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# **Progress or Paradox?**

## **NZQA: The Genesis of a Radical Reconstruction of Qualifications Policy in New Zealand**

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# CONTENTS

Acknowledgements		v
Abstract		vi - vii
<b>PART I - Setting the Scene</b>		<b>1</b>
Chapter 1	Introduction	2 - 14
Chapter 2	What is NZQA?	15 - 17
Chapter 3	Theoretical Position, Framework and Research Boundaries	18 - 29
Chapter 4	Research Design and Methodology	30 - 40
Chapter 5	Assessment and Qualifications	41 - 46
Chapter 6	Conspiracy, Cock-Up, Evolution or Accident?	47 - 50
<b>PART II - The Broad Historical Background</b>		<b>51</b>
Chapter 7	The Early History	52 - 60
Chapter 8	From the Hughes Parry Report to the EDC	61 - 77
Chapter 9	From the Hercus-Young Report to the Probine-Fargher Report	78 - 86
Chapter 10	The Emergence of the Polytechnics	87 - 92
Chapter 11	The Early National Qualifications Bodies: TCB and AAVA	93 - 100
Chapter 12	Curriculum, Assessment, Qualifications and the Board of Studies	101 - 106

<b>PART III - More Recent Developments</b>		107
Chapter 13	Cabinet Committee Decisions and the Visit of Tom McCool	108 - 115
Chapter 14	The Tertiary Review and the Watts Report	116 - 121
Chapter 15	The Picot Reforms	122 - 128
Chapter 16	The Hawke Report	129 - 138
Chapter 17	Learning for Life and On	139 - 150
 <b>PART IV - The Major Themes and Issues</b>		 151
Chapter 18	Centralisation and Devolution	152 - 186
Chapter 19	Modularisation	187 - 204
Chapter 20	Curriculum	205 - 245
Chapter 21	Other Issues and Influences	246 - 268
 <b>PART V</b>		 269
Chapter 22	Conclusion	270 - 278
 <b>PART VI</b>		 279
Tables		
Table 1	Participation in Post-Compulsory Education and Training in New Zealand	280
Table 2	Secondary School Retention	281
Table 3	LFL: Contradictory Aims	282
Table 4	Summary of Main Policy Developments	283 - 285
Table 5	Membership of the BOS	286

Table 6	Membership of the NZQA Board	287
Table 7	Membership of the NZQA National Secondary Standing Committee	288 - 289
Glossary		290 - 294
Appendices		
Appendix A	Examining Authorities in Technical Institutes in 1987	295 - 297
Appendix B	Questions Used in Formal Interviews	298 - 304
Appendix C	Supplementary Questions to Ask David Hood	305 - 306
Appendix D	Questions asked of Maurice Gianotti	307 - 309
Appendix E	Questions asked of Phil Goff	310 - 311
Appendix F	Letter requesting an interview	312 - 313
Appendix G	Response to Interview Request Form (A)	314
Appendix H	Response to Interview Request Form (B)	315
Appendix I	Letter Accompanying Transcript	316
Appendix J	"Recognition of Achievement and Qualifications"	317 - 320
Appendix K	A Suggested Approach to Validation and Certification (Treasury)	321 - 323
Sources		324 - 329
Bibliography		330 - 350

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## **Abstract**

This thesis investigates the origins of, and influences on, the policy developments that preceded the establishment of the New Zealand Qualifications Authority (NZQA). It is a case study of qualifications policy and draws heavily on material gathered from interviews with key-players and an analysis of a range of reports and other documents. The report traces the policy origins from developments in early New Zealand educational history.

An essential ingredient to the policy mix that produced NZQA is its frequently paradoxical nature. This study investigates the extent of this paradox and seeks to describe it explain it. It does this by a description of events and developments, and relating them, where appropriate, to relevant theory. The chapter on centralisation and control focuses on the contradiction of what appears to be a centralising development amidst a sea of devolutionary rhetoric is examined. The period of more detailed examination coincides with the tenure of the Labour Government from 1984 to 1990. The role of legitimisation is discussed in explaining the paradox apparent in the policy mix that produced NZQA.

The impact of the new structure and its associated framework on curriculum, particularly that of secondary schools, is analysed. Here the problematic nature of the split between curriculum and assessment is discussed. This section reinforces the discussion on centralisation, as it unveils the potentially centralist and controlling nature of the new curriculum structure. Concern is voiced over the National Curriculum and Achievement Initiative and how they

may combine with the qualifications framework to provide a greater measure of centralised curriculum extending from primary school level and up.

The impacts of a modular, or units-of-learning, approach to increasing motivation, flexibility, and efficiency is also scrutinised. Concern is voiced again about controlling influences and the impact of managerialist ideologies. While the potential advantages of modularisation are acknowledged, a critical account is given of its short-coming and dangers as a means of legitimating essentially controlling mechanisms.

All three aspects of the policy, curriculum, centralisation and modularisation are shown to be instruments capable of moving the locus of control ever closer to the centre. This inherent susceptibility is in turn related to the prevailing ideologies, and in particular those associated with managerialism and neo-Friedmanite economics.

Specific attention is paid to debunking the pejorative association of conspiracy theories with the searches for explanations for policy developments, and care is taken to explain that despite the existence of ideological pressures, much policy occurs in a rather arbitrary, even ad hoc manner. A range of factors that aided the shaping of this particular policy are described and explained.

The thesis concludes that explanations of policy developments need to consider a whole raft of factors that shape a particular policy. Furthermore the thesis also demonstrates that there are several inherent tensions and contradictions that remain unresolved in the policy example it examines.

# **PART I**

## **Setting the Scene**

The aim of this, the first part of this thesis is to 'set the scene' for the reader. This part of the thesis introduces the topic but goes further than that. The nature and functioning of the New Zealand Qualifications Authority is described to provide a guide to its structure, purpose, and functioning. The Research, Design and Methodology are set out, as is the theoretical position taken for this study, its framework and research boundaries. The notion of the 'grand plan' or conspiracy is briefly considered as a possible explanation for the development of policy. This idea is however specifically rejected as an explanation for the reformation of qualifications policy in New Zealand.

# Chapter 1

## Introduction

The re-election of the Labour Government in 1987 marked the beginning of a period of intense, rapid and far-reaching change in educational policy and administration in New Zealand's education system. These changes have been dominated in the main by the restructuring associated with the implementation of Tomorrow's Schools, yet there have also been major alterations to the national educational qualifications structure. These reforms, initiated by the Picot Report, were thrust into the post-compulsory sector of the education system by the Hawke Report, Learning for Life and Learning for Life 2. In many ways much of this second phase of reforming activity can be described as culminating with the passing of the Education Amendment Act in 1990.

An important part of this reform was the establishment of the New Zealand Qualifications Authority. It is an authority with jurisdiction covering all national qualifications in the post-compulsory sector of the education system. As such it has responsibility for qualifications gained in secondary schools, polytechnics, private institutions, and indirectly, the universities. The qualifications involved cover an extensive range over trade, technical and academic areas. Chapter Two describes the Authority in more detail. Despite the radical nature of the change NZQA represents, and its potential impact on New Zealand society, this particular policy development has received limited

attention and even less critical analysis. What comment has been made has tended to be marked by its enthusiastic optimism, underpinned by a large measure of dependence on a common sense ideology that suggests that this approach will do much to ameliorate, if not solve, New Zealand's current educational and employment crises. This inquiry does not however, set out to argue a contrary case. Rather, it is designed, not only to provide a case study in the development of a particular aspect of the educational policy development, but it is also intended to expose and explain the forces, influences and effects that helped to shape it. In addition it should stimulate some debate about important issues that hitherto have not been the subject of this kind of analysis.

As the title of this thesis suggests there is an irony about the emergence of the New Zealand Qualifications Authority. Not only is there a paradox, but it is interesting to observe that qualifications reform has become a focus at a time when, for so many young people, a crucial feature of their preparation for the adult world is that, for many of them, there simply may be no jobs. The implicit suggestion appears to be that greater attention to training education and the acquisition of qualifications will ensure jobs. When employment prospects have become depressingly pessimistic, there has been a major development in the country's qualifications structure it may be tempting to see this as a diversionary tactic. This is not the paradox however. The paradox, and a major area of interest for this thesis, concerns the essentially centralist nature of the Qualifications Authority and its emergence during a period characterised by devolutionary rhetoric. The exploration of this essentially contradictory element is a dominant theme in this examination of policy development.

This thesis is concerned to describe the background and circumstances in which the Qualifications Authority could be established. To do this, attention is given not only to some policy developments in the history of New Zealand education, but also to the nature and purpose of assessment, qualifications and credentials. As the concept of a National Qualifications Authority is a new one to New Zealand and possibly unique in the world, it was considered useful to describe the New Zealand Qualifications Authority (NZQA) in some detail. Chapter Two is concerned with providing that kind of background information.

This thesis, like any other serious investigation needs to be set out within a suitable theoretical framework and it also needs to be circumscribed by some boundaries. These matters are discussed and described in Chapter Three.

Chapter Five explores some of the issues, and provides an indication of the framework for much of this inquiry. The notions raised in this chapter concern such sociological phenomena as selectivity, class reproduction and social control, along with other issues like accountability, motivation, and assessment and certification procedures. All of these are fundamental to the arguments that are analysed in subsequent chapters. Apart from that background, it is also necessary to clarify the nature of the arguments themselves. Policy analysis must be concerned with identifying and examining those forces that are influential in shaping policy. Chapter Six was written with the intention of providing such clarification. There is a predisposition in some quarters to ascribe this kind of explanatory material to, or confuse it with, an adherence to conspiracism. While perhaps on some occasions such a conclusion may

have its justification, its ready and pejorative use can also represent an attempt to discredit alternative competing views, and to escape the rigour of critical analysis and debate. Consequently this matter is taken up, and exposed so that the ensuing discussion can be set in the context for which it was intended.

This first Part of the thesis was designed to set the scene of this investigation for the reader. Part II moves on from there to endeavour to paint a broad background picture that should be helpful in providing a suitable context for the more recent changes. It is, as such, therefore mainly descriptive and historical in nature.

While the period of greatest activity in this policy area arguably occurred during the 1984-90 period, there was nevertheless relevant activity happening well before this time. Not only are these policy activities of consequence, but it is also useful to have an overview of earlier developments. Chapter Seven sets out to describe some of this early history and gives particular attention to the emergence of technical education and the forces that influenced it, and the attitudes and values that accompanied it. While there are no readily identifiable landmarks to determine a particular end point, this chapter deals with the time span from the late nineteenth century up to the mid 1950s when the Parkyn Report was published.

In the main this thesis concerns developments in the secondary and post-compulsory non-university sectors. The universities however, while in many respects a special case, are given attention in Chapter Six which starts with the publication of the 1959 Hughes Parry Report on New Zealand's universities. The Report, among other things, questioned the effectiveness of

the unit system and as a consequence is among the very few early documents that raise issues relating to modularisation. While Hughes Parry is perhaps notable for its specific focus on the university situation, the Educational Development Conference is significant for the enormous level of public participation at all levels that it engendered. Aspects of the associated Nordmeyer and Lawrence Reports are discussed, in the second half of Chapter Eight.

The impact of the fourth Labour Government is recognised in Chapter Nine which commences with the publication of the Hercus-Young Report in 1984, and continues on to the 1987 Probine-Fargher Report. While the Hercus-Young Report is not notable for any particular contribution to qualifications policy, it being primarily concerned with the management of technical institutes, it is useful for the insight it provides into the tension between the Department of Education and the Technical Institutes. The same issue was also a concern of the Probine-Fargher Report, but it went much further. The Probine-Fargher Report focussed attention on the lack of integration in education and training and gave specific pointers to the way ahead with its advocacy of a national validation authority. A particularly ironic feature of that Report is its lack of enthusiasm for a binary system of tertiary education. It also is significant for its demonstration of the complex relationships between senior secondary schooling and the polytechnics.

The developments in early technical education discussed in Chapter Seven do not cover the emergence of the Polytechnics and the accompanying changes to the qualifications structure. These matters are the focus of Chapter Ten. Some background to the establishment of the AAVA is discussed, as are the

recommendations for the awarding of high level qualifications of national standing, after the successful completion of approved courses at Polytechnics. The issue of a binary system is also one that emerges. During the time from the early 1960s to the late 1970s, the former technical colleges had changed to technical institutes only to undergo a further metamorphosis to re-emerge, in most cases, as polytechnics. As this happened policy developments also led to the establishment of two national polytechnics. Such changes certainly accompanied and perhaps reflected the broadening of the official view of technical education. These changes were not however restricted to the tertiary technical sector. The secondary school system also underwent some transition. The Minister of Education commissioned an inquiry into curriculum, assessment, and qualifications in Forms 5 to 7. The Committee set up for this purpose produced two reports which made strong criticisms of the existing arrangements and suggested ways in which they could be improved. This had implications for the School Certificate and University Entrance examinations. These examinations were administered separately by two different bodies. As a way of rationalising the situation the establishment of a Board of Studies was recommended. This duly happened in June 1987 and the Board of Studies was operational by early 1988.

While measures were in place to provide some degree of rationalisation to the awards and assessment scene in senior secondary schools, the technical education situation continued to be a vexatious one. The two statutory bodies, AAVA and TCB that were responsible for trade and technical qualifications are discussed in Chapter Eleven. Both these bodies are described and their functions explained. The UNESCO Report on Technical and Vocational Education is cited to provide illustrations of the problems, and to give some

prescient comment on how matters might be improved. The Coad-Lawrence Review also features to demonstrate the difficulties and tensions that existed and which worked against attempts to rationalise this aspect of the qualifications system. The emergence of the Board of Studies (BOS) and the associated issues and developments of curriculum, assessment and qualifications are the subjects of Chapter Twelve.

At this stage in this thesis the focus moves to more recent developments. As a consequence the range is somewhat narrower and the level of detail provided rather greater. More attention too is placed in the next part, Part III on the emerging themes and issues. It also covers that period when the pace of change in the New Zealand education system really began to accelerate. However not everything is dealt with strictly in chronological order. In some cases it made more sense to use other criteria to determine the order of appearance.

In 1986 the Minister of Education, in a speech to the Technical Institutes Association, drew attention to the themes of equity, responsiveness and the recognition of qualifications. These issues had been given the attention of a Cabinet Ad Hoc Committee on Employment and Training which had decided that an independent validation authority ought to be established to endorse certificates provided by various training and educational institutions. Further impetus to this kind of thinking was provided by the visit of Tom Mc Cool, the Chief Executive of the Scottish Vocational Education Council (SCOTVEC), to New Zealand in 1987. To a marked extent his visit and the meetings held during it, galvanised support for change, particularly for a system comparable to that of the SCOTVEC model. Subsequent to this visit a short life working

group was established. It worked in conjunction with the Achievement Post-School Planning Committee to produce a discussion paper on Post-Compulsory National Certification. These matters are the topics of Chapter Thirteen.

A far-reaching public discussion of tertiary education was initiated in early 1987, this was the 'Tertiary Review' which is discussed in Chapter Fourteen. Although this initiative resulted in a substantial response, it was overtaken by the general election and the ensuing political changes. These developments moved the focus well away from the discussions and the recommendations made by the people who responded to the 'Tertiary Review'. In anticipation of the strength and direction of political change, the New Zealand Vice-Chancellors Committee published the Watts Report. This was a response to the growing concern over the performance of the University Grants Committee in particular, and the Universities in general. Apart from endeavouring to capture some policy high ground, the Watts Report also drew attention to the continuing mixed relationships between the Universities and other tertiary education institutions. The notion of a binary system in which both the Polytechnics and Universities could confer degrees, a question of continuing debate, was also one that this committee had views on.

The background then is set for the widespread reform that was about to take place. Chapters Fifteen and Sixteen deal with the impact of the Picot and Hawke Reports. Picot essentially prepared the ground for Hawke. While there were some disparities in their recommendations, for example on the fate of the Board of Studies, the thrusts of their suggested reforms were very much in the same direction. They were both enthusiastic promoters of

decentralisation. Also, by this time, the relative positions of the Education and Labour Departments had altered. Education now was a much more powerful player in shaping policy relating to post-compulsory education and training. This ascendancy being especially noticeable from the time of Hawke and on.

Following the publication of the Hawke Report, matters moved very rapidly. Learning for Life was published early in 1989. This was quickly followed by the establishment of a raft of Working Groups to investigate related issues and operational requirements. The Working Party on the National Qualifications Authority was among them. This, and the Report of the Officials Overview Group, are among the topics of Chapter Seventeen. By August 1989 the resultant policy decisions had been made, and they were published in Learning for Life Two. This led on to the passing of the Education Amendment Act in the middle of 1990. The changes that occurred, and some of the factors that influenced their formation are items covered in Chapter Fourteen.

The background to this point has been quite comprehensively described and the forces of change documented and analysed. Part IV is the section of this thesis that deals in detail with the major themes and issues.

In Chapter Eighteen a core theme of this thesis is explored, that is the contradiction of a centralising development arising during a devolutionary trend is scrutinised. The political rhetoric and the community feelings of dissatisfaction and disaffection with aspects of the education system provide evidence of devolutionary forces, while NZQA is identified as a national unifying approach to the recognition of qualifications. In that sense at least, it

appears to represent a centralising move. Chapter Eighteen argues however, that the centralising effect may be much more extensive than that. The qualifications framework, the centralising of the data management of student progress and results, pressures for the maintenance of national standards, legislative trends and provisions, the selection and appointment of the NZQA Board, the validation and accreditation processes, and funding are among the factors discussed that reveal or reflect centralising forces. Views from diverse sources are used to seek explanations for the contradiction. These sources range over a wide political and theoretical spectrum and cover viewpoints as divergent as Sexton and Offe. Particular attention is given to the legitimising effects of the devolutionary rhetoric. Questions are asked about the coincidence of changes that had been evident in the political wings for some time, suddenly moving to centre stage at a time when the change revolution was drawing substantially from an enterprise culture derived from a particular ideological strategy.

The centralist theme, which creates the paradox referred to in the title of this thesis, is explored even further in the next two chapters. Modularisation is identified as a key feature and benefit of the new qualifications structure. As such it warranted a close inspection. The history of modularisation is described briefly and its implementation is found to be readily associated with managerialist imperatives. This identification is further exacerbated by a lack of a theoretical case for modularisation. The potential effects of a 'units of learning' approach on the operation of the senior secondary school is also canvassed. The latent deskilling and degradation of labour effects are analysed. Not only is doubt cast over the claimed educational benefits of modularisation, but it is also shown to be a process with potential for

enhancing central control. It is however, the much larger area of curriculum, where the greatest problems are distinguished. Pre-eminent among these is the impact of the new qualifications structure on the senior secondary school and its inherent capacity to affect ultimately the remaining secondary, and possibly even the primary school curricula. Special attention is accorded to the relationship between assessment and curriculum and the consequent dangers implicit in attempting the separation of one from the other. The disestablishment of the BOS and the transferal of its assessment responsibilities to the NZQA is a pivotal aspect of the discussion. The nature of the relationship between assessment and curriculum is problematic and is debated at some length. Whether or not assessment always has the power to dictate curricula there can be little doubt about the close and strong links between them. If there is to be reform in assessment procedures, so the curriculum must be adapted to accommodate the developments. The role of assessment as a motivational device is investigated, and while acknowledgement is paid to it as an educational process, attention is drawn to the danger of it becoming a socio-political process. Such a process would provide the state with a mechanism for adjusting perceptions and expectations as part of a strategy of political crisis management. Even when there has been devolution of curriculum responsibilities in some areas, overseas experience indicates that it can often be accompanied by a centralisation of curriculum control. In this environment teachers may collaborate to implement, but not to change curriculum.

Although the focus in this section is primarily on schools, attention is also given to the post-school area as well. The convenient allying of educationalists with the economic 'dries' in the march for greater autonomy, particularly for

the Polytechnics, is highlighted as an anomalous portent. It is argued that educationalists may have foregone their traditional commitment to broad based training and skill portability while simultaneously, and probably unwittingly, carrying forward an agenda for skill fragmentation and skill market deregulation. The call for more autonomy by the Polytechnics is exposed as a source of tension, particularly in regards to the needs for the maintenance of national standards with its associated centralist requirements. Some areas of ostensible untidiness are disclosed. They pertain to the relationship between ETSA and NZQA over Access courses and some aspects of apprenticeship training. While NZQA is regarded as having the capacity to initiate comprehensive curriculum reform with eventual benefits for students, some disquiet is expressed about the possibility of it becoming a tool to facilitate greater state control.

In keeping with the notion of policy formation as an evolutionary process, Chapter Twenty-One deals with some of the range of other issues and influences that can be identified as agents that helped fashion the qualifications policy. Several such factors are looked at separately, but their influence is set in a context where it is difficult to attribute changes exclusively to a particular influence. Change is often the product of various forces working interactively to alter the policy environment in a host of often unpredictable ways. Nevertheless despite this arbitrary quality it is still felt that some elements can be indicated as more significant in providing an appropriate environment for change.

Part V contains the concluding chapter of the thesis. This chapter tries to pull together the more substantial threads exposed in this analysis and summarise

them in a coherent fashion. In this manner it also tries to demonstrate just what has been found out by this investigation. That part is then followed by Part VI which contains the supporting tables, glossary, appendices, sources and bibliography.

## Chapter 2

### New Zealand Qualifications Authority

The New Zealand Qualifications Authority (NZQA) is a notable subject for this kind of investigation as it represents a quite radical development in education policy in New Zealand. It was set up by the 1990 Education Amendment Act, and is not a government department but an independent Crown Agency. It has a Board of 10 members including the chairman (for membership refer Table 6) who are appointed by the Minister of Education to reflect employer, community and education interests. The Board, which reports directly to the Minister of Education, operates with five standing committees. They are Secondary Educational Qualifications, National Vocational Qualifications, Academic Qualifications, Maori Development, and Non-Formal and Community Education Development. These committees are charged with consultative and advisory responsibilities. The Authority represents New Zealand's first unified approach to the recognition of qualifications. It replaces a system of numerous examining and registration bodies (for an indication of the number and types of these bodies refer to Appendix A) that worked in an often unco-ordinated and confusing manner. NZQA has the responsibility to co-ordinate secondary school, academic, vocational and trade qualifications through a national framework.

In Section 253 (c) of the 1990 Education Amendment Act NZQA is assigned the function,

"To develop a framework for national qualifications in secondary schools and in post-school education and training in which -

- i). All qualifications (including pre-vocational courses provided under the Access Training Scheme) have a purpose and a relationship to each other that students and the public can understand; and
- ii). There is a flexible system for the gaining of qualifications with recognition of competency already achieved"

(Education Amendment Act, 1990, p.99)

The aim of this framework is to create for people a variety of pathways to move between sectors and courses. The framework is intended to recognise competence already achieved, and to be a means to encourage people to continue on with higher education and training.

The main functions of NZQA can be identified as:

- to administer national examinations, both secondary and tertiary
- to co-ordinate all qualifications in post-compulsory education and training (from upper secondary to degree level) so they have a purpose and relationship to one another that the public and students can understand
- to set and regularly review qualifications standards
- to ensure New Zealand qualifications are recognised overseas and overseas qualifications are recognised in New Zealand

NZQA intends to follow overseas examples and encourage moves towards competency-based assessment. It is felt that such assessment will more accurately reflect the real levels of achievement of students and trainees. A modular curriculum, based on units of learning, is promoted by NZQA as a means of providing students with greater choice and flexibility. The Authority

also intends to look to recognise work-based learning and to give credit for skills gained in non-traditional learning situations. By doing this it is hoped that a large group of people who have traditionally been excluded from higher education and training will be able to gain benefits.

At the end of 1990, NZQA employed approximately 120 permanent staff as well as temporary staff, most of whom assisted in running the examinations for which the Authority is responsible. The Authority comprises five divisions each headed by a General Manager. These people report to the Chief Executive of NZQA. About 110 staff are based in Wellington, with five people working in each of the two regional outposts in Christchurch and Auckland.

## Chapter 3

### Theoretical Position, Framework and Research Boundaries

The aim of this thesis is not so much to prove or disprove a particular theory, but to provide a 'thick description' of a particular example of policy making, in this instance the ~~policy~~ developments that led to the formation of the New Zealand Qualifications Authority. As such this thesis is essentially a descriptive exercise in contemporary New Zealand educational history as well as a contribution to educational policy analysis. In some respects it does this in the shape of what might be regarded as a form of policy sociology which could be described as,

"rooted in the social science tradition, historically informed and drawing on qualitative and illuminative techniques."

(Ozga, 1987, p.144).

This initial part of this account describes the broad background to the recent changes in New Zealand qualifications policy. It is concerned with a period ranging from the late nineteenth century through to the late 1970s. Developments of the 1980s, and particularly those coinciding with the period of the fourth Labour Government are described later and in more detail, and their causes and effects are analysed. The focus is primarily concerned with the origins, construction and implementation of aspects of the Education Amendment Act of 1990. In particular Part XX of the Act, "New Zealand Qualifications Authority", provides the core case in this investigation into educational policy making. It is from this basis, on an analysis of a particular

case and its place within the overall process of policy making, that it is intended to extract some possibilities for theorising.

It may be argued that such a concern with contemporary events will tend to be superficial and desultory in nature, lacking the rigour of a genuinely serious intellectual discipline. As Barraclough argues however, such a study should rise above such levels of mediocrity,

"if it sets out to clarify the basic structural changes which have shaped the modern world. These changes are fundamental because they fix the skeleton or framework within which political action takes place."

(Barraclough, 1967, p.16)

In this context the qualifications structures set up as a result of the policy developments examined in this study represent changes which have already begun to shape the education system. This is particularly so in regards to examinations, assessment, and a credit based qualifications framework. In such a context then this study may meet the criteria suggested by Barraclough. In its endeavour to clarify the situation this study will be analytical, and at times perhaps even critical and deconstructive. Reliance is placed on the interpretation and cross-validation of views expressed by some of the central actors in the policy process. As Kogan points out:

"I assume that it is the task of social scientists to take things apart."

(Kogan, 1979, p.5)

Further analysis is concerned with policy intentions and effects:

"The task of social policy analysis is to evaluate the distributional impact of existing policies and proposals and the rationales underlying them"

(Walker, 1981, p.225)

Because of the rather eclectic nature of the research undertaken in connection with this thesis a complex array of threads has emerged. This has made the description and analysis a difficult task. A particular problem has been to maintain an overall coherence. While the thesis is structured in parts that are designed to assist in the assembly of a coherent whole, many of the individual chapters stand as interrelated essays that have qualities that mean they are distinct and able, at least to an extent, to stand alone.

A particular problem in efforts to give coherence to a research report in the area of state education policy is that there is never a moment when they are not changing in at least one respect or another. This quality is captured by the title of Renwick's book of essays on educational policy, Moving Targets (1986) and by this observation by Hargreaves and Reynolds:

"Stability and consolidation are infuriatingly elusive as policy goals."

(Hargreaves and Reynolds, 1989, p.1)

As a consequence there is, in many respects, an inherent lack of uniform coherence, and the accompanying logic for some developments is not necessarily impeccable and explanations are often necessarily incomplete. There are contradictions and inconsistencies in the qualifications policy and its relationships with other policy developments. Such contradictions and inconsistencies should not however be regarded as exceptions that ought to be ignored or avoided. For as Ball has commented, when writing about the British policy context:

"Discontinuities, compromises, omissions and exceptions are also important. Sometimes they are of prime importance.

Policy making in a modern, complex, plural society like Britain is unwieldy and complex. It is often unscientific and irrational, whatever the claims of the policy makers to the contrary."

(Ball, 1990, p.3)

Despite this, much of the policy developed during the comparatively short time from 1984 to 1990, and coincided therefore with the transformation of the political agenda that has become the hallmark of the fourth Labour Government. Qualifications policy developments rest, at times perhaps uneasily, amidst a raft of other changes in New Zealand education policy initiated by the Labour Government that have dramatically changed the education landscape. These are changes that have closely followed the ascendancy of an ideology based on a free-market monetarist form of economics. It is one that amounts to,

" a move away from the eclectic combination of corporatist, paternalistic and socialist tendencies which characterised the post-war era, towards a form of market or economic liberalism... In short, this means a greater acceptance of the locative role of the market... It also implies acceptance of the liberal view that market exchanges extend the domain of choice, thereby reducing the level of coercion and promoting liberty. On the basis of such assumptions, the Labour Government has sought to disengage the State from these areas and apply market-based criteria where, for one reason or another, complete disengagement is not feasible or desirable."

(Boston and Holland, 1987, p.6)

It was this ideology, or as it popularly became known, 'Rogernomics' that provided the pretext for a massive restructuring of the education system.

While this discussion so far explains something of the conceptual framework for the thesis it has not indicated explicitly the theoretical perspective that it is intended to reflect. While it is tempting to ascribe a neutral role to the researcher and analyst, this course was rejected as a possibility for this research. As Codd contends,

"Fundamentally, policy is about the exercise of political power and the language that is used to legitimate that process."

(Codd, 1988, p.235)

It is therefore difficult, if not impossible, to separate policy from politics. Whether policy analysis can be regarded as totally instrumental is another matter altogether. This technical view of policy research is described as,

"a device for analysing political thought in a rational way, merely a method for clarifying empirical relationships among alternative actions and for sorting out their likely consequences... employable by anyone regardless of his political views, for any end whatsoever, and its results are supposed to be impartial in the sense of not being dependent upon the particular evaluations of the policy scientist for their truth."

(Fay, 1975, p.57)

With this model of research, the context in which the 'facts' are discovered is considered to be quite distinct from the context in which the policy and practice occur. These two activities are logically and contextually separated. Such a view is dependent in turn on a particular philosophical stance on

epistemology. In this case it is a positivist epistemology that regards the roots of all knowledge as deriving from sense experience and that the adoption of a scientific method combined with inductive generalisation, prediction and control allow an explanation and description of the nature of the real world independently of the observer or that person's desires, thoughts and interests.

This approach to policy research is relevant not only in clarifying the stance adopted for this research and its associated analysis, but also, because it is a form of policy analysis that has been very influential in New Zealand in recent times. In particular it is evident in the documents produced by the New Zealand Treasury, a specific example being Government Management, Brief to the Incoming Government. As is characteristic of this approach the emphases are on the management of systems, the control of inputs and outputs, the specification of objectives, the maximisation of gains and an accompanying minimisation of costs. This Treasury document adopted what is fundamentally an economic view of education, and it undoubtedly played a significant part in recasting the debate and its language into a new mould in which the focus has shifted to a technocratic one concerned with the identification and measurement of outputs and issues of accountability. This focus emerges at several intervals in this thesis and is a major theme in the analysis of modularisation, curriculum and centralisation. (See Part IV).

In the analysis that follows, an educational view is adopted. This can be distinguished from a technological-economic view which is characterised by the

"transportation of attitudes and practices from the world of business, engineering, and science to the world of education."

(Nash and Agne, 1972, p.357)

While there is validity in attempting to identify the means by which educators strive to achieve their ends, and for them to state more precisely and carefully what they expect of students in terms of learning, there is a danger. That danger is a fixation on the means of accountability, to the exclusion of a serious concern for its ends. As Nash and Agne (1972, p.360) contend even more specifically, the specification of an educational end in the language of, and belief of, what is effectively educational engineering, risks the subordination of the desirable educational end to, and its distortion by, that language and set of beliefs. It is indeed ironic when, at a time when arguably educational ends such as autonomous choice-making, independent and critical judgment, and the determination and specification of personal goals are of particular importance, there have been strong moves to push accountability. The current pre-occupation with the means of accountability may jeopardise just those attributes that are currently most needed in our education system. Cook and Mack's observation, though made over twenty years ago, is still valid.

"It is critically important that children learn to question their world, to deal with ambiguity in their environment, and to realise that not every issue has a 'correct answer'."

(Cook and Mack, 1970, p.10)

As Silberman (1970, p.201) observes it is just these valuable educational ends that are the most difficult and least desirable ones to be quantified or defined in precise behavioural terms. Yet this need, as pointed out by Silberman, is one in danger of being neglected with the continued preoccupation, in much of the qualifications policy, with 'learning outcomes' and their 'measurement'.

Fay makes the comment,

"No social policy's worth can be solely instrumental because any such policy will require that people interact with one another in certain definite ways, and for this reason it must have a moral value in itself... All political proposals, no matter how instrumental, will alter and shape the personal relations of at least some members of society, and will affect the relative welfare of various classes of people; as such they embody moral notions as to what is permissible, just, or right in human affairs. They are a species of moral statement."

(Fay, 1975, p.52)

From this observation it is quite obvious that policy making is necessarily a form of moral action that must consequently rely on fundamental ideological or cultural hypotheses, assumptions or beliefs about the nature of social reality. Just therefore as it is impossible to be neutral in policy-making so too it is impossible to adopt a similar stance for policy analysis.

The conduct of this analysis draws on a perspective based upon critical social theory. An important supposition underlying the adoption of this stance is one clearly identified by John Prunty. An

"educational policy analysis must be conducted from within a moral and ethical stance, for the very role of transmitting values and selecting people for or excluding them from social and occupational positions, is far from a neutral and objective activity. Further, the notion that curriculum, pedagogy, and evaluation are impartial must be dispelled.

Rather it must be realised that values, interests and power permeate these dimensions of schooling and that as a result, select groups and social classes benefit or suffer. For the policy analyst to assume an 'objective' stance and to accept the 'neutrality' of the schooling process is to tacitly legitimate a system which perpetuates inequality."

(Prunty, 1985, p.135)

Prunty goes further to suggest how a critical educational policy analysis might be conducted. He identifies the following six characteristics:

- 1 Critical analysis would be overtly political. The personal values and political commitment of the analyst would be anchored in the vision of a moral order in which justice, equality and individual freedom are uncompromised by the avarice of a few.
- 2 Critical analysis would strive to expose the sources of domination, repression and exploitation that are entrenched in, and legitimated by educational policy.
- 3 Critical analysis would pay careful attention to Bernstein's (1971) message systems:
  - curriculum (what counts as knowledge)
  - pedagogy (what counts as valid transmission of knowledge)
  - evaluation (what counts as valid realisation of knowledge)
- 4 Critical analysis would be concerned with the pathology of consciousness, addressing itself to the ways in which humans unknowingly abet their oppressors.

- 5 Critical analysis would reveal a commitment to praxis  
- the unity of thought and action, theory and practice.  
It also acknowledges that awareness is a necessary  
but not a sufficient condition of emancipation.
- 6 Critical analysis must come from someone  
knowledgeable in the policy area.  
(Prunty, 1985, pp.136-137)

This analysis endeavours then to incorporate the principles underlying the characteristics described by Prunty. It is certainly reflective of a belief that analysis cannot be value-free and is in accord with Ham and Hill in their references to Rein's (1976 and 1983) observation,

"the idea that analysis is scientific, dispassionate and value-neutral is a myth because research is inevitably influenced by the beliefs and assumptions of the researcher."

(Ham and Hill, 1985, pp.136-137)

It is also compatible with Ball's belief:

"...policies cannot be divorced from interests, from conflict, from domination or from justice."

(Ball, 1990, p.3)

Just as Ball hoped would be true for his work, so too it is intended that these aspects of policy analysis are embedded in this study.

The notion that education should comprise three main characteristics, those of economic relevance, vocational purpose, and concern for the personal development of the individual has been present in New Zealand state education for a long time. As Ozga contends,

"industrialization necessitates the formal and institutionalised education of young people in 'relevant' skills and competences, prior to entering the Labour market. This has long been regarded as a common-sense feature of modern industrialized societies."

(Ozga et al, 1985, p.7)

Despite the co-existence of these goals of the system however, there has continued to be a tension between economic relevance and personal development, although they arguably maintained a fairly harmonious relationship until about the late 1970s or early 1980s. In these more recent times there has been an increase in the emphasis on the economic utility of education, and this is particularly evident in Government Management Volume 2. That the Treasury should go to the trouble to produce a 294 page volume entirely devoted to Education as part of their briefing to the incoming Minister of Finance is a strong indication of the presence of and force behind the agenda for change.

This study is one concerned with the policy developments that took place that led to the formation of the New Zealand Qualifications Authority. The logical culmination of this study is with the passing of the Education Amendment Act in July 1990, and the focus within the Act is on Part XX which deals with the New Zealand Qualifications Authority. To a limited extent it goes beyond that time in as much as subsequent events help to throw light on earlier developments or perhaps give a lead on how the future may unfold. While the broad development of education in general and qualifications in particular is useful background, the main area of interest is the 1980s, and particularly the two terms of the fourth Labour Government whose reforming zeal

transformed not only the management of the New Zealand economy, but also brought radical changes in many areas of public policy including education. The scope of this analysis is restricted to New Zealand because not only does this limitation provide a readily identifiable boundary, but it also makes the whole exercise a much more manageable one. Furthermore, in many respects the policy adopted by New Zealand is unique, despite its similarities with some developments overseas. References are made however to the qualifications and education systems of overseas countries where such references are helpful to describe or explain aspects of the New Zealand policies.

## Chapter 4

### Research Design and Methodology

The research design for this study is that of the case study. The principle question for this investigation was, 'What was going on?' The major aim was to gather information that would allow a detailed description of the policy process to be made. Kemmis likens the case study to other forms of science, describing it as, "an empirical process of truth-seeking, and a social, cultural and cognitive process." According to Kemmis, case study work, "resolves in its practice the double problem of justified true belief - the justification of belief and belief in justification." (Kemmis, 1980, p.106). He sees case study as a "naturalistic" science with three important qualities:

- As much a search for phenomena in the social world as it is to develop coherent theories about given social phenomena.
- a quest to articulate the (social) world by creating descriptions of particular (social) contexts.
- the objects of case study are 'given' situations. What is 'given' is a particular issue arising in a particular social context. In general the case study worker cannot 'create' the situation he is to observe, nor can he artificially simplify it by manipulation of its context. He must study the situation as a whole.

