SPECIAL EDUCATION POLICIES OF THE FOURTH LABOUR GOVERNMENT, 1984 - 1990 : AN INTERPRETIVE ANALYSIS

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"Impairment is a medical term for anatomical loss or a loss of bodily function. Disability is a measureable functional loss resulting from an impairment. Handicap is the social consequence caused by environmental and social conditions which prevent a person achieving the maximum potential a person seeks. Disabilities are what people cannot do."

Marle (1986 : 2)
as cited by Fulcher (1989, 22)

Abstract

In the period 1984 - 1990 significant changes occurred in education in New Zealand due to a broad mix of political, social and economic influences. Within the field of special education, although the influence 'mix' was different, due to the particular characteristics of this field.

This thesis examines special education as a 'case study' within the wider educational reform which occurred in this period. It draws its conclusions from current educational and political research, and is informed by first hand opinions from a number of the key players in policy development from those years.

The role of the state in the educational development process is reviewed, and exclusionary traditions and practices which have informed special education legislation since 1867 are described. The various disability discourses that have informed regulations on special education policy in New Zealand for 130 years are discussed, and the effect of the emergence in the 1970's of the rights discourse is analysed in terms of its impact on legislation and policy development up to 1990.

Up until 1987, education stood aside from the wider state sector reforms. However, government restructuring between 1987 - 1990 targeted educational administration, and sought to introduce market ideology to it. Central to this restructuring was the re-classifying of educational outputs as a 'private good' in the hands of all New Zealanders. This case study reviews the impact of the neo-liberal ideologies on the educational reform in the period is reviewed, with particular reference to special education policy development.

Finally, special educational policy is examined in terms of the prevalent management theories applied to education, and the changing role of the state. Particular trends emerging in the period 1984 - 1990 are identified:

- the devolution of some decision making processes to community level during this period meant that those informed by the more restrictive disability discourses were left to interpret special edcuation policy at the community level often without sufficient training to understand the emancipatory legislation to apply it as it was intended. Any conflict with the state was now transported down to a local level.

- the passage of emancipatory policies has meant more money was put into special education at a time when fiscal controls were being sought in education.

- the change towards a more managed consultative process for education policy making did not apply to special education.

- the most far reaching neo-liberal special education policies advocated for in the period 1987 - 1990 eg. full contestability of funding were not implemented.

The reforms in special education which were undertaken in the 1984 - 1990 period provide a platform for further development of this topic. This is for the future.

C B Brown

Preface and Acknowledgments

For this thesis I wanted to explore how special education policy was created during the 1980's under the fourth Labour Government because, as a parent of a child with special needs and the chairperson of a national parent support group during this period, I was involved with lobbying government for change in legislation and promoting mainstreaming in education. I therefore wanted to discover what factors were taken into consideration during the many policy changes which occurred in special education between 1984-1990. I also wanted to use the voices of the policy-shapers I had met in the course of the six years of the Labour term of office, to clarify what had emerged in the policy documents.

World-wide, a large number of people are involved in shaping special education. Many have intimate involvement with people with disabilities, having been drawn into the field through their having a child, a sibling, a relation, with special needs. Many inequities and areas of discrimination exist in our society, and many of these are in the area of disability. Where a person possesses special knowledge, and the intellect to provide credible advocacy, there becomes an overwhelming, almost compulsory commitment, to contribute.

The objective of this research is not to pass judgement, but to add knowledge and understanding. Ballard argues that the idea that researchers can be objective is now rejected by many involved in research,

> "All of us, researchers included, see interpret and understand our world through lens coloured by our culture, gender, values, beliefs, prejudices, passions and experiences."
>
> (1994,22)

Ballard asserts that groups such as women, the disabled and Maori disagree with much that has been researched about them because the researchers have had vastly different experiences from themselves. This study of policy development in special education therefore comes from a viewpoint enriched by personal experience, day by day, over more than a decade.

I would like to especially acknowledge the assistance I received from my Massey University supervisors - to John Codd for his overall vision and clarity of direction in helping me shape the thesis and to Anne-Marie O'Neill, never more than a phone call

away, for her warm encouragement and honest appraisal throughout the two years it has taken me to research and write this thesis.

I acknowledge the support given to me by Manukau Polytechnic for the time away from lecturing, for research and interview commitments to be completed and to the Manukau Polytechnic Research Committee for the grant to assist my research. Warm thanks go to Ruth Luteru of Manukau Polytechnic for her creative, fast word-processing abilities.

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Many of my friends in various disability groups throughout New Zealand have contributed to this thesis either through their support whist I was writing it or by their actions between 1984-1990. My thanks go especially to Dee Twiss, Rod Wills and Elizabeth Palmer. I also gratefully acknowledge the use of records from the Down's Association and The Coalition of Parents for Special Education. There has been much valued support given to me by other masters students studying extra-murally. My grateful thanks go to Marion Jones and Grace Sylvester for their time and encouragement throughout the process. My warm thanks also go to my colleagues Vanessa Sealy-Fisher and Jo Howse for their advice and support.

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Finally my special thanks to my family who have supported my efforts for the past four years while I undertook my Masters papers; to Barry for never doubting me and for his fine proof-reading abilities. To my children Olivia, Travers, Julia and Jordan, my thanks for never touching my piles of readings, notes, drafts and transcripts.

This thesis is dedicated to my son Travers without whom it would never have been written.

Colleen Brown
February 1994.

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Chapter One - Introduction

> "A critical analysis of power, control vested interests, choice and decision making must be constantly called for and developed. Explanations or analysis that focus their considerations on individual factors will fail to understand the complex and wide-ranging nature of the issues involved."
>
> *Barton, (1988, 6)*

This thesis is a case study of special education policy in New Zealand in the period 1984 to 1990, during the time of the fourth Labour Government. This period marked a rapid change in the administration of education in New Zealand, with special education being part of that process. The reforms, as they have been called, led to a shift in how education policy was informed. This thesis attempts to chart the development of those changes during the period under discussion with particular reference to special education.

The wider framework of the education reforms will be examined as they impacted on regular education in the compulsory sector and the role of the state will be theorised as it applied to those changes. The period 1984 - 1990 was a time of crisis and intense political struggle in all areas of New Zealand life. Special education was not exempt from those conflicts. During this time state involvement in special education changed from being restricted to those children with special needs identified within the 1964 Education Act, to encompass all children, regardless of their ability in 1989. The traditional manner in which special education policy was informed changed from a virtual stranglehold by professionals using the medical discourse, which excluded parents and people with special needs, to the rights discourse, which was more of a consumer based ideology. This thesis examines how special education policy was created in the period 1984-1990 in New Zealand, the power of the state in that process, and examines the two major discourses informing the policy-makers, the official state discourse and the disability discourse. The thesis also attempts to discover the social and economic implications of the education reforms for the disabled community (care-givers and students) throughout that period.

In New Zealand there is a significant history of social and educational injustice for people with special needs exacerabated by legislation dating from the 1860's. For those people labelled as abnormal, disabled or deviant there had been a conditional entry into and membership of society. The state played a major role in controlling who would gain acceptance into that society and on what terms.

The regular education system is founded on the rewarding of individual's effort and accomplishment. If that individual is seen as disabled, how will that view impact on that child's educational opportunities? Once the state started reforming the education administration using neo-liberal ideology in 1987, special education became caught up in those reforms as well. The reforms included a reorgnisation of management structures. The introduction and application of new forms of management will also be critically reviewed in order to determine their impact on special education.

The year of 1984 marked a watershed in special education, as in that year many critical elements were brought together which were later to have a profound impact on the future direction this area of education was to follow. At that time questions were being asked of politicians and professionals, as to why legislation discriminated against a sector of the population denying them educational rights, and why there appeared to be gaps between policy and its interpretation by educational professionals? Parent groups were forming and challenging the power of the professionals and the state to exclude parents from the decision-making process concerning their child. Both parents and professionals queried why it was taking New Zealand so long to change its legislation away from excluding children to promoting inclusive educational practises. In 1984, it seemed that a newly elected Labour government, with its socialist tradition and sympathies with rights-based causes, might be more inclined to listen to these requests for change than the previous Muldoon government had been.

The role of the state is therefore critically scrutinised throughout the period by deconstructing the education policies formulated by the state on special education. The process of how special education policies were developed is also examined, through face to face interviews of some of the key people involved either in the reforms of education, or in special education implementation. As stated previously, this period in New Zealand marks a time of intense struggle with ideological challenges being levelled at the government over special education. When policy is being examined it is useful not only to look at the outcomes in terms of the policy documents but to endeavour to examine all the factors that shaped the policy itself. Hill and Barnett argue that,

> "to understand the policy-action relationship we must get away from a single perspective of the process that reflects a normative administrative or managerial view of how the process should be, and try to find a conceptualisation that reflects better the empirical evidence of the complexity and dynamics of the interactions between individuals and

> groups seeking to put policy into effect, those upon whom action depends and those whose interests are affected when change is proposed. To do this, we have argued for an alternative perspective to be adopted - one that focuses on the actors and agencies themselves and their interactions, and for an action-centred or bottom-up mode of analysis as a method of identifying more clearly who seems to be influencing what, how and why."
>
> (1984, 107)

Whilst only nationally created policy is being examined in this thesis it is useful to review some theories on policy making, which apply equally to all areas of policy not merely special education. Taking Barnett and Hill's argument that those contributing to policy construction have their own theories and points of view to offer it becomes obvious that policy is not only a nationally or state constructed reality. Policy is made at all levels. It is a political process and a site of struggle for each organisation feeding into the national process. In special education, voluntary agencies such as The Society for the Intellectually Handicapped (IHC) had formulated their own policy on special education, as had parent groups, the Department of Education and teacher unions. Some areas of policy may have overlapped others which were poles apart in ideology and priorities for implementation. When these groups came together or wrote submissions the conflicts soon became apparent. Hence the site of struggle varied as areas of policy were negotiated. The task was much easier when those consulted were restricted or the final draft was left with those who held most of the power, such that their interpretation could hold sway. In the case of special education the impact of policy was further restricted by the administrative inadequacies of the Special Education Division of the Department of Education. New Zealand had allowed a system to evolve where policy was created at government level without any system of regulating it or administering it through the same process. This system had been created with disparate sections of the Department of Education administering special education and being responsible to Directors in the Department who had nothing to do with special education. (see Appendix 4).

Special education policy will therefore be examined during this period, either as part of the comprehensive education policy content as in The Curriculum Review, or as separate policy such as the Draft Review of Special Education. It is the intention of this thesis to examine how underlying ideologies, social and political values were woven into these policies.

It is the aim of this thesis to in part redress the lack of New Zealand research on special education, during this critical period in educational development - a period which, apart from the inputs from a few dedicated academics appears to have a fate similar to those students with special needs participating in it. Ballard argues this point, stating that Meade,

> "has suggested that special education and early childhood education in new Zealand are "marginalised" by the system and by academics".
>
> (1993, 91 cites Meade 1990)

Thesis Outline

Chapter one introduces the topic of the thesis and provides a framework for the study. Whilst education policy on a national level will be examined, the focus will be on special education.

Chapter two outlines how policy analysis is used in this thesis. The chapter examines the social and political context of policy formation using critical social theory. Areas of educational discrimination through legislation prior to 1984 are explained. The rationale for the thesis using a case study approach is examined along with the interview procedures adopted.

Chapter three examines how the state has legislated for educating children with special needs. Education legislation for children with special needs has usually required them to be treated differently from other children in the education system. Disability discourses are examined to determine how they are used in the process of informing education policy.

Chapter four traces the rise of neo-liberal ideology in New Zealand and outlines its development over time. The impact on education of neo-liberal management theories is examined.

Chapter five examines special education policies from an historical perspective. Special education legislation is discussed. The influence of the rights discourse is examined as it applies to education in New Zealand.

Chapter six examines the impact of lobby groups on the development of special education policy, tracing their impact on the issue of mainstreaming and the passing of the 1989 Education Act.

Chapter seven reviews how special education policies were developed from 1984 - 1987 using the conjunctural form of state policy. During this period the fourth Labour Government used a consensus model to gain the agreement of a wide cross-section of the public.

Chapter eight details how education policy was constructed in the period 1987 - 1990. The chapter reviews how the rights discourse and neo-liberal ideology influenced special education policies during this period.

Chapter nine reviews how the management theories endorsed by the fourth Labour Government were applied to special education policies.

Chapter ten draws conclusions from the policy analysis presented in this thesis.

Chapter Two - Methodology and Procedures

> "Policy is rather like an elephant - you recognise it when you see it but cannot easily define it."
>
> Cunningham (1963,229, cited in Ham & Hill 1984,11)

Introduction

In reviewing the methodology of this research into special education policy it is important for the policy analysis procedures used to be explained. The chapter begins with a definition of policy analysis, followed by a detailed explanation of the process used in this thesis with examples. The chapter goes on to explain the critical analysis approach taken in examining special education policy from 1984-1990, including a section on the discourses used in the formation of policy. The chapter concludes with a summary of the ethical considerations relevant to the thesis. The research for the thesis was conducted as a case study of special education policy within the defined period 1984-1990, the term of the fourth Labour Government. This period was selected because of the significant changes in education policy that occurred and the number of special education policies promulgated.

Policy Analysis

Codd defines policy as being;

> "about the exercise of political power and the language that is used to legitimate that process"
>
> (1988,235)

Ham and Hill add to that definition arguing that;

> "policy analysis should give due consideration to the social, political and economic contexts within which problems are tackled. It also follows that the student of the policy process should stand back from the world of everyday politics in order to ask some of the bigger questions about the role of the state in contemporary society and the distribution of power between different social groups."
>
> (1984,17)

It is useful at this point to distinguish between two different types of policy analysis. The first is "analysis of policy" as distinct from "analysis for policy". This first type of policy is what Codd (1988,235) argues comprises "the critical examination of existing policies", where the intention is to create a deeper understanding of policy. The second type of analysis is concerned with the quality of information being provided for the development of policy. Codd (ibid) states that analysis for policy can also take on the mantle of advocacy, making particular recommendations based on research.

This thesis is particularly concerned with "analysis of policy" using Codd's definition,

> "Analysis of policy can also take two different forms:(a) analysis of policy determination and effects, which examines "the inputs and trans-formational processes operating upon the construction of public policy" (Gordon et al 1977:28) and also the effects of such policies on various groups; and (b) analysis of policy content, which examines the values, assumptions and ideologies underpinning the policy process."
>
> (1988,235-236)

Part of the analysis process in examining policy documentation is to interpret the political purpose of those contributing to document formation and shaping. Traditional groups, particularly professionals and administrators in education, have held enormous power in both policy advice and policy writing. Their power has been legitimated by the political process used to select members for policy reviews, the time span allotted for responses to be made, and the language used in the policy discussion documents. Because of this, in special education a number of people with valid contributions to make have been disempowered by the process. An interesting development in policy analysis has been the emergence of minority groups in special education, notably people with special needs and their caregivers, who initially started to provide information for policy-makers to use in the policy creation process, and then developed the skills to critically analyse the policies being handed down to them. This challenge to the state and the policy-makers, although a more recent one, signals a departure from the expected roles of policy formation. This development is argued more fully in chapter five, where the impact of lobby groups is examined.

Ham and Hill(1984, 8-10) argue that there are seven areas of policy analysis. All of these areas are covered, to a greater or lesser extent, in this thesis. The first area is policy content which describes and explains the creation and development of policies.

Policy content is used in this thesis to explore the reasons why the state changed from conjunctural policy-making from 1984-1987 to structural policy making in 1987-1990, and the place of special education in that change process. The second focus of policy anaylsis examines the process used. In this thesis, especially in chapters six and seven, the process of policy construction is analysed. Different factors contributing to policy formation are woven into these chapters particularly through the interviews with selected people who had a significant role in policy development. The third area investigated in policy analysis is policy output. There were important changes in projected expenditure and service provisions in special education during the selected period as a result of changes to the 1964 Education Act and the introduction of mainstreaming of students into regular school settings. The fourth aspect of policy analysis is the evaluation of policy. Ham and Hill argue that evaluation of policy is the borderline between the analysis of policy and analysis for policy and falls into the category of being like an impact report, determining the outcome of policy on the recipients. Certainly, in the period under scrutiny, there were many opportunities for informing policy-makers of the anticipated consequences of policy. A case in point would be the public reaction to the special education provisions in The Picot Report, as outlined in chapter seven. Information for policy making formed the fifth part of policy analysis. This was a continuous process in the 1984-1990 period with the opportunity for the public to participate in the discussion of six policy documents concerned with special education. The sixth part of policy analysis is process advocacy where analysts seek to improve the nature of policy-making systems, and improve the process or machinery of government through the reallocation of functions and tasks. The introduction of new management theories informed the state on this aspect of policy development between 1987-1990 and is analysed in chapter seven and eight. The seventh area of policy analysis is policy advocacy where the analyst promotes particular options and ideas in the policy process.

Throughout the 1984-1990 period there were varying opportunities to advocate certain policies depending on the process being employed by the state. When the process was openly democratic, as in The Curriculum Review, with a wide group being canvassed for their opinions, with maximum response time being allowed and appropriate language being used to frame questions, it encouraged significant numbers of respondents. When the process was more selective, as in the working parties for Tomorrow's Schools, the number of responses from the public dropped accordingly. These seven aspects of policy analysis do not occur on their own, the interaction between the different levels is significant and often difficult to conceptualise.

In this examination of special education policy formed by the fourth Labour Government, this thesis has set out to discover and understand the intentions of those involved in policy creation as well as the assumptions and values of society at that time. Before the documents themselves could be analysed the existing social order had to be understood, especially as it applied to children with special needs. A knowledge of the role of the state is central to understanding how oppressive policies can be created which effectively exclude a proportion of the school-aged population from regular schooling. This thesis uses critical social theory to analyse both historical and contemporary special education policies. Education policies are not value-neutral. Rather, they are value-laden documents which reflect the social and political values of a particular period. It is the legitimation of those values which constitutes policy.

Prunty(1985,136) argues that in order to critically evaluate policy the researcher must follow six avenues of enquiry. The researcher must be political, with a moral basis to their enquiry. Second, the researcher should seek to expose the oppression of education policy, assuming an advocacy role for the dominated. Third, the researcher should analyse the workings of the school system, and in the case of special education, to discover how children with special needs have been treated by the education system. In critical analysis there must be an attempt to understand why the oppressed do not fight against the oppressive policies they suffer under, or whether those who are dominated are aware of their situation. Prunty argues that theory and practice are closely linked, that the critical analyst should be aiming to discover ways for the oppressed to become part of the decision-making process. The aim of critical policy analysis is to best serve the interests of the dominated. Prunty argues that for critical social theory to be effective it should aim to be guided by moral and emancipatory beliefs. Such beliefs reflect the ideology of this thesis. Special education policy has been characterised by oppressive and regulatory practices designed to restrict the involvement of students with special needs in regular education. Up to the time of the acceptance of the rights discourse as a legitimate form of informing policy, technical expertise has overridden moral and ethical analysis of policy. Policy has been traditionally informed by the medical discourse, examining ability in quantifiable terms such as intelligence testing. Following this method of assessment it is easy to see why children with special needs were excluded from or limited in their education participation in New Zealand schools. Codd argues that special education policy up to the 1984 elections, followed technical procedures and as a result;

> "Questions about how we ought to treat children as persons having rights and interests, questions concerning the justice and equity of institutional arrangements or administrative structures, too often are neglected in the quest for greater technical efficiency and more effective social control."
>
> (1987,71)

The Impact of Disability Discourses on Policy

Special education policy has largely ignored the wider social questions affecting children with special needs. In chapter three, arguments are presented to show that the major discourse informing special education policy prior to the 1980's was the medical discourse, later adapted and modified by educational professionals. The medical discourse continues the practice of "treating" individuals by addressing their individual needs, and largely ignoring the wider social view. There is no doubt that, as a group, children with special needs are oppressed in the education system by socially and politically constructed meanings as to what constitutes "special", "normal" and "deviant". These meanings are used to regulate their entry into education. In chapter three, the relationship between the state and its use of official and disability discourses are argued more fully but it is necessary to outline here why discourse analysis has been used in this thesis. For policy to be created for children with special needs there has to be a basis, or discourse, for informing the legislators on how to construct the policy. This thesis uses discourse analysis to deconstruct special education policies, to critically examine how the assumptions and ideologies framing what is defined as "special" in special education have been put together. An integral part of the analysis is the language used in the construction of policy. From the very first legislation passed in New Zealand which categorised children deemed to be possessing special or unacceptable needs, society drew a linguistic and legislative line to mark out clearly who society was prepared to accept and who it was not. The legislative language used contained the values and assumptions of the day. Codd argues that official discourse of policy;

> "does not have a single authoritative meaning. They are not blueprints for political action, expressing a set of unequivocal intentions. They are ideological texts that have been constructed within a particular historical and political context."
>
> (1988,244)

Language is power. How language is used in policy is critical to how the legislation is used in practice. Disability discourse can be used tactically by legislators to give

more or less power to individuals. Policy is also open to the interpretation of administrators which may be at odds with the policy end-users. Barton argues that;

> "Discourses are therefore about what can be said and thought, but also about who can speak, when, where and with what authority.....words and propositions will change their meanings according to their use and the positions held by those who use them."
>
> (1992,3 citing Ball, 1990, 17)

There is no doubt that this situation occurred in New Zealand, particularly in the implementation of the 1964 Education Act which had outlived its usefulness well before it was replaced in 1989. As argued in chapter four, the 1964 Education Act was discriminatory in its language and intentions. Despite claims made by the administrators of the Act to the effect that the discriminatory sections were not often used, the fact remains that legislation using a discourse to exclude and regulate students was the binding legislation for twenty five years before being replaced.

Using critical social analysis of policy in this thesis has required interpreting the social and political reality of special education policy from a historical framework, before focusing on the period 1984-1990, which was arguably the most dynamic period in special education policy construction in New Zealand's educational history. Between 1984-1990 there was a coalescing of awareness and understanding of the regulatory and discriminatory nature of special education policies with action using the rights discourse to change the status quo. Critical social analysis allows documentation to be deconstructed to expose the regulatory practice it embodies and to examine the process of policy production. Codd argues that

> "deconstruction analysis would focus on the process of production of the text as well as on the organisation of the discourses which constitute it and the linguistic strategies by which it masks the contradictions and incoherencies of the ideology that is inscribed in it."
>
> (1988,245)

Whilst acknowledging Codd's argument(1988, 246) that the deconstruction analysis of policy is to determine the effects upon readers, this thesis also examines the ideologies of some of those who were involved in the construction of education policy during the 1984-1990 period, in order to discover how that policy evolved. Ham and Hill(1984, 13-14) have critiqued Easton's black box representation of policy as a system of

decision-making from which emerge the policy outputs. This thesis attempts to step inside Easton's black box to discover how that process operates and to determine how some of the people involved in the process were informed and what their social, educational, economic and political contributions were to that process.

Special Education as a Case Study

Broadly, the case study examines what occurred in special education policy in New Zealand between the years 1984-1990, and the processes and changes within this area of education. Bogdan and Biklen(1982,28) argue that case study research is concerned with "process rather than simply with outcomes or products". In this thesis the emphasis is on the construction of policy - how did special education come to be informed in this way? Adelman et al argue that a case study must be a bounded system.

> "An issue or hypothesis is given and a bounded system(the case) is selected as an instance drawn from a class. A bounded system is given, within which issues are indicated, discovered or studied so that a tolerably full understanding of the case is possible."
>
> (1976,140)

The case study of special education is not so much a bounded system, as a constructed system, in that the special education system is a political and social construction with indeterminate boundaries depending on the vagaries of assessment procedures used by those administering legislation, as to who lies inside or outside the "bounded system". Special education is a dynamic system, changing particularly with alterations to legislation and increased expertise in assessment.

Bogdan and Biklen, argue that a case study can be historical, concentrating,

> "on a particular organisation over time"
>
> (1982,59)

In this case the organisation is "special education" within the wider education system. What occurred within special education during this period is embedded in the total economic social and political developments of the era as well. Adelman et al argue that case studies are a practical way of drawing out the contradictions and conflicts in policy.

> "Case studies recognise the complexity and embeddedness of social truths. By carefully attending to social situations, case studies can represent something of the discrepancies or conflicts between the viewpoints held by participants."
>
> (1976,145)

Participants and Interview Procedures

The examination of the policy processes and outcomes focus on the education 'reforms' in the period 1987-1990 and in particular on The Picot Report, "Administering for Excellence", as it symbolised both the break away from the traditional process of policy making, and provided a platform to launch the education changes which were to follow. The participants who were interviewed all had a key role in the critical process of The Picot Taskforce in 1987. Bogdan and Biklen(1982,63) define key informants as having, "greater experience in the setting" and being "especially insightful about what goes on". The decision to undertake interviews was made on the assumption that the reflections of those concerned in the process would provide important additions to document analysis. Bogdan and Biklen argue that qualitative research such as interviews are a useful tool for research when used in conjunction with document analysis.

> "In all of these situations the interview is used to gather descriptive data in the subjects own words so that the researcher can develop insights on how subjects interpret some piece of the world."
>
> (1982,135)

In this thesis the interviews were used alongside policy documents to provide a wider and more complete picture of how policy was constructed during this period.

The following people were interviewed:

The Politicians

Russell Marshall
David Lange
Noel Scott
Phil Goff

Phil Goff was interviewed in 1991 for a policy essay as part of the course requirements of the Master in Education Administration. His comments have been incorporated in this thesis with his permission. All the politicians were intimately involved in the 1987 period of the education reforms. Although Russell Marshall did not oversee the final results of The Picot Taskforce's deliberations, he was responsible for the decision to carry out the review of education administration and for selecting the members of the taskforce. David Lange was the Minister of Education from 1987 and oversaw the carrying out of the Picot reforms. Noel Scott was the Associate Minister of Education, serving with all three Ministers of Education during the fourth Labour Government's term of office.

The Picot Taskforce members:

Margaret Rosemergy
Maurice Gianotti
Marijka Robinson

Margaret Rosemergy, an educationalist was the only person on the Picot Taskforce also to be on the Curriculum Review Committee. Maurice Gianotti was the Chief Executive Officer of the Picot Taskforce, and was also responsible for writing up its deliberations. Marijka Robinson, from the State Services Commission, had already been appointed to head a review into the running of the Psychological Service which later became absorbed into the Picot Review.

Special Needs Administrators:

Don Brown
J.B.Munro

Both participants were selected because of their expertise in the field of special education. At the time of the education reforms Don Brown was the Director of the Special Education Division within the Department of Education. J. B. Munro, as the National Director IHC, was the head of the country's largest voluntary agency for people with special needs. In that capacity he had made submissions, both written and verbal, to select committees and working parties, concerning the special educational needs of people with intellectual disabilities. As a former member of the 1972-1975 Labour Government he had personal experience of the workings of government

Procedure for the Interviews

The majority of those interviewed were known to the researcher due through personal involvement in special education (see preface) prior to the interviews. The two exceptions were Margaret Rosemergy and Marijka Robinson. Each participant was approached by either letter or telephone to explain the purpose of the research and to see if the participant was willing to be interviewed. All the interviewees approached welcomed the opportunity to be part of the research. A letter of confirmation was sent to each interviewee with a suggested list of questions (see Appendix 2), and a date, time, and place for the interview to take place. Confidentiality of the tapes and transcripts was assured (see Appendix 3). Bogdan and Biklen argue that some kind of frame is required for interviews in order to get;

> "comparable data across subjects"
>
> (1982,136)

As the majority of the interviewees were not readily accessible the opportunity for on-going follow-up interviews was limited, so the questions were to be more of an investigative nature.

The letter of confirmation contained a letter of endorsement from John Codd of Massey University who is the thesis supervisor (see Appendix 4)

The bulk of the interviews took place in Wellington on July 16th and 17th 1992. David Lange's interview was held at his Mangere electorate office on 25th July after a Saturday morning clinic. Don Brown could not meet for the interview as initially arranged, so he taped his responses to the questions. Several lengthy telephone conversations discussing the research focus preceded Don Brown's taped responses. A follow-up interview with Margaret Rosemergy was conducted by telephone and taped in 1993. A follow-up (untaped) telephone call was made to Noel Scott in 1993 to verify statements made in the transcripts. Don Brown submitted some explanatory notes after the analysis of the interviews was sent to him for comment in January 1994. Some of these comments have been included.

It was recognised as being important to have a one to one interview situation as this gave opportunities for the quick checking of information to take place. Each interviewee was given maximum time, with most interviews lasting at least an hour, with the longest time spent being two hours. It was important to allow the participants time to recollect and build on their impressions and memories of that

period and their participation in it. Bogdan and Biklen argue that successful interviews have tended to be open-ended and focused around particular questions;

> "Qualitative interviews offer the subject a chance to shape the content of the interview."
>
> (1982,137)

Interviewing

Adelman et al argue that ethics of case study research emphasises the negotiation of access to and releases of sensitive data. They argue that the informants have,

> "the right to edit the researcher's account of their views and actions. In this way informants can share in the controlled release of data to audiences within and outside the research situation."
>
> (1976,144)

After the interviews were transcribed each participant was sent their interview transcription to alter as they wished. The letter accompanying the transcripts gave a month period for the interviewee to make the desired alterations to the scripts. Three participants returned their altered transcripts. When excerpts from the transcripts were used in the thesis, each participant was sent a copy of their contribution as it had been analysed. Each interviewee was asked to make comments on their particular contribution. Lather argues that the whole negotiation process over interview material must be clearly stated;

> "the negotiation process must be clearly 'bounded' because participants often wish to 'unsay' their words. In Tripp's view the 'right to negotiate' [on the part of research participants] was replaced by the 'right to comment'. Researchers are not so much owners of data as they are 'majority shareholders' who must justify decisions and give participants a public forum for critique."
>
> (1986,264 citing Tripp 1983,38)

All participants were thanked for their involvement in the research and an appropriate acknowledgment has been made in the preface and acknowledgment section of this thesis. The value of the interviews lies in the interpretation of the world by the participants, linked into the analysis of official documents, particularly with regard to how policy was created and the processes used. The interviews were not a cross-

examination of the participants but a journey back to their particular role, beliefs, ideas and assumptions throughout the policy development. The transcripts are used in the thesis to combine a narrative threaded through the analysis of policy throughout the case study. Stenhouse argues that;

> "The subtlety of narrative lies in its capacity to convey ambiguity concerning cause and effect. In telling a story the author does not need to ascribe clearly causes and effects."
>
> (1981,15)

Triangulation

The researcher selects from the transcripts information which invites the reader to speculate about causes and effects by providing the reader with a variety of interpretations. The interviews have formed a method of triangulation for the research, providing an added dimension to the case study's use of documentation. Bogdan and Biklen support the notion of having a broad perspective by arguing;

> "Qualitative researchers tend to believe that situations are complex so they attempt to portray many dimensions rather than to narrow the field."
>
> (1982,42)

Mathison cautions researchers against using triangulation as an end in itself providing a clear path to a singular view. Rather it "provides a rich and complex picture of some social phenomenon." Mathison further argues that the value of triangulation using data from a variety of sources is not so much a

> "technological solution to a data collection and analysis problem, it is a technique which provides more and better evidence from which researchers can construct meaningful propositions."
>
> (1988,142)

Through interviewing the participants, a clearer picture was established as to what had influenced policy construction during a period in which the role of the state was redefined and theorised using new management theories. The participants' accounts were used to validate theories advanced by Codd, Gordon and Harker(1988); Nash(1989); Lauder(1990); Boston(1991). Whilst not all the data collected from the interviews supported the theories argued, the divergence in experience provided a

wider and more valuable picture of what factors had contributed to special education policy formation in the period 1984-1990.

Adelman et al argue that triangulation is an advantage as a technique when creating different accounts of an event;

> "all accounts are considered in part to be the expression of the social position of each informant. A case study needs to represent, and represent fairly, these differing and sometimes conflicting viewpoints."
>
> (1976,143)

The participants interviewed were the change-makers of special education policy, not the end users. The interview process was not designed to change the participants' understanding so much as to collect information which would lead to better understand the process of policy-making. Any emancipatory outcomes would be intended for those end-users of policy to better understand the dynamics of policy construction. Lather argues that in order for the researcher to collect trustworthy data;

> "construction validity must be dealt with in ways that recognise its roots in theory construction"
>
> (1986,271)

Lather(1986,272) further defines emancipatory research using catalytic validity criteria for the research process to transform reality through reorienting, refocusing and energising the participants. To a certain extent this may have happened to the participants in this investigation through the reflective process of interviews. However as there was only one interview, and because the education reforms were directed by different Ministers of Education, along with a one-off involvement of those contributing to the creation of education policies, this research will probably not have that effect on those involved. In reality, the research undertaken may have a greater impact on the end-users of special education, leading to a greater conscientization and understanding of what happened during the period 1984-1990, resulting in what Adelman et al refers to as;

> "The truths, contained in a successful case study report, like those in literature, are guaranteed by the shock of recognition."
>
> (1976,141)

Conclusion

Chapter two has outlined how policy analysis is to be used in the thesis, reviewing particularly "analysis of policy" and the political and social factors contributing to policy construction. The rationale for using a case study approach for this thesis has been explained. The processes used to gather and collate information from interviewees has been outlined.

