 2004b, p. A3). Neville's case had taken 18 months to be resolved through the court process and in December, even after the trial, there was doubt about whether he would be able to resume his teaching position. Two researchers, Sarah Farquhar and Alison Jones challenged the NZEI's positioning on this issue. Jones stated in an opinion piece that policies and practices such as the NZEI's

"unintentionally maintain the idea of the teacher as a sexual abuser" (Jones, 2004). The issue was picked up the next day in the New Zealand Herald Editorial. Neville was reinstated in January 2005.

It was not until September 2006 that the NZEI changed its policy, freeing teachers to make "positive and affirming" physical contact with children (The New Zealand Herald, 26 September 2006). Sue Thorne said "men no longer feel welcome in childcare because they feared they would be treated with suspicion. A concerted effort needed to get more men into the workforce" (ibid). Within a comparatively short time the ECC agreed to sponsor a "Men's Summit" (Childforum, 2007) the day before its annual conference in March. The Summit was to include an overseas speaker, two New Zealand researchers with long term interest in the topic (Paul Callister and Sarah Farquhar), and to actively involve men working in early childhood centres in New Zealand.

Summary

Over the period 2003-4 a bewildering amount of media based material was available. It was very difficult to select representative material and, because many key players remain invisible, relevant to the political action. At times only ripples were apparent and the issue of male educators was peripheral to debate. What is apparent is a groundswell of political activity which raised the importance of TeachNZ scholarship criteria (in common with other schemes) to cabinet level.

The following chapter attempts to set the material from both the results chapters into a coherent framework for analysis. Each iteration of Smith's TeachNZ proposal is discussed using Kingdon (2003) as guide, and then placed in context using Matland's (1995) conflict/ambiguity framework.

CHAPTER 7: DISCUSSION

The discussion concentrates on Smith's TeachNZ proposal to apply the TeachNZ scheme as a way of encouraging males into Primary teaching. It is divided into two main parts. The first part uses Kingdon's (2003) adapted garbage can model is used to illustrate the proposal and its context on two separate occasions. Significant changes are apparent between when Smith initially outlined the proposal in 1999, and then subsequently in 2003 to more effect. The second part of the discussion examines the greater network framework in which Smith's agenda-setting as a policy entrepreneur took place. For this purpose Matland's (1995) four-fold division of policy-making activity and implementation has been used.

The Smith Proposal: Kingdon

Smith's proposal had two iterations, one in 1999 and one in 2003. The proposal itself did not change. While Smith might have believed that the reducing number of men in primary schools was a real problem, it seems that in proposing 'a solution' which carried the legal implications it did (under the Human Rights Act) he was seeking more to encourage debate and coalition building rather than seeking to end the problem. He stated in his interview that using TeachNZ scholarships to specifically encourage male applicants was not an answer in itself. The effects of proposing the solution were, however, different on each occasion.

The 1999 Smith Proposal

In his interview Smith said that as Minister of Education, he was concerned about the issue of dwindling numbers of male teachers in the primary service. It was in this role that Smith attempted to promote the idea of using TeachNZ scholarships for men entering primary teacher education as part of the budget cycle for year 2000. Smith's suggestion

met with strong resistance from the Ministry of Education based on the Ministry's interpretation of the Human Rights Act. From his interview material it seems that Smith was not best pleased with resistance from the Ministry and, in an election year, he chose to feed his proposal to a powerful education lobby group and the media. This move ensured high visibility for his proposal.

When, in July 1999, the proposal to use the TeachNZ scheme to attract men into the Primary teaching service was announced at the New Zealand Principals' Federation annual conference, it was as Smith's reflection of his personal and ideological beliefs, and his appreciation of the climate in the Early Education sector. Kingdon refers to an occasion such as the conference speech as a 'focus event', an event similar to "a crisis or disaster that comes along to call attention to the problem, a powerful symbol that catches on, or the personal experience of a policy maker" (2003, pp. 94-5). Smith attempted to stamp a priority on the political agenda and looked to attract electoral support for the idea. He was, though, acting as a policy entrepreneur (Kingdon, 2003; Mintrom, 1997, 2000) rather than in his capacity of Minister of Education.

Smith's idea did attract considerable attention in the media in 1999 but the proposal was publicly thought ill-advised by the Ministry of Education and one which could get a government into difficulty because of Human Rights Act implications. In the event, there was no show-down that year between Smith and the Ministry because of the outcome of the election. Each side, however, made their position perfectly clear, privately and in the media. Perhaps the most potent symbol Smith invoked was an "ironic parallel with the 'call to arms' in 1914 and 1939" (1999, para. 25). Certainly, it was an image which seemed very unlikely to attract men as early educators and nurturers.

As a focusing event Smith's speech to the Federation of Principals (Smith, 1999) was not enough, on its own, to provoke action at that time. Kingdon (2003, p. 98) notes that this is nearly always the case with focusing events which, "need to be accompanied by something else" to act as more than a warning or to reinforce prior perceptions that a

problem exists. Kingdon suggests, however, that such events "can affect problem definition in combination with other similar events" (ibid).

After the 1999 election the incoming Minister of Education, and of Sport, Trevor Mallard, simply avoided the Smith proposal (Sunday Times, 1999, p. B5) and attempted to eliminated the proposal from the government agenda and the public mind. Bachrach and Baratz (1962, p. 949) refer to attempts such as those by Mallard as exercises of power known as 'the mobilisation of bias' or non decision. Mallard attempted to ensure that the government agenda was resisted to safe issues, while Smith had much to gain from increasing the level of public level anxiety surrounding the proposal and surrounding issues. As Minister, Mallard prevailed and a casual observer might have been forgiven for thinking that the proposal was dead. To all practical purpose at the time it was, at least in the institutional setting of government. However, and perhaps to his credit as an intentional use of a 'non-decision', Mallard had stoked covert conflict by denying institutional access for the problem at least until it was based in the development of a serious social movement (cf. Bachrach and Baratz, 1970 cited in Parsons, 1995, pp. 135-136). Smith had put up a problem and proposed a solution but there was too little time and too few supporters to make a successful and realistic combination, at that time.

The 2003 Smith Proposal

At the time Smith refloated his proposal in the media (Manawatu Evening Standard, 17 June 2003) his party was out of government and on the brink of contesting a further general election. Smith's role position was, then, altogether different from when he first released the idea. Smith was a backbencher concerned to place political pressure of the existing government and for this he needed to assemble a coalition of allies. As noted above (Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith, 1993), negotiating a coalition involves compromise and trade-offs of relatively less important beliefs in order to create bargaining power, and this is much easier to do outside Cabinet as a backbencher in the opposition.

In 1999 two other events of vital concern to this study had taken place within the education sector. These events were part of a range of issues which were highly interesting to Smith's potential allies. First, a comparative review had been made by the Education Review Office (ERO) (ERO, 1999) of the scholastic achievements of boys and girls at secondary schools with particular focus on their qualification exit status. Boys were said to be achieving less well than in the past, in some areas of the curriculum. This had been well publicised at the time and, in part, prompted Smith to canvas support for the provision of scholarships for men. Second, and much less well heralded, the Ministry of Education (New Zealand Education Review, 12 November 1999, p. 1) foreshadowed that too many places in primary teacher education programmes were available at the time given the predicted large scale dip in primary school demographics. The Ministry openly suggested that colleges of education should consider reducing their intakes voluntarily. Neither the Ministry concern about oversupply of primary teachers nor primary school student places were well picked up by the media at that time.

By the time Smith reiterated his proposal in 2003, the early education environment had changed radically. The Ministry of Education and Mallard, as Minister of Education, were on the verge of initiating wide scale school network reviews and the early childhood 10 year Strategic Plan was being implemented. What became increasingly apparent was that although Smith's 2003 proposal was extremely badly timed in terms of 10-15 year forecasts of required primary school teachers overall, it was exquisitely timed in terms of alerting vulnerable teachers to the political drama that so-called 'school network reviews' would bring. Such intense pressure was created that all government scholarship incentive schemes were eventually reviewed by the State Services Commission. In addition, Smith's proposal was timed to take advantage of a growing national concern with equity, public focus surrounding the TeachNZ scheme, and a long term need to commit staffing resources to the early childhood *Strategic Plan.*

When lumped together by strategic coalitions with other incipient issues (of which male educators was just one) the school network reviews alerted a wider and wider base of

stakeholders to changing conditions in early education. Many stakeholders, especially those in rural areas, stood to lose not only teachers but their local schools. The mix proved a lightning rod for those dissatisfied with the government and without a broader map for fitting together all those who became in the agenda-setting process, Kingdon's (2003) approach is little more than descriptive.

The Smith Proposal: Matland

Matland's (1995) categorisation of implementation research can be used to describe Smith's situation. Matland places great importance on conflict and ambiguity variables. Although Smith's was an agenda setting initiative, it was launched into an existing set of other government policies at various stages of implementation. As Minister of Education in 1999, Smith's political environment (Cabinet) had dealt with high conflict issues where ambiguity needed to be kept to an absolute minimum. Smith understood that environment. Smith's proposal was highly specific, therefore, for if it was to be included in the budget round it needed to be valued against other priorities and to be given a costing under the close scrutiny of the Cabinet, the Prime Minister's Policy Advisory Group, and Ministry officials. Undoubtedly, as the Ministry of Education participant interviewed stated, the Ministry of Education was officially asked to comment in terms of implementing the proposal and was interested, not only, in the legal framework within which the proposal would fall but also the extent that the intent of the proposal could be successfully implemented and its cost. From this perspective the proposal needed to demonstrate both a low level of conflict and a low level of ambiguity for effective top-down implementation and, in part, budget rounds are designed to do exactly that. They represent in Kingdon's (2003) terms, a 'predictable policy window'. As it was the desired conditions did not apply. The following diagram illustrates the state of the play in the early education sector as strategic coalitions began to assemble in a way which would ultimately affect TeachNZ criteria.