(Kemmis, 1980, p.107)

The intention of this research is to create an understanding that will provide, not only a basis for future action, but will also make a contribution to the educative process. Combined with this, is a view of science that is sympathetic to the concept of "evolutionary epistemology" (Kemmis, 1980; Popper, 1974). As Kemmis explains, such a view is concerned with the

"growth of knowledge through dialectical processes like variation and selection, conjecture and refutation, and perception - communication."

(Kemmis, 1980, pp.134-135)

The problem of the fragmented nature of scientific understandings of social life can be addressed by the case-study approach. Such an approach should be well placed to make an assault on research problems that arises from,

"the context-embeddedness of social phenomena, their dynamic coherence, their reflexive effects..."

(Kemmis, 1980, p.135)

Also pertinent to this research situation is the potentially emancipatory quality of case study research especially when it is allied to a critical method. It is hoped that this study will provide some authentic insights into what has happened.

These qualities, combined with personal philosophy, the research question, and the research situation, indicated not only the research design but also the appropriate methodologies.

The methodologies used were of two main types. They were interviewing and document analysis. The interviews, which will be described in more detail shortly, were with people identified as 'key-players' in the policy development under investigation. The document analysis concerned official reports, minutes of meetings, speeches, unofficial reports, and responses and papers of various kinds. It also included an examination of articles and views that were published in a range of New Zealand newspapers, periodicals and magazines. This was supplemented in turn by an extensive literature search.

In preparation for the interviews two tasks had to be completed. The first was to determine a structure and content for the interviews. After some preliminary discussions and a reading of the material available at that stage, a list of questions was compiled. The material in question mainly comprised official reports and BoS, "Learning for Life" and NZQA newsletters. These were edited and loosely grouped into nine categories: Historical Factors, Control Issues, Curriculum Issues, Equity Issues, the Universities, Standards Issues, Political Issues, and expressions of Personal Opinion. These sections were used as a means of grouping the questions. Once this was done the next task was to finalise a list of interviewees.

Before this could be done attention had to be paid to ethical considerations. The major ethical principles relevant to this study were seen as, informed consent, confidentiality, minimising any harm to participants and truthfulness. Each of these principles was addressed by the initial letter that was sent to prospective interviewees, (Refer Appendix F), a form record their response to the request for an interview (Refer Appendices G and H), the recording of the interview, and the return to the interviewee of a transcript of the interview with the opportunity to change or remove any material. (Refer Appendix I for

a copy of the letter sent out with each interview transcript). In some cases a further check was made by telephoning the interviewee to check again that the content and context of material to be used was acceptable to them. Also interviewees who were recorded were also asked again, at the beginning of the interview, to confirm their consent to be interviewed and recorded. All alterations to transcripts requested by interviewees were carried out in accordance with their wishes.

After some initial discussions with academics, educational administrators and other people involved in the qualifications and education areas, and following a preliminary examination of official reports a list of potential interviewees was drawn up. There was some difficulty in this as it was hard to determine and impose a limit on the number to be included. Ultimately a decision was made about who to include. This decision was influenced in part by likely accessibility, as some people were either overseas, or at least not resident in Wellington. However this was not a major problem as much of the policy development took place in Wellington. The people selected for interviews were seen as likely 'key players' in the area. The determination of this 'status' was made following the preliminary discussions with people like Ian Young (formerly the Assistant Secretary Tertiary Education, Department of Education), and David Hood (Chief Executive Officer of NZQA) as well as an analysis of the people listed in documents. Some attention was given to trying to gain a spread of people over a variety of backgrounds, and who might be expected to represent a range of perspectives. As there were many more people who fitted the general criteria of 'key players' this also helped to reduce the size of the list. This was important as the interviews were intended to be 'in-depth' ones and it was not seen as feasible to attempt to conduct a large number of interviews. Consequently a decision was made to limit the

number of formal interviews to a maximum of twenty. In the event even this number would have been too many for the task of conducting the interviews, transcribing, editing and analysing the transcripts was a major undertaking.

The people selected for interviews were

Dr Alan Barker	General Manager, Policy and Development, NZQA, Secretary to the Hawke Working Group, Former Co-ordinator, Learning for Life Implementation Unit, MoE.
Mr Giles Brooker	Accreditation Approvals Manager, NZQA, Project Officer NEQA Working Group
Mr Ray Fargher	Chairman, ETSA Board, Co-author Probine-Fargher Report
Hon Phil Goff	Former Minister of Education
Mr Don Griffin	Chief Executive Officer Central Institute of Technology, Former Co-Chairman TCB and AAVA.
Professor Gary Hawke	Director Institute of Policy Studies Victoria University, Author of Hawke Report
Mr David Hood	Chief Executive Officer, NZQA
Mr David Lawrence	Former Acting Director, Continuing Education, Co-author of Coad-Lawrence Review.
Mr Murray Leach	General Manager, Corporate and Financial Services, NZQA, Former member NEQA Working Group, Formerly Executive

	Assistant to Noel Scott, Associate Minister of Education.
Mr David Lythe	Project Officer, NZQA, Seconded Policy Officer Department of Education
Hon Russell Marshall	Former Minister of Education
Ms Janet Marsland	Validation and Accreditation Officer Wellington Polytechnic, Executive Secretary to NEQA Working Group.
Mr Michael Murtagh	General Manager Assessment and Certification, NZQA, Former Secretary Universities Entrance Board.
Dr Mark Prebble	Member Prime Ministerial Taskforce, Member Hawke Working Group.
Dr Mervyn Probine	Former Chairman of the State Services Commission, Co-author Probine-Fargher Report
Ms Lynn Scott	Director, Teacher Support Services, Former Chair of the BOS, Board Member NZQA.
Sir James Stewart	Chairman NZQA Board, Chairman of the Ministerial Working Party that produced the report, <u>Tomorrow's Standards</u> .
Mr Ray Taylor	Assistant Director General, New Zealand Employers Federation
Mr Ian Young	Former Assistant Secretary Tertiary Education, Member of Hawke Working Group.

Mr Max Kerr

General Manager, Education and Training  
Support Agency, Former Senior Official with  
the Department of Labour.

A letter (see Appendix F) was posted to each of these people along with a copy of the questions. The following people responded to indicate their willingness to be interviewed: Ray Fargher, Alan Barker, Don Griffin, Gary Hawke, David Hood, David Lawrence, David Lythe, Russell Marshall, Mark Prebble, Lynn Scott, Ian Young, and Max Kerr. Ray Taylor responded with a letter indicating that he would be overseas for the time for which the interviews were scheduled. He suggested that an interview be arranged with Marilyn Davies, the Employers' Federation Education Advisor, instead. This was duly done. Michael Murtagh replied that he was to be overseas at the time of the interviews. Sir James Stewart replied, that while he was happy to answer questions about the actual establishment of NZQA and its management, he had no role in the policy formation related to the establishment of NZQA and would probably not be able to provide any useful answers to the suggested interview questions. Dr Probine indicated in a telephone call that though he was interested he felt he was not able to contribute anything that Ray Fargher would not provide anyway. No response was ever received from Giles Brooker, and as he was based in Auckland, the matter was not pursued. No reply was received from Murray Leach, however his secretary was contacted on two occasions in an effort to make an appointment, but nothing eventuated. Janet Marsland, after some delay, replied that she was not prepared to be interviewed. Phil Goff was contacted by phone and he apologised for his lack of response citing his work commitments. He was however, happy to co-operate, and was eventually interviewed by telephone.

In addition several other people were spoken to informally or corresponded with, at times at some length and in some cases on more than one occasion. These people included: Trevor Boyle (Academic Manager, CIT), Marijke Robinson (SSC), John Hercus (Director, Christchurch Polytechnic), Richard Winder (Modularisation Officer, CIT), George Preddie and Catherine Gibson (Ministry of Education), and John Upritchard (Education Development Centre, CIT). An additional interview was conducted with Maurice Gianotti (SSC).

Two letters were sent to the Secretary of Cabinet and to the Minister of Education's office seeking access to official documents. This process was very slow and the information took several months to arrive. The Education Residual Management Unit was requested to supply documents from the meetings of the Hawke Committee, but John Simpson, the General Manager, replied, "there did not appear to be any papers relating to the Hawke Report or to the two Short Life Working Groups among those held by the Residual Management Unit." He suggested that these papers might be held by Quest or the Department of Labour. Both these suggestions were followed up but to no avail. Neither NZQA nor the Ministry of Education had these papers, and a similar blank was obtained from enquiries to the National Archives. With all the restructuring and relocations that have taken place it would seem that few precautions were taken to ensure adequate preservation of 'institutional memory', and it may be that much valuable information has been lost. This major loss of 'institutional memory' was a source of considerable frustration and will be a significant problem for people researching in this area in the future.

The interviews typically lasted at least an hour, and some ran to over two hours in length. These interviews were all tape-recorded using a dictaphone and the recordings filled some 14 XD 60 microcassettes. The subsequent transcriptions were made using a transcriber and computer equipped with a word processing program. The transcriptions which collectively filled in excess of 500 pages were printed and checked for obvious errors before they were returned to the interviewees. A letter was sent to each interviewee (see Appendix I) with their transcript requesting them to check it. The intention was for interviewees to ensure accuracy in detail and intent, and also to give them the opportunity to remove any material they regarded as sensitive. With the return of the transcripts many interviewees commented about the way verbatim transcripts highlight the difference between oral and written language. Only a small number of changes were requested, and a few asked that some remarks not be attributed to them. In order to preserve that level of confidentiality some comments and claims in this report have been attributed to the interviews generally rather than to a specific individual. All interviewees were aware that they were recorded and agreed to that happening. In the instances of Phil Goff and Maurice Gianotti no recordings were made. Handwritten notes were taken however during these interviews. This was for reasons of convenience for the researcher and was not attributable to requests from the individuals concerned.

While some people were able to deal with most, if not all of the questions, as well as provide additional information, some people felt comfortable with addressing only those matters with which they felt they were most familiar. For the interviews with Phil Goff and Maurice Gianotti, which occurred much later than the others, a separate set of questions were asked. (See Appendices D and E) While some interviewees were very cautious and measured in their

responses this was not an impediment to the research, and the interviews were characterised by a very friendly, positive and co-operative atmosphere. The interview process, including the producing and editing of the transcripts, was a very time consuming task, and it yielded vast amounts of data. It did however probably provide a much more detailed picture of the events and the explanations for them than a shorter, more structured, approach would have gained. In the comparatively relaxed atmosphere of the interviews it seems that most people felt able to speak at some length, often quite frankly and directly. In some cases, during the writing of this report some interviewees were called by telephone for additional clarification on some matters. In one instance an interviewee requested to see copies of the material that was to be used and attributed to that person. This was done and the subsequent amendments included.

Literature searches were done through the facilities of three libraries, the CIT Bateman Library, the Massey University Library and the National Library of New Zealand. Their facilities allowed searches not only of bibliographic material in New Zealand but also overseas as well. Selected material was either borrowed directly or inter-loaned. This material was complemented by the Document Supply Services of the National Library Service through their INNZ service.

Other sources of information were the documents and papers that interviewees and other people had, or were able to locate and pass on. These are documented under 'Sources' in Part VI of this thesis.

The final stage was to devise, having been through the material several times, an outline of the direction and the structure of the report and then to

commence writing it all up. It was evident from the very early stages that curriculum and control issues would be among the main themes to be dealt with by this investigation. During this phase it also emerged that 'modularisation', as a key feature of the qualifications framework, was an issue in need of close scrutiny. These initial suppositions proved well founded, though the close relationship between them became much more evident during the later stages of the project.

During the writing up of this thesis a further check, in addition to the return of transcripts to interviewees, was conducted with several people. These people were telephoned to check accuracy and also to ensure that potentially 'sensitive' matters could be described the way they were. Any suggestions for additions or alterations were carried out.

## Chapter 5

### Assessment and Qualifications.

The process of awarding qualifications is one that is very dependent on the processes of assessment. An understanding therefore of the operation of a qualifications system may be enhanced by a greater understanding of assessment. Assessment is effectively a process of passing judgment on behaviour. In education, particular people are appointed or entrusted with this responsibility to make judgments which conform to prevailing social values about desirable achievements. In schools this role is usually one carried out by teachers who evaluate educational performance in accordance with some set of standards. The nature of this process can range from formal, like examinations to much more casual judgments based on routine interaction. As such assessment may occur both overtly and covertly. Assessment then is a powerful tool used in an education system.

Education itself can be a major instrument of socialisation, although not all aspects of Education are necessarily oriented purely to such an end. In simple societies education usually focuses on primary socialisation. This process is designed to train young people in the appropriate forms of behaviour required by that society. Secondary socialisation which prepares young people for particular roles in society is, by contrast, mainly restricted to more complex societies whose members pursue a wide variety of interests and who often specialise in developing particular talents. In such societies it is usually necessary for their members to undertake a variety of occupations in order to

maintain their characteristic division of labour. Regardless of the complexity of this socialisation process some judgment or assessment is usually made to determine who qualifies as ready for the next stage in the process or can be accepted for effective participation in society.

Why then is assessment carried out? Broadfoot, (1979, pp. 19-25) identifies four main reasons for formal assessment. The first is accountability, which effectively means determining whether the expenditure on education resulted in desirable outcomes. This type of assessment has often been associated with a "payment by results" approach to educational management. The effects of such a system often result in cramming, coercion, and a failure to acknowledge students individual differences in attempts by teachers to get everyone up to standard. While this form of assessment is not directly linked to the qualifications system there are ideological positivist forces that would favour certain modifications to the qualifications structure. These would be to facilitate the acceptance and implementation of assessment practices that have a role in determining issues of accountability.

A second reason for assessment is to provide motivation. The assessment provides a means of providing feedback to students on their performance. Good performances are rewarded, ultimately with the sought after occupational roles. In this way assessment serves as an instrument of social control. Motivation is dependent on the rewards being sufficiently valuable and access to the rewards is determined by performance. As a consequence, whatever achievement is the one that society wishes to reward, that will be the one that students will be motivated to attain. For traditional and economic reasons achievement has largely been assessed and rewarded in the area of

academic ability with consequential implications for achievement or ability in other areas.

A third reason for assessment is for diagnosis. This is the process that attempts to gauge the progress and problems encountered by students as a means to identify strengths and weakness. This information then means that appropriate remedial assistance and encouragement can be provided.

The final reason is the one that is most pertinent to an understanding of the qualifications system and that is certification. This is the form of assessment where at particular stages in their education students are required to demonstrate their achievements in relation to the goals of the course, subject or educational programme in which they are enrolled. These tests are intended to be fair and objective devices that will be set, marked and moderated by people, usually teachers, who have the appropriate subject knowledge and awareness of the appropriate standards. Traditionally in New Zealand, as in particular with School Certificate, the results of such an evaluation have been compared with those of a large number of other students as a means of providing a form of 'quality control'. The main aim being to rank students in comparison with their competitors against pre-determined criteria. This ranking normally has had a close relationship with entry to various points in the occupational hierarchy. Thus historically in New Zealand assessment processes and the credentials they produced have served a the function of selectivity.

This function has had a profound effect on the attitudes of teachers, educationalists, employers and society generally which remain entrenched in

many quarters right up to the present day. (Hood, 1987, p.1). The irony of this process is that it is based on meritocratic assumptions that since it nominally allows free competition based on academic ability and industry it must consequently be a fair basis on which to allocate opportunities for high status or remuneration. As Broadfoot (1979, p. 22) points out this supposedly fair system is nothing of the kind as it has favoured students with certain kinds of home background. As Lauder and Hughes (1990, p. 55) point out, "The reproduction of privilege and disadvantage from generation to generation is sufficient to create different class cultures which have a determining effect on school outcomes." It is a view endorsed by Collins.

"Educational requirements have become a major basis of separating work into distinct positions and career lines, and hence in keeping labor markets fragmented. The gap between blue-collar and white-collar jobs constitutes a barrier to direct promotion in almost all organisations and is upheld by the disparity in educational requirements for each. These requirements are not necessary for the learning of work skills of these different sorts, but operate precisely to prevent members of one group from having on-job opportunities to learn the skills of the other."

(Collins, 1979, p.199)

Traditional certification systems in New Zealand have been based on norm-referencing with high built-in failure rates. This problem is compounded by the fact that assessments are,

"at best only a rough estimate of particular kinds of ability despite the statistical finesse of the processing of the results and the

large body of research directed towards improving their accuracy." (Broadfoot, 1979, p. 22).

Probably this weakness as well as several other vagaries may at least partly explain why certificate results have been a weak guide to the likely quality of future job or higher education performance. (Broadfoot, 1979, p. 72).

Despite this however, there is some preference by employers for "educated or schooled labour". Presumably the rationale being that the costs of such educated labour are offset by a greater level of productivity. Efforts to demonstrate an empirical relationship have however been markedly unsuccessful. (Nash, 1990, p. 124). Nash argues that there are probably three other sufficient reasons for the general preference for educated labour. First that the credentials produced demonstrate a capacity for instruction and training. Second, that they indicate that the holder possesses the appropriate habits of order and discipline required by this labour sector. Finally that these credentials provide an objective means of career grading.

The purpose of this brief discussion of assessment and qualifications has been to illustrate that a qualifications system and the credentials that it produces is more complex than a superficial examination might indicate. There are important sociological implications in the shape, structure and functioning of the qualifications system. In particular there is the dilemma that provides a conflict within the education system that may tend to be resolved or exacerbated by the qualifications system. This is the conflict between education as a means of liberation and education as a means of social control. For on the one hand assessment procedures have often been conceived of as crucial in avoiding nepotism and inefficiency as well as providing opportunities

for social mobility. Conversely however assessments have also played a role in limiting mobility and even providing a legitimating effect for an education system that has largely remained one in favour of traditional privilege. (Broadfoot, 1979, p. 26; Nash, 1990, p. 124).

Perhaps there is validity in Collins 1979 supposition that we are in effect very much more,

"like a tribal society than we like to admit. Despite our self-image of rational control, our institutions are no more reflectively chosen than the tribal initiation rites, secret societies, and implacable gods that our educational and occupational procedures resemble so much. Or to shift the analogy to more large-scale societies, we are subject to the same forces that transformed India over the centuries into a series of closed occupational castes, or that made medieval Europe a network of monopolistic guilds. Such societies undergo convulsions from forces beyond their control, as in the Reformation, which destroyed the religious currency upon which medieval monopolies were legitimated. In the long run, unless we raise our own level of rational control over our institutions, we can expect that such forces will be waiting for us."

(Collins, 1979, p.204).

Whether NZQA represents an attempt to raise the level of 'rational control' or whether it is merely a legitimating force for a rearrangement of the selective credentialing forces of the past is one of the questions this reports hopes, at least in part, to answer.

## Chapter 6

### **Conspiracy, Cock-Up, Evolution or Accident?**

It was something of a surprise to find during the interviews conducted as part of this research that some interviewees (Fargher and Giannotti) spontaneously referred to the notion of conspiracy theories and their appropriateness as explanations for policy developments. The implicit suggestion was that there is a danger in seeking to explain policy developments by recourse to conspiracy theories. Such a reaction was not only startling, but also there was definitely no intention to suggest that such an explanation had any merit. On reflection however, it is reasonable that such an issue should be raised. Adherents of conspiracism belong to an alternative school of political thought, and are never really satisfied with an established and uncontroversial explanation. Simply researching any area may perhaps sometimes be taken as indicating a reluctance to accept conventional explanations. It may however of course, indicate a neutral mode of enquiry that seeks to establish what happened, who was involved, and how and why certain features were able to occur.

Possibly the recent origins of discussion in this area can be attributed to John Whitehouse, a former principal press secretary to Margaret Thatcher. He referred to two types of explanations as the 'cock-up', and 'conspiracy theories'. These terms have subsequently been used by politicians in New Zealand. Whilst these two types of explanations are not incompatible, in this sense they are intended as rival theories. The conspiracy theory revolves essentially around the belief that the pertinent events are not a chapter of accidents, but rather the result of a carefully orchestrated strategy that keeps

everything under control, and which only allows events to unfurl according to the intentions of the people who devised the plan. In some grander conspiracy examples control is linked to a group of people who secretly rule the world.

The "cock-up" theory by contrast, has a basic premise that the people involved in the events under examination are not smart enough to formulate a grand plan much less control events according to such a scheme. An implicit assumption in this theory would also seem to be that, not only is there no long-term control of events, but that frequent mistakes or "cock-ups" occur that in themselves alter the possible course of history.

There are of course, other ways in which history can be explained, and ways that have a sounder theoretical and empirical basis. It may be for instance that history works at a level equivalent to that of sub-atomic particles whose movements are inherently unpredictable. David Lythe, in his discussion of the effects of the visit of Tom McCool on qualifications policy, relates it to "the serendipity effect", and speculates about what might have happened if McCool had not come, or there had been a visit by someone else, say from Canada. (Lythe, Interview, 1991). Certainly Ray Fargher (Fargher, Interview, 1991) felt that in his experience, "quite a lot of what happens is quite arbitrary, and not necessarily occurring as part of a planned development. It's a response from some outside pressure that has to be resolved quickly, or as a matter of priorities or choices that are determined by the amount of resources available." In his experience officials tended to alter their arguments and presentations according to the varying personalities of Ministers. Fargher felt that officials were soon able to judge what a particular Minister was likely to accept and how, by "flavouring" an idea in a particular way, it might increase the chances of the Minister being persuaded. Fargher, observed that there

was often, "a fair bit of 'ad-hocery' going on." The notion of a raft of influences is borne out by Alan Barker's contention that while it's comparatively easy to try and search out two or three key deciding factors, there is more to it than that. There may, he believes, be a "combination of twenty or thirty, of which you'll probably only ever hear expressed six or seven." Barker also identified personalities as a variable in the policy making process. "Personalities I believe is a really big thing in political decisions, and one that rarely gets expressed, but someone takes a snitch to somebody else..." Personnel involved in the formation of policy tend to change and with that there can be changes in direction." (Barker, Interview, 1991)

Even on the basis of this comparatively cursory evidence it is clear that the process of policy development is a complex one, and at least to an extent, often somewhat unpredictable. Certainly conspiracy 'theory' is at least unduly simplistic despite its often populist appeal.

It is of concern however, that the pejorative use of conspiracy in this context may have other connotations. In a conveniently dismissive manner many of the legitimate concerns of teacher groups over the effects and intent of the Picot Report and later the Hawke Report were attributed to an adherence to conspiracy theories. Harvey McQueen says of teachers, particularly those in the secondary service, when they were referring to David Lange, "They kept finding conspiracy behind his comments." (McQueen, 1991, p.57). He makes similar observations with comments like, "... the PPTA obsessed with their conspiracy theory." (p.108) and, referring to Ruth Chapman, the then President of the PPTA he says, "... she lambasted the Government for being part of a right-wing plot to swing education away from the public good to private provision." (p.109). In this sense it is used as a derisive dismissal of

explanations that reveal forces and pressures influential in shaping policy. Such forces may exist in a form where there is no controlling plan. They may exist as seemingly do the forces of nature and sub-atomic science on an seemingly arbitrary basis. Despite this characteristic, they do also often have significant power and influence that can change the shape, or sequence or character of events.

Any analysis should therefore, resist any temptation to attribute events to an inevitable outcome conspiracy of the bourgeoisie, the New Right or self-serving teachers. It must however critically identify the forces that influence policy development along with an examination of their characteristics and individual agendas. The issue to be addressed in a scrutiny of policy phenomena is not so much the attribution of them to conspiracies, cock-ups, accidents, or evolution, but rather to seek explanations for the events and reconstructions that occurred in the policy development process.

## PART II

### The Broad Historical Background

This part of the thesis is concerned to describe and explain the broad historical context against which the qualifications policy developments need to be set. There is always some degree of historical influence in shaping policy, and an outline of previous developments can often help explain why certain events happened the way they did. The period covered in this part extends from the situation towards the end of the nineteenth century and continues through to about the time of the election of the Fourth Labour Government. The exception to this is the chapter that deals with the establishment of the Board of Studies. In some respects that chapter would also be appropriate in Part III, but is included in Part II because it fits well alongside the discussion in Chapter 11 of the other national qualifications bodies, AAVA and TCB.

## Chapter 7

### Early History

Although to the casual observer the developments that led to the formation of the New Zealand Qualifications Authority may seem to be quite recent in origin such a view does not reflect the full picture. To gain an informed perspective on the decisions made in the Education Amendment Act 1990 it is useful to reflect on the background that preceded this change. While the more specific aspects of the development emerged comparatively recently, their roots can be traced back to much earlier times. In particular it is important to appreciate something of the history of technical education in New Zealand. While the changes to New Zealand's qualifications structures are not restricted in their effects to technical and vocational education, much of the force for the change was initiated by matters closely allied to problems and needs in these areas.

David McKenzie draws attention to the following proposal.

"In February 1894, John McGregor, a Dunedin lawyer and member of the Otago Education Board, proposed that the Education Board establish a 'Central School' to furnish the technical and vocational instruction for the rapidly increasing number of pupils who were then enrolling in standard seven classes in Dunedin's state-provided and free primary schools. McGregor claimed that the majority of these pupils neither wanted nor needed the lengthy course of academic studies culminating in the award of the

Matriculation Examination which was the standard fare offered in the city's fee-paying and therefore socially selective high schools. Instead, he argued, boys and girls who had mastered the statutory school syllabus and who could afford a little more free schooling should be presented with a practical curriculum that would fit them usefully for the working world - a curriculum which he also believed would act as a healthy antidote to the existing primary school syllabus which, in his words, 'simply crams children with a lot of information that is of dubious practical value' (Otago Daily Times, 16 March 1894).

(McKenzie et al, 1990, p.1)

It is worth explaining that the standard seven class referred to by McGregor was a class that was designed to cater for those pupils who having completed the prescribed national curriculum wanted to stay on at primary school. Often this time was used to prepare for entry to the same competitive examinations that were sat by pupils who were attending the fee-paying high schools. The work in standard seven was characterised by a literary nature rather than a technical or manual orientation. (McKenzie et al, 1990, p.1)

McKenzie argues that McGregor had a "sensible case for curriculum development and reform" that foundered "in the face of colonial determination that educational reform should never be gained at the price of establishing socially selective schooling." (McKenzie et al, 1990, p.1). McKenzie identifies this phenomenon as one, "that was to underlie all New Zealand policies on technical education in subsequent years". As will emerge during subsequent sections of this discussion, this notion of 'the best' form of post-primary schooling as the conventional academic high school with its

access to advanced school credentials, has continued to be an influence at least up to July 1990. McKenzie further observes, "School credentials were all-important. In a society that frowned upon nepotism, competitively attained credentials were increasingly favoured as the means by which the individual could lift himself or herself 'beyond the common ruck'." (McKenzie et al, 1990, p.1)

Hood identifies a very similar characteristic as a significant feature in New Zealand society nearly a hundred years later. "I think New Zealand suffers from the Anglo-Saxon, particularly the British psyche, that operates very much on what I would call 'a failure syndrome'. In other words, you can't have success unless a large proportion of people fail." (Hood, Interview, 1991). This view is compatible with McKenzie's argument,

"Not only were technical courses more expensive to provide than conventional academic courses but they were also stamped with the label of social inferiority given to them in British education. Although Britain had been the first nation to develop its wealth on the fruits of modern industrial technology, that same technology had replaced craft industries entered by apprenticeship by armies of low-paid unskilled workers whose task was to tend machines for stipulated periods of time. 'Good education' for lucky and ambitious working class families was therefore deemed to be education that would enable their children to escape the factory. They wanted little to do with 'technical education' which they suspected to be chiefly designed to keep their children in the factory."

(McKenzie et al, 1990, p.4)

These forces encouraged the development of a view that the acquisition of academic qualifications was more desirable than technical qualifications. McKenzie argues that the association of technical education with the rising industrial and military might of Germany did little to make this form of education popular amongst New Zealanders. Certainly in the period prior to the Second World War there was, in contrast to the major manufacturing nations of the world, no pressing need apparent in New Zealand to upgrade industrial education and skill. Indeed, "In New Zealand, 'learning on the job' and 'doing it yourself' sufficed for the day without causing irreparable harm to the economy." (McKenzie, 1990, p.6).

Then as now, there was a recognition that there was a problem. In 1895 An Act for the Promotion of Elementary Technical Education, that was closely modelled on an English Act, was passed into law. The effect however was minimal. In 1923 the government passed an Apprentices Act which established local apprenticeship committees and which was designed to encourage attendance of apprentices at evening or day release classes. These hopes too went largely unfulfilled.

"The various trades were not convinced that their apprentices needed further technical schooling and the government was fearful of the extra costs which initiative on its part might impose on the tax-payer"

(McKenzie et al, 1990, p.23)

Even in 1930 there was still a feeling that there was a need to maintain a rigid distinction between the technical high schools with their specific vocational and social class functions and the secondary schools with their professional, academic and social class functions. McKenzie quotes J. H. Howell, the

founding Director of Technical Education in Christchurch as saying, "undifferentiated schools were not in the British tradition and did not meet the requirements of first class intellects". (McKenzie et al, 1990, p.27) This rather incongruous statement from someone who could be expected to be sympathetic to the need for vocational education is described by McKenzie as a struggle to reconcile apparently impeccable models from abroad with the New Zealand condition. It is tempting to speculate about the possibility that such an observation may have its modern day parallel. The models used as the basis for much the development of qualifications policy, as it is implemented in New Zealand, is British in origin.

The prevailing attitude is again demonstrated in the Thomas Report which reveals not only an attitude towards academic qualifications, but also shows the effect that such inclination can have on curriculum.

"It is commonplace that this examination has come to serve a dual purpose - besides being used for the purpose for which it was designed, the assessment of fitness for University studies, it has been used also by parents and employers as a general measure of a reasonably complete post-primary course. Consequently many thousands of pupils have taken the course of studies leading to the examination without any thought of afterwards entering the University; and the University, willy-nilly, has dominated most of the work of the secondary schools, the district high schools, and country technical high schools."

(Thomas, 1942, p.2).

Even as early as this report "... employers and parents continued to demand 'Matric' and came to regard the School Certificate as an inferior pass." (Thomas, 1942, p.3)

The frequent concern at the role of economic and market forces in shaping current education policies was evident as well during the 1940's. "In practice both personal and social needs have all too often been pushed into the background, especially by economic pressures. The nature of the education a pupil has been given has frequently been determined less by what his teachers have believed he actually requires, even for vocational purposes, than by the demand for attainments that can be readily marketed." The Report continues "...the educative process has been restricted and distorted as the result of economic pressure, to the ultimate disadvantage not only of the individual, but of society also." (Thomas, 1942, p.5).

McKenzie (1990, p.42) describes the gradual demise of the technical high schools as unsurprising. A major factor that contributed to this demise was the introduction of compulsory post-primary education which effectively reduced the role of market choice via a distinctive type of school. McKenzie also notes, "that as neighbouring post-primary schools in urban areas after 1950 sought to compete for good pupils they were strongly tempted to encourage 'poor' pupils to enrol at the local technical high school. There was McKenzie argues, a real risk of schools remaining as technical high schools being stuck with the label "dumps for duds" that McKenzie attributes to W.S. La Trobe. (McKenzie et al, 1990, p.42).

Then, as now, there was a continuing dilemma for education authorities to try to resolve. This was to balance the sometimes apparently contradictory demands of educational criteria such as the development of individuals, yet simultaneously cater for the demand of the employment market. Central to this balancing act are the twin issues of the high value attached to academic credentials with its implications for curriculum, and the need of the industrial and commercial community for employees with highly developed technical skills.

In a statement remarkably apt for current circumstances the Report came to the following conclusion. "Reform depends in the last analysis on the existence of a public which will think of education less as a means of individual advancement, and more as a means of creating an educated community". (Thomas, 1942, p.6) It also recognised that the traditional academic approach was suitable only up to a certain point for a select few, but that it was quite inappropriate for the ordinary pupil. (Thomas, 1942, p.7). Certainly this claim applies as much today to the likelihood of current policies being successful as it did in 1942.

Another document that similarly reveals significant aspects of attitudes to qualifications and assessment is the 1956 Parkyn Report, The Post-Primary Curriculum and the School Certificate Examination with particular Reference to the Position of Latin. The Report, referring to the 1945 Education (Post-Primary Instruction) Regulations, draws the following conclusion.

"Prior to the issuing of these regulations the curriculum in most secondary schools tended to be strongly academic and was based primarily on the requirements for entrance to the university; and in the technical schools it was mainly pre-vocational".

(Parkyn, p.4).

Further reinforcement of the point made by Hood (Hood, Interview, 1991), is made in Section 27 of the Parkyn Report. It also draws attention to the continuing and contentious issue of scaling.

"The School Certificate Examination after 1945 was intended to approximate the standard of the pre-1945 University Entrance Examination; and roughly speaking the same percentage of candidates pass in the School Certificate Examination each year as used to pass in the University Entrance Examination. Partly this is the result of a continuing tradition among examiners in the majority of subjects of placing the median somewhere near the 50 per cent mark. Partly, however it is the result of deliberately adjusting the medians in any subject where the examiner's original median mark fell much above or below 50 per cent."

(Parkyn, 1956, p.13).

The Report concludes, "the scaling of marks is a necessary safeguard against the inevitable variations among the examiners from year to year." Further on it also states, "Scaling is also a means of maintaining the equivalence of standards among the different optional subjects" (Parkyn, 1956, p.14). This is evidence not only of current thinking on norm-referenced assessment, but also of the continuing notion of qualifications as part of an essentially competitive process.

This chapter has endeavoured to outline very briefly a broad picture of the early developments in New Zealand education that provide a background and a foundation that will be helpful in explaining later developments. In particular it draws attention to the British origins of the New Zealand education scene. Inherent in such a system is a tension between the desire to avoid the constraints of nepotism by the development of a 'fair' system that recognises ability and merit on the one hand, the very limitations of that same supposedly 'fair' system that in reality often reinforced existing social and class divisions.

## Chapter 8

### Hughes Parry to the EDC

The technical and compulsory sectors of the education system were not alone in receiving official scrutiny. The Hughes Parry Report was presented to the Minister of Education in December 1959. This document, the Report of the Committee on New Zealand Universities was the product of a committee whose task it was, "to indicate ways in which the university system should be organised to ensure that the long term pattern of development" (Hughes Parry, 1959, p.5) was in the best interests of New Zealand. A major concern of the committee was the relatively low number of graduates from New Zealand's university system. The committee expressed their opinion,

"that the demand for persons with university training is likely to increase substantially as the population of New Zealand grows and as its economy develops in the years ahead, and, further that it should be a major objective of public policy to foster the increasing employment of highly qualified and educated persons in order to increase the efficiency of the economy and to promote the general welfare of people in New Zealand."

(Hughes Parry, 1959, p.18).

Amongst other issues the Report questioned the effectiveness of the unit system for determining credit for a university qualification (Hughes Parry, 1959, p.90), and it made suggestions for modifications to University Entrance particularly in relation to the desirability of a five subject requirement for entrance. It also suggested ways to promote greater participation in full-time

study. Their opinion was that more "emphasis should be placed on the development of university extension types of programmes of courses related to the needs of New Zealand's social and economic, as well as cultural, development." (Hughes Parry, 1959, p.105). As part of their extension the committee commended the organisation of programmes of courses, "conducted perhaps in the evenings and leading to certificates or diplomas, at a lower level than that required for a degree." (Hughes Parry, 1959, p.105).

There had, by the time of Hughes Parry, been some quite major changes to the University sector. Since the 1925 Commission on University education in New Zealand there had been "a steady, progressive movement towards the development of the constituent university colleges as separate universities with power to grant their own degrees." (Hughes Parry, 1959, p.99). In 1956 the University Senate recommended that the designation 'university' be applied to the University institutions of Auckland, Victoria, and Canterbury. The University of Otago, having been established as such, needed no change of status. The change in status duly came into effect with the passing of the relevant legislation on 1 January 1958.

In July 1962 the Report of the Commission on Education in New Zealand was published. The Currie Report, as it has become known, documents further developments and also draws attention to issues of centralisation and decentralisation. The Commission,

"accepts as a datum of educational administration in New Zealand the existence of one central source of finance, namely, Government funds, and it accepts as a corollary of that fact that educational administration in this country must always tend therefore towards centralisation, because of the necessity for the central accountability for the use of

funds and the need also for a centralised point at which alone priorities in major expenditure can be determined. It has very little doubt, too, that a fully centralised system would be swifter in decision and cheaper to operate in a country of small size such as New Zealand than any decentralised or semi-decentralised system; it would not, however, necessarily provide a better education for New Zealand pupils or be acceptable to the New Zealand community."

(Currie, 1962, p.93).

The Commission thought however, "that the consensus of opinion as well as the best judgment is firmly against any scheme of complete centralisation."

(Currie, 1962, p.93)

It is interesting to note the Currie Commission's views on accounting. While their Report was produced nearly two decades ago, before 'Accountability' emerged as a major issue, it does perhaps begin to give an indication of the way the matter was to develop. Certainly, at this stage, educational policy was still very much characterised by a centralist and interventionist approach. Arguably, while still displaying centralist and interventionist characteristics that were in common with the Currie Report, the Nordmeyer Report moved to a slightly different phase, with its concern being more for planning.

This 'accounting' characteristic is demonstrated as an issue raised by the Commission.

"The Commission is, however, quite unable to entertain schemes which rely for their viability on the willingness of the central governing body to hand over large blocks of centrally collected finance to a variety of local bodies for the free exercise of their educational ideas without clear accounting of how the money is

to be spent or assurance of the minimum standards that it must demand on behalf of all the country's children."