The following chapter examines theories of the role of the state in the formation of special education policies, with particular emphasis on how the state regulated students with special needs within the education system.

Chapter Three - Special Education and the Role of the State

> "The Welfare State has been organised to provide for the needy including those with disabilities, it has done so in a highly regulated manner, using different disability discourses to legislate against children."
>
> Fulcher (1989, 2)

Introduction

This chapter presents an overview of the theories which have been the basis of this research. Whilst the research is set in a particular time period, the ideological influences impacting upon the educational policy decisions made in the 1984 - 1990 period will be examined, starting with the view of the state in a welfare role. Strands of several different ideologies contributed to the production of education policies in the period 1984 - 1990. It is therefore necessary to examine the broader educational policy changes before examining those made in special education which are the focus of this particular study. Whilst initially special education policy development parallelled general education trends, from 1987 onwards, particular provisions had to be created to accommodate the needs of special education.

Having discussed the development of the welfare state, its position at the time that significant education changes were taking place in New Zealand and the ideologies that informed the decision-making process, it is critical to examine how special education policies have been constructed using disability discourses and how particular ideologies have influenced the policy outcomes.

Theories of the State

The period 1984 - 1990 in New Zealand education is marked by intense ideological struggle. Grace writes of an education crisis occurring in New Zealand at this time.

> "Educational crisis in this sense represents a serious challenge to the power of dominant interests in education - the principles they espouse and to the structural and organisational arrangement in education which they have enacted".
>
> (1990, 167)

The involvement of the state in education changed significantly during this period, from a traditional social contract formula consensual model of intervention, to one of state withdrawal from all but the critical areas of funding and policy, and following a

more decentralised model. Carnoy and Levin argue that the area of social conflict must also be addressed when dealing with the state and education. Thus:

> "Education, as part of the functions of this State, is also an arena of social conflict."
>
> (1985, 27)

Special education also reflects social conflict and needs to be theorised as such. Barton argues that,

> "Recognising the importance and exploring the origins of difference in the lives of disabled people compared to the rest of the community, are thus fundamental elements in a social theory of disability. Disability is thus a social and political category in that it entails practices of regulation and struggles for choice, empowerment and opportunities."
>
> (1993, 238)

If the state in capitalist welfare democracies is viewed as responsible for providing justice and equity to compensate for inequalities arising out of the social and economic system, education's role then is seen as improving the social position of have-not groups by making relevant knowledge and certification for participation available to them. At the same time, the capitalist state and its educational system must, by their very nature, reproduce capitalist relations of production, including the division of labour and the class relations that are part of that division. Carnoy and Levin believe that it is the tension between these two aspects of education that creates social conflict.

The actions of the state in New Zealand, in particular between 1987 - 1990, heralded a new version of ideological struggle based on the changing view of the state in education.

When the fourth Labour Government was elected to power in New Zealand in July 1984, it faced an immediate fiscal crisis. The economic response to the handling of that crisis was to have an impact on social policy for the next six years.

The Dismantling of the Traditional Welfare State

Welfare states have flourished under the corporatist model of government where consensual pacts have existed between strong union movements, the state and capital

from the middle classes. It is this power base that provides the link between the traditionally opposing classes, and it is premised on compromise.

The first Labour Government in New Zealand in 1935, legitimated itself as a conventional governing power by introducing the welfare state to stabilise capitalism after the 1930's depression. Jesson (1989, 9) argues that the historic compromise existing in New Zealand since 1935 relied on a regulated and protected economy being established by the first Labour Government with a compromise being forged between the business community, which forfeited its freedom of action, and the working class which moderated its socialist goals. From that base the state became increasingly involved in the provision of services and the operation of the economy intervening in areas where there was a lack of private capital eg. industry, communication and transport. The political view of the state was to deal with the dual problems of economic management and maintaining its legitimacy with its voters. Rudd asserts that,

> "free health, education and welfare programmes were not introduced as a result of state altruism. They were established, maintained and expended initially to meet the demands of capital for an educated and healthy work force."
>
> (1991, 162)

The structure of the welfare state depended on a range of social welfare programmes to ensure the state's legitimacy with its voters and the long term survival of capitalism. The welfare state concept had been active in New Zealand well before Keynesian economic theories were adopted by the first Labour Government in 1935. Jesson argues that,

> "New Zealand was created with borrowed money. It didn't have time to evolve. The state was a sound risk for investors. The state has always been responsible for economic development in New Zealand; the role of private enterprise has been to profit from it."
>
> (1987, 30)

Economically New Zealand has relied on the state, coupled with foreign capital, technology and local business, for its development. That historical development was further strengthened by Keynesian economic theories which proposed that unemployment and depression resulted from a low spending of investors, government

and consumers. Keynes argued that because consumers were limited in their spending by the size of their incomes, they were not responsible for the fluctuations in business cycles. Keynes theorised that governments and business investors had the necessary power to manage business cycles. When a depression occurred the total spending of consumers, business, government and private investors usually slumped. Keynes argued that it should increase. If there wasn't enough capital available from the private sector then government substitutes had to be created. In adopting this economic theory, the government became more enmeshed in the daily lives of the New Zealand public.

The first Labour Government used the state to provide a welfare system and full employment. In so doing it aimed to stabilise and insulate the economy and gained greater control of the financial system. Keynes' economic theory repudiated the neo-classical economics which had been influential prior to the Depression of the 1930s. Jesson argues that;

> "Keynesian economic theories stated that the market place if left to itself, might stagnate for lack of demand and insufficient investment."
>
> (1987, 118)

Keynes' ideas are linked to the economic management of the state, by the state therefore directly influencing the economic activities of the country. By 1984 Keynesian policies were not favoured and the economic pendulum swung away from state involvement to a minimalist economic ideology.

Claus Offe (1984, 198) saw the major intention of Keynesian economic policy as being the promotion of economic growth and full employment. When this intent is coupled with the welfare state's strategy to protect those affected by the risks and contingencies of industrial society and to create a measure of social equality, a dependent relationship is established. The welfare state depends on the economic growth and full employment provided by the Keynesian model to deliver its promised social policies.

The role of the state in policy creation is not neutral. The state fulfils two opposing functions which are the accumulation of capital and the legitimating of a social order in society. The accumulation of capital is necessary so that the state can provide services to the society it governs.

The state also has to keep faith with its voters. When a balance between the two contradictory functions occurs hegemony is effective. Offe argues that;

> "What the state protects and sanctions is a set of institutions and social *relationships* necessary for the domination of the capitalist class. The state is neither a 'servant' nor an 'instrument' of any one class. While it does not defend the specific interests of a single class, the state nevertheless seeks to implement and guarantee the *collective* interests of all members of a class *society dominated* by capital."
>
> (1984, 119 - 120)

Gramsci argues that hegemony occurs when a small minority of the dominant class control the rest of the dominant group with their consent. The dominant class uses its political, moral and intellectual leadership to establish its view as all inclusive and universal, thereby shaping the interests and needs of subordinate groups.

Hegemony is not just about political or class control. It is how society views what is right and natural for it to do. Fisher states;

> "This means that the majority actively consent to, and participate in, their own domination. The dominant ideology becomes material practice and the rules by which we conduct our daily lives."
>
> (1991, 46)

Under the ageis of the welfare state and the emergence of the civil rights movement of the 1960s, minority groups had gained acknowledgment of their political and economic rights. People with disabilities rode on the coat tails of such emancipatory movements. As argued in chapter five, at the time of the 1984 election the rights movement for people with disabilities was gaining momentum, fuelled by the success achieved in the United States with Public Law 94-142. However, at the very time there was a push for rights for those with disabilities, there was a growing disenchantment with the welfare state.

Offe (1984, 152) proposed that nowhere was the welfare state seen as possessing permanent solutions to the problems of advanced capitalist economies. There was a rise in the number of negative appraisals to welfare state policies put forward by both left and right political groups. Whilst this view was being established, the idea of the welfare state itself was not to be totally abandoned. Offe also asserted that the

welfare state would not be easily replaced by alternatives. According to Offe it was seen as providing,

> "essential and indispensable functions for both the accumulation process as well as for the social and economic well-being of the working class."
>
> (1984, 152)

In New Zealand in the period 1984 - 1987 the welfare state tenet of human dignity from the cradle to the grave was to be challenged by the very political party that had created it.

The Rise of Neo-Liberal Ideology

Despite having won an election with a substantial swing to the Labour Party, those elected to power in July 1984 did not have an economic policy in place, nor did they have a programme of reform with an agenda for implementation.

According to Jesson (1989, 76) the newly-elected Labour members of parliament fell into four groups all broadly anti-authoritarian in attitude; the social-liberals, labour stalwarts, technocrats and free market right thinkers.

Many Labour members of parliament stood against the Muldoon government, hostile to the repressive policies introduced under that regime. The social liberals were associated with broad issues like feminism, the peace movement and anti-apartheid. A few members of parliament were traditional Labour Party members, whilst others were cast in the technocrat mode, interested in the problems of administration. A few others belonged to the free market right.

Nash (1989, 122) in reviewing the lack of knowledge of economics, points to the obsession with 'movement politics' by Labour Party politicians and their lack of understanding of how problems like unemployment could be solved. Nash states that it was the ignorance of economic theory that opened the way to the fourth Labour Government being captured by more organised theoretically astute alternatives to socialist economic theories. Many of the newly elected labour members of parliament were ignorant of economic theory in any sense; so when economic policies were discussed they were unable to provide an indepth analysis. When Treasury proposals were put to the caucus, the active commitment of the new right group led many parliamentarians, particularly the social liberals, to go along with government

initiatives through loyalty, which left the Labour stalwarts alone to battle the swing to the right, without realistic alternatives to offer as alternative economic proposals. The fourth Labour Government appears to have been in a perfect position to have been hijacked by those with a philosophical barrow to push.

The Influence of Treasury

Nestled within the cloisters of Treasury, a small influential group of economists had been working for three years on developing economic policies opposed to Keynesian principles, based on neo-liberal ideology.

When the government changed from National to Labour in July 1984, briefing papers were assembled by Treasury to inform the government about economic policies to assist their decision making process. There had been widespread disaffection with the previous Muldoon governments' interventionist policies. Given the lack of economic policy within Labour, the fact that few Labour Members of Parliament possessed a deep understanding of economics, plus the presence of a small but effective cabal of free market thinkers in the Labour causus, the Treasury briefing papers, entitled "Economic Management" were welcomed by the Lange Government, as it was plunged into economic crisis within hours of taking office. Treasury officials consolidated their position in government circles in several ways. Back benchers had courses in economic policy provided by Treasury. Lauder argued that Treasury officials;

> "gained representation on some of the most important committees that considered changes in educational policy - presumably to police proposals that might increase rather than decrease state expenditure in education".
>
> (1990, 2)

Comments made by Russell Marshall (in chapter six) suggest that Treasury influence was being felt in the education portfolio eighteen months into Labour's first term of office. Treasury was directly involved in shaping education policies after 1987.

As well as influencing policy at committee level, a Cabinet Policy Committee was established consisting of eight senior cabinet ministers with Treasury as its source of advice. A sanctum of policy-making without any countering viewpoints being available from other economic theories now existed. In previous governments, Treasury had provided a range of economic viewpoints for consideration. Now there

was only one. Jesson saw this development as a reversal in the relationship between the government and its advisers.

> "The advisers had a greater degree of political commitment than the government. Instead of Treasury and the Reserve Bank implementing the policies of the Labour Party, the Labour Government implemented the policies of Treasury and the Reserve Bank so that the autocratic structure of the constitution worked ultimately to their benefit."
>
> (1989, 69)

Inevitably, given such a free reign to influence a wide sector of government, Treasury was able to advance their own neo-liberal economic viewpoint.

Whilst neo-liberal views were new to the New Zealand political scene in the 1980s, they had been slowly gaining influence in political and business spheres since the late 1970s. They were probably limited in influence in New Zealand through the sheer power of the repressive Muldoon era and the historical strength of the welfare state within New Zealand society.

Apple, argues that the historic compromise between unions and the government of the 1930s, which strengthened between 1950 - 1970, was based on;

> "The logic of profitability and markets as the guiding principles of resource allocation for an assurance that minimal living standards trade union rights and liberal democratic rights would be protected."
>
> (1991, 10 and 11 cites Bowles 1982, 51)

Whilst Apple's argument is not written specifically about New Zealand, it applies to the New Zealand Case.

During this time education was viewed as a public good provided by the government to all New Zealanders, based on the five principles espoused by the Prime Minister Fraser in 1939 that education should be of equal opportunity, a right, free with extensive funding, and provided by central government.

The challenge to education is well documented by Apple (1991), Codd (1990), Grace (1990), Treasury (1987). Generally there were concerns about the rising costs of education and the seemingly crumbling national identity. A type of moral panic about

education had emerged. It appeared that the interventionalist welfare policies were not working to solve the problems of youth unemployment, and the educational inequities experienced by racial groups and female students.

Codd argues,

> "One of the main manifestations of a deepening legitimation crisis is that state institutions especially in the education system, are unable to satisfy public expectations and become obvious targets for 'blame' and derision."
>
> (1990, 192)

Grace (1990, 170) argues that the education crisis of the 1980s was promoted by four groups - the New Zealand Treasury, the National Party, the mass media and The Business Roundtable. According to Apple (1991, 10), moral panic was fanned by public concerns about education issues of illiteracy, fears of school violence and the development of contentious curriculum. These concerns were connected with people's own experience especially "the working class and lower class people." These concerns and fears were used by dominant groups such as Treasury who took the debate on education into their ideological stronghold and developed seemingly logical explanations as to why the problems had occurred and what could be done to solve the problems. As a result, Treasury recommended that the state withdraw from its traditional interventionalist education policies and devolve the power of the state to individual institutions and communities.

It is inevitable, given the widespread criticisms of education, that educators themselves would be attacked. The three way relationship between the state, the professionals who administered the government policies and the so-called liberal teachers who taught in the schools came under criticism.

Special education emancipation in this period was developing against this background of increasing suspicion of traditional education practices. A wave of liberal education policies and curricula had been developed by education professionals. Now the public was calling for a halt to such policies. In contrast, in special education there was a desperate rush for a catch-up liberal attitude to policy development. Apple refers to general fears existing in the community that;

> "we are losing control both of our children and of the pace of social and cultural change. We have gone too far in tilting our educational and social

> policies toward minority groups and women. This is not equality, but reverse discrimination. It goes beyond the bounds of what is acceptable."
>
> (1991, 5)

Whilst the power of professionals within regular education was attacked for its' liberal tendencies, this same power was targeted in special education because it was too conservative and limiting. One aspect many people in society were agreed on was the power of professionals - a power which limited the role of the community and parents in education. This concern over the role of the professional was to surface again with the arguments presented by Neo-liberal thinkers in the mid 1980s. Before expanding the philosophy of Neo-liberal ideology, it is necessary to detail the disability discourses used by the state to provide a basis for legislation and policies for students with special needs.

Disability Discourses

Shapiro argues (1980, 212) that the emerging elements of any special education policy contain values, beliefs and judgements which arise out of the larger social experiences. The extent of any changes in special education policy depend on the parameters set by the social and economic structure controlling the development of that policy. Special education reform can only progress if it is consistent with the needs or goals of that economic structure. Society views special education as a complex area in which to create policy. However it is not the disabilities themselves, rather it is the manner in which social and political forces construct the impact of those disabilities on society which is the issue. Disability is not about sluices, ramps and toiletry needs. It is about the categorising of people by society, the regulating of their entry into that society, and the imposing of conditions of acceptance and continuity of service. Fulcher (1989), Oliver (1988) describe the role of the welfare state as one to oversee regulations relating to the supply of social services, which is now carried out in a manner that many have come to view as oppressive In order to examine the concept of oppression within wider social practices on disability Fulcher argues that the notion of impairment needs to be distinguished from 'disability' and that the place of categorisation in social relations needs to be reviewed. Fulcher uses Marle's discussion to explain the difference between impairment and disability:

> "Impairment is a medical term for anatomical loss or a loss of bodily function. Disability is a measurable functional loss resulting from an impairment. Handicap is the social consequence caused by environmental

> and social conditions which prevent a person achieving the maximum potential a person seeks. Disabilities are what people cannot do."
>
> (1989, 22)

Using Marle's frame of reference, impairment leads to disability, which creates a deficit in the individual. The link between the impairment and disability is derived from the medical discourse, in its talk, practices and beliefs, even if the connection is not actually there. The medical discourse has a clinical concern with the body and therefore the individual, focusing on physical changes and their effects. Fulcher states (1989, 24) that in order to theorise disability, the place of categories must be examined in social relations. Throughout society people are placed in various categories in order for society to accommodate their needs, but the category of disability is used to exclude and oppress those it labels. Disability itself is a site of struggle - it is a disputed category. Is someone disabled, and to what degree? Who says so? Are they a reliable, informed judge? Disability is a feared status, which contributes to how society constructs it. Lastly disability is seen as a personal problem rather than a community or public issue. Welfare states have relied on four major discourses in disability to inform them on how to construct education legislation. These are the medical, lay, charity and rights discourses, each of which are discussed in detail in the following sections.

Medical Discourse

The medical discourse is the most entrenched, dominant discourse on disability and penetrates the lay and charity discourses. The medical discourse views disability in technical terms, using scientific terminology, which on its face appears neutral, not exercising power because it deals with facts. The nature of the individual's problem is emphasised, highlighting the aberration or deviancy within that person. Shapiro argues,

> "It is the individual's 'problem', 'disabilities' or 'handicaps' that are emphasised not the limitations or inadequacies of the instructional environment or educational process."
>
> (1980, 218)

Therefore, in the school situation a person's disability is not viewed as the product of the educational environment, which in fact systematically alienates and excludes what is a significant section of the student population. Labels of 'learning disabled' 'emotionally unstable' or 'socially maladjusted' are attached to the individual student.

Where a student is seen to be disabled and a problem, remedies are applied through the delivery of social policies. Where a student overcomes their disability, they are held up as success of the programmes delivered to them; if they fail, they must take the blame themselves. Disability in this context is viewed as a dependent relationship with individuals having to adapt themselves to society, with the help of professionals who will assess their needs. Professionals have gained enormous power within the medical model. They use particular terminology, often medical or quasi-medical to categorise and label disability. The professional is believed to know better than anyone what is best for the child.

There has been a spill over of the medical discourse into non-medical professional areas which deal with people with special needs. These "associated" professionals use the medical discourse which is accepted by society to legitimise their own practices. The incidence of using the medical model to support decisions involving exclusion of people with disabilities are notable in education. Education practices use the medical discourse of impairment to categorise students. Deficits in individuals categorised as disabled leads to their exclusion and segregation. A theme of need informs the medical discourse. The professional practices are aimed at assessing the deficit of the individual's capability, creating sub-categories of disability to justify the segregation and exclusion.

The medical model, and its adoption by associated professionals through their use of its logic, politics and language, has allowed these associated professionals to dominate policy development in the disability area. The power of professionals is seen in most legislation concerning people with special needs passed in New Zealand since 1867. A socially constructed status for people with special needs was underpinned by the domination of the medical model informing politicians and society on the best way to deal with people with disability. The legitimacy of legislating to control disability through the power of professionals was supported by society using the lay and charity discourses. The only challenge to the medical model came with the development of the rights discourse in the late 1970s.

Charity Discourse

The charity model is very much a product of the Victorian era, with no provision for rights for the individual concerned. There are strong elements of benevolent humanitarianism in the charity discourse, whereby those who receive benefits handed out to them should be suitably grateful. Unlike the United Kingdom, where there was a large wealthy middle class to provide the benevolence, the New Zealand

government from early on had to assume the role of provider for people with special needs.

The charity discourse has an institutional base to it - the disabled were seen as being objects of pity and as eternal children who could not look after themselves. Therefore state institutions took on the role of protector, using the medical discourse to dictate its practices, which may well conflict with the consumers' wants. The charity discourse is based on a moral duty to provide for those seen as needy. Examples of the charity model can be seen in the annual appeals run by voluntary organisations to raise money for the unfortunates in society - money which is required to make up the shortfall from state subsidies.

Lay Discourse

The lay discourse is informed by the medical and charity discourses in societies where body control is an important social issue. Individuals who do not comply with the perceived ideal are seen by society as needing help. These individuals are controlled by the state, which also cares for those individuals it has categorised as impaired. It is the power of the able and the complete, who value the body with a particular image, over those who do not reflect that image. Therefore those with less easily regulated bodies or minds are denied the right by society to exercise personal responsibility. Fear, prejudice, pity, ignorance and resentment also inform the lay discourse, often creating paternalistic and maternalistic practices of professionals, which are reinforced by the child-like perception of society towards people with special needs. These perceptions are so deeply embedded in the general population's consciousness that they become 'facts'. It becomes part of society's 'knowledge' that disability is a personal tragedy for individuals so afflicted and the related ideology becomes common sense. As with the charity model, the disabled individual within society is not perceived as having any rights. Within education the perception has been that students with special needs are not really 'teachable'. This is an educational 'fact', reinforced by the power of the prevailing professional discourse.

Ballard argues that the technical approach to children with special needs created negative educational myths, which have been discredited by the achievements of many children with special needs. Ballard argues that, by destroying the barriers to educational opportunities, students have succeeded.

> "The point here is that it is not students with Down's syndrome who have changed. It is our *ideas* about them that are different."
>
> (1994, 15)

The Rights Discourse

The rights discourse is a more recent ideology which informs society from a completely different perspective from the previous three discourses. Self-reliance, independence and consumer wants inform the rights discourse. The aim of the rights discourse is to reduce the process of labelling by equality of access to public education institutions. What the rights discourse argues for is educational opportunities for people with disabilities which are comparable with those enjoyed by other sections of the population.

The expression of rights is a challenge by an oppressed minority which is aimed directly at the prevailing attitudes and beliefs. It challenges the dominant ideology, framing its questions around what constitutes deviancy and normalcy. The rights discourse is openly political, focusing on the disability policies of discrimination, exclusion and oppression which are inherent in the three previous models. By opposing the themes of dependence, help and need which are the entrenched ideologies of the medical, charity and lay discourses, the rights movement distances itself from the individual's impairment, and promotes the individual's freedom to make decisions and have options. The rights discourse is often fought from a moral base rather than from a straight political viewpoint and as such has strong links into all the civil rights movements. To date the rights discourse, with its ideology of consumer rights and wants, has been seen as the most progressive for those people with special needs which are excluded and oppressed by the societies they live in. The proponents of the rights discourse in New Zealand have often had to resort to using strategies of confrontation and demand in order to undemine the three dominant ideologies constructed and legitimated over the past 120 years.

Hegemony in Special Education

Hegemony in special education translates to the power of the medical discourse to inform policy makers how to treat those labelled as deviant or abnormal. The medical discourse became a legitimated way of dealing with people with special needs adopted by society generally. The charity and lay discourses well used to reflect society's view of people with special needs. The majority of those with a disability or in the role of caregiver also subscribed to this view of the world, because it was seen as commonsense beliefs. When decisions about special education remained in the hands of the 'experts', the 'professionals' and the 'administrators', there were a limited number of options presented to those involved in receiving special education services.

When more people are involved in the decision-making process, and alternative information is available to those receiving special education services, consciousness-raising process occurs. Fisher argues,

> "Changes in the dominant ideology, the form of hegemony, and, the actions of the state, happen simultaneously and are necessarily interconnected."
>
> (1991, 46)

The fourth Labour Government dramatically changed how special education policy was constructed when the above three components changed. In the period 1984 - 1990 special education policy was informed by the rights discourse; parents and caregivers were involved in policy construction and the state itself had high ranking politicians who supported emancipatory policies.

Summary

Whilst policy has undoubtedly been formed using either individual or overlapping discourses, there has not been a conscious decision to formulate policy in this manner. There is not a conspiracy to limit and contain people with special needs. The use of the four major discourses has arisen out of the dominant ideology of the day, each of which serves to maintain the power and order of the society it represents. As ideology changes with the passage of time, it reflects in the policy that is created. However the critical point in the discussion of discourse analysis is that when resources, power and valued experiences are being distributed in society, the continuity of the dominant social, political and economic groups is always maintained.

Conclusion

Chapter three has examined the reasons for the creation of the welfare state in New Zealand and the more recent rise in neo-liberal ideology. Disability discourses have been reviewed with particular emphasis on the power of the medical discourse to inform the state on the construction of special education policy. The commonsense beliefs contained in the lay and charity discourses have been described, revealing their impact on how society views those who are seen as disabled. The role of the state has been examined for oppressive practices against people with special needs.

Chapter four will show how the ideology of the neo-liberal ideology displaced the traditional welfare state practices during the fourth Labour Government's term of office.

Chapter Four - Neo-liberal Ideology

> "Whenever there is great enthusiasm for one particular line of enquiry or conceptual framework, other approaches can easily be dismissed or forgotten."
>
> Boston (1991, 23)

Introduction

The rise of neo-liberal ideology in New Zealand in the 1980's was set against a backdrop of economic crises. The state faced the dual problem of maintaining legitimacy with the public whilst dealing with economic crises centred on a decrease in capital accumulation. In order to maintain legitimacy with voters, the state has used neo-liberal ideology to reduce state expenditure and involvement in areas traditionally supported by the welfare state.

Chapter four traces the influence of neo-liberalism on the role of the state. The introduction of management theories used to shape neo-liberal strategies into policies are reviewed along with their impact on special education policy.

Neo-liberal Ideology

The basic tenet of neo-liberal ideology is the freedom of the individual, the dominance of the market place and opposition to state intervention. The neo-liberals reactivated classical economic theories and reconstructed them to solve modern economic problems. Individuals were viewed along similar lines to those espoused by Hobbes who in 1651 stated that 'people were possessive individuals who were ultimately concerned to their own self-interest.' According to Hobbes, self interest is a prime motivation for acquiring wealth, status and power.

As Lauder (1990, 4) argues, Hobbes believed that the possessive nature of individuals would not be influenced by the state of society and that this nature was an unchangeable fact about human character. Hobbes developed the idea of the possessive individual who would give up his or her own individual right for the sake of peace and the good of the state. Although Hobbes acknowledged that subjugation could create tension between the state and the individual, he theorised that the dual constraints of it not being in a sovereign's best interests to have a totally powerless citizenry and that as the ultimate loss of an individual's power is death, these two restrictions would ensure that differences in power would be minimised. The concept of the possessive individual, driven by self interest of the members in society and the

role of the state was further expanded by the philosopher Adam Smith in the 1700s. Instead of solely concentrating on the political effects of the desire to better oneself, Smith developed the idea that the economic pursuit of self interest needed to be examined as well. Smith contended that men were motivated by the desire to better their condition and that it was through economic conditions that this occurred. Smith argued that society overall would benefit by man's economic self interest, because when this occurred collectively all of society would be assisted (Carnoy 1984, 24). In order for men to operate in such a way, there would have to be a free market approach to the economy. Smith theorised that man would act in a responsible manner from a sense of duty and this would be in line with society's needs and expectations. A free market had to exist so that a flow on effect could occur to all sectors of society. As long as the relationship between the state and its citizens was harmonious, each partner would benefit from the dependence. Carnoy states that Smith's views are still prevalent today,

> "The concept that each individual pursuing his or her own economic interests unwillingly provides the best possible formula for one collective good still holds a great deal of sway".
>
> (1984, 29)

Strands of Smith's views have echoed throughout most political and economic philosophies since the 1700s, having a dramatic resurgence in the late 1980s and early 1990s in many capitalist societies. Those concepts of particular interest, which attracted a large following from business and political people are: the free market concept and the withdrawal of the state from interventionist policies.

Neo-liberal theories see state involvement as unnecessary and needing to be limited. The public sector is seen as inefficient and wasteful whilst the private area is seen as efficient. In order for the state sector to become efficient it needed to adopt private sector management strategies and withdraw from universal intervention. This would be solved through state agencies being deregulated, corporatised and devolved. If there was to be a state welfare bureaucratic rump, it needed to be shaped into the mould of private enterprise.

Neo-liberal proponents argue that the welfare state benefits the middle class rather than those who really need assistance. Because the bureaucracy of the state is administered by the middle class, they have a vested interest in its continuity and growth. This translates as the use of the state for the benefit of a small group.

Middle-class capture and perpetuation of the welfare state has meant that capitalists in the long term have less money to invest because they are overtaxed. The operation of a free market is an integral part of the neo-liberal ideology. According to Lauder the neo-liberal claims,

> "the market is the one mechanism which maximises freedom of individual choice by peacefully adjusting conflicting interests."
>
> (1990, 7)

Individual freedom to make choices is governed by the dictates of the market which in turn seeks a profit-making environment.

As Lauder (1990, 5) argues, neo-liberals believe that if there is less disposable income for the rich there is less investment opportunities and if taxation is too high then at a certain point the rich will discover ways of avoiding taxation. Above all, the neo-liberals value the freedom of an individual to act politically and economically. The state is criticised for its role in limiting the individual's rights, not only among the rich but among poorer citizens as well. The neo-liberals point to sound puritan work ethics as a way for those who work too little to ease their dependency on the state. Much has been written as to why and how the neo-liberals were able to successfully introduce such a radical ideology into New Zealand.

Codd, Gordon and Harker (1988, 17) viewed the introduction of neo-liberal policies as an attempt by the state to increase capital accumulation and to legitimate their actions with public support. Lauder (1990, 8) shared this view, highlighting the destructive impact of neo-liberal policies on the unions and the rise in competitiveness amongst individuals. Nash (1989, 113) saw the rise of neo-liberalism in education as "a response to a specific crisis of educational legitimation." Nash argued that the government's intention was to devolve power to local communities whilst firmly holding onto policy and labour management. The crisis would be transported downwards, with ill-equipped communities left to sort out the contentious social issues, whilst the state could stand like Pontius Pilot washing its hands of its responsibility. Evans and Davies (1990) pointed to the high cost of running the education system during the 1980s, and that governments throughout the world were having to investigate whether they were getting good value for money. They state that it was because governments of all political persuasions were having to closely critique their education systems which led to the state adopting policies which ran counter to their ideological beliefs. Evans and Davies argue that;

> "Ideological purity counts for little when the fiscal waters are required to run shallow or dangerously low."
>
> (1990, 56 -57)

In New Zealand, the government was forced to investigate the cost of education given the economic problems slowly building since the 1970s oil crisis, which had culminated in the 1980s with a fiscal crisis in public expenditure and unemployment. The fourth Labour Government was therefore forced to consider alternative forms of administration. Treasury provided the pathway.

From 1984 onwards, the fourth Labour Government, acting on Treasury advice, systematically attacked the welfare state, dismantled all protectionist policies, and opened New Zealand up to a market economy. Claus Offe (1984, 148) saw the neo-liberals as attacking the fundamentals of the welfare state from two viewpoints. The neo-liberals stated there was a disincentive to invest because of the impact of the state's tax policy and regulations on the flow of capital. At the same time there was a disincentive to work due to the contracts with unions. The neo-liberals saw this as leading to a decline in economic growth, and an increasing demand for political intervention which, could be satisfied less and less by the available output. New Zealanders were seduced by a careful strategy which packaged together public concerns about the power of bureaucracies in public life, and which used terminology like "empowering the community", "efficiency", "accountability" and "decentralisation". The first educational policy which was influenced by neo-liberal ideology was released as 'Administering for Excellence' in 1987. It is also referred to as The Picot Report. The public response for submissions to the Picot Taskforce was overwhelming. The public at large was wooed into thinking they were to have a much larger piece of the political action as far as decision-making was concerned. Whilst this was the fact initially, as further educational policies were developed a more managed form of consultation emerged.