Figure 2: *Tasks and risks affecting TeachNZ by relative conflict and ambiguity combinations.*

CONFLICT

	Low	High
Low (AMBIGUITY)	*Administration* Management of political decisions about education funds **AT RISK: Feasibility of TeachNZ implementation**	*Politics* Authorization of funding as politically expedient **AT RISK: Political tenure**
High (AMBIGUITY)	*Teaching contexts* Creation and maintenance of suitable environments for male educators **AT RISK: Increased numbers of male educators**	*Symbolic debate* Debate surrounding issues associated with males and teaching young children **AT RISK: Interest group beliefs**

(Adapted from: Matland, 1995, p. 160)

The symbolic quadrant

The symbolic quadrant defined by Matland (1995) is likely to produce changes to solution/problem combinations particularly where advocacy coalitions (Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith, 1993) begin to ally as happened in the case of Smith's 2003 proposal.

Over the 2003-4 three core policy issues which related to arguments about male educators were at stake. One of these was the implementation of the 'school network reviews' conducted by the MOE which were intended to explore potential efficiencies in the provision of student places through geographical rationalisation in school districts, another, the initial implementation stages of the early childhood 10 year strategic plan

(*Strategic Plan*) (MOE, 2002) and the third, growing popular dissatisfaction with race based policies. These three issues provide many glimpses of the research participants, other actors and the coalitions and networks with which they were involved. What seems clearer in hindsight is the manner in which the 'solution' and the 'problem' identified by Smith became decoupled over this period, and the importance of policy learning as a process accompanying agenda-setting. As a marker, which locates issues related to male teachers, TeachNZ scholarships, the Human Rights Act and positive discrimination together, from an early education perspective, the following extract from a Letters to the Editor section of the New Zealand Herald is very interesting. Citing Mallard's position as 'yet to find a parent who would prefer their child to be taught by an inferior male teacher rather than a better woman teacher' Thorne states:

> I would be most interested to know how the minister reconciles these comments with his policy to provide other under-represented groups in the teaching profession with $10,000 TeachNZ scholarships, i.e. Maori and Pasifika teacher trainees?

> Surely if his argument against providing incentives to encourage much-needed males back into teaching is valid (and I don't believe it is), then it should be equally applied (New Zealand Herald, 25 September 2003, p. A 14).

In Thorne's interview she stated that the ECC chose the 'male teacher'/Human Rights Act issue with a great deal of care. Thorne said, "We thought shall we buy into this fight? We've got that many fights already." Thorne also firmly linked Mallard, and his position on the issue, with NZEI, saying, "most of what he thinks...he's told to think by NZEI" and noting parallels between *Future Directions* (NZEI, 1996) and Labour's 1999 election manifesto.

Coming from the early childhood sector Thorne's statement carries added emphasis because the early childhood sector was on the cusp of enjoying growth, pay parity with

primary and massive professional development, encouraged by both government and the Ministry of Education. The situation stands in stark contrast to the reduction of both student population and workforce faced by the primary sector. The early childhood sector was actively investigating how it would continue to staff services in the light of increasing qualification standards. At an individual service level, early childhood does not feature a high level of conflict but there are substantial differences between services (i.e. low conflict/high ambiguity) depending on the ideology of the organisation which manages it. At the symbolic level which Matland (1995) suggests, however, there are very clear differences between the ideologies of services but clusters of similar services make active use of the media, as coalitions.

It is within the symbolic quadrant that Matland (1995) discusses the separation of 'problem' and 'solution' and re-combination process identified by Kingdon (2003) and Edelman (1988). Other things being equal, the TeachNZ scheme was more likely to be used in an increasingly targeted way to obtain specialist skills or to supply staff to hard-to-fill positions rather than establishing a gender based quota. Essentially, Smith was locked into a debate about the relative values of rare groups of increasingly highly prized staff. As such, he was committed to a conflict of values and beliefs. It is Edelman's (1996, p. 22) particular opinion that solutions typically precede problems. The separation of solutions and problems acts as part of the negotiation and bargaining process which occurs during symbolic activity, between interest groups.

As stated by Thorne, above, the 'problem' of males and the 'solution' of TeachNZ scholarships was seen in somewhat different ways by Thorne and Coddington. While both agreed with Smith that a problem existed in terms of the low numbers of men in teaching Coddington said, "I don't think that [National] have really thought it through in bringing it up again, because I think...there is a problem with the lack of men in teaching but...I think that there is a bigger problem to solve rather than just bring this TeachNZ back." In Coddington's opinion it was essential that standards of entry to teacher education were preserved, and raised.

The 'standards issue' did not appear to be about a 'genuine' risk posed by men to the safety of children, however. Coddington, in her interview, discussed agonising over whether she was scaremongering by releasing her books (*Paedophile and Sex Offender Index*, 1996, 2003), and said, "am I scaring everyone into thinking, God, my children...aren't safe in schools, in church...?" but she thought,"it's better to have the dodgy early childhood educators, and...dodgy teachers [of] small children, of either sex, reported and exposed and booted out." Thorne was dismissive of any actual risk men might pose for children in an early education setting saying, "when you look at the reality of how safe, and I mean I stand by what I say, that early childhood centres, not only from child abuse, but from every aspect, are one of the safest places you can take your child." Coddington, Thorne, Smith, and the early childhood worker interviewed, all agreed that the NZEI code of practice policy acted as an inhibiting factor in terms of men entering early education. The child advocate, Thorne and the early childhood worker all agreed that recruitment material needed to placed in front of male school leavers to encourage more men into early education. The Ministry participant suggested that while public awareness campaigns [such as the Te Mana or Drink/Drive campaigns] were effective, they were very expensive. The Ministry of Education participant also felt strongly, however, that the 'solution' to getting more men into early childhood was related to pay parity and increased levels of professionalisation and qualification, and clearly believed that professionalisation was an easier option than countering any, "Ellis syndrome." Smith on the other hand did not believe that the parity/qualification approach had borne fruit in the primary sector. Smith stated that pay parity for primary teachers with secondary teachers since 1998, "has had a negligible effect" on the decline in the number of males in the primary service.

There was, therefore, even amongst the small number of participants interviewed for the study, considerable scope for coalition building of the sort suggested by Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1993). The three wild cards, apart from the upcoming election, which provided such intense symbolic activity within which the issue of reduced numbers of

male early educators was debated, were the school network reviews [overseen by Mallard and administered by the MOE], the Orewa speech by Don Brash, and whether the 20 'free hours' promised by the government for children of 3 and 4 years old to attend early childhood services should be a universal provision or restricted to community providers. Indeed, such was the intensity created by the combination of these three issues in the hands of symbolic coalitions, that both the Cabinet and the Ministry of Education were forced into making policy changes.

What is very noticeable from an early childhood perspective is an almost complete lack of response to media based symbolic debate by an organised interest group of men in the early education sector. While there is, over the 2003-4 period, the odd media 'human interest' story, in a public sense not even the NZEI provided any comment which would suggest that a group of men existed who might petition government, or inform bureaucracy, or advocate on behalf of men and children, or otherwise act in common interest. Given the amount of 'bad press' these people had to endure since the late 1980s perhaps this is not surprising. More particularly, the MOE policy analyst pointed out that while, "governments do want to increase the number of early childhood people and primary teachers", and that the issue of low numbers of men was increasingly recognised,

> even with regard to increasing academic failure amongst boys, there's no rigorous...there's some... but there's no rigorous men's movement that's saying...*We've got to put a stop to this, we've got to change the curriculum, we've got to get more men into teaching, we've got to address this, otherwise we are... because our rights are being trampled on as a gender, and this needs to be fixed.* That hasn't happened.

That is, the lack of a powerful continuous lobby for increases in the number of male educators, one that is organised and well resourced, means that full advantage does not get taken of any sympathy for the idea within government. This study suggests that there are other interested policy entrepreneurs, such as the child advocate interviewed, waiting

for symbolic and political opportunities to link focus events with what is happening to, and for children. There is potential here for a great deal of active participation by men, but if men feel they have something to offer children in the early education sector, beyond self protection, it is essential to project that.

The political quadrant

What must be noted here is that 'the political quadrant' as defined by Matland (1995) does not have institutional boundaries. In a general sense political clarification of problem and solution takes place in extra-institutional settings through the medium of networks. Members of various interest groups negotiate subject to their own beliefs and the parameters placed on them by multiple affiliations, roles and responsibilities. Thus in agenda setting, at an institutional level (for example, the bureaucracy, parliament select committees or cabinet), interest groups and those in the field may be actively working on reducing or increasing the ambiguity or conflict related to a policy problem in order to promote it for a preferred implementation. It is, as Ryan (2006) suggests, network access which is critical. Some specific institutions operating as networks such as Cabinet, however, are more crucial to the process than others.

The MOE reviews of student placements of 2003-4 provide a good example, particularly as they threatened to remove from the primary teaching service key principal positions in rural schools which are typically occupied by men. These school based 'network' reviews were entirely separate from the *Strategic Plan* despite having a national range of action and actually being implemented, and were almost completely independent of the Cabinet. The reviews were based less on pedagogical value to children or parents or on a Labour party policy plank, and more on a long established bureaucratic procedure or policy designed to ensure first, that schools were equitably and efficiently managed and second, that pupils and teachers were placed together in an approved ratio. The school 'network' reviews were the type of generally unpoliticized policy to which the Ministry of Education participant referred to saying, "there are vast numbers of policies that... just

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carry on." It should be pointed out, however, that there was never a suggestion that every school in the country had been scheduled for review. The policy was simply there to be used as and when it was required and as a matter for the Minister, on Ministry advice, to apply but it was not too long before the school 'network' reviews were impacting on the networks of cabinet ministers.

The school 'network' review policy had been used throughout the 1990s to close schools as, and when rolls became unsustainable. The policy was simply a bread and butter handling of changing circumstances. As noted above, the MOE had publicly foreshadowed the scale of an increasing problem, as early as 1999. By 2003, the MOE was advising the Minister that, based on a long range 10-15 year forecast, there was a case to review the distribution of school places over the greater part of the country. Some estimates suggested that up to 61,000 fewer pupil places and 300 fewer schools would be required. Authority for closures and mergers was available to Mallard as Minister under the Education Act section 156A (as amended in 2000), and section 157. He took that opportunity without specifically referring to Cabinet.