(Currie, 1962, p.94)

The Commission discusses further the tension between local and central authority. " There is no other possible future for educational administration in this country than the endeavour to find some point of balance between central and local authority which will allow both to function without frustration or waste and which will not be unsatisfactory to both sides". It goes on to make this deduction, "if administration is to be taut and responsive to changing opinion and changing need a measure of tension is unavoidable." It also provides an indication of the direction that the Commission felt ought to be followed in implementing administrative change in New Zealand education. The system the Commission argues is "inevitably tilted towards centralisation by its centralised financing, it becomes all the more incumbent upon educational administrators to devise procedures which will balance this tendency and foster local activity." (Currie, 1962, p.194) This examination of the centralisation issues will surface again in the course of this discussion and it is one that is important in appraising the formation of the New Zealand Qualifications Authority.

Even back in the 1960s there was concern about the effects of an increase in the years of voluntary schooling. (Currie, 1962, p.203). The Commission (p.205) identifies school retention rates as affected by the market for labour, and the degree of an increase of the population either by natural growth or by immigration. To such influences, the Commission argues, students respond by not only staying at school longer but also by seeking higher qualifications. However the Commission also qualifies these arguments by its perception that

"the general level of cultural expectation in the community" (p.205) is also a subtle and less easily measured influence on school retention rates. At the time the Report was written New Zealand parents were seen as not generally having expectations for their children to achieve, on average, the level of attainment that permits entrance to university. They did however expect their children to show sufficient proficiency to be able to gain admission to secondary school. (p.206). In an argument that is remarkably similar to ones advanced in the late 1980s the Commission made the following observation. They felt that it appeared to be,

"a matter of urgent importance that the School Certificate should become a sufficiently flexible instrument to be able, while retaining standards of achievement, to satisfy the demands that society is putting upon it. ... the revised School certificate Examination should be a potent force in raising the educational and cultural level of our whole community."  
(Currie, 1962, p.206).

There is evidence too in the Currie Report that there was a concern over the impact of the examinations and qualifications system on curriculum. This concern of course can be traced back much further to at least the Thomas Report as was mentioned earlier. The Commission, in referring to submissions made to it, observes that a significant number, "found external examinations in the post-primary school cramping in their effect and in some respects opposed to what they regarded as the true goals of education". (Currie, 1962, p.319). The Commission was sympathetic to this view as it later explains. "All examinations have an invincible tendency to set up highly specialised methods of preparing pupils to pass them, which may in the long run be inimical to the very things the examination sets out to test." (Currie,

1962, p.320). The concern about "the restriction of the freedom of the teacher, the narrowing of the curriculum to include only examination syllabuses, and the tendency of subjects to become separate compartments of knowledge without interconnection, are serious matters", (Currie, 1962, p.320) may also be relevant to some concerns expressed about the possible impact of the qualifications framework and modularisation on the curriculum.

The prescient nature of the Commission's commentary is also revealed in the note of the criticism of the School Certificate examination from the general public that related to the deliberate maintenance by officers of the Department of Education of a fixed percentage of passes. The result of this scaling action was that approximately 50 per cent of the candidates passed. It was the large number who had therefore to fail that aroused criticism. The Commission felt, "It is clear, nevertheless, that the public would like to see a much larger group obtain this qualification than that which does so at present" (Currie, 1962, p.328).

The matters canvassed by the 1962 Report so far documented have been of particular relevance to the post-primary part of the education system. The Report also had some interesting observations to make about apprentice training. These comments are less reflective of the recently expressed concerns and as such possibly mirror more the then prevailing economic circumstances of New Zealand. The Report states, "the Commission believes that the arrangements for apprentice training are well suited to the circumstances and conditions that apply in this country. The collaboration between the Department of Education, the schools, the Department of Labour, and the trades concerned is complete and effective." (Currie, 1962, p.393).

The trend described by McKenzie of a move away from technical and related vocational training to occur during the compulsory period of education is documented in the Report on Education.

"The Commission notes with satisfaction the tendency of the trade organisations to demand, as a prerequisite for apprenticeship, higher educational qualifications of a general rather than vocational nature. The willingness of apprenticeship committees to reduce the apprenticeship terms in consideration of such qualifications and for subsequent success in examinations conducted by the New Zealand Trades Certification Board, indicates the confidence of the industry in the pattern of training that has been established."

(Currie, 1962, p.394).

Perhaps, despite the apparent confidence of the Commission this also is an initial sign of a concern that the traditional 'time-served' approach to trade training was not necessarily the best or only approach to be used. The belief of the Commission that New Zealand must, "in the future make greater use of the potential skill and ability of its women" (p. 394) indicates an awareness of an economic and equity issue that has gained greater force and attention in more recent years.

A little over a decade later educational change was marked by the advent of the Educational Development Conference. The public seminar phase of the Conference being held in the first half of 1974. Prior to this stage however was the publication of the Reports of three Working parties. They were Organisation and Administration of Education, Educational Aims and

Objectives, and Improving Learning and Teaching. These working parties were chaired by A. H. Nordmeyer, J. R. Osborne, and P. J. Lawrence respectively. Once more there is evidence documented in these publications of the emerging views and concerns that impacted on qualifications policy.

Of the three documents Educational Aims and Objectives, the Osborne Report, is most succinct. The two sections of it that are most revealing are "An Evaluation of the Present Education System" (pp.16-18) and "Recommendations", (pp.19-20). In some respects the section of the report detailing the shortcomings of the current education system is more notable for its omission of any direct reference to the system of qualifications and assessment. It does however comment on the issue in an oblique fashion. Examples include: "The emphasis at present placed on narrow academic achievement", "The inability of formal educational institutions to respond by themselves to the problems of society and provide solutions to many of the unreasonable expectations of the community", and "The lack of continuity and sufficient co-ordination in the present education system". (Osborne, 1974, pp.17-18). Its section headed "Recommendations" is divided into two sub-sections "Desirable Changes in Attitudes" and "Areas Requiring Special Attention". Again there is no direct comment on the qualifications structures but some of the resolutions in this section again provide evidence of the gradually evolving tide of opinion.

There are three resolutions in the "desirable Change in Attitudes" sub-section that are of interest. These are,

"That educational institutions place more emphasis on their educative rather than their selective function, and that the role of traditional examinations be reduced. That

importance be given to developing a wide variety of skills and talents for all individuals along with the pursuit of excellence. That emphasis be given to the participation of people of all ages in worthwhile activities that they can pursue with conviction and discrimination."

(Osborne, 1974, p.19)

The next part of the Report "Areas Requiring Special Attention", lists 14 areas that were selected from the "many areas within our education system which could be improved". Of those 14 there are 3 that provide indicators of an emerging trend.

"That provision be made for continuity by removing as far as possible the present barriers between the various educational levels and institutions" (p.19).

"That the present efforts to enable people to improve their education while continuing their employment be both supported and extended".

"That greater provision be made for life-long educational opportunities which will help people meet their varying needs in a changing society and that action be taken to encourage and support people to make use of increasing opportunities for life-long education." (p.20).

The next of these three reports, Organisation and Administration in Education, the Nordmeyer Report, had terms of reference that make it more likely to be specifically concerned with qualifications policy. The Terms of Reference for the Nordmeyer Report were:

To examine the organisation and articulation of the education system of New Zealand. To consider its relevance for today and for the future and to consider means by which it may adapt to changing circumstances.

To study the movement of students into and between different institutions in the education system.

To examine the administration of education with special reference to the powers and functions of the variety of agencies entrusted with this responsibility; their overall effectiveness and efficiency.

To recommend desirable changes in organisation and/or administration and have these costed for consideration among other educational priorities.

To recommend an order of priority for the areas studied.

For possibly the first time the overlap between secondary school education and tertiary education is identified.

"A limited overlap exists at present between secondary schools and universities, in that many pupils can choose whether to enter a university after form 6 or form 7.... There is a larger overlap between the secondary schools and the technical institutes, but this would only provide a genuine choice for many upper school pupils if the technical institutes were to offer more general courses at the form 6

and form 7 level. Hitherto the energies of the technical institutes have been almost completely absorbed in expanding to meet the training needs of technicians and tradesmen, but it is by no means impossible that they might develop a range of courses (sciences, mathematics, languages, and economics are obvious starting points) which many students who would otherwise be in forms 6 and 7 might wish to take, either to round off their general education or in preparation for technical or university training."

(Nordmeyer, 1974, p.57).

The Report however urges caution in encouraging any such developments. The Committee thought that the technical institutes would accord a lower priority to them than to their technical and trade training programmes. They also believed that by reducing numbers in sixth and seventh forms it might have the effect of reducing still further the range of programmes available to those who remained in the upper school. (Nordmeyer, 1974, p.58).

Chapter 5 of the Report is on "Tertiary Education". This chapter notes "the tertiary subsystem is a diverse one..." (p.66). Of particular interest is its view of vocational training. Tertiary education the Report argues "must be seen as a phase of vocational preparation". It elaborates that this is "obvious in the case of the technical institutes and teachers colleges, but is no less true in the case of the universities. On the one hand they are producing engineers and lawyers, medical practitioners and veterinarians, specifically prepared for certain professional occupations..." (p.66). This is in contradistinction with some more recent views that have tried to draw a clear distinction between academic and vocational education.

Control of curricula is also identified as a potential problem. It also hints at the range of certificating authorities that were involved in as external examining bodies. Specifically identified are the City and Guilds Institute, the Chartered Institute of Secretaries, the Technicians Certification Authority (TCA) later to become AAVA, and the Trades Certification Board (TCB). The problem of curriculum control arose, so the Committee argued, because for most courses in technical institutes "what is taught must conform to a prescription laid down by an external examining body." (p.83). despite the representation of technical institutes on these bodies the Committee clearly indicated the view, "staff in the individual technical institutes are inflexibly bound by the national prescriptions, and thereby deprived of opportunities to experiment and improve the courses which they teach." (p.84)

Cross-crediting is also identified as an area needing co-operation. Section 5.79 regards the allowing of credit in one institution for work done in another as "highly desirable, to facilitate appropriate transfers of students from one programme and institution to another." (p.91). Attention is drawn to the recommendation of the Technical and Industrial Academic Awards Report (1971) that opposed conferring a power to grant degrees on institutions other than universities. The Nordmeyer Committee added to this view with a further argument. "A 3-year non-university course of vocational training, however meritorious for its specific purpose, cannot be presumed (without detailed investigation) to equip a transferring student to embark on a post-graduate programme." (p. 93). It continues however, to recognise

"that a niggardly approach on the part of the universities toward cross-crediting of courses of a reputable standard and academic content taken elsewhere would intensify the demand for

degree-granting status for non-university institutions, in an attempt to secure through legislation what has not been achieved through negotiation. It is in this sense that *we believe that the solution to the problem of non-university awards lies in an effective policy of cross-crediting.*"

(Nordmeyer, 1974, p.94).

Centralisation is raised not only as a control issue but also as a factor influencing curricula.

"We have, moreover, stressed that as far as possible, local schools should be run by local people, and district decisions made by district representatives, so that instead of uniformity there may be an appropriate diversity reflecting variations in local needs and circumstances, and affording an opportunity for experimentation."

(Nordmeyer, 1974, p. 115).

Having said this however the Report identifies one reason for "the tradition of strong central control in New Zealand education" as, "the desire to ensure an even distribution of educational facilities between parts of the country, and between town and country". While the Committee were referring to the Department of Education, their argument that it is, "important that there be some agency to oversee the system as a whole, and to identify points at which improved co-ordination is needed, "may have a logical extension in the role now assumed by the New Zealand Qualifications Authority.

Chapter 8 of the report lists 65 recommendations. Those of particular interest can be identified as follows.

8.35 At the discretion of the TCA individual technical institutes should be permitted to offer approved local courses and examinations as an alternative means of satisfying its certificate requirements.

8.36 At the discretion of the TCB individual technical institutes should be permitted to offer approved local courses and examinations as an alternative means of satisfying its certificate requirements, especially to test out possible modifications of the present apprenticeship system.

(Nordmeyer, 1974, p.144)

This recommendation is indicative of the need that was apparent then for change, especially from the "excessive rigidity of national requirements" (p.84).

8.38 Each institute should be visited every few years by a small team consisting of the relevant specialist from the directorate together with individuals from the same area of specialisation drawn from industry, from other institutes and possibly (in some cases) from a university, to comment on its courses in a given subject area.

8.43 The university, the technical institute, and the teachers college should preserve their separate identity but should welcome opportunities for fruitful co-operation, particularly at the local level. Joint committees at staff level should be established and cross-crediting encouraged.

The third Report in this series, Improving Teaching and Learning, the Lawrence Report, has two chapters of interest. They are Chapter 9 "Vocational Education" and Chapter 13 "Assessment - Individual and National". Chapter 9 documents the advent of the Vocational Training Council which was founded with the passing of the Vocational Training Act in 1968 after its establishment was recommended by the 1965 Commission of Inquiry into Vocational Education. The VTC ceased to exist with the passing of the Education Amendment Act 1990, the same Act that established the New Zealand Qualifications Authority.

The Vocational Training Council's functions were listed in Section 11 of the Vocational Training Act. One of its functions was to provide advice on all aspects of vocational training, not only to the government, but to industry, commerce, agriculture and any other organisations interested in vocational training. The VTC also stressed the need for each industry to identify its own training needs and encouraged the development of training boards to develop and co-ordinate systematic training programmes for those people employed within each particular industry. Despite later criticisms of the VTC that will emerge subsequently in this discussion, the formation of the Council and its initial efforts were greeted with enthusiasm (Lawrence, 1974, p.108). Certainly this Working Party identified the "rapid technological changes now taking place may have a very decisive effect on vocational education in the near future". (Lawrence, 1974, p.115) The VTC was seen as having an important role to play in ensuring that vocational education kept pace with technological developments. This too is a view in contrast with at least some attitudes towards the VTC in the late 1980s.

Chapter 13 of Improving Learning and Teaching deals with "Assessment - Individual and national". The purpose of assessment is discussed at the beginning of this chapter and it makes clear the view "Society's principal use of assessment is selective..." (Lawrence, 1974, p.159). The Report also provides the corollary that the ways assessment was used at that time was not in the best educational interests of individuals, nor society. (Lawrence, 1974, pp. 159-160). It stresses, "The main place of assessment in the school is as an aid to learning and teaching." (Lawrence, 1974, p.161). Among the recommendations made in this chapter the following are particularly pertinent.

- That over the next 5 years external examinations be phased out and replaced by a system of internal assessment within schools. (p.161)
- That every secondary school leaver receive a leaving certificate which gives a complete record of his attainments (p.160)

Both of these issues were to resurface at intervals right through to the present time.

The working party believed that assessment should be closely related to the curriculum objectives of each school, but they also felt that the accompanying flexibility and autonomy adopted by schools might raise concerns in the community about the extent to which schools are fulfilling their responsibilities. In accordance with this the working party favoured some form of national evaluation of scholastic standards which they agreed, "should be in the hands of a skilled and impartial body". (Lawrence, 1974, p.163). As a consequence of this idea the report recommended:

That provision be made for a regular series of national assessments of scholastic standards and relevant attitudes in the basic subjects at not more than 10 year intervals.

(Lawrence, 1974, p.164).

The question of standards has of course been a recurring theme as well, one that may well emerge from the agenda of the current government's administration, though not necessarily in the form or for the purposes intended by Lawrence.

So far attention has been given to what various documents said or revealed about the changing concerns and attitudes. McKenzie's work (1990) explains the development of Technical High School but does not cover the development of post-secondary technical education. The continued economic growth in the 1950's in New Zealand increased the demand for a better skilled and educated workforce and as a consequence there was an unprecedented demand for technical education. Initially the larger technical colleges were "required to carry the burden of developments in apprentice and technological training while at the same time carrying out their customary task of servicing the needs of school adolescents." (McKenzie et al, 1990, p.39). Eventually the Department of Education, in 1957-58 recommended that the Government restructure senior technical education. McKenzie quotes C. E. Beeby when he says, "He concluded that the task of nurturing a senior technical institution within its industrial community was no longer 'a part-time job for a school-master'." (McKenzie et al, 1990, p.39).

## Chapter 9

### From the Hercus-Young Report to the Probine-Fargher Report

In November 1984 Russell Marshall, the Minister of Education, while at the Technical Institutes Association Conference, asked John Hercus, Director of Christchurch Polytechnic and Ian Young the Director of Continuing Education to look at a policy proposal for Technical Institute Grants Committee and provide him with advice on how to proceed. (Hercus-Young, 1986, p.1; Probine-Fargher, 1987, p.1). While the subsequent report did not have any direct connection to qualifications policy it revealed something of the tension that existed at that time between the technical institutes and the Education Department. This tension was at least partially responsible for initiating the Probine-Fargher Report. "But the problems with Polytechnics which I had been warned about long before, was the excessive control that the Department of Education had over what was to be run by which Polytechnic. They had an official who used to sit in the Department and he would decide which courses could be run. This was really something that grated heavily with the Polytechnics and which was the beginning of the Probine-Fargher exercise." (Marshall, Interview, 1991).

The Hercus-Young Report probably did nothing to allay Russell Marshall's concerns. The authors of the Report were unable to agree on the independence of the proposed Grants Committee. John Hercus favoured "a stand alone statutory committee" (Hercus-Young, 1985, Option A, p.2). Ian Young however, while agreeing with John Hercus on the elements, functions

and structures of the committee recommended that it be established within the Department of Education. (Hercus-Young, 1985, Option B, p.3)

A Technical Institute Grants Authority was in line with government policy. There was a specific commitment in the 1984 Labour Party Manifesto which stated, in Section 24 "Technical Institutes and Community Colleges:

" As New Zealand moves out of recession we need to ensure high levels of education, and of job related skills, together with access to living, recreational and life fulfilment programmes. Accordingly labour will:

- (a) all technical institutes and community colleges to respond more flexibly to the continuing education needs of their communities;
- (b) provide greater autonomy in buildings, finance and staffing through a technical Institutes grants Committee;"

(Labour Party Election Manifesto, 1984, p.21)

The matter had therefore still to be resolved. The Minister of Education established a working party comprising Mervyn Probine, Ray Fargher, Ian Hall, Derek McCormack and Ian Young. In a rather unusual move the Minister appointed joint chairmen, Ray Fargher and Mervyn Probine. Mervyn Probine was appointed because of his status as a former Chairman of the State Services Commission and his acceptability to the Department of Education, and Ray Fargher because of his experience with the Technical Institute system. (Marshall, Interview, 1991).

The Probine-Fargher Report (1987) advanced some compelling evidence of a need for change. The statistics quoted in the Report included post secondary

attendance of New Zealand citizens aged 15 years and over as revealed in the 1981 Census. These showed that:

- "58.33% have not attended a post secondary educational establishment.
- Only 2.85% of the population hold a Trade Certificate a mere 0.56% have been awarded an AAVA New Zealand Certificate.
- Only 0.25% have an AAVA Technicians certificate
- 9.82% have a University Qualification and of these about one third (say 3.6%) have a technology related qualification and
- a massive 65.84% have no formal post secondary qualifications (and the figures could be as high as 75% if those who did not specify are included)."

(Probine-Fargher, 1987, pp.7-8)

This and a range of the other evidence was used to support the Probine-Fargher contention "We must recognise that we are in a new economic age in which **knowledge** is the capital of the future." (Probine-Fargher, 1987, p.7)

Building on this scene the Report drew attention to the lack of integration in delivery of vocational education and training.

"Decisions on what is to be taught, and where, are shared among a bewildering array of organisations, some responsible to the Department of Education others to the Department of Labour and yet others answerable to their own professional trade or industrial grouping. Along with the Universities, technical institutes, community colleges and secondary schools, and with Department of Education input plus that of the Trades Certification Board and Authority for Advanced Vocational Awards, there are over 50 examining and registration bodies, 28 industry training boards and some 30 apprenticeship committees."

(Probine-Fargher, 1987, p.16)

The existence of continuing tension between the Departments of Labour and Education is also further reinforced.

"In New Zealand the operations of the Department of Labour in the training area are expanding at a time when overseas countries have become convinced of the need to integrate education and training provisions into a more coherent framework through control exercised by a single ministry."

(Probine-Fargher, 1987, p.16)

Chapter 5 of the Report focussed on "The Way Ahead" and in it there is a section entitled "Accountability for Quality of Education". In this part of the Report the Committee made the point "While the efficient use of resources is important it is also important not to lose sight of the primary aim of the technical institute system; namely the delivery of quality learning opportunities

within the fields of vocational and community education." (Probine-Fargher, 1987, p.27) The committee felt that there were many ways in which the quality of delivery could be maintained and enhanced. One of these was through the process of validation and revalidation of courses. In order to do this the Committee believed,

"At the national level suitable authorities (say the proposed National Validation Authority) must maintain standards by the validation and/or moderation and examination of courses and qualifications. National courses run by institutes and colleges should be audited and re-validated as a quality control measure (say, every four or five years)."

(Probine-Fargher, 1987, p. 27)

Further evidence of this tension comes in the following comment. "Right through the 1980's, in particular from the time of the early programmes run under the Department of Labour, there was a power struggle going on between the Departments of Labour and Education, for resources and for control of vocational training." (Fargher, Interview, 1991). During the interview conversations it was also made clear that the Department of Education was hampered in its early efforts because it was such a slow-moving bureaucracy. This situation may have been exacerbated by the thrust given to the Department of Labour when Jim Bolger was Minister of Labour and by the calibre of the top people in the Department.

At this stage there was no explicit mention of the possibility of extending the Validation Authority's jurisdiction to include the Teachers Colleges or the Universities. This did not mean that this was not examined as a possibility, and the reasons for the omission are interesting. "Anyhow as far as the

Universities were concerned, well we all felt we couldn't dare touch them. The Teachers' Colleges we could have included, but that was a tactical decision. As far as the Director General of Education was concerned the Teachers' Colleges were the brightest jewel in the Department's crown. He had been very involved in Teachers' Colleges himself, and any attempt to hijack them out of the Department would have meant total opposition, and therefore we omitted them. (Even though they were really mono-technic institutions)." (Fargher, Interview, 1991).

There are two other issues that Probine-Fargher commented on and they concerned the relationships between the polytechnics and secondary schools and the polytechnics and the universities.

"It is clear that, as a nation, we still have a need for a well trained and skillful workforce at the trade and technician level. We note in passing that the original role of the polytechnic system as complementary to that of the university and teachers college systems has stood the test of time well. There is no general enthusiasm in our country for a binary system of tertiary education along the Australian model where both universities and Colleges of Advanced Education award degrees. It seems possible however, that the upper end of the polytechnics' course offerings (for example in health science areas such as pharmacy and physiotherapy) that federal arrangements between polytechnics and universities may well emerge. Precedent for such linkings may be found in the federal relationships between Universities and Teachers Colleges which lead towards Bachelor of Education degrees. There is also scope for examining closely the provisions for cross-crediting between polytechnic and

university courses for the able and academically motivated polytechnic student or the university student who wishes to change to a polytechnic course."

(Probine-Fargher, 1987, pp. 19-20)

This view is somewhat at variance with the other being expressed about this time. It also seems rather optimistic in light of the attempts at CIT to gain university status for its pharmacy course. Since the start of the Pharmacy Course, the Central Institute of technology, in conjunction with the New Zealand Pharmaceutical Society, had sought degree status for its pharmacy Course. Despite the widely acknowledged level of the course by both CIT and the pharmacy industry, the efforts to gain that status were singularly unsuccessful. "Another factor is that the old regime was arguably too rigid. Questions about degrees for instance from Polytechnics were rigidly placed down. There was that argument which Jim Bateman had for years about the system where there was a pharmacy course which had students on it who already had university degrees but which, because it was done at CIT, a Polytechnic, it wasn't able to get a degree qualification. Jim tried all sorts of devices. I think he talked with an Australian University about getting some accreditation. So there was a very rigid demarcation line or moat around Universities which meant that no one else could give those sorts of qualifications." (Marshall, Interview, 1991)

Section 5.5.1 of the Probine Fargher Report concerns links between the polytechnic and secondary school systems. Probine-Fargher note that many young people left school early because they had become disenchanted with the school system. They attribute this disenchantment as possibly due to examination failure lack of interest in the relatively limited choice of subjects

the range of courses being more suited to students with academic rather than practical skills, and a style of classroom management that failed to treat students like adults. Continuing on this theme the Working Party believed that it was possible,

"at least some of these young people could be kept in the education system and gain useful vocational or pre-vocational qualifications, if they could take some courses that they saw as interesting and of some relevance at technical institutes and community colleges, or at the Technical Correspondence Institute. In other words they might be retained in the system by being allowed to exercise this choice."

(Probine-Fargher, 1987, p.29).

The Working Party suggested that the preferred solution might be,

"to have such youngsters continue to take some core subjects at secondary school and be released to take a selected course(s) in a tertiary institution (say by an expansion of the present Link system). It would be desirable, where possible to ensure that studies undertaken by secondary school students in tertiary institutions should be suitably recognised through the availability of accredited awards. Scotland's 16+ Action Plan which has much to commend it, relies on this kind of multi-agency approach."

(Probine-Fargher, 1987, p.29)

These arguments and suggestions of the Working Party not only provide further support for the case to establish a validation authority, but also demonstrate the increasingly complex relationship between senior secondary

schooling and the polytechnics. Such evidence would have supported the incorporation of the activities of the Board of Studies into those of the proposed validation authority.

Both the Hercus-Young and Probine-Fargher Reports were very much concerned with the need for a Technical Institute Grants Authority (TIGA). They did more than this however. The tension evident in the Hercus-Young Report between the Department of Education and the Technical Institutes meant that the Minister of Education had no clear direction on how he should proceed. This factor would have been a significant factor in initiating the Probine-Fargher report. The heart of the underlying issue was operational autonomy for the Technical Institutes. The Probine-Fargher report, working from that as a basis took a wide view of its Working Party's terms of reference. and included comment and recommendations on qualifications issues as well. While a general election, a change of Minister of Education, and a radical change in the administration of education rather overshadowed and overtook the Probine-Fargher recommendations, the Report does serve to provide further indications of the policy making climate of the time. It also highlights the contrast between the ideas current in 1987 and the final policy as it emerged in 1990. Subsequent chapters will describe and chronicle the succession of developments that took place in that intervening period.

## Chapter 10

### The Emergence of the Polytechnics

In May 1969, at the National Development Conference, Dr Bernard Lee, the then Director of Technical Education, made a submission entitled "A Proposal to establish National Diploma Courses at Technical Institutes". This paper, apart from drawing attention to developments in higher education overseas, also introduced the concept of tertiary education to first degree level provided at places other than universities and in a manner more vocationally and industry oriented. On the basis of Dr Lee's submission the Conference adopted recommendation 502. This suggested that provision should be made for the award of national diplomas that would be high level qualifications of national standing. These qualifications were to be awarded following the successful completion of approved courses of study at technical institutes. It also recommended that a council for national diplomas be established to be responsible for the approval of courses, maintenance and setting of standards, and the issue of diplomas.

This recommendation was referred by the Minister of Education, Brian Talboys, to the Advisory Council on Education Planning who were requested to consider it urgently. The Working Party of the Advisory Council on Educational Planning duly produced a report based on a survey of 106 organisations, in October 1971. This report recommended against a shift to a 'binary' system where institutions of higher learning were in competition with the universities. It did however feel,

"that these institutions should be developed in such a way that maximum use is made of their existing staff and facilities, while

also realising that there could well come a time when some further expansion of the institute of technology would be justifiable."

(Horlor, 1971, p.340)

Among the recommendations of the Report was one that sought a reconstituted Technicians Certification Authority that would:

- approve and give appropriate recognition to industrial training courses
- set standards, approve curricula and accredit institutions to examine at New Zealand Certificate level
- grant National status to approved diplomas at first degree level.

Eventually the Technicians Certification Authority was replaced by AAVA which was established with the passing of the Vocational Awards Act 1979. The interest and development in this area reflected not only the emerging trend in higher education in Britain and Australia, but also provided an indication of what had been happening in New Zealand.

In the early 1960's technical colleges in each of the four main centres were redesignated as technical institutes. These early institutions offered a range of trade and technician courses though mainly in the construction and engineering industries. There were however, also courses in the secretarial and businesses areas as well. During the 1960's and 1970's technical institute programmes were directly related to students' work or what they planned to do in employment. By the 1980's however this vocational bias had undergone considerable change. (Lawrence, 1987, p.2). Interest had grown by the early 1970's, in the need for increased continuing education opportunities in

regional centres. By 1978 there were seven regional polytechnics. They offered not only trades courses for occupations prevalent in the region, but also a comprehensive range of education courses.

During this period two national polytechnics emerged. They were the New Zealand Technical Correspondence Institute, now the Open Polytechnic, which was formed from the Department of Education's Technical Correspondence School. The Central Technical College was opened in 1961 to offer specialist trade, technician and technologist courses. This institution functioned as the national class-contact polytechnic. In 1973 this situation changed with the formation of the Central Institute of Technology which ran courses in the pharmacy, health sciences, engineering, computing and tourism. The specialist apprenticeship as well as some secretarial and business courses formed the basis of what was the Petone Technical Institute, now Hutt Valley Polytechnic. (Lawrence, 1987, p.3).

From the 1960s to the 1970s the official view of technical education broadened in its emphasis. The Education Act 1964 saw technical education as "post-secondary education directly related to or in preparation for the trade or profession in which the pupil gains or expects to gain his livelihood". The Education Amendment Act (No. 2) 1974 modified the definition to one of continuing education. The Act provided this interpretation of continuing education,

"education, including vocational education, provided for persons who are no longer required to attend school under provisions of this Act, enrolled as pupils in any secondary school or department; but does not include education at a University or

University College of Agriculture or teachers college."  
(Education Act, 1974, p.7).

The Act, in Section 90D did allow technical institutes and community colleges to, "in association with any university, provide studies for students of that university". Until the Education Amendment Act 1990 this was as far as the binary system had developed in New Zealand. The Southland Community College, for example, for a number of years, had offered selected subjects for the Otago University Bachelor of Commerce degree.

The 1974 Education Amendment (No 2) Act also saw, in Section 90, an amendment to establish Community Colleges whose role was, "to provide continuing education and advisory, guidance and educational services to meet the particular circumstances of the local community." (Education Amendment Act, 1974, p.7). The main drive for the establishment of community colleges appears to have come from the 1972 Labour Party Election Manifesto which Garrett and Hall (1975, p.4) cite as stating:

"Community Colleges will be established to increase the availability of continuing education, especially in provincial centres. Their form and functions will depend on the particular requirements of the local community"

The differences between Community Colleges and Technical Institutes were dependent largely on where they were situated. Community Colleges were planned for the smaller provincial centres which previously had no formal tertiary education institutions. Technical Institutes were generally established in larger cities which usually had better developed provisions for education including for instance, a university, a teachers' college and established organisations working in the community education field. In these instances the technical institutes tended to concentrate on their major roles of trade,

technician and sub-professional training. (Garrett and Hall, 1975, p.5). The first community college opened in January 1975 at Otatara near Taradale in Hawke's Bay. It was not too long however before the name Polytechnic replaced, for most institutions, the names Technical Institute and Community College.

The stage was set with such legislative changes for a major shift in the role and function of polytechnics. Economic events including oil price increases, trade recession and currency changes however impacted on employment opportunities in New Zealand. Towards the mid 1980s a further paradigm shift had occurred in continuing education. By this time it also incorporated catering for the needs of unemployed school leavers, and adults in search of new careers. During the period from 1961 to 1986 the number of enrolments at polytechnics had increased from 14 537 to 223 584 and a change in the percentage of all tertiary enrolments from 18.6% to 52.9% (Lawrence, 1987, Appendix 3). In 1987 the government announced a government funded Access programme for specialist transition courses, targeting those people at high risk of unemployment. This development was paralleled by the establishment of polytechnic foundation and employment-rich programmes. An effect of these changes was not only an increase in the number of students, but the introduction of a new range of qualifications. With these qualifications came issues related to their portability and recognition in the education and industry worlds.

By 1987 the formal part of New Zealand's non-university education sector had grown to comprise 20 metropolitan and regional polytechnics, two national polytechnics, two embryo polytechnics at Greymouth and Masterton, 11 youth learning centres, 270 secondary schools community education programmes and

13 rural education activities programmes. (Lawrence, 1987, p.4). In addition there were of course many private and community providers active in vocational and non-formal education. Apart from other pressures these developments may have engendered, they added to the strain on the existing qualifications structure.

These structures were primarily contained within the AAVA and the TCB as far as the Polytechnics were concerned. They were however, also affected by the secondary education sector's qualifications procedures and structures. The next two chapters will deal more specifically with the situations that applied to tertiary and secondary qualifications.

## **Chapter 11**

### **Early National Qualifications Bodies:**

#### **TCB and AAVA**

The preceding chapters have described the background to the qualifications policy changes over a long period of time. This chapter will deal with the fates of the Trades Certification Board (TCB) and the Authority for Advanced Vocational Awards (AAVA). These two organisations merit special attention because developments concerning them are pivotal to an explanation of the qualifications policy changes that were made with the passing of the Education Amendment Act in July 1990.

AAVA and TCB were statutory bodies established to provide examinations for students who were mainly either apprentices or technicians. The beginnings of AAVA were in the 1950s from the controlling authority for the Certificate in Engineering. From 1958 to 1979 this qualifications body was known as the Technicians Certification Authority (TCA). AAVA was set up under the terms of the Vocational Awards Act 1979 and it prescribed and approved courses for 400 subjects for 37 qualifications. The Authority then had functions to prescribe courses, set examinations, determine entry standards, accredit teaching institutions and issue certificates and diplomas. In 1985 AAVA comprised eleven members of whom six represented educational interests. (Coad-Lawrence, 1985, p.6).

TCB was established by the Trades Certification Act 1948. The functions of TCB as set out in Section 6 (1) of the Act were:

- "(a) to make provision for the examination of persons practising or intending to practise any trade who desire from time to time to present themselves for examination;
  
- (b) to grant or issue, either independently or in conjunction with any other examining body, diplomas or certificates to any person in recognition of his proficiency in any trade, or in any art science or matter relating to any trade"

On average TCB annually provided 350 examination papers in 85 trade or occupation groups for approximately 40 000 external examination candidates most of whom were apprentices or who entered for trade related qualifications. TCB also conducted registration examinations in association with the Electrical Registration Board, the Plumbers and Gasfitters and Drainlayers Board, and the Motor Industry Training Board. In 1985 it has a Board comprising 13 members of whom five represented educational interests. (Coad-Lawrence, 1985, pp. 9-45)

As far back as the early 1980s there had been some concern at the way the Vocational Training Council was functioning. The State Services Commission reviewed the VTC in 1981 and produced a report, "that was supposed to lead to the demise of the VTC" (Lawrence, Interview, 1991). One of the recommendations of that report was that AAVA and TCB be amalgamated.

(SSC File No. 20/2/0/38/86). With the benefit of hindsight it is probably not surprising that the SSC made this recommendation. The Cabinet Economic Committee meeting of 3 June 1981 agreed in principle that TCB and AAVA should ultimately be amalgamated. In an attempt to initiate a move in this direction the Minister of Education, Merv Wellington, appointed Don Griffin as the joint chairman of both bodies.

The Report of a Committee of the New Zealand National Committee for UNESCO, Technical and Vocational Education which was chaired by John Hercus and published in 1978 had some pertinent and visionary comments to make. In the section of this report "Recognition of Achievement and Qualifications" a number of pertinent observations were made. They can be summarised as follows (refer Appendix J for full text of this section of the Report):

- That the recognition of all forms of achievement involve more wide-ranging criteria than those involved in recognition of qualifications.
- That the issue of certification and registration of tradesmen and technicians calls for a serious re-appraisal in New Zealand.
- That registration bodies may also exercise undesirable restraints on the mobility of the individual.
- That in New Zealand there are over 60 examining bodies for qualifications attainable by examination in universities, technical institutes, community colleges and secondary schools.

- That the Trades Certification Board has successfully adapted its procedures to meet the changes required by the development of extended trade training within the technical institutes.
- That the Technicians Certification Authority, however, would need radical and extensive reconstruction before it could adapt to a larger role.
- That the Committee believed that a national accreditation authority should be established with functions distinct from the Technicians Certification Authority and the Trades Certification Board.
- That confusion over diploma and certificate courses available in New Zealand was a matter of concern.
- That much could be accomplished by rationalisation of the structure of these courses, the awards, their validation, the accreditation of the teaching institution and the nomenclature attached to the award.
- That achievement was not synonymous with qualifications; it also implies experience but that this was a factor for which it was often difficult to gain recognition.

(Hercus, 1978, pp. 15-17.)

These recommendations, which were visionary in nature, particularly in the call for a national accreditation authority were to go apparently unheeded for quite some time. This may seem rather unusual, but this research was not able to elicit any substantive explanation for this apparent oversight. When asked to explain why the recommendations of this report were not acted upon John Hercus declined to speculate about it. (Hercus, Correspondence, 1991).

Ian Young too was not able to explain why nothing much happened. (Young, Interview, 1991). It would seem however, on the basis of comments made by Ian Young, that this Report attracted little attention from senior people in the Department of Education. Any reasons put forward for this would be highly speculative.

The review of the two qualifications authorities was motivated by a "concern that the then national qualifications framework was not adequately satisfying the demands of an economy of the 1980s". (Lawrence, Interview, 1991). This initial review was done in consultation with the Department of Education at a very low level. It was followed by a more formal review which was co-ordinated by Margaret Bazeley of the State Services Commission and Ian Young of the Department of Education. The review team consisted of Noel Coad as the SSC nominee, and David Lawrence of the Department of Education. They eventually concluded, that while the TCB catered very admirably for all the trades, and there was tremendous union and employer support for it, it did not adequately fulfil its statutory obligations. Conversations during the interviews conducted for this research suggested that there was probably a private concern that the prescription setting and methods of examining were not adequate either. Nonetheless there was very strong industry loyalty to TCB.