The Impact of neo-liberal ideology on Education

Neo-liberal ideology was in conflict with the longheld 1939 Labour government education principles, and argued that the state should withdraw from being the sole contributor to funding education. In order to achieve this aim, there was to be a shift in the perception as to who would benefit from education. Previously, as an emerging country, there had been a push to achieve an educated, employable population which was assisted by the state. This changed under neo-liberal ideology, as the emphasis was now that education provided benefits to the individual, not the

state. If the individual benefited from educational opportunities, it followed that the individual should pay for it. This signalled the end of the concept of education being a public good and it came to be considered a private good.

The neo-liberalists argued that competition was healthy for individuals and institutions. Institutions like schools, should respond to a competitive environment making them sharpen their performance, by adopting private practices and competing on the open market. Through introducing competition in education, the state could hold the schools more accountable for their actions and by claiming that education was a private good the state could justify its actions to reduce public spending. Nash commented that the public were left thinking that;

> "socialism stood for inefficiency and waste rather than conservation and efficiency through the rational planning of resources."
>
> (1989, 123)

The external perception of the Treasury's position was that in order to solve the fiscal crisis of 1985, the market must be deregulated and severe restrictions be imposed on state expenditure. Social considerations were not to interfere with the marketplace. With regard to the possessive individual in the education setting, Treasury saw society as a level playing field, and ignored the differences in culture, gender and socio-economic classes. In education, this perception has been underpinned by the Treasury arguments setout in "Government Management" (1987, 132 - 133) that education 'fulfils' the individual, and that education is never free as there is always an opportunity cost to the provider. Treasury stressed that the government has to be concerned with the economic efficiency of its expenditure on education. Treasury also put forward the view that state intervention would not necessarily result in greater equity, referring to parent renunciation of responsibility if the state takes a greater role in education.

Management Theories

Four management theories enabled neo-liberal ideology to shape its broad strategies into specific policies and to redefine the direction of education in New Zealand. Lauder comments that neo-liberals advocated,

> "cuts in state expenditure to liberate funds for protective investment in the private sector; the privatisation of as much of the state as possible and the introduction of proxy market arrangements in state sectors where

> privatisation is not possible, on the assumption that privatisation and market mechanisms lead to greater efficiency, a redistribution of income in favour of the rich in the hope that they will invest part of their increased income in productive private enterprises, the rationalisation and control of the workforce in order to make it more compliant and efficient."
>
> (1990, 46)

The reforms of the welfare state have been built on an ideological framework of management theory. Boston(1991, 2) lists the elements of this framework as, public choice theory, agency theory, transaction cost analysis and managerialism. It is useful to briefly review the four theories.

Public Choice Theory

Public choice theory is constructed around the belief that all human behaviour is dominated by self interest, with everyone maximising their own economic potential. The role of the state is minimised, limiting the power of politicians and reducing public monopolies to a minimum. Public choice theorists advocate that advisory, regulatory and delivery functions should be not be implemented through a single government department. They argue for privatising government agencies, or introducing contestability whereby state services could be contracted out in the market place. The justification for these moves is to limit the affects of vested interest of bureaucrats and politicians in the performance of their duties.

Agency Theory

Agency theory states that social and political life is really a series of contracts, (Boston, 1991, 4) whereby two parties, the principal and the agent, enter into agreement with each other. An agent can be employed by a principal for a number of reasons - supplying a skill, expertise or specialisation. The assumption is made that individuals will be self-seeking to maximise personal gain. There is recognition that the interest of agent and principal could end in conflict, where principals could be exploited by agents who have more specialised knowledge than they do. The contracts drawn up between the two parties recognise this and offer incentives to monitor the agents' behaviour and minimise the likelihood of violation.

Boston (1991, 5 and 6) states agency theory recognises areas where there are complex problems. The first concerns adverse selection, where the principal may lack adequate indepth information about an agent. The second is the moral hazard where there is a lack of opportunity to observe an agent once contracted to perform a

particular job because of is the difficulty in measuring an individual's output. Agency theory suggests that whilst there is no complete solution to this problem, a range of monitoring devices and the use of multiple performance criteria are possible. Where moral hazard, adverse selection and the problems of monitoring an agent become too great, the government would refrain from contracting out a government service.

Transaction-cost Analysis

Transaction-cost analysis recognises that authority relations, and structural and sociological variables exist in economic partnership, (Boston 1991, 7). Transaction-cost analysis also stated that individuals act out of self interest.

Boston (1991, 7) formulates five main concepts in transaction-cost analysis, "uncertainty, small numbers bargaining, asset specificity, bounded rationality and opportunism." Uncertainty means the inability of an agent to predict or control changes in the environment. Small numbers bargaining reveals the privileged position and advantages agents of long term contracts enjoy, so that few others can compete when contracts come up for renewal. Asset specificity relates to the possessing of specific skills and assets built up by agents when undertaking a particular task or operation eg. specialisation. Bounded rationality states that individuals generally have limited information and thinking ability. Opportunism is when individuals pursue their own self-interests and take advantage of others such that efficiency and profitability come from being able to minimise the cost of transacting business.

Transaction cost analysis, used alongside agency theory, is useful for critically examining bureaucracies. It enables governments to decide whether it is more efficient for the state to directly provide services or to contract them out.

Managerialism

The basic idea of managerialism is that there is something tangible called 'management' which can be applied to both public and private business. Managerialism springs from the work of Fredrick Taylor undertaken at the turn of this century, which scientifically analysed management structures and patterns of work (eg. time and motion studies).

Managerialism relies on management rather than policies or professional or technical skills. The emphasis is on outputs and performance targets. There has been a quest for a devolved form of management and a rise in new reporting, monitoring and accountability mechanisms. Alongside these developments has come a fragmentation

of organisations, each part operating in a semi-autonomous fashion, in line with public choice theory recommendations.

Overall there is a preference for privatisation and contestability with labour being contracted for short periods of tenure, and the rise in the development of corporate plans complete with mission statements for the organisation. Rewards are given out via monetary benefits rather than through non-monetary ones such as status, and ethics. Managerialism stresses cost-cutting and efficiency. The adoption of these theoretical approaches in New Zealand have had a profound effect.

Neo-liberal Ideology and Special Education Policies

Neo-liberal ideology, with its emphasis on management theories centred on the twin premises of the power of the possessive individual and the power of competition, did not take into account the position of those students without the legislative right to education which was the situation existing in 1987 for some children with special needs. Given that those students were excluded, and that many students with special needs were in reality an oppressed group in education, underfunded and limited in their participation in schools, the introduction of neo-liberal theories were potentially threatening.

The arguments put forward by neo-liberalists challenged the rights discourse advanced by special education activists. The special education sector relied on government money to support educational placements, sometimes requiring greater monetary input "per student" than applied for regular students. The rights discourse would result in greater government monetary support for special education, particularly if the two options of special education provision available in the early 1980s were to continue. These were the traditional "segregation" option and the developing "inclusive" option. Neo-liberal ideology argued for less state involvement, based on their premise that education was a private good, not a public good. In special education, given the possible greater expense of educational placement, the idea of education being a private good posed several difficulties. Briefing papers to the incoming Government 1987, prepared by Treasury and published as "Government Management" had promoted the idea of education as a private good in New Zealand, stating that the availability of education was as a commodity in the market place.

> "In the technical sense used by economists, education is not in fact a 'public good'. Pure public goods possess the characteristics of being non-exclusive, that is individuals cannot be excluded from enjoying them (for

> example defence), non-competitive, that is the marginal cost of another individual enjoying the good is zero (for example an empty railway compartment) and non-positional, that is, the value does not lie in restricted supply (for example prestige goods). The provision of formal education and the associated educational qualifications does not fall into these categories. Individuals can be excluded from provision and persons outside compulsory school age are excluded (even within compulsory school age, zoning and private schools depend on being able to exclude individuals). The marginal cost of provision is not zero and the value of educational qualifications does, at least in part lie in their scarcity. Hence education shares the main characteristics of other commodities traded in the market place."
>
> (1987, 33)

As Lauder points out as early as 1984 Treasury papers stated clearly that from their point of view, education impacted directly on the labour market;

> "Demand for education is substantially derived from the need to acquire labour market skills and because of this individuals have clear incentives to invest in education."
>
> (1990, 12)

Given the Treasury arguments, the concern of special educationalists was that if special education was a private good, and if the gains an individual makes are difficult to quantify, as in the case of some children with special needs particularly in terms of outputs, which Treasury (1987, 7) acknowledges in Government Management, then it follows that an argument can be made to justify the state limiting its funding support for special education.

If the proponents of neo-liberalism had reviewed the outputs of special education most data would have come from the results of segregated education or limited participation, as full inclusion in education had barely had time to become a serious alternative. It then would have been difficult to justify the extra expense in special education in terms of the rights discourse. Neo-liberal arguments if worked through would mean a withdrawal of the state from open-ended funding for special education policy, or as discussed in chapters six and seven, from conjunctural to structural policy making. If the state proceeded with neo-liberal arguments, and withdrew from funding special education, the burden of making up the shortfall could well mean

fewer parent and student choices in special education and possibly a return to the more limited option of segregated education placement with an emphasis on vocational training. The alternative was for more user-pays to compensate for the state withdrawing from the total funding of special education.

If market forces were to be applied to all education sectors, with open competition between schools, which schools would want to take on possibly expensive educational placements for students with special needs without there being a mechanism to provide appropriate resources? As a group children with special needs have not traditionally been a marketable commodity, without compensatory funding being awarded by the state to the appropriate institution. In addition, there was no indication that the sentiments of the education profession had dramatically changed in its historical preference for the medical or professional discourse over the rights discourse.

There is nothing to suggest that the Treasury had any intention for the state to fund equity policies, arguing that,

> "Major inequalities persist, individuals are not equal when they come to the state provided educational system and they are not equal when they leave. Some research evidence suggests that such education makes very little if any difference to the relative position of most groups. The state, in intervening in education for equity purposes may make the educational sources concerned less flexible in responding to what is brought to or sought from education by disadvantaged individuals or their agents; more prone to capture as a whole by particular non-disadvantaged interest groups; and more prone to domination by a particular educational agenda."
>
> (1987, 39)

In using this argument Treasury indicated that the state policy makers should use public choice theory to allow contestable options in equity areas. Special education would be an ideal example of such an equity area.

With the state withdrawing from its traditional role in managing education, a policy of devolution of educational management would take place, with communities having far greater input into the education of their local schools. This is what occurred following the Picot Report. The concern for special education was that if power was

to be devolved to community level, the people making policy decisions about special education would not necessarily be professionals informed by the medical discourse. They would most likely be individuals informed mainly by the charity or lay discourse, which as has been discussed, had their roots in the medical discourse. However, it was highly improbable that all communities would be sufficiently informed of the rights discourse to make emancipatory local policies which safeguarded the rights of children with special needs in the local community.

Special education is viewed as a very complicated area of education within which to create policy. This was evidenced by the problems the Picot Taskforce had in grappling with how to administer special education, relegating consideration of it to the last three days of their deliberations. The difficulty experienced by the Picot Taskforce is highlighted by the fact that special education was constantly reviewed and altered in each major education policy analysis following Picot - three more times between the release of Picot in 1988 and the end of Labour's term in office in 1990.

Neo-liberalism virtually ignored equity issues, relying on market forces to level out the differences. It is one thing for neo-liberalism to promote the power of the individual to exercise choices within education, however if the individual was already limited in those choices through legislation and discriminatory education policy then such rhetoric would further discriminate and oppress rather than creating avenues for equitable opportunities in education.

Education did not formally swing into Treasury's vision until one term of Labour's tenure was completed. As a consequence, the contrast between education policies enacted under the traditional corporatist consensus system from 1984 - 1987 and those from 1987 - 1990 constructed by neo-liberal ideology are very distinctive.

Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the management theories of public choice agency theory, transaction cost analysis and managerialism and examined their impact on special education, particularly with reference to funding, and contestability of services. It is apparent that an individual with special needs would not be supported on a needs basis in an education system driven purely by management ideology.

To understand the background to the emergence of special education as a political force in the 1980s, chapter four will review how the four different discourses have been used to shape and inform special education policy for the past one hundred and

twenty years. The medical discourse was the most powerful discourse informing policy makers up to 1984. The emergence of the right's discourse in the 1980's saw a more emancipatory focus to special education policy which is discussed in chapter five with particular reference to the development of lobby groups in special education and the focus they brought to bear on special education policy during this period.

Chapter Five - Special Education Policy - A Historical Analysis

> "Oppression is more than a denial of access and opportunity, it is about being powerless and viewed as essentially worthless in an alien society."
>
> *Barton (1992, 7)*

Introduction

This chapter will not list chronologically the developments of special education in New Zealand, because this has been fully outlined by Mitchell and Mitchell in "Out of the Shadows", 1985. Rather this chapter seeks to determine how education policy for children with special needs has been constructed within the social, political and economic context of the times. In particular, early colonial policy will be examined to determine how the legislative framework was established by the state for dealing with disability. Education legislation will be analysed for its impact on providing educational opportunities for all children with special needs. Education policy will be examined using the four discourses of disability identified by Fulcher (1989). These, either singly or jointly, informed policy-makers on how to deal with the issues confronting them. The development of special education in New Zealand took place in an earlier period than the quest for all children to have educational rights. Through state involvement, there was a certain inevitability in the way society and government dealt with people with special needs.

Early Colonial Development

There were two ideologies that dictated how children deemed 'special' were to be treated by the state. The first ideology used reflected the government's role in maintaining law and order and the state's subsequent involvement in providing for children with special needs. The second ideology reflected how these children were perceived by society and the pressure applied to the state to deal with them, the manner in which their difference was categorised and what further action was taken.

Both ideologies reflect what Apple (1979) sees as three particular features: legitimation, power conflict and a special style of argument. Legitimation is concerned with the justification of the groups (in this case the state's) actions and its social acceptance. Power conflict is the distribution of resources in the political arena. The style of argument is the particular form of discourse used to promote special education in New Zealand which has developed under the umbrella of these

three arguments. It was not merely the educational context that had such an impact on the development of special education policy but the wider social and economic structure that dictated what was to be done with children with special needs.

Oliver on this point:

> "The history of provision for the disabled members of society may be seen primarily as the development of recognition that certain needs of certain groups of the disabled are compatible with promoting or safeguarding the wider interests of society. Sympathy for the handicapped has been translated into effective legislation when, and in so far as, it could be shown that the provisions would in some way bring an economic return to compensate for the economic cost of the resources so committed."
>
> (1988, 14 and 15) cites Topliss (1979, 7)

The government in the 1850s found itself having to intervene in the turbulent social conditions existing in the colony. The dominant group in the society had to control the discontent in order to maintain social order. The ruling group wanted a society where there would be conformity and consensus. There was no room for dissidents or deviancy. The medical model on disability was employed by government to classify children according to their difference, which was aligned to conceptions of deviancy. During this period negative sanctions against deviance were upheld alongside positive attempts to promote conformity. The medical model, sanctioned by medical professionals and interwoven with education and welfare, had a strong influence on how children with special needs were viewed by society. Where a child was seen to be lacking, different, marginal or impaired, their status in society was diminished, and segregation and exclusion usually followed.

The labelling process was critical in order to put the individual into a recognisable framework, so that further action by the state or professional groups could follow. The focus was very much on the individual, despite recognition being given to the difficult prevailing social conditions of that period. On one level the medical model of categorisation was applied to determine who needed specialist attention. At the government level these practices were supported by legislation, so that law and order could be maintained and the impact of deviants on society could be lessened. The medical discourse was used to legitimate the actions of the state. Using its theoretical base, a particular view of the situation was articulated and certain solutions, in this case "exclusion", were proposed and accepted.

In 1867 the Children's and Young Person's Act was passed, enabling provinces to establish industrial schools for needy children under the age of 15 years. The state was concerned that a youthful criminal class would quickly arise if control was lacking. Legislating for control was accepted by society legitimating the action taken by the state, particularly given the economic situation of the country where labour was urgently needed to assist the state to provide basic amenities for the growing population. Neglected, unsupervised and unproductive children were an economic waste. By legislating, the state not only drew on the medical discourse to provide a framework and rationale for their actions, but it also subscribed to the dominant ideology of the times, thereby gaining widespread support for its actions.

Once a framework for handling children with special needs had been created and accepted by society, it became a legitimate method of dealing with difference within society. A number of events, including enactments, categorised difference within society.

- 1868 - The Lunatics Act
- 1873 - The Neglected Children Act
- 1874 - The Naval Training Act
- 1880 - The Sumner Institution for the Deaf and Dumb
- 1882 - The Lunatics Act
- 1908 - Otekaike School for mentally retarded boys opened.
- 1910 - Education Amendment Act
- 1911 - Mental Defectives Act
- 1937 - Wilson Home for Crippled Children established in Auckland.

(Mitchell and Mitchell, 1985, 4-7)

Charity models to provide for special education, following the British concept of charitable aid, were found to be impracticable in New Zealand. The arguments of the charity and lay models (see chapter three) were still used in New Zealand but with a new focus. It was decided that the 'needy', as perceived by those in power, should receive some kind of assistance. However the person receiving the 'assistance' had little say in determining what they wanted from the system. Unlike Britain, which had a large wealthy middle class to support such a system, New Zealand had to rely on the state to provide for the less fortunate. The state albeit reluctantly, accepted responsibility for dependent children thus legitimatising further state involvement in maintaining social order in the developing colony.

Having legitimatised the procedure for dealing with difference, the state had established an operating base for use when any further concern was raised about children with special needs. Legislation followed throughout the years, always relying on the medical model to support its claims. Children were segregated from their peer group, sometimes from their family, congregated together and treated by the professionals. The particular form of categorisation underscored the individual nature of the disability. As different categories of need or deficit were discovered, sub-categories of disability were established followed by segregation. A special education support industry of training and administration developed.

In 1927 a policy on special education was introduced where four types of handicapped children were identified. Each group had a separate site of education, determined on the basis of their disability. Low-grade subnormals were to be educated in special schools, whilst high grade subnormals were put in special classes. The third category, problem children were placed in a class in each of the main centres and physically disabled children were placed in either day or residential care.

The medical model ideology relied on professionals for assessment. Medical technical language pervaded associated professions as different professional bodies consulted with each other over an individual's assessment. Health, education and welfare professionals gradually had an increasing role of collaborating within the medical model where care for the disabled was concerned, using the medical language of symptom, diagnosis and remedy procedure. Whilst not totally ascribing to the medical ideology, the other professional groups used the medical model particularly the medical definitions of exception, to legitimise their own involvement in special education. Once the educationalists accepted medical ideology, the medical paradigm became a legitimate part of the wider special education framework.

Legislation

The Education Amendment Act 1907

Despite legislation in 1877, which heralded a national system of education in New Zealand whereby children could realise their potential as useful and productive members in society, it was not until 1907 that children with special needs were recognised under general education legislation. Prior to this children with special needs were legislated for separately in categories. The Education Amendment Act 1907 used the medical model to target for compulsory education "defective or

epileptic children between 6 and 21 years of age." (Mitchell and Mitchell 1985, 14). The term "defective" was defined as a person "not being idiot or imbecile, and not being merely backward", but who is "by reason of mental or physical defect incapable of receiving proper benefit from instruction in an ordinary school" (ibid). The role of the state in passing the 1907 legislation was to support the medical diagnosis by providing special schools or classes. However in 1907 no such facilities existed nationally and would not for another decade. The only placement for 'defective' students was in an industrial school, which were not required to admit such students.

The role of the state was to side step the issue. Legislation passed in 1910 required that parents provide education for their children with special needs, if their children were blind, deaf, feeble-minded or defective. The state used the medical model of the individual having the problem, and required the family to deal with it. The state failed to provide a nationally-based system to educate the children so-diagnosed. Special education did not receive the same treatment as the rest of the education sector. The government made clear its commitment to providing education for all, and enforced it through the appointment of truancy officers. In so doing the state forced upon the voters, its ideals, using its legislative power. However, those categorised as being outside the state-provided national system were bound by similar laws, of compulsory attendance without the backup of educational placements for their children. Parents were coerced by the state into complying with legislation that segregated their children from the community. The state's role was legitimised within the lay discourse and ideology. The overriding concern of the state was to legislate for a productive, fit, healthy workforce, in the interests of the economic welfare of the country. Those children not fitting into the normal paradigm were marginalised and devalued.

By using the medical discourse to control the education of children classified as disabled, the state used its established power to oppress them. The state used the medical discourse to set the parameters on what was normal and what was not. Not only were the children segregated and excluded, their families were also discriminated against, as they had to provide education for them without the state contributing to it in the same way as it did for so-called 'normal' children.

The Education Act 1914

The 1914 legislation reinforced the charity and lay ideologies, which held that the person with special needs was a burden and an object of pity, whose needs would be

best met in a special class or special school setting. Exemptions from attending school continued as did the onus on parents to provide appropriate education for their children, or to inform the Department of Education of any mentally defective children so that education could be provided.

Again the state relied on the medical discourse to legislate for the exclusion of deviants from mainstream society. By using the medical model to categorise the children, exclusion from the regular education system followed, effectively legitimising, the state's actions. The state had to deal with the consequences of having numbers of defective children in the population. However, the problem was firmly entrenched in the individual child, and it was the parent's responsibility to provide the educational opportunities. The 1914 Education Act also provided for the establishment of special classes. Unfortunately the promises of the 1907 legislation were not realised in 1914, as the targeted group for special classes were those children with a physical disability or backwardness, not the 'mentally defective' children as legislated for in 1907. The outcome of the 1914 legislation was the legitimation of a dual state system for delivering special education.

Education Act 1964

The Education Act of 1964 defined special education as "education for children who, because of physical or mental handicap or some educational difficulty, require educational treatment beyond that normally obtained in an ordinary classroom." (Sleek and Howie 1987, 57.) The 1964 education legislation determined how children were to be segregated from regular classroom settings and it detailed specifically the responsibility of parents.

Parents were expected to provide adequate education for children exempted from regular education (section 109, 111, 117). If the Department of Education felt the child would be better educated away from the school they currently attended, they could direct the parents to enrol the child at a more appropriate school for their needs, unless the child was unable to attend it. (Section 114). If children with special needs were at a regular school, parents were required to make sure the education their child received was suitable for them (section 115). Where the Department of Education felt that children over the age of seven required different education from that being provided, the Director General had the power to direct a child to a specific educational placement. (section 115). Parents had the right to contest this directive in court.

Comments on Education Act 1964

The power of the professionals was inherent in the drafting of the 1964 Education Act. Children with special needs were actively discriminated against in the legislation. The 1964 Education Act further segregated children with special needs, institutionalising many with severe disabilities because the state would not provide education for them.

Fulcher argues;

> "legislative conditions and widespread social practices based on medical, charity and lay discourses or disability have so far constructed disability as exclusion and therefore oppression."
>
> (1989, 33)

The 1964 legislation did little to enhance the rights of the child, despite the state's intervention in many aspects of social life in the country. The problem was still seen as being a problem for the individual.

Within the 1964 education legislation, parents of children with special needs were held responsible for attending to their child's educational needs. The parents' perception of what those needs might be were overridden by the professional body of opinion and the administrative structure supporting it. The power of the medical model over parents and children was seen by Sleek and Howie as,

> "the nearly complete failure of the law of New Zealand to accord to its exceptional children and their parents any rights in the area of education."
>
> (1987, 57)

Howie and Sleek argued that the legality of discrimination against children with special needs could only be addressed by legislation.

> "It is important to recognise that the lack of a right to education provision in the law not only means that exceptional children may be excluded altogether from state educational facilities, but also means that exceptional children admitted to such facilities need not be given the special learning services they require."
>
> (1987, 62)

The outcome of the 1964 education legislation for special education was to create highly regulated conditions dependent on gatekeeping professionals for entry to the regular education system. The power of the state and its administrative resources were in fact lined up against children with special needs and their parents. The reason for such draconian measures being adopted by the state could be seen as a need for establishment to control deviancy, thereby legitimatising its actions.

Don Brown articulated the frustrations of an administrator trying to move the idea of mainstreaming; within the confines of the bureaucracy.

> "The department was working for some years to include the 550 children and young people who were not then included in the school system. This took a long time to win as a policy but once won, a joint departmental team was setup to work to find them (the children) and get provision for them. For eighteen months we waited while the Health Department didn't do the job. In the end I won approval for us to do it. It took many more months to get districts to indicate the "needs basis" for their (the children's) inclusion as the resource opportunity drove a "category based" request. We set up a team to find out for ourselves, using district teams as our agents. We couldn't get accurate lists. Once word got out of what we were doing two things happened. First, extra people were found from all over the place. Second we got demands to go back and count people already included to try and win better resourcing for them."
>
> (Private correspondence, February 1994.)

Oliver argues that special education is a form of social control not only for children with disabilities but also for those children with behavioural problems. Oliver states that such segregationist policies also control indirectly.

> "Further it is part of the ideological state apparatus in that the very existence of these schools serves as a warning to all other children if they fail to conform to currently acceptable health or behavioural norms."
>
> (1988, 19)

The state and the professionals served warning on the people of New Zealand as to how people with perceived special needs would be dealt with. It was a very formidable line-up for the public to contest, with the legislative body, the bureaucracy, the medical and educational professionals holding the power. Fulcher

(1989, 21) agrees with Oliver, that disability is a category which is central to how the welfare state regulates an increasing proportion of their citizens. Fulcher states that disability is a political and social construct which is used to regulate.

Legislation underscores the value placed on individuals within a society. Where some members are actively legislated against because of characteristics perceived as being abnormal or unacceptable, those individuals are regulated against in a controlled exclusionary manner.

Whilst Sleek and Howie were of the view that the Education Act of 1964 encouraged discriminatory practises by the state (1987, 62), some educationalists were not so condemning. Milne and Brown (1987, 41) were of the opinion that whilst they acknowledged that the state had no legal obligation to provide special education services, the sections of the Education Act relating particularly to special education were "persuasive rather than mandatory". Additions and changes to special education policy and services depended on the government's acceptance of Department of Education advice given annually. Despite the assurances of Milne and Brown that the state had not enforced repressive policies and that special education policies were open to interpretation, the obligations of parents and the power of professionals were explicitly written in the Act, even if they were not carried out or ever intended.

The thinking of the state was exposed and the obligation of the parent carefully spelt out. The state was clearly saying that it would meet the educational needs of New Zealand children up to a point and would implement an interventionalist policy if it felt children with special needs were in any perceived danger, but beyond that, it would not interfere. So whilst a welfare state operated in an educational sense, it only did so for those deemed acceptable.

The Emergence of the Rights Discourse

Even prior to 1964, advocates were making submissions to the Minister of Education for more inclusion for children with special needs into regular education. The New Zealand Society for the Intellectually Handicapped (IHC) made submissions to New Zealand governments in 1960, 1976 and 1977 to have the 1964 Education Act changed to have all children with special needs included in State education legislation. Other groups also lobbied for change. An organisation supporting children with specific learning disabilities (SPELD) made submissions for legislation change in 1979 as did the New Zealand Institute of Mental Retardation in 1981.

In May 1984 a new education policy for severely intellectually handicapped students was announced. It prescribed that over a four year period, all school aged children in the care of voluntary organisations would move the state funded education settings, except for those deemed unlikely to adapt to the environment of a school, or unlikely to benefit from the teaching programmes being offered. Although the 1984 policy signalled a victory for the advocates of inclusion, it still meant that professionals and politicians would continue to be gatekeepers of access to state provided facilities.

Sleek and Howie (1987, 66) cited a Department of Education document (1985, 1) stating that many children with "serious psychiatric, medical or behavioural problems which could be disruptive in the typical school setting and with which schools may not be able to cope without additional staffing or special facilities and support services," as excluding most of those 550 persons in psychopaedic or psychiatric hospitals. Sleek and Howie saw this exclusion as the state's unwillingness to shift from the belief that some children with special needs were 'unable to be educated' and that the cost to the state would be too high if they were to be included in regular settings. The state's view in making this stand would be based on the medical model, as would it's understanding of an individual with special needs, coupled with the economic costs.

Sleek and Howie (1987, 68-69) sum up the arguments for the change in legislation by highlighting three fundamental beliefs. The first is the moral right to education. Foremost among the assumptions is that all exceptional children simply because they are human beings, are entitled to develop to their fullest potential and that, therefore they have a moral right to that most important of the means of such development, an appropriate education. The second belief is that for the moral right to be addressed it must also be a legal right. The passing of legislation would show that people with special needs were valued in society. Inclusive education legislation would signal to all state educational professionals that children with special needs could now be part of the regular school system and that their educational needs would have to be met within that system. The third belief was that legislation by itself was not the sole answer. Adequate resources in terms of facilities, equipment and training must be provided to assist in the transition period from segregation to inclusion. Although the debate for rights for children with special needs started in the 1960s it gained momentum in New Zealand particularly during the 1980s.

Rights Movements in Special Education

The rights model ideology was used by special education groups to publicise the placement in the regular education system of children with special needs. In using the rights model to explain the inadequacies of the 1964 Education Act, it became apparent that the issues of discrimination and exclusion were the critical areas to be addressed.

Instead of special education being mainly a professional domain of power, it became a public issue, alongside other rights issues such as race, and gender. Between 1979 and 1983, six parent organisations were formed in New Zealand.

1979	'Contact' and the New Zealand Society for the Deaf.
1980	Kawhina Society (in Dunedin) to support children in special and assessment classes.
1981	The Downs Association.
1982	Hyper Calcaema Parents Association
1983	Parent to Parent

Parents voiced their concern about their children's education through these organisations and the well established voluntary groups such as IHC. Public attention was drawn to their views and politicians were made aware of their demands through their lobbying for change.

The rights model ideology in New Zealand was informed by American legislation which attempted to address the primary concerns of discrimination, exclusion and oppression of children with special needs in American education system. The United States Public law 94-142, passed in 1975, acted internationally as a catalyst in special education. The legislation bridged the acknowledged gap in special education in New Zealand between people with disabilities, their family and the wider community.

Milne and Brown stated;

> "There is now a demand for recognition of the complex interaction between the needs of those with special difficulties and their peer group, school organisation, community attitudes and resource allocation responsibilities of the Department."
>
> (1987, 53)

The American Public Law 94-142 was part of a wider rights movement, which initially challenged separate educational provisions as being unequal. The model of inclusion was extended as more children were successfully included into their local schools. The paramount power of professionals was reviewed and the thrust of education provision moved to reflect the needs of the child, in consultation with the parents.

Given that the existing New Zealand 1964 Education Act effectively promoted exclusion rather than inclusion, it was obvious that in order for the ideas of Public Law 94-142 to be introduced to the New Zealand education system, the law would have to be changed. Support for such a move came particularly from educationalists, parents and voluntary groups.

J B Munro summed up the widespread view that it had become,

> "more and more apparent that for effective services to be delivered to exceptional children in New Zealand the state and the voluntary societies should develop a partnership rather than an adversarial relationship."
>
> (1987, 189)

Don Brown, Director of Special Education acknowledged the impact of American thinking:

> "The United States is the most important contributor to our knowledge of special education, our understanding of student with special teaching needs and the development of programmes to assist those students."
>
> (1989, 164)

Although the categorising aspects of Public Law 94-142 were not to be used in New Zealand, the American legislation served an important function in revealing that New Zealand had an obligation to keep pace with overseas developments, whilst valuing the particular form and development of our own system, in order for special education services to grow.

Public Law 94-142, as the leading proponent for education reform, sought to reduce the labelling of children with special needs. Much of New Zealand Special education legislation rested on the categorising and labelling of children. The special education reform lobby expounded the stigmatising and marginalising effect of categorisation on

children with special needs, who were often expected to conform to stereotyped ideas of behaviour and ability. Alongside the dismantling of the segregated educational placements for children with special needs would be the disestablishment of the bureaucracy that held up the special education structure. Such innovative rights-led ideology struck at the very heart of the medical, lay and charity discourses which had informed both the government and the wider society for some one hundred and twenty years.

This chapter has examined how the state and society used the disability discourses to exclude children with special needs from the regular education system for 120 years. The domination of special education policy by professionals was complete and parents played a minor role in advocating for their child. Pressure from special education lobby groups in the 1980's changed the perception of special education in the 1980's, as concern became more vocal about the legislative practices of the state.

Chapter six will trace how the rights discourse started to dominate special education policy during the fourth Labour Government's term of office, culminating in the passing of emancipatory legislation for children with special needs in 1989.