Related policy had been tweaked by the Cabinet Committee on Government Expenditure in 2001 (Clark, 2004), with Mallard in the Chair. This allowed monies saved in school 'network' reviews to be returned to Vote Education rather than to the Consolidated Fund. Although this was subsequently approved by Cabinet when it appeared as a Cabinet Minute, what was neither applied for, nor granted at that time, however, was the authority for Mallard and the Ministry to conduct school 'network' reviews on the scale which were later set in train. Because of the scale of the reviews, and their value to the Education portfolio, hard questions were later asked about budget maximizing behaviour on the part of the Ministry. The budget baseline approach allows some flexibility for a Minister to shuffle outputs within a budget category but as the Treasury states,

> Ministers may request changes to baselines, and Cabinet considers proposals during the review of the baselines prior to the Budget. The circumstances in

which baseline changes are agreed are tightly defined. These include changes arising from Cabinet decisions since the previous fiscal update and forecast revisions to demand-driven expenses, such as changes in the numbers projected to receive welfare benefits.

(1996, p. 25)

The relevance of this structural constraint to the TeachNZ scholarship scheme may seen in the 2007 criteria of the TeachNZ scholarship scheme (MOE, 2007). One of the two streams available for early education requires a candidate to have a low to middle income and be eligible for a community services card. Notwithstanding, even without considering welfare benefits or long term demographic changes, given the scale of difference between the primary school student places the government was providing through Vote Education and the actual pick up, the Cabinet should have been alerted.

Cabinet

As the Prime Minister (Clark, 2004) stated in her post-Cabinet press interview, the issue of whether funds generated through saving should be retained by the Ministry or passed back to Treasury had been long standing. The 'use it or lose' principle is deeply ingrained in the capitalist system and is an essential feature of public service thinking. Mallard in shepherding through the change in Ministry network review practice quietly altered what Benson (Ham and Hill, 1993, p. 177; Parsons, 1995, p. 149) calls a 'rule of structure' formed around the sector. In doing so, Mallard introduced the possibility that the Ministry could reprioritize the savings. Naturally this was intensely interesting to political opponents, demand groups, support groups, administrative, provider and coordinator groups (Benson, 1982).

In setting up the reviews, Mallard had paid little attention to alerting his colleagues about the potential for widespread social and political disruption in portfolios and electorates other than his own. The network review programme was contentious and an attempt to

implement it administratively unwise as an atmosphere of low conflict and low ambiguity did not pertain. The reviews became an example of what is called 'non-implementation'. That is, a policy which failed in the specific instance, "perhaps because those involved in its execution have been unco-operative and/or inefficient, or because their best efforts could not overcome obstacles to effective implementation over which they had little or no control" (Hogwood and Gunn, 1984, p. 197). In the specific case, it was the strength of the opposition, and ongoing attempts to disrupt the implementation of the policy that were woefully underestimated. An important by-product of the network reviews was the focus it provided for strategic coalitions opposing the government. The process helped to gather together allies with only vaguely related issues and whose next focus would be closer to the heart of existing TeachNZ scholarship criteria.

It is worth considering Benson's points in relation to the full set of decisions that the Cabinet had to take. Benson (1975, p. 234) notes that in the case of policy networks, the degree of inter-organisational power generated may be determined by three factors, namely, the size of the group or groups supporting the organisation, the degree of mobilization of the supporting groups, and their social rank. What emerged in early 2004, after increasing public outrage and political pressure was that the reviews were not a Labour government policy as such, and did not have specific Cabinet approval. The Prime Minister, noting a 'growing awareness' among colleagues, said that "at the end of the day... as Mr. Mallard said, he bit off a bit more than he could chew, and hence the rethink" (Clark, 2004). A moratorium was placed on further planned school 'network' reviews shortly afterwards. From Clark's statement it was Mallard's responsibility to formally alert Cabinet because of the implications for government, and that he had proceeded with the reviews on an ideological basis of his own.

The fact that the Prime Minister and Cabinet refused to back Mallard on the school network reviews begs an important question about the power which an individual Minister has, to take, and to sanction critical policy decisions which may affect the collective interest of a government (Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet

(DPMC), Cabinet Manual, Chapter 3, paragraphs 3.20-3.28, 2005). Not only was the Cabinet faced with a face-saving debacle in terms of the school network reviews programme, but the fact that there was no explicit Cabinet authorization for them.

A further critical position taken by the Education Minister was later altered at Cabinet level. Community based providers only were according to Mallard, to be allocated targeted funding for the '20 free hours' for children of 3 and 4 years. This allocation was later slated, however, for universal provision as the result of pressure, not only from pressure groups but also from within the Cabinet. There were also other important resource issues before Cabinet. In 2002 a Labour endorsed Early Childhood initiative called *Pathways to the Future* (MOE, 2002) was launched. The initiative was a 10 year strategic plan intended to ensure all regulated staff in teacher-led Early Childhood Education services would be fully or provisionally registered by 2012. The use of scholarships to increase the number of qualified educators was specified as one of the first steps to achieve this aim. The plan represented a very serious financial and social commitment by the Labour-led coalition, with Mallard as Minister. The strategic plan was the product of a major long term consultation process as was intended to support the early childhood curriculum *Te Whariki* (MOE, 1996). An extensive constituency was therefore involved in its implementation, because of virtually sector wide backing.

In 2002 Mallard's preference for spending on scholarships was in the area of Early Childhood rather than on male Primary teachers, but he certainly had no axe to grind with race-based TeachNZ support for language based provision. From the interview with the Ministry of Education participant, it seems certain that the government intended to continue using TeachNZ scholarships as a method of attracting Maori and Pacifika people, as language was a key element in attracting participation from these groups. Powerful lobbies were assembling, however. Coddington (later a Select Committee member) said in her interview that although she didn't think the ACT party would ever become the government, its aim was to influence whoever was in power, thus ensuring the adoption of its own policies. Coddington rejected the idea of providing TeachNZ

scholarships to target certain groups such Maori and Pacifika. In the event, early childhood scholarships were not based on gender or race and in a sense Coddington was on the 'winning side' by helping force a State Services review of all incentive schemes.

Bureaucracy

Two of those interviewed for the study were public servants. One of these people was an analyst for the Ministry of Education and the other a child advocate for a Crown Entity. It is worth briefly noting the differing roles played by each type of organisation. In the case of the Ministry of Education it is not only responsible for the administration and all stages of the implementation of government policy, but it also has a number of other outputs including policy educational advice to the Minister of Education. Shaw and Eichbaum note, "Public servants should provide Ministers with the best possible advice, regardless of their own normative inclinations or political affiliations. This requirement to furnish 'free, frank, and fearless' advice means that public servants sometimes have to tell Ministers what Ministers need to hear, rather than what they may wish to hear" (2005, p. 88). Kingdon (2003) suggests from his empirical results that this does not mean that bureaucrats have power over government agenda setting.

Maintaining balance between personal prudence and fearlessness is not an easy task for Ministers or public servants in work or personal life, as shown in 2004. In August that year two public servants, one from a government department, and one from a Crown Entity, fell foul of the Labour party (Armstrong, 2004, p. A24) because of their ideological beliefs. While the detail is not relevant here the two incidents neatly highlight the variety of structures in which public servants work. However, unlike the departmental employee who resigned over a conflict of interest complaint, the CEO of a Crown Entity concerned with a similar matter, while still a public servant, was answerable to a board not government directly, and thus enjoyed a greater measure of protection. There are a number of Crown Entity types (Shaw and Eichbaum, 2005) ranging from School Boards of Trustees (which may be readily replaced with a Commissioner by government edict) to

independent entities such as the Human Rights Commission which is not obligated to agree with government policy, even publicly.

Other types of public servant also are important to the agenda setting process, especially those from the 'core Public Service' (Martin, 2001) who brief and advise Ministers. Some, such as those who advise the Prime Minister (Henderson, 2001) defend against 'departmentalism' (Shaw and Eichbaum, 2005) and have a special responsibility to coordinate advice from different departments. Early education has been represented at least twice in the Prime Ministerial Policy Advisory Group, once by Anne Meade during David Lange's tenure when the *Before 5* was published and currently by Ross Boyd over the period of the *Strategic Plan* implementation. In 2006, Boyd said about his work,

> I still work with education, but I have a much broader view. I can see how the rest of government sees education, which is difficult from within a department. I have a lot of interaction with other portfolios and appreciate the need for strong linkages between them. You get to see more of the political perspective, and you also see the big picture of Government strategy and direction, as well as how priorities are delivered in practice.
>
> (2006, p.2)

Cobb, Ross and Ross point to the difficulties faced by administrators in relation to agenda setting and implementation. These commentators believe that in most communities the number of policy issues vying for the serious attention of administrators, "far exceeds the capabilities of decision-making institutions to process them" (1976, p. 126). Weeding processes must occur which whittle potential agenda items down to an approved and manageable programme of implementation which fits the inclination of government and the public purse. Cobb, Ross and Ross (1976, p. 127) consider the possibility that potential agenda items arise in three ways: nongovernmental groups pushing issues from the public agenda to the formal agenda, government insiders placing issues onto the public agenda to gain support, and governmental insiders restricting public access to

agenda setting involvement giving legislative processes an easier ride. If Cobb, Ross and Ross' (1976) analysis is correct, public debate could act as a very important feature of policy definition and government insiders may in some cases be as reliant as outsiders on having to publicly lobby for their preferences but in others able to use executive powers without inhibition.

What is necessary, from an administrative perspective, is that political conflict is removed as much as possible to allow uncontested implementation. It is ironic that Smith, a high ranking National party member, proposed TeachNZ incentives for males, triggering modest unrest, but National Party Leader Brash railed directly against such incentives for Maori thus bringing into question the whole basis of incentives. As a result the issue and all other state funded incentive schemes were, as a result of public pressure, bundled into the State Services Commission for a thoroughgoing review. Effectively the outcome resulted in the re-separation of the 'problem' of dwindling numbers of males from the 'solution' of the TeachNZ scheme. The decision to re-frame race based incentives as skill based ones allowed departments to again, implement policies in the way most natural to them, administratively.