In contrast to this picture the situation for AAVA was rather different. AAVA at that time was catering for a reducing number of students. The New Zealand Certificate in Engineering enrolment numbers were static, those for the Certificate in Building was diminishing and the Certificate of Commerce (NZCC) was a serious concern. For example 700 students commenced the NZCC each year and 35 completed it 4 or 5 years later. (Lawrence, Interview,

1991). Coad and Lawrence suggested that, as a pro tem measure the two bodies "come alongside each other, and that they be serviced by a common secretariat" (Lawrence, Interview, 1991). This suggestion was acceptable to SSC, Treasury, VTC, and the Departments of Labour and Education. It was, in David Lawrence's opinion, not however acceptable to TCB or AAVA.

Griffin concluded however, "that philosophically they were too far apart." (Griffin, Interview, 1991). The two had quite different membership profiles. While TCB had employer and employee representation AAVA had none of that. Don Griffin tried, "to get Employers representation" on the AAVA Board but, "that was sufficient anathema to the membership, let alone thinking that it might be followed up by representation from the Trade Union movement" (Griffin, Interview, 1991). AAVA comprised people who, "tended to be academics and persons that had come from an academic or scientific background." (Griffin, Interview, 1991) Many of the members were quite old, although there were some notable exceptions and there was a perception that there was about them, "a lack of imagination, foresight, and a willingness to move" (Lawrence, Interview, 1991). It seems clear that they were generally seen as being out of touch with the Labour Market. This composition of AAVA "was a major irritation to those people in the Labour Market who saw education as an important tool in economic reform in the knowledge based industries." (Griffin, Interview, 1991).

This meant that there were some quite powerful players like the New Zealand Employers Federation, who were keen to do something to remedy the situation. The Association of Teachers in Technical Institutes, (ATTI), the professional association representing teachers in technical institutes and polytechnics, were also largely in agreement "the Association support in

principle the concept of the amalgamation of AAVA and TCB" (Letter from Ray Fargher, National Secretary, ATTI, dated 20 June 1983). In addition, and perhaps ironically in view of its eventual fate, another powerful participant was the VTC. This notion is supported by comments made by both Griffin and Davies. (Interviews, 1991). Don Griffin identified George Peters, Ray Fargher and Derek Wood as strong influences who formed a powerful executive group within the VTC. It was at the time that Jim Bolger, who was later to become Prime Minister with the election of the National Government in 1990, was Minister of Labour that a training needs analysis unit was established under VTC. "There were large amounts of money put into that. They set about to systematically analyse every trade. This was a very big exercise and a lot of people were involved. That was all driven by VTC." (Griffin, Interview, 1991).

As is mentioned elsewhere in this report, there is some significance in who was Minister of Labour at the time. Jim Bolger was seen (Interviews, 1991) as a strong Minister whose backing and influence had a marked impact on the performance of the Department of Labour. This is important because the relative powers of the Departments of labour and education is a significant factor in the development of qualifications policy. Griffin's opinion is substantiated by the view of Marilyn Davies. "In general terms it was the VTC, particularly its DACUM Unit, and its training needs analysis unit, which drove, if not drove, supported apprenticeship reform and moves away from time served towards competency based learning." (Davies, Interview, 1991).

The Department of Education, and particularly the tertiary division were also influential. David Lawrence and Ian Young were both senior officials from this area who had close connections with developments. Perceptions of their

role vary but there is little doubt that they were keen to reform the TCB and AAVA setup. It was suggested that the Department of Education were pursuing an agenda even then of decentralisation, another irony in light of later developments. Don Griffin described the tertiary division as having, "educational philosophies which were not in favour of external examinations, and not in favour of centrally controlled curricula." (Griffin, Interview, 1991) This impression is compatible with the views described earlier that were set out in the 1985 and 1986 Ministerial Committee Reports on Curriculum, Assessment and Qualifications.

The Coad-Lawrence review drew attention to an issue that had surfaced before. This was the lack of 'articulation' between the different qualifications from TCB and AAVA. "Qualifications from TCB didn't readily interface with something from AAVA, and AAVA qualifications didn't interface with anything from the Universities. Also recognition wasn't being given by either of those bodies for any previous training. Completion of an Access course didn't provide any credit for any hours worked towards an apprenticeship. This was the serious concern of the Vocational Training Council that our system didn't provide for that sort of movement." (Lawrence, Interview, 1991).

"In some occupations the trades qualifications or practice certificates are awarded by TCB whereas higher level or technician type qualifications for the same occupational or industry sector are awarded by AAVA. We were given several instances of where this occurs. We were told that some national organisations are often in a quandary as to whom they should approach, AAVA or TCB, to provide their qualification proposal."

(Coad-Lawrence, 1985, p.16)

"There also appears to be a growing number of students, either from within NZ or from overseas who want to obtain cross-credits or at least recognition for studies completed to date. These might relate to students who for example have completed an AAVA stage III engineering course who have now made an apprenticeship contract and want to obtain cross-credits towards a trade certificate."

(Coad-Lawrence, 1985, p.16)

Not only were grave omissions seen in the qualifications network but there was, "no provision for acquiring the skills that could lead to management positions. There was this overriding concern that there were many qualifications around that students were receiving, that were of poor quality, of educational questionability, that were not contributing to the development of the work force long term, or to the benefit of the New Zealand economy." (Lawrence, Interview, 1991).

While TCB and AAVA continued with little change through this period, to govern the qualifications structures for trade and technical education and training, there were developments in the secondary education sector. A major thrust for these changes came from the need to deal with problems connected with the sixth form University Entrance Examination. The next chapter deals with the two reports of the Committee of Inquiry into Curriculum, Assessment and Qualifications in Forms 5 to 7 and the subsequent establishment of the Board of Studies (BoS).

## Chapter 12

### **Curriculum, Assessment, Qualifications and the Board of Studies**

By 1987 there were two statutory examining authorities and a range of professional registration boards. (refer Appendix A). The New Zealand Trades Certification Board (TCB), which had operated since 1949, offered a comprehensive range of qualifications for trades persons. The Authority for Advanced Vocational Awards (AAVA), which had grown out of the 1954 Technicians Certification Authority (TCA), offered technician related qualifications and validated both certificates and diplomas in specialist fields. In addition however, local apprenticeship committees, under the authority of the Apprenticeship Act, were empowered to supply certificates to apprentices completing their apprenticeship. Furthermore registration boards in fields as diverse as engineering, accountancy and nursing were also either examining or accrediting for membership graduates of polytechnic programmes.

Just as there is evidence of pressures on the qualifications structures for continuing education there were also pressures on the similar structures for post-primary education. By 1984 there was particular disenchantment with the University Entrance Examination. A meeting convened on 30 March 1984 to discuss the issue. Present were representatives of the New Zealand Post Primary Teachers Association, the Association of Heads of Independent and Integrated Secondary Schools, the New Zealand Parent Teachers Association,

the New Zealand Secondary School Boards' Association, the Association of University Teachers, the New Zealand Employers Federation, the New Zealand University Students' Association and the New Zealand Federation of Labour. They unanimously recommended that Sixth Form Certificate should be the sole award in Form 6. The Minister of Education at that time, Merv Wellington, rejected this recommendation. Subsequently Russell Marshall, the Minister of Education in the newly elected Labour Government, commissioned a Committee of Inquiry into Curriculum, Assessment, and Qualifications in Forms 5 to 7. This Committee which was chaired by J. A. Ross, the Assistant Director-General of Education, produced its first report in May 1985. The Report, " recognised the widely held view that University Entrance is an inappropriately placed examination for the majority of students in today's sixth forms", and accepted the decision to remove the University Entrance Examination from Form 6 in 1986. (Ross, 1985, p.5).

The background to this conclusion lay in changes that had occurred in secondary schools over the preceding forty years or so. In that time there had been a significant growth in the number of students staying at secondary schools. This was compounded by the increase in the proportion staying on to Forms 6 and 7. By 1985 almost 60% of students entering Form 3 remained at school until at least Form 6. This compared with about 20% in 1945. (Ross, 1985, p.7). A result of this was that form 6 changed from being a relatively small, predominantly academically-oriented population, to one including a more diverse group of students with correspondingly diverse needs, vocational interests and intentions. This meant that sixth form students embarked on a course based on prescriptions that were designed to prepare them for university. This destination was however appropriate to only about a quarter of those students. The prestige of the qualification and its currency as a

credential was such however that over 80% of sixth form students entered the examination. (Ross, 1985, p.7). The Committee felt,

"The persistence of the University Entrance examination in form 6 has introduced undesirable constraints on the curriculum of schools and seriously hindered schools from providing a well-balanced education for its students at this level. The committee considers the removal of the University Entrance examination from form 6 should result in an improved education for a significant number of sixth form students. The award of Sixth Form Certificate has the ability to be more responsive to local and changing needs than University Entrance. A wider range of courses can be accommodated, permitting greater choice, and more flexible programmes for the broader range of students who have been entering form 6 in recent years. Further the motivation of many students is likely to be increased in a situation where assessment is continuous and internal and not aimed towards an examination with a pass/fail outcome."

(Ross, 1985, p.8).

A further development was the Committee's recommendation that evening class students should also have the opportunity to enter for Sixth Form Certificate subjects. (Ross, 1985, p.13).

Given these changes the Committee considered that there was a need for a special body to administer the award. The Committee believed that such a body should be widely representative and that it would, "enhance the status of the award and support its public credibility." (Ross, 1985, p.20). The establishment of a formal Board of Studies was not new. The initial debate gained prominence in the mid 1970s when the relationship between the two

sixth form awards, University Entrance and Sixth Form Certificate, was under scrutiny. A proposal for a Board of Studies was published in 1984 by the Department of Education. It was titled Proposal for a Board of Studies and was part of the Curriculum 80s series of publications. This Board was proposed to subsume the responsibilities of two qualifications authorities. They were the School Certificate Examination Board and the Universities Entrance Board.

One year later, in July 1986, the Committee produced a second Report. This Report affirmed the earlier recommendation for the establishment of a Board of Studies. This Report felt that despite changes to syllabuses, the addition of new subjects and modifications to examinations, structural changes were needed in the curriculum and the assessment system. The Committee's proposals provided for a more flexible curriculum whereby students could take courses to suit their individual needs, abilities and interests. "The proposals will remove the present barriers which cause students to leave school because of failure to achieve examination success, and will encourage them to stay longer and prepare themselves better for the world they will face after leaving school." (Ross, 1986, p.8). The Committee documented its, "profound and immediate concern" (p.29) over the proportion of the student population leaving school without any formal national acknowledgement of their achievement. In 1984 33.3% of school leavers had no formal qualification, 12.2% had School Certificate in 1 or 2 subjects, 11.1% had School Certificate in 3 or more subjects (Ross, 1986, p.28). As will emerge later on statistics of this sort were used as part of the argument for the later more sweeping reforms of the New Zealand Qualifications structures.

The New Zealand custom, as described earlier, of setting 50 per cent as a pass mark is examined by the Committee. They describe it as an arbitrary cut-off line that had become deeply ingrained in the New Zealand examination system. A large majority of the responses to the Committee's request for submissions,

"expressed the view that failure as it is embodied in examinations such as School Certificate is an undesirable and unnecessary feature of any assessment system, and most would wish to see its elimination in New Zealand."

(Ross, 1986, p.62).

The emphasis of the New Zealand education system on national public examinations was scrutinised by the Report. Up to that time, 1986, there had been four such examinations in the final three years of secondary education. They were, School Certificate, University Entrance, University Bursaries, and Entrance Scholarships. The Committee believed that there were too many certificates and that they were issued by too many authorities. They suggested a means of rationalising the issuing of certificates. A major result of the Committee's work was to bring together the jurisdiction for examining and certification for fifth, sixth and seventh forms under one authority, namely the proposed Board of Studies.

The Board of Studies was established by legislation passed in June 1987 and it held its first meeting in February 1988. The Board's function was,

"to consider and make recommendations to the Minister of Education concerning the secondary curriculum, secondary syllabus and guidelines, the assessment of secondary students, awards that are or may be made to secondary

students, and the subjects and prescriptions for those awards."

(Board of Studies Newsletter, August 1988, p.2).

Whilst the establishment of the Board of Studies (BoS) was a new development in qualification policy the other qualifications bodies remained intact. Alongside the BoS the AAVA and TCB continued to play their roles in the areas of technical and trade qualifications. Other than the change represented by the BoS little else happened to the existing qualifications structures. Moves were afoot however, and these were signalled, perhaps for the first time, to the public in November 1986 by a speech from Russell Marshall. This phase of the developments is the subject of the next chapter.

The recommendations of the Committee of Inquiry had become a reality and most significantly the responsibility for awards for fifth, sixth and seventh forms was now vested in the one authority. The significance of this will become more apparent during the more detailed examination of the developments that occurred in the few years prior to the passing of the Education Amendment Act in July 1990, and with it the demise of the Board of Studies.

This background then should demonstrate not only a continuing concern for aspects of post-primary, vocational and technical education, but should also reveal some important social attitudes that were associated with developments in these areas. That the effects of these predilections and prejudices continued in various forms to exert influences on qualifications policies is a matter that will become increasingly apparent.

## PART III

### More Recent Developments

While this part of the thesis like the previous part is concerned to some extent with historical developments, it goes further. The time span really covers the term of the Fourth Labour Government and as such covers the period from 1984 to 1990. It is during this comparatively short time of six years that most of the action in this particular area of policy making took place. In this part, although there is still considerable emphasis on description, it also has a more explanatory role. As the events are more contemporary it has been possible to include more detail, and provide a clearer indication of the emerging themes and issues that are discussed in detail in Part IV.

A summary of the main policy developments can be found in Table 4, and a summary of the Contradictory aims of Learning for Life can be found in Table 3.

## Chapter 13

### Cabinet Committee Decisions and the Visit of Tom McCool

While the public would have had some awareness of the developments in the secondary sector, the issues in the tertiary sector would probably have been less obvious. Nonetheless the longstanding concerns about the purposes and functioning of both the TCB and AAVA were receiving official scrutiny.

That these issues were being taken seriously at cabinet level was publicly evidenced in a speech by Russell Marshall to the Technical Institutes' Association Conference at Ascot Park in Invercargill on 7 November 1986.

"I would now like to explore with you some issues of current concern. In particular I would like to consider the themes of equity, responsiveness and the recognition of qualifications. I want to consider these items in the context of a number of current developments. I know that you are all very much aware of the government's original intention to publish a green paper on the vocational education and training system. Drafts were considered by the Government's caucus committee on Employment and training then referred to an Ad Hoc Committee of Ministers chaired by the Hon. Richard Prebble. This committee, though primarily concerned with the developments in Access training for young people, has now received a number of reports from officials on a wide range of

issues. In particular these have concerned the system's perceived limited response to student and employer needs. The lack of equity and entry to, and provision of, training, and the incomplete arrangements for recognising skills and aptitudes." (Marshall, 1986).

In late 1985 the Department of Education produced a document indicating the possible shape of a green paper on the New Zealand vocational education and training system and institutional arrangements in the labour market. Included in the section on topics that could be canvassed were:

- the writing of examination prescriptions and the development of other testing procedures;
- the conduct of examination and test skills;
- the recognition and certification of training;

The Ad Hoc Cabinet Committee on Employment and Training referred to by Russell Marshall made an important decision at its meeting held on 29 October 1986. Members of the Committee present were: R. W. Prebble (Chair), K. Wetere, R. Marshall, A. Hercus, and K. T. Burke with officials from Education, Labour, Maori Affairs, Women's Affairs, the Prime Minister's Department and Treasury. Among the decisions taken by the Committee at this meeting were the following:

agreed that the normal operating principle in continuing education should be that management and control be

decentralised except where there is a particular reason to maintain centralised control.

agreed in principle that there was no need for a statutory body to conduct training needs identification, develop prescriptions or undertake certification and that the present bodies carrying out these functions be dismantled.

agreed to the establishment of an independent validation authority to endorse the certificates provided by others

agreed that any validation, prescription development, training needs identification, or examination activity carried on by any government agency should be on a voluntary basis, funded either on a contributory or commercial basis.

agreed that any future system of oversight in the area of continuing education ought to have:

- flexibility offered by validation rather than prescription;
- close contact between any validating authority and training providers (including any centralised organisation of training providers that may exist, such as UGC or TIGA);
- assessment by achievement of competence rather than time served;
- flexible certification that permits cross-crediting;

The meeting also directed the Departments of Education and Labour to co-ordinate,

"the preparation of an official paper which addresses the future of the Trades Certification Board, the Advanced Authority for Vocational Awards and the Vocational Training Council in the light of the need to move towards one validation authority."

(Minutes of the Cabinet Ad Hoc Committee on Employment and Training)

Early the next year, March 1987, Tom McCool, the chief executive of the Scottish Vocational Education Council (SCOTVEC), visited New Zealand. His two week visit had been preceded by the visits of various officials, including the Minister of education, Russell Marshall, and J. A. Ross, the Assistant Director-General of Education, to Scotland. The Vocational Training Council (VTC), the Department of Education and the technical Institutes Association (TIA) had initiated discussions on the developments in post compulsory schooling, and particularly the Scottish 16+ Action Plan. Subsequently the Minister of Education agreed to the department of Education, in partnership with the VTC and the Department of Labour to establish a committee to cohost and co-ordinate the visit to New Zealand of a senior official who was involved in the Action Plan in Scotland. (Department of Education, Report on Discussions Ensuing from the Visit of Mr Tom McCool, April 1987)

In 1985 Russell Marshall, the Minister of Education, and J. A. Ross, Assistant Director-General of Education, visited Scotland and viewed developments in the area of post compulsory schooling, particularly the Scottish 16+ Action Plan. Later Scotland was visited by an Assistant Director of the VTC, a Technical Institute Principal and the Director of AAVA.

This initiated further discussions in New Zealand, and a committee chaired by the Director of Continuing Education with representatives from the Department of Education and Labour, VTC, Technical Institutes Association (TIA), Association of teachers in Technical Institutes (ATTI), the Secondary School Boards Association (SSBA), the Post-Primary Teachers Association (PPTA), the Federation of Labour (FOL), the Employers Federation, TCB, and AAVA was established. They were to cohost and co-ordinate the visit to New Zealand of a senior official from Scotland who was involved in the Action Plan. On the initiative of the VTC, the British Council agreed to sponsor the international travel of a senior Scottish official. The Departments of Labour and Education, and the VTC consented to share the costs of travel accommodation and seminars within New Zealand.

During the visit of Tom McCool he delivered 18 formal presentations on the Action Plan to a total of 600 invited guests in the four main centres. There were, in addition, a number of more informal briefings as well as a one hour meeting with the Minister of Education and Phil Goff who was then Acting Minister of Employment.

The presentations by Tom McCool were very well received. There was, "At all meetings, a very high level of interest in and considerable support for the underlying concepts of the Action Plan" (Department of Education, Report

on Discussions Ensuing from the Visit of Mr Tom McCool"). "He made a presentation that made it sound wonderful. It was in terms of how they had seen that the economic situation in Scotland was bad, they had a tangled and unresponsive education system, a tangle of qualifications that people couldn't see their way through, and how they had hit upon this modular world, a modular competence based world. It freed things up, created so many pathways, and it was just magnificent. Everybody bought into it and we used the term commonly after his visit. There was genuine euphoria following his visit." (Lythe, Interview, 1991). Whether these feelings were universally felt may be problematic. "I know a lot of people were influenced by the SCOTVEC model. When Tom McCool was brought out I attended a meeting in Auckland at which he spoke. There was a notable absence of any significant secondary person, so there was quite a strong tertiary hand in the model that was developed" (Scott, Interview, 1991). Certainly David Lythe acknowledged that at the national meeting held in Wellington, Ruth Chapman of the PPTA raised a number of concerns. (Lythe, Interview, 1991).

The underlying concepts of the Action Plan as reported by Tom McCool were:

- the tripartite nature of SCOTVEC
- modular programmes of study
- a single National Certificate
- assessment based on specified performance criteria and crediting cumulative performance
- a range of points of entry to and exit from education and training
- a greater freedom of user choice
- better opportunities to change areas of study while retaining credit for earlier achievement

- closer links amongst all providers of post-compulsory school education and training

(Department of Education, 1986, "Report on Discussions Ensuing From the Visit of Mr Tom McCool).

The Report also documents the issues that were most commonly raised at the public meetings. Neither the implications for curriculum nor the implications of modularisation are listed as issues that were discussed. Following the visit the Minister of Education approved the establishment of a short life working group to investigate a qualification system based on some or all of the principles agreed to at the national seminar held at the conclusions of Tom McCool's visit. This committee, at the request of the Minister, worked in conjunction with the Achievement Post-School Planning Committee and it produced a discussion paper entitled, "Discussion Paper on Post-Compulsory National Certification" in July 1987.

This paper is significant for it is one of the first to record the ideas that by this time were beginning to come together in a clearer and more coherent form. They were ideas that were to form the basis for the restructuring of New Zealand's qualification system. In it goals for education and training in New Zealand were set out along with the principles that the accompanying structures and system should embody. These principles were those of accessibility of post-compulsory and post-school education and training, the characteristics of this level and type of education, and the characteristics of the qualifications that should accompany it. Particular attention was accorded to the characteristics and desirability of a modular structure for courses.

In the meantime other parallel events were taking place as well. The Universities, through the New Zealand Vice Chancellors Committee had (NZVCC) become increasingly concerned about possible threats from treasury to the University Grants Committee (UGC) and they set out to capture some [policy] ground by the preparation and publication of their own report on New Zealand's Universities. The Minister also initiated a programme of consultation to seek information and comment on issues of concern about tertiary education. The intention of this exercise was to use the information it collected in the formation of new policies. These developments are the subject of the following chapter.

## Chapter 14

### The Tertiary Review and the Watts Report

Not long after the publication of the Probine-Fargher Report there was a general election and a change of Minister of Education. With David Lange as the new Minister of Education a whole new platform of reform was initiated and the Probine-Fargher Report dropped out of thinking. There were however other developments that had the potential to initiate new policy that were started, but were also subsumed by the emergence, after the 1987 general election, of a new agenda for educational policy development.

In 1986 Russell Marshall as Minister of Education jointly with his colleague the Minister of Employment, initiated a far-reaching public discussion of tertiary education. Two discussion booklets were produced by the Department of Education. They were Further Education and Training: Who Should Pay? and Tertiary Education in New Zealand: Issues and Comment. These documents which were released early in 1987, were designed to initiate discussion drawing attention to the problems and issues which tertiary education faced. The public was invited to make submissions as the information collected was to be used in the development of any new policies that were related to tertiary education. (Tertiary Education in New Zealand 1987, p.3). In March 1987 some 12 000 copies of these two discussion booklets were distributed. The closing date for submissions was 15 April 1987.

On 29 September 1987 the Cabinet Social Equity Committee agreed to priorities for the preparation of commentary papers that were then published

on 1 February 1988 in the Report on Submissions to the Tertiary Reviews. Commentary Paper D in the Report was headed Credentials and Validation. This paper summarised public perceptions of credentials and validation in the context of tertiary education in New Zealand. It gave an outline of the strongly-expressed views supported by more detailed analysis and included a selection of excerpts from submissions that indicated the range of opinions held in the community at that time. There were 526 formal submissions received of which 45 (22%) addressed issues of credentials and/or validation. The main views on this subject as expressed in submission were summarised in 10 main points.

- Credentials should be as transferable as possible
- Credentials need to be nationally recognised to be transferable, portable, and to maintain standards.
- A single, central body should be responsible for the administration and awarding of national credentials.
- National recognition of awards can be achieved by the awarding of credentials by local providers, with national validation.
- Assessment should be competency-based, internally assessed, and/or include qualities and experiences outside the education system.
- Some courses outside the university system should have degree status.
- The functions of the Authority for Advanced Vocational Awards (AAVA) and/or the New Zealand Trades Certification Board. (TCB) should be preserved.

- A national validation authority should be established to allow regional developments whilst maintaining national standards.
- Industry should have a major involvement with any validation authority.
- A modular tertiary education system would increase flexibility improve access and portability, enhance equity, allow for different types of learning and benefit industry.

(Report on Submission to the Tertiary Reviews, 1988, p.151).

In October 1987 the New Zealand Vice Chancellors' Committee released New Zealand's Universities: Partners in National Development (Watts Report). This report was written by the Universities Review Committee appointed by the New Zealand Vice-Chancellors Committee. There is little doubt that the Vice-Chancellors commissioned the Report as a response to a general concern about the performance of the Universities and a particular political concern about the functioning of the University Grants Committee. "The Universities commissioned their own Watts Report. It was an attempt to sort of keep Government at bay, but the Audit Office was very interested in looking into Universities and doing a value for money audit. The universities knew that they were going to get the scrutiny, in a sense for the first time." (Barker, Interview, 1991). This view is augmented by a view expressed by Gary Hawke. "I told the Vice-Chancellor here that I thought it inevitable that sooner or later various ideas that were surfacing around Access, and around educational policy as a whole, would inevitably lead the Government to look at Universities, and I thought it would be a good idea if the Universities were in a

good position to respond to that sort of inquiry. I think that had some part, it wasn't the only thing that happened, but it did have some part in persuading the Vice-Chancellors Committee to establish the Watts inquiry for themselves. The intention there was, and it wasn't entirely a defensive one, that the universities should be in as good a position as possible when the reform and zeal of the Government started paying attention to the Universities." (Hawke, Interview, 1991).

The proposed academic programmes committee was to have the task of reviewing and advising the UGC not only on "proposed new programmes but existing ones, both graduate and undergraduate, with the broad framework of university development and the efficient use of resources as its prime concern." (Watts, 1987, p.120).

Much of the argument advanced in the Report concerns the structure and functioning of the UGC and this is generally of only limited significance to qualifications policy developments. There are however some parts of the Report that reflect the position of the Committee on qualifications. One of these is the section on Performance Indicators. Here the Committee notes that the Curriculum Committee of the UGC had the responsibility for evaluating proposals for the introduction of new subjects, new degree courses as well as course prerequisites. The section continues,

"The Committee is essentially a peer review group. It has drawn some attention as a cosy club which does not take a strong assertive line on the changing content of higher education programmes. We share the concern, and recommend in Section 7.3 that it should be replaced by an academic programmes committee."

(Watts, 1987, p.52)

In a discussion of the relationships with other tertiary institutions Watts acknowledges that the role of universities had not developed in isolation, as there had been close links between the universities and the Teachers' Colleges over the preceding 25 years. The Report also claims that the universities had been part of a "rapidly evolving tripartite system with the teachers colleges and the technical institutes." (Watts, 1987, p.123). The rather minimal extent of these links can be deduced from the pursuant discussion which indicated that a variety of cross-crediting arrangements existed as recognition of Teachers College course work, usually towards the Bachelor of Education degree. There is no specific mention of any similar cross-crediting arrangements for polytechnic study. The Report does however urge,

"the continued co-operation between the two systems, the wider use of cross-crediting and the granting of exemptions from certain university courses for prior study."

(Watts, 1987, p.123).

The reference to the 1982 OECD Report Reviews of National Policies for Education and the Probine-Fargher Report to support this argument are indicative of an awareness by the Universities of the prevailing climate of opinion. The extent of this awareness however was perhaps somewhat restricted as, again invoking conclusions from the same two Reports, the Watts Committee concluded, "We do not think it necessary for both systems to award degrees." (Watts, 1987, p.123).

They were however moved to recommend,

"that the Vice-Chancellors Committee and the individual universities encourage mutual collaboration with the polytechnic system, especially in the exchanging of information about their respective responsibilities, the avoidance of duplication of courses and the granting of cross-credits for studies undertaken in their institutions."

(Watts, 1987, p.132).

Both the Tertiary review and the Watts Report, though emanating from quite different sources had the intention and potential to initiate policy or at least provide a lead for its future direction. They too, like the Probin-Fargher Report, were to be overtaken by the events that occurred early in the second term of the Fourth Labour Government. Not only was a new Minister of Education appointed, but the whole style of education administration in New Zealand was to be radically reformed with the emergence of a political agenda for major restructuring. The focus of reform during the first term of the Labour Government had been the general economy and the running of government departments. It was in the second term that those same political and ideological forces, ones concerned with issues such as market forces and accountability, were to begin to have a more obvious and overt focus on change in Education. The explanation and detail of this change are outlined in the penultimate chapter, the one on Other Issues and Influences. The first major public evidence of the style and extent of the change was manifest in the announcements made with the publication of the Picot Report of 1988. It is this Report that is the focus of the next chapter.

## Chapter 15

### The Picot Reforms

While the taskforce to Review Educational Administration (Picot) had not yet reported and the Post-Compulsory Education and Training Working Group (Hawke) had not yet convened the Departments felt,

"that the establishment of the NVQB can be dealt with as a discrete matter. The proposed NVQB will fit well with any of the administrative and funding models which are being explored. Moreover both departments think it is important to announce some clear positive reforms sooner rather than later since the tertiary sector has been expecting change for some time now. The NVQB might be particularly useful to get underway as part of a package which sees the dismantling of the Vocational Training Council and industry training board network, since the loss of industry input could be balanced against the emphasis and industry input within the new body"

(Paper to the Ministers of Education and Employment, "Formation of a National Vocational Qualifications Body", 1988, p.8)

Administering for Excellence: Effective Administration in Education (Picot Report) was published the next month in April 1988. The Taskforce to Review Educational Administration was announced on 21 July 1987 and it was requested to report directly, not only to the Minister of Education, but also significantly, to the Ministers of Finance and State Services. Its terms of reference meant that the Taskforce were to examine:

- the functions of the Head Office of the Department of Education
  - the work of polytechnic, community college and teachers' college councils, secondary school boards, and school committees
  - the department of Education's role in relation to other educational services
  - changes in the territorial organisation of public education
  - other aspects that warrant review
- (Picot, 1988, p.ix )

The Taskforce itself comprised five people. They were Brian Picot (a company director), Peter Ramsay (an Associate Professor of Education), Margaret Rosemergy (a senior lecturer at the Wellington College of Education), Whetumarama Wereta (a social researcher) and Colin Wise (a company director). They were assisted by Maurice Gianotti (a senior Department of Education official) as executive officer, and interestingly by Marijke Robinson (State Services Commission) and Simon Smelt (Treasury) as seconded part-time secretariat members. Some further background is discussed in the penultimate chapter of this thesis. The Picot Report found,

"Our investigations convinced us that the present administrative structure is over centralised and made overly complex by having too many decision points. Effective management practices are lacking and the information needed by people in all parts of the system to make informed choices is seldom available. The result is that almost everyone feels powerless to change things they see

need changing. To make progress, radical change is now required."

(Picot, 1988, p.xi)

The Picot Report comments specifically on the proposed national validation authority in several places. In the section on accountability of tertiary institutions it states,

"The content of courses in tertiary institutions will be considered by a national validation authority while the quality of teaching will be largely a matter for the clients themselves."

(Picot, 1988, p.47).

This appears to suggest that the Taskforce foresaw the Universities as tertiary institutions being at least partially under the jurisdiction of the validation authority.

In its chapter on Specific Issues the Picot Report has a section "Issues of Co-ordination in Tertiary Education". This section deals with three main areas. The first starts,

"We were informed that discussions are in progress to establish a single, national validation authority for non-degree courses and national examinations in secondary and tertiary institutions. We support these initiatives and see no reason for having more than one state authority for validation of non-degree courses."

In an explanatory footnote the Report elaborates,

"This Authority would undertake the functions now carried out by such bodies as the Trades Certification Board, the Authority for Advanced Vocational Awards and the Board of Studies."

(Picot, 1988, p.71).

As will be apparent, although this is partially in line with the sentiments expressed in previous documents, it departs from them in two ways. First it saw the validation authorities jurisdiction as extending to secondary schools and thus subsuming the responsibilities of the Board of Studies.

As Picot was concerned to restructure the Department of Education which provided services for the Board of Studies, it would as a consequence therefore also have been necessary to relocate the Board of Studies. This may be a factor in explaining the Picot view. It is also likely that treasury would have had a view about the economic efficiency of the BoS operation.

Neither the minutes of the Ad Hoc Cabinet Committee on Employment and Training of 29 October 1986, nor the "Discussion Paper on Post Compulsory National Certification" (July 1987), nor the "Report on the Formation of a National Validation Body", the joint paper "Formation of a National Vocational Qualifications Body" (March 1988) give any indication of such an intention. The possible exception to this is the Probine-Fargher Report whose comments on the complex relationships developing between the senior parts of secondary schools and the polytechnics hinted that a change, such as mooted in Picot, was desirable. The second is the notion that the validation authority would be for non-degree courses. As has already been pointed out earlier papers had indicated that the new body would cover degree courses, at least those provided by the non- university sector. Lawrence commented that there was little conferring by Picot with people in the tertiary area and, with reference to section 7.4.2 of the Picot Report, "It was absolute news to the continuing education division and to some extent discredited the Picot Report in their view." (Lawrence, Interview, 1991).

A further shift in direction by the Picot Committee concerned the functions of the Authority. They apparently felt that there ought to be a single slim organisation that would receive proposals for courses. They saw the role as one of validation only. (Gianotti, Interview, 1991). Quite clearly accreditation had, prior to this, been seen as a function of the Authority.

"Both departments agree that there should be an accreditation process for training providers, and that the accreditation procedures used should not be 'heavy handed' so that employers and private training providers have the opportunity to become accredited providers."

(Formation of a National Vocational Qualifications Body,  
1988, p.5)

Picot in the same section (7.4.2) continues,

"This will result in better co-ordination, a more consistent approach and a more efficient use of resources. In our view New Zealand is too small our resources too precious to be dissipated by unnecessary duplication of capital intensive courses in the secondary and tertiary sectors."

(Picot, 1988, pp.71-72)

Section 7.4.4 extends the idea of the link between secondary and tertiary education.

"The kinds of courses we envisage would be available from the fourth form year and would include the possibility of dual enrolment in a secondary school and a tertiary institution. A close collaboration between secondary and tertiary - which is already being promoted through the existing LINK programmes

- would need to be further developed. We believe a simple validation authority with modular co-ordinated course offerings would provide the necessary impetus."

(Picot, 1988, p.72).

Section 7.4.3 provides an indication that was more explicit than any previous document about a more practical aspect of the proposed system namely modularisation.

"The objective of national validation must be to develop opportunities for students to attain recognised qualifications by accumulating modular courses and credits that may be available from any sector. We strongly support a system similar to the Scottish 16+ arrangement one that contains modules or shorter units of study, which lead to the award of a single national certificate."

Such a notion was implicit in previous discussions but there is little evidence of any detailed attention to it nor of any concern for the possible implications for the curriculum. An exception to this was the "Discussion Paper on Post Compulsory National Certification" which identified in two lists the strengths and weaknesses of a modular structure. (1987, pp. 22-23). Even here though the arguments tended to be pragmatic rather than philosophic. Certainly issues relating to possible commodifying effects were not examined. Lyn Scott in reference to the possible commodifying effect of modularisation stated, "I think there is incredible danger and I don't think it has been recognised, and I don't hear people recognising what I consider to be the problems." (Scott, Interview, 1991). Furthermore the Picot Committee did not dwell on the issue. "Not a lot of consideration was given by the Taskforce to the likely

effects of course modularisation on the quality of education." (Gianotti, Interview, 1991).

In the chapter "Making the Change", Section 8.4.12 reinforces the intentions of the Taskforce. In connection with the National Validation Authority the report states,

"The validation of all non-degree courses except those offered by Universities, will become the responsibility of the new national validation authority from 1 October 1989. The present Board of Studies will be fully funded up to that time, after which its activities will be included within the national validation authority."

(Picot, 1988, p.88)

While this was the view expressed by the Picot Taskforce it was not the view of the Working Group on Post-Compulsory Education and Training. The contrasting recommendations of the Hawke Report are examined in the next chapter. The Picot Report broke new policy ground therefore on which future developments could be built. It also provide a new perspective for educational change, one dominated by managerial concerns.

## Chapter 16

### The Hawke Report

The next development and arguably one of the most significant, was the publication of the Report of the Working Group on Post Compulsory Education and Training. (Hawke Report) in July 1988. This report was initiated "as part of the Government's social policy reform." (Phil Goff, in Foreword to Hawke Report 1988). It was commissioned by the Cabinet Social Equity Committee and the Working Group was established in March 1988. The composition of the Working Group was determined by Cabinet who nominated the convener and the departments. Departments then nominated individuals and Geoffrey Palmer's office approved them. (Geoffrey Palmer was Chairman of the Cabinet Social Equity Committee). The Departments involved were Prime Minister's, Education, Labour, Treasury, State Services, Women's Affairs, Maori Affairs, and Pacific Island Affairs. Gary Hawke was appointed directly by the Social Equity Committee and had an understanding with the Deputy Prime Minister that he would have a say if he didn't approve of anybody. This situation suited Hawke as he "wanted to keep the thing fairly ambivalent over whether those people were there as individuals or as departmental representatives." He also insisted that the people appointed attend each meeting as he was not prepared to accept substitutes, although on a few occasions he did allow them to attend. (Hawke, Interview, 1991). The earlier reports,

"highlighted many important issues, and with the terms of reference, formed the foundation for Working Group Discussions"

(Hawke, letter to Geoffrey Palmer 31 July 1988, Hawke Report, 1988).

In a similar vein to Picot, Hawke recommended a considerable degree of decentralisation, a matter that will be discussed in more detail in a later section.

The major recommendations of the Hawke Report affecting qualifications policy were:

- The University Grants Committee should be disestablished.
- The Vocational Training Council and the National Council for Adult Education be disestablished.
- The Board of Studies should be relieved of its particular responsibilities for qualifications and assessment but have its brief extended to advising in both primary and secondary schooling.
- A National Educational Qualifications Authority be established, with three constituent but separately empowered bodies, the Secondary Education Qualifications Board, the National Vocational Qualifications Board and the National Academic Awards Board.
- i Universities share many functions with other PCET institutions, that overlaps should be built on, and there should be no

attempt to pressure particular kinds of activities for one group of institutions.