Chapter Six - The Political Context of Special Education

> "It is time to demand that the professionals, who are the gatekeepers to resources, attend to and act on the voices of parents and of disabled people."
>
> *Wills (1994, 24)*

Introduction

The fourth Labour Government inherited the portfolio of special education in 1984 as the rights ideology gained ascendancy, and the turbulent needs of special education in New Zealand were coming to a head

There were three policy areas to be addressed:

1. The Education Act.
2. The issue of mainstreaming.
3. Administering special education.

In this chapter the three policy areas will be examined as separate trends occurring in special education. Voluntary agency groups and parent groups were particularly significant in the development of all three policy areas during the period 1984 - 1990 and the reasons for their influence will be addressed first.

The impact of Lobby Groups

Traditionally in New Zealand, parents could influence special education policy by being part of a voluntary organisation eg. IHC. This process required parents to be an active member of a local group and either accessing more senior and influential members through lobbying or going onto regional or national committees, in order to have their voices heard. The government, using the corporatist model of decision making, would discuss relevant issues with the head people of that voluntary group. Unlike many other minority groups, the diverse needs of the children and the historical tendency for the state to legislate for segregation according to specific disabilities, meant that there was not a collective parent voice on educational issues of importance. By the 1980's however, this was changing. Parents of children with special needs between 0 - 5 years of age, had access to a variety of early intervention programmes. Some were run by voluntary organisations, many were not. This resulted in many articulate parents being left without a legitimate conduit for their opinions to be heard, because they did not join voluntary organisations like IHC. As

argued in chapter four, the establishment of six parent organisations between 1979 - 1983 gave several different groups a national voice.

In the 1980's, parents of children with special needs had made extensive use of early intervention programmes, in conjunction with inclusive pre-school settings. The mainstreaming of children into the compulsory education sector became an expectation for these parents. However, the 1964 Education Act was a barrier to having a child with special needs placed in a community school as of right, and was out of step with the inclusive practices of pre-school education.

The state was informed about educational policy by professionals, mostly using the medical discourse which excluded parents and which was typical of that period, whereby policy outcomes were determined by the expectations of politicians and bureaucrats, rather than those most affected by the policies. The parent groups eg. The Federation of Deaf, and the Downs Association gave parents the opportunity to put the rights discourse to use, informing politicians and bureaucrats of other points of view. As argued in chapter three, the rights discourse is demand oriented. Parent groups openly challenged the state as to how and why its special education policies were formulated using the medical model. Parents had experienced inclusion in their communities and many text-book theories had been discredited as to the projected development limitations of the child with special needs. Parents demanded legislation reflecting rights ideologies. Parent groups found in Don Brown a Director of Special Education who was willing to forge a partnership which in reality developed into a significant political relationship.

Don Brown reflected that when he had first joined the Department of Education, everyone ducked for cover when parents arrived with grievances.

> "I said when I became Director that that had to stop, that I wasn't going to have parents coming in as if on a commando raid. That is why I said that the Lopdell Centre Conferences, every single one of them, no exceptions, where policy was under discussion, we would have parents present in significant numbers. That they would feel comfortable and that we would even train them if necessary in how to deal with us so that they could deal with us effectively on the day. In order to not grow like Topsy, we had to have policy that everybody owned. We had to have an understanding of each other."
>
> (Personal Interview, July 1992)

During the period 1984 to 1987 in particular, the Special Education Division of the Department of Education took a leadership role in fostering the parent/professional relationship as a partnership, foreshadowing how it would be treated in the later legislation. It was a deliberate step away from the medical discourse which had informed policy-makers in the past. The inclusion of parents signalled the Special Education Division's movement towards embracing the rights discourse, acknowledging, both the needs of the student and those of the parents which might well be in conflict with those of the school establishments. It was to be a critical alliance, noted for its effectiveness.

Don Brown stated,

> "I had a very strong respect for parents. I also had a very significant commitment to their inclusion in our discussion. Parents groups were effective. To be fair to us, part of their effectiveness was because we made sure they could be by including them into the work we did, by empowering them, by enskilling them. The parent organisations were getting stronger, they worked well. They were cohesive. We were all learning and developing together."
>
> (Personal Interview, July 1992)

J B Munro

> "Don Brown played a key role in doing the role of the bureaucrat behind the scenes. Parent groups were very much a watering hole for him (Don Brown). A resourcing place. Getting the feel of what was there and I think whether it was with Bill Renwick or whoever, there were certainly blockages further up."
>
> (Personal Interview, July 1992)

Noel Scott agrees with J B Munro's summation;

> "I think it is right to highlight Don's importance in that process and it was an importance generated from two things.
>
> One I think was his continued frustration at his inability to get across to colleagues the importance of issues he was involved in and the harder he tried or the greater the frustration from the system and the inability of

> people at his level to influence overall policy, the more I believe he got pretty forthright. It seemed to me that special education groups were always battling.
>
> The second things is I think this belief in the effectiveness of parent power was not only generated from the knowledge that they should be involved, but that without them he was never going to convince anyone much anyway."
>
> (Personal Interview, July 1992)

In recognising and accepting parent lobby groups input into special education policy creation, Don Brown was ahead of, and somewhat out of step with, the more prescriptive policy creating procedures followed by other divisions within the Department of Education where the professionals and administrators created policy in isolation from the end users. Ham and Hill argue for following a prescriptive liberal - democratic process

> "policy should be made by the elected representatives of the people and implemented in a subordinate manner by public officials, and a view that rationality in public policy involved goal setting followed by activities in pursuit of those goals which may be systematically monitored."
>
> (1984, 108)

In New Zealand up to the introduction of the Picot Reforms, as policy advice was given to politicians by the very administrators who were expected to implement it, the relationship between 'elected representatives' and so-called 'subordinate public officials' was not so much a hierarchical relationship as a dependent one. This is an issue that is critically debated in the management theories adopted by neo-liberalists in New Zealand since the mid 1980's.

In recognising this point Don Brown, in his capacity as Director of Special Education, realised the importance of linkages between his section as policy maker and implementer (regardless of how restrictive his powers were) and the parent groups who were the end users of that policy.

Ham and Hill elaborate on Pressman and Wildavsky's arguments on the importance of having close linkages between the policy creators and the users of policy - in this case

parents of and students with special education needs, and the special education division of the Department of Education.

> "If action depends upon a number of links in an implementation chain then the degree of co-operation between agencies required to make those links has to be very close to a hundred percent if a situation is not to occur in which a number of small deficits cumulating create a large shortfall."
>
> (1984, 97)

Parent groups attended special education policy courses at the Lopdell Centre in Auckland, wrote submissions to the government on policy, lobbied members of parliament, ran courses for parents and published material for parents. Parent groups were not only challenging the state in how children with special needs were viewed and legislated for in education. They were also challenging the power of the professionals themselves by writing their own material and by-passing professionals. In 1984 parent groups in Auckland joined together to form The Coalition of Parents for Special Education. This group contained the spokespeople for many of the parent organisations in Auckland and representatives of the voluntary agencies. On 25th March 1986, The Coalition met with Russell Marshall and Don Brown, to discuss 13 key issues affecting children with special needs (see Appendix 5). The first issue was the need for a change in legislation to enable students with special needs access as of right into regular schools. The group requested that parents whose children were excluded be compensated for the costs. All 13 points highlighted the ad hoc nature of the development of special education in New Zealand and the groups' total dissatisfaction with the state's role to that date. The 13 points were all framed in a rights discourse, clearly showing the disparity between the children provided for by the state and those who did not enjoy those benefits.

From the transcripts of that meeting, it was clear that Russell Marshall was committed to mainstreaming and to providing for special education in a realistic manner whilst acknowledging that the Special Education Division of the Department was grossly underfunded (see Appendix 6).

Parent groups had found a strong ally in Don Brown and whilst he was active inside the Department of Education in setting up a theoretical base for inclusion into schools, parent groups in the community were committed to lobbying for change. The two groups came together very effectively to push for equity in the education system.

J B Munro

> "I think that it is a bit like trying to get the pip out of a pear. You have to push from both sides and I think Don Brown and his team were doing it inside and some of us were doing it outside."
>
> (Personal Interview, July 1992)

J B Munro also commented on the effectiveness of lobby groups such as the IHC;

> "While we are probably more decentralised than anybody else in the community sector, at the same time we also have a strong central core that is philosophically driven and you can pull a fair number of people in a whole variety of areas to push things along. I think it was in the education area that we did a Saturday morning surgery thing with politicians. Forty eight MPs spoken to in one weekend, that sort of pressure helps a little bit too."
>
> (Personal Interview, July 1992)

Once parents had established a legitimate political voice they continued to use it. The Downs Association created a national network of supportive parents and professionals. As New Zealand is a small country with a tendency towards informality in its social institutions, contacts with high-ranking politicians, bureaucrats, visiting guest speakers and academics were established over a relatively short period of time.

Parents used the rights discourse to determine what they wanted to hear from overseas experts. In February 1987 Dana Brynelson was brought to New Zealand from Canada by the Down's Association to discuss the Canadian Early Intervention Programme that she headed in British Columbia. Dana Brynelson's review of the Early Intervention Programmes in New Zealand (Mitchell and Brown, 1987, 73) was fairly damning, pointing out the ad hoc nature of the referral systems, the uneven resourcing and service delivery and overall lack of direction. Parents were now in control of critical information, reinforced and legitimated by an expert's observation and data, and for the first time they could use it politically to back up what they had suspected for some time. Parents had the power to influence and redirect the unequal relationship they had experienced with professionals and politicians who had used the medical discourse in legislation and education practises to exclude them from equal participation in education.

Parents used the rights discourse and their collective power, often aligned with professionals to push for changes in the Education Act, the issue of mainstreaming and Special Education administration. Whilst parents and professionals had to wait until 1989 for the Education Act to be changed, their voices continued to be heard in the intervening years between 1984 - 1990 on matters such as teacher training for mainstreaming and special education administration.

The Education Act 1989

The 1989 Education Act was the vehicle for implementing the reforms in education administration Tomorrow's Schools. The legislation was prepared at the same time Tomorrow's Schools was being written. The special education legislation drafted in 1987 was incorporated into the 1989 legislation. Special education provisions were written into sections 8, 9 and 10 of the Education Act. Section 3, the 'Right to free primary and secondary education', also applied to students with special needs, giving them the same right of access to education as other students.

The combination of having in Russell Marshall a Minister of Education who was prepared to push for legislative change, an informed base in the Draft Review of Special Education from which to work, and active parent groups was critical in the success of the passing of the Education Act 1989.

J B Munro,

> "Certainly IHC had been critical of the Act (the previous Act) in the sense that it was discriminatory."
>
> (Personal Interview, July 1992)

Russell Marshall (Personal Interview, July 1992) decided to change the Education Act after pressure from Geoffrey Palmer, the Attorney General. Within the new act would be legislation addressing the lack of special education provisions. Lobbying for a change in the Education Act intensified from all quarters. Russell Marshall, as Minister of Education, made good his previous informal commitment as Opposition Spokesperson for Education, to push for legislative changes to enable children with special needs to have unfettered entry into the state schooling system. Prior to 1984, the IHC had made sure that the IHC philosophy of inclusion and the need to change the Education Act would be taken on board by a future Labour government, by having informal discussions with Russell Marshall.

J B Munro, Director of IHC stated;

> "Russell Marshall had committed himself to a Private Members Bill and we kept the pressure on once he became the Minister."
>
> (Personal Interview, July 1992)

As advocates of students with special needs, the IHC had determined a longterm plan for their inclusion into regular education settings. J B Munro summarised the wider picture of inclusion centred on a change in legislation.

> "IHC have been pushing for years. In fact even from the time of our first philosophies and policies taken in the 70's the concept of mainstreaming and equal opportunities was certainly there and we found in Merv Wellington, a willingness to consider the opportunities for as many people as possible to get into the schools and into an integrated situation and in fact there were times when he, as Minister of Education, indicated to us that the changes in legislation weren't far away. But is seemed very slow and I had spent a few times with Russell Marshall, talking about the frustration's and concerns because he was at that time Opposition Spokesman on Education and he agreed to put in a Private Members Bill to change the old Education Act, that really gave the discretion to reject kids from schools. One of the problems that he was confronted with quite clearly, was the question of funding the whole programme and we did discuss how we were able to get the Disabled Persons Community Welfare Act into Parliament on a sort of staggered basis of implementing the clauses and he told me that he would endeavour to try and get it through his colleagues on that basis, that it would be a staggered period of time."
>
> (Personal Interview, July 1992)

If the New Zealand Labour government could push through the education legislation enabling children with special needs to enter schools it would bring New Zealand up to date with a world-wide trend. Don Brown former Director of Special Education commented,

> "You have to remember that by the time we got it into legislation New Zealand was a good bit behind a number of other countries. There we were sitting with a piece of legislation that failed to include some of our child population."
>
> (Personal Interview, July 1992)

And further:-

> "The Amendment '89 was only a restatement of the Amendment '87. The special education elements of the '89 act were all written into legislation two years earlier than that and put through by Russell Marshall. I sat for weeks with the law draughtsmen, and its there that we introduced things like the appeal options.
>
> The impact of all of that material was that it opened special education up at last. It made it available and as a consequence we finally got what we needed."

Don Brown added,

> "It is worth noting that in the 1987 amendment we worked very hard to get an appeal procedure which allowed parents to challenge any act of the department or its officers. The appeal decision would be binding on the department and now the Special Education Service and the ministry."
>
> (Personal Communication, January 1994)

Russell Marshall commented on the deal he had made with the IHC.

> "J B (Munro) was pushing me of course about mainstreaming. It was him more than anybody. In the end you shouldn't make commitments if you are not 100% certain you are going to be there to deliver. That was probably the mistake that I made, but I agreed to a five year timetable for mainstreaming and gave an undertaking to a change of legislation. We would gradually phase the whole process in, but of course I wasn't there to deliver it fully."
>
> (Personal Interview, July 1992)

Mainstreaming Policy

The fourth Labour Government found themselves with not only a piece of human rights legislation to change but also a philosophical policy change away from segregation to inclusion. The government had to ensure that any education legislation was able to fulfil its outlined promise of inclusion.

Mitchell and Mitchell defined inclusions or mainstreaming as;

> "the process of educating exceptional children in settings where they have the maximum association, consistent with their interests, with other children."
>
> (1987, 107)

Although a number of bureaucrats, voluntary agencies, teachers and parents agreed to greater inclusion, it would mean more money to be spent in special education, as the parallel segregated schools would have to continue to be funded. The available money would be split between segregated and mainstream settings, reflecting the two different ideologies informing the educationalists on the placement of children with special needs; the medical and rights discourses.

Don Brown (1992)

> "Russell Marshall simply said we will do it and I will find the resources and in that sense of course he did a brilliant job. David Lange was the one who had to find the resources."
>
> (Personal Interview, July 1992)

Don Brown added (1994 correspondence)

> "We put a needs based request to the minister. David Lange approved every last cent we asked for."
>
> (Personal Communication, January 1994)

Russell Marshall stated,

> "I had undertaken that within five years we would get the resources. It was agreed that IHC wouldn't lead the charge too quickly if we knew there was a staged programme and I would get the resources. We would do that course by the end of five years. We would have that system of mainstreaming taken as far as we could."
>
> (Personal Interview, July 1992)

Inclusion for children with special needs was an important policy that required the Education Act to be changed before it could be adopted as a more appropriate way of

teaching students. In 1984, although there was a wide spectrum of people who embraced the tenets of inclusion, there was a problem convincing those who were not prepared to shift the students' education placement away from segregated settings.

As argued in chapter four, all the legislation prior to 1984 had been informed by the medical discourse. Now the state was being challenged to change its policy to include children with special needs within the education system and to cease the oppressive practices adhered to by the state since 1867. Hand in hand with the change to the Education Act went the issue of mainstreaming. Parents were not going to settle for children just being allowed to attend school, they also wanted age appropriate placement in mainstreamed settings. Details the layers of development occuring in special education during this period.

The issue of mainstreaming was seen as readdressing the inequities of education policies. Parents and professionals wanted the state to take a stand on how children with special needs were to be treated within their local communities. In essence, the state was being asked to re-examine how it defined disability, how it chose to exclude students from regular educational placement and to discard the medical discourse of disability in favour of inclusion. Parents and professionals argued that as exclusion from education was a social and political construction dating from the 1860's, that construction could be reversed in the 1980's if the state was prepared to change from a medical discourse to a rights discourse.

Keith Ballard argues;

> "The call for the right to inclusion in schools and communities should not be misunderstood as a move to hide disability or to pretend that everyone is the same. Inclusion is not a policy of assimilation but of valuing diversity. Also, the right to inclusion does not mean that a person or group *has* to take part."
>
> (1994, 19)

The very nature of special education and its place within New Zealand society, indicated that it would not have the same priorities status attached to it, as regular education had. In most respects it was the poor relation amongst the education divisions. In order to be able to achieve the special education policies set out by his division Don Brown had to lobby within a competitive atmosphere for a share of existing resources.

Don Brown,

> "You would put your bids up, you would lobby to get understanding, you would work with others to see if you could find ways of attaching your policies to theirs, trying to get special education joined onto regular education often.
>
> Now in the course of all that, parents were significant allies because parents could add a voice from the outside and add a dimension to the argument that children with special teaching needs should have those needs met through the provision of resources. I certainly didn't set up the kinds of liaisons with parents that I did, just to have their support.
>
> I said parents were a legitimate and rightful force in special education and that we should find ways of including them, ensuring that they had that legitimacy recognised."
>
> (Personal Interview, July 1992)

Under the then existing structure of the Department of Education there was no mechanism in place for changing special education policy quickly and effectively. Special Education had evolved in an ad hoc way as a response to changing needs, new overseas developments and enlightened leadership, but the legitimate state involvement was exclusion of children with special needs from regular education settings, this now had to be reversed and legitimatised with the public. Legislation does not automatically determine that practices will follow. An administration system had been constructed to enforce exclusion, conferring a special status on those with special educational needs. This change in practice needed effective administrative authority which was lacking in the Special Education Division of the Department of Education, due to its historical development.

The Director of Special Education had particular responsibility for administering the residential schools, but had no direct influence over any of the services for children with special needs administered by Education Boards throughout the country.

Don Brown,

> "The trouble with the system that I worked in was that there was no very clear line. If I pulled the policy lever in the head office of the Department

> there would be a twitch at the signal at the other end and most of the energy would have been absorbed in their linkages."
>
> "I could get policy established through the Minister but I couldn't administer the policy. I could only get it established."
>
> (Personal Interview, July 1992)

The Director of Special Education had four special education officers working within the division, plus a chief psychologist, but no power over the District Senior Inspectors who had Inspectors of Special Education working within their sector (see Appendix 1).

Despite departmental statements on inclusion it was in the mid 1980's proving to be very difficult to get the philosophical change accepted in a wholesale fashion. Often inclusion issues had to be dealt with one by one. The prevailing 120 years of the education system had been informed by the medical and lay theory ideology and was very difficult to change.

Mitchell and Mitchell noted,

> "Positive attitudes towards exceptional children in general are not always matched by positive attitudes towards particular children or by everyday interactions with them."
>
> (1987, 115)

Part of The Coalition of Parents for Special Education submission to the Minister in 1986 (see Appendix 5) stated under key issue number four, that Special Education needed a separate budget structure, planning and personnel, if it were to guide teachers and schools through the transition years of mainstreaming and, effectively administer the changes in special education that were so desperately required.

It is apparent that, given the slender resources allocated to the Special Education Division, the assumption was for special education to play a minor role within the education sector. Even by 1986, it is clear from the Coalition of Parent transcripts (see Appendix 6) that whilst the Education Minister Russell Marshall appeared informed and willing, there was no indepth analysis of the real cost of supporting parent choice for both inclusive and segregated educational settings. Nor was there an informed understanding of parent dissatisfaction with the status quo position, or the

role of the state. At the time of that particular meeting in 1986, there was no definite compilation of the numbers of children with special needs requiring special education services throughout New Zealand.

By the time the Labour Government turned its attention to special education, the traditional lobby groups along with the newly-established well-informed parent groups were ready and determined to demand major changes in legislation using the rights model ideology, and to advocate for inclusion and more direct administration of children with special needs.

In the next two years parents and professionals would influence many of the policy decisions made on special education. Parent groups would signal their wishes for mainstreaming in The Curriculum Review and be fully involved in the Education Reforms in the latter part of the Labour Government's term of office. The government, in acceding to those demands, would have to rethink the budget for special education and the role of the state in supplying services to students with special needs within the wider education system, if the state was to retain legitimacy with the public.

Conclusion

Chapter six has examined the political context of special education at the time the fourth Labour Government came into office. Significant changes occurred in how special education policy would be influenced through the efforts of lobby groups, informed politicians and information about new policies from other countries. A shift in power relations occurred with parent groups able to use the rights discourse to lobby politicians, by-passing professionals using the medical discourse.

Chapter seven will outline how speical education policy was formed during the first three years of the fourth Labour Government's term in office.

Chapter Seven - Special Education Policies 1984 - 1987. The Corporatist Era

'Above all we think that the system should fit the people, not the people be made to fit the system.'

fifty-eight 7th formers
Christchurch
The Curriculum Review

Introduction

Special education policy created by the fourth Labour Government falls into two distinct time frames. Between 1984 - 1987 special education was fashioned using a 'consensus' or 'corporatist model' of decision making. Corporatism is an agreement between three sectors - labour, capital and government. The outcome of an agreement would be economic policy binding on all three parties. Consensus between the parties would increase national unity and create an harmonious atmosphere in society generally.

Jesson (1989, 56) refers to corporatist policy in the following way:

> "The main interest groups in society, especially employers and the unions, take part with the government in the formation of mutual economic and political goals. They have a direct influence on government policy, often through bodies set up for that purpose and co-operate with the government in achieving these goals."

If a government could achieve consensus in its policy-making process, it would serve to assist legitimising its actions with the public.

Claus Offe (1984, 27-28) argues that,

> "corporatist policies are designed to develop a consensus among power elites in order to readjust welfare state policy-making and administration to the requirements of the economic subsystem."

Corporatist policy-making trades on the historical relationship existing between the state and the individuals it represents, in that the state gives individuals certain rights

to participate in how the state is run. When conflict arises the democratic process is supposed to resolve the differences. A government can avoid conflict by establishing a consensus form of decision making.

During this period The Curriculum Review was published and the Draft Review of Special Education was released. Whilst the process used to develop these two documents was similar to that used for policy development after the 1987 election, there emerged in the latter period a different view of the relationship between education, and the wider economic structures of government. There was to be a more managed method of receiving information for policy construction. This chapter will review the two major education policies from this period, paying particular attention to special education policy.

Special Education Policies 1984 - 1987. The Corporatist Era

The period 1984 - 1987 marked the flowing together of four important areas;

- A Director of Special Education in the Department of Education committed to inclusion of parents, the mainstreaming of children in education and assessment of children on a needs basis.

- The emergence of articulate parent groups.

- A Minister of Education with a sound concept of special education.

- The impact of voluntary agencies such as IHC.

These four sectors voiced their desire for enabling legislation, to a receptive Labour caucus with a high representation of members wedded to human rights issues. The school core curriculum was the first part of education reviewed by the fourth Labour Government. The investigation was conducted on a platform of wide consultation and participation. It appeared that the Labour government was seeking broad support for its educational policies from the public.

The Curriculum Review - July 1986

Education policy during this period relied on the consensual form of decision making founding its rationale on the historic compromise developed between the government, unions and capital.

The Process

In November 1984 the Minister of Education, Russell Marshall commissioned a committee to review the curriculum for schools in New Zealand. The review process followed a pattern of wide public consultation throughout the two-year life of the review. Submissions were received during the committee deliberations and for three months after the Draft Report was released in July 1986. The review confined itself to the compulsory schooling sector, from primary through to secondary levels. The terms of reference for The Curriculum Review indicated there was some dissatisfaction with the cohesiveness offered with the present education system and a desire to see schooling made more stimulating and useful to the learner involved. Students disadvantaged by the schooling system were targeted in particular.

Through the open consultative process employed, The Curriculum Review reflected the views of New Zealand people. Everyone had had an opportunity to be involved. More than 21,000 submissions were received from individuals, families, interest groups and organisations nation-wide,

Margaret Rosemergy sat on both The Curriculum Review Committee and the Picot Taskforce. In a follow up interview in June 1993, Margaret Rosemergy said of The Curriculum Review,

> 'It was a very communal activity.'

But she was critical of the overall process.

> "Consultations of that kind raises expectations that it doesn't fulfil and in some ways I think it was probably the last of the great educational development things that happened. I think it was of its time and I think for a number of people it gave them a chance to say things that were very important and got picked up and carried on later, but I don't think you could say that it is a sound way to make decisions and I don't ever think it is a decision-making way. It is a group binding way and a countrywide educational community binding activity."
>
> (Personal Interview, 1993)

Margaret Rosemergy did not feel confident, after The Curriculum Review was released, that education would change proposed that the changes would be picked up by the Education Department.

She stated,

> "I was particularly influenced by and involved in The Curriculum Review and the notion of consultative process of developing the curriculum and I watched that disappear into the department. I went to a meeting with about twenty five people present, at which the outcome, very skilfully obtained, was basically that the department would go on doing what it was going to do. It was inevitable with that sized group of people but there was no doubt it would follow the same pattern of the department slowly shaping and moulding and agreeing and tailoring to fit everyone's point of view and then some schools would start and I could see that you would never get any of the interaction we talk about."
>
> (Personal Interview, July 1992)

The Curriculum Review process involved:

- seven months of open discussion around the questions posed by The Curriculum Review
- five months of committee work, sifting through the submissions.
- three months set aside for comments on the Draft Review.
- two months of changes made to the Draft Review.

The committee worked in liaison with the Committee for the Inquiry into Curriculum, Assessment and Qualifications, an earlier committee established in 1984 to review the 5th to 7th forms in secondary schools.

Special Education in The Curriculum Review

Whilst special education was not dealt with as a single issue in The Curriculum Review, comments about special education surfaced throughout.

Under the question of 'what can schools do to ensure fair treatment for all?' the community response pinpointed children with special needs as one of the six groups disadvantaged by the system.

Comments relating to this particular group highlighted the need for appropriate resources to support the move to mainstreaming.

> "Hiding handicaps away in places like Kimberley and Lake Alice makes people look different by separating them out and thus fostering non understanding. Other 'different' groups - ethnic, language, the physically handicapped - are integrated, so why not 'special class' kids? It would help in getting rid of hurtful attitudes about intellectual impairment."
>
> *Parent Group*
> *Palmerston North (1986, 56)*

The community commented on the lack of expertise held by teachers and the paucity of support staff for students with special needs.

> "Schools must recognise special needs, not see them as a threat or sweep them under the carpet because it may blot their own record. It seems that money is the crux of how well we educate children. Children are in the hands of politicians' purse strings - something that is wrong."
>
> *Parent (1986, 61)*

The community wanted to see mainstreaming of disabled students extended, but only where there was adequate support.

> "Intellectually handicapped children receive very little assistance from the system. It is a real struggle for parents of these children to get adequate education so that their children can reach their full potential."
>
> *Parent/teacher group, Feilding*
> *(1986, 63)*

The committee comment agreed that students with identified disabilities or handicaps missed out when they were not able to gain a sense of acceptance by the school community. The committee stated that the push for mainstreaming must be carefully planned, taking into consideration the individual needs of both the student concerned and the schools. The placement of children with disabilities was generally thought to be beneficial by the committee whilst acknowledging that extra money might have to be spent on buildings, resources and teacher training.

Under The Curriculum Review proposals, six areas dealt with children with special needs:

- For school programmes to reflect individual children's needs, in consultation with parents or guardians (p128).
- For handicapped and disabled students to have mainstreaming placements only when there is careful planning for placement and resources can be provided (p129).
- For students with special needs to be identified and challenging programmes be developed. (ibid).
- For teachers to be trained in identifying and developing children with special needs (p132).
- For pre-service and inservice training to be provided for all teachers to meet the needs of disabled and handicapped students. (p133).

The Committee's recommendations indicated a conservative shift towards including students with special needs in the regular school setting. It confirmed the role of the state in providing resources and training in order for this inclusive education to be accomplished.

Whilst the committee were moving towards a rights discourse, there was a 'opt-out' phrase included, which stated that resources had to be provided. This could be seen as a method of determining a quota of the numbers of students with special needs allowed into the regular settings. The gate-keeping role of entry into the mainstream settings would continue to be determined by the medical discourse using the professional opinion, rather than the views of the parents, or the individual having their needs met. Russell Marshall's review of the curriculum may have been founded on socio-liberal urges but it did little to empower and liberate students with special needs, governed by the dictates of the 1964 legislation which denied their educational rights. Nor did it guarantee that any changes would in fact occur. Admittedly, The Curriculum Review was not about how to administer education, but recognition was made of community demands for a greater involvement in the educational decisions affecting children.

It was left to the Special Education Divison's Draft Review of Special Education published in 1987 to detail out how the changes in special education were to occur and to examine the administrative structure of the special education division.

Draft Review of Special Education - January 1987

In 1984 Don Brown became Director of the Special Education Division in the Department of Education, holding the position until the Special Education Service was established. Part of the division's philosophy was to address special education students on a needs basis.

Don Brown argued;

> "We were attempting to reverse that trend (segregated settings) we were attempting to say, let's look at all children in terms of any particular educational need they may have and see what it takes to assist them in the regular scene, or if the parents prefer in a separate scene, but certainly lets work on a needs basis."
>
> (Personal Interview, July 1992)

The needs based analysis of children's educational requirements reflected the international movement away from relying on predominantly professional assessment for placement, and pushing towards greater parent involvement in the decision-making process and in the choices they made for their children. Don Brown travelled to the United States and to Great Britain in 1985 reviewing international trends. The purpose of Don Brown's travel to the USA was specifically aimed at studying the effect of Public Law 94-142, to determine how it would line up with developments in New Zealand.

When commenting on his observations, Don Brown stated,

> "That the implications of Public Law 94-42 were "inclusion" even though the wording of it was not. What it (Public Law 94-42) did was it alerted people. It made them realise there was a need for inclusion and that spread."
>
> "We were heading in that direction along with many others, but the Americans, through their particular legislation system, were able to spell it out I suppose. That made us take notice, and it acted as a stimulus for us to ensure we were getting it right too."
>
> (Personal Interview, July 1992)

The philosophy of the Special Education Division of the Department of Education was to give parents the choice. Don Brown reports that his aim was to:

> "explain to them the advantages of inclusion, promote mainstreaming as a policy but don't abandon separate settings where parents want it."
>
> (Personal Interview, July 1994)

When Don Brown returned to New Zealand from the United States in 1985, he was confident that the Special Education Division of the Department of Education could bring together a cohesive and sensible statement on special education. A conference was held immediately on his return, with full representation of the country's special education professionals and some parents. It was that conference that set the stage for the development of the Draft Review of Special Education.

Like The Curriculum Review, the Draft Review used the consultative process for a year to determine the ten year plan for special education in New Zealand. Using the conclusions from the 1986 Curriculum Review as a basis, the Draft Review of Special Education developed the embryonic idea of inclusion mentioned in The Curriculum Review into the guiding principle of educating children with special needs. The Draft Review of Special Education (1987, Appendix 8) acknowledged the hundreds of comments drawn on for its contributions, and listed the 67 formal contributors and submissions made to those writing the review. Three key features of the Draft Review were to be

- normalisation of the education environment for students with special needs
- community involvement in the education process, and
- an individual assessment programme for children with special needs.

The new directions for special education were to provide education which was:

- universally available
- integral with other education programmes
- lifelong
- unified across sectors, home and school
- needs based
- effective and accountable.

(Draft Review, 1987, 2)

The Draft Review used a rights discourse in moving away from category based resourcing of special needs towards Individual Education Programmes.[1]

It emphatically stated that,

> "It would remove assessment from the realm of the outside expert and locate it more firmly in the continuous educationally based evaluation of progress."
>
> (Draft Review, 1987, 2)

The Draft Review signalled a deliberate movement away from segregated educational placement for children with special needs. Whilst recognising the historical situation of the times, the Draft Review called on current research to support the proposition that segregated educational placements be dismantled. The Draft Review proposed that all students would be included in regular settings. The Draft Review qualified this statement with the words,

> "except where it is clearly not in their best interests."
>
> (Draft Review, 1987, 3)

In making this statement, the Draft Review lapsed back into the medical discourse, working against the rights discourse previously stated.

"Not in their best interests"

The phrase 'not in their best interests' could be interpreted as undermining all the rights ideology in the Draft Review of Special Education. Given the historical development of special education policy, it is very likely that the medical discourse would be used to determine what is in the child's best interests. The basic right of children with special needs for access to regular educational sites, would be challenged by the very discourse that the Draft Review set out to replace with the right's discourse. When a judgement has to be made on whether a child's interest are best served in one educational setting versus another, there is an implied measurement involved in determining which course of action is to be followed. If a scientific technical approach was required, people with the necessary training and experience would be bound up in that decision making process.