The administrative quadrant

As a result of its association with targeted funding the issue of men as teachers of young children was swept into a mainstream symbolic current spanning many issues important to coalitions opposing the government. This amounted to a spillover effect as identified by Kingdon (2003, pp. 190-5). The spillover was so significant that (albeit in a disguised form) it warranted urgent core public service attention and political resolution. A new principle for incentive schemes of all manner of government funded scholarships was established. Alongside this issue were the criteria of another policy question, whether the government's '20 free hours' entitlement for 3 and 4 year old children in teacher-led early childhood services should be open to private providers. It too was also caught up in the spillover. Increasing the number of qualified educators in early childhood was a

pivotal element in providing resources for the '20 free hours' policy so that the government could implement its programme, especially given the inclusion of private centres. As a result more men are potentially able to be subsidised to become qualified early educators through the TeachNZ scheme, but there is a dramatic shift in emphasis towards early childhood provision and away from primary.

There is a high level, top-down set of policies which the government wishes to see implemented. It is thus vulnerable to the private providers of early education. Like the United Kingdom, New Zealand is in the process of returning the parents of school age children to work. Both countries urgently need care facilities of high quality childcare available to children both before five years, and after school and, if the experience of the United Kingdom is an indication, it is for this reason that government and administration can be persuaded to actively investigate ways to encourage men into the teaching professions. As Matland observes, the central principle in administrative implementation is "*outcomes are determined by resources*. The desired outcome is virtually assured, given that *sufficient resources* are appropriated for the program" (emphasis in original 1995, p. 160). In fact, the government only has the money side of the equation. Acquiring human resources is another thing altogether, and, so is the actual institutional provision of places for children. Mallard's ideological view of only subsidizing community facilities, could well have disrupted a delicate economic balance for private providers. Many suggested they could not compete and would close their doors. This would result in a government failure to meet its goals.

The experimental quadrant

The early childhood sector provides excellent examples of experimental implementation because of its diversity. A generous amount of discretion is available to service providers in implementing the government's early childhood policy. The curriculum, for example, is optional and acts as a standard only, and is very much open to interpretation (ambiguous). Conflict within services is comparatively low. The sector has a very long

history of doing what is possible, given the resources available at the time, in the current context and has a very long history of seeking to make improvements through networking and political action.

Some developments are slower than others. It took until 2006 (Farquhar et al., 2006) for a group of men working in the early childhood sector, with the help of an experienced researcher, to form a group approach to involving other men. If any real progress is to be made in the numbers, or quality of men available to children as educators, or to slow the attrition of males in the primary sector, it will not be long before services in the early education sector as a whole begin to look outside the experimental quadrant. Agenda setting will begin again directed either at obtaining additional resource or in search of an authority to make decisions. It is groups such as that formed around Farquhar (Farquhar et al, 2006), and within the NZEI, that will have to strike out far further through symbolic means.

If progress is to be made on the numbers of men working closely with young children, in the current early education context, with the present available resources, then adaptations in thinking are required to accommodate it. The Ministry (2006) is just tentatively beginning to encourage men as being 'particularly welcome' in both early childhood and primary teaching. A review of teacher education has been established with Ross Boyd from the DPMC as chair. The TeachNZ scheme is also available as an incentive to encourage people into early childhood education, and, from the interview with the young man who participated in this study, there are long term benefits and possible career aspirations in early childhood which are simply unavailable to primary school teachers. It is a matter, only, of who is going to join the dots, and how quickly.

Summary

The above chapter has looked at the Smith proposal and surrounding political activity in two ways, through the eyes of Kingdon, and through the eyes of Matland. Matland's

work emphasises the practical business of implementing policy and is essential to the discussion of agenda setting. The concluding chapter draws together the various threads, attending to Vickers (1965, 1968) points about the value/reality construction of decision makers, the importance of limitations placed on institutional settings and what is meant by success, the relationship between the worlds of ideas and events, the ecological significance of policy decisions and the function the process performs in terms of social learning.

CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION

Introduction

This thesis has set out to follow the policy making processes surrounding the Smith proposal (1999) and its reiteration in 2003. The aims were to find:

-        The policy basis on which the decision was taken, and by whom;

-        Who the influential lobbyists were, and what were their motives;

-        The linkage between this issue and early childhood care and education (ECCE).

An attempt has also been made to assess how greatly ideology might have affected educator balance in 1999, today, or in the future.

There are limits to the depth and breadth of analysis possible in a study such as this. The data is spare when considered against the full background of the agenda setting process. What can be done is to focus on the two separate policy decisions which were made in terms of Smith's policy. In 1999 the Ministry of Education pointed out to Nick Smith as Minister of Education that setting up 'male only' scholarships would be in contravention of the Human Rights Act. There was no time, given the outcome of the election that year, for negotiation processes about the issue to take place. In 2003, however, the situation was quite different. Smith was outside government and had had a chance to fully prepare. The result in 2004 was a set of policy decisions which changed the criteria of an expanded TeachNZ scheme directed towards early childhood and away from primary, toward low to middle income earners, and rewarding skills rather than ethnicity or gender. As a result it became far more possible for men to be awarded scholarships into qualification as an early educator, although they would need to apply on an equal footing with other candidates.

As noted in Chapter 3, Vickers (1965, 1968) has provided four general categories of

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analysis to consider. When reflecting on policy decisions such as those made about the Smith proposal: first, we need to know about the value/reality construction of decision makers in order to understand the difficulties under which they operate and second, the institutional settings in which decisions are made including limitations, change, accountability and what is meant by success. Third, there are also situational considerations to be taken into account such as the relationship between the worlds of ideas and events because to decide whether a decision has been made as a result of conflict and bargaining, for instance, requires concentrating on the multiple values that are involved in making decisions about allocations. Finally, there is a concern to know about how a decision affects society as a whole, its ecological importance and the function the policy making process performs in terms of social learning (Vickers, 1965).

Value/reality construction in decision makers

Vickers (1965) moves Parsons to ask "how skilful are decision-makers in making judgements about what can and cannot be done, or about what they want and do not want to do?" (1995, p. 365). To answer this question, a prior question must be resolved. Who made the 2003 decision? It is for this purpose that Matland's (1995) framework has been used as a guide. Actors' value/reality constructions are constrained both structurally and through norms depending on their location and allegiance, especially in their capacity to influence policy. One important constraint in this respect is the assessment of what a policy would take to implement, and the means and networks necessary to do it. Matland's (ibid) work is presented here as a valuable way to do that, from the perspective of an agenda setting policy entrepreneur.

Between 1978, and the Hill report recommendation that men be a category within a 10% quota for teachers college intakes, and 1999, the issue of males and TeachNZ was not a serious consideration. When Smith launched his proposal initially it was in response to the ERO report on the achievements of boys in secondary schools. He believed that if boys had access to male role models and had their teaching tailored to male learning

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styles then they would achieve better results at school but acknowledged in interview that it was necessary to ask from a 'factual public policy point of view' why boys are not achieving as well as they might, "and then try to, outside the realm of bureaucracy or the politics, bring together a panel of experts who can…address the issue." Increasing the numbers of men in primary teaching is possibly incidental to this argument and hence the ideological argument.

In 1999 Smith was an important decision-maker in terms of TeachNZ criteria, but constrained by time, by the legal aspects of the methods he was attempting to use, and by the unwillingness of those around him to commit to the solution/problem combination he was promoting. In effect a 'non-decision' had been taken by first, the Ministry, and later by Mallard, preventing the idea from getting onto the government agenda, and which was easy to achieve in the absence of a genuine social movement or lobby group. In 2003, however, while Smith was no longer in a prime decision maker position he was free to act as a policy entrepreneur and he bided his time waiting for an opening to promote his idea onto the agenda. Ultimately it was for Cabinet to set TeachNZ criteria and to approve the budget that supported them but Smith had a range of options available to him through which to influence that decision either inside Cabinet or outside it.

Institutional settings and 'success'

Internally the incoming Labour coalition Cabinet was under fire from the time it was installed and a number of Cabinet Ministers fell from grace. Policies such as the race based scholarships, school network reviews and the "20 free hours" proposed for children enrolled in teacher-led early childhood services were later also the source of intense political attack from the opposition and from business lobby groups. The success of these political and symbolic attacks on the Labour Coalition's policies strongly suggests that Cabinet is accountable, and indeed vulnerable, in making some types of decision because it often relies on a public-private partnership to implement policies.

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When Smith re-launched this proposal in 2003 it was wrapped in the language of the "Ellis Syndrome". In 2003, from the point of view of the Minister of Education and Cabinet, men did not seem a critical recruitment pool. In September 2004, however, the issue was again in the public view. Cabinet Minister John Tamihere voiced an opinion similar to Smith's in terms of sponsorships for men, but welcomed Mallard's announcement of a group being set up to consider boys learning. A demographic downturn in the number of students in primary school sector made it unlikely that male candidates applying for scholarships would be given preference over women as the teaching service faced oversupply. The early childhood sector, however, stood to gain substantial support from the TeachNZ scheme (MOE, 2002) to equip its expansion and to meet increasing qualification requirements. What was not known was the size of support or the criteria, but it should not be forgotten that while 'men' were not given preferential status in the criteria either in 1999, 2003 or later, they did gain access to scholarships over the period. That they were men was still incidental.

What did happen in 2006 was that money was set aside in the Ministry of Education budget for TeachNZ to produce material specifically designed to recruit men, including a DVD. If the TeachNZ criteria as a whole are any indication of the government's priorities, rapid expansion and increased qualification levels in early childhood provision were paramount and to be achieved by inducing low to middle income earners to qualify. There was little substantive change to the government's requirement for those fluent and able to work in Maori or Pasifika settings to qualify as an early childhood educator.