- ii The word "university" should nevertheless be confined to institutions which satisfy all of the criteria:

a. They are primarily concerned with more advanced learning with the principle aim of developing intellectual independence;

b. Their research and teaching are closely interdependent and most of their teaching is done by people who are active in advancing knowledge.

c. they are international in stance.

d. they are a repository of knowledge and expertise

e. they accept a role as critic and conscience of society

- iii the word "degree" should be so protected as to recognise completion of a course of advanced learning which is taught by people engaged in research and which emphasises general principles and basic

skills as basis for self-directed work and learning; degrees need not be confined to universities and that NAAB can be relied on to monitor these provisions.

(Hawke, 1988, pp.12-13)

Not only had the name of the authority by this time changed from National Vocational Qualifications Board (NVQB) to National Educational Qualifications Authority (NEQA) but significant other policy developments were also heralded. Like Picot Hawke envisaged that the NEQB would help resolve some of the credentialing problems created by the overlap between upper secondary school classes and polytechnics. Whilst agreeing with Picot that the new qualifications authority should take over the qualifications responsibilities of the Board of Studies, Hawke still felt there was a role for the BOS. This was however to be an advisory role but extending its jurisdiction from secondary schools to include primary schools as well. Despite many similarities there were nevertheless a number of important differences. Among the more controversial was the proposed National Academic Awards Board which was to be one of three distinct sub-agencies of the NEQA. This Board,

"through appropriate working parties, could validate degree courses at any institution. It could also develop guidelines for the use of academic terms such as "bachelor" "master" "doctor" and "diploma"..."

(Hawke, 1988, p.55).

This contrasts with Picot's notion of a national validation board for non-degree courses. This notion of three sub-agencies as part of a federal organisation

had not been documented anywhere else and seems to be contrary to Picot's idea of a single authority.

The origins of this idea, despite its absence from previous documents appears to have been the Department of Education. By this time the Department had an influential and co-ordinated policy group operating in the qualifications area. In this context the group comprised Ian Young, Alan Barker, Murray Leach, David Hood and David Lythe. (Lythe, Interview, 1991). Among their tasks was one of responding to Gary Hawke's questions. One of these questions related to what sort of bodies there should be to hook together the national qualifications and pick up on what had been said in Picot. The advice from this group was that the solution could lie in a tripartite body. Certainly the details of such a scheme are outlined in the Department of Education PCET 15 i LEA document headed "National Educational Qualifications Agency - Development From Last Discussion Any Second Thoughts". It is interesting to note that this paper considered,

"It may be considered desirable to have the accreditation function carried out by the Review and Audit Agency"  
(Education Department, PCET 15 i LEA, 1988, p.2).

Hawke accepted the general suggestion, but the Hawke Report states quite clearly that the NEQA boards would be authorised to accredit providers. Gary Hawke found the federal idea appealing for several reasons. First, along with a suitably remodelled Board of Studies it allowed for the curriculum development activity needed in the senior secondary school, the gap between Post-Compulsory and Post-School education. More importantly, "I thought the main reason why you would need a federal structure was because there was a great deal of suspicion in the Department of Labour, in the business community, and among the trade unions, that there was likely to be too little

employer and union influence on the Qualifications Authority. They had worked through this very carefully in drawing up the plans for the National Vocational Qualifications Board. The whole structure was intended to ensure that there was a lot of employer and union influence on what the schools were going to regard as particularly important. It was because I didn't want to usurp that, that I wanted to keep a National Vocational Qualifications Board, and that was the first and most important of the reasons for recommending a federal structure for what we called NEQA, the national Educational Qualifications Authority. The other reason was the issue about Polytechnics and degrees. What was wanted there was something equivalent to the British Council for National Academic Awards. These three things had a lot in common, and so we wanted to put them into one organisation. That's how we got to the federal recommendation." (Hawke, Interview, 1991).

The more precise origins of the tripartite federal body is unclear but it may be a reflection of the way the rate at which the acceptability of change was accelerating. As will emerge shortly even this "innovation" was short-lived and replaced with a single co-ordinated body.

A further significant feature of the Hawke Report was its unequivocal statement "accreditation and validation would be voluntary." (Hawke, 1988, p.55). This idea had not previously appeared quite as boldly as this. It was based on an economically oriented argument that in a contestable market the maintenance of standards would be in the interests of providers as they would otherwise risk losing their market share. In the same vein a voluntary system of validation would also be useful to providers as a marketing device and would allow new and less well known institutions with an additional marketing tool. This notion of voluntary validation of qualifications may also

have had implications for allowing validation to become a contestable process. Such a development would have been aided by making the NEQA a self funding body so that it had no particular competitive advantage over any other body contemplating the provision of validation services.

Certification was regarded by Hawke as the responsibility of the providers (Hawke, 1988, p. 55). This position was opposed amongst others by the New Zealand Employers Federation who argued for a system of national certification as opposed to the validation of locally developed certificates. The Employers Federation maintained that parents, students and employers wanted the security of a national credential which could have recognition and portability not only within New Zealand but overseas as well. Concern was also expressed by the Federation about the effects of devolving curriculum decision making to local Polytechnics. Any such move was seen as a possible threat to national vocational standards and qualifications. ( New Zealand Employers Federation Response to the Hawke Report, 1988, pp. 7-8).

The Employers Federation was not alone in having reservations about the Hawke Report. In his foreword to the Report, Phil Goff, the Associate Minister of Education invited the public to respond to the Report by 28 October 1988. As the Hawke report was not released until 26 September 1988 this allowed only a month for the process of preparing and submitting responses, indeed 61 submissions (8%) argued that the time allowed was inadequate. (Analysis of the Public Submissions to the Hawke report, 1988, p.24). There were 751 public submissions in response to the Hawke Report. From those submissions that referred to the proposals to establish NEQA a number of concerns can be identified. As previously mentioned the validation

process was one such area of concern. Specifically these concerns were with the following issues.

- Deficiency was perceived in the lack of provision of national curriculum development and/or prescription setting. (9 submissions)
- The validation of courses was not seen as viable for secondary schools. (3 submissions)
- The validation process should be mandatory. (4 submissions)
- The perceived tenuous linkage between NEQA and employers. (7 submissions)

(There was a total of 51 submissions on NEQA)

(Analysis of Public Submissions to the Hawke report, 1988, p.15)

There were also views seeking the extension of the role of NVQB beyond validation to include curriculum development, certification, moderation and accreditation.

The Board of Studies which Hawke wished to retain, but in a different role, was also an area of interest to groups making submissions. Many argued for the retention or enhancement of the current roles of the Board of Studies with some seeing the proposed validation role of SEQB being better fulfilled by the existing Board of Studies. The separation of curriculum development and assessment as proposed responsibilities of the new Board of Studies, and the SEQB was also criticised on the grounds that it would adversely affect curriculum development and/or the comparability of awards among schools.

Strong opinion was expressed over the degree proposals of the Report. A feature of these submissions was the stance taken by university groups. Only four submissions representing the university groups favoured the extension of degree-awarding status to the Polytechnics. This contrasts with 14 submissions from groups representing university groups that expressed opposition to polytechnic degrees. The main arguments advanced to support the case against the extension of degree-awarding status to non-university PCET institutions were as follows.

Any such extension would create a proliferation of 'low-grade' universities.

The change would result in wasteful duplication

New Zealand degrees would become devalued as a result.

The traditional polytechnic role of providing technical and paraprofessional education and training would be diminished.

(Analysis of Public Submissions to the Hawke Report, 1988, pp. 14-16)

After the publication of the Hawke Report there was a great deal of debate in the university sector. For some time the universities had probably had some reservations or suspicions about what might be developing. The continued dominance of what was generally seen as a Treasury led perspective that was now driving much of the education reform process would have heightened their concerns. (The views of Treasury on validation and certification of education and training as at 26 May 1988 are summarised in Appendix J). Once the Hawke Report was published these concerns assumed a more obvious and active character which was to come to a head later during the

preparation of legislation. In any event the Universities of Canterbury and Auckland jointly took out an injunction on 29 November 1988 naming Gary Hawke, Anna Gibbons, Tupae Pepe, Mark Prebble, Marijke Robinson, Graham Weir, Lois Welch, Cathy Wylie, and Ian Young, the members of the Hawke Working Group, as first defendants and the Attorney-General as second defendant. This injunction was brought out of a concern over whether the Hawke Report had conformed with the issues of natural justice and whether the Universities had been given enough opportunity to comment on the things that were important to them. In any event the injunction apparently had a very limited effect as there was no significant impairment to the progress in policy reform. The defendants named in the injunction who were interviewed as part of this research indicated that they had not experienced any concern about the injunction and were unclear about its precise fate.

Following the Hawke Report matters moved very quickly through the public submissions stage to an Officials Overview Group who reported their views and recommendations to the Cabinet Social Equity Committee on 18 November 1988. The stage was now set for the next policy phase which was announced with the publication of Learning for Life in February 1989. This is the topic for the next chapter.

## Chapter 17

### Learning for Life and On

An outline of all changes to the organisation and delivery of post-compulsory education and training was published in Learning for Life in February 1989. This was a statement of the Government's intent with working groups responsible to the Associate Minister of Education being established to further investigate specific issues and operational requirements. In Section 4.2 it is stated,

"A National Education Qualifications Authority (NEQA) will be established to co-ordinate secondary-school educational qualifications, national vocational qualifications, and national advanced academic qualifications. It will do this with an emphasis on establishing links between sectors. NEQA will include Government and union/employer representation in its composition."

(Learning for Life, 1989, p.26).

Apart from the name change from National Educational Qualifications Agency (Hawke), to National Educational Qualifications Authority, there were several other signs of variation from the Hawke recommendations. Accreditation was to be compulsory for all those who received government funding but voluntary for those that did not. Validation of courses by NEQA was to be required where national recognition of the qualification was sought, but would otherwise be voluntary. The Board of Studies along with the Universities Entrance Board, Trades Certification Board, the Authority for

Advanced Vocational Awards, the Vocational Training Council, the University Grants Committee, and the National Council of Adult Education were to be abolished. Presumably these changes were the result of the submissions made on the Hawke Report. With submissions closing at the end of October, the analysis of submissions being published in November and Learning for Life emerging in February, the usual Christmas break and the absence of any other major documents there would seem to be few alternative conclusions. Given the response favouring at least the retention of the Board of Studies and Hawke's recommendation that change at least is hard to explain.

As was explained in Learning for Life not every detail was able to be established by that stage. Working Parties were therefore set up to investigate specific issues and operational requirements. Some were under the guidance of an Implementation Unit and responsible to the Chief Executive Officer (Russell Ballard) of the Department of Education while others were responsible to the Associate Minister of Education and other Ministers as appropriate.

The Terms of Reference for these Working Groups was published in April 1989. The Learning for Life Working Party: Setting Up of the National Education Qualifications Authority Establishment Board, which was chaired by David Hood had the following terms of reference.

"The working party will action the necessary preparatory work for the setting up of the NEQA Establishment Board.

## OUTPUTS

- i. Recommend the composition of the NEQA Authority, including the nature and composition of any constituent committees, and their interrelationships;
- ii. Identify legislative requirements for the establishment of NEQA
- iii. Recommend the composition of the NEQA Establishment Board and its priorities.
- iv. Recommend the nature and structure of a secretariat to service the Establishment Board.
- v. Draw up the specifications for initial personnel.
- vi. Advise on transitional arrangements including the consequences of disestablishment of AAVA, TCB, UEB, and BOS;
- vii. Estimate resource requirements for the Establishment Board.
- viii. Oversee the setting up of the Establishment Board.

The Working Party's composition included officials from the Departments of Labour, Education, Maori Affairs, Women's Affairs, Pacific Island Affairs, as well as SSC, Treasury and a representative of the Under-Secretary of Education. Other groups with people on this working party were Employers, CTU, Teacher Unions, Providers, Non Formal areas, Examination Authorities, Advising Bodies and Runanga Matua. The Working Party reported through Ian Young, the Assistant Secretary Tertiary Education to the Associate Minister of Education. (Learning for Life: Terms of Reference, 1989).

The full working party met on five occasions between 12 April and 25 May 1989. These meetings were however preceded by meetings on 4 and 6 April with representatives of a large number of organisations. At these meetings the terms of reference were explained and input to the deliberations of the Working Party were requested. The recommendations of the Working Party show a further departure from the Hawke recommendations. Gone is the federal, tripartite nature of NEQA. The working party recommended:

- a) NEQA should comprise a central board and a number of standing committees.
- b) the central board should be the co-ordinating policy for NEQA's operations and activities, including the work of the standing committee and the source of policy advice to the Minister.

(Report of the Phase I Working Party, 1989, p.24)

There is no explanation for this change nor is there a suggestion that the recommendations were influenced by any submissions.

Late in 1988 an Officials Overview Group met and reported on the Hawke Report. Section 5(a) of that report concerned the "National Educational Qualifications Agency (NEQA)". Though the word "Agency" is used in the title it is replaced in the body of the report by "Authority". When asked about this variation in terminology Alan Barker indicated that the words had been used interchangeably. (Follow up telephone conversation, 1991). The Committee noted that there was "a degree of support for a federal arrangement, as proposed by Hawke to facilitate the recognition and cross-

crediting of qualifications." They also observed "There was significant preference for the current Board of Studies to continue with its present (or expanded) role outside, but linked to the other primarily post secondary qualifications bodies." (Report of the Officials Overview Group, 1988, p.56). Despite public comment to this effect the Officials argued differently. In particular they believed,

"the special nature of the upper secondary school and its qualifications structures require co-ordination and cohesion within the total curriculum. It is therefore important that SEQB has functions which relate directly to and recognises the primary value of curriculum policy development. It is also important that new initiatives in assessment practice (e.g. Sixth Form Certificate) are continued and oversight of these developments should properly be the responsibility of SEQB. SEQB will also need to establish a close relationship with the policy division of the Ministry of Education and Training to ensure the essential links between compulsory and post-compulsory curricula are maintained."

(Report of the Officials Overview Group, 1988, p. 60).

On this basis the officials concluded,

"SEQB should be seen as a reconstituted Board of Studies with functions relating to curriculum assessment and qualifications in Forms 5, 6, 7 with the addition of the interface with other NEQA bodies. Any advisory body on primary and secondary schooling should be the province of the Minister of Education and should be able to be established by him or her through the provisions of the

Education Act. It is outside the terms of reference of this committee."

(Report of the Officials Overview Group, 1988, p. 60).

The recommendations of the Officials Overview Group reflect these positions. One recommendation agrees that a "National Educational Qualifications Authority be established with three constituent but separately empowered bodies." (Report of the Officials Overview Group, 1988, p. 67). A position consistent with that adopted by Hawke. The relevant recommendation agreed,

"that the implementation working party recommend to the Minister of Education that the SEQB operate either:

i as a policy advisory body with the Ministry having operational responsibility for awards;

OR

ii as a policy advisory body with additional responsibility concerned with validation and entrance to University, with the Ministry having operational responsibility for awards;

OR

iii as a policy advisory body with operational responsibility for awards;

OR

iv as a policy advisory body sub-contracting the operational responsibility for awards.

(Report of the Officials Overview Group, 1988, p.67).

On the twin issues of validation and accreditation the officials endorsed Hawke's view that they should be voluntary for NVQB and NAAB providers.

The omission of SEQB from this statement is probably not at variance with Hawke, but is probably an indication of the Officials Group attempting to address some of the reservations they held about the application of the principles of Hawke's proposals to the interface between secondary and tertiary sectors.

The Ad Hoc Committee on Learning For Life that was chaired by Helen Clark had a meeting on 7 July 1989 at which it made a series of decisions on the "National Education Qualifications Authority". This committee made several important decisions. They included:

- "... University degree coverage by NEQA is intended."
- "in the case of the Universities NEQA's role will be primarily one of monitoring inter-university validation and moderation procedures under criteria established by NEQA in consultation with the Universities.
- "decisions on the number of standing committees, their membership and review processes should be the responsibility of the NEQA Board."

(Cabinet Ad Hoc Committee on Learning for Life, Minutes, 5 July 1989, pp. 1-3).

Apart then from Hawke's position on the Board of Studies which by now had been changed this meeting clearly affirmed the change from the federal, tripartite NEQA to a single body. It did however confirm Hawke's intention that NEQA cover the Universities as well.

The resultant policy decisions were published in Learning for Life: Two in August 1989. Among the more significant decisions recorded were:

- A National Qualifications Authority (NEQA) will be established to co-ordinate national secondary school educational qualifications, national vocational qualifications, and national advanced academic qualifications.
- NEQA will accelerate the move towards organising curricula on a modular basis.
- Accreditation of institutions and providers will be compulsory for all those who receive government funding - but it will be voluntary for those institutions which do not.
- Validation of courses by NEQA will be required where national recognition of the qualification is sought - but will otherwise be voluntary.
- Certain government-funded bodies which have previously been responsible for controlling standards, analysing training needs, and evaluating examinations will be abolished. These are the Universities Entrance Board, the Trade Certification Board, the Authority for Advanced Vocational Awards, the Vocational Training Council and the Board of Studies.
- The legal requirement for defining the common standard of entry to university will rest with NEQA.
- All members of the Board will be appointed by the Minister of Education after consultation.

- Current secondary school policy initiatives, pilot programmes and research projects related to qualifications which have been initiated by the Board of Studies, the Universities Entrance Board and the Department of Education will become the responsibility of the recommended Secondary Education Qualifications Standing Committee of the NEQA
- NEQA's coverage will include university degrees.
- Formal accreditation of all providers in receipt of government funding is required and will be carried out by NEQA.
- Prescription development and assessment of national courses in secondary schools will be the responsibility of a standing committee of NEQA with the Ministry of Education playing a role in syllabus development.
- The Ministry will:  
develop and set national curriculum objectives in the school sector.

(Learning for Life Two, 1989, p.44-49)

The emerging pattern from the time of the Hawke Report on is confirmed. University coverage is intended, but the Board of Studies is abolished. The federal NEQA notion has been replaced and with it the process of appointment to what was now one board was to be by Ministerial appointment. The link between the Ministry of Education and NEQA over secondary education is clarified but now both organisations have areas of apparently overlapping responsibility. Curriculum objectives and syllabus

development were to be Ministry responsibilities while prescription development and assessment for national courses in secondary schools were to be NEQA's responsibility.

If the publication of the Hawke Report stirred feelings and controversy particularly in the University sector it was to become much more strident during the phase after the publication of the Education Amendment Bill. The focus of the Universities concern was the proposed section 238. Powers of Entry. This part of the Bill was the subject of fierce criticism and very strong lobbying by the Universities whose argument was that the changes it proposed would undermine academic freedom.

Rhetoric and emotion ran high during this period and it is difficult to formulate a neutral, objective analysis of what happened. There was a perception that the Universities were too conservative, territorial and resistant to change and concerned principally with promoting their own self-interests. (Discussions in interviews.) "The Universities mounted a very effective, but in my view, highly unscrupulous campaign against Phil Goff. They really hit below the belt whenever they could and that way they won back a bit of what they had lost." (Fargher, Interview, 1991). "You know the Universities were whipping up great waves of hysteria about eastern totalitarian legislation and a huge 'jack-booted bureaucracy'." (Barker, Interview, 1991). While such portrayals of the Universities reactions may make them look like over-reaction there were Business Round Table forces in the background that probably provided some justification for such fears. (Blandy, 1988). Gary Hawke expressed a view that it, "became an issue with the draft legislation which was very badly drafted" (Hawke, Interview, 1991). "...while the universities were concerned over academic freedom. Poor drafting of the legislation didn't help

the beleaguered Minister." (McQueen, 1991, p.223). Not all of the Universities concerns over the Bill related of course to "Part XX National Education Qualifications Authority" and this may have further complicated understandings and perceptions.

While it may be something of a simplification there appeared to be two main areas of Part XX of the Bill that were of particular concern to the Universities. The theme, common to both aspects of this concern was academic freedom. Learning for Life :Two had stated that the legislation would encompass the principle of academic freedom and institutional autonomy. (Learning for Life: Two, 1989, p.15). The Universities argued that this principle was inconsistent with the potential effects of Section 238. This section would have given NEQA the power to enter premises and,

"Inspect any books, records, or documents of the institution (including written or other recorded work of students enrolled at the institution) and make copies of, or take extracts from those documents."

(Education Amendment Bill 1990, p.66)

There were to be penalties, fines not exceeding \$1 000 for contravention or failure to comply with the relevant sub section. The Universities also believed that the Bill would allow for the closure of University courses, presumably under Section 241 Approval of Courses. Both of these concerns were regarded by the Universities not only as a transferal of power to a centralised bureaucracy but also as representing an attack on academic freedom. Both these issues were of course contrary to the expressed intentions of previously published Government policy which not only promoted the principle of academic freedom but which also sought to decentralise many aspects of Government operations including education.

The Education Amendment Act of July 1990 was passed and much that was of concern to the Universities had been removed thus providing them with at least a temporary reprieve. The original Section 238 "Powers of Entry" was completely removed and replaced by the less draconian Section 255. "Power to obtain information". Section 260 of the Act "Exercise of certain powers of Authority" transferred the powers of the Authority, now with a new name, New Zealand Qualifications Authority, to approve courses and accredit institutions, in so far as they applied to universities to the Vice-Chancellors Committee "in lieu of the Authority". (Education Amendment Act 1990, Section 260, p. 104).

Hence with the passing of the Act the Universities were effectively excluded from direct coverage by the Qualifications Authority and so this part of the saga begun by Hawke, was at least temporarily concluded. The name had evolved to become the New Zealand Qualifications Authority, accreditation and validation had become compulsory, at least under some circumstances, the Board of Studies was gone along with the federally structured aspects of Hawke's NEQA, and NZQA had authority to conduct assessments and examinations.

The background developments have now then been covered and the emphasis can shift to exploring and analysing the main themes and issues that are associated with this aspect of educational policy making.

## PART IV

### Major Themes and Issues

This part of this thesis will deal with the larger themes and issues that have been unveiled as part of the research. The title of this thesis focuses on the paradoxical nature of aspects of this policy development and whether it represents 'progress'. The paradox of a centralising trend during a time when decentralisation seemed to be very much in vogue is an important one, and is examined in the first chapter of this part, Chapter 18. The question of the degree of progress becomes more of an issue in the next two chapters that address modularisation and curriculum respectively. Not only do they question some aspects that may be seen as progress, but they also reinforce the essential notion of a paradox of centralisation amid devolutionary rhetoric.

The final chapter in this section raises other issues and influences. As is discussed in Chapter 6 there may be popular appeal and even a strategic advantage in attributing policy development to conspiracies however, Chapter 21 makes it quite clear that the matter is much more complex than that. It reinforces the serendipitous nature of much policy development and also reiterates the importance of the role of key individuals and the networks they build around them in shaping the nature and direction of the policy-making process.

## Chapter 18

### Centralisation and Devolution

As the title of this thesis suggests, a central issue is one of the seemingly paradoxical nature of aspects of the qualifications policy. The main theme in this regard concerns the emergence of a policy with pronounced centralist characteristics at a time distinguished by its devolutionary rhetoric. It is this theme that is at the heart of this thesis and is the subject of this chapter.

The Picot Report identified and criticised the, "overly high degree of centralisation in our education system" (Picot, 1988, p.22). Among the specific criticisms identified were, very few decisions made at local level, distancing of decisions from consequences, slow rate of decision making, vulnerability to pressure group politics, and excessive ministerial involvement. The Taskforce also described the system as complex and fragmented with multiple and incoherent arrangements, "which have little, if any, justification on educational grounds." (Picot, 1988, p.26). They were also critical of the arbitrary institutional roles and sectoral boundaries that had evolved, and the associated wasteful duplication of administrative services. In the view of the Taskforce the time had come for, "quite radical change particularly to reduce the number of decision points between the central provision of policy, funding, and services and the education delivered by the school or institution." (Picot, 1988, p.36). The policy orientation towards decentralisation was further confirmed with the publication of Tomorrow's Schools which stated, "The basic unit of education will be the individual school or early childhood centre." (Tomorrow's Schools, 1988, p.3). This theme was also evident in the Hawke

Report. Gary Hawke, in his address to the Institute of Policy Studies in November 1988, made it quite plain that one of the main features of the Report was, "decentralised decision-making". (Hawke, 1989, p.12). The Hawke Report itself recommends,

"a considerable degree of decentralisation. Those in charge of PCET institutions or responsible for other opportunities for education and training should be trusted with greater discretion over public assets and public funds. I expect this to result in greater economic efficiency ..."

(Hawke, 1988, p.6).

Such views were not restricted to New Zealand. Australia too had been characterised by a highly centralised pattern of administration. By the 1980's much of this had changed or was changing. The tradition of centralisation was broken and replaced with a move to the devolution of power. The rationalisation for this was,

"Responsibility should be devolved as far as possible upon the people involved in the actual task of schooling, in consultation with the parents of the pupils they teach and at senior levels, with students themselves."

(Schools in Australia, 1973, p.3).

The themes inherent in this kind of policy development of low efficiency and effectiveness were readily linked to areas of dissatisfaction, disaffection and powerlessness concerning aspects of the provision of education within New Zealand. The article by Carroll Du Chateau (Du Chateau, 1987) probably provides a summary of this disaffection. The article entitled The Lost Generation,

"is the story of how the liberal element in modern education is systematically dismantling rigorous standards and replacing them with non-academic skills such as conflict resolution and peace studies; the story of how the rot set in and took hold, of who and what is to blame and what we can do about it."

(Du Chateau, 1987, p.41).

Among the issues it raises are: grading in School Certificate, external assessment, scaling and ranking, secondary school zoning, parental influence in the administration of schools, social engineering, the new curriculum, and the tenure arrangements of school principals. Though this article was really little more than sensational tabloid journalism it does serve to illustrate that there was a body of dissatisfaction in the community.

Evidence of these attitudes is documented by Macpherson (1989, p.110) who citing an interview with George Gair (21 August 1986), states, "up to half the letters that Parliamentarians were getting in the late 1970's were about problems in education and the Department of Education, despite the best efforts of teachers and administrators." Political moves to "decentralise" would not only have been compatible with New Zealanders, "enduring sentiment against centralism" (Mcperson, 1989, p.31), but would also have equally conveniently fitted in with the power phrases of "provider - capture," "responsiveness" and "client satisfaction" that were the hallmark of David Lange's time as Minister of Education and his attempts to preserve standing, if not recapture, some of the damage incurred during the 1987 general election campaign. In 1984 Labour held 56 seats out of a possible 95 seats and about 7% more of the total valid votes than National. In 1987 Labour held 57 out of 97 seats but only about 4% more of the total valid votes than National.

"By the 1987 election the Labour Government had recognised that their performance in Education, as measured by opinion polls, was not being particularly well received. The Government therefore decided to try to turn that image around and give it a bit more balance than that which had been portrayed by Ruth Richardson. Perhaps more importantly, the Prime Minister, David Lange, had a positive attitude that Education was an area important to the future of New Zealand. He also wanted to take on a social portfolio area so that he could say that he was responsible for implementing the required changes. During a speech that David Lange gave at the opening of the 1987 election campaign he talked in these terms, and possibly became moved by the power and persuasiveness of his own rhetoric." (Goff, Interview, 1991).

Lange himself in discussing the forthcoming changes was reported as saying, "A process of endless consultation has been used as a method of avoiding decision-making. The most convenient options seem to have come through this rather soggy process." Later in the same interview Lange comments,

"In terms of administration we have a system which is just untenable and we cannot continue with that. It has been going for about 110 years. It has had add-ons. It is inconsistent and over-bureaucratic and doesn't allow for good local responses to local needs. It is simply going to stop and the Picot Report will give a very good steer to government on that."

(Booth, 1988, pp. 54-55).

Given the existence of such a major force in policy development in education in New Zealand it is perhaps worthwhile to examine a seeming contradiction.

The New Zealand Qualifications Authority appears to represent an example, amidst the rhetoric and moves for decentralisation and devolution, of centralisation. NZQA is a national unifying approach to the recognition of qualifications. It has effectively replaced a system containing numerous examination, certification and registration bodies. The functions of the Authority can be summarised as:

- to set standards for qualifications in secondary schools and in post school education and training,
- to monitor review and advise the Minister of Education on the standards for qualifications in secondary schools and post-school education and training, either generally or in relation to a particular course of study or training.
- to develop a framework for national qualifications in secondary schools and in post-school education and training.
- to establish policies and criteria for the approval of courses of study and training at institutions and private training establishments.
- to establish policies and criteria that will enable institutions and private training establishments to be granted accreditation to provide courses of study and training.
- to ensure there are mechanisms in place to guarantee that organisations providing approved nationally recognised courses have assessment procedures that are fair, equitable, consistent and in keeping with the required standard.
- to assist overseas governments and international agencies in the development and operation of examinations and the development of awards.
- to maintain liaison with overseas certifying and validating bodies

- to ensure the international comparability of post-school educational and vocational qualifications.
- to promote and monitor inter-institutional course approval and moderation procedures.
- to establish and maintain on appropriate common educational standards as a prerequisite for entrance to a university.

(Education Amendment Act, 1990, pp.98-101)

All these functions combined with the NZQA replacement of the Board of Studies, the University Entrance Board, the Authority for Advanced Vocational Awards, The Trades Certification Board, the Vocational Training Council, and the Examinations, Qualifications and Assessment Divisions of the Department of Education, further reinforce the notion of a centralised body. The effects of the disestablishment of the Board of Studies, and the separation of curriculum from assessment are discussed in detail in another section of this report. Suffice it to say at this juncture that the removal of a body with curriculum development responsibilities also had an effect to concentrate power through the control of assessment procedures. The danger in such a situation is that the body controlling assessment, especially when it is without the forcefulness and direction of a strong curriculum development agency, will assume, by default, even greater influence over the curriculum. It additionally had the secondary centralising effect of removing a body that could provide independent, contestable advice on curriculum and assessment.

Further suggestions of possible centralising influences can be found in the rhetoric associated with the rise of NZQA which is essentially concerned with the pursuit and implementation of educational objectives. Its role being

described as one that would ensure the quality of educational programmes and qualifications as well as encourage greater participation in post-compulsory education and training. The Authority has also become associated with encouraging moves towards competency-based assessment, the provision for students of greater choice and flexibility, and the provision of credit for skills and knowledge gained in non-traditional learning situations. All are eminently laudable educational goals whose threads are drawn together with a proposed National Qualifications Framework that seeks to:

- encourage student participation
- stimulate high achievement
- provide pathways and options
- ensure flexible learning
- allow for recognition of competency already achieved.

(Designing the Framework), 1991, p.11

The NZQA publication, Designing the Framework, provides evidence that indicates a further reinforcement of this centralising force, and with it some associated tensions. It is because these aims lie within a framework that is itself planned and controlled centrally. This arrangement would seem to contain a number of contradictions, or at least a fertile breeding ground for the germination of a number of implicit tensions. On the one hand, the structure is supposed to function in a way that will not only be flexible, but will also be responsive to local needs and facilitate learning and achievement. On the other hand it is however also to be centrally administered, with a fixed hierarchy of qualifications levels to cover the wide expanse of general, vocational and academic performance. All of this to be based upon a system of measurable units of learning or modules, that could be accumulated or

transferred within or across the range of qualifications and credentials covered. Thus there seems to be a conflict between the demands of local needs, flexibility, and the administrative requirements of such a centralised structure. The result of this may be a deflection from the initial aims, as the process is implemented in practice.

Another feature of the Framework document is its solution to the problems of recording student results. The proposal may be ambitious and, in view of its likely expense, largely hypothetical. The development of a central database that would be located with, and managed by one central agency is however in keeping with overseas developments. The National Council for Vocational Qualifications (NCVQ) set up in 1988 a national system for credit accumulation and transfer. Whether or not such a scheme is viable, or is ultimately implemented, it is still indicative of a centralising trend.

It is clear therefore that NZQA is, and aspires to be, a body that has many centralising functions. How and why this apparently contradictory development occurred at a time when the prevailing pressures were for devolution is a question central to this research.

Miklos (1973) has suggested that a useful means for discussing issues of centralisation and decentralisation is to do so with reference to

- the changing structure of the education system
- changes in the terms of responsibility for decision making.

Within this framework the trend towards structural centralisation can be observed with a number of other bodies that emerged at about the same time as NZQA. These include the Education and Training Support Agency (ETSA), Quest Rapuara (Career Development and Transition Education

Service), the Education Review Office (ERO), and the Teacher Registration Board (TRB). Arguably they each represent structural units that reflect a greater measure of centralisation. That these developments took place, while maybe demonstrating some consistency in terms of structural centralisation, still begs the essential question of how this could happen in a supposedly devolutionary environment.

When the focus is on the locus of decision making the shift is more problematic. Hood (Hood, Interview, 1991) identified a tension between two forces that impact on the locus of decision-making. The first is the demand from employer and some political groups for 'national standards'. In this context 'national standards' means a desire for absolute preciseness and comparability in assessment. The reality is that such ideals are unattainable. The pursuit of that perspective Hood believes automatically leads to a centralist bureaucratic approach. The second is a view that the quality of teaching and learning depends on what happens in learning institutions. A subscription to that alternative view he thinks leads to decentralisation and devolution. This illustrates how the locus of control may also shift in accordance with a particular prevailing philosophy. In the case of the NZQA in the examples given by Hood, the tension comes from an external force pushing the locus of decision-making towards centralism while there is an internal force that pushes towards a devolution of decision-making. Implicit in this illustration is a concept of basically two levels, the Qualifications Authority and the providers, like the Polytechnics. Where the decision-making responsibility moves towards the Authority the system becomes more centralised. Conversely when it moves towards the providers it becomes more decentralised.

The centralising force over standards could come from several sources, but a major source is likely to be the New Zealand Employers Federation who have clearly been concerned that devolution of curriculum decision-making to local polytechnics may be at the direct expense of national vocational standards and qualifications. Industries which are organised nationally will have great difficulty in co-ordinating their requirements with local providers who have devolved decision-making powers over curriculum and delivery. (New Zealand Employers Federation Response to the Hawke Report on Post Compulsory Education and Training, 1988, p.8)

Lawrence's observation about the potential for Government control is reinforced by aspects of the debate during the preparation of the Education Amendment legislation. There was a perceptible trend from the Hawke Report through to the legislation. Hawke, in addition to recommending a Ministry of Education and Training with responsibility across all education and training, also suggested, "that the Review and Audit Agency should be empowered to report on the extent to which tertiary institutions succeed in avoiding unnecessary barriers..." (Hawke, 1988, pp 10-11).

Lockwood Smith, then Opposition spokesman on Education, was reported as saying that the Education Amendment Bill was an attempt to achieve bureaucratic control of educational institutions that would tie them up in red tape. (Evening Post, 31 March, 1990, p.2). While these comments may not have been directed specifically at Part XX of the Act they may however be indicative of an underlying thrust within the legislation to gain greater control. Certainly the degree of central control had been an issue from early in the history of the legislation's development.

David Novitz, President of the Canterbury University Branch of the Association of University Teachers, was one of the many voices who expressed strong concern at the potential for Government control. Dr Novitz is reported to have said, "The Government would have greater control over what is taught in universities than in South Africa." (The Evening Post, 22 June 1989, p.2)

The Vice-Chancellor of Massey University, Dr Waters, expressed the view, "the only winners in all this are the central administrators even though 'Tomorrow's Schools' and 'Learning for Life' require that most administration now be done locally." Dr Waters continued his expression of concern, "about the centralised bureaucracy" to say

"A new body, the National Educational Qualifications Authority, with a staff of some hundreds will henceforth have the sole right to approve tertiary qualifications, including degrees. International monitoring and review, which has always been the yardstick for excellence and standards, will give way to even more centralisation and control."

(Waters, 1990, p.2)

The instance of the Education Amendment legislation was not an isolated case. In 1989, the Government, as part of its State Services restructuring legislation, had attempted to give the Prime Minister the power to authorise the State Services Commission to enter the offices of universities, polytechnics and colleges of education, and require staff to answer questions and produce files. (The Dominion, 13 December 1989, p.7) This provision was eventually dropped before the legislation was passed only to re-emerge in a similar form in the Education Amendment Bill. That section of the Bill was also dropped, but perhaps this whole saga demonstrates that the Government, despite its

rhetoric to the contrary definitely had an agenda that included greater central control.

On the face of it, an analysis based on this approach would seem to be quite straightforward, but such is not the case. Alan Barker (Interview, 1991), argued that the Qualifications Authority is a body for facilitating public decisions, a quality assurance agent that provides a channel for a devolved decision making process. He cited as an example a course in plumbing. "If we were going to approve a course in plumbing, we wouldn't approve it as a group of bureaucrats. We wouldn't rush around and pretend to know a great deal about plumbing. What we would do is we would call in the plumbing teachers, and the plumbers, and we get them to make peer and professional decisions about the quality of the course. Similarly when we accredit an institution to teach that course it's the peer and professional decisions which we facilitate which make that judgment." (Barker, Interview, 1991). The suggestion is that this necessarily involves a move of decision-making away from the Authority and is thus a decentralising tendency. While to some extent the construction of the decentralising nature of this form of operation is valid, it too does not necessarily accurately reflect the full picture. Critical elements that need to be determined concern where the control ultimately lies. Who for instance sets and enforces the rules of the operation? How diverse is the representation in the decision-making process? How much flexibility do the providers have in altering or modifying initial decisions to suit local needs or more recent developments? The requirements of NZQA for validation and accreditation would suggest that much of the notion of devolution in such a context is illusory. Practitioners will still be tied to the centralised demands of validations, accreditations and course prescriptions.