1. The Draft Review of Special Education defined Individual Education Programme (1987, 201) as "an assessment of each individual's actual teaching needs, rather than intelligence testing or assumptions based on observed disabilities.

Typically, parents were excluded from decisions based on rational, logical deductions, because they were seen to be too subjective. The judgement process implies a detached, impartial approach, are used to dealing with conflicting interests, to be balanced out, often on the basis of cost versus benefits.

In introducing the phrase, 'not in their best interests', the Draft Review of Special Education was leaving itself wide open to being captured by professionals who had not shown support for the right's discourse generally because it was seen to be subjective.

In opting to include the phrase 'not in their best interests' the Draft Review of Special Education, discredited itself with a number of lobby groups who saw the phrase as a way for the state to discharge its obligations to children with special needs. The state could call on professionals to make a final ruling on the best educational placement where there was a conflict between a school and parents or caregivers. The inclusion of the phrase 'not in their best interests' was a derisive condition, open to many interpretations and a definite move away from the right's discourse.

The Draft Review proposed three types of mainstreaming, "locational", where the children with special needs were in a segregated unit on the school site, "social", where some social interaction took place and "functional", which was classed as full inclusion.

Keith Ballard criticised this conditional inclusion, stating that;

> "Qualifying integration in this way was designed to assign the assessment of child interests to a professional. Instead of addressing the wishes of parents and students, this policy was framed in terms of a clinical model in which a professional would decide if integration is 'appropriate' or segregation is 'necessary."
>
> (1992, 262)

The different types of mainstreaming meant that even if a child managed to access the regular educational site, gatekeeping procedures, used by professionals, were effectively able to direct the childs placement within that educational site.

The Draft Review acknowledged the need for resourcing such a plan and that at this stage it had not put a figure on the cost of mainstreaming and supporting children with

special needs into their communities but acknowledged that lack of resources would be a constraint on the process. Resourcing would have to be efficiently allocated, a difficult task when supporting two parallel systems especially through the transition phase as segregated settings were being dismantled.

The Draft Review detailed how it intended to implement its proposals, categorically stating (p5) that human resources were the most fundamental factor in the mainstreaming equation, and as such targeted the attitudes of both the public and the teaching profession as the most important criteria to address. Parent expectations for a normal educational environment for their children with special needs, as a flow on from pre-school placement, was taken up by the Draft Review.

In commenting on the time taken to build political momentum for mainstreaming Don Brown stated;

> 'When you consider that this draft review of special education was 1987 and it really was not until this draft review that there was any real political push to having mainstreaming, so mainstreaming really only came after Russell (Marshall) had gone."
>
> (Personal Interview, July 1992)

Russell Marshall was certainly extremely interested in special education. He was a convert to mainstreaming - in his own words a "missionary for the cause".

Having observed many successful illustrations to know it worked, he stated;

> "It was almost as if there was a resource there which is being underused."
>
> (Personal Interview, July 1992)

The Draft Review (1987, 9 - 12) recognised 31 sequential steps to implement its policy of normalisation. The steps relied on adequate resources being made available to meet the needs of special education.

The rights discourse was in evidence in emphasising what changes were to take place in special education:

- normalisation
- needs based allocation of resources
- cooperative nature of special education, community based.

The Draft Review assessed what changes needed to be made in order for special education services to reach effectively those requiring them, concentrating particularly on the inadequate administrative organisation within the Special Education Division, the need to build a sound infrastructure for schools, and laying the foundations for sound community involvement.

The Draft Review was endeavouring to mainstream special education,

> "In the first place it seeks to incorporate many of the activities presently encompassed within special education into regular education settings, secondly the review suggests a needs based problem solving approach. The validity of this approach is as compelling for all students as it is for those with special needs."
>
> (1987, 15)

For many involved in special education, the Draft Review was a radical document fulfilling their fears that the segregated education placements were going to be replaced with more normal community placements. Parents and professionals in the segregated system were concerned that the community would not be ready and that adequate resourcing would not be found in the education vote in caucus.

These two fears were articulated in the Draft Review,

> "Investment in special education is still considered by some decision makers to be socially necessary but unproductive and this is reflected in the limited level of resource provision over the years"
>
> (1987, 22)

It was going to require a huge financial commitment of resources and a change in attitude by both professionals and society before the fears of some parents and professionals were allayed.

Whilst the Draft Review stated that the parallel system of special education was to be dismantled, it was quick to point out that staff from the segregated facilities should be utilised in the new structure. The emphasis was to be on well-qualified, trained support people within an infrastructure designed to support schools, students and parents in the transition phase.

Chapman raised some of those concerns (1987, 132) by talking of the fears about 'maindumping' students into an unprepared and under resourced school system. He brought up three main issues:

- specific educational and social goals of mainstreaming
- adequate provision of resources
- changes in the regular education setting.

Chapman argued that the mainstreaming part of the proposed policy had not been adequately thought through. Mainstreaming had to be structured so that the inclusion was not merely gratuitous.

Chapman's first concern stated that there was insufficient information available on how mainstreaming goals would be achieved. Schools who admitted students with special needs needed goals to be "clearly articulated", (1987, 132), so mainstreaming could be done successfully. The second concern stated that research showed that successful mainstreaming occurred where there was adequate support for teachers so they could plan individual programmes for students and provide specialised assistance where it was required. The third area was that the school teaching environment had to be restructured to incorporate different teaching techniques and activities to mainstream students with special needs 'socially' or 'functionally'. Chapman put the question;

> "To what extent would educators in New Zealand be prepared to endorse such an educational environment?"

This comment summed up the divisions in education over mainstreaming students with special needs. Parents and caregivers were caught in the middle of a professional debate between professionals.

At the other end of the inclusion spectrum, debate centred around the lapse in the rights discourse in the way the Draft Review defined mainstreaming. Keith Ballard (1991, 1) argued that the mainstreaming policy, with its three types of mainstreaming, was a method of putting new titles on old segregated educational placements. Furthermore Ballard stated that the language of the medical model was still used in the gatekeeping role of resources.

> "Parents are told what might be 'possible' and that this will depend on 'resources', so that mainstreaming is seen as a privilege and not a right."
>
> (1991, 2)

Ballard stated that parents were being seduced into thinking their children were being offered mainstream placements on school sites, whereas the reality was that the children were still segregated,

> "when you call segregated facilities some kind of mainstreaming, you ensure that the mainstreaming cannot become a reality."
>
> (1991, 2)

The Draft Review of Special Education attempted to bridge the gap between the parallel systems of special education. The fundamental concept of mainstreaming was a difficult issue for many involved in special education. Those involved in segregated education were threatened by the concept, whilst those advocating for mainstreaming felt that The Draft Review's, definition of mainstreaming was a betrayal of the purity of the idea and that the real issues of segregation had not been addressed. Behind the Draft Review lurked the absence of resources, limiting the effectiveness of any rights action.

Don Brown commented;

> "The Draft Review of Special Education was a document that had to pass muster politically as well as educationally. It laid the foundation for moving forward. It was not a document of ideals, it was a realistic striving for a plan for a few years to get us another pace ahead.
>
> (correspondence, February 1994)

Whilst the philosophy of the Draft Review in Special Education used the rights discourse to push for mainstreaming and normalisation, the lapses into medical discourse were profound. The mainstreaming issue was at the heart of the matter and everything spun away from that central point.

The Draft Review of Special Education had reinforced the power of professionals in two critical areas. The first, was the phrase 'not in the best interests of the child', the second, was the various placements available as "mainstreaming" options on educational sites. The different types of placement may have been an attempt to

provide a transitional phase for the inclusion of children with special needs in education but in fact it undermined the arguments of the right's discourse and legitimated the power of the professionals using the medical discourse.

The rights discourse for special education, and the parent involvement stemming from it, fitted in well with the social-liberal attitudes of a certain faction of the labour parliamentarians, who were committed to human rights issues. This point is made by one of those parliamentarians, Noel Scott, as follows;

> "I believe bluntly that the Labour people cared about issues of equity and they had been willing to be influenced by people like myself who join in and try and do something about setting their manifestos in place and I think their manifestos have always leaned towards that sort of thing and what is more when they got into power, I believe that whether it was Russell Marshall or David Lange or Phil Goff, that the Ministers continued to give considerable priority to issues of equity, among which those of gross disability absolutely stand out."
>
> (Personal Interview, July 1992)

In order to placate everyone, the Draft Review straddled the two parallel systems endeavouring to formulate a transition phase that children with special needs could move along towards mainstreaming. The Draft Review was never formally adopted. By the end of 1987 the Picot Taskforce had been set up and a new blueprint for special education was about to be developed.

Summary

Both The Curriculum Review and the Draft Review of Special Education were what Offe calls conjunctural policies (see Figure 2).

Offe states that conjunctural policies, such as the education policies before 1987;

> "seek to maximise the adequacy of policy responses to problems as they emerge and appear on the agenda."
>
> (1984, 225 - 226)

Alongside this expectation is a belief that the state will be able to control and manage the problems as they emerge.

Offe argues that conjunctural policies increase the role of the state. Conjunctural policies join on to the existing system and do not attempt to reform the system in any way. The outcome of conjunctural policies would be to increase state intervention in education.

In the case of The Curriculum Review, the public put forward an educational wish list for curriculum development. The Curriculum Review mentioned special education concerns under a group of needs-based provisions - mainstreaming, funding, student-centred programmes and teacher training. The state would be left with the job of prioritising and satisfying the demands placed on it, without any way of financing such developments from vote: Education.

To implement the recommendations of the Draft Review of Special Education, the proportion of funding coming from vote: education would have to be increased substantially. The Draft Review targeted as priorities for action, public awareness, teacher training, the training of administrators, the development of a special education support service and the creation of a team of education officers at all levels.

The proposals for the Draft Review had not been costed. The special Education Division did not know how many students would be serviced with its recommendations, as there was no complete data on the numbers of children with special needs in the education system. It remained to be seen to what extent the state would support the projected policies both philosophically and financially.

The Draft Review of Special Education identified policy areas that needed expanding and mapped a pathway to meet the foreseeable needs of special education. The Draft Review of Special Education identified priorities to spend money on, and whilst it intended special education to step away from the parallel administration and delivery system, it sought a more inclusive role within the education framework.

In the case of the Draft Review of Special Education, the administrative structure initially would have had to expand in order to meet the projected developments in special education particularly with the dual schooling system being maintained. As the special education infrastructure developed, state intervention would also increase. Even if special education were absorbed into the regular education system, a phalanx of experts would need to be established within the education system to ensure that special education policies were being met. More special educationalists would be

employed to service the needs of teachers for training and to determine which students would be placed in what particular setting.

The rights discourse is a demand-led model. In satisfying the new demands for mainstreaming and support for students with handicaps, the Draft Review was following the political strategy inherent in conjunctural policies of satisfying the demands made by a more vocal, aware, and assertive society.

The costing of the reforms was not a priority for either The Curriculum Review nor the Draft Review of Special Education. Both policies looked at inputs. The Draft Review of Special Education aimed at creating priorities of what had to be dealt with, in order to get normalisation established in the education system, but these were not finally established in that review. Certainly the Draft Review aimed to expand the existing administrative role of special education in New Zealand. Overall there would have been greater state leadership and intervention in special education.

Conclusion

Chapter seven has reviewed how special education policy was developed in the period 1984 - 1987 (see Figure 1). Education policy was developed using a corporatist or consensual style of decision making that would be binding on society generally. The special education policies advocated were demand led, requiring a significant financial commitment by the government before they could be implemented. Neither of the two major education policies reviewed in this chapter were adopted by government. The reasons for the state rejecting them are examined in chapter eight.

Chapter eight examines the move by the state from conjunctural to structural policy-making in education and the place of special education in that change.

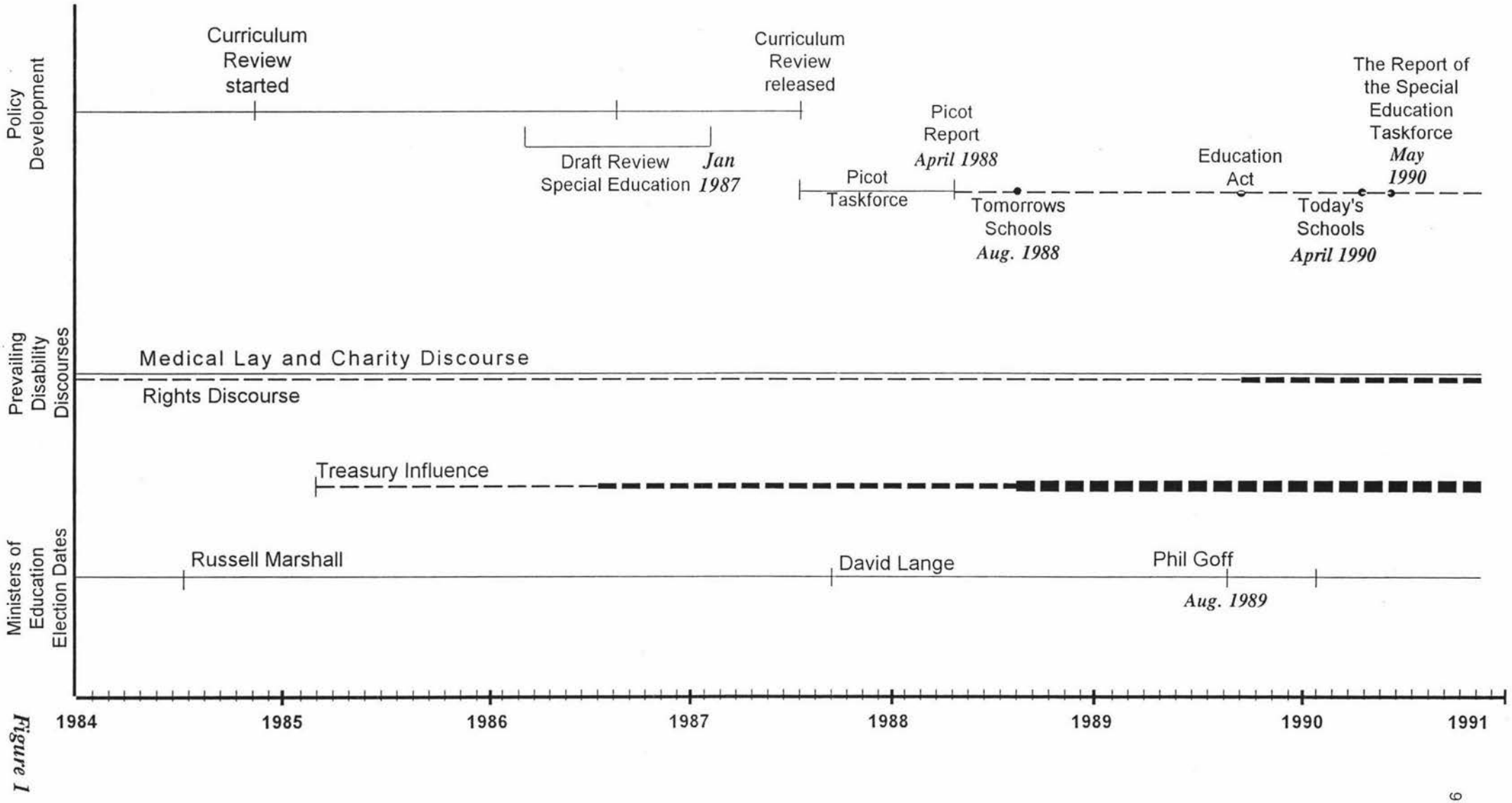


Figure 1

Factors Influencing the development of Special Education Policy 1984 - 1990

Chapter Eight - Structuralist Policy in Special Education 1987 - 1990

> "Let's not be fooled into thinking that someone up in the Beehive thought it would be a nice idea to give people more control, more power, to empower them. What they said was, 'How can we hold these people accountable?' The giving of control to them came from the proposition, 'we want to hold them accountable, but before we can do that, we have got to give them some power and responsibility for something. Then we can hold them accountable!'
>
> Gianotti (Personal Interview, 1992)

Introduction

In 1987, there was a change in how education policies were theorised. There was a distinct move away from seeking a consensus model of policy creation to a more restricted model, dealing with quantifiable outputs rather than unlimited inputs.

Offe (1984, 226) argues that

> "Structural" policies are adopted in response to conditions of economic and institutional crisis"

Codd (1990, 203) (see Figure 2) has summarised the thrust of structural policies as having the political strategy of shaping and channelling demand to make them satisfiable. The economic strategy of structural policies is to manage output, to keep the supply constant. The effect on the education system becomes one where policy restructures the existing system, and the effect on society is one of increased politicisation.

This chapter endeavours to establish whether special education policies fell into Offe's analysis of 'structural' policies or remained 'conjunctural' like The Curriculum Review and the Draft Review of Special Education.

Figure 2: Two Types of State Policy

	Conjunctural policy	Structural policy
Political Strategy	Satisfy demands	shape and channel demands to make them satisfiable
Economic Strategy	manage input - order priorities	manage output - keep supply constant
System effects	policy 'joins on' existing system	policy 'restructures' existing system
Societal effects	increased state intervention	increased politicisation

Source: Codd, J. Educational Policy and the State (1990, 203).

Education Crisis

In 1987, after the general election, David Lange took on the role of Minister of Education, while at the same time the Labour Government's market led philosophy caught up with the education sector and sought to reform it. The Labour Government was beset with problems challenging its legitimacy.

Codd defined legitimacy as,

> "what persuades the mass of the population that the status quo is the common sense way to organise society: it converts power into authority."
> (1990, 192)

When the public confidence wanes and loyalty to the state wavers, then a legitimation crisis occurs. In education, the crisis manifested itself particularly in youth unemployment. Coupled with social unrest, dissatisfaction with education achieved a high profile in the media and amongst the public generally.

Grace (1990, 170) wrote that the crisis of the 1980s was due to several factors. The first was the crisis of legitimation within the system, particularly the range and nature of the critical attacks made on it. The second was the sense of shock arising from the restructuring of the system, particularly the range of the restructuring, the nature of it and the speed with which a new system was being implemented. Many

educationalists have reviewed the conditions pertaining to the education crisis which occurred in New Zealand during this period, including Grace (1990), Codd (1990), Lauder (1990), Nash (1989), and Lauder, Middleton Boston and Wylie (1988). All note the impact of Treasury in changing the perception of education in New Zealand and a significantly changed role for the state that was articulated in published Treasury documents, as discussed in chapter three.

Treasury critiqued The Curriculum Review and informed the Minister of Finance on 29 May 1987, that

> "the review would not be an adequate blue print for the development of school education because it:
> - hold unstated and narrow assumptions as to the nature and sources of education;
> - overlooks issues as to: community and educational values and benefits, the relationship between education and the economy and the nature of government assistance;
> - does not tackle issues of management and consumer choice."
>
> (Codd 1990, 194)

In August 1987, the incoming Labour Government received from the Treasury a proposal that

- education was not a public good rather it was a commodity in the market place
- and the relationship between the education service and its participants was that of provider and consumer.

Treasury also stated that individuals, parents and families would be better empowered through having choice, through the maximum information flow available to them. Treasury also argued that the state was not the best vehicle for the provision of education services, neither on the grounds of equity or efficiency. In its conclusions, Government Management II, stated that;

> "government intervention is liable to reduce freedom of choice and thereby curtail the sphere of responsibility of its citizens and weaken the self-steering ability inherent in society to reach optimal solutions through the mass of individual actions pursuing free choice without any formal consensus".
>
> (1987, 41)

Treasury outlined the vested interests in society as a whole and distinguished between an individuals interest and those of society. Treasury argued there were two major areas of concern, those of equity and efficiency. Equity came under the questions of 'who pays for education', and 'who chooses' the education placement. Efficiency came under the concerns of 'who benefits' and 'who is accountable'. Treasury advised government to step back from intervening in those four major areas, as "Government intervention produces its own internal dynamics and hence problems".

Treasury arguments were adopted by the National Party during the campaign leading up to the 1987 election. At the same time the media picked up on the public concern over the effectiveness and efficiency of education.

The Labour Government had already acted upon the Treasury advice of May 1987, with Russell Marshall, Minister of Education, creating a taskforce in July 1987 working under the chairmanship of Brian Picot to examine education administration. The Taskforce was answerable to three ministers; Education, State Services, and Finance.

Special Education Policy 1987 - 1990

The policy area to be examined in this section centres on the changes that have occurred in special education as outlined in 'Administering for Excellence - April 1988' or the Picot Report, followed by 'Tomorrow's Schools' August 1988, and 'Today's Schools', (Lough Report), April 1990 and The Special Education Taskforce (Perris Report), May 1990.

It is important to remember that whilst the education reform was being developed, two other matters had to be taken into consideration:

- There was a growing public belief that more inclusive education must be offered to children with special needs.

- It was acknowledged that existing education legislation had to be amended so that all children had the right to a free education.

The outcomes from the above changes would mean more resources from vote education would be required for needs-based education. It also meant that there would be a legal base to challenge any government withdrawal from its stated intentions in its policies or actions.

In Treasury's view, it was imperative that when education was targeted for reforming in 1987, it had an alternative Minister of Education to Russell Marshall, who had been Minister from 1984 - 1987, particularly since the management theories (see chapter three) would need to be rigorously applied

Russell Marshall commented on his recollections of that period,

> "Of course as the election drew closer rumours got around that Treasury wanted me replaced and that came from inside the Beehive as well, because my approach was diametrically opposed to what Treasury Ministers thought was necessary and much later I heard, from Geoffrey Palmer, that the head of Treasury had actually gone to David Lange and said, 'that Treasury would be more comfortable with another Minister."
>
> (Personal Interview, July 1994)

Indeed after the 1987 election Russell Marshall was replaced as Minister of Education - an event which, as he points out, was unexpected:

Russell Marshall.

> "You see David Lange persuaded me to stand again in 1987 and made it very clear that I was to stay in the same job. I had great difficulty with Treasury but I think I would have maintained a greater input into that process from teachers and parents than he (David Lange) had done."
>
> (Russell Marshall Personal Interview, July 1992)

The practice of working closely with interest groups did not fit the public choice theory, which required the elimination of such groups from policy decisions. Russell Marshall felt that both the Treasury and State Services officials on the Picot Taskforce would not approve of teachers being involved in the decision-making process.

The Picot Taskforce

When the Picot Taskforce was set up, saving money was not the prime objective. Maurice Gianotti was present at the first meeting between Russell Marshall and Brian Picot. Maurice Gianotti recalled,

> "In some ways Russell (Marshall) took a pre-emptive strike. He was the initiator of a need for a reform or a review and he knew that if he didn't do it himself it was going to be done.
>
> He (Brian Picot) sat down with Russell Marshall and he said to Russell, "Look, what is this job about? What are we going to be here for? Is this exercise about saving money?"
>
> Russell said, 'No it isn't, it is about getting better value for money we already spend.' Brian said, 'What about if we come up with recommendations, that actually cost more?
>
> Not a problem', said Russell, 'we want you to forget about the money. Look at the system and tell us how we can get better value for money.'

It was on those conditions that Brian Picot accepted the job of chairing the taskforce. The whole exercise in Maurice Gianotti's words was

> "about efficiency, making the existing dollar go further. In other words getting better value for money for kids. Not about saving money."
>
> (Personal Interview, July 1992)

Contestability under 'Picot'

The theories of contestability and the possessive individual outlined in the Treasury documents and espoused in "Administering for Excellence" did not sit easily in the special education framework.

Up until the Picot Report recommendations, special education had been a separate part of the Education Department, but readily available to schools, parents and agencies. Psychological services were available to all schools from a local community base.

When the Picot Taskforce was assembled, it had advisers from the Treasury and the State Services Commission, (SSC). The State Services Commission had already been instructed to investigate the efficiency of psychologists within the education system to discover whether they could be run more efficiently. At that stage the Government was already investigating whether it should fund but not necessarily provide, social services like psychologists, not only in the education system but in Health and Justice as well. One option would be to make such services contestable. Contestability of

services and policy advice fits into public choice ideology. Contestability of special education services would provide a greater choice for individual schools and parents. When the Picot Taskforce was set up it was decided that the review of educational psychologists and psychological services would be incorporated into the deliberations of Picot.

Marijke Robinson from the State Services Commission reviewed the options for contestability.

> "It was quite clear and quite out in the open, that we were to investigate the feasibility of one or a combination of the following organisational options eg still keeping the psychological services function in individual departments, or in a single division, or establishing a separate self-contained, self-supporting entity providing site services, or establishing an SOE."
>
> (Personal Interview, July 1994)

Marijke Robinson's brief was to ensure that the Picot Taskforce should take cognisance of the State Sector reforms that were being undertaken. To that end she argued;

> "Public servants serve the government of the day, so we looked at the principles underpinning the current state sector reform and Treasury said they were looking at the same thing basically."
>
> (Personal Interview, July 1992)

Under Picot, the funding of special education programmes would be the responsibility of the ministry (Picot Report 1988, 73-74). Picot proposed that the learning institutions be charged with covering the students' needs from existing funds, then applying for special grants if required. The onus would then be on the ministry to assess whether the needs existed or not. Picot proposed that institutions would be free to buy whatever services they needed to establish the programme in the facility.

This proposal fitted in with public choice theory in that the role of the state was to be reduced. The individual schools would take responsibility for addressing the needs of the student with special needs, before they applied for what must be presumed as reduced state funding via the ministry.

The contestability phase was to be introduced through the 40/60 split in employing advisers. Picot proposed a 40% state retainer to special education advisers, which would be in the form of a contract with the Ministry of Education. The Review and Audit agency would review the fulfilment of the contract. The remaining 60% of the cost of employing special education advisers would be generated by the advisers competing for work from the learning institutions on a free market basis (1988, 74). Special schools were to have separate funding which would be protected. All other schools would have to survive on their operational grants, which was deemed to include a per-pupil component for special needs.

The Picot Report added a rider to the proposals by stating,

> "we have considered these services essential because of the state's policy of 'mainstreaming'. The state has adopted a policy of placing children with handicapping conditions either in ordinary schools or in special schools. Schools therefore require access to specialist help which cannot be provided as part of each schools resources".
>
> (1988, 74)

Contestability of Special Education Services

If special education was contestable then advisers like psychologists would be more accountable for their services to the public. By making special education resources contestable, there would be greater choice for both the schools and the parents of children with special needs. The state would fund the schools, then the school would seek a provider which best suited their needs. This ideology fitted in extremely well with public choice theory. However, there was concern as to the various school's ability to make informed choices.

Maurice Gianotti summed it up,

> "The Taskforce was never entirely happy about contestability. It is not just special education. The advisory service was treated the same way. All the arguments were about in the last three days, they spent 9/10ths of that time arguing about what to do about special education and the advisory service. When they took out the regional level, the district level, everything else you could give straight to the school. And how do you give special education to the school? Special education and the advisory service were left to the very last meeting because we couldn't think what to do with it and they weren't

> going to re-invent Education Boards, District Boards, primary, secondary and early childhood, just to provide a home. So they said, 'why don't we let them set themselves up? 'But they were clear that they had to earn part of their keep, so the idea was, 'let's give them a retainer' because all schools are going to need some service anyway and the government is going to get some benefit from that so the government can pay directly. It was a sort of 'let them learn gradually how to be more responsive' and they definitely saw contestability as sharpening up their act. The customer is the school."

The Picot Taskforce wanted to separate out the functions of the psychologists. They believed the psychologist had a difficult sets of conflicting interests to balance in advocating for the child with special needs and the parent, the school and the teachers. It was the Picot Taskforce's view that the psychologist could not give proper advice if they saw themselves solely as the advocate for the child.

As Maurice Gianotti recalls events,

> "There was at that time, the ideological view that you had to have a funder/provider split, that the people providing the service, delivering it, should not be the people determining the funding."

There was to be a ministry created with separate policy and operational functions.

Gianotti continues:-

> "Brian Picot said, 'That it is absolute nonsense.' He had run Foodtown, a $1 billion getting close to $2 billion operation at that time in terms of annual turnover, and he said, 'I could not for a moment contemplate separating my policy people from service to the customers at the checkout. They have got to see what is going on out there on a daily basis. There has to be constant interaction between the two."

The Taskforce refused to budge on that issue, and in the final analysis did not support the separation of policy and operations.

Russell Marshall recognised that Treasury was concerned at his close relationship with the teacher unions and that Treasury considered open contact with such groups was not necessary. He stated;

> "The other criticism that was made of my stewardship was that I was too close to the teacher unions and of course teachers were regarded as looking after themselves. My impression is that they, (State Services Commission and Treasury) have this notion that teachers are self-serving, that they shouldn't be involved in negotiations for change because they are only looking after themselves."
>
> (Personal Interview, July 1992)

Russell Marshall believed that for the first time in a long while people had open access to the Minister of Education and used that freedom;

> "I think the Treasury thought I was totally captured by self-interested groups such as unions, but I think they also saw me probably as captive to the people who came and complained. My view was that education had been stifled for quite a long time and if the noises were particularly loud and vigorous and sustained, it was no wonder because people had been delayed in fulfilling their concerns on a whole range of issues for too long."
>
> (Personal Interview, July 1992)

Russell Marshall acknowledged that he had difficulty with Treasury, particularly with their quest to reduce public spending in education.

> "The biggest problem I had with Treasury was that they always wanted to cut expenditure and take away things which were there and to challenge some of the things we thought were worth doing, like smaller class sizes and so on. In the early days it seemed to me that they were basically saying 'No' to things and then inventing reasons afterwards."
>
> (Personal Interview, July 1992)

Russell Marshall added that as far as special education was concerned, had he stayed on as Minister of Education,

> "Special schools would have gone, over the protests of a diminishing number of people but it would have meant getting the resources as well. That was the stumbling block and Treasury made it more difficult for me every year"
>
> (Personal Interview, July 1992)

Russell Marshall felt that he had only eighteen months of time to attempt the things that were important in education - he adds,

> "The operative phase was the first eighteen months because by 1986 Treasury saw me coming and they made things increasingly difficult."
>
> (Personal Interview, July 1992)

So Russell Marshall was replaced with David Lange, who went on to oversee work of the Picot Committee which had been established by Russell Marshall.

It appeared Russell Marshall was pursuing conjunctural policies, as defined above, by seeking to expand the education budget and endeavouring to absorb even more resources. Theorists adhering to the views of public choice theory would see Russell Marshall's work in education as an attempt to expand the role of the state, and thereby diminishing the individual's right to choose.

Public choice theorists wanted to curtail the power of the education bureaucrats, to reduce spending in education and reform the role of the state in the delivery education. Russell Marshall's policies threatened to do just the opposite.

When the Picot Taskforce got started, Margaret Rosemergy rapidly came to realise that it was a much more powerful group than she had been led to believe and that it was very serious in its task.

> "At the second meeting Brian Picot said, 'Now let's get this absolutely clear, I take it we are here with a blank page agenda. What I mean is we are looking to devise a system that delivers the best education. We want the most efficient and effective system. Are we starting with the one we have got and trimming it to that end, or are we starting with a blank page. I personally prefer a blank page. How do you feel about it."
>
> (Personal Interview, July 1992)

Margaret Rosemergy agreed with Brian Picot that it was the system itself that had to be reviewed as part of the overall problem in education. Inevitably there were clashes with the three agencies of state assisting the Picot Taskforce. Treasury, the State Service Commission and Department of Education battled it out from time to time to get what they thought should be in the report. Views differ as to how much impact

the presence of the advisers from Treasury and the State Services Commission had on the Taskforce.

David Lange was well aware of the influence of Treasury and the power of the briefing papers they had produced in 1987;

> "Everything I ever did in terms of educational reforms, was therefore overhung by these yellow pages from the Treasury (the document Government Management) because everyone construed what we were doing as being in response to that, whereas in fact what we did was a huge battle. The great thing about Picot was that there was the battle - a titanic battle - against Treasury, where they fought it and they fought it. All I am saying is that Treasury advice would be to allow the market to do it. That is the advice we stood up against and I have to tell you that the Picot team stood up against it in so far as they were aware."
>
> (Personal Interview, July 1992)

Margaret Rosemergy agreed with David Lange about role of Treasury, but felt that role was quite restricted;

> "Yes, they had a role (Treasury and the State Services Commission), but the way that role was exercised on the actual Picot Committee was very much advice when asked, an opinion invited when asked, but I personally was not aware of any agenda being pushed, more than any public servant. We had some very loud arguments on that, but I got no sense of the report being captured."
>
> (Personal Interview, July 1992)

Analysis of the Picot Report

Whilst recognising the government's movement towards rights-based provision of education for all students, the Picot Taskforce assumed that those in control of the local educational resources - the board of trustees and Principal, would be capable of delivering, and indeed wanted to deliver, resources from their operational grant to students with special needs.