Ideas and events

The events of 1999 and 2003 point to the importance of advocacy coalitions and bargaining in the symbolic quadrant (Matland, 1995), the alliances produced and their capacity to influence those with decision making responsibility. Whereas Matland depicts the interaction of advocacy coalitions as 'implementation' they are as much involved with agenda setting and the negotiation which accompanies it. Kingdon (2003) closely

associates the garbage can model with the activity of policy entrepreneurs who interact to promote particular solution/problem combinations, wherever they are able but especially when the action of advocacy coalitions or other opportunities produce political events with policy windows (p.182). This process occurred time and time again in the media over the period of study, sometimes closely related to the issue at hand, sometimes not, but finally it was easy to observe the spillover which occurred as government scholarship programmes were bundled into the State Sector Commission for review.

Allocative decision

The allocative decision the government made to back its early childhood developments through TeachNZ scholarships was definitely influenced by the action of advocacy coalitions which drew very clear ideological lines in the sand, particularly business groups and early childhood provider groups. The allocation is much expanded and the criteria have altered. Over a long process of review race based criteria were replaced with skill based ones to form one target group with low to middle income earners specified as the other target group. Gender remains irrelevant. Scholarships were not made available in the primary sector for mainstream settings, but only for those willing to teach in rural areas and accept particular bonding arrangements.

On the face of it then as far as the TeachNZ criteria were concerned there was nothing to indicate that men were particularly welcome. It is left to symbolic means to achieve that. Mintrom (1997, 2006) makes a strong case for policy entrepreneurs to be ready, but above all, to be equipped with compelling comparative information about existing working options, the hard data. As Thorne stated in her interview this is very much missing from the current debate.

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Ecological importance and social learning.

There has been a noticeable reduction of stress related to child abuse in educational settings in the press since the Neville case and since NZEI changed its restrictive Code of Practice in 2006. The "Christchurch Civic Creche Case" also seems to have waned in importance and as a result early education is a less difficult environment in which to work.

As TeachNZ begins collecting male directed recruitment material an early childhood men's summit is set to become established. The initial summit meeting has been sponsored by the Early Childhood Council working in conjunction with Sarah Farquhar and is completely independent of the NZEI men's caucus. In fact, it is probably true to say that these two groups will represent ideologically and politically opposing perspectives in relation to men and early education. Notwithstanding, it is a welcome development where there is potential for dialogue and networking at a grassroots level, and which is actively encouraged rather than resisted by government.

Concluding thoughts

The value of the present study is that it follows the development of the Smith proposal over a long period. In doing so observations have been possible about both the issue itself and about the policy processes it followed. Agenda setting and implementation begin to be seen as connected parts of the whole, influenced by events, ideas, champions and structures. This thesis has found Matland (1995) and Kingdon (2003) to be good guides and appropriate tools to watch the development and activity of male early educators' interest groups.

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of the study is the manner in which various combinations of 'problem' and 'solution' became coupled and decoupled. This was a delicate process demanding time and one in which Mallard as both Education Minister

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and Coordinating Minister in Charge of Race Relations was uniquely placed to participate. The issue of dwindling numbers of male early educators now has a basis within TeachNZ criteria and a government review has been set up to address the wider aspects of the problem. In a sense Smith and Mallard co-operated (as antagonistic political opponents) to bring the issue to the public mind and, in the process, a new interest group representing male early childhood educators has been established.

Given these changes, the early education environment is likely to attract more males. Pay and status are incrementally improving, there is greater public acceptance of the role men play in young children's lives, the NZEI has modified its restrictive 'Code of Practice' and there is the potential, particularly in early childhood, to begin to sculpt a 'male friendly' environment. This is likely to be good for children as they begin to see men and women working together rather than experience the artificial 'women only' environment which currently prevails in mainstream early education.

Meanwhile, the ideology of the Kohanga Reo movement allows it to covet the number of men it directly involves in teaching children, and be remarkable in the world for its success in doing so.

Appendix 1:

HON DR NICK SMITH
MINISTER OF EDUCATION

Address to

New Zealand Principals' Federation
Annual Conference

Rotorua Convention Centre, Rotorua
Friday 30 July 1999, 11.30am

Appendix 1

Today I am here to give a vote of confidence in your contribution to our schools and I'm also here to give you confidence in my Government's vision for schools. I want to acknowledge your new President and wish her well in the job, and I want to thank your Federation for the constructive leadership role it plays in New Zealand education.

Some people think that being Minister of Education is a dog of a job. They're wrong. Each time I visit a school I walk out the gate brimming with pride at all the effort and the energy that principals, trustees and teachers are putting into the school.

A few weeks ago I attended the re-union of Victory School in Nelson. A dear old guy with a walking stick tapped me on the shoulder and introduced himself as the School's Principal back in the 1950s. He was amused by the fact that he was a Principal before I was born, and started to give me a rendition on education policy. I was expecting the tired old rhetoric about 'being better in my day'! I got the opposite. This guy did a rave about the progress in the school over the last decade. He said he had never seen so many people in the staffroom, and they were bright and committed. He said he loved the way that parents were involved in the running of the school. He was envious of the Principal who could get on and make so many of his own decisions without some Education Board bureaucrat second guessing him. He said he couldn't believe the flash new admin area and the fact that it didn't look the same as every other school and, when he saw the pupils working at their computers and the kapa haka group and the musical performance of the children, he said "my goodness we've come along way under Tomorrow's Schools".

He's right, and the story of Victory School is repeated a thousand times over around New Zealand. I haven't become all starry eyed. There are schools that are not matching up. They can't be ignored and I want to talk today about initiatives to improve them. But they are a very small minority. The vast majority of our schools today are better managed, more inclusive, better staffed and delivering better education than they ever have.

At the heart of the philosophy behind Tomorrow's Schools are the words flexibility and choice. I was amused by a quote from one teacher union die-hard who said that the f and c swearwords in the 1990s were flexibility and choice. There are still those who challenge the role of parents in the governance of schools and who want to return to the centralised command and control of yesteryear. Don't be shy of telling the successes of your schools because there are those who would take back that flexibility and choice tomorrow if given half a chance.

Education will always be about getting the very best for children from a limited budget. In this respect, Tomorrow's Schools has been a stunning success. Schools control operational budgets of over $830 million every year and spend every dollar of this money each year with great care. They shop hard for the best deal. I haven't noted too many schools chartering whisper jets. You are at the chalk face and recognise that a dollar wasted is a child's education compromised.

While I am pleased to be a cheerleader for what you have achieved over the last decade, we can't sit on our laurels. The knowledge economy of the new century will put more demands than ever on our school system.

Our education policy has got to be forward looking, and continuously focused on how we can drive standards higher.

This year you will have heard me talking about the literacy and numeracy initiative and information technology in schools. These are our two flagships this year.

On the first - the Literacy and Numeracy Initiative - we are making good progress. The taskforce has delivered its report and we are on track to implement all 13 recommendations.

This morning we have added a further chapter here in Rotorua at Malfroy Primary School with an information pack of ideas for homes on how they can lift the reading, writing and maths skills of children. It is an acknowledgement that most of children's learning occurs in their homes and communities.

This is part of the Feed the Mind Campaign that is already showing very positive results. It has been only going for 3 months but research shows the message is getting through. There is an 11% increase in parents' recognition of the importance of literacy and, most significantly, a 23% increase for Pacific parents. There is also a 14% increase in the proportion of parents who think they can contribute to their children's learning and marked reductions in the number of parents who say it is too hard or costs too much. We are getting the message through that schools alone can't reach our educational goals.

Our second flagship this year is ICT. On Monday, applications for the new information technology grant open. I am enthused by the way schools have picked up the ICT challenge. Let me make it clear that this year's package is not the be-all and end-all of ICT in schools. My next goal on this front would be to boost the professional development in ICT for teachers.

Other important programmes include Special Education 2000, on which I made an important announcement a fortnight ago, and social workers in

schools - we will soon be announcing the schools that will get this additional resource.

In the pipeline we have important work on the teacher education green paper, assessment and school qualifications, all of which we will conclude this year.

On the issue of the teacher education, can I give you a strong re-assurance regarding the rural advisory service. I have received an overwhelming message that the service is valued by Principals and is an absolute lifeline for many rural schools. It will be retained. It is, however, my intention to introduce a greater degree of contestability into other professional development services.

The other outstanding issue from the teacher education green paper is pre-service training. The process for approving teacher training programmes is a dog's breakfast. Universities get approval from the Committee on University Academic programmes (CUAP), which in itself is a sub-committee of the Vice Chancellor's Committee. The Polytechnics have their teacher training programmes approved through the New Zealand Polytechnics' Programmes Committee (NZPPC). Colleges of Education obtain approval from the Colleges of Education Academic Committee (CEAC). Private training establishments have to get approval from the NZQA. I've got CEAC, PPC, CUAP and it is a bunch of CRAP. We need one robust approval process in which the sector has confidence.

You will be aware of the ERO report released yesterday on the underachievement of boys. It will not be news to you. The report identifies some of the strategies that will help boys do better. These include recognising that boys and girls have different learning styles and that poor school discipline particularly adversely affects boys learning. The report also emphasises the importance of strong student support programmes. Visiting your schools, I see many of these positive things already occurring. But I also note something else, and that is the shortage of male teachers in the primary sector.

This last issue is one on which I wish to make an announcement today. It is an area in such a PC society that angels fear to tread. Let me put the problem to you.

The ERO and many social researchers have identified the importance of positive role models for boys. Yet our census shows 55,000 boys growing up in households without a male role model. These boys go on to school and are taught by an increasingly female profession.

This is not a criticism of women teachers, but it is an acknowledgement of the

reality that we do not live in a genderless society. It is my view that if we are to lift boys' achievement, if we are to deal to some of the social issues confronting boys, we need to attract more quality men to your profession. The surprise for me is that it is the women in the staffrooms that are raising this issue with me.

Addressing this issue is not easy. I'm not about to pay male teachers more or to set lower standards. That would be an insult to our excellent women teachers. But, I do want to be proactive about attracting more men into teaching.

The reluctance by men to take up a career in primary teaching has been partly driven by salary, partly by social attitudes, and also by the fear of being accused of sexual abuse. Pay parity with secondary teaching and the 17% increase to a start-up salary of $34,000 per year addresses the first issue. Graduate teachers will now be starting on better salaries than graduate accountants and lawyers. Getting society to support and respect the valuable role of male teachers in primary schools is one of my aims. While being tough on sexual abusers, we must also be cautious of making accusations without sufficient evidence against men working with children.