As Miklos points out, the distinction between structure and the locus of decision-making is not always a clear cut one. An aspect of the centralisation issue must also relate to the role of the Government in the decision-making process. Under section 249 of the Education Amendment Act 1990, the New Zealand Qualifications Authority consists of a Board of, "not fewer than 8 nor more than 10 members," who delegate their authority to the Chief Executive and through that person to other employees. The members of the Board are appointed by the Minister of Education who also appoints one of the members to be the Chairperson of the Authority. Under Section 268 of the Act the Minister has additional powers. This section prohibits the Authority from establishing, "any policy in relation to the system of evaluation, assessment, or certification of the ability or achievement of students at secondary schools unless the Minister has approved that policy in writing." The Authority is also required to, "give effect to any policy of the Government that has been communicated to it in writing by the Minister and is not inconsistent" with the Act. The effect of this is to provide the Minister with several quite overt powers to control the activities of the Authority. Additionally the Minister has recourse to other more subtle ways of influencing decisions that might be made by NZQA. Currently the Authority, contrary to earlier Government intentions is not fully self-funding. Conceivably the Minister could use finance as a mechanism to lever the Board in a particular direction.

Education Policy: Investing in People Our Greatest Asset, 1991, p.7, states that as a result of the "Education Reviews" \$4 300 000 will be able to be saved from NZQA expenditure. The total revenue budgeted for NZQA for 1990-91 was \$24 859 000 [New Zealand Qualifications Authority Corporate Plan 1990-91, p. 30]). There are of course other political inducements and

disincentives that can also have an effect on the Board. Recent changes to the ETSA Board would suggest that this is possible. The impression is confirmed by David Lawrence's observation, "as the government appoints the members of the Authority it has that degree of control over it. No government will appoint members to the Authority that are not sympathetic to the government's view. Also the NZQA does receive government funding and if it doesn't do government bidding and crosses the centre it will not get the money." (Lawrence, Interview, 1991).

There are other implications too in this structure of NZQA. One concerns the sociological concepts of *cultural capital* and its associated *ethos*. Bourdieu believes that each family transmits to its children,

"a system of implicit and deeply interiorized values which, among other things, helps to define attitudes towards the cultural capital and educational institutions".

(Bourdieu, 1976, p.110)

The cultural capital of this controlling group is very likely to be reflective of the dominant class in society. Bourdieu's work describes the central role that schools have in reproducing social and cultural inequalities from one generation to the next. He argues that the dominant group in a society, the one that effectively controls the economic, social and political resources, is the one whose culture is embodied in the schools. Just as economic institutions are structured to favour those who already possess economic capital, so our educational institutions are structured to favour those who already possess cultural capital. The nature of the cultural capital being defined by criteria determined by the dominant group. Applying this construct to NZQA, whose Board is likely drawn from the dominant class (refer Table 6), means that their power will in turn be derived from the cultural capital of their class. Lynn

Scott made the point that an examination of the level of education of most people in NZQA would show a high concentration of university educated people. (Scott, Interview, 1991). Consequently there is a high probability that the Board will be more disposed to the preservation of its own cultural capital. If this were true the consequence would be an inclination to a continuation of a pattern of reproduction of many current social inequalities. Among other ways, the fee structure for examinations and certification can act as a deterrent to participation. Scott (Interview, 1991) illustrated this with her reference to the NZQA imposition of a \$25.00 charge for Sixth Form Certificate, an award for which there had been no previous charge. She also intimated that there are strong forces on the NZQA Board who believe that such charges are appropriate.

This discussion so far has canvassed the centralising and devolutionary tensions associated with NZQA. Notwithstanding the arguments about the devolutionary characteristics of NZQA, there is ample evidence to show its emergence as a centralising force. Given the espoused Government intention and the rhetoric how could such an apparent contradiction happen?

The idea that the devolutionary process may not have been all it seemed was identified and explained by Stuart Sexton (1990). Though no doubt Sexton's views can be criticised for their reliance on preconceptions rather than evidence, he nevertheless has to be regarded as a significant force, particularly in terms of his influence with the likes of the Business Round Table. While not restricting his observations to policy developments concerning NZQA, Sexton asserted "Far too much control has been retained centrally." (Sexton, 1990, p.31). He believed that the initial promise provided by Picot was largely lost. This apparent reversal of policy is explained by Sexton as a result of

politicians implementing reforms using a "broad brush approach," and leaving the administrators to work out the detail. This delegation of responsibility was according to Sexton, a mistake for, "experience has shown many times over that for major reform to be successful, it has to be followed through in detail by the reformers. Otherwise the establishment will assert itself in no time and undermine such reforms." (Sexton, 1990, p.31) Invoking arguments from, "the economics of bureaucracy", Sexton attributes the retention of central control to the activities of civil servants who he argues wished to maximise their personal rewards and power, a goal achieved by the retention of central control. In his section on the New Zealand Qualifications Authority Sexton states,

"I think it is wrong in principle to establish a single, government-sponsored national examinations authority. Schools and students should be free to exercise their own choice of qualification authority."

(Sexton, 1990, p.46)

Sexton summarises his view of the centralised nature of NZQA.

"In short it is a high risk policy to set up a new single, government appointed monopoly for examinations and qualifications. It will take years before its standards are accepted nationally and internationally. If they are they may never achieve the standing that might be achieved if there were several competitive, national and foreign examinations available."

(Sexton, 1990, p.47)

Fundamental to Sexton's argument is the ideological notion of competitiveness. This perception is based on the assumption that competition

necessarily produces better results. Furthermore it is an argument augmented by a further assumption that if there is no competition, then the people who run the monopoly will take advantage of the situation to accrue increased personal benefits. The notion that Sexton describes is that of 'provider capture' which surfaces repeatedly as an issue in this area of policy development. This is entirely compatible with the view that sees educators as selfish, and whose main ambition is to acquire better conditions of service for themselves. The essence of this explanation is that policy was captured by self-serving administrators who created and seized an opportunity to maintain or enhance their own positions. David Hood's analysis would seem however to refute such a claim. Hood, commenting on the notion of NZQA as a bureaucracy observed, "If you look at the staffing of NZQA in comparison with the staffing of the bodies that we took over from, with not only the same functions of running examinations, but having broader functions, we have got in fact, considerably less staff. So if you actually look at the fact that we took over the functions of seven different bodies and we brought them under one organisation and we dramatically reduced the number of overall staff, then I think it was one example where the reforms did in fact reduce the bureaucracy." (Hood, Interview, 1991). The NZQA Corporate Plan 1990 - 1991 shows that NZQA had a staff of 130 as at 8 October 1990. The view of Sexton is also in conflict with Don Griffin's perception that staff in the Education Department, and more particularly the tertiary division, had educational philosophies which were not in favour of the retention of central control. (Griffin, Interview, 1991).

Another explanation may lie in a principle accepted by the Currie Report that a datum of educational administration in New Zealand is the existence of one central source of finance, namely, Government funds. The Commission

accepted therefore the corollary of that fact that educational administration must always tend towards centralism because,

"of the necessity for the central accountability for the use of funds and the need also for a centralised point at which alone priorities in major expenditure can be determined."

(Currie, 1962, p.93).

This idea is compatible with Renwick's observation,

"...where the Minister of Education and other central authorities have the responsibility for deciding the essential features of educational policy and where the government of the day is finally accountable to the public for the well-being of the education system, there must inevitably be a concentration of authority in the hands of a small number of decision-makers. That is simply a consequence of a centrally financed, national system of education."

(Renwick, 1986, p.10)

Though such arguments are germane to the situation of NZQA, it was envisaged as being a self-funded agency, and despite its current government subsidy, there are substantial pressures to reduce if not remove it. The compulsory area of education is however unlikely to be other than centrally funded, and this impacts on NZQA which has major responsibility for implementing central government policies in this area. These are to do with the systems of evaluation, assessment or certification of the ability or achievement of students at secondary school.

This may then, go some way to explain the centralising character of NZQA, but does not really explain the contradictory nature of such an imperative. An explanation for this contradiction lies in the need of governments generally to

gain mass public support. This was particularly necessary for the returning Labour Government of 1987. Although they won the election Labour sustained some substantial political damage during the campaign. During the election campaign, Ruth Richardson the then opposition spokesperson on education had capitalised on educational issues. In particular she made effective use of Treasury's views on education in an acrimonious dispute over teachers salaries and aspects of the Scott Report. David Lange, concerned at the inroads the national Party had made, especially over Education matters and also possibly wishing to leave his mark on the New Zealand political and social landscape assumed the portfolio of Education. (Discussions, Interviews, 1991). It was also ostensibly in line with the Labour Government's expressed intention of moving away from its emphasis on economic matters to an agenda more concerned with social issues. The real intention of devolution then was to raise satisfaction levels among the electorate to effectively gain legitimacy while the reality was a resolve to set up a new system with a sophisticated set of checks and balances that would maximise responsiveness, and with it centralise control.

Such an analysis is compatible with Offe's explanation that means that state agencies and policies will tend to have contradictory purposes. Offe has the view that the capitalist welfare state,

"seeks to implement and guarantee the *collective* interests of all members of a *class society dominated by capital*"  
(Offe, 1984, p.120).

In Offe's opinion,

"attempts to stabilize and universalize the commodity form and exchange process by political and administrative means

lead to a number of specific structural contradictions of state capitalist societies, which in turn can become the focus of social conflict and political struggle. Such contradictions can be found in the economic, political and ideological levels of society."

(Offe, 1984, p.126)

Offe argues that the state is not so much an instrument of the ruling class, but serves the collective interests of all members of a class society dominated by capital. Through taxation the state is provided with the resources to exercise its political power. The process of election and representation serve to legitimate the exercise of this power. According to Offe, the system works most effectively when all forms of both capital and labour power take the commodity form. By this Offe means that they assume a form that allows them to be exchanged within an open and unrestricted market. It is when the values cease to exist in the commodity form problems emerge. Typically this situation occurs when either there is over-production of certain goods or when conditions of employment prevent the free exchange of labour power. A consequence of such problems is the tendency for the state to intervene, an action which in turn tends to paralyse still further the commodity form of value. This applies to the present system where the Government's response to current high levels of youth unemployment has been to intervene by creating work-skill training programmes like Access, and more recently the Training Opportunities Programme (TOP). Such developments however do provide the necessary labour power for certain industries, but they do enhance the opportunities for the exchange value of labour. To carry out these programmes the Government is obliged to direct resources into supporting training and qualifications systems, which are exempt from the commodity form.

Hence Offe argues,

"the state's attempts to maintain and **universalise** the commodity form require organizations whose operation is no longer subject to the commodity form"

(Offe, 1984, p.127)

If this view is accepted then the NZQA and its associated policies will have contradictory purposes. These contradictory purposes may be demonstrated in several ways. There is its redistributive role in providing a variety of pathways for people to gain qualifications and to make it easier to transfer between courses and institutions. This contrasts with its role as a controlling influence over schools and other educational providers who wish to be part of the Qualifications awarding system. The prospect of gaining or losing the right to award a particular qualification could have a profound stimulus to attract or discourage enrolments. Such sanctions would have associated implications for funding, resourcing and staffing. It is also in juxtaposition with the concentration of control in NZQA that facilitates power over the entire credentialing process.

Similarly there is a contrast in the NZQA goal to open up the qualifications system so more people can become more productively involved in post-compulsory education and training. This too seems to be a redistributive function. It does however serve to contradict the more regulatory functions that are designed to make sure that New Zealand qualifications are recognised overseas and overseas qualifications are recognised in New Zealand.

Given the description outlined, an application of Offe's theory to it would reveal that NZQA, as would also be true of the whole of the Learning for Life policy, has many of the main characteristics of a structural policy.

This new educational structure involves a devolution of decision-making in a range of areas. This devolution is to the providers whose responsibilities include curriculum development, staffing and other resourcing arrangements, the provision of support services and advisory committees, and staff development. While providers do have the power to exercise some discretion in these areas they are still nonetheless firmly controlled by NZQA. This control is not overt control through a direct 'hands-on' approach, but through a more subtle, though no less demanding form, which imposes tightly prescribed limits and a high level of surveillance.

The lack of formal administrative structures linking NZQA to the providers of educational services produces a situation where NZQA can exert highly centralised control through its approval and accreditation processes as well as its other monitoring powers under Section 255 of the Education Amendment Act. In this way the state, through its relationship with the NZQA Board, can exercise control, while shifting the responsibility for the delivery of educational services to individual providers. The effect of this is to divert public attention away from NZQA and of course the Government, to the local level providers. Hence accountability for performance, or the locus of responsibility is conveniently shifted on to the polytechnics and other local providers. In this way the government is able to position itself out of the spotlight on issues to do with educational standards, educational choice, credentialling and the employability of young people to move the focus more specifically to a local rather than a national level.

Others have pointed out the concurrence between the Treasury briefing document Government Management: 1987 Volume 11: Educational Issues and the reforms instigated by the Picot Report. (Haultain, 1989, Codd, 1990, Mcpherson, 1989, Wilson, 1990). The influence of Treasury in the formation of the Qualifications policy as a specific aspect of the education reform process, is not perhaps clear cut. As with Picot, both Treasury and the State Services Commission, were closely involved with the policy developments that created NZQA. The SSC connection can be traced back at least to the early 1980's when it was involved in the review of the Vocational Training Council. Mark Prebble, a member of the Hawke Taskforce and a Treasury official had connections that extended back some time too. He was with the Department of Labour in 1985 where he was the Deputy Director of Policy in the Employment Policy Division before moving to Treasury in 1986 where he became a Deputy Branch Manager in Social Policy. Mark Prebble's involvement with this policy was resumed after his shift to Treasury when he chaired the officials committee that looked at issues of Education policy. This committee in turn reported to the Cabinet Ad Hoc Committee on Employment and Training that was chaired by Richard Prebble, the Associate Minister of Finance. It was this Ad Hoc Committee that on 29 October 1986 that agreed, "to the establishment of an independent validation authority." A major feature that stimulated Treasury's renowned interest was the Government's Access programme. (Prebble, Interview, 1991). According to Prebble the committee became concerned about the way the overall scheme was working and how it wasn't addressing some of the issues of access that they wanted. This resulted in a series of papers on issues in education. Issues worrying Treasury at that stage included their view that the likes of the Link, Foundation and Access programmes were palliative. Treasury also believed

there were fundamental matters like the lack of linkage between TCB and AAVA, the internecine warfare between the Departments of Education and Labour, as well as the apprenticeship system and the wider issues to do with the administration of Tertiary Education generally that were causes of difficulty. At a more specific level Treasury had identified qualifications as one of the issues to be addressed as an underlying problem that made other things difficult to change. (Prebble, Interview, 1991). In the view of Treasury,

"validation and certification mechanisms need to be considered in a wide context and are of considerable importance in constructing the overall dynamics of the education and training system."

(Smelt, Letter accompanying Treasury Report on Validation and Certification of Education and Training, 1988, p.1)

In the report that accompanied Smelt's letter to the Acting Minister of Finance a suggested approach to validation and certification is described as one, that might assist,

"in achieving the public interest goals of credentials which are readily transferable, reliably signal quality and cost no more to obtain than necessary."

(Treasury, Report on Validation and Certification of Education and Training, 1988, p.3)

The report suggested that it might be possible to achieve such a system in relation to the State's activities if the conditions as set out on page 3 of the Treasury Report were met. (Refer to Appendix J).

After the 1987 general election, education assumed a much higher priority on the political agenda, and Treasury had a presence on the Picot Committee in the form of Simon Smelt who reported to Mark Prebble. This Report was

quickly followed by the Hawke Taskforce that included Mark Prebble, who interestingly enough, also served on the Meade Committee on Early Childhood Care. Mark Prebble's association in this area continued up to the end of 1988, as he then went off in 1989 to University to complete a Doctor of Philosophy degree. It would seem therefore that while Treasury had a history of involvement in the area, they were probably more concerned with broader principles than with the more specific aspects of policy like the final details of the qualifications policy. Certainly Prebble was not directly involved in developments that took place after the end of 1988. This reduction in influence is corroborated by some of the policy changes that occurred between the end of 1988 and the passing of the Act. This is not to say however that influences were solely through individuals. While the research associated with this thesis certainly indicates that individuals do often have a major impact on policy, existing policies and ideologies are also very important influences.

The SSC involvement parallels that of Treasury and can certainly be traced back at least to the 1983 review of the Vocational Training Council. Like Treasury the SSC had a presence on the Picot Committee secretariat in the form of Marijke Robinson who then also went on to serve as a member of the Hawke Working Group.

Some of the important departures from the Treasury line can be identified as follows. Treasury had maintained from at least the time of the Ad Hoc Cabinet Committee Report in October 1986 that the proposed Qualifications Authority should not only be voluntary, but also should operate on a full cost recovery basis. (Prebble, Interview, 1991). This is of course a view that is entirely consistent with that of the 'market' ideology. They also saw its role as

primarily a validation authority as they believed there would be a difficulty in the saleability of qualifications if they were not validated in some way. Treasury believed however, that attempts to confine the procedures too much would create problems of excessive centralism and a restriction of options. They felt that if validation was voluntary it would be possible for competitive validators to become established and that market forces would ultimately determine who was acceptable or not. This policy was of course changed, contrary to Treasury's wishes.

One likely explanation for this switch can possibly be attributed to developments that had been taking place in the Department of Education. Apart from Ian Young, a strong policy development group had formed that comprised at one time or another David Hood, David Lythe, and Alan Barker all of whom had recent experience in New Zealand educational institutions. David Hood after serving as Executive Officer to the Hawke Working Group went on to chair the Learning for Life Working Group on the establishment of National Education Qualifications Authority and was assisted in this role by, among others, Murray Leach who was also identified during interview discussions as a person of some influence in the qualifications authority policy development. Alan Barker was Secretary to the Hawke Working Group and he then went on to the powerful position of Chairman of the Officials Overview Group that reported to the Cabinet Social Equity Committee. Ian Young, who had been a significant figure, was off the scene for some of this time because of illness, and David Lythe returned to Carrington Polytechnic at the end of 1988.

While policy obviously cannot be determined by one person there is evidence to suggest the influence of Alan Barker. Barker brought to the Department a

number of personal qualities not least of which was his background in philosophy and linguistics which conceivably provided a strength in dealing with the Treasury lead perspective. Shortly after his arrival at the Department of Education in 1987 Barker undertook a comprehensive analysis of the Treasury Briefing Papers which resulted in a report that probably served at least two main purposes. One was that it alerted senior Education Department officials to the more precise nature of the agenda for change. This was a perspective that they had probably not previously fully acquired because of their close involvement with an overloaded system. The second was that it provided Barker with a very comprehensive background. This gave him a footing that equipped him for working alongside Gary Hawke whose background was as an economic historian, and to meet and refute Treasury arguments in similar terms to theirs. Barker was able to talk of notions such as New Zealand's international market in educational qualifications and how qualifications are currency. In doing this, Barker entered a dialogue that used not only the language of treasury, but which was also one compatible with their perspective of the situation. On the basis of such ideas an argument for the regulation and protection of the qualifications currency could be mounted. A dialectic for a measure of centralised control that would have found favour among interest groups such as employers. (Barker, Interview, 1991). So despite Treasury's initial capture of the high ground with its huge policy push marked by the publication of Government Management, at least some ground was, in a sense, reclaimed.

As Codd (1990, p. 201) observed was true in regard for Tomorrow's Schools policy, so too Treasury and the State Services Commission played major roles in shaping qualifications policy, but probably to a much more limited extent. There are grounds however for suggesting, that while not finally precisely

influential over aspects of the final development and implementation of the qualifications policy, Treasury may have played a role in providing an ideological framework. This framework, as Codd asserts happened with Picot, readily cohered with popular common sense beliefs. (Codd, 1990, p.201). In this instance these beliefs however, related not to government interference in the lives of individuals, but to questions relating to employment and changes in technology, and the need for a more highly skilled and educated workforce. One example of the kind of rhetoric can be found in the Treasury observation

"The demands on the education system to fit *and refit* people for work are increasing enormously. Ironically, at the same time, rising unemployment often linked to technological change leads many to see the system as also having to prepare people for non-work, that is for unemployment and leisure. Thus a key current question to be addressed in this brief is whether the mechanisms for change in education policy, which worked well in more leisurely times, are up to the sudden gear shifts that are increasingly required if the system is to adapt to the fast changing and increasingly varied needs of society."

(Treasury, 1987, p.4).

Another example can be found in a speech of Phil Goff's.

"New Zealand has to survive in an increasingly competitive international economy. To do so it must maximise the value of its most important resource, its people, to provide them with the skills and flexibility which a modern economy demands. Structural and technological change have dramatically altered the nature of the skills needed, and the rate at which they must be acquired and adapted. In advanced economies, more than 50% of employment is now found in

the service sector. In the next decade, more than three quarters of all new jobs will be in this sector. These jobs require significantly higher levels of education, especially that involving analytic and communication skills. The jobs being lost in New Zealand and internationally are the less skilled jobs in primary and secondary industry, creating increasing problems of employment for unskilled workers."

(Goff, 1988, pp 1-2).

Later in the same speech Goff addressed specifically the need to establish a single national validation authority:

"The present system has been slow to identify changing skill needs and to incorporate the changes to encourage a flexible and responsive training system... This body would be responsible for overseeing the setting and regular review of standards of competence for vocational qualifications required by various occupations... Along with the nationalization of youth income support, this initiative offers the means to establish a clear, logical system for promoting the attainment of vocational skills."

(Goff, 1988, pp. 12-13).

This scene then provided a powerful source of legitimation. Over the three year period from 1987 to 1990 there was a continuing litany of revelations of New Zealand's poor performance, particularly in terms of OECD countries. None of this was really new, for the trend had been apparent for some time. OECD statistics painted an unflattering picture of New Zealand's appearance in educational performance particularly in the post-compulsory sector. New Zealand not only had a steadily increasing unemployment problem, but it also had an educational crisis too.

Probine and Fargher urged,

"We must recognise that we are in a new economic age in which **knowledge** is the capital of the future. To be without knowledge is to be without capital. The Japanese know this: they have a philosophy which pervades their whole commercial world which they call 'kaizen' - a perception of continuous learning and continuous improvement as the ideal of every individual and group."

(Probine-Fargher, 1987, p.7)

The Probine-Fargher Report later continues with the observation,

"Science and technology is one of the key threads with which we weave the cloth of the future. If we do not learn how to drive science and technology then it will drive us - and that is the hard truth of the future"

(Probine-Fargher, 1987, p.8)

The Report also notes,

"Again it is worth noting that the driving forces for change are moving from the North Atlantic communities and are increasingly located in nations bordering the North Pacific Ocean. Professor C.W. Ford (in his address to the Annual Meeting of the New Zealand Association of Teachers in Technical Institutes (ATTI), 1983) points out that these forces are manifested in those nations with 'higher levels of education, higher levels of skill formation and higher technology systems'. The geographic location of New Zealand and Australia which makes us a part of these

complex changes, will require us to face up to a very different future environment."

(Probine-Fargher, 1987, p.8)

Further aspects of New Zealand's performance in education as compared with other OECD countries are shown in Table 1.

Not least of the factors contributing to this educational crisis was the phenomenon of dramatically increased retention rates for post-compulsory education. A development carrying its own implicit tensions. Tensions to do with the role of examinations and notions of failure, selection, exclusion and cultural reproduction on the one hand, and a concern for the maintenance of standards and related issues on the other.

In the period 1980 to 1988 there was a 15.5 percent increase in attendance by fourth year secondary school pupils and a 38.5 percent increase during the same period by fifth year students. (Ministry of Education, 1990, p. 41). The accompanying table also confirms this pattern.

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**Percentage of Secondary School Students retained to Upper Levels of the Secondary School, by Form Level**

<i>Form Level</i>	<i>1965</i>	<i>1975</i>	<i>1985</i>	<i>1989</i>
Seventh Form	8	13	17	32
Sixth Form	29	46	54	69
Fifth Form	67	80	86	91

Full-time students only based on third form entry

Source: Education Statistics of New Zealand, Department of Education

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(Stewart, 1990, p.14)

It is tempting to dismiss the formation of NZQA as the mere culmination of a convoluted evolutionary policy process. While this could be used to explain why the change took so long it is nevertheless a poor and simplistic explanation. Such an explanation really ignores many of the aspects of the important questions. Why did the change take so long? Why didn't the reform take place earlier? Early indications can be found in a 1971 call for a

Council for Technical and Industrial Academic Awards (Horlor, 1971, p. 39). After all, a national qualifications authority was recommended in 1978 by the New Zealand National Commission for UNESCO (Hercus, 1978, p.8). The Cabinet Economic Committee meeting of 3 June 1981 agreed in principle that TCB and AAVA should ultimately be amalgamated. The process took therefore more than 12 years and at least five Ministers of Education, to resolve. A question that needs to be asked is, 'Where was the political will to make the change?' Another question that merits investigation is, 'Was it a coincidence that the will to make these changes occurred simultaneously with a change revolution based substantially on an enterprise culture that is associated with a particular ideological strategy?'

A perfunctory inspection of the evidence might suggest that it can all be attributed simply to the notion of coincidence. This conclusion could be reached on the basis of the improbability of such an apparent paradox. That of a system seemingly shedding many of its responsibilities for educational provision through policies of devolution and privatisation while it is also tightening its own centralised grip on the educational policy-making process. The prospect at this level of the unlikely bedfellows of competition and centralisation being other than a coincidence seems rather remote. They appear to be contradictory, indicative of conflicting strands of thought. While these two forms may have links to different ideological roots, the privatising devolutionary force can facilitate the centralisation process. A devolutionary process accompanied by a free market ideology encourages the materially and culturally advantaged to take a more independent responsibility for the acquisition of educational and social opportunities for their children. Hargreaves and Reynolds argue that privatisation is made up of two main parts, one of which is the

"privatisation of decision-making in relation to supply and demand of educational services. Here, the kind and quality of education offered is made more dependent in consumer (parent) choice within a market place of competitive provision."

(Hargreaves and Reynolds, 1989, pp.2-3)

At times of high unemployment and low opportunities for social mobility, the devolutionary, privatising process encourages the materially and culturally advantaged to assume more independent responsibility for purchasing educational and social opportunities for their children.

Reynolds and Hargreaves (1989, p.7) assert that where rewards are scarce, opportunities are few and mobility is squeezed at the margins, where success cannot easily be taken for granted by class advantaged parents, then this devolutionary process does not so much facilitate choice in education, but rather encourages the quest for additional opportunities and advancement. This of course contradicts much of the popular policy rhetoric. In times of mobility scarcity therefore, control over the criteria of success and opportunity is tantamount to control over the criteria of choice. When control is exercised over the criteria of choice, then the state maintains significant jurisdiction over the process as a whole. Via the influence of the Qualifications Authority, with its accreditation and validation processes, and its responsibilities for secondary school assessment, the state can circumscribe choice and market competition. In this manner the state exerts ideological control over the national devolutionary process. Furthermore the market place ideology of institutional competitiveness with its culturally and socially restrictive implications serves to reinforce the centralised power of the state. Hence the two processes of centralisation, as demonstrated by the establishment of NZQA and the

privatisation force, with its inherent characteristics of competition and devolution, hold a recursive and reciprocal relationship to each other. Through the combined application of the two forces the state can enhance its control over education whilst contemporaneously managing to divest itself of some of the financial responsibility for achieving it.

The controlling and centralist thread amid the pervasive rhetoric of devolution and privatisation that is represented, in part, by the formation of NZQA was not an aberration, but was part of the overall thrust of the legislative programme and was also compatible with other aspects of the prevailing agenda for change. The supposedly contradictory nature of this tendency can be explained as a consequence of an economic crisis with its associated educational crises and exigency for political legitimation. The twin imperatives of a democratic requisite for a participatory decision-making process, and an economic imperative for tighter controls over public expenditure created a policy contradiction. The result is, that the devolutionary moves on analysis, are mainly limited to fiscal and management roles whereas, control over economic supply and political demand is secured by centralist agencies. The political bonus is that the locus of legitimation problems is shifted away from central government to the providers of educational services.

## Chapter 19

### Modularisation

While the previous chapter dealt with the main theme of centralisation and devolution, this one seeks to explore a particular issue. It is one that not only reflects the potential for this policy not only to represent progress, but will also serve to reinforce some of the theories that emerged in the previous chapter. The issue of modularisation is one central to the development of Qualifications policy in New Zealand. An early official published reference to it is in the Picot Report which states,

"The objective of national validation must be to develop opportunities for students to attain recognised qualifications by accumulating modular courses and credits that may be available from any sector. We strongly support a system similar to the Scottish 16+ arrangement - one that contains modules, or short units of study which lead to the award of a single national certificate."

(Picot, 1988, p.72)

As this quote suggests, this was a key argument for a change in the New Zealand qualifications structure. Certainly the notion predates Picot and probably began to gain in popularity with the visits of key education personnel to Scotland and the subsequent visit of Tom McCool to New Zealand in March 1987.

Though this perhaps explains the surge of interest in New Zealand, the origins of modular courses first emerged much earlier than this. Theodossin (1986,

pp. 5-8) traces the modular course structures back to American higher education at the end of the nineteenth century. At that time pressure was growing to replace the uniform classical curricula with something more suited to contemporary needs. Concurrently there was a growing acceptance of student-centred learning and the benefits of study that fitted the individuals interests. The pressure for courses of a more practical and relevant nature was matched by recruitment difficulties and declining markets. This situation, which has obvious parallels with recent developments served as a stimulus to introduce an alternative course structure. These moves argues Theodossin, were soon accompanied by an increasing recognition of a need for quantifying the educational process. The attempts to meet that need evolved into the credit system which provided a means of aggregating varied educational experiences in a way which has many similarities with modern modularisation. These changes encouraged a view that the education system was allowing students much more freedom in their choice by providing a kind of cafeteria smorgasbord. While this may have been the perception it was not the intention.

The proponents of the credit system saw it as a convenient method to escape from the restraints of the classical curriculum. Early complaints about the movement towards electives concerned the excessive trivialisation of education and of the lack of a system within the elective scheme. (Theodossin, 1986, p.6) Theodossin documents various trends and developments in the origins of modular courses including the influence of Scottish higher education. He concludes, that while the stereotype of the cafeteria style freedom of choice notion continues to prevail, it is a notion like many other stereotypes, one that is not representative of the reality. He provides examples to illustrate how it "evolved as a means of quantifying student choice,

the credit system eventually proved the means by which student choice was circumscribed and limited." (Theodossin, 1986, pp. 7-8). Evidence is cited of a tendency to increase the number of requirements and an interest in offering larger modules. Tendencies that have the effect of limiting choice (Theodossin, 1986, p.8) While such a system can be used to accommodate and facilitate a range of divergent educational practices, it nevertheless, argues Theodossin, does not do so at the level of purpose and intention. He believes,

"Rather it may be found in the provision of a generally comprehensible and accepted means of quantifying the educational experience a means concerned not to demonstrate quality, but to facilitate book-keeping. The credit system is a device for curricular accounting."

(Theodossin, 1986, p. 8)

Even the 'freedom of choice' argument in support of a modular structure is a problematic one. Paradoxically, while there may in theory be choice it may in practice not be on an absolutely free basis. Theodossin identifies seven devices that he believes are commonly used to restrict the amount of choice within a modular structure.

- Requirements that specify that students must take particular modules for a particular qualification
- A limitation on entry to a specified module or modules until certain prerequisite modules have been completed.
- A grading system for modules that allocates them to a particular year in a programme of study.
- Packaging of modules so that students normally work through a particular sequence of modules.

- Restricting entry to some modules to those students who have special permission.
- Excluding certain categories of students because they are presumed to be insufficiently prepared or because a particular module is deemed to be inappropriate to a students programme of studies.
- Timetabling arrangements that close off options because of certain modules area run at the same time.

(Theodossin, 1986, pp. 14-15).

In this regard Theodossin's argument is substantiated by the research commissioned by SCOTVEC and the Scottish Education Department in 1984-87. This research identified six main factors constraining the availability of choice.

- Choice was not given as much prominence as other features of Action Plan
- Range of competing demands on teaching staff meant that the provision of choice often became a low priority.
- Organisational difficulties relating to timetabling, record keeping, accommodation, staff-student ratios, access to specialist facilities impinged on the operation of the "free market" principle.
- Some staff believed they were better placed than students to make choices about programmes. Their argument being that their professional knowledge enabled them to construct vocationally coherent programmes which would enhance student chances on the labour market.

- Employers determining programmes. Rather ironically this limitation of choice was legitimated by the market concept "He who pays the piper calls the tune."
- Scepticism about the motivation effects of choice. The argument being that students came to college for vocational reasons and wanted a fixed programme.

(Guidance and Choice in Further Education Colleges: Early Experience of a Modular Curriculum, pp.4-5)

There would seem to be little doubt that a modular structure was a significant factor in support of the changes to the New Zealand Qualifications structure. The visit of the Director of SCOTVEC to New Zealand in March 1987 elicited strong support for underlying concepts of the Scottish Action Plan. One of these concepts was "modular programmes of study." (Achievement Post-School Planning Committee Report of Post Compulsory National Certification, 1987, p.3, Report on Discussions Ensuing from the Visit of Mr Tom McCool, 1987, p.2; Interviews 1991). The Picot Report (1988, p.72) reinforces this view with its statement, "We strongly support a system similar to the Scottish 16+ arrangement - one that contains modules, or short units of study which lead to the award of a single national certificate." (Picot, 1988, p.72). This feature was regarded as important because it was seen as a means of increasing flexibility and ability to respond to labour market needs. It was also seen as a means of promoting "adequate arrangements for progression in qualifications and for transfer of credit" that would involve both the secondary and tertiary sectors. (Proposed National Validation Body, 1988, p.3).

Given that a modular structure was a significant justification for the changes to the qualifications structure it is one therefore that demands close scrutiny.

The need for such scrutiny is reinforced by the observations of Theodossin and the research findings of SCOTVEC and the Scottish Department of Education. (1984-87).

While such issues are seldom explicitly revealed in New Zealand documentation, it is likely there is a further agenda behind the advocacy of modularisation. This agenda may be a managerial response to demands for increased cost-effectiveness, flexibility and consumer choice. In what is tantamount to an admission of such an orientation is the recent switch in name from 'module'. Perhaps the term 'module' had undue pejorative connotations connecting its associated system too closely with a strong managerial influence. Under such circumstances there is a sanitising effect in the adoption of the phrase 'units of learning'. This argument is somewhat speculative and cannot be substantiated with much 'hard' evidence. It is however intriguing to note the change in terminology when there is no major sign of a change in intent or character.

Despite the rhetoric, which has frequently been couched in terms evoking seemingly sound educational ideals of choice, equity, flexibility and motivation there has been little serious questioning of the validity of such assertions. Nor has there been any real attempt to investigate possible hazards. As David Lythe commented, of Tom McCool's visit "There was genuine euphoria following his visit." (Lythe, Interview, 1991). This lack of investigation is paralleled by the work and observations of Ruth Jonathan. Citing Peter Watkins, Jonathan notes,

"there is as yet no literature making a theoretical case for a modular approach to the secondary curriculum and no research

evidence for or against, and my own searches bear that out. Not only are there no answers available to relevant questions, there is no systematic consideration of what the relevant questions, might be, of what are the appropriate criteria by which the success or failure of a modular approach to curriculum organisation might be judged. The 'rationale' for Action Plan is typically not based on any research in epistemology or learning theory together with a careful analysis of past practice, rather it is entirely forward looking. It is in fact simply a list of hoped-for outcomes of the proposed changes, based partly on the desire to remedy the failures of past approaches, and partly on the need to accommodate shortcomings in provision and to minimize the inappropriateness of existing institutional structures to demographic, social and economic change."

(Jonathan, 1987, p.87).

Further observations by Jonathan are also pertinent to the New Zealand situation where rationales associated with modularisation have often also reflected a rationalistic, utilitarian approach to curriculum planning. Such an approach has at least as much concern with structural and administrative problems as with those to do with the teaching-learning process.

The observation by Jonathan that much of the discussion about modularisation is couched in technological and industrial metaphors is also true of the style of language used in New Zealand. The examples used by Jonathan, "with curriculum 'components' 'articulated' into 'structures' with 'prespecified outcomes' for recommended 'input'". (Jonathan, 1987, p.87) are also illustrative of material used here. Some examples include:

- provides flexible delivery system
- allows alternation between work and study
- portability of qualifications assisted  
(Discussion Paper on Post-Compulsory National Certification, 1987, p.22).
- as modules are self-contained, credit, accumulation and transfer are facilitated  
(The Place of Modular Structures in the Organisation of Training Programmes, 1989,p.2)
- quality control of inputs requires the validation of courses...  
(Department of Education PCET 4(iii) LEA,1988, p.5).
- provide quality assurance in terms of both delivery and outcome.  
(Department of Education, Briefing to Associate Minister of Education, 1987, p. 4).

Although this dissertation is not a critique of modularisation it is also a matter of concern that important educational issues have been treated either superficially or even ignored. There is an assumption that the raft of learning areas covered by a host of units of learning will have some degree of commensurability. The compartmentalisation of learning necessitated by a modular approach has an inherent risk of introducing arbitrary divisions when the content of different units is determined. There ought to be concern about the effect the potentially fragmentary nature of modularisation may have on learning within larger domains of knowledge. The implications of these potentially fragmentary effects of modularisation on learning within the larger domains of knowledge require exploration. Curriculum goals are frequently very complex. There may therefore be difficulties in reconciling the pursuit of such goals with modularisation's tendency to trivialise them. These are some

examples of the issues requiring examination, discussion and explanation. (Codd, McAlpine, Poskitt, 1991, p.9).

On top of this is the potential for the modularisation syndrome to significantly affect the senior secondary school. With the dramatic increase in the senior secondary school population (Form 7 figures up 21.9% for 1986/87, and up 13.6% for 1987/88 - BOS Newsletter No.1 August 1988, p.1) there has been a realisation of the desirability of broadening the education provided at this level (BOS Newsletters, Interviews, Reports of the Committee of Inquiry into Curriculum, Assessment, and Qualifications in Forms 5 to 7). If there should be a continued emphasis on broad general skills, and if the length of time students should spend in general education should increase then, modularisation may pose a threat to any such development. (Scott, in Interview 1991, suggested that OECD figures support a lengthening of the time students spend on general education). Certainly the Commonwealth Schools Commission Report, In the National Interest, not only proposed a 65% retention rate to year 12 as a national goal for Australia by 1992, but it also had clear views on the value of a general education.