The New Zealand education system had been informed on disability from the point of view of a medical model of discourse since 1867. Students who were different had been marginalised and excluded. Now that was to change and those who had never

had responsibility for such students were to assume the role of overseeing the buying of required services.

Opinion is divided as to how schools would have used contestability in special education. When contestability of resources is reviewed using agency theory some powerful arguments emerged.

Reactions to Picots proposals were swift, particularly from psychologists, parent groups and teacher unions. The language used in Picot may have meant more efficient use of resources to the policy-makers but to the users and recipients it had a whole variety of meanings.

The New Zealand Psychological Services (Appendix 7), for example, determined thirteen areas where the Picot Report recommendations would not work. The most critical areas were co-ordination of services, delivery conflicts, in budget management by boards of trustees, lack of funding for students outside the regular educational setting, confidentiality, professional standards being lowered and the jeopardising of 'true' advocacy within the school system.

McQueen (1991, 89) cites David Lange as Minister of Education, as the person who raised the issue that if resources were given to the schools then services could be attracted to 'squeaky wheels' and not be given to the most deserving cases. Concern over confidentiality was also raised by David Lange, particularly in small rural communities.

On the area of contestability of special education services and the involvement of the board of trustees and Principal as agents of the parents, David Lange (interview 1992) commented,

> "You can't actually have intimate personal details relating to child and family, given in the privacy of a confidential and professional relationship being the subject of a submission to a board of trustees.
>
> It was totally unacceptable and I had marvellous arguments with Treasury. We went through papers and had threatening sessions. It really was quite an extraordinary performance to eventually get that thing turned around so that it became a service available."
>
> (Personal Interview, July 1992)

The issue of devolving power to community level, yet allowing equity to be preserved in a market driven economy was the dilemma. David Lange voiced his concern about the Picot Report recommendations prior to its release,

> "I announced it (Picot Report) with the (60/40 split) thing in it and said we were not going to accept it. It was just simply a stupid theory.,"
>
> (Personal Interview July, 1992).

Noel Scott, agreed with that assessment. He voiced his concerns over the attitude of schools to meet the educational needs of children with disabilities. He stated;

> "I did not believe in just saying to the schools, 'right here is some money'. I have had too much to do with schools:
>
> 1. to have any faith that they would put the money into special education anyway and
> 2. to believe that they would have people knowledgeable enough to know how best that should be done, and
> 3. most importantly it was quite obvious that the moment that happened (contestability) the best people in the system would leave it.
>
> Any expectation of equity to access to such services, given all the other imperfections that had emerged from mainstreaming, was going to prove vastly difficult, for many staff in schools anyway were so under resourced."
>
> (Personal Interview, July 1992)

Whether the 20,000 responses to the Picot Taskforce were all heeded is debatable, but significant changes had occurred in the contestability of special education by the time the Governments policy document 'Tomorrows Schools' was released in August 1988.

Harvey McQueen acknowledges (1991, 89) that in the 'write to me' campaign which followed the release of The Picot Report, special education resource provision was the biggest issue responded to, with most correspondents arguing that these services must remain the state's responsibility. It would appear from the responses that the community, along with parents, professionals and politicians would not allow this critical area of funding to be made contestable.

Once the report of the Taskforce to Review Education Administration (The Picot Report) was released. In May 1988, the framework which contained most of the elements of structural state policy had been established (see Figure 2). There is no doubt that policies post-1987 were formed along structural lines with any problems associated with education crises being devolved away from the state. Treasury ideology had won the day. The intentions of The Curriculum Review and the Draft Review of Special Education had been for the most part shelved, or at best, refocussed within a totally new structure.

Tomorrow's Schools - August 1988

Tomorrow's Schools was the result of the findings of several separate work parties created after the Picot Report had been released. The brief of the working party was to decide how the Picot Report recommendations were to translate into government policy and whether any refinements or alterations in education policy were to be made. Each working party was given a list of people and groups with which it had to consult with. Each working party also invited selected people to make submissions and consulted widely within its own field, using its own networks of contacts. Previous submissions to policy making documents, for example the Draft Review of Special Education, were taken into consideration. The consultation process used in Tomorrow's Schools was markedly different from previous occasions, in that it was managed and focussed (see Figure 3). Deliberately, a defined procedure was imposed on the various working parties in how information was to be collected and collated. The major criticism of this process was of the very limited time frame of six to eight weeks available for the consultation to take place. This affectively precluded any mass consultation occurring. It is therefore difficult to estimate how many people contributed to the outcomes of Tomorrow's Schools' policy.

The opening paragraph of Tomorrow's Schools used a quote from Thomas Jefferson to reinforce the concept that power should lie with the people themselves. If the people's control is tenuous, then they have to be assisted to make informed decisions rather than to have the power withdrawn.

Essentially Tomorrow's Schools confirmed the framework and concepts of the educational reforms set out by the Picot Taskforce. Accountability, efficiency and community involvement were to be followed through into the administration policies. One paragraph (1988, iv) encapsulated the government's intention for education administration promising:

- more immediate delivery of resources to schools
- more parental and community involvement
- greater teacher responsibility

leading to:

- improved learning opportunities for New Zealand children
- flexibility in education delivery to meet the needs of the Maori.

There were significant policy changes in the area of special education. In Tomorrow's Schools, the Special Education Service (SES) was created as a crown agency to employ special education advisers, and would be contracted by the Ministry of Education to provide services to institutions. Gone was the 40/60 split in employing advisers as proposed by the Picot Taskforce, to be replaced by a 80/20 split of funding allocation by the Ministry, 80% to the SES and 20% to the learning institutions. However, it was recommended that after two years, institutions would receive 100% of the funding to buy in services from either Special Education Services or other suppliers at their discretion.

The reasons for the change in Special Education policy are not clear. However comments from Phil Goff, the Minister of Education in the second term of the fourth Labour Government, suggest four major reasons for making the change:

- that the 60% of funding institutions recommended by Picot would not adequately provide for pupils with special needs.
- that the government was aware of problems of delivery and confidentiality, but the pitfalls had been very clearly identified and the establishment of the SES was a way of avoiding them.
- that the government regarded special education as an equity issue. As the government was funding two separate systems; the segregated schools and mainstreamed students, the government was extremely sensitive to accusations of withdrawing support for the separate system.
- politicians in the government backed the idea of mainstreaming students but saw it as an evolutionary process which needed time to become established. There had to be resources in the transition period. The government knew that if resources and services were not put in place, parents of non-disabled students would complain and put pressure on them.

(Personal Interview, 1991)

Analysis of Tomorrow's Schools

When Tomorrow's Schools was announced as education policy, it was apparent that management theory had been rigorously applied to special education.

The Special Education Service, as proposed, was modelled on agency theory. A contract between the Minister of Education and the Special Education Service would be drawn up. The Special Education Service would be a free standing, self administering body contracted by the Minister an annual basis to provide services to institutions. The renewable annual contract would enable the Minister to review the output of the organisation and renegotiate the terms of the contract.

The allocation of 80% directly to the Special Education Service (SES) and 20% to the learning institutions meant that for the first two years the SES would be protected from most competition. The 80% allocated to the SES acknowledged their somewhat privileged position in terms of their in-house specialised skills. The 20% allocation to institutions enabled the free market to marshall its special education resources to service those institutions in a competitive manner. The transition period of two years would enable the government to discover which type of funding would be more efficient, in line with transactional cost analysis theory. (1988, 29; 4.2.1). Contestability was going to be the method by which the government decided which type of provision to pursue - using the Special Education Service or using private providers.

The Minister's contact with the SES (1988, 30; 4.2.6) established the management procedures to be followed by the SES. The running of district agencies of the SES would be left to the manager, who would have freedom to hire the specialist services needed. Each manager would be semi-autonomous. The responsibilities of the managers would be in line with what Boston (1991) sees as part of the devolved form of management. The manager would have the power to contract in particular skills and advice as required on a short term basis rather than long term. In line with the management theory ethos, the special education service would develop a corporate plan, mission statement and logo.

Public choice theory takes the advisory, regulatory, and delivery functions away from a single service provider. In the case of special education, the advisory function was given to the Ministry of Education which contracted in policy advice; the regulatory function, which involved the setting of standards and establishments of rules, was overseen by the Ministry, whilst the service delivery function was given to the SES.

The Review and Audit agency would monitor the use of special education resources throughout the individual institutions. (1988, 30; 4.2.8).

In the long term, Tomorrow's Schools envisaged that special education services would be contracted out in the market place, making special education services 100% contestable. (1988, 30; 4.2.7).

Decentralisation

At the time when there was a general move towards devolving greater power to individual schools, the proposals for decentralising of decision-making in special education, as mooted in Tomorrow's Schools, were not favourably received by many intimately involved in the area. It appeared that these general attitudes towards governance and separation of policy and delivery of services were required to permeate all areas of education including special education. The question remained, "could special education comfortably fit that mould?" Miklos argues that:

> "those who favour centralised structures may have limited confidence in the ability of decision-makers at lower levels to make decisions that would be in the best interests of clients and society in general."
>
> (1974, 4)

Generally it was felt that contestability in special education would not result in good decisions by educational institutions which did not have the expertise and experience to administer to the needs of children with disabilities. This was coupled with the education system having to shrug off the traditional approach of the state to segregate out and congregate together those children with special needs, and adopt a rights-based discourse of mainstreaming the students. It was also felt that decentralisation of resources might well occur when there are plenty of resources, or where it is accepted that inequalities in allocation can exist. However, the provision of special education under market forces came unstuck on these two factors. There were not unlimited resources. Inequalities in allocation of resources were not occurring, and could not be seen to be advocated by a government committed to equity. The assumption was made that only total decentralisation could efficiently raise standards and change the form and content of education in accordance with market demands.

The Education Act 1989

The Education Act 1989 was essentially a policy document couched in the right's discourse, a legacy of social liberalism from Russell Marshall's time as Minister.

David Lange spoke of pride about the passing of the 1989 education legislation;

> "I think it is sort of gilding the lily a bit to say that everyone stood up and cheered. One of the good things about the Labour caucus was that it had a residual sense of its conscience or guilt hanging over it from the days of the free spending socially intervening party which had become, through necessity or something else, converted to the party of efficiency and enterprise and international competitiveness. This was one area of life where they could actually say, "Look we are Labour" and they did."
>
> (Personal Interview, July 1992)

The Education Act 1989, came into effect on January 1st 1990. It guaranteed (in section 3) every child the right to free enrolment and education at any state school. The rights to education meant that each child,

> "is entitled to free enrolment and free education at any state school during the period beginning on the person's fifth birthday and ending on the first day of January after the person's 19th birthday"
>
> (1989, section 3).

The legislation empowered the child with special needs to attend a local school. Section 8 of the 1989 Education Act reinforced section 3, stating that people who have special educational needs, because of disability or otherwise, "have the same rights to enrol and receive education at state schools as people who do not." (1989, section 8(1)). It also came out firmly on the side of the parents in determining whether or not the child needed special education and in which setting it would be delivered. An agreement between the parent and the chief executive of the Ministry of Education or a nominee was required before the child could receive special education assistance outside of the mainstream.

The medical discourse adhered to by educational legislators and policy makers for the previous 120 years was finally broken. The professional could no longer tell parents where their child had to be educated. The parent had the right to determine the placement of their child.

In the case where parents and educators disagreed over special education decisions, detailed appeal provisions were set out for parents to follow. Whilst the initial appeal procedures were being worked through, the rights of the child were safeguarded by a

specific provision in the Act, forbidding any person forcing a child to receive special education outside of the mainstream. A second appeal for parents was established through an arbitration process (in section 10).

Throughout the Education Act 1989, the power was with the parent and the child. The Act took precedence over any school charter, any principal's opinion, or any professional advice. In one bold move the medical, lay and charity discourses were discarded and the rights discourse was established within the law of the country.

The fourth Labour Government was endeavouring to do two things simultaneously within its special education policy. On one hand through Tomorrow's Schools, the government was trying to corporatise the special education service, using management theories, limiting the cost of special education within vote - education. This followed along the lines of Offe's structural policies, signalling a withdrawal of total state intervention from special education. On the other hand, both within Tomorrow's Schools and the Education Act 1989, education was opened up, providing education services for the first time to those whose needs had previously never been fully met through legislation. There was a clash between the neo-liberal doctrine of individual choice and the containment of money and resources, and the social democratic policy acknowledging rights and needs, which meant more resources were going to have to be available to meet those needs in the classroom.

Today's Schools - April 1990

Today's Schools was the report of a task committee set up to review the implementation of the government's policy document Tomorrow's schools through the 1989 Education Act.

Today's Schools was chaired by Noel Lough (a former Treasury official) and was prepared for the Minister of Education six months after the release of Tomorrow's Schools. The Committee's brief was to review how government policy was operating in practice and what changes were necessary, following the government's five fundamental principals of, equity, quality, efficiency, effectiveness and economy.

Appendix 1 (1990, 58) of the Lough Report details the review team consultation list. A total of 9 agencies, 3 organisations, 1 individual, and 107 schools were selected and consulted. In addition, four submissions were received. Principals and/or board of trustee representatives were invited to consultation meetings. The open submission

type strategy used by The Curriculum Review Committee and the Picot Taskforce was not adopted by the taskforce for Today's Schools (see Figure 3).

Today's Schools noted the public perception that despite the intentions of Tomorrow's Schools centralised control had occurred, rather than the reverse with:

- more administration tasks
- lack of resourcing and support for institutions
- lack of attention to education outcomes.

It was perhaps inevitable that, in Today's Schools, special education policies would be reviewed yet again. Today's Schools refined the special education requirements created by Tomorrow's Schools. The report recommended that the Special Education Service be charged with implementing government policies in particular the mainstreaming of children with special needs.

Today's Schools outlined the existing situation where mainstreamed students were not adequately supported. In order to resolve funding difficulties, the allocation of special education funding was highlighted as the key to providing for all children. Today's Schools introduced the method of providing an on-going assessment to determine the individual learner's needs. An Individual Education Plan (IEP) was to be used, for each individual developed in consultation with family, learners, and schools in order to ascertain what particular resources would be required to assist the child.

Resources would be controlled by the Ministry of Education, and the SES was confirmed as the best agency to allocate the resources for learners with special needs. The government policy of mainstreaming was upheld, and an implementation process was outlined where some segregated facilities would be closed after consultation with those affected. The cash gained from closures would be used to provide for those students being mainstreamed.

Under "Today's Schools" recommendations, the SES had to create two separate arms to its operation. One arm was to provide needs analysis and resource allocation, the other would be used to deliver resources. One year after the SES' role had expanded, the service delivery arm would be made fully contestable, with the parents and students choosing from whom to buy the required services. The Board of the SES would monitor the operational efficiency and effectiveness of the service.

Analysis of Today's Schools

Today's Schools firmly supported the government's policy of mainstreaming. It was a document upholding the social reform of the Education Act 1989, and detailing how the funds were to be created, and administered. The rights of the student with special learning needs were supported, right down to the family choosing from whom they would prefer to buy in services.

Management theory was still in evidence. A Board was to oversee the operational efficiency and effectiveness of the Special Education Service. The idea of service contestability was to be introduced after one year so that the SES could not be accused of provider capture.

The Report of the Special Education Taskforce (The Perris Report), May 1990

The Special Education Taskforce was established by the General Managers Policy and Implementation in the Ministry of Education in March 1990. It reported its findings in May 1990. In the preamble, the taskforce stated clearly the Ministry of Education's support for the Education Act 1989, enabling students to be educated in a mainstreamed setting with the involvement of parents and caregivers in the decision-making process in areas affecting the student's educational welfare. The taskforce also had to liaise with people and groups with a responsibility for or involvement in special education. Two hundred and fifty seven submissions were received by the taskforce (see Figure 3).

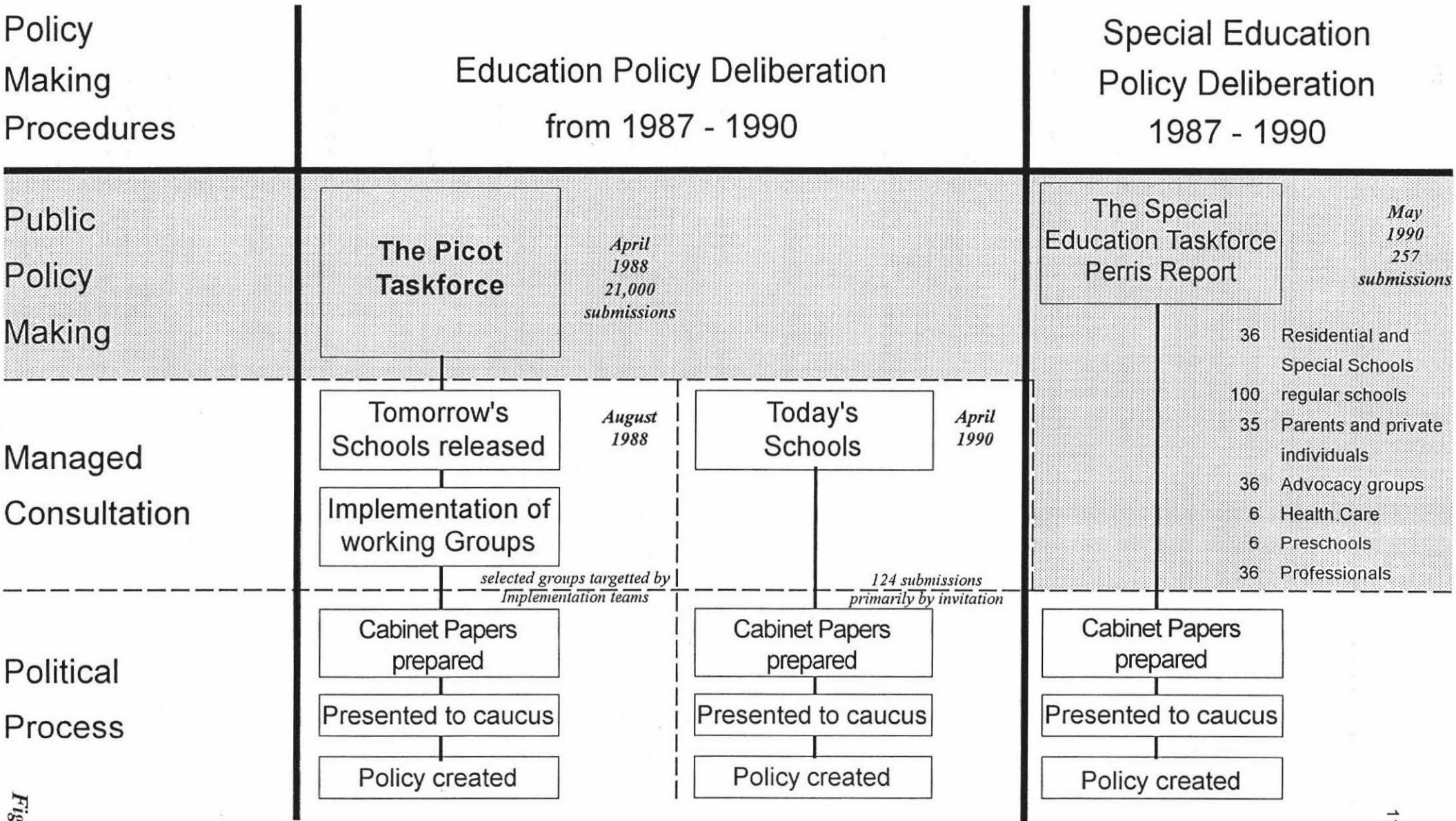


Figure 3

Policy Consultation Methods 1987 - 1990

The taskforce's response to its deliberations highlighted several concerns:

- the number of short term individual arrangements existing in many schools.
- the lack of an information base on which to create a central funding formula.
- the disproportionate allocation of funding to students in residential settings, as compared with students with special needs in other educational placements.

The taskforce made the observation (1990, 5) that the demand for provision for learners not in special classes always outstripped the amount provided. The taskforce ruled out the possibility of special education resources being allocated on a formula or categorisation basis stating that,

> "The needs of learners are too diverse, requirements may change too rapidly and specific options vary too much from one community to another, for a fixed formula approach to be realistic."
>
> (1990, 5)

The major recommendations of the report can be summarised as follows:

- that funding for special education be supplementary to the operational grant given to schools and be based on individual need.
- that all funding be linked to an Individual Education Plan (IEP). [2]
- that responsibility for allocating special education resources rest with the Special Education Service.
- that resourcing allocation decisions be made at a local level with the establishment of local advisory committees.
- that full consultation take place with all parties concerned before any special education learner was transferred to a regular school.
- that two models be developed to provide resources to students. The within-school model for the "high incidence" [3] group and a resource model for the "low incidence" [3] group.
- that money from the sale of any special schools closed in the future be retained by the Ministry to provide additional resources for special education.

2. The taskforce (1990, 1) defined IEP as an educational plan designed to meet the specific current needs of a learner with special educational needs. It brings the learner, teacher, parents, and others closely involved, together in a team to develop a meaningful plan for the identified learner, for a specified time period, in a particular setting.

3. According to the taskforce (1990,1) "Low incidence" disabilities are those disabilities which are usually long term and require modification of plant or the provision of financial or human resources, for example physiotherapy services. Learners with more severe physical, sensory or intellectual disabilities are members of this group.

"High incidence" disabilities are those which are more likely to be remediable and less disabling, for example learning or behaviour difficulties. The majority tend to be transient or to affect mainly one area of the learner's life, for example academic achievement or adult-child relationships.

The taskforce also recommended that there be on-going teacher training and that talks about employment and funding be continued between the Departments of Social Welfare, Health and the Ministry of Education. It was also recommended that the language used in official document not be demeaning; and that classes outside regular schools eg. health camp schools to be investigated for effectiveness and efficiency. It was also requested that the Ministry of Education review the place of the Royal New Zealand Foundation of the Blind in education.

Funding for Special Education

Throughout the period 1984 - 1990, there was a dramatic increase in the amount of funding targeted for special education. Phil Goff, as Minister of Education in a speech to the South Pacific Conference on special education in January 1990 stated;

> "Special education funding has more than doubled from $34 million in 1984 to over $70 million in this year's budget."
>
> (1990, 14)

Phil Goff added that a further $2.2 million would be given to special education to assist with ancillary funding to support students with special needs, doubling the discretionary funding allocated through the district offices of the Ministry of Education.

The fourth Labour Government's commitment to special education was emphasised in that speech with Phil Goff stating that the additional funding was;

> "A significant additional commitment to promoting equity in education, at a time when fiscal constraint will continue on financial expenditure in all areas."
>
> (1990, 15)

As each policy document on special education was released funds flowed into the special education budget to support the policy decisions. In the period 1987 - 1990 there was a change in how education was viewed. There was a shift from it being a public good to being a private good, and, it is there useful to review the development of special education budgets (see Appendix 8).

In the 1988 budget an extra $424,000 was spent on teacher aides. In addition, funding sufficient to support 106 new positions created across the special education

spectrum was provided. These positions ranged from training provisions, to engaging more trained staff to work in all education sectors. In the 1989 budget there was a commitment to providing educational equipment for students throughout the compulsory and tertiary sector and a further $5 million for mainstreaming students. New post graduate courses were also established. The 1990 budget included half a million dollars for teacher training in mainstreaming students and $7.7 million for ancillary aide and teacher aide hours. Part of the $7.7 million was a direct response by the Minister of Education to the Special Education Taskforce's recommendation for immediate funds for Special Education.

Under its course of action recommendations, the taskforce stated that the present funding system should be maintained until February 1991 and that the current operational funding for special education be maintained. In addition, some $5.1 million per annum to be provided from Vote: Education for additional resources to be used on a needs basis particularly for children in regular school settings. The taskforce also advised the ministry that any additional resources for 1990 be distributed according to the degree of mainstreaming taking place.

Analysis of the Report of the Special Education Taskforce 1990

The deliberations and recommendations from the taskforce was written using rights discourse. The reports thrust was to support the idea of mainstreaming students into regular education placements, with fair resourcing and with the consent of the parents and caregivers. The taskforce questioned the historical use of money in segregated settings and strove to achieve a method by which the needs of the individual learner, regardless of where they were placed, would be addressed with resources being attached to an Individual Education Plan (IEP). Whilst the taskforce clearly pointed out inequities and areas where money and resources could be saved, it also recommended that the state adequately resource special education. The governemnt acted immediately on the recommendation by the taskforce and Phil Goff as Minister of Education moved $5 million into special education. Overall the role of the SES was strengthened by the recommendations of the taskforce, as no specific mention was made of the contestability section of Today's Schools with the proposed 80/20% funding split for Special Education Service advisers.

Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed chronologically, the various policies developed during the period 1987 - 1990. Whilst regular education policies became more managed to suit

state structural policy making, special education was not affected in the same way. More funds were committed to special education policies than ever before (see Appendix 7) and the policies enacted remained demand-led.

Chapter nine will show how the new management theories impacted on special education policy. The chapter will review four management theories in detail; public choice theory, agency theory, transaction-cost analysis and managerialism.

Chapter Nine - The Impact of Managerialism on Special Education Policy

> "Whenever there is great enthusiasm for one particular line of inquiry or conceptual framework, other approaches can easily be dismissed or forgotten."
>
> Boston (1991, 23)

This chapter reviews the impact of the new management theories on special education as they were adopted by the fourth Labour Government, in its radical reorganisation of the state particularly between 1987 - 1990. This was the period during which the management theories were most rigorously applied to education.

Public Choice Theory

The traditional sectoral approach to government organisation was superceded by the Treasury preferred functional model. Treasury argued that for government organisation to be efficient and accountable, provider capture had to cease and for that to occur, the areas of policy advice, implementation and regulation had to be separated out, and contestability of services had to be introduced to ensure that the public was receiving the best possible advice and value for its money.

Within the Picot Taskforce, Treasury economic philosophy was not always accepted, as Maurice Gianotti had stated;

> 'They (Treasury and State Services Commission) didn't get their own way entirely. They had to survive on logic and sometimes the logic wasn't sufficient.'
>
> (Personal Interview, July 1992)

At the time the Picot Taskforce was finishing it's report, the two advisers were released and all the areas the Taskforce had ceded to them were put back into the report. The Picot group reviewed a number of these issues and then made up their own mind without the assistance of the advisers from the Treasury and the State Services Commission. The Treasury and State Services Commission people were among the official group working on Tomorrows' Schools. In some instances significant changes were made to the original Picot Report, as a consequence.

Several people interviewed, commented on the power of the professional groups within education. Special education stakeholders (professionals, parents and, voluntary groups) were pushing for a rights discourse to be adopted in policy making. The power of the professional was an area special educational stakeholders wanted to see diminished.

J B Munro commented on the power of professionals in the context of having contestability within special education. He stated,

> "I thought it was time that the psychologists and some of these experts were held accountable for some of their actions ... their professionalism. I don't know why the initial Picot proposal for contestability was changed."
>
> (Personal Interview, July 1992)

Margaret Rosemergy commented on the general perception of professionals in the wider community;

> "I look at that long progression from a well-educated population getting increasingly tense about being told what to do. The National Women's was hitting 'Metro', professionals were not showing up in a very good light. They were patronising to their clientele. They were misinforming them, going behind their backs, overriding them and all that sort of thing and this well-educated population was not standing for it in a variety of ways."
>
> (Personal Interview, July 1992)

Margaret Rosemergy saw the decentralising move of the Picot Report as a way of giving the power to parents in the community.

Marijke Robinson argued for contestability as a way of easing the power of the professional.

> "If you don't provide contestability, you will always give the power to the professional and who are the professionals?"
>
> (Personal Interview, July 1992)

Marijke Robinson felt that some educational professionals had over-stepped their delegated authority under the old system and had laid down the law to parents. Under contestability, people would have choice. Whilst admitting there would be a time

when parents might lack the information to make fully informed choices, Marijke Robinson believed that given time, parent knowledge and awareness would increase and more power would shift to them.

It was arguments like these which supported the public choice theory of contestability of services. It was an opportunity for services to become more flexible and client based rather, than be driven by professionals.

The Public Service Ethic

Public choice theory ideas were challenged by the Picot Taskforce in particular areas, and also by the politicians involved at later stages in policy development. Competitive self-interest theories did not sit well in special education. Schools throughout New Zealand had children with special needs on their rolls, often with limited resources. Administrators like Don Brown did not perform their role merely out of self-interest.

Boston, argues that bureaucrats were not just interested in the size of their departmental budgets.

> "They are also influenced by such things as credibility, integrity, duty, professional standards, and doing a good job."
>
> (1991, 13)

Working in the public sector had its own ethics. Martin argues that;

> "By guaranteeing to public servants a life's career and a pension, parties have foresworn the use of patronage, and have guaranteed to the state's employees their tenure of their jobs. In return the parties expect, and the public servants owe, equal loyalty to any government which the people have placed in office."
>
> (1991, 367 - 368, citing Lipson 1948, 479)

That public service ethic has been challenged by the introduction of the State Services Act 1988. The relationship between public servants and the state has changed with the introduction of managerialist theories. The impact of this on special education has been that prior to 1988, state servants could offer what Martin (1991, 384) terms 'frank and free' advice to the Minister to whom they were responsible. Since 1988, with the introduction of short term employment contracts, the buying in of policy

advice and the emphasis on efficiency and accountability, public servants have become very vulnerable to changes in government policy. Whether their contract is renewed may be linked to the advice they give in adopting practices of managerialism, special educationalists may have to bury their public service values. As Martin argues;

> "Those who are concerned about the impact of managerialism draw attention to the values which have traditionally, been part of the 'public service mission' and which may be 'distorted and suborned by cultures and practices' borrowed from the private sector."
>
> (1991, 369)

Those values which Martin (1991, 370) argues for are informed by "considerations for justice and equity." Inevitably it follows that tension exists between following the managerial line and following the traditional public service ethic.

Boston takes issue with public choice theory stating that politicians are not just vote maximisers.

> "In short human beings are not merely economic beings, but also political, cultural and moral beings who inhabit an economic system which is profoundly influenced by and in a sense dependent upon, the attitudes, habits, beliefs, aspirations ideals, and ethical standards of its members."
>
> (1991, 13)

Some positive pointers for the effective administration of special education emerged from public choice theory. Policy makers had to rethink many of their previous assumptions about the way special education service could be delivered. New methods of delivery of services and advice were promulgated and publicly debated. Although by 1990, the contestability of special education had not been ruled out, the concerns of the public and professionals had been listened to, and some modification to the original Picot proposals had evolved.

Special education policies recognised the rights of children and parents. These rights were upheld in legislation and in education policies, particularly in Tomorrow's Schools and Today's Schools. The policy of 'inclusion' was clearly enunciated, even when so much power of decision making had been devolved to a community. None of the participants were passive in their individual roles during the reforms and neither

was the New Zealand public. Vigorous debate occurred around all the policies being implemented.

Aspects of public choice theory were put forward by those in Treasury and the State Services Commission but in special education policy they did not find favour unless there was a logical reason as to how children with special needs would benefit from their inclusion.

Agency theory

With the reforms in education came the dilemma over relationships between principals and agents. With the introduction of the Education Act in 1989 parents as a group had far more power within their local communities. Parents of children with special needs had more power than ever before. Not only did their children have access to schools as of right, but there was a protective appeal procedure to support the parent.

Under agency theory, the Minister was the principal in the contract with the SES. The school was also the agent, having to deliver services to the child with special needs where that child was in the mainstream. A number of those interviewed questioned whether the schools in fact realised what their obligations to the Minister were under the new contractual relationship, and whether in their charters and policies reflecting the needs of children with disabilities within their community.

In summary, there was not the belief on the part of many that an agreed relationship could exist between parent and school, without the Minister acting in some kind of intermediatory role and operating as a buffer.

Margaret Rosemergy commented on this point:

> "All sorts of people got very fierce about that particular provision (contestability) and it was widely portrayed as dumping kids with special needs without any funding into schools, which didn't know what to do with them and would spend the money on school goal posts.
>
> I believed that of course there would be a school that would make lousy decisions, but if you set up a framework where you say to people 'develop the policy as a board and, as a school of professionals, make the decisions', you can't actually then tell them the decisions to make. That is the price you pay."
>
> (Personal Interview, July 1992)

Maurice Gianotti recollected similarly:-

> 'A lot of people took the view that if you gave the money to the schools they would let the kid with special needs hobble around without help and use the money for the rest of the kids.
>
> I happen to believe that is not true. My experience of schools has been that their heart goes out to these kids.'
>
> (Personal Interview, July 1992)

On the other hand, J B Munro disagreed.