The challenge in changing social attitudes is that the fewer male teachers there are, the more difficult it is to get school leavers to consider it as a career option. That is why I am announcing today that we are investing in an advertising campaign to attract males to the teaching profession by emphasising the rewards of a teaching career and the important contribution men can make.

There is an ironical parallel with the 'call to arms' in 1914 and 1939. My message to young men today, is your country needs you - in the classroom.

The advertising campaign to attract more men into primary teaching will start in early September, in time for enrolments for next year's intake. The campaign involves newspaper and television advertising as well as promotional material for use by careers advisers in secondary schools.

The advertising campaign is a start, but I am also considering using TeachNZ Scholarships to help attract high male achievers to primary teaching. These scholarships could parallel those used to attract Maori and Pacific Island trainees. I am seeking further advice on whether this additional step is necessary and whether it would comply with the Human Rights Act.

These are the hot issues of the day. I want to take this opportunity to give you the longer term picture. There are four big challenges in the school sector for whoever is privileged to be Minister of Education in the new century.

The first big challenge concerns school property. Unlike schools' operations grants, which schools themselves totally manage, or staff salaries that schools have a choice to manage, school property is managed in the old style centralised system. It has been described by one of my senior managers as 'akin to a soviet shoe box factory'. It also has parallels with an annual lottery, and schools have no capacity to plan long term. This is a real weakness. We expect schools to plan the way in which they spend their ops grants and their staffing for the long term. But this is deficient without the third leg. It is like a two legged stool. We have done our best to make a bad system work and have made some honest efforts to increase the flexibility. But the system is in need of fundamental reform. Schools should have the choice to manage their own property and to be able to incorporate it into their school's planning.

The challenge will be to develop a flexible system that fairly funds schools to self manage their property for modernisation and roll growth. My hope is to have a pilot on offer by year's end.

The second big challenge is operational funding. I have already stated I have great confidence in the way boards have managed their funding, but I also believe it is timely for an overall review of the operations grant. Like Tomorrow's Schools, it is ten years old. The initial funding formula was more based on historical funding than on need. I don't want to raise expectations that a big dollop of extra funding is in the offing, but rather the debate is about the distribution of that funding.

One Nelson school wanted recognition of their extra grass-cutting costs because the sun shines so much. As the chief grass-cutter in the household I can vouch that they are probably right, but we will never satisfy every nuance and difference in every community. The challenge will be to make the funding formula more transparent, and for it to more closely reflect the costs that schools actually face. We need to look at whether the funding for our schools in poorer communities is correctly targeted. We need to develop a better system for assisting schools in rural and remote communities who undeniably have extra costs in toll calls, and access to technology and professional development. The bottom line in this work has got to be ensuring that every child in New Zealand, regardless of family wealth, ethnicity or geography, gets an equal shot at a good education.

The third big challenge is finding better systems to deal with school failure. In the first instance though, let's put this issue in context. I remember well the wise words of former Prime Minister and Education Minister David Lange that 'bad examples make for bad law'. His point was that no matter how good a structure may be designed, there will always be examples for whom it doesn't work. So it is with Tomorrow's Schools. In 10 years of Tomorrow's

Schools, 38 boards have resigned and 12 were dismissed. In percentage terms, this represents half of one percent, or one in two hundred. If the Black Caps or All Blacks had a record like that the entire team would be knighted!

The financial data also show a pretty good record. The Parliamentary report on NZ Schools tabled a few weeks ago, showed that less than 5% of schools had ongoing deficits. This says that 95% of schools are managing their finances effectively. Reports show that schools had a combined surplus of $34.5 million and, during the eight years covered by the report, schools had built up cash assets of over $200 million. I'm not arguing this shows that schools have got too much money or too little money because frankly I don't think it shows either. What it does show is that schools on the whole have been prudent and careful managers of the taxpayers' money they have been entrusted with.

Just because the board hasn't been sacked, or the school hasn't gone broke doesn't necessarily mean that the school is providing our children with a good education. Quality education is hard to measure but it is information we need to know. The Education Review Office has this task and by and large does it well. ERO sets tough standards but you should be proud that over 90% of you meet them. There are those who want to scrap ERO but they are mistaken. You've heard the saying 'don't shoot the messenger'.

While the number of schools that are failing is small, that does not mean we should be complacent about it. A failing school robs its pupils of the education they deserve. We need to do better at addressing and supporting schools that are in trouble. There are not enough options for dealing with failing boards or failing teachers. There needs to be amendments to the powers of the Teacher Registration Board and to the Education Act with respect to boards. The Ministry of Education needs to be more proactive in dealing with schools in trouble. In the past they've been too hands-off. The School Support Projects in Northland, East Coast and Otara are examples of the Ministry showing positive leadership. Only yesterday I received the first report from the 28 schools involved in the Strengthening Education in Mangere and Otara project. It is showing very positive results and shows the way forward.

We will also have to invest more on the skills front for both boards and principals. We need to be thinking about the sort of training and support that will help make schools hum.

The fourth big issue is the Education Act and its associated regulations. As I work my way through education issues, I struggle with a plethora of red tape that would strangle an elephant. Parts of the Act are older than I am. Some of the prescriptive regulations read like 'the annual general meeting of each board

of trustees shall not be held prior to the fourth full moon of the year during which the dog howls, but before the seventh full moon following lent'.

When I sit the Education Act and Regulations on my desk, they stand taller than my eighteen month old daughter Hazel. I can't find much in the Act or the regulations about the educational development of my daughter into a mature, contributing New Zealander over the next twenty years. Sadly lacking are words like learning, quality, standards and children.

One of the key priorities for the new century has to be a complete overhaul of the Act. I intend to set the ball rolling on the 1st of October tenth anniversary of Tomorrow's Schools by releasing a discussion document. It will ask questions about whether a 'one size fits all' approach is the right one. We need to give better recognition to the differences between a thousand pupil secondary college and a small single teacher school in the back-country. We need to be more open minded about governance structures and, in rural areas, give greater flexibility to the idea of a board serving several schools. Some people feel threatened by this review. They should not. It is not driven by some ideological agenda. It is driven by a desire to make the rules work for children, rather than children working for the rules.

Can I conclude this address by telling you what I think I need to do to deliver excellence in education for this country. The first is to maximise the resources I put in your hands and the second is to maximise the flexibility that you have in meeting your pupils' needs.

You've seen a track record from this Government consistent with this approach. The most important resource is teachers. We have five thousand more than a decade ago and with those teachers has come improved pupil-teacher ratios. And we are paying these teachers more than we ever have. In real terms, primary and secondary teachers, whether new graduates or top of the scale, are receiving higher pay. In the eighties, real salaries for our teachers declined. I'm a strong believer that if you want to have good teachers you have to pay good money.

Operations grants have also increased in real terms from $689 in 1990 to $806 in 1999 per pupil. The IT grant is on top of this.

On school property, we've made huge investments over this decade - over $1.5 billion. This year we will finally put to bed the $500 million plus legacy of deferred maintenance from the 1980s. We've committed a further billion dollars over the next three years to improving and expanding our schools.

Funding is part of this equation but an urgent priority is the new property guide. The 1970s code is grossly out of date. My ambition is to have the new

property guide for primary schools agreed upon in the next month. It will make a big difference.

Can I conclude by thanking you for your commitment to young New Zealanders. In the new century, even more so than in this century, education will be a passport to the future. Our national success rests on your and my shoulders.

I hope you've enjoyed your conference and that you will return to your schools reinvigorated. There is nothing as important in our country as education.

Appendix 2:

Social inequality. Male educators and the making of social policy 1995-2003

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

In 1999, the Minister of Education considered using the TeachNZ scheme to recruit men into the primary service.

To your knowledge, why was this idea later abandoned, who took the decision, and on whose advice?

Which interest groups are most vocal about the issue of men working with small children, and why?

Do you believe that the social and/or political attitudes in relation to men working with small children, have changed between 1995 and today?

What actual changes have taken place, and why?

What are the policies, which underlie your work, that provide for encouraging men to work with young children? How effective are these policies?

What would be the most effective way of involving men in the care and education of young children, and in early childhood services? In primary schools?

What, might men offer by working with young children, in primary schools or early childhood services?

Appendix 3

Appendix 3:

(Revised 30/10/02)

✿ **Massey University**
Te Kunenga ki Pürehuroa

Human Ethics Committee

To: Secretary, Human Ethics Committee

AT Principal's Office **OR** Equity & Ethics **OR** Principal's Office
Albany   Old Main Building   Wellington
                                                        Turitea, Palmerston North

Please send this <u>original (1) application plus twelve (12) copies</u>
Application should be double-sided and stapled
Application due two (2) weeks prior to the meeting

APPLICATION FOR APPROVAL OF PROPOSED
RESEARCH/TEACHING/EVALUATION
PROCEDURES INVOLVING HUMAN PARTICIPANTS

SECTION A: GENERAL INFORMATION

1   **Full Name of Staff**
       Applicant   N/A

      (for staff research, teaching and evaluations)
      Please sign the relevant Staff Applicant's Declaration.

      School/Department/
      Institute/Section

      Region *(mark one only)*   **Albany**   ☐   **Palmerston North**   ☐
                                  Wellington

      Telephone

      Email Address

OFFICE USE ONLY

                              Date First Reviewed: _____

                              Outcome: _____

Date Received: _____   Date Final Outcome: _____

ALB/PN/WGTN _____

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Protocol No: _____

2	**Full Name of Student Applicant**	Simon Antony Huntingford Easton

(for supervised student research)
Please sign the relevant Student Applicant's Declaration.

	Telephone	
	Email Address	███████████████████
	Postal Address	████████████
	Employer	none

3	**Full Name of Supervisor**	Dr. Martin Sullivan Prof.Joy Cullen

(for supervised student research)
Please sign the relevant Supervisor's Declaration.