"A general education would preclude the current practice of borrowing subject matter and teaching approaches from higher education. ... It is the Commission's view that those who have undergone a demanding general education will be best equipped to participate in the more flexible workforce that the future will require. Valuable attributes, such as adaptability, effectiveness in participative decision-making, technological literacy and entrepreneurship should be developed through secondary education."

(BOS Newsletter No 7 March 1990, p.1)

There is an irony in this era of change in education in New Zealand that it should seek to introduce and promote a device which itself is supposed to foster innovation. Short units of learning should facilitate the introduction of new ideas and the removal of the redundant and obsolete, not only with the introduction of the scheme but also on a continuing basis as modules are cycled through a process of use, evaluation and amendment. While modularisation may have an initial impact that forces innovation and evaluation as it obliges teachers to give serious consideration to content, sequencing and process it may not have such an effect on a permanent basis. With increases in teacher workloads, the gradual hardening of structures, the development of well-proven pathways through options and the emergence of crypto-cores, the modules will gradually begin to come together in a pattern that will resemble a course, with all its implicit resistance to innovation. The possibility that modularisation may fail to have a permanent facilitating effect for innovation is only a part of the irony. The other part is that modularisation has been largely greeted and treated as an innovation in its own right. As was discussed earlier this is clearly not the case. Even in its more modern forms modularisation has been a feature on the British education landscape since the 1960's, but has yet to yield substantive evidence that it can deliver what its proponents often promise.

Not only does the key role that 'units of learning' or modules play have to be scrutinised for its possible contribution to 'progress' in education, but it must also be examined for its possible role in furthering a particular agenda or its reflection of a particular ideological or political perspective. This next section seeks to make such an examination. Associated with the argument about

innovation is an accompanying one concerning expertise. One constraint on innovation in school curricula is that teachers are employed to teach pre-existing subject areas and they are often reluctant or unable to staff new areas that lie outside their expertise. This problem can be remedied when rolls are expanding by employing more staff to cover these newer areas. An alternative solution might lie in short courses, with carefully defined content and outcomes that can be taught by non-experts. Modules could clearly be seen to have the capacity to provide such a service.

Such a conception seems plausible and even rational. It would however also be entirely compatible with managerial processes that result in what sociologists have described as the "degradation of labour" (Apple and Jungck, 1990, p.28). While this may not have traditionally been associated with education it has nevertheless been a feature of the wider society where there has been a long history of rationalising and standardising people's jobs. An example was the influence of Taylorism on management practices that sought higher profits and greater control over employees. This was accomplished by a rigorous examination of complicated jobs by management experts who analysed each element that went into a job then broke it down into its simplest components. These simpler activities were then allocated to less skilled and lower paid workers. Such potential dangers for education were not lost on some overseas observers of developments in New Zealand. Richard Sweet and Jack Dusseldorp, the Executive Director of the think-tank, the Dusseldorp Skills Forum in Australia, visited New Zealand from 6 to 9 September 1988. Among the issues that concerned them was the possibility that educationalists, "were being duped by the economic dries into a weakening of their traditional commitment to broadbased training and skill portability, and into assisting to carry forward an agenda for skill fragmentation and deregulation of the

market of skills". (Vocational Qualifications in New Zealand, a report of the visit of Jack Dusseldorp and Richard Sweet to New Zealand in 1988). Russell Marshall also perceived a risk in a:

"preoccupation with having things in boxes which can be measured and counted. Things that have measurable tangible outputs which can be tidily organised yet which mean you can't see the wood for the trees. You can end up with something that meets all the Treasury's freedom ideology and all the contemporary management requirements carefully able to be itemised, and then you wake up one day to wonder. 'How come all these people are unemployable?' There are some things you just can't organise in those ways. There is a very real risk that you will find that the tail is wagging the dog."

(Marshall, Interview, 1991)

Apple and Jungck argue that there are two important consequences of such a development. The first they identify is "the separation of conception from execution." This occurs when a complicated job is reduced to basic elements such that the people performing tasks associated with particular elements lose sight of the whole process and also lose control over their own labour. This loss of control results from someone outside the immediate situation having a much greater control over the planning and consequently over what is to go on. The second consequence is a closely related one referred to as 'deskilling'. With the loss of control over their labour, so workers' skills which have developed over the years atrophy. This slow debilitation of skills makes it even easier for management to gain even more control. The Employment

Contracts Act 1991 may well provide opportunities for the expansion of managerial control, with a consequential acceleration in the deskilling process.

How then does this relate to teaching generally and modularisation in particular? Firstly the skills and powers now exercised by teachers are jeopardised. Teachers have had to constantly reaffirm their right to determine what would happen in their classrooms, and to ease away from total administrative control of the curriculum. Despite moves in the recent past to foster a more participative style of curriculum planning and development there are now forces that could negate the gains teachers have made. Some of these forces are accountability systems, competency-based education and testing, fundamental visions of educational 'basics,' mandated curricular content and goals, and even potentially, modularisation itself. For a unit of learning approach could easily be subverted to take teaching methods, texts, tests and outcomes out of the hands of the people responsible for putting them into practice. Such moves have been characterised in the United States by simplistic assessments of responses to problems in education and which have reflected the increasing power of particular ideologies in the public discourse. (Apple and Jungck, 1990, p.28).

Modularising influences can be rationalised in a host of ways that are frequently cited in material supporting the qualifications reforms. This is accomplished by references to choice, quality control, flexibility and articulation. The outcomes could however produce a potential effect that would result in the deskilling of our teachers. As was argued earlier, when individuals stop planning and cease to control a large portion of their own work, the skills essential to doing these tasks self-reflectively will wither, atrophy and become forgotten. The skills acquired from many years of

training and experience, the skills to do with setting relevant curricula goals, establishing content, designing lessons and instructional strategies, building a student community, individualising instruction along with a host of others are lost. Such a process then would dissipate, if not remove the very qualities that make teaching a professional activity. If this were to happen then the consequences would be the reverse of what is currently proclaimed. The result being that instead of flexible units being taught by highly competent professional practitioners, there could be a much more constraining atmosphere where alienated executors implement the plans of others. If as the metaphors currently in use suggest has happened, educational bureaucrats borrow the ideology and techniques of industrial management, then the pattern of what has happened to many groups of employees within industry could happen to education.

While teachers may be losers in such a deal they will not be the only ones. This kind of intervention in the education process would also have a profound impact on the kind of content stressed in the curriculum. The curriculum, and the instruction that would accompany it would quickly degenerate to focus on factual information and some occasional low-level skills with negligible or no attention being given to the teaching of higher skills or those matters that cover norms, values and the propensities that guide future conduct. Hence there may be an environment that is not only deskilling, but also an encouragement to a contraction rather than the intended expansion of the universe of possible social knowledge.

A phenomenon often associated with these managerial processes is a dramatic increase in the amount of paper work necessary for evaluation and record keeping. Again with requirements for validation and accreditation there is an

enormous amount of paper work required. This is exacerbated by the demands of modular descriptions, and the plethora of testing and assessment requirements that multiply up with a move to modularisation. A result of the pressures ensuing are described by Apple and Jungck as intensification. The symptoms of it are varied, but range from lack of time for a coffee to an absence of time to keep up with developments in a particular subject area. Such a force leads teachers to cut corners and concentrate only on those matters that are essential to the task at hand. Furthermore it encourages a dependency on 'experts' to provide consultancy services that will tell teachers what to do. Developments of this sort subsequently foster a mistrust among teachers of their own expertise. In this process quality becomes sacrificed to quantity. Time itself becomes a scarce commodity and with it the chances of interaction among peers that stimulate critiques are reduced. It also limits the possibility of the evolution of pedagogical practice through rethinking and peer teaching.

Another question that could be asked about modularisation is its possible relationship to the commodification of education. Others have argued (Grace, 1990, pp.27-39), and Hughes and Lauder (1991, pp. 5-20), that there has been an emergence in New Zealand that has sought, amongst other things to commodify education. If education is seen as a public good then this has important consequences for the perception of government's legitimate role in education. This combined with the notion of consumer sovereignty is regarded as an important determinant in the provision of solutions to both the equity and efficiency problems of education. Grace argues that this can be accomplished through what he terms an ideological manoeuvre in policy discourse. In this,

"an ideological position makes constant use of a particular form of language which it attempts to naturalise in a common sense way. If that language is accepted, taken up and used without question, an important part of that ideological position has already been assimilated."

(Grace, 1990, p.32).

For language is not always the neutral medium it appears. As has already been discussed, the language of industry, the language of inputs, outputs and production functions, is already in use in the discourse on education. The danger then may be, if Grace's argument is valid, that the process of modularisation could be one that is itself conducive to this kind of ideological manoeuvring. As was previously illustrated it has some characteristics that indicate such a possibility. Such an outcome would have major consequences. If education is reduced from a public good to a mere market place commodity it would result in the marginalisation of the political and social functions like equity provisions, and opportunities for personal development that are associated with education in a democracy.

None of this of course proves any connection between the commodification of education and modularisation but it does raise the question, "Could it happen?" A question, like so many others, that appears unasked let alone answered.

During the interviews conducted in connection with this research a question was asked about modularisation and its potential as a deskilling or commodifying agent. Of those who addressed this question none were aware of any analysis exploring such issues. Lyn Scott however acknowledged, "I

think there is incredible danger and I don't think it has been recognised and I don't hear people recognising what I consider to be the problems." (Scott, Interview, 1991).

David Lythe (Lythe, Interview, 1991), raised the issue of ownership of teaching packages. Aspects of these packages can be protected by copyright. When important details concerning teaching-learning approaches and resources are protected in this way it is not only contrary to previous collegial practices, but it also evokes further images and metaphors linking education to the market place. This development further reducing the educative process to the level of an industrial product, a commodity to be traded. The ownership of teaching packages is not the only instance of a possible commodifying force. The former Curriculum Development Unit of the Department of Education has been replaced in the Ministry by the Curriculum Functions section. This unit is really a contract letting group. They let out contracts for the development of curricula. Not only is the curriculum divided up into convenient packages that can be treated in much the same way as a building or manufacturing project, but there is also a corresponding loss of expertise. The strength in developing curriculum, its implementation and its integration has been lost. While not of course directly connected to the modularisation issue, this aspect of policy development may be indicative of a trend whose longer term effects have yet to be appreciated.

Hence there do seem to be grounds for some concern. Two strong forces representing genuine educational interests and those with a managerial perspective may individually see merits of their own in modularisation. The educationalists with a commitment to choice, flexibility, opportunity, and equity, the managerialists with an equal commitment to increasing

productivity, improving efficiency, accountability and measurement of performance may equally see it as their domain. With such an unlikely alliance there is bound to be a degree of discord, a measure of tension. Anxiety over the ultimate outcomes has to be aggravated by the disconcerting knowledge, highlighted by Theodossin and Jonathon that modularisation is not based on research in epistemology or learning theory. The question of the contribution modularisation makes to progress in educational practice is therefore a problematic one. The exploration of modularisation as an issue with qualifications policy also serves to reveal strong influences that are based on a managerialistic perspective and which, though compatible with the prevailing agenda for change, may not necessarily be in the best interests of the New Zealand education system and the people it serves.

## Chapter 20

### Curriculum

The area of Curriculum was a part of the reforms that was fraught with a number of tensions. Two particular factors conducive to these tensions were firstly, the relationship between secondary school curriculum and its assessment procedures, and secondly the curriculum development and co-ordination functions that had been the responsibility of the Vocational Training Council.

In a letter dated 10 November 1988, Lynn Scott, Chairperson of the Board of Studies wrote to all secondary and area school teachers "about two important issues" (Scott, 1988, p.1). One was Achievement-Based Assessment and this letter drew attention to developments in that area. The other concerned the Hawke Report and its proposal, "The NEQA boards would be concerned with specifying national standards, evaluating courses proposed by providers and endorsing claims that they met those specified national standards. NEQA would be distinct from providers of educational services, and from the Ministry of Education. It would not be concerned with curriculum development." (Hawke, 1988, p.54). Scott expressed the united opposition of the Board of Studies to the separation of curriculum and assessment in the secondary system. She continued to say that the BOS, "believes that curriculum development and curriculum policy must develop alongside assessment strategies; that while the award structure must be acceptable to the public and be responsive to concerns about national standards, inter-school comparability

and equitable entry to post-school courses, it must not dominate decisions about curriculum direction." (Scott, 1988, p.1)

The Board of Studies, which was established by legislation in 1987 and whose function, as set out in its terms of reference, was to consider and make recommendations to the Minister of Education concerning the secondary curriculum, secondary syllabuses and guidelines, the assessment of secondary students, awards that were or may have been made to secondary students and the subjects and prescriptions for those awards. The Hawke Report recommended, "that the Board of Studies should be relieved of its particular responsibilities for qualifications and assessment, but should have its brief extended to advising in both secondary schooling" (Hawke, 1988, p.11) Hawke proposes that a Secondary Education Qualifications Board, (SEQB) be established as one of the three distinct sub-agencies of the NEQA federal organisation. SEQB to have responsibility for qualifications in secondary schools. Thus although the BOS was, under Hawke's proposal, to continue it was to be responsible only for curriculum policy whereas the NEQA structure was to have no resource allocation nor curriculum responsibilities. This was of course contrary to the BOS belief that curriculum and assessment policies should be developed alongside one another and its concern that the award structure should not dominate decisions about curriculum direction.

These concerns of the BOS were not new. They were major factors in the two Reports of the Committee of Inquiry into Curriculum, Assessment and Qualifications. The first of these reports discussed how the persistence of the University Entrance examination in Form 6 had introduced undesirable constraints on the curriculum of schools and seriously hindered schools from

providing a well-balanced education for its students at this level. (Ross, 1985, p.8). The Second Report believed, based on submissions that it had received, "schools are expected to provide a broad and balanced general education for each of their students. People with such a well-rounded education, it is believed, will be more adaptable, better prepared to cope with change in the future, better placed to make a contribution to a range of activities in the society in which they live, and have a wider range of interests." (Ross, 1986, p.44). The Committee concluded that undue specialisation and an inability to view developments from a wide perspective were to be avoided. They moreover felt that the demands of other institutions to constrain schools to a small range of academic subjects was not serving students well, other perhaps than to prepare them for similar study at those institutions after leaving school. Even so the Committee argued, that those students too, in terms of their total development, might be better served through exposure to a greater variety of learning activities. Because of this, combined with the trend for students to remain at school longer, and the requirements for people to cope with an increasingly complex technological social, cultural, practical and economic environment, the Committee concluded that the curriculum should be broad and general up to and including form 5 and that some breadth should continue to the seventh form. It is not surprising therefore that the Committee, in an effort to ensure a curriculum based on such a premise, and free from the constraints of separate qualifications bodies recommended the establishment of the Board of Studies. The Board they proposed had the general purpose of considering and making recommendations on the co-ordination of the curriculum, and an assessment and awards at all levels of secondary education.

The fate of the Board of Studies is one therefore that is inextricably linked to policy developments over curriculum. A major platform justifying its inception was its co-ordinating role for curriculum and assessment. Hawke wished to separate these two functions, and Learning for Life reforms finally abolished the BOS altogether. To understand this aspect of the curriculum part of the qualifications policy developments it is necessary to appreciate what happened around the BOS. The BOS not only had a co-ordination role but it was also to be an independent body, separate from the Department of Education and the Minister of Education, with the main function of advising the Minister. Chairing BOS was a full time position and the Chairperson was appointed by the Minister of Education. In order to perform this function the BOS consulted widely and had a widely representative Board of 20 people (refer to Table 5). This mode of operation with its intrinsic consultative process was a characteristic of Russell Marshall's term as Minister of Education, but under David Lange's leadership notions of educational administration were dramatically different. Consultation came to be seen as a method of avoiding decision-making and it was also a time of suspicion of interest groups 'capturing' aspects of education policy making for their own political ends. "There was a common perception that the Board of Studies was captured by the teachers and the education voice." (Barker, Interview, 1991). Additionally the notion of 'provider capture' was a key concept in Government Management and Treasury's Report, Validation and Certification of Education and Training. (Refer Appendix K). It is therefore not difficult to imagine that the BOS came under scrutiny. Compounding the scrutiny of the managerialists was the relationship BOS had with the Department of Education.

The BOS was independent of the Department of Education in its advisory capacity, but dependent on it for secretarial and related support services. The need for liaison in this regard did not however always ensure compatibility in the policy advice the Minister received from the BOS and the Department. The area of policy relating to certification was one example of a tension between them. In this case the BOS was promoting a broadening of the general programme, but also appreciated that for such change to take place effectively there would be a requirement for a lot of preparation and time. This BOS policy apparently created some conflict between BOS and the Department. According to Lynn Scott she urged David Lange to make an announcement at a forthcoming Principals Conference about Higher School Certificate. The Department of Education attempted to block the announcement by giving contrary advice. Specifically the BOS wanted to enlarge the scope of Higher School Certificate and with it the seventh form course. The Department opposed this, allegedly on the grounds that Higher School Certificate was still being used as a basis for establishing pay award levels. This belief was contested by Lynn Scott as "patently untrue". (Scott, Interview, 1991). A result was what Scott described as a 'show-down' between some senior officials of the Department and Lynn Scott representing the BoS. This was not a sudden and unilateral act by the BoS however as there had been extensive consultation with schools by the BoS prior to them adopting this position. (Scott, Interview, 1991). The outcome was David Lange's announcement that schools would be able to put forward their own ideas for Higher School Certificate Courses, though the approval of the Director-General of Education would be needed before a course could operate. The relationship was probably further strained by the BoS's advocacy of achievement based assessment as a replacement for norm-referenced

assessment. Such a change also created tension, particularly between the BoS and the Qualifications and Assessment Division of the Department. (Scott, Interview, 1991; Young, Interview, 1991). Scott believes that these incidents amongst others were ones for which the BoS were not forgiven. She claims the Department of Education had difficulty in working with an independent Board, being used to committees that were chaired by departmental officials who could control the agenda.

Scott's perception about the nature of the relationship between the BOS and the Department of Education is reinforced by comments made by Ian Young. He felt, "There has been a disillusionment with the BOS in the minds of some people. Some thought it was going very well and it was co-ordinating across all of the secondary school areas." (Young, Interview, 1991). Young thought that the Department of Education was ambivalent over the BOS. On the one hand the Department initially thought that it would be a good idea to help co-ordinate the whole field, a view supported by Ian Young. On the other hand was a "concern that you ended up with what was seen as another lobbying group which would say, 'this is the track we are going down', but there weren't necessarily the resources to go down those particular tracks. That left tension between the chairperson and council matters, and the departmental officers. It led to quite a lot of tension at times between those two sets of people." (Young, Interview, 1991).

The inference to be taken from this analysis is that there were forces resistant to the notion of an independent Board regardless of whether it handled curriculum and assessment, or whether it encompassed a wider brief for curriculum throughout compulsory education albeit without assessment

responsibilities. Had Hawke's original conception of the new role for the BOS been implemented the functioning of Education could have been monitored by a strong independent group. Such a prospect may well have not been well received within the Department of Education who had a reputation for jealously guarding what they considered as their territory. (Interviews, 1991). "There were people in the Department of Education who saw that it was an independent body making decisions they traditionally had made." (Barker, Interview, 1991). Hence with David Lange's illness and later resignation, followed by Phil Goff taking over a complex portfolio laden with a very heavy agenda for reform, the concept of an independent Board was lost. The result has been that there is now nobody able to give the Education Minister contestable advice in curriculum development and assessment for the primary and junior secondary school. Scott believes that the NZQA is much more shackled than the BOS was in its ability to speak up against Government policy. (Scott, Interview, 1991). This situation is particularly significant because of the traditionally often revolutionary and developmental nature of curriculum development. Curriculum change in the past has often been initiated in classrooms followed by testing, refinement and finally national adoption. Under the Ministry of Education, curriculum development is now done on a contract basis with minimal provision for communication on policy development. (Dawson, 1990)

The implementation of the qualifications authority had therefore consequences not only for the fate of the BOS, but implications for curriculum as well. Had Hawke's proposed modified BOS, or Lynn Scott's suggestion of a Board of Education been adopted, then curriculum policy might well have taken a different turn, possibly including provision for the youth education

policy envisaged by the BOS and similar to the integrated youth programme recommended by the Royal Commission on Social Policy. (Richardson, 1988, p.49). The current qualifications policy may represent a cycle that takes education to a point similar to that which concerned the Committee of Inquiry into Curriculum Assessment and Qualifications. The danger once more may be that examinations may once again "control what is taught, how it is taught, and what aspects of the syllabuses that are emphasized." (Scott, Interview, 1991). There may be an even greater danger in the proposed National Curriculum of New Zealand. The result of this could be to give the examining authority enormous indirect power over the curriculum. Such a centralist tendency is discussed in more depth elsewhere in this study.

The separation of curriculum from assessment was in line with the managerialist ideology driving Treasury and SSC at the time. They seriously pursued the idea of putting all the emphasis on the improvement in the quality of government expenditure. This notion is evidenced in the State Sector and Public Finance legislation and of course in the thrust of the Picot Report. Fundamental to this approach was a push to define roles more closely and to locate responsibilities with specifically defined agencies whose jobs were clearly defined along with the methods of assessing their performance. Hawke (Interview, 1991) attributes the idea of separating the Qualifications Authority from the Ministry of Education and the providers of educational services to that source. This clearly suggests a change based on managerial rather than educational considerations. The discussions from the time of Hawke onwards, were focussed on Post Compulsory Education and Training (PCET), and only occasionally was a distinction drawn between PCET and PSET (Post-School

Education and Training). There was a preoccupation with the overarching idea, and some confusion and tension between the needs of the two similar, but different groups. A tension that still exists in the quest for a satisfactory implementation of the proposed National Certificate. (Barker, Interview, 1991).

The National Certificate is a new qualification that will be available to learners as part of the National Qualifications Framework. It is,

"a tertiary qualification combining general and career learning. National Certificate units, which will make up the first four levels of the Framework, will be offered by schools, polytechnics, wanaanga, colleges of education, private training establishments and workplaces. National Certificate will be the sole qualification at the senior secondary level. It will replace Sixth Form Certificate and Higher School Certificate... The senior school curriculum will be based on the National Certificate but will also enable students to take Bursaries and Scholarships examinations."

(QA News, November, 1991, p.2)

Parts of the tension described by Barker will relate to the provision of finance from the state to educational institutions whose funding bases have been quite different. Another source of tension could be the development of a set of curricula that satisfy the needs and requirements of the disparate organisations who will be involved in offering units for the National Certificate.

Gary Hawke felt that there was less of a problem over curriculum and assessment in the tertiary area, but as the Picot Committee had discovered

there was a problem in the schools area. "I was sufficiently interested to have a look at how that was likely to work out, and that was basically the reason I was so sympathetic to the BoS and the way it eventually turned out in the Hawke Report. I thought it would be quite sensible to study that for a while and simply see how it worked by having with the Qualifications Authority, an organisation which nevertheless could have some curriculum development activity. That seemed sensible. That's one of the reasons why I thought the structure would have to be federal for a while." (Hawke, Interview, 1991).

When asked what the factors were that resulted in changes to the status of the BOS as he had recommended it, Professor Hawke explained that he was out of the country for the period from the end of July, when he finished his report, until October 1988, and therefore he knew nothing about what happened during that period other than that some important decisions were made during it. He did however postulate, "Inevitably what happens with any paper that goes to government, is departments with an interest in it promptly write recommendations and statements on it and they attempt to relitigate everything they lost in the process. I did see some of the ways the Department and Treasury reported on the Hawke Report." (Hawke, Interview, 1991)

Although Gary Hawke reported to Geoffrey Palmer on 31 July 1988 the Hawke Report was not published until 26 September 1988. By the time Learning for Life was published a policy decision had been made to abolish the Board of Studies (Learning for Life, 1989, p. 51). This was despite Hawke's recommendations that there was at least a curriculum role for the BoS. In addition there were the public submissions to the Hawke Report that were favourable to the BoS. There were 26 submissions to the Associate

Minister of Education on the Board of Studies. The majority of these, 23 out of 26, submitted that the BOS in its then current role and function should be retained and further noted that its short existence had been well received. These submissions also noted that the BOS's role in curriculum development across the whole secondary school was generally perceived as long overdue and inseparable from assessment and awards in the secondary school. (Analysis of Public Submissions to the Hawke Report, 1988, pp. 18-19.) Eight submissions argued that the proposed validation role of SEQB would be better fulfilled by the existing BOS. Six submissions opposed the proposal to separate curriculum development and assessment as Hawke recommended via the suggested 'new' BOS and SEQB. These objections were on the grounds that such a separation would adversely affect curriculum development and/or the comparability of awards among schools. (Analysis of Public Submissions to the Hawke Report, 1988, pp. 15-16). That the opinions of the Hawke Committee and the submissions to their Report were largely ignored is significant.

The influence of Treasury must also have been a factor in the demise of the BOS. Russell Marshall felt that they had an agenda of accountability and user pays as well as "fundamental view of education that teachers are selfish, that all they want is better conditions of service for themselves and therefore should not be involved in education policy making or should not have any substantial involvement," (Marshall, Interview, 1991). Whilst acknowledging that the notion of "teacher capture" of BOS may have been used to legitimate its removal Russell Marshall thought, "a more substantial criticism of the BOS was, given the Treasury's agenda to bring the Universities in and having more coverage by a qualifications authority, the BOS brief was too narrow. In a

sense by the time it came into being the writing was on the wall because there was a larger agenda appearing around the corner." (Marshall, Interview, 1991).

The twin pressures of accountability and user pays were also areas of tension between the BOS and the Department of Education. The funding for the BOS activities came out of money that was allocated to Vote Education that might otherwise have been controlled more fully by the Department. For example, the BOS implemented a programme to train sixth form biology teachers. In this programme they trained all those teachers, but at a cost in excess of \$600 000. (Barker, Interview, 1991). That sort of rate of expenditure, whether justified or not would have been seen as a threat to the apportioning of the education vote as well as to attempts to restrain or reduce expenditure on education. Fears within the Department Education in this regard would have been exacerbated by the overarching impact of curriculum. Ultimately the operation of schools is very much concerned with the implementation of curriculum. On this basis the BoS could have been construed as having potentially much wider powers than were originally intended for it. Ian Young when referring to the allocation of funds for curriculum observed, "if you give all the curriculum funding to the BOS, then of course you are passing across to them virtually everything in secondary schools, because the whole costs of secondary schools are about teaching using the curriculum. BoS could lay a claim to anything and everything not just the qualifications area. " (Young, Interview, 1991). On this basis the Department would have had further grounds for supporting policy developments that sought to abolish the Board of Studies and ensure that control of the curriculum remained with them.

Whether this was a motivating force is a moot point, but in any event while the BOS did disappear the Department did not really regain full control of the curriculum. Apart from the loss of responsibility to NZQA the Tomorrow's Schools reforms had a major impact by removing the Curriculum Development Unit. The CDU comprised 41 specialist officers and it was replaced in the new Ministry with a small Curriculum Functions section of 7 generalist curriculum facilitators. A group that "doesn't perform anything like the work or the quality of the work that was done by the curriculum development unit" (Young, Interview, 1991). A further result is that the Ministry no longer have, or will only have for a short time, the expertise of curriculum development. Expertise in developing curriculum, its implementation and its integration which was a great strength of New Zealand education is in danger of being lost. (Young, Interview, 1991). Ian Young also noted that a project system for curriculum development similar to that now in use in New Zealand had been used, but not very successfully in the United States. With the weakening in this area not only is there a danger of jeopardising the quality of the curriculum, but the weakening of the whole area may make it even more susceptible to centralised influences, particularly testing and examinations.

There are of course other views about the nature of the relationship between curriculum and assessment that provide an alternative framework for analysing the policy changes. Alan Barker for instance regards the position that sees curriculum and assessment as being inseparable as a conceptual fallacy. He believes that the fear of assessment driving curriculum is based on a false model.

"The traditional catch cry of curriculum development is that assessment must not dominate curriculum. The assumption behind this catch-cry is that *what* is learnt and the *process* of learning must not be unduly influenced by what is assessed and the process of assessment. This is justifiable - why should learning be determined by the measurement of learning; why should quality be determined by quantity? That would be limiting. Unfortunately while this thinking is valid it has also contributed to the hardening of an invalid assumption. That assumption is that curriculum development is a lineal development. One begins with learning, then at the end of that process of learning comes an assessment. \*

While this is clearly a generalisation, its formation has been aided by the prevalent mode of education assessment - the written, external examination. This examination usually happens at the end of the academic year. Academic years themselves are at the end of the previous process of learning and the formative years of primary and junior secondary school. Everything conspires to be lineal.

So a lineal paradigm of curriculum development has developed and we have unwittingly made it central to our thinking.

We must change that. Curriculum development is not lineal. Rather the Qualifications Authority believes that curriculum development is circular. The circle is this : the outcomes of any

programme of education must be defined first before a programme can be constructed. The skills and knowledge that make up these outcomes have them~~self~~ to be decided and defined. Then a curriculum or programme can be devised to be the basis of teaching. This *prior* influence of outcomes extends to the criteria that enable the measurement of achievement. These also must be decided first. It is only when they have been decided that a programme of education can be built around the outcomes and the criteria that enable the outcomes to be assessed. The curriculum is therefore in the middle of a circular process flanked on either side. On one side lie the outcomes and on the other side lie their measurement."

(Barker, QA News, Issue 9).

According to Barker, "In this way it is all interlinked. Absolutely and totally inseparably interlinked." (Barker, Interview, 1991). On this basis he believes it is possible to avoid the paranoias of the curriculum/assessment argument and that it is not possible to construct a curriculum unless it is known in general terms what is being aimed at. This view is endorsed by David Hood who also sees the relationship as being circular, a model where curriculum and assessment are not in a position where one comes before the other. Hood illustrates this with an example of an application of the cyclic model. "You may decide that you want to make a shift in assessment for a whole variety of reasons from norm referenced to standards based methods. If you make that fundamental shift then really what you have to do is give more attention to the learning outcomes. The learning outcomes define the curriculum. The curriculum in my view is the way in which you interpret learning outcomes,

competency and teaching practice. In that context, curriculum in my view is the job of a teacher and not something to be developed centrally. We used to have a very content oriented curriculum in the past. In this model the curriculum then links up with the assessment again. One can drive the other at different times depending on where you begin and for what purpose." (Hood, Interview, 1991).

The interpretations supplied by Barker and Hood are nonetheless problematic. If the curriculum and assessment are part of cyclic process in which they are inseparably intertwined how can their separation under current policy be explained? Similarly if they are so closely linked, then so presumably there is once again a centralising effect as the definition of the relationship between assessment and curriculum transfers even more power and responsibility to NZQA. Evidence of this can be seen in the "units of learning" approach which educational institutions are being encouraged to adopt by NZQA. NZQA "will promote a *modular curriculum* which gives students greater choice and flexibility." ( Qualifications You Can Build On, pamphlet produced by NZQA).

Further evidence lies in the NZQA position on assessment procedures. Hood (Dominion Sunday Times, 1990, p. 17) stated that the biggest challenge facing the Qualifications Authority is to encourage the broadening of assessment practices to include "standards-referenced" procedures in which each students achievement is compared against the criteria and not against the rest of the group. While the educational validity of Hood's argument is not in question, it does signify a thrust from NZQA that will, using Hood and Barkers own logic, impact on teaching practice and curriculum and which centres from NZQA.

The power of NZQA in curriculum matters is also demonstrated in its survey seeking comment on proposed changes to Higher School Certificate and University Bursaries/Entrance Scholarship examinations. Such canvassing of opinion further demonstrates the potential impact on curriculum through its changes to examination subject options. (*QA News* Issue 6, p. 4). Similarly this effect may also be demonstrated if the proposed National Certificate reforms are implemented. "The structure of National Certificate will broaden the senior school curriculum and give students more opportunity to reach high standards of achievement in preparation for employment or studies at higher levels" (Hood, *QA News* Issue 7, p. 2).

NZQA has established, in line with a recommendation of the Working Party on the establishment of NEQA, five standing committees to advise it on policy directions and developments. One of these is the standing committee for Secondary Qualifications comprising 13 members. This Committee was selected by the NZQA Board from a large pool of applicants and is chaired by Colin McIntosh, an NZQA Board member and ex-Principal of Rangiora High School. (See Table 7 for membership). This committee will have a difficult balancing act to perform. To provide some advice on curriculum development but not so much as to impinge on the authority of the Ministry of Education. Nor must it permit itself to fall into the trap of a linear conception of curriculum and assessment. It must however still see that there is a cohesion to the senior secondary school curriculum that dovetails with the junior secondary curriculum and the requirements of vocational, academic and general education. It will have to take great care to ensure that curriculum development is not forgotten, but it will certainly not have the resources

available in the past to the Department of Education. Given the overall responsibilities of the Secondary Qualifications Committee and its positioning as one among four other standing committees on Vocational, Academic, Maori Education and Community/Non-Formal Education, it will have to see that the needs of secondary schools and its own initiatives are not overshadowed. How it will relate to the NZQA, and what degree of autonomy the standing committee for secondary qualifications will exercise, remain to be seen.

An irony of the NZQA's perception of the nature of curriculum and assessment with its inherent devolution of aspects of curriculum development and assessment to schools, may be the centralising demands for accountability national standards, equity considerations and the need for quality control mechanisms. The result of these contradicting forces could be the emergence of a tension between the needs for administrative control, and teacher or school autonomy. A tension that could be complicated too by the conflicting demands of a centralised bureaucratic concern for efficiency and for professional standards of quality. Here too will be a tension between teachers' willingness to accept the professionalising responsibility for assessment programmes, and the associated methods of quality assurance and determining the teachers ability to perform. Teachers performance in this instance being largely constrained by resources and training. The removal or remedying of these constraints could be achieved, at least in part, if not substantially, by centralised co-ordination. Such a role for NZQA will, apart from its centralising influence have a potential to generate industrial relations conflict as well.

Training in particular is an expensive process with its inherent requirement of teacher release. A pressure for more training may result in a pressure for this to be done during a time normally regarded by teachers as vacation time. Any such change would undoubtedly meet with resistance by teachers whose sensitivities in this regard have been heightened by recent legislative changes like the State Services Conditions of Employment Act and the State Sector Act. If NZQA were to create or become embroiled in this type of controversy it would have a devastating effect on their relationship with schools. A government response to this situation could be a pressure for tighter control over teachers' conditions.

Hood, (Interview, 1991) observed that often when teachers are placed in a position where they are accountable for internal assessment procedures they react by over assessing. He cited experience in Britain and New Zealand. Any such tendency would not only heighten a need for inservice training and advice, but is also likely to exacerbate the tension between teachers in schools and the central controlling authority, in this instance NZQA.

None of these policy developments can take place of course in isolation from the rest of society. During this time unemployment continued to climb and qualifications that once virtually guaranteed employment no longer have any such effect. Habermas (1988) describes the experience of society during a time such as this as, a crisis of motivation. This is a generalised response to such questions as "Why should I conform?", "Why should I bother or care?" Habermas argues that there are two reasons for such deficits of motivation.

The first is that the established norms have been removed. Despite the recognition by many educators of the negative effects of the public examination system on the teaching learning process they were endured by many students, because of the prospect that they might be able to work through the experience and attain a qualification. This qualification they could see as a means for them to acquire social opportunities. Effectively these students traded their consent and effort for qualifications. However once the qualifications no longer guaranteed such a desirable outcome then this means of motivation no longer worked as effectively.

The second cause of motivation deficits Habermas suggests, stems from the erosion of existing cultural supports. Factors like unemployment, lack of opportunity, and absence of hope can result in an individual, solitary experience that can have serious consequences on motivation. If this theory is correct it has profound implications for students during this time in New Zealand. While its validity may be subject to debate what is probably more important is the public and political perception of the threat that such a situation poses that provides the catalyst for policy change.

Over recent years there has been a gradual shift away from the traditional public examinations approach with its associated norm-referencing techniques. In 1986 the Labour Government abolished University Entrance and replaced it with an expanded Sixth Form Certificate. At the same time the School Certificate examination system was modified to replace percentage marks with grades and to weaken the strict pass-fail ratio in the main subjects. (Nash, 1990, p.119). Internal assessment, achievement based assessment and units of learning have appeared and amongst other justifications for such changes was

the one of motivation. Certainly it is not hard to conceive that such developments could have done much to relieve the often dispiriting trudge faced by many secondary school students under the old system.

The ideals behind such innovations are in many senses quite laudable, though they too are not always able to achieve their objectives in an educational environment that is still influenced by a gatekeeper mentality that owes its origins to researchers like Galton and Burt who held sway earlier this century. (Hood, Education Times, 1990, p.7). The acceptance of such ideas is dependent on a fundamental shift in attitude. This does not however alleviate the tension between new patterns of assessment and their use as a device to aid employer recruitment, and as a way of developing the qualities that employers value. It is this prevailing tension that also will be a likely source of difficulty for a body that has such diverse responsibilities across secondary, tertiary, vocational, and academic education and training. Satisfying the demands for standards and the needs of students as individuals as well as equity requirements will be a delicate balancing act.