> 'I think they (the schools) would be much better contracting out to agencies.
>
> We certainly had evidence where there was special education money going into photocopiers and English as a second language and those sorts of things but it was very hard to prove.'
>
> (Personal Interview, July 1992)

A contract implies an equal relationship in the agreement. If the Picot Report's model of contestability for special education services had gone ahead, there could have been several interpretations of who could contract with whom. The school might contract in advice from specialists or alternatively the parents might exercise their choice in the matter.

An equal partnership might have existed between the school and the special education professionals but given the history of exclusion in special education it would probably not have existed between parents and the school or between parents and special education experts. That is probably why the initial Picot Taskforce decision for contestability was rejected by parent groups - the power would go to the school and not to the parent. Professional groups may well have rejected the proposal because it took power away from them. The teaching profession and indeed few schools, were eager to take on the mantle of providing for the education of children with special needs at all, let alone under the guise of contestability. Many saw contestability as a government cost-cutting exercise. In later special education policies, under Tomorrow's Schools, a contract was drawn up between the SES and the Minister of Education which was far from being an equal relationship as the Minister held the power of financing resources for the special education section and the policy given.

In this case the Ministry of Education acted as the Ministers agent in negotiating a contract with the SES.

The fact that the contract between the Minister and the SES is renewable on a yearly basis reflects the ideology of short term contracts which constrains and militates against the idea of long term career structures, loyalty and the development of a culture in an organisation. The Special Education Service began its existence adhering to a government policy of inclusion, but advocating for resources for two separate systems of special education, segregated and mainstreamed. It was employing the people who were putting government policy into practice, so if the inclusion policy was to falter in any way or resources be pulled back from the contract between the SES and the ministry, the SES would be particularly vulnerable to attacks from the teaching community and from parents, more so than would the Ministry. When such contracts are negotiated, under agency theory, the monitoring rationale is usually in the principal's favour more so than the agents. It is the principal who monitors whether the agent takes advantage of the situation, rather than the other way round. What happens if the principal acts in an uncompromising and limiting manner is not addressed under agency theory.

If the Minister curtailed resourcing in the special education sector with cabinet approval, jobs would be lost. In a restricted market environment with only one major principal (in this case the Ministry) employing special education professionals, there is little freedom for a special education employee to find alternate sources of employment.

Whilst the Special Education Service was initially set up to allow a transition period for easing into full contestability of services, under agency theory it did not occupy a position as an equal in the contract between itself and the Minister. This left it open to criticism from those to whom it provided its services, in the public arena, without having any power to address deficiencies in policy, which was developed or procured separately by the ministry, or address deficiencies in resourcing which might occur. Conversely, the SES did employ the largest number of experts in New Zealand in the field of special education. To that extent, initially, at least it had the upper hand in terms of delivering expert policy and implementation advice to the minister.

Transaction-cost analysis

Given the critical state of education in New Zealand in the late 1980s, questions were increasingly being asked by the public and politicians as to whether taxpayers money

was being used wisely within the then Department of Education (Codd, 1990, 191 - 205). Therefore the time was ripe for a review of bureaucracy using the agency and transaction-cost analysis theories which were favoured at that time.

When transaction-cost analysis is used to determine whether a service can be delivered efficiently by a group of professionals, other agency theory concerns need to be addressed at the same time. In the case of special education, several of those interviewed had reservations about applying transaction-cost analysis in the manner outlined in the Picot report with contestability being introduced for special education services, under the 40/60 funding split. Under this arrangement learning institutions were to control of 60% of the special education budget, with the Minister retaining 40% for discretionary allocation.

Efficiency and Equity Tensions

Whilst giving learning institutions discretionary funds to buy in the services required for students with special needs, on the open market, there was always the problems of moral hazard and adverse selection as raised in agency theory.

Points raised by several interviewees reflected concerns about the tensions between efficiency within the system and maintaining the equity provisions of special education policies. David Lange queried how schools would be able to make decisions about the child with special needs unless confidential information was released to boards of trustees by professionals. As Minister of Education, David Lange was extremely concerned about the relationship between the board of Trustees, the family and the professionals servicing the needs of the child. David Lange recalls he was also concerned that the message of efficiency would be seen to override that of confidentiality;

> "I managed to get, as it were, a stay of execution for an interim period so the blessed (psychological) service was protected and you didn't throw it to the mercy of market forces."
>
> (David Lange, Personal Interview, July 1992)

Noel Scott also expressed reservations that contestability of special education would in practice operate fairly, and in the overall interests of children with special needs. Noel Scott's comments reflect the problems of adverse selection, moral hazard, and monitoring identified under agency theory. When these concerns are linked into transaction-cost analysis, the dilemma for schools in a contestable environment is

apparent. Whether to choose one service because it can be provided more cheaply than another, or whether to spend time investigating the credentials of those individuals who tender for the provision of services to meet the needs of children with special needs in a learning institution. Again, this highlights the tension between equity and cost efficiency in special education.

Noel Scott's comments on this point can be analysed as follows:

1 Concerns about the money that is given to schools being used for that purpose.

In this instance the monitoring question is the issue. Who will thoroughly monitor the application of special education money on a regular basis? How effective will that monitoring be?

2 Knowledgeable staff in local learning institutions able to specify how that money should be spent.

This concern raises the issue of moral hazard. Once a person has been employed by the school, who is going to monitor their performance? Can they deliver in a manner as prescribed by the board of trustees and Principal? Does the principal or the board of trustees have enough information to monitor the special education professionals. Noel Scott's concerns in this area, are also addressed by transaction-cost analysis, with bounded rationality which signals the limited knowledge that schools and boards of trustees in this specialised area of selecting professionals at a time, when mainstreaming was a relatively new ideology, and most schools had limited practical experience of it.

3 Noel Scott had identified a concern that under contestability many top professionals in special education would leave. This also raises the question on what mechanism would exist to ensure that equal services would provide for all children in New Zealand, regardless of where they lived?

Under adverse selection in agency theory, the problem of selecting suitably qualified people to work in schools would be exacerbated, in Noel Scott's opinion by

- lack of an adequate pool of skilled people to draw from throughout the country

- the learning institution's lack of expertise in really analysing the true expertise and beliefs of the special educationalist they are to employ. They could never be sure they have an adequate person for the job.

Transaction-cost analysis also details out the privileged position of resources like special educationalists, who typically have worked within government bureaucracies, over those who are in private practice. Also, special educationalists through their specialised training and experience, had built up a skills-base that would be difficult to challenge as an outside consultant.

Marijke Robinson stated her concerns at the privileged position of psychologists within the former Department of Education. She identified particularly their lack of accountability of which had been central to the requirement for the review started in 1986, and later deferred to be part of the Picot Report. She stated;

> "We looked at the money, the staffing and the management structure and in that context we had for some time said that there seemed to be an awful lot of psychologists walking around the place. Do they really provide the type of services that are necessary? Are they doing it in an efficient way? I found that these education psychologists had little district offices all over the place and there didn't seem to be any practical plan on how to deploy the services. It was basically every little district office in every little area had their own speciality and people to see. They were very individualistic, they said, 'those are my schools and nobody else is going to do them."
>
> (Personal Interview, July 1992)

Marijke Robinson felt that special education professionals, in particular psychologists, should not feel threatened by contestability, as all advisory services were to be treated in the same way as far as the Picot Taskforce was concerned. She talked about bringing together the responsibility of the schools with the responsibility of the special education advisers. Marijke Robinson quoted Russell Kerse from the Crippled Children's Society on this point;

> "He said, 'Disabled children can be taught by ordinary teachers. It is just a matter of good teaching', and what happens if you leave it all to the SES, that the teachers will disown responsibility. 'What we have to do,' he said, 'is to make teachers aware that it is a matter of teaching and that they can't say, 'I don't have to bother about Johnny because the SES will look after him.'

Costing out special education provisions for students with special needs was a very difficult procedure. Determining whether the professionals could provide contestable service delivery using transaction-cost analysis was fraught with problems, particularly in areas involving confidentiality and equity. Throughout the 1987 - 1990 period, despite recommendations for a transitional contestability split made by various policy groups prior to introducing full contestability, it was clear that such an arrangement would never be able to deliver special education services equitably to all students with special needs.

Boston argues that under functional management

> "the quest for contestability or multiple advocacy, or the desire to improve the bureaucratic representation of disadvantaged groups, may conflict with the goals of co-ordination, economy and efficiency."
>
> (1991, 240)

Bearing in mind that special education was poorly serviced as part of the Department of Education, the proposed restructuring would create new areas of education organisation previously ignored. Given that new legislation would mean the probability of more children with special needs in schools, and given the likely demand for mainstreaming those children, it was very difficult to determine initially how successful the provision of special education services in a fully contestable environment would be.

Boston argues,

> "It is very difficult to assess improvements in policy co-ordination or the extent to which the potential for bureaucratic capture has been reduced. Measuring the quality of advice, the consistency of objectives, or the degree of accountability is equally hard."
>
> (1991, 253)

Managerialism

The Special Education Service was established under Tomorrow's Schools to manage special education. The contract between the Minister and the SES relied on quantifiable outputs and performance targets. The final SES management procedures were developed very late in the period under discussion and therefore are not

examined further in this thesis. However, a review of the framework is useful. Management was devolved downwards to district managers who in turn were responsible for creating new reporting, monitoring and accountability mechanisms with the new structure. The SES created its own corporate logo, and mission statement. Regular reviews of the Special Education Service were to follow. These trends reflected management theories and were implemented vigorously in the latter part of the late 1980s.

Boston argues that in order to make assessments, qualitative evaluations are used which are subjective. Even if there is some use of quantitative analysis, there are methodological problems particularly where a new organisation has been created. How can it be measured as more or less efficient when there is nothing preceding it to measure alongside it?

Boston (1991, 21) outlines the many differences between management theory applied in a private sector, versus that applied in a public sector environment. It is useful to see how those differences relate to the special education sector.

- Profit drives the private sector as the most important performance measure. However in special education, the professionals have to be responsive to changing political directives which may conflict with efficiency drives eg. mainstreaming on top of resourcing segregated education placements. Special education professionals may have to advocate for education placements which run counter to their own value system.

- There is difficulty in discovering how to reward professionals in the public sector which is not profit-making.

- There is a co-operative atmosphere within the public service rather than the more competitive private sector. If public servants are to serve the government effectively and fairly, then they require the ability to work in with each other.

Conclusion

Between 1987 - 1990, five reviews of special education administration were commissioned. These either took the form of a full review eg. Draft Review of Special Education and The Special Education Taskforce, or formed a part of an overall inquiry into education administration eg. The Picot Taskforce, Tomorrow's

Schools, and Today's Schools. These reviews were costly and disruptive. Boston (1991, 256) questions whether such major reorganisations were necessary, given their rapidity over a short space of time, before the organisation had any real opportunity to bind together as a team. Boston (ibid) argues that constant restructuring has a detrimental effect on an organisation and its staff, particularly in morale, disruptive work flow, lack of decisive policy output and inexperienced staff. It is debatable how effective the radical education changes were, given the number of policy changes and new initiatives taken within a short space of time. Corson (1986, 7) argues that in changing education, the policy-makers approach should be a piecemeal effort rather than a radical attempt to make sweeping changes. Corson suggests that revolutionary changes are very difficult to control from the beginning, stating the greater the change the more harmful the repercussions on the aims, values and sensitivities of the participants involved. Corson (ibid cites Harman 1980, 148) proposes that 'invigorating rather than disturbing' policy should be constructed, since

> "designs for disruptive change are relatively easy to conceive, whereas their counterparts required more sophisticated analysis and more disciplined imagination."
>
> (1986, 7, citing Harman 1980, 148)

Boston (1991, 261) argues that a functional approach does not necessarily guarantee a reduction of provider capture, as the administrative arm will still be heavily dependent on the agency, in this case the Special Education Service, for its policy advice.

A question remains as to how whole-heartedly the functional approach has been adopted by those operating within special education. Corson argues that very little research has been carried out on the policy implementation of social policies.

> "the evidence also strongly suggests that there remains a great naivete about social policy implementation."
>
> (1986, 5 and 6)

Constant reviewing of a fledgling organisation will have done little to enable it to develop its own corporate culture. The contractual relationship between the Special Education Service and the Minister had to be clearly spelt out for those using special education services. A concern remains that with conflicting special education policies in existence the role of the special education service with its relationship with the ministry may result, in what Boston argues, as its officials;

> "defending rather than explaining government policy in controversial areas."
>
> (1991, 372)

After the Special Education Service was created, it had to mould itself to fit many of the new management theories, as an unequal and vulnerable partner with the Ministry of Education which held all the important cards. The SES would be responsible for ensuring that the law pertaining to children with special needs was upheld without being accused of having a vested interest in promoting one part of the two education options over another. The SES had to retain the favour of its clients, as it would be reviewed by them as part of the accountability measures, whilst at the same time lacking the power to advocate for policy changes unless requested to do so by the ministry. Regardless of the number of children with special needs, the SES assessed they would be held to a budget determined by a funding formula from the ministry. Under agency theory it certainly was an unequal partnership, but the sword held over the head of SES was the threat of total contestability being adopted by government.

Chapter ten will draw conclusions from the policy analysis presented in this thesis.

Chapter Ten - Conclusions

> "The benefits of reorganisation are likely to be realised only in the longer term, while the short term costs are inevitably high."
>
> *Scharpf (1986, 197)*

Introduction

This final chapter reviews the impact of policy initiatives taken during the period of the fourth Labour Government from 1984-1990 and their effect on special education development in New Zealand. Special education policy 1987 - 1990 followed a separate developmental path from regular education policy. In the period 1987-1990 the state introduced special education policy reflecting the rights discourse, signalling to society that there would be significant changes in how disability would be viewed in education in New Zealand. The fact that emancipatory legislation for special education came late in the Labour Government's term of office meant that there was insufficient time to cement in place the rights ideology leaving lobby groups, professionals, academics and parents with unfulfilled expectations about how the special education policy would be implemented after 1990, with the change to a National Government.

Disability Discourses

Traditionally in New Zealand the state has adopted a limited, but regulatory role in providing education for children with special needs since 1867. As argued in chapters three and four, the policies of the state were based on disability discourses drawn from the powerful medical discourse and the all pervasive charity and lay discourses. Special education policy up to 1984 meant that usually parents had the main responsibility to educate their children with special needs. In some instances, discrimination occurred because the state would not provide educational opportunities for children it deemed to be ineducable.

As with other industrialised capitalist societies, New Zealand has a history of maintaining social control through legislation directed at its less powerful citizens. The medical discourse has proven to be a useful tool for the state to use to maintain control over children with special educational needs. It is important to remember that disability is a feared status. The public, with its knowledge of disability gleaned particularly through the lay and charity discourses, realises that to be disabled in society is to be discriminated against and oppressed. Disability discourse translates into the power of the able-bodied over the disabled.

The state was slow to use the rights discourse. The power of the professionals using the medical discourse appeared rational, and was backed by the 'commonsense' knowledge provided by the charity and lay discourses. This left the proponents of the rights discourse a difficult task in establishing it as a credible alternative. Initially the funding issue, through critical, was not the reason why the state did not adopt the rights discourse. It was not consistent with the ideology of an extremely regulatory conservative administration like the Muldoon government to accept. After 1984, despite the possible swing to embrace rights ideology by the fourth Labour Government, funding had become the critical issue through the fiscal crisis in education and elsewhere. This case study has attempted to reflect the development of special education policy, throughout a period of fiscal and administrative restructuring of various state agencies.

The fourth Labour Government struggled to resolve the dual problems of creating enabling, emancipatory education policies, whilst trying to curtail spending in within the wider education reform programme. The problem was compounded by having to provide for two separate systems of special education . There is no doubt that there was a need for administrative reorganisation in education, but it was very difficult to provide for special education in the new framework.

The impact of Neo-liberalism on Special Education

Prior to 1984, special education policy had been constructed to exclude certain identified groups from the regular education settings. During the fourth Labour Government's term of office special education ideology changed to inclusive practices, but against a backdrop of the neo-liberal ideology, which promoted competition and the power of the individual, used management theories to implement the reorganisation. Although initially the education 'reforms' did not encompass the funding areas of education, as Labour's term of office evolved and Russell Marshall was replaced, the influence of Treasury became more powerful and funding efficiency became a more dominant issue.

Management Theories

Whilst management theories such as public choice, agency theory, and transactional-cost analysis were being promoted within the newly re-structured education organisations, the implementation of policy and the management of the new organisations were for the most part carried out by professionals who had served with the former Department of Education. It takes time for theory and practice to merge. It is doubtful therefore, given the short period of time between 1987 and 1990 that the

public sector ethics were entirely replaced by new management procedures. Scharpf argues;

> "I nevertheless do not share the optimistic expectation that institutional or organisational factors could be treated as easily manipulated design variables in policy analyses. On the contrary, even though institutional conditions are certainly changeable and changing all the time, I am fully convinced that the policy analyst ought to approach them with a healthy respect for their ability to resist purposeful change and with an even greater respect for the extremely low predictability of the consequences of institutional change."
>
> (1986,179)

It may well be that within bureaucracies such as the Special Education Service and the Ministry of Education there are professionals resistant to the policies, of for example, mainstreaming or parent choice in educational placement. That these professionals would be very difficult to detect as has been shown by agency theory in chapters three, six and seven. Professionals who do not share the current ideology may take time to be exposed and even longer to be expunged from the bureaucracy, particularly if there is a limited pool of professionals from which to choose. It would be simplistic to imagine that due to a change in ideology from the government of the day all layers of policy implementation would automatically roll over and perform the new rites of passage. Neo-liberal ideologies have taken time to diffuse through the public sector and not without vigorous debate.

The Consultative Process

Between 1987 and 1990, there was a subtle change in how the consultative process for regular education policy formation was conducted by the Department of Education and later by the Ministry of Education. A more managed process of targeting particular groups for consultation, initially appeared in the Tomorrow's Schools process and was also used in Today's Schools using a submission-by-invitation procedure. This was not the case in special education. As is stated in chapter seven, the Draft Review of Special Education formally consulted with some 67 groups or individuals in order to release its 1987 report. The Special Education Taskforce still used the "write-to-me" type of submission. The members of the Special Education Taskforce did not use management theories of for example vested interest, to stop them from basing their report on the concerns of schools, teachers and parents. So

instead of sources of advice contracting as happened in regular education, the special education consultative process expanded.

The Picot Report, Tomorrow's Schools and Today's Schools all recommended varying degrees of contestability of special education advisory services. If contestability had been adopted by the state it would have provided a mechanism for controlling outputs through the management of inputs. Contestability was never introduced during this period at any of the recommended levels. Indeed, by 1990 the Report of the Special Education Taskforce does not even mention contestability of services.

The three major policy documents of that era, The Picot Report, Tomorrow's Schools and Today's Schools did radically change the exiting administration system. However special education was provided with the SES as a specialist service provider, creating a buffer of expertise between the Ministry of Education and the learning institutions. Whilst power was devolved to local communities, some checks and balances were put in place to protect students with special needs. The charter for each school had compulsory equity measures in it, 1989 The Education Act had appeal provisions and was emancipatory for students with special needs and the Parent Advocacy Council was created to assist parents. So whilst the system was restructured, it was done in such a way as to afford the greatest possible protection to individuals with special needs in the learning environment.

The Role of the State

As the state partially withdrew from its traditional role in special education, it increased the size of the administration of special education with the SES much expanded from the Special Education Division of the former Department of Education. It may have increased the involvement of the local community in interpreting special education policy, but with a series of controlling checks and balances in place to ensure that the local community took its obligations responsibly.

Limitations of the thesis

This thesis examines special education policy in a particular time frame 1984 - 1990. In doing so, research has had certain limitations placed on it. A longer period of research up to 1993 would have enabled the researcher analyse more recent developments under the 1990 - 1993 National Government, and to contrast special education policies developed by the two major political parties in New Zealand.

The research undertaken focuses on analysing special education policy using the rights discourse and is critical of the power of professionals using the medical discourse in special education. Interviews with representatives of those professionals may have given a more balanced view of the use of the two discourses.

Participants and the interview procedures

A select group of people were interviewed. The selection of people interviewed was not comprehensive and could have included the following:

- Russell Ballard, the change manger for the implementation of "Tomorrows School's".
- Brian Picot - chairperson of the taskforce, "Administering for Excellence".
- Dr Lockwood Smith - who was the Opposition Spokesperson for National at the time.
- Treasury officials
- Parent Groups
- Ross Wilson - Chief Executive of the Special Education Service
- Noel Lough - who chaired Today's Schools (Lough Committee)
- Lyall Perris - who chaired the taskforce to review the Special Education Service
- Schools Trustees Association
- Representatives of Special Education
- Dr O'Rouke - Chief Executive Officer, Ministry of Education

There was only one opportunity for an interview with the participants. Follow up interviews possibly would have provided more indepth analysis by the participants of their role in the education 'reforms' and their attitude to the education changes.

There was limited opportunity for triangulation of the research, as there were no journals or diaries kept by the participants for the researcher to access to check the participants recollections with hard data. The interview technique adopted, relied on the participants being able to recall events clearly.

Conclusions

Given these observations, it appears that for the period 1984 - 1990, special education did not follow the same directions in policy development as regular education. An attempt was made to create an environment so that special education could in the future follow the structural policy-making procedures. However, for the most part

special education followed the traditional conjunctural model of policy making, successfully resisting the structural policies imposed on regular education. This limited the political interest and awareness of local communities who were supposed to follow a particular line of action as far as students with special needs were concerned, such as those detailed in the major state policies on special education.

If bulk funding of schools for all operations, including contestability of special education services, had occurred in this period then policy-making would have entered a more structural phase with control of special education advice being taken from the SES and further devolved to the schools. The function of the ministry in special education would have been diminished by its lack of direct input into funding individual students. It appears for the period 1984 - 1990 the equity concerns expressed by Noel Scott and David Lange in chapter seven won the day over free market ideology and the contracting of state intervention in special education. As special education administration expanded, it had more resources invested in it. The role of the state increased and policies written in rights discourse were. This meant that demands for inclusive education were set to grow, necessitating on-going resourcing and expansion of this one sector of education.

In chapter two, Codd's rationale is used to argue that policy discourse does not have a single meaning, but is an ideological text set in a particular time and place. Paramount to all the policy changes enacted in the period 1984-1990 is the Education Act 1989, as it symbolised the cumulation of the aspirations of the right's lobby for that period of time. Every other special education policy had to be shaped around the intentions of that piece of legislation. However as argued in chapter one, policy is constructed at all levels and although national special education policy has been examined in this thesis, the decentralising of educational administration has meant that special education policy making has a much greater role at local community levels than previously. School charters were introduced which contained equity provisions to safeguard the rights of children with special needs in a prescribed form by the Ministry of Education. Given that a closer relationship may evolve between the individual boards of trustees and their principals, than might between schools and either the Ministry of Education or the Education Review Office, there remains a concern as to how special education policy will be interpreted at the local level (see chapter 7).

Although with agency theory, contractual relationships exist between the ministry and schools, it will take time to discover how and within what framework the contractual

relationship will be enforced. In the case of special education, which for 120 years, both in official discourse through legislation and disability discourse, has been the site of oppression and struggle for acceptance for the disabled, the community will now possess the power to interpret policy. Whether the checks and balances provided by legislation, the school charters and the review procedures will be enough to ensure the rights ideology is promoted at a community level is open to speculation, given the lack of knowledge about disability at elected board member level. Scharpf argues that;

> "lower level units are likely to have considerable power because of their monopoly over specialised information and clientele contacts, and because it is their performance which directly determines the output of the organisation."
>
> (1986, 183)

In the case of the relationship between special education and schools, it is the schools at the grass roots level which is having to put special education policy into practice. Any difficulties encountered will be articulated by the community in the first instance at a board of trustees level and in the second instance at the national level through unions or trustee organisations. Given the beliefs of the public choice theorists whether the opinions of teachers are listened to or dismissed as vested interests by government, may test the validity of public choice theory.

Within the changes to special education as directed by the "reforms" of the 1987-1990 period, the status of the potentially powerful parent lobby groups must be considered. The 1984-1990 period saw the emergence of a number of parent groups which were part of the information source for government policy and through the various processes of consultation were able to effect considerable change in special education policy. With the restructuring of special education and the devolving of power downwards to a community base for schools and to regional base for the Special Education Service, it remains to be seen where the power of parent groups will lie in the future. Brown argues;

> "It seems to me that post-Picot many of the finely forged parent groups have had to retrench, saving their energy to work for their child's needs at a local level. With so many professionals disappearing from the education scene, many of our supporters and advisers vanished."
>
> (1994,244)

The question remains "Why did society accept discriminatory education policy for children with special needs for so long?" New Zealand's treatment of children with special needs was very similar to that of other countries except it was delayed in promoting emancipatory legislation until the mid to late 1980's. Parents and caregivers were informed by the medical, lay and charity discourses in the same way as the policy makers. This discourse became embedded in their everyday, common sense view of the world. To mount opposition against such solid and informed opinion was very difficult and expensive. It wasn't until there was a focus and a coalescing of lobby groups that an alternative perspective became legitimated. It is widely recognised that information is power, when policy end-users started interpreting and using information themselves then a shift in power relations followed, with significant challenges to the state being lodged.

In the period under examination the state only embraced total rights discourse for a brief period of one year from the time the Education Act was put in place in 1989. For emancipatory social policy to have long term lasting impact there needs to be state support, particularly during the transition period from the medical discourse to the rights discourse. The critical area for policy is how it is implemented and the state must be seen to be realistically supporting those who implement special education policy, in this case schools. As argued in chapters 6 and 7, there was concern that this would be a difficult exercise, as Noel Scott pointed out;

> "Don't forget that one of the major influences which slowed down the integration of these youngsters was teachers."
>
> (Personal Interview, July 1992)

Given the short time for the rights discourse to become established and the widespread adherence to the medical discourse within education institutions, it would take a considerable period and a concerted public relations effort before the rights discourse could gain legitimacy and replace the technically-based medical discourse in schools.

Contestability has been one option promoted in all special education policies since 1987. If contestability was used in the compulsory education sector, it would enable the state to hold the lid down on funding special education, leaving the market to sort out the economies of funding service delivery and the schools to establish a series of contractual arrangements with service providers in line with agency theory. This option was not adopted by the state, in the period under discussion.

Throughout this thesis, the idea that disability is a site of oppression and struggle between the individual and the state has been examined. The recent practices of devolution and decentralisation adopted by the fourth Labour Government, whilst possibly satisfying the calls for quality community decision-making at the points where the consumers are most likely to be affected, have transported the site of struggle for special education away from the central policy-making point to the local policy-interpreting point. This has diffused, the organised effects of lobby groups back to a local level, whilst the central government bureaucracy still retains the resources and control over policy-making. At the community level, there is a lack of understanding of how a rights discourse translates into action in interpreting special education policy. Emancipatory gains made by politicians through the passing of rights legislation, plus the policy developed from it, may well become diluted when transported down to the local community level. As with all educational delivery, the power and control of special education is being returned to the local community, and to local decision makers who fundamentally do not understand the arguments underpinning the rights based claims to mainstreaming students with special needs. Local communities will interpret special education policy as it best suits them. It may well be that unless the checks and balances safeguarding the rights of children with special needs are rigorously applied, the gains in special education policy made in the period 1984 - 1990 may well be lost.

The Challenges

The challenges in special education policy facing the governments of the 1990's will be the following:

- Whether to proceed with contestability as promoted by neo-liberal ideologies and management theories, and as outlined in the major policy documents reviewed in this thesis.

- Whether the government is prepared to look at the option of handling over publicly funded services to voluntary organisations such as IHC, as part of the "contracting out" of services, given that such a move would raise important questions regarding political accountability.

- Is there is an understanding by government as to how deep-seated the hold of the medical discourse is over the teaching profession?

- Does the government want to put money into educating and upskilling the teaching profession in modern special education practices, or whether such training is seen as a private good and therefore the responsibility of the individual or school to fund?

- Is the government is sufficiently wedded to the rights discourse to provide funding for the transition period and maintain the two separate systems whilst the 1984 - 1990 government supported right's based policy of mainstreaming is established?

- Will the government provide funding into ensuring that boards of trustees understand the implications of the Education Act 1989 (section 8), and of government policy as it needs to be interpreted at a local level?

Future Research

Future research of special education policy could investigate the following topics:

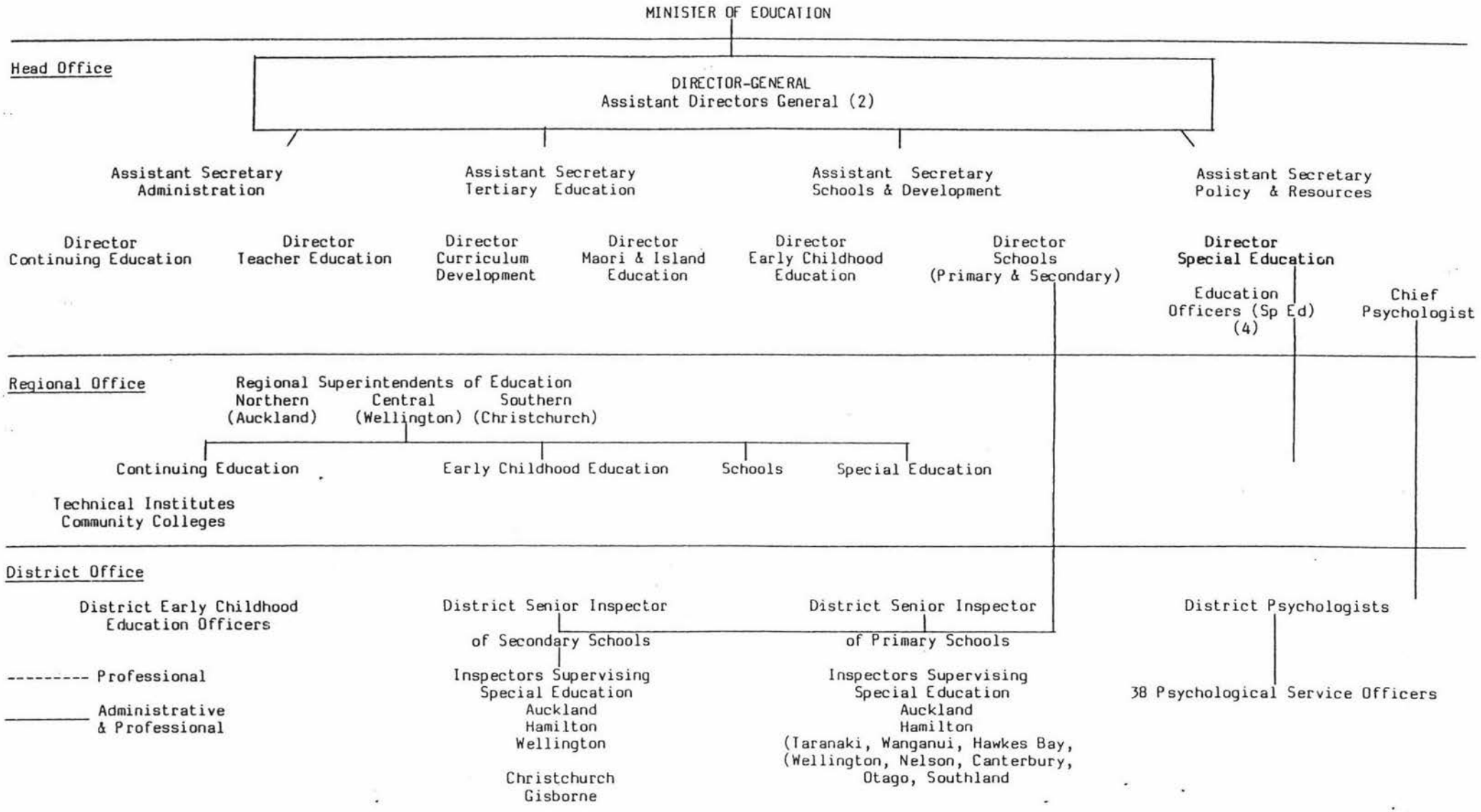
- An analysis of special education policies from 1990 to 1993.