	School/Department/ Institute/Section	School of Sociology, Social Policy and Social Work College of Education, Early Years

Region *(mark one only)*	**Albany** [ ]	**Palmerston North** [Bth]
	Wellington [ ]	

	Telephone	Dr. Sullivan (06) 3505799 Ext 2833
	Email Address	M.J.Sullivan@massey.ac.nz

4	**Full Name of Line Manager**	Unknown

(for evaluations)
Please sign the relevant Line Manager's Declaration.

	Section	

Region *(mark one only)*	**Albany** [ ]	**Palmerston North** [ ]
	Wellington [ ]	

	Telephone	
	Email Address	

5	**Project Title**	Social inequality. Male educators and the making of social policy 1995-2003

6	**Projected start date of Project**	As soon as approval granted

Appendix 3

Projected end date of Project	End of academic year 2003

7 **Type of Project:**

(mark one only)

Staff Research		**Honours Project**
PhD Thesis		**Evaluation Programme**
Master's Thesis	x	**Teaching Programme**
MBA Project		**Other**
		If Other, specify

8 **Summary of Project**

(no more than 200 words in lay language)

(Note All the information provided in the application is potentially available if a request is made under the Official Information Act. In the event that a request is made, the University, in the first instance, would endeavour to satisfy that request by providing this summary. Please ensure that the language used is comprehensible to all.)

In July 1999, the Minister of Education suggested that the TeachNZ sponsorship scheme be used to train some men as primary school educators[1] and so address balance within the sector. Later that year the policy was abandoned. It is not clear why this happened.

I wish to investigate first, the reasons the policy was abandoned, and secondly, the connections between the minister's proposal and the early childhood sector.

To do this, I will interview five (5) key people (including two politicians, two officials and one union member), who influenced both primary and early childhood policy in 1999. In this way it should be possible to determine, where the decision was taken, by whom, and for what reasons.

I will also attempt to find out from these people whether they believe the political climate has changed between 1999 and today, and their views about creating educator gender balance in the future.

---

[1]The term 'educator' will be used in this study to refer to the combined, care and educational functions of teachers, in both primary schools and the early childhood sector. This term is commonly used in the early childhood context, and includes such people as caregivers, teachers, and supervisors.

SECTION B: PROJECT INFORMATION
(Note the Committee treats all applications independently)

9   I/we wish the protocol to be heard in a closed meeting (Part II).   Yes [ ]   No [x]

(If yes, state reason in a covering letter)

10   **State concisely the aims of the project.**

Through this study I hope to discover why it was decided not to use the TeachNZ scheme to target and recruit males as primary educators in 1999. The aims of the study are to determine:

- The policy basis on which the decision was taken, and by whom

- Who the influential lobbyists were, their motives and convictions

- The linkage between this issue and early childhood care and education (ECCE)

An attempt will be made to assess how greatly ideology might have affected educator gender balance in 1995 and today, or in the future.

11   **Give a brief background to the project so that the significance of the project can be assessed.** *(no more than 200 words in lay language)*

Many believe that men, as a gender group, have certain qualities which assist children's learning, and which women are less able to offer. This belief has attracted strong criticism, but, internationally there have been increased signs of men's involvement in the care and education of young children, in families. This seems most true of middle class, two income households.

Such increased involvement has not been mirrored either in schools, where the number of men is actually declining, or indeed in the early childhood sector, which has an even more dismal record of efforts to recruit and retain men. What is noticeable in schools and in early childhood care and education, is a climate of 'moral panic' should men work with young children.

Teaching as an occupation is clearly less desirable to males than it was. It is worth knowing what part ideology has played in that process. 'Urgent' parliamentary procedures have been used for dealing with teacher employment issues in the past. Rapid changes in the rules are possible, depending on the political and ideological will of the government in power, and the influence it allows to key lobbyists. Recent calls for pay equity may well increase vigour about the issue.

12   **Where will the project be conducted?**

Most interviews would have to be conducted in Wellington. If it is suitable to speakers to be interviewed in Auckland, this would be preferred.

13   **Who will actually conduct the study?**

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Simon Easton

14 **Who will interact with the participants?**

Simon Easton

15 **What experience does the researcher(s) have in this type of project activity?**

None specifically with a research project. I have, however, developed an understanding of the education sector and am experienced in interview techniques.

16 **What are the benefits of the project to the participants?**

It gives them a chance to present a point of view about an issue which is current and likely to resurface in other sectors.

17 **What are the risks of the project to:**

i. **Participants:**

Few, if any, risks to participants. They are all public figures and their views should be open to inquiry.

ii. **Researcher(s):**

It is possible that the researcher may draw invalid conclusions, or may misunderstand, participants' accounts. Supervisors will prevent this happening.

iii. **Groups/Communities/ Institutions:**

It is possible that because of the 'moral panic' climate about men being close to young children, that the study could be used as a weapon against males in education.

There is a moral responsibility to conduct the study with both rigour and sensitivity. As noted below (Q.83) some people are highly emotive about this issue.

iv. **Massey University:**

In my opinion, there are no obvious risks to the university. The methodology is standard narrative, and dual supervision should keep the project firmly within the agreed parameters.

18 **How do you propose to manage the risks for each of points ii., iii., and iv. above.**
(Note Question 40 will address the management of risks to participants)

Participants will have many opportunities to check how faithfully their views have been recorded and interpreted by the applicant.

19 **Is deception involved at any stage of the project?**   Yes [ ] No [x]

If yes, justify its use and describe debriefing procedures.

20	Does the project include the use of participant questionnaire(s)?	Yes	☐	No	X

(If yes, a copy of the Questionnaire(s) is to be attached to the application form)

21	Does the project include the use of focus group(s)?	Yes	☐	No	X

(If yes, a copy of the Confidentiality Agreement for the focus group is to be attached to the application form)

22	Does the project include the use of participant interview(s)?	Yes	X	No	☐

(If yes, a copy of the Interview Questions/Schedule is to be attached to the application form)

23	Does the project involve audio taping?	Yes	X	No	☐
	Does the project involve video taping?	Yes	☐	No	X

(If agreement for taping is optional for participation, ensure there is explicit consent on the Consent Form)

If yes, state what will happen to the tapes at the completion of the project.

Once the audio tape is transcribed, I will return a copy of the transcription to the participant. Participants can check that what is written, is what they said, or what they meant to say. Participants' audio tapes will be returned once the thesis is examined, and passed.

If audio taping is used, will the tape be transcribed?	Yes	X	No	☐

If yes, state who will do the transcribing.

(If not the researcher, a Transcriber's Agreement is required and a copy is to be attached to the application form)

Simon Easton

24	Does the project involve recruitment through advertising?	Yes	☐	No	X

(If yes, a copy of the Advertisement is to be attached to the application form)

25	Will consent be given in writing?	Yes	X	No	☐

If no, state reason.

26	Does this project have any links to other approved Massey University Human Ethics Committee application(s)?	Yes	☐	No	X

If yes, list HEC protocol number(s) and relationship(s).

27	Is approval from other ethics committees being sought for the project?	Yes	☐	No	X

If yes, list other ethics committees.

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SECTION C: FINANCIAL SUPPORT

28 **Is the project to be funded in anyway from sources external to Massey University?**   Yes [x] No [ ]

   If yes, state source.

   Student allowance

29 **Is the project covered by a Massey University Research Services contract?**   Yes [ ] No [x]

   If yes, state contract reference number.

30 **Is funding already available or is it awaiting decision?**

   N/A

31 **Does the researcher(s) have a financial interest in the outcome of the project?**   Yes [ ] No [x]

   If yes, explain how the conflict of interest situation will be dealt with.

SECTION D: PARTICIPANTS

32 **Type of person participating:**

   (mark one or more)

Massey University Staff	[ ]	Hospital Patients	[ ]
Massey University Student	[ ]	Prisoners	[ ]
Children under 7	[ ]	Minors 8-15	[ ]
		Persons whose capacity is compromised	[ ]
		Ethnic/cultural group members	[ ]
		Other	[x]

   If Other, specify who.

   It is possible that any of the participants are members of some of the groups above. Such memberships are not necessary, nor exclusionary, features of the study.

33 **What is the age range of participants?**

   Adults, approximately 35-60

34 **Is there any professional or other relationship (e.g. employer/employee, lecturer/student, practitioner/patient, researcher/family member) to the researcher?**   Yes [ ] No [x]

   If yes, describe how this conflict of interest situation will be dealt with.

35 **What selection criteria will be used?**

Invitations will be given to five (5) people, who:

have knowledge of the 1999 decision not to offer TeachNZ sponsorships to train men as primary educators

have insight into the value and gender politics of specifically recruiting males to work with young children

are willing to respond to the political positioning of other policy makers

were involved, whether as individuals or members of institutions, in national early childhood decision-making both in 1999, and in 2003

These people should include a paid member of a major early childhood union, two members of parliament in opposing parties, and, an employee of the Ministry of Education. In addition, both male and female sexes should be represented in the selection of participants.

| 36 | **Will any potential participants be excluded?** | Yes | | No | X |

If yes, state the exclusion criteria.

37   **How many participants will be involved?**

Five

What is the reason for selecting this number?
(Where relevant, a copy of the Statistical Justification is to be attached to the application form)

Five (5) is a manageable number.

How many participants will be in the control group?
(Where relevant)

Not relevant

38   How will participants be recruited?

Initial contact will be made through a letter of invitation, which includes an information sheet about the study (attached). Once potential participants have indicated to the applicant that they are willing to take part, subsequent contact will be made through email and telephone, or letter, if this is preferred.

(If by public advertising, a copy of the Advertisement to be attached to the application form)

39   What discomfort (physical, psychological, social), incapacity or other harm are participants likely to experience as a result of participation?

Participants are in the best position to predict whether disclosures made by them are likely to cause discomfort or adverse consequences. Their decisions regarding what (of their own disclosures) should and should not be included in the thesis are entirely their own. These are senior people with long histories of political involvement.

40   What support processes does the researcher have in place to deal with adverse consequences or physical or psychological risks?

The applicant is not qualified, nor able, to provide support processes. It is highly unlikely that either the interviews themselves or any accounts stemming from them, should have adverse consequences. In the unlikely event that such a difficulty does occur, the advice of supervisors will be sought.

41   How much time will participants have to give to the project?

The interviews should take about one hour. Any subsequent activity would be the choice of the participant.

42   What information on the participants will be obtained from third parties?

Some documentary material may be sought from official records, published media, and literature.

43   Will any identifiable information on the participants be given to third parties?   Yes [ ]   No [X]

If yes, describe how.

44   Will any compensation/payments be given to participants?   Yes [ ]   No [X]

If yes, describe what and how.

Appendix 3

SECTION E: DATA

45 **What approach/procedures will be used for collecting data?**
(e.g. questionnaire, interview, focus group, physiological tests, analysis of blood etc)

A single, semi-structured interview of about one hour's duration.

46 **How will the data be analysed?**

Thematically, based on categories developed from the study. Points of similarity and difference will be noted. Data will be validated where possible from other participants' accounts and publicly available sources. If possible a 'model of influence' will be constructed from the narratives.

47 **How and where will the data be stored?**

At the applicant's home in a locked cabinet.

48 **Who will have access to the data?**

The applicant and supervisors.

49 **How will data be protected from unauthorised access?**

Depending on media data will be stored either in a locked cabinet or under password on computer.

50 **How will information resulting from the project be shared with participants?**

As under Q.23 initially, At the end of the study the findings and conclusions will be circulated to participants.

51 **How long will the data be retained?**
(Note the Massey University Policy on Research Practice recommends that data be retained for at least five (5) years)

Five years from the submission of the thesis.

52 **What will happen to the data at the end of the retention period?**
(e.g. returned to participants, disposed or archived)

The data will be destroyed, with exception of an electronic copy of the thesis.

53 **Who will be responsible for its disposal?**

(An appropriate member of the Massey University staff should normally be responsible for the eventual disposal of data - not a student researcher)

Dr. Martin Sullivan.

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54   **Will participants be given the option of having the data archived?**   Yes [ ]   No [x]

SECTION F: CONSENT FORMS

55   **How and where will the Consent Forms be stored?**

In Auckland, by the applicant.

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56   **Who will have access to the Consent Forms?**

The applicant and the supervisors.

---

57   **How will Consent Forms be protected from unauthorised access?**

They will be stored in a locked cabinet.

---

58   **How long will the Consent Forms be retained?**
(Note the Committee recommends that Consent Forms be stored separately from the data and retained for at least five (5) years)

Five years from the submission of the thesis.

SECTION G: HUMAN REMAINS, TISSUES AND BODY FLUIDS

59   Does the project involve human remains, tissue or body fluids?   Yes [ ] No [X]

(If yes, complete Section G, otherwise proceed to Section H)

60   How is the material being taken?
(e.g. operation)

61   How and where will the material be stored?

62   How long will the material be stored?

63   Will the material be destroyed?   Yes [ ] No [ ]

If yes, describe how.

If no, state why.

64   Will the material be disposed of in accordance with the wishes of the relevant cultural group?   Yes [ ] No [ ]

65   Will blood be collected?   Yes [ ] No [ ]

If yes, state what volume and frequency at each collection.

66   Will any samples go out of New Zealand?   Yes [ ] No [ ]

If yes, state where.

SECTION H: COMPLIANCE WITH THE PRIVACY ACT 1993 AND HEALTH INFORMATION PRIVACY CODE 1994

The Privacy Act 1993 and the Health Information Privacy Code 1994 impose strict requirements concerning the collection, use and disclosure of personal information. These questions allow the Committee to assess compliance.

(Note that personal information is information concerning an identifiable individual)

67   Will personal information be collected <u>directly</u> from the individual concerned?   Yes [X] No [ ]

If yes, specify the steps that will be taken to ensure that participants are aware of:
- the fact that information is being collected,
- the purpose for which information is being collected and its use,
- who will receive the information,
- the consequences, if any, of not supplying the information,
- the individual's rights of access to and correction of personal information.
These points should be covered in the Information Sheet.

Those who are selected into the study have contributed to important decisions. They will be asked for their insights into the 1999 decision not to offer TeachNZ sponsorships to men as a target group. It is hoped that they will also share their ideological and personal beliefs about men's involvement with young children.

Their accounts will be compared and contrasted with those of other participants, with and publicly available information, and with research findings.

Their ability to protect the information they provide, will be honoured. Realistically, however, they will have to make a choice about being involved, based on retaining the right to withdraw at any time, and the right to withhold or interpret their own accounts. It would be virtually impossible to guarantee anonymity in such a small country such as Aotearoa New Zealand, once the study is complete.

It is assumed that the only people who can attest to their own personal beliefs are individuals themselves. Only the information participants themselves disclose about their beliefs, will therefore be used as a basis for the narrative part of the study. Participants will be given adequate opportunities to correct or to interpret information they provide.

Information about the group that a participant represents or its ideological positioning, however, will be treated differently. Such information could be open for public debate.

Neither participants' names nor narratives will be shared with other participants during the course of the study. Any information obtained during the study, which does not form part of the thesis, will remain confidential. The only risk therefore, in not supplying information, relates to the participant's public image. This is something they will have to assess themselves.

If participants wish, they could choose to take part in the study but not have their name or title disclosed. To do so however would be to risk the accidental discovery of their identity, independently of the confidentiality offered by the applicant.

---

68 **Will personal information be collected _indirectly_ from the individual concerned?**

If yes, explain why.

Yes [x]   No [ ]

This is possible.

It is difficult to distinguish in the case of public figures whether information about them is personal or about the role they bear. In the course of interviews it is inevitable that some participants will mention others and attribute actions or beliefs to them. Such information will be regarded as part of the narrative of the speaker. Any obviously personal information will only be attributed to a participant where the information forms part of their own narrative.

---

69 **What storage and security procedures to guard against unauthorised access, use or disclosure of the personal information will be used?**

As under Q.57.

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70 **How long will the personal information be kept?**
(Note that Information Privacy Principle 9 requires that personal information be kept for no longer than is required for the purposes for which the information may lawfully be used.) As a general rule, data relating to projects should be kept in appropriate secure storage within Massey University (rather than at the home of the researcher) unless a case based on special circumstances is submitted and approval by the Committee.

Any personal information which does not form part of the thesis data will be destroyed by the applicant at the time the thesis is completed. Original transcripts will be given to Dr. Martin Sullivan and kept at Massey University for five years.

---

71 **How will it be ensured that the personal information collected is accurate, up to date, complete, relevant and not misleading?**

As for Q.67.

---

72 **How will the personal information be used?**

As for Q.67.

---

73 **Who will have access to the personal information?**

The applicant

---

74 **In what form will the personal information be published?**
(Massey University requires original data of published material to be archived for five (5) years after publication for possible future scrutiny)

Any such information (approved by participants) will form part of the thesis only.

| 75 | Will a unique identifier be assigned to an individual? | Yes | x | No | |
| | If yes, is the unique identifier one that any other agency uses for that individual? | Yes | | No | x |

SECTION I: TREATY OF WAITANGI

| 76 | Does the proposed project impact on Maori people in any way? | Yes | x | No | |

If yes, describe how.

It is probable that as partners of the crown, there may be implications for Maori. It is beyond the skill of the applicant, however, to make an assessment. It would be surprising if the issue did not surface during the course of the interviews.

| 77 | Are Maori the primary focus of the project? | Yes | | No | x |

If no, proceed to Question 82.

If yes, is the researcher competent in te reo Maori and tikanga Maori?   Yes [ ]   No [ ]

If no, outline the processes in place for the provision of cultural advice.

Cultural advisors will be asked for assistance should Maori issues/interpretations arise.

78   Identify the group(s) with whom consultation has taken place.
(Where relevant, a copy of the supporting documentation is to be attached to the application form)

79   What consultation process has been undertaken prior to this application?

80   Describe any ongoing involvement the group consulted has in the project.

81   How will information resulting from the project be shared with the group consulted?

82   If Maori are not the focus of the project, outline what Maori involvement there may be and how this will be managed.

It is possible that those initially invited to participate, nominate people intended to represent Maori, in their stead. Guidance from supervisors and cultural advisors will be sought in such a case.

SECTION J: SOCIAL AND CULTURAL SENSITIVITY

83 **Are there any aspects of the project which might raise specific cultural issues?** Yes ☒ No ☐

If yes, describe how.

The issue of men working with small children evokes highly emotive responses, from some people.

84 **Is ethnicity data being collected as part of the project?** Yes ☐ No ☒

If yes, explain why.

85 **What ethnic or social group(s) other than Maori does the project involve?**

86 **Do the participants have English as a first-language?** Yes ☒ No ☐

If no, will Information Sheets and Consent Forms be translated into the participants' first-language? Yes ☐ No ☐

(If yes, copies of the Information Sheet and Consent Form are to be attached to the application form)

87 **What consultation process has been undertaken with the group(s) prior to this application?**

No prior consultation has occurred, although some participants may know that the applicant intends to conduct such a study.

88 **Identify the group(s) with whom consultation has taken place.**
(Where relevant, a copy of the supporting documentation is to be attached to the application form)

No specific consultation.

89 **Describe any ongoing involvement the group consulted has in the project.**

N/A

90 **How will information resulting from the project be shared with the group consulted?**

N/A

SECTION K: RESEARCH UNDERTAKEN OVERSEAS

N/A

91   Do the participants have English as a first-language?   Yes [x] No [ ]

If no, will Information Sheets and Consent Forms be translated into the Yes [ ] No [ ]
participants' first-language?

(If yes, copies of the Information Sheet and Consent Form are to be attached to the application form)

92   Describe local committees, groups or persons from whom the researcher has or will obtain permission to undertake the project.

(Where relevant, copies of Approval Letters are to be attached to the application form)

N/A

93   Does the project comply with the laws and regulations of the country where the project will take place?   Yes [x] No [ ]

94   Describe the cultural competence of the researcher for carrying out the project.

N/A

95   Does the researcher speak the language of the target population?   Yes [ ] No [ ]

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