- A study, to determine how mainstreaming is interpreted at a local level, by examining the practises of a variety of schools.

- An analysis of how rights based special education policies are interpreted in school charters and school policies.

- A study to examine the impact on children with special needs of the 1991 amendments to the Education Act which permitted schools to determine their own schooling zones.

- The effect on children with special needs of enrolment policies put into practice by schools with high enrolments ie. closed rolls.


MINISTER OF EDUCATION
Head Office
DIRECTOR-GENERAL
Assistant Directors General (2)
Assistant Secretary Administration
Assistant Secretary Tertiary Education
Assistant Secretary Schools & Development
Assistant Secretary Policy & Resources
Director Continuing Education
Director Teacher Education
Director Curriculum Development
Director Maori & Island Education
Director Early Childhood Education
Director Schools (Primary & Secondary)
Director Special Education
Education Officers (Sp Ed) (4)
Chief Psychologist
Regional Office
Regional Superintendents of Education
Northern (Auckland)
Central (Wellington)
Southern (Christchurch)
Continuing Education
Technical Institutes
Community Colleges
Early Childhood Education
Schools
Special Education
District Office
District Early Childhood Education Officers
District Senior Inspector of Secondary Schools
Inspectors Supervising Special Education
Auckland
Hamilton
Wellington
Christchurch
Gisborne
District Senior Inspector of Primary Schools
Inspectors Supervising Special Education
Auckland
Hamilton
(Taranaki, Wanganui, Hawkes Bay,
(Wellington, Nelson, Canterbury,
Otago, Southland
District Psychologists
38 Psychological Service Officers
--------- Professional
_____ Administrative & Professional

Basic Interview Structure

1 What was your role during the Picot Reforms?

2 In your opinion did Treasury and the Reserve Bank have a role in the "Reforms"?

3 In your opinion did the education "Reforms" set out to decentralise some power away from the traditional structures?

4 In your view why did the labour Government carry through with the contestability part of the Picot Reforms for special education (40/60, 80/20)?

5 There is a view that special education is a difficult area to service. What is your opinion?

6 Did you think that principals/BOTs had the ability to administer the 40/60 or 80/20 as proposed in the "Reforms" to buy in the necessary services for students with special needs?

7 Where did the idea for Special Education service come from and the way it was to operate?

8 The time frame for these education changes were very pressured. Could you comment on the adverse effects of the time frame?

9 Why did the Labour Government pass the Education amendment allowing students with special needs access to education provisions?

10 What was the role of Special Education Division of the then Department of Education in pushing for changes to special education provisions. (Apart from Special Education Review).

11 Long term philosophy and commitment to special education has tended to be somewhat ad hoc

* according to overseas developments
* leadership of the time
* advocacy groups
* existing knowledge

Is Special Education a very difficult area for people/politicians to understand and respond to?

12 Was the idea of abandoning the segregated settings of special schools and go totally for attached units - range of inclusion, ever considered.

Ethical Considerations

It will be necessary to use tapes to make a transcript for all interviews conducted for my thesis on Contestability in Special Education Policy in New Zealand 1984 - 1990.

I will undertake that these tapes will remain in my possession only and will not be given to any other person.

Anything transcribed from the tapes will be sent back to you for your approval. My interpretation will also be submitted to you prior to the thesis being written up.

MASSEY UNIVERSITY

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Palmerston North
New Zealand
Telephone 0-6-356
Facsimile 0-6-350

FACULTY OF EDUCATION

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

26 June 1992

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

Colleen Brown

This is to confirm that Colleen Brown is a graduate student in educational administration and is currently completing a thesis under my supervision.

Colleen's project is concerned with the formation of policy in special education in the period from 1984 to 1990. She is hoping to interview a number of people who have occupied key positions in the development of those policies. Before seeking your co-operation, Colleen has given full consideration to ethical concerns and has sought the guidance of the university's ethics committee.

As her supervisor, I wish to thank you for any assistance you can offer. I believe that she has the competence to undertake a valuable piece of research in an area of current importance.

John A Codd
Associate Professor of Education

ey Issues

That the Education Act be amended in 1986, guaranteeing full coverage in Departmental services for all children currently excluded.

That, as an interim measure, parents whose children are excluded from Departmental services are financially compensated for expenses of providing an alternative educational placement.

That to ensure effective planning, in 1986 the Department establishes a planning group, for Special Education chaired by the Director General and including representation from the voluntary sector and parent groups.

That to ensure appropriate resources are allocated, Special Education be established as a separate unit with the Department by 1987 with its own budget structure, planning and personnel.

That by 1989 all teachers in Special Education have a specialist qualification relevant to their area of specialisation.

That by 1987, modules on special education be a compulsory part of all teacher training.

That by 1987, the Department presents a detailed plan of public education aimed at making principals at both primary and secondary level, students and parents aware of mainstreaming and integration and their role in the implementation of these.

That by 1987 the Department publishes clear proposals for the inclusion of parents on all Special Education advisory committees and that these proposals go beyond tokenism.

That by 1987, the Department publishes clear guidelines on the implementation of Individual Educational Programmes (IEPs) including the full partnership with parents at all stages in the process.

0 That to ensure that existing staffing resources are effectively used, the Department in 1986 outlines a process through which IHC and other staff affected by the transfer of services may achieve full recognition as teachers.

1 That by 1987 the Department identifies the minimum ratio for provision of specialist services in the following areas:

psychologists per child in special education
speech therapists per child in special education
physiotherapists per physically handicapped child
advisors in Deaf Children or Hearing Impaired Children
advisors on Visually Impaired Children

occupational therapists per child in special education
Family Counsellors per child in Special Education

2 That by 1988 the Department establishes at a national level a Curriculum and Research Unit in Special Education.

3 That in 1986 the Department assumes responsibility for the Autistic Unit.

EXCEPTS FROM MEETING BETWEEN

THE HON. RUSSELL MARSHALL, MINISTER OF EDUCATION

AND THE COALITION FOR SPECIAL EDUCATION OF PARENT GROUPS

25 March 1986

Participants

Russell Marshall	-	Minister of Education
Don Brown	-	Director of Special Education
	-	Minister's Secretary
Colleen Brown	-	Downs Association
John Borkin	-	IHC (Chairperson)
Bev Dorman	-	Multihandicapped Assn
Jan Lincoln	-	Mangere Parents Assn
Bob Burns	-	Autistic Assn
Margaret Cooper	-	Auckland School for the Deaf
Robin Jones	-	Parent to Parent
Robin Sheffield	-	Contact
Geoff Bridgman	-	IHC (Secretary)

Observers

Ngaire Brown	-	P.P.T.A.
Pat Collins	-	N.Z.E.I.

Introduction: John Borkin

Opening Comments from Russell Marshall

KEY COMMITTMENTS across the board.

1. Maintain momentum for staffing improvements (e.g. 1:20 ratios in junior classes).

2. Transfer of responsibility for childcare from Department of Social Welfare to Education. More resources will need to be allocated to child care provisions.

3. Transition packages from school to the work force need to be enhanced and developed.

4. Further development of resources for Maori Education.

5. Special Education: "Issue of mainstreaming and integration has been raised with me more often by teachers around the country than any other issue."

   Teachers "philosophically and emotionally want to go with the move towards greater commitment towards special education and as far as possible towards mainstreaming and integration".

   "I don't know of anything that I'm going to get in next year's budget. I don't even know what I'm going to get in this year's budget".

   "You need to know what our commitment is and what the sequence of priorities are that we have".

   "There will be, no matter what happens in this year's budget, no matter how tight things are, a further commitment to Special Education. I'm determined of that".

KEY ISSUES Raised By The Coalition

1. INTRODUCTION of changes in the Education Act.

John Borkin: "Will the amendment include free and appropriate education for all".

Marshall: It's our intention to deliver as far as possible on this.
"The bill, if possible, is to be introduced before the end of next month (April)".

Legislation is inclusive of children in psychopaedic hospitals.

Brown: "The point of the legislation is that it will be invoked by Order in Council at the end of 1990, by which time it is believed we can get all the resources into place".

Marshall: "If it's possible to do it earlier than that time all the better".

2. COMPENSATION to parents of excluded children.

Marshall: "We have not discussed that. In fact, it has never been raised with us by IHC."

The bill would come to, from memory, $250,000.

"If that was something that IHC wished to raise with us, there is no reason why it shouldn't be in our timetable".

From a budget of $1.5 million in Special Education, it is a question of whether compensation is a top priority and if it is so, what would be deferred.

"If that is felt to be in the first two or three most urgent issues, then we will do it. Partly why I am here today is to get your advice on which are the two or three most urgent issues".

Robin Jones: Are we talking about trading within our own priorities or with Education as a whole.

Marshall: "I'm actually talking about within our own Special Education priorities".

"There will be a block of funding for Special Education this year. It won't be as much as Mr Brown and I would like to get".

John Borkin: "We would see this priority as being very high."

"It's a move which would indicate a commitment in the direction of Special Education".

Marshall: "Emotionally, I'd like to say well yes, we will do that".

3. EFFECTIVE PLANNING.

John Borkin: "As we understood it in the first year there was going to be something like 55 children transferred into

department facilities and to the best of our knowledge only one child has been transferred after one year".

Brown: "We ran into quite unexpected difficulties with respect to accomodation. There have in fact now been approvals given to five groups; seven groups are ready to go.

SEVERELY HANDICAPPED TRANSFER

"We're attempting a catch-up exercise".

"It may require new policy funding to get the accommodation that we need".

* * * *

Marshall: In general the Lopdell working parties are supposed to be part of the sequential planning process.

"The department has also set up a planning group with Special Education".

"I suppose one of the most frequent complaints I've had is that it seems that we don't know quite where we are going".

"We need to get a clear direction set out about where we are going and in what order. That's what we're attempting to do this year".

FORWARD PLANNING

"What's the relationship between the working group you had in October (Lopdell) which had lay participation and the working group within the Special Education Unit? Are people still feeding in submissions on the timetable?"

Brown: All people from March and October Lopdell Course will receive all the reports from the March courses.

"We will then ask them to give us feedback on what has been achieved".

"In the meantime there is a very small group to continue to develop the programme within the Division Head Office, and we will be using the conference resources of Lopdell to put together small teams where they will attempt to work to individual items as they emerge".

"One has to do with the continuation of what we are doing and this is the planning for mainstreaming and the possible option of bringing the severely handicap directly into satellite classes".

"It will include, we hope, one and possible two parents".

* * * *

GUIDELINES AND PRIORITIES

An advisory officer is currently updating circulars in Special Education so "that we can get a better guideline of policy from head office, so that the boards the secondary school boards, teachers and the like have clear-cut policy guidelines to work to. We haven't had the staff to do that over the last few year's".

"As a direct result of the March conference we have changed our priorities. We've kept our first priority as the introduction of additional and anciliary aid hours into the school system in

order to back-up mainstreaming efforts, because that is where the whole system is breaking down".

"We are suggesting to you Minister that we look at the possiblility of Regional Co-ordinators of Special Education, to try and get a better handle on what is going on out there, and use the Head to Region link which is again where we are breaking down".

Marshall: "You've made the point to me before that our ability, because of the shortage of resources, to ensure that there is even application of the policy is weak".

"It is the inadequency of staff resourses that has prevented that".

* * * *

Colleen Brown: Are there parents involved at the highest level?

Brown: The Head Office Planning Group involves parents in the sense that there has not been a single conference run in the last three year's without parents. All the Head Office group does is co-ordinate these efforts.

Marshall: I wonder whether the information is getting out to those that need to know?

COMMUNICATION AND PUBLICITY

Robin Jones: "We often hear through the IHC network well in advance of it coming down through the Department to the Board. It raises all sorts of hackles".

Marshall: What "needs to be said about that is that, frankly, Don's staff has been inadequate in terms of their numbers".

"We just have not had enough people on home ground to make sure that the good intentions and policies in Wellington are known, understood and discussed".

"Don, it might be that something you've got to give some consideration is publicity".

"We ought I think, not to loose sight of the need to make sure that the communication channels are there and what we've learnt is well known".

"I have been for sometime now, hoping that Broadcasting would deliver for us an education television and radio and use some blocks to publicise what's going on".

* * * *

TRANSFERS TO SPECIAL SCHOOLS

Robin Jones: "Which groups are you looking at transferring across?" Are they all special schools?

Brown: "Yes, they are all special schools".

One of the great difficulties we have is that the IHC Society asked us to do this through special schools, and now we are desperately trying to find ways to do it through regular schools with an approval for special schools.

"The timing (of transfers) depends on local committees. We have not dictated the timing. It's up to the local committee of IHC, NZEI Education Boards Assn and Department Officers to effect every change".

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Colleen Brown and Margaret Cooper referred to the enormous stress faced by parents - having to move house to find a good school, facing teacher, pupil and parent hostility, finding the system less flexible the older their child grows, and so on.

Marshall: "We've got some education to do of the educators and some work through the unions who are officially in favour of what we do, but have members who haven't, well, have been able to avoid the problem for a long time".

"Our in-service enhancement, Don, will give some assistance here, but it may well be that there are public education programmes we have got a responsibility to undertake as well".

EDUCATING TEACHERS

"Our ability to perform deteriorates the older a child is. We are better at primary school than we are at secondary, we are marginally better at secondary than we are at tertiary".

"Perhaps the area where we need the greatest extra investment now is the secondary area, where we have not got the resources and the staffing yet".

"The special education officer in Hamilton is only able to use 6% of his time in this area".

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Re David Mitchell's work on researching needs at the secondary level **Mr Marshall** said: "We must be close to some aggreement with David about his proposal are we not?"

RESEARCH

Brown: "Yes we are".

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Colleen Brown talked about the need for parents to be involved at a higher level.

Marshall: "Can I raise (at the risk of putting you on the spot Mr Brown), can I just fly a kite with you?"

"What would you think of us actually getting an advisory group which has got some two way traffic involvement in reporting back to parents and the various disabled groups in the comunity about what we are doing, but also feeds information in as well?"

DVISORY ROUP

Precedents exist in Women's and girl's education and Maori education.

Brown: The proposal would involve costs.

Robin Jones: "There is a cost in not having this facility here - in delegations like this hammering at your door".

Brown: "Less I be misunderstood Minister, I am in no way opposed to the idea".

Marshall: "Provided I get you the money".

4. SEPARATE ESTABLISHMENT for the Special Education section.

Robin Sheffield outlined the month-by-month tension that many parents face in trying to place and maintain their child in the state education system. There was no one to turn to in the system who could help parents through the maze other than psychologists who had frequently proved unhelpful.

Marshall: "We do have a special education division and I think the criticism is that we have simply not put enough resources or people into that".

"What have you got on the ground in Auckland now?"

Brown: "Well, there is nobody from the Division there. There is and Education Officer, Special Education for the whole region".

"There are Inspectors Supervising Special Education, primary and secondary. The secondary person is not full time".

"The Education System is based on the Victorian model and is separate and primary based. To move into a modern approach simply means that we have to do an enormous spreading job".

THE NEED FOR A COHERENT SYSTEM

"What we're trying to do is to work towards individualized programming with support for the teachers so that we don't have to say 'go to the special class?".

"It involves teacher training, it involves in-service training, it involves restructuring in the schools, the management structure and the like".

Bob Burns: "Who do we go to in the department to get this informed dialogue, because with respect with psych services that just doesn't happen".

Brown: "The answer lies in the Inspectors Supervising Special Education through to the District Senior Inspectors both primary and secondary".

Marshall: "Special Education hasn't been given a coherent high priority and we are now beginning to say that this is an important stand-alone area in it's own role - stand-alone in the sense that it's entitled to its own staff and its own policy throughout".

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SECONDARY TEACHERS

Margaret Cooper: "Will this give secondary education by secondary qualified teachers?" This is an area of particular concern to Deaf Education".

Brown: "What we've been doing is employing secondary teachers wherever we can to deal with secondary age pupils in special education. They should be primary teachers".

Marshall: "They should technically and legally be primary teachers but morally they should be secondary".

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Robin Jones: "The boards are sitting there waiting for direction".

Marshall: "Also some of them are saying we will not do anything more because you have not given the extra resources".

"We are going to have to talk to boards as well as of course picking up some extra resources".

Robin Jones: That is why we are looking at a specifically tagged budget.

Marshall: "We do allocate distinctly discrete funding for special education". What extent do minor capital works and other resource provisions need to be separate from the rest?"

Brown: "There is, in fact, budgeting for special education under a number of headings but there is no overall categorisation, if you like, of the budget in overall grants".

GUIDELINES FOR THE BOARDS

Marshall: "Perhaps we could do a checklist saying these are the resources that the government has provided, these are the policies and so on, these are individual child resources, these are minor capital works directions which the boards have received so that you have actually got some information about the entitlements you ought to be able to plan".

"Is that a reasonable thing?"

Brown: "Yes it is Minister".

Marshall: "I wonder whether I should be giving some clear messages, to boards about the Governments Special Education policies and what the implications of that are for individual boards in some of the areas that we've mentioned, and, secondly, I seriously wonder whether we shouldn't be providing some freely available information sheet for parents of disabled children to know what the resources are and what their entitlements are".

"If we are going to change the law this year, that is something which perhaps parents need to be widely told about not something they've picked up on television".

5. TEACHER training/qualifications.

DEVELOPMENTS IN TEACHER TRAINING

Marshall: "Firstly, last year I restored in the budget the in-service training provisions to what they had been in 1981, and there is within that increased provision to provide Special Education in-service training that is more comprehensive this year".

"Secondly, there is, I think, within pre-service teacher education a review being done of the components of that. How far are we about building some special education training into all pre-service training?"

Brown: "Well, we're not very far but we've started it.

"We've now got a lot of backing for it".

Marshall: "Thirdly, there were two changes made in last year's budget for specialised training. One was the establishing of another specialist one year course". This includes access for pre-school teachers.

"We finally picked, a long standing request for a four year University based course for speech therapists".

"We need to keep on building up the specialist training opportunities".

"Whether we actually say in the end to one Teacher's College that you are the principle Special Education Teachers College remains to be seen".

"The point is therefore well taken that we need to do a lot more in pre-service and in-service training".

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Bev Dorman: "At present there is no course that a teacher of a serverely handicapped child can take to get adequate training".

John Borkin: "As I understand it, at present the only short course available for a teacher is the ETPSN Course currently run and funded by IHC. Is there any move for the Department to take over the funding of that courses?"

Marshall: "Not that I've heard of".

Brown: "No, we've never been approached by IHC to take it over. It's like everything else, it's a matter of finding the funding".

Marshall: "I guess that over the next five year's as we pick up the whole IH area, there is going to be an increasing pressure on us from within our own constituency that this whole area of in-service and pre-service training ought to be taken over by us".

INSERVICE TRAINING

Geoff Bridgman: There are economic benefits in getting on with in-service and advocacy programmes now. One year programmes can not possibly meet the needs in the short-term. Almost half of the mainstream teachers in this region are looking for short-course Special Education programmes now.

Marshall: "Don we've actually tageed a number of teacher release days this year. What sort of courses will they be?"

Brown: "That's entirely a matter for the Districts. I have issued statements to them saying that these should not be one-off courses, that they should be audited courses, that the outcomes should be well documented. They should be planned and they

should use specialist people to work with them. The first priority for the use of those days is for the teachers and assistants who are moving with the severely handicapped transfer, and the second priority is for teachers in the mainstream who have a child with special needs".

"We've tried to make sure that those are effective short courses and we've recommended that no teacher go on the course without the principal of the school making an equal commitment to join in the training".

Marshall: "It should be possible for this group to find out what that committee (local in-service training committee) is doing and what their response is to the representations that you've made".

Brown: "Anybody can bring influence to bear on the committees set up by the District Senior Inspector of Schools".

Geoff Bridgman: The problem would be that the are no programmes for them to go on".

Brown: "It could be done by the in-service committee determining to run a course and to use its own resources within the Education System to do that".

Geoff Bridgman: "With respect that's an ad hoc process and we're looking for something that is going to be part of a teachers qualifications".

Marshall: "Ideally, preferably everybody before they are involved in special education they should have the training instead of doing it after they have started.".

And "It's not just primary, the District Senior Inspector for secondary should be able to tell what's happened to their allocation".

USE ON INSERVICE ALLOCATION

Colleen Brown: Teachers themselves do not know what is going on and programmes are not being circulated".

Brown: "In Hamilton, for example the ISSE actually withdrew a couple of teachers in Experience Classes to set up programmes and assist the rest of the experience class teachers".

"We're attempting to get Teacher's Resource Centres to have a special education section".

Marshall: "That's something you might also like to talk with Kohia Centre on this site".

"We're in the dark a little bit. Although we've increased by 30% this year the allocation for in-service training opportunities neither Don nor I know exactly how that's been allocated".

Colleen Brown: Could I ask whether or not Districts in their in-service days are including parents? Is this too much to ask?

Brown: "Not at all".

6. SPECIAL EDUCATION be a compulsory part of teacher training.

Marshall: "We are pushing with some urgency on that very matter now. I can't guarantee that we will get it resolved by 1987".

"It would be quite reasonable for you to talk to Mr McGrath, Mr Archibald and Mr Smith about what is actually been done here". (Auckland College of Education).

Robin Jones: "We've got individuals who have got the responsibility for dispensing this sort of thing, but they're in the predicament of not having adequate training themselves".

Margaret Cooper: This is true of deaf education too. "There needs to be a pool of information about unique needs".

Brown: "We're trying to mount a small package within the division to inform District Senior Inspectors, primary and secondary, Regional Superintendents, Teacher's College Principals and the like just exactly where we are going and what's happening".

"The truth is that there is an enormous ignorance right through the school system".

Marshall: Its quite reasonable for a College of Education to say that we will create a position, because there are people, despite our poor performance thus far, who are trained and who are competent.

"It's simply a matter of having the internal political will to say that this is now a priority for teacher training".

TEACHERS'S COLLEGE ROLE

"We are in addition saying to them, from within Don's staff, to Peter Duncan in Teacher Education, we think the pressure should come from there as well to make sure you are doing something".

Robin Jones: "We should make an approach?"

Marshall: "Well it would be worth it. I'm reluctant to sort of keep telling you to do those other things yourself".

"It would be quite reasonable for you (especially once that legislation is in the House) to say what is being done here (Auckland College of Education) in pre-service and in-service training".

Bob Burns: For something like six year's the Teacher's College has had the Autistic Association join in the two-to-one holiday programmes. "That actually is funded by our Association without any Government assistance at all". We've asked Psych services to assist, but they can't, so we've actually had to pay a psychologist to assist.

Marshall: To be fair to Teacher's Colleges they have been under severe pressures over the last few year's.

"Don's had limited resources and we still don't give him the resources that he needs and in a sense it is the politicians that you should be pointing the finger at".

7. PUBLIC education/awareness.

Bev Dorman: "Ignorance is causing great stress on parents".

Marshall: "This is an arguement for me to say to the Director of Special Education that perhaps we need more money for special education than we had said earlier".

"There is a case quite well made from Don's staff that we need some printed resource material available as well. We'll need to go back and look at that and see, if I can squeeze a bit more out".

"We would expect by the end of this year to have a pretty clear idea about the directions that we are taking (very carefully though as a result of the consultations you're undertaking) and a sequential programme worked out about which things should be done in which order."

Brown: "Special Education has spent more on computer research and computer technology than most other divisions".

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Bev Dorman and Margaret Cooper stressed how important it was for teachers in special education to be seen as having high status jobs.

Colleen Brown: We must highlight those very positive things that are happening in Special Education.

Marshall: "Their needs to be a series of programmes (T.V.) which tell people about the good things that are happening in education".

Colleen Brown and Geoff Bridgman: Will the department pick up the recommendation from on of the March Lopdell Groups on public education (e.g. prepare a list with a video, pamphlets etc.)

EDUCATION PACKAGES

Marshall: "Perhaps there needs to be a rounded package of information to teachers about changing their attitudes and what training is available to them and their responsibility. Information to boards about what we expect of them. Information to the community about what their entitlements are. Information to the general public through a variety of means (printed material, television and so on, kits and so on helping to shift the public perception) so there's a range of different kinds of communication and different people with whom we need to communicate what their needs and responsibilities are".

8. PARENT INVOLVEMENT - already covered.

9. INDIVIDUAL EDUCATIONAL Programmes.

Robin Sheffield: There is a need for a long-term programme set up to specific standards, involving parents and where necessary an advocate.

Marshall: "The general thrust of that is certainly strongly taken on board by our staff".

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Colleen Brown: We would like teachers to visit parents in the homes.

Marshall: "Even when people are willing to help, they've had insufficient resources. We have not got as many psychologists working for us as the staff ceiling entitles us".

"I think our people would probably be better at that if we gave them enough bodies".

Brown: "Yes" and we need better co-ordination "We haven't yet co-ordinated, say, the visiting teachers with special schools try and get that kind of home-visit going".

HOME VISITS BY TEACHERS

Geoff Bridgman: "It's not a question of resources. In fact people are blowing resources at the moment by not visiting homes, because what we are getting is an education for school rather than for life".

Bev Dorman: "Oaklyn is an example of a Special School where teachers are all finding the time to visit parents in their home. This is working reasonably well without stress to parents or teachers".

10. FULL RECOGNITION for IHC Psychopaedic staff.

Marshall: "We have done something with the IH people and the psychopaedic process is not so far down the track but we're talking with the Health Department".

Brown: "We've negotiated with IHC. IHC and the Department have agreed on a process. Now if that's different to what you think, then you have to go back to your IHC Head Office and tell them what it is you want negotiated".

"Bring it back to us and we will see what we can do because one thing you can be sure of is that we recognise the value of the IHC staff".

Minister: "You've said it more strongly than that Don, you've actually told me that you're almost embarassed at how much better they are than what we've got".

11. RATIOS for professional services.

Brown: "Last year, the increase being training places for psychologists from 7 to 10, but it is just not enough yet".

Robin Jones: "Could I just mention speech therapists, we are going to have in fact nobody coming through the system".

Minister: "I talked to the speech therapy training people in Christchurch the other day and we are looking at that very problem".

Director: "What we attempted to do was to recruit more people".

Minister: "Don would like, more psychologists, more speech therapists, more people working with deaf children and more people working with visually impaired".

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Robin: "Where do physiotherapists fit in this?"

Minister: "It is too hard for me. What is the answer Don?"

PHYSIO THERAPISTS

Director: "The answer, Minister, is that the Health Department have agreed that the Hospital Boards should provide health services. The health professionals, that is the physios and O.T.s, would prefer to be within a health rubric because they see themselves isolated and without professional career prospects in education. We only employ a very few. I have to say Minister, that if the tail is to be pinned anywhere, it is not on your portfolio.

Minister: "I chair the cabinet committee on social equity which has got all the social spending portfolios, Health, Justice, Maori Affairs, Housing and so on".

"In the last few weeks we have been saying that perhaps we should look, at things which which cross portfolios, and specifically one item which we mentioned last week, it would be useful for us to look at together is what the Minister of Social Welfare and the Minister of Health and the Minister of Education, what are we all doing in the field of disability".

Director: At officials level "There is a Health, Education and Welfare committee which meets every 3 months and we are trying to bring together some of these issues".

Minister: "Perhaps we could also specifically check up the physiotherapy thing Don, and just check before we complete this year's budget round, to find out what the Minister of Health has got to propose in that respect".

Geoff Bridgman: "Could I also make a point, that if you are going to take on board numbers of physically disabled and multihandicapped children that require physiotherapy, you are actually going to have an involvement with a significant number of physiotherapists and occupational therapists, and I think it probably is time the Education Department really thought about providing their own services and support structure for these people".

Brown: "It is a very tricky point, because if you take, for example, teachers. Teachers are supplied by the Department of Education everywhere".

"We do no expect the hospitals to employ the teachers in the hospital classes, and equally the tendency is now increasingly for the appropriate sector to employ. I will take it up with the professionals in the Health Department.

Jan Lincoln: "We would ask that perhaps it could be implemented that the Training Officers are recognised as teachers".

12. CURRICULUM and research unit.

Minister: "We did appoint one person didn't we, working specifically in that area from this year, in last year's budget".

John Borkin: "I think the main query here is that we want people in positions with the appropriate qualifications and special needs back up, that is at all levels".

13. AUTISTIC Unit

Director: "I have already said that we would see them as part of a group of six and we would treat them in the same way as any other of the severely handicapped groups, and if they care to be nominated by the local group we will put them through at an appropriate time".

Minister: "What is an appropriate time?"

Director: "Well, when the committee puts them forward. When the local committee says this is our list for next year. Now, that group doesn't have a teacher attached to them, and that is why I say we will have to resolve that problem, but I have said I will find a way to do that".

"We are not saying we will take over the unit, we are saying that we would take those children in as a group within a severely handicapped group of 6 with one teacher and one assistant".

Bob Burns: "See, I would really hope that in the 4th year of dialogue Don, we might have got to the point that it was not so much if, but when".

Minister: "Put them first in the queue".

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N.B. Sections not in quotes are summaries. Sections in quotes are verbatim.

Geoff Bridgman
2/4/86

Part of the Submission to the Picot Taskforce - 'Administering for Excellence', by the New Zealand Psychological Service

Instead there would be reduction of services to children and their families in favour of a service to Boards of Trustees of Learning Institutions. This is because the Picot Committee has assumed that:

a. learners (and the clients of the Psychological Service) are always in learning institutions (schools)
b. psychological needs of children will always be evident in learning institutions
c. that learning institutions and their Boards of Trustees always act in the best interest of children.

These assumptions are very limiting in that for example, they do not recognise other social contexts (such as the home) as key places for learning to occur.

Specifically the implications of the Picot Committee proposals would be:

1 Extra costs and reduced effectiveness by waiting for children to fail at school instead of adopting preventive/innovative approaches such as early intervention with the family. Patterson, for example demonstrated the benefit of parent training approaches in reducing later delinquency.

2 Poor co-ordination of services because fees would be set by individual service providers for specific tasks which may or may not overlap with other related services, eg. speech therapists and psychologists working independently with a child who has communication difficulties.

3 Difficulties co-ordinating specialised teaching programmes across institutions (it is unlikely schools will pay for services which will be of benefit to other institutions) as children get older or move from school to school.

4. Institutions finding themselves over budget for some other item reducing funds available to purchase Special Education Services at the time they are needed.

5. Small institutions simply not having enough funds to purchase specialist help and pay travel costs etc on behalf of only a few children (diseconomy of scale).

6. The Board of Trustees perceiving that the funding of services to special needs pupils was taking a disproportionate share of the school's funding in relation to the needs of the majority of pupils.

7. The possibility of a learner not being in any institution and therefore receiving no funding, eg. children who have been expelled or learners outside school age.

8. Parents who presently have free access to special education services will not have the same access.

9. The basic right to privacy for families will be lost when access to services has to be via a Board of Trustees and justified to this group.

10. The likelihood that special education advisers will not share their skills with teachers given that this could lead to less need for the special service and therefore a potential loss in income.

11. Unfair competition when fee charging special education services compete with hospital psychologists and social welfare psychologists whose services continue to be free.

12. Children's special needs become marketable commodities. Special needs are 'sold' to the lowest bidder or advocate of the latest and most fashionable therapy. A lowering of professional standards would be inevitable.

13. Independent advocacy for children experiencing difficulty within the school system would be jeopardised if the Psychologist saw the school as an 'employer'. A conflict of interest between independent advocacy and financial considerations may, therefore, exist.

Economic Consideration

1 A detailed analysis of the economics of proportional funding was undertaken.

2. Psychologist reaction to this approach to funding was also investigated to determine what actions psychologists might take should the proposals be implemented by Government.

A Summary of additional funding for Special Education 1988 - 1990

1988 - 1989 budget	$424,000	teacher aide time
		106 positions consisting of: 10 tertiary tutors 22 secondary teaching positions 29 primary school fulltime equivalent positions 10 Itinerant teachers for Early Childhood 6 Advisors for children with special needs 4 New psychologist positions 1 visual sensory resource centre 12 district advisors 12 early intervention teachers
1989 - 1990 budget	$59,000	to students in tertiary placements for special equipment
	$850,000	for special equipment in other education sectors
	$5,000,000	for mainstreaming students
		New post graduate teacher training at Palmerston North and Wellington Teacher's Training Colleges. 6 more training positions for psychologists at Otago and Auckland University.
1990 - budget	$5,500,000	teacher aide hours for mainstreaming students with low incidence disabilities
	$2,200,000	ancillary funding
	$500,000	for teacher training for mainstreaming students with special needs.

Source: Ministry of Education, Wellington

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