Given the views of Hood and Barker on the nature of the curriculum and assessment, and the NZQA push for continuing assessment reform it is clear that curriculum too will have to change. Hargreaves (1989b, pp. 56 -57) believes that there are two valid linkages between assessment reform and curriculum change applies in two respects. Although he made this observation in connection with the British situation, it is still pertinent to New Zealand. He contends that assessment reform is certainly intended to serve as a device for changing the *process* of curriculum construction, and that it also is intended to help change the *structure* of the curriculum, by encouraging the

development of units of learning and the associated system of credit accumulation. There is another aspect that Hargreaves believes is absent from the reforms. It is a discussion of the relationship between the new patterns of assessment and the *focus* or *content* of the curriculum. Indeed the separation of responsibilities between the Ministry of Education and NZQA for different aspects of curriculum and assessment is likely to have an aggravating effect on articulation over curriculum matters. The result of this contends Hargreaves, is a lack of broadly based political or professional discussion and agreement about what students are being motivated *towards*, what sort of things they are being committed *to*, and whether these have any social or educational legitimacy. The risk of this is that it might mean taking on characteristics of objectives-based educational developments in the United States that Hargreaves, citing Popkewitz (1986, p.27) describes as a situation "where learning, motivation or satisfaction become ends in themselves" and where "what is to be learned, motivated, counselled or satisfied is left vague and unimportant." If this occurs then the enhancement of student motivation is in danger of shifting from being an *educational* process in which students are positively disposed to learning worthwhile knowledge to a *socio-political* process. This latter process, according to Hargreaves is a state-managed process of accommodation to the realities of economic crisis. It is a process of adjustment to diminishing prospects of employment and economic reward. Thus motivation, "becomes transformed from a process of educational encouragement, to a strategy of social crisis management." (Hargreaves, 1989, p. 57)

Where assessment strategy is developed in isolation from discussions of curricular purpose and entitlement, the process of educational motivation can

become subverted to a means of adjusting young people to whatever the social, economic and political system requires of them. The problem for NZQA is therefore how to lead assessment reform and develop it in conjunction with a clear sense of curricular purpose that will avoid the objections described and yet remain within their area of responsibility. A failure to achieve this balance may mean that the proposed notions of modular study and credit accumulation will work primarily as a means of adjusting a large number of young people to their inevitable social fate.

The NZQA plans for assessment reforms, and with it its alternative perception of the relationships between curriculum and assessment, will result in a shift in the weighting of responsibility towards the school. The successful achievement of this will be dependent on the provision of adequate supporting services. This may include training, advisory services, specialist staffing and additional ancillary staff. All these factors will ultimately be dependent on levels of central funding. How NZQA will be positioned to initiate policy development in this area is unclear, certainly the Education Amendment Act does not make explicit provision for such a role. If resources are not forthcoming then the chances of initiating change at school level will be reduced with NZQA left in a position of trying to achieve reform using a top down approach. The former, bottom up method, is likely to ultimately minimize control, and with its connotations of greater teacher ownership, have more chances of success. For curriculum development innovation arrogated to the centre is likely to have less impact in the culture of teaching and therefore classroom practice. (Hargreaves, 1989b, p. 164). It is simultaneously likely to increase tension between the driver NZQA, and teachers in schools. Thus a further aspect of the relationship between NZQA and curriculum is the provision of resources,

an area that falls between NZQA and the Ministry. Failure to deliver resources while simultaneously shifting responsibility downwards serves only to legitimate what in reality is an increase in centralised control.

While this part of the thesis has so far been more concerned with the origins of NZQA it is also desirable to look to the future as well. The NZQA responsibilities are primarily oriented to the senior secondary area. This part of the New Zealand education system however does not exist in isolation from the rest of it. Consequently implementation of NZQA's plans must have an impact throughout the secondary school and logically therefore extend into the primary schools as well, for the secondary and primary curricula must relate to one another. The likelihood of NZQA jurisdiction extending to primary schools was suggested as a possibility by Russell Marshall (Marshall, Interview, 1991). He believes that it could happen if a political decision were to be made to implement some form of national assessment programme that started with primary school students and extended up through the school system. An example could be say the proposed National Achievement Initiative. Whether such a programme eventuates remains to be seen, but there would at any rate be a logic if it were to occur in ensuring a cohesive and co-ordinated approach to the overall curriculum. Obviously this would accelerate centralist tendencies.

If, as some of the evidence already discussed tends to suggest, NZQA represents a more centralised pattern of curriculum development, a trend that would be in line with the broad international pattern, (Hargreaves, 1989 p.163), then it will tend to have a restricting effect on teacher development. In order for teacher development to take place teachers

must be given real discretion to exercise their professional judgment. If the possibilities for local curriculum development and teacher involvement are pre-empted by central curriculum prescription and teacher collaboration is confined to technical details, then it is unlikely that much curriculum or teacher development will take place. (Hargreaves, 1989b, p. 163). On the other hand if NZQA is working towards a decentralised model of curriculum development then this may pose a dilemma.

"In decentralised models of curriculum development, the persistence of the individualistic, classroom-centred culture of teaching inhibits and renders inconclusive any discussion of the ends, the ethics and the alternatives to be explored within the curriculum. It undermines the effectiveness with which teachers can address the very foundations of curricular judgment - judgment about the very purpose, value and consequences of what it is that young people should learn."

(Hargreaves, 1989b, p.164).

Hargreaves documents developments in Britain, Canada, USA and Norway. They show what might be significant shifts in the culture of teaching, weakening its traditional, individualistic classroom-centred preoccupations. These developments included provision of own on-the-site professional development, collegial implementation of curriculum, peer coaching, mentor systems and collaborative planning. Hargreaves argues further that these collaborative movements have been paralleled by hastening trends towards the centralisation of curriculum control. Teachers can collaborate to implement the curriculum but not to change it. When this happens Hargreaves maintains they also unwittingly collaborate with the government in its structural

reinforcement of the hegemonic curriculum. This situation is probably exacerbated by the deceptively appealing rhetoric of collaboration and collegiality which appear to be ideologically neutral or even beneficial. It does not matter therefore, whether the curriculum development is school based or centralised, collaborative or individualistic, any of these combinations will leave the hegemonic curriculum intact. (Hargreaves, 1989b, p. 166)

There is, according to Hargreaves, an alternative that would,

"significantly increase the opportunities for success and achievement among our young people from a wide range of social backgrounds."

(Hargreaves, 1989b, p. 166)

This alternative has four interrelated components whose power and effectiveness is drawn from their combination rather than their individual characteristics. This strategic combination combines,

"decentralisation of curriculum development, administrative support for a collaborative teacher culture, mandatory guidelines requiring a broad and balanced curriculum and reinforced through the power of inspection and a revamped assessment system."

(Hargreaves, 1989b, p. 170).

These factors are deeply intertwined, and to change one without the other Hargreaves believes would be educational futility, as they form a mutually reinforcing system. Such a notion is very similar and certainly compatible with the views expressed by Hood and Barker, as outlined earlier. Again, regardless of the merits of such a system and implementation of it, it has wide implications for NZQA. It would lead to arguably greater central control,

especially with the inclusion of an inspection system. It could not effectively be restricted merely to the senior secondary school, and it would necessitate greater control over educational resourcing. The current position of NZQA apropos school curriculum means that it has at least a measure of central curriculum control but it is limited in extent and is effectively restricted to the senior secondary school. It seems reasonable to conclude therefore that the policy developments that resulted in the formation of NZQA did not adequately allow for the complex role of curriculum in the compulsory sector of the New Zealand education system when determining the functioning of the Authority. It has certainly created an environment well disposed to greater central control. This control however can only be ultimately effected in either of two main ways. The first is through assessment and examination mechanisms. The alternative would be an inspectorial system with inspectors visiting each institution. To some extent at least there is evidence of the inspectorial approach in the NZQA accreditation system. There is also a high degree of control over examinations and assessment procedures for approved courses.

The issue of NZQA and curriculum is not however restricted to the schools area. There are also problems over curriculum in the vocational area as well. Some of the pressures in this regard can probably be traced back to at least 1981. In that year the Vocational Prescription Review Unit (VPRU) was established as a government new policy initiative to provide professional inputs to the new and revised prescriptions for both AAVA and TCB. VPRU was located at the Petone Technical Institute (PTI), now known as Hutt Valley Polytechnic, and was staffed by a head of department and two full time equivalent tutors. The two statutory examining authorities at that time had

500 prescriptions to maintain and revise, and in the 3 years 1984 - 1987 the VPRU was able to assist in the revision of 220 trade and technician prescriptions. (Lawrence, 1987, pp. 14-15). Obviously there was a shortfall between what the VPRU could provide and what was required although industry did release staff with appropriate expertise to develop or revise prescriptions as directed by prescription committees. In addition to the pressures of the regular maintenance of these prescriptions there were also pressures for changes in prescription functions as the outcomes of fifty or so trade training needs analyses were actioned, a shift to internal assessment and a translation to competency-based prescriptions. (Coad-Lawrence, 1985, pp. 12-13.). Not only was progress in the area of curriculum development severely impeded by the lack of people capable of doing the necessary review work but there was also a strong resistance to change. (Lawrence, Interview, 1991). A tension developed as a result of strong pressure for curriculum change, particularly in the area of competency-based assessment, and an inability and at times a resistance to match the rate of change. (Lawrence, Interview, 1991). An effect of this situation with vocational curricula was to help to create an environment that was conducive to more drastic, rapid and widespread reform. An atmosphere promoting a call for a greater degree of co-ordination and control.

The scale of the problem was magnified not only by the number of prescriptions, but also because of the plethora of authorities involved. On top of that there are strong suggestions to show that they did not co-ordinate their activities very well. (Interviews, 1991). A result of these factors was to provide another justification for establishing NZQA. By doing this it was hoped that

training content would cease to lag behind technology and industry requirements. (Fargher, Interview, 1991; Dusseldorp and Sweet, 1988, p.1).

There were too of course, forces of quite a different nature pushing for change. The educational institutions, primarily the polytechnics, had a desire for greater professional autonomy with a greater role not only in the setting of examinations and associated procedures but also in the development of courses. This force would have been assisted by pressure from quite a different quarter. Dusseldorp and Sweet during their 1988 visit to New Zealand met and spoke to a number of people, including Peter Palmer, who was at that time Director of Policy in the Department of Labour. At the end of their visit Dusseldorp and Sweet were able to conclude that there was. "A desire on the part of the economic dries in Treasury and the Labour Department to deregulate the market in skills, by breaking the apprenticeships systems monopoly over access to certain types of skill and allowing nationally recognised awards to be granted for courses developed locally or for smaller modules of skill than those currently included in national trade and technician awards." (Dusseldorp and Sweet, 1988, p. 1). On the basis of such an analysis it would seem that there was a convenient coincidence of two disparate groups, the educationalists and the economic dries. This was also an aspect that caught the attention of Dusseldorp and Sweet who raised the possibility that educationalists may have been duped into a weakening of their traditional commitment to broad based training and skill portability, while simultaneously assisting to carry forward an agenda for skill fragmentation and skill market deregulation.

This move to devolve responsibility to Polytechnics was not without its own tension. While Employer groups were concerned about the lack of responsiveness to industry needs and technological changes they were not convinced that the Polytechnics were necessarily the complete solution. The Employers Federation (Pedder and Taylor, 1985, p. 18) argued that training needs analysis was an industry responsibility at the front end of the process rather than the responsibility of educators at the back end. This view is confirmed by Griffin's observation, "There is always in my experience, a feeling in the Labour Market Camp, that the prescription committees of the Trade Certification Board of which there were hundreds, were driven and manipulated by Polytechnic staff. I would have to say, having chaired many, that there was always that tendency. In some cases there were very articulate staff right at the cutting edge of new developments who weren't willing to sit and allow prescriptions to be developed about just what was currently required, or even worse, those that used to be required and were no longer needed. Most often those people, being teachers, were able to dominate prescription committees and they were often allowed to. This used to irritate the Labour Market people very considerably" (Griffin, Interview, 1991). In this sense Griffin used the term "Labour Market" to refer to both the employers and the trade unions. The employers argued that institute tutors were often out of touch with the rapid changes in industry and "Only those currently involved on the job are in a position to identify present and foreseeable needs." (Pedder and Taylor, 1985, p. 18). To the employers this meant that it was the people doing the job and their supervisors who were best placed to identify the training needs and the on/off job mix. As a consequence the Employers Federation supported the efforts of the Vocational Training Council (VTC) to facilitate the use of the DACUM (Designing A Curriculum)

training needs analysis process. This process places needs identification in the hands of the workers themselves, who, the proponents of this system would contend, are the people who best know the requirements of the job. These beliefs did not however rule out co-operation with tutors who were seen as having a role after the initial identification of needs in translating those needs into educational objectives. The call of the ATTI for there to be a "transfer of responsibility for curriculum design, student assessment and maintenance of standards from industry and external examination authorities to the tutors." (ATTI, 1984) was one for which the Employers Federation could see no justification (Pedder and Taylor, 1985, p. 18). Clearly the Employers saw it as the responsibility of industry to determine the content of the curriculum, with the methodology being primarily the responsibility of the education system. The tension resulting from such a perception, which characterised both the labour market groups on the one hand, and the educationalists on the other, is a recurring theme that has emerged during this study.

The employers view of curriculum not only highlighted prevailing tensions, but it also favoured a centralised approach to curriculum.

"The Federation holds strongly to the need for national standards, curricula, qualifications and documentation, so that equity and equality of educational opportunity to the highest national standards will be provided to all young people in all parts of the country."

(NZE, 1988, p.1).

Their solution, at least in 1985, was that the responsibility for facilitating the identification of training needs, and the initial preparation of training plans should have been with VTC acting with associated industry committees. For

this to be feasible NZEF advocated (Pedder and Taylor, 1985, p. 31) a radical restructuring in which AAVA, TCB, VPRU, and the VTC DACUM unit would be restructured into a Vocational Prescription Unit (VPU) with VTC. This proposal did not find much favour amongst either the educationalists or Treasury. Treasury and SSC had been concerned since the early 1980's about the operation of VTC. (Review of Vocational Training Council, SSC, 1983). There was probably a quite prevalent view that the Employers were motivated mainly out of self-interest. (Interviews, 1991). "I think the position that several of us had in discussions on the employers views on qualifications was to a large extent that employers and the Employers Federation were trying to shift off a very legitimate part of their job on to the education system. Maybe it was an ideological position but it was pretty widely held among officials, it wasn't the education system's job solely to produce people for employment, churn them out exactly like employers wanted, employers had a certain responsibility at the very least to train them for their own job. That to us was entirely reasonable." (Prebble, Interview, 1991).

As has been demonstrated, there was, at least on the part of the NZEF, a concern for national standards, and with it some form of centralised control over curricula. With the advent of the Hawke Report the issue was raised once again. At that stage there was a presumption by some people, "that curriculum matters would be dealt with by individual institutions who would get the resources and then respond in whatever way they saw fit, and that would include a response about curriculum." (Kerr, Interview, 1991). The Employers Federation voiced concerns that there was a need to be thinking about a national curriculum as industry had national needs that required national qualifications which would be jeopardised by the development of

different curricula in different places. NZEF saw the relationship between industry and education as one where the system would have to strike an appropriate balance between industry and education, national and regional needs, and on-the-job and off-job training. For this to occur they believed, "Differentiation must be made between regional needs and those of industry nationally, and the provision of courses to cater for different demands must be centrally co-ordinated to avoid unnecessary duplication and wastage of resources." (NZEF, 1988, p.4). Not only did they advocate central co-ordination but NZEF were also concerned to avoid separating curriculum from assessment and credentialling functions. "The NVQB should have curriculum development, assessment and credentialling functions. These functions should not be artificially separated." (NZEF, 1988, p. 10).

Whilst NZQA does have a functional responsibility for national qualifications and assessment it has no similar responsibility for curriculum. The nature and implications of this have been previously discussed. The gap, or potential for trouble occurs then in reconciling the need for a pattern of national consistency both within and between industry groupings, and the needs for local autonomy and flexibility. A major argument for qualifications reform was the need for flexibility and portability of qualifications across vocational areas, yet this could only be flexible if there were some way of ensuring co-ordination, consistency and comparability. Perhaps, "the Government of the day imperfectly understood the implications of doing away with VTC and not giving any commitment to industry based training across the board." (Davies, Interview, 1991). In any event the group (Shallcrass, Kaa, Clay, Sisson, McCarthy and Middleton) set up to evaluate the Learning for Life Working Group Reports recommended that there was a need for a National

Skills Strategy that was not related to the National Qualifications framework but which fed into it. This notion appears to have been picked up by NZQA.

"Across the range of units of learning, many are likely to be used in more than one occupational or industrial qualification. Because of this there is a need to be sure that all interested parties are involved in the selection, development and monitoring of that unit. One way to coordinate the views of interested parties would be to establish industry advisory mechanisms. These would need to be placed so that they are close enough to industry to have a comprehensive knowledge of its requirements yet be sufficiently far away to have a sector wide focus. To achieve this balance the Qualifications Authority supports suggestions that *industry training organisations* be established."

(Designing the Framework, 1991, p. 70)

The proposal made in the Hawke Report was for a Ministry of Education and Training which would have included the responsibilities of the training support and vocational guidance divisions of the Department of Labour. This was in pursuit of the Hawke Working Group's desire to see a unified "across the portfolio" approach to education and training. Hawke envisaged that the new Ministry would not be schools dominated, and that it would be responsive as much to employment needs as it would to other influences on the content and process of education and training. The Access Scheme too was to be included as a Ministry responsibility because it was, to an extent, remedial and compensating for past failures of the education system, and that Education's

responsibilities in this regard should not be able to be shifted elsewhere. As some groups had questioned the validity of Access learning experiences, and avoiding the possible stigma effect of separate courses, the Working Group felt these were also good reasons for Access going to Education. Similarly it was recommended that Apprenticeship should be transferred to a separate section of the Ministry. (Hawke, 1988, p. 10 and p. 50). These recommendations were made notwithstanding the objections of the Department of Labour and some reservations by the State Services Commission.

NZEF in its response to the Hawke Report disagreed with Hawke's recommendation and proposed an alternative Training Services Agency that would be a stand-alone agency that could act as a labour market intermediary between the Department of Labour and the Ministry of Education and Training. This proposed agency was to have responsibility for administering the Access and apprenticeship training schemes. (NZEF, 1988, p. 7). This view eventually prevailed as *Learning for Life* announced

"As part of the new system of post school education and training the functions of New Zealand Training Support with the Department of Labour will transfer to a free-standing agency working under a special arrangement with the Ministry of Education. This will be called the Training Support Agency. It will administer the Access and apprenticeship systems."

(Learning for Life, 1989, p. 28).

NZQA has a functional responsibility

"to develop a framework for national qualifications in secondary schools and in post-school education and training in which all qualifications (including pre-vocational courses provided under the Access Training Scheme) have a purpose and a relationship to each other that students and the public can understand."

(Education Amendment Act, 1990, p. 99).

As a consequence therefore NZQA has this functional qualifications responsibility for Access while ETSA has administrative responsibility for the scheme. This has led to an overlap between the two agencies that has resulted in some industry groups playing NZQA and ETSA off one against the other, and ETSA and NZQA both being involved in some course development. (Lythe, Interview, 1991). The untidiness however does not end there. The Apprenticeship Act 1983, Section 26 states,

"Where satisfied that an apprenticeship has been duly completed, the appropriate local committee shall supply a certificate to that effect to the apprentice concerned."

This seems to mean that NZQA has responsibility for those qualifications an apprentice may gain by sitting examinations for instance as part of a Trade Certificate prescription, while the local Apprenticeship Committee still retains the authority to issue a certificate indicating that an apprentice has served the required time in an apprenticeship.

While there have undoubtedly been many factors influential in initiating and shaping the changes to qualifications policy with its associated implications for curriculum control and development, a central one must have been the level of unemployment and particularly the collapse of the youth labour market. This change in employment prospects has meant that many students have had to reassess their destinations for the period following the minimum school leaving age. The paradox in this change is the destination of senior secondary school students in that it has been largely influential in promoting a greater awareness and discussion about the efficacy of market forces regulating school to work transitions. It has also stimulated interest in the need to institute widespread assessment, credentialling and curriculum innovation and reform. Almost concurrently a politically inspired debate has arisen about the practices and purposes of education and training. By adopting Roger Dale's (1985) perspective it would be possible to argue that in any event the educational reforms that New Zealand has seen relate to the attempts to remedy existing social, economic and educational crises.

There may be validity in an argument that youth unemployment created a structural legitimacy crises. Rather paradoxically it has been accompanied by, if not initiated, a large measure of public and academic attention to the often largely ignored contradictions in the relations between schools, tertiary institutions and the work environment. Part of this attention has been negative like "Labour's Education Legacy : A Generation of Illiterate Woolly-Minded Losers" by Carroll du Chateau, or controlling as New Zealand Schools : An Evaluation of Recent Reforms and Directions by Stuart Sexton. However the attention has created a critical debate that has helped to open up a spectrum of possibilities for innovation, development and reconstruction.

The NZQA with its potential to initiate comprehensive curriculum reform brings with it, its own paradox one of innovative reform accompanied by some substantive centralising traits whose characteristics extend across many traditional, even territorial education boundaries. These characteristics may be just the ones to initiate a set of curriculum development processes that will produce important dividends for students. They may however equally be the ones that will facilitate greater state control while creating a convenient aura of legitimation.

Recent developments in policies outside of NZQA may give some indication of NZQA's susceptibility to centralised curricular control forces. The Minister of Education has a commitment to a policy promoting the National Achievement Initiative (Smith, 1989) and in the foreword to The National Curriculum of New Zealand he makes it clear that the national curriculum framework provides components that are essential to that policy. The Minister sees this policy resulting in definitions of "achievement standards expected of all students in the basic subjects of English, Mathematics, Science and Technology" as well as a process by which "Assessment will be linked more closely to the curriculum by developing procedures for monitoring students progress against these objectives." (The National Curriculum of New Zealand, 1991, Foreword). There is an equivocal element to this message that parallels those apparent in NZQA policy developments, in particular the contradictions are the same as those in Designing the Framework. The parts quoted from the Minister's statement have centralising and controlling connotations. The rhetoric that appears to balance those implications includes "... schools will continue to exercise freedom to develop their own programmes... within the guidelines," "schools will have maximum flexibility in

how best to achieve these goals." (The National Curriculum of New Zealand, 1991, Foreword)

Saunders and Halpin (1990, p.232) draw on Bernstein's (1971) analysis of curricular forms in which the terms 'classification' and 'frame' are used to denote respectively "the degree of boundary maintenance between contents" and "the degree of control teacher and pupil possess over the selection, organisation and pacing of knowledge transmitted and received in the pedagogical relationship." On this basis Bernstein argues that the "message systems" of curricular may be given by variations in the strength of classification or frame.

On this basis a curriculum that is strongly classified and framed will be one in which knowledge is firmly segregated into subject areas and the teaching content is largely predetermined. By contrast a curriculum that is weakly classified and framed will reduce the boundaries between knowledge and content allowing teachers more control over what ought to be taught. The significance of this analysis is that when the classification and framing are strong the power of teachers and students is decreased, while the power of central curriculum control is increased. When this occurs, Saunders and Halpin contend, the notion of student and teacher ownership of the curriculum is prejudiced with consequent disempowering effects.

While policy has not yet been finalised on either the National Curriculum of New Zealand nor the NZQA Framework, it is clear that they both contain conflicting messages. This situation provides for some interesting comparisons with that in England. Saunders and Halpin describe the English situation

where TVEI is loosely formed and classified to the extent that students and teachers are able to exercise considerable control over pedagogical practice. Their National Curriculum by contrast is strongly framed and classified providing students and teachers with only minimal room for manoeuvre. New Zealand may not have yet reached a stage where such a conflict is manifest. It does however indicate the potential hazard, the probability that both frameworks could lead to a situation where both classification and framing are strengthened with the consequences for increasing centralised control.

What then is likely to influence moves to increase or decrease the strength of curriculum classification or frame? An obvious factor is the stimulus that may be provided by New Right or neo-liberal forces that have already been identified as influential in the New Zealand educational policy (Lauder; 1990, Codd, 1990; Ball, 1990). This ideology may produce slightly divergent reactions. On the one hand there will be those, who, like Stuart Sexton believe that management of the curriculum is more effective if left to schools themselves provided of course they have to respond to a market. Others may see merit in stronger classification and frame as a means to ensure the preservation of standards and values. A complicating factor may also be the influence of those people who wish to challenge the "trendiness" they perceive is jeopardising educational standards and performance, and those who have a vision of a curricular reform process that will lead to a modernised curriculum based on a new vocational orthodoxy.

Despite the rather simplistic analysis of these perspectives and their associated forces it is clear that it is difficult to assess with certainty the ultimate direction for curriculum policy. The rhetoric, as has already been documented, is one of

contradiction over intentions. There are therefore undoubtedly opportunities for a considerable shift in the locus of control of curriculum, especially with proposals for change that extend right across New Zealand's education and training system. Perhaps even, it has already happened, for as Lynn Scott observed, " I believe six months down the track with a new Minister of Education we have gone back 25 years in terms of policies that really reflect what New Zealand should be doing. We've failed to educate the Minister sufficiently to change his mind." (Scott, Interview, 1991).

## Chapter 21

### Other Issues and Influences.

While some aspects of the qualifications policy developments have been discussed in some detail and they probably represent the key issues of concern to this report, they are not the only ones. While policy development may be evolutionary in nature there are nonetheless a myriad of factors and issues that impinge on it. They cause it to change and develop in diverse and sometimes contradictory fashions.

#### The Labour and Education Departments

The relationship between two Government Departments, the Departments of Labour and Education played an interesting role in shaping the policy. There is evidence to show that during the earlier stages of the policy development the running was very much made by the Department of Labour. (Interviews, 1991). The Labour Department was able to implement a number of very radical policy developments. "They created the Access system for instance. They created competitive private training as the way to handle the unresponsiveness of the public sector. They set in place a completely different sector which earned for itself 400 million dollars or so of Government funding. More funding went into the Access sector than went into the Polytechnic sector so it was a very major competitor. It was a deliberate competition model with the Polytechnics. A model that was in itself radical, as it represented a big shift in philosophy." (Barker, Interview, 1991). Certainly

during the period prior to the 1984 election the Minister of Labour was Jim Bolger, who was a strong and effective Minister, while the Education Minister was Merv Wellington. Jim Bolger had a more senior cabinet position and was able to arrange for large amounts of money to go into the training needs analysis unit of the VTC (Griffin, Interview, 1991). Merv Wellington on the other hand was often not only at odds with officials within the Education Department who often had more liberal views than he subscribed to, but he was less senior to the Labour Minister. (Interviews, 1991). This situation may have been exacerbated by a continuing power struggle between the two Departments for the control of vocational training and associated resources. (Fargher, Interview, 1991). The Education Department at the time was possibly not able to respond very rapidly to new developments because it was such a slow moving bureaucracy. By contrast the Labour Department was equipped with people like Peter Lorimer, Max Kerr and Peter Palmer who were highly regarded, very adept at driving policy reform, and quicker off the mark in initiating policy reform. (Interviews, 1991). With the election of the Labour Government in 1984 the situation changed somewhat. Russell Marshall, a senior Minister, became Minister of Education, and had views that were more likely to be sympathetic to many of those of his officials. However Russell Marshall believes that even during his time the advantage was with the Labour Department because of the attitudes of some key Government departments. According to Marshall "Treasury and the State Services Commission were more inclined to think that things would be administered more efficiently in the Labour Department than in the Education Department, a view that was to some extent shared by the Prime Minister's Department." (Marshall, Interview, 1991). The tension continued, "we had the Labour Department and Education Department with daggers drawn. It was clear in the development of planning policies that the Labour Department thought

that the Polytechnics were up themselves and not going to do the work properly. The Education Department thought the Labour Department were 'Johnny Come Latelies' who shouldn't be in this business of training people. They were not much better than shouting at each other." (Prebble, Interview, 1991). This relationship may have facilitated Mark Prebble, a Treasury official, being able to capitalise on his 'neutral' position to assume the chair of the Ad Hoc Committee on Training that reported to the Cabinet Ad Hoc Committee on Education and Training.

The Labour Department view was "that the qualifications system needed changing as qualifications that had currency in the labour market did not necessarily have currency in the education world. In part it seemed to us that it had to do with the sort of education snobbishness about the educational training that had been provided, and a feeling of concern about the extent to which the Department of Labour was becoming involved in matters and commanding resources in areas that were seen as more properly the province of Education. That underlay a lot of the policy development right through the 1980's, that anxiety about the Department of Labour's role in all of this, and the fact that it had a large amount of money to play with." (Kerr, Interview, 1991).

Despite Russell Marshall's seniority he was however regarded as a 'wet' in what was a 'dry' cabinet dominated by the Treasury Ministers, Richard Prebble and Roger Douglas. This situation was paralleled to some extent by well known rivalries between senior officials particularly Ian Young of Education and Jas McKenzie of Labour. (Barker, Interview, 1991). When David Lythe was seconded from Carrington Polytechnic to the Education Department in 1986 he joined in the exercise to prepare a joint Labour and

Education Department Green Paper. What he found was that the two Departments did not see eye to eye and a tactical game, where the two Departments, under the respective guidance of Ian Young and Max Kerr, were jockeying for position in a number of areas. "I saw the Labour Department anxious about standards of course development and competency based education, particularly in the trades areas where they were keen to make big changes. They were also keen to capitalise on the world of the unemployed that was blossoming, and to provide training programmes for them. The Education Department by contrast was fairly defensive and perceived often by Government as being sort of whimpish, not having its act together, and not as proactive in terms of where the world was going." (Lythe, Interview, 1991)

Lythe arrived to inherit, "a sort of two page outline of the Green Paper that had largely been written by the Department of Labour, and which mostly focussed on trade training, but which also extended into the technician training area. It was out of date." (Lythe, Interview, 1991). What the Labour Department were pushing for was to move to a competence mode of assessment, to make much more rapid progress with course development as many prescriptions, particularly in the trades area were hugely out of date and to develop standards for on the job assessment. They had four main concerns. The first was that the areas of training the Labour Department had responsibility for were not integrating properly into the world as "they were seen as being the fringe and off to one side." There was also a more general concern about the lack of responsiveness by Education to the needs of industry. Thirdly they had an anxiety about the apprenticeship system, particularly about whether it was appropriate to continue with a system that was tied to a time serving arrangement. Finally Labour was concerned with Access and its predecessors and how it would be possible to get recognition for what people achieved on those courses. This was seen as especially important

as Labour considered that many of the people who went through these programmes had been given very little in the way of recognition from the education system while they had been in it. "It seemed to us that the key was to get into the qualifications system." (Kerr, Interview, 1991).

A change in the relationship occurred with the major restructuring of the Labour Department in 1988. This however, was not the only factor. After the 1987 election, Education became a key part of the Government's reforms. The Prime Minister not only became the Minister of Education, but also appointed Phil Goff as the Associate Minister of Education with special responsibility for tertiary education as well as being Minister of Employment. At this time Kerr observes (Interview, 1991) that the subject broadened out and the Labour Department realised that there were areas that they didn't have expertise in. Certainly Education's ability to initiate and drive policy change would have been enhanced by the presence in the Department of David Hood, Alan Barker and David Lythe who were able to focus very largely on issues pertaining specifically to qualifications.

Russell Marshall contends however, that despite the development of a more coherent plan in Education for provision of training in Polytechnics, and in Polytechnics and schools through the Link programme, Education won very little policy making back in this area during his time in office. Education probably began however, to gain the initiative to some extent with the visit to New Zealand of Tom McCool in March 1987. David Lythe accompanied McCool for the whole of the visit while the Labour Department did not send an officer. As a consequence "education was seen to be a bit more active". (Lythe, Interview, 1991). The key decision which aided the resolution of the long continued conflict came with the Hawke Report. In this report Gary

Hawke recommended that all education be done under one Department and that it should be Education. However even at this stage there was still tension between the two Departments. "It is much more difficult to get Education and Labour to agree than it is to get Education and Treasury or Education and SSC to agree." (Hawke, Interview, 1991). By the time of the Hawke Working Group however, the Education sector were well poised to have an input into the policy making process. Indeed both Hood and Barker were very closely allied with the Hawke committee. They were the key visible players but they were supported by David Lythe. His was more of a background job of co-ordinating papers and attending to detail. During this time Lythe co-ordinated about 75 papers relating to Hawke of which only about two or three related specifically to NEQA. The impetus of Hawke was picked up by Phil Goff who had a very strong commitment to much of the reform suggested by Hawke, (Goff, Interview, 1991) a commitment he was able to drive much more forcefully when he became Minister of Education.

The significance of the relationship probably lies in the procrastinating effect it had on policy development. The conflicts of interest, different perceptions of the problem, traditional rivalries over territory and resourcing, compounded by some measure of personality clashes probably had the effects of not only delaying change, but also providing opportunities for a more prolonged and searching debate that expanded the original concept of the reform required.

## The Scott Report and Ruth Richardson

When the Labour Government was elected in 1984 it led to a period of euphoria in Education. (MacQueen, 1991). This response was attributable in no small part to the turbulence and disenchantment experienced by educationalists during the time that Merv Wellington had been Minister of Education.

"After six years he left office very unpopular. His name became associated with education cuts and clashes with the education establishment... Wellington also redrew attention to the issue of standards. A working party, hand-picked, saw the issue in terms of time allocations to core subjects, especially English, Science and Mathematics. This report drew a lot of flak from the establishment on grounds of its narrowness."

(MacQueen, 1991, pp. 47-48).

Russell Marshall's appointment in 1984 was widely received by educationalists as a positive move. Certainly Marshall initiated a series of extensive consultation exercises that involved widely representative sections of the community. While the results produced some reforms and adjustments the thrust of the recommendations were either too complex or impractical, or thwarted by economic pressures. A consequence of this was to allow elements of dissatisfaction to reappear and for pressures for change to grow. (Macpherson, 1989, p. 89). The politicians, despite the fears of the education lobby about political interference, decided to intervene. An Education and Science Committee was appointed to investigate the professionalism of teachers and the quality of their performance. The chair of this Committee was Noel Scott, who later became Associate Minister of Education when Phil Goff replaced David Lange as Minister of Education. He was accompanied

on the Committee by the Opposition spokesperson on Education, Ruth Richardson. While the approach of this Committee was characterised by its bipartisan nature Ruth Richardson was a highly influential member, and she took particular note and offence at the studied non-response of the Department of Education.

The Scott Report concluded that there were three main problems with the quality of teaching in New Zealand. They were:

- "Provider capture". The notion that the providers of educational services had captured the terms of their service.
- a highly elaborate education structure. One so complex that the lines of accountability and flow of information were confused and confusing.
- an administrative practice and attitudes that were obsolete.

Richardson was able to make effective use of this report and her associated experiences in her 1987 election campaigning. The media attention focussed on education issues was no doubt stimulated to some extent by the contrasting styles of Richardson and Marshall who were representatives of positions from opposite ends of the political spectrum. Richardson may have had, with her position, an added bonus in the form of support from Treasury. "She was articulating Treasury's views. One of the ironies of the 1987 election was that the opposition was articulating Treasury's views of education much better than I was because I didn't believe in it. You had the strange sight of an Education spokesperson from the other side, appearing to be much more in the main stream of economic education than the Minister." (Marshall, Interview, 1991). In any event the activities of Ruth Richardson combined with the growing dissatisfaction evidenced by the Scott Report were undoubtedly highly

influential in stimulating David Lange to change the Minister and the thrust of educational policy making. As it turned out the Prime Minister assumed the responsibility for Education and appointed Phil Goff as Associate Minister. Certainly, "By the 1987 election the Labour Government recognised that their performance in Education as measured by opinion polls, was not particularly well received. The Government therefore decided to try to turn that image around and give it more balance than the image that was portrayed by the National Party with Ruth Richardson as the spokesperson on Education. Perhaps more importantly the Prime Minister, David Lange, had a positive attitude that Education was an area important to the future of New Zealand." (Goff, Interview, 1991). A major outcome of this situation was the Picot Report which, while initiated in July 1987 while Marshall was Minister of Education, reported after the election when David Lange held the Education portfolio. With the passing of the Marshall era so too the notions of 'consultation' and 'participation' disappeared. They were replaced by new power phrases such as 'provider-capture', 'responsiveness,' 'accountability' and 'client satisfaction.'

With the delivery of the Picot Report the stage was set for substantial reform of the New Zealand educational system. It was the provision of this environment by Picot that facilitated the appointment of the Hawke Working Group and the eventual acceptance of many of their recommendations. Not only had the political agenda reshaped, but also reform was so widespread and radical that the resources of educational interest groups were stretched to such an extent that they were not always able to respond in great detail to each new policy initiative. The Picot, Mead, Hawke, and Tomorrow's Schools Reports were all released within a four month period.

## Picot and Hawke

The Hawke Report, certainly in the area of the schools sector, was greatly influenced by the Picot Report, "...in a sense by far the most important thing that influenced the working group, was the Picot Report. To a substantial extent our brief had to be, given the way the Government proposed to move on the administration of the education system, which meant the primary and secondary system." The Hawke Committee then were essentially concerned on this basis to determine, "What are the implications for the post-compulsory areas and especially the way the government deals with Polytechnics, Universities, and Colleges of Education." (Hawke, Interview, 1991). This in turn had implications for the nature of the qualifications authority because, as Hawke appreciated, there was a definite link between the schools area and the post-compulsory area. Furthermore, widespread though the terms of reference for Picot were, they did not include coverage of Universities, yet there was an obvious need in the circumstances to examine how the Universities could be integrated into the sort of approach to education that Picot advocated in his Report. As far as curriculum was concerned Hawke also acknowledged that there were problems in this area that were peculiar to schools. "The schools were the problem area, and that's where you come back to my initial comment that we, for the schools area, were predominantly guided by what the Picot Committee said and we simply stood by them." (Hawke, Interview, 1991).

There is then a link between the political events, particularly those prevailing about the time of the 1987 election and subsequent events like the change of Minister and associated reforms and the eventual determination of

qualifications policy. It was a chain of events that was also to be influenced in the final stages by the culmination in the Cabinet in-fighting that resulted in the resignation of David Lange and his replacement as Minister of Education by Phil Goff who not only had a strong personal commitment to reform (Goff, Interview, 1991), but who as a former Minister of Employment and Associate Minister of Education had the background and experience to drive the policy along.

## Treasury

The position of Treasury and to a lesser extent that of SSC were ones that unquestionably were highly influential in shaping the course of policy development. This does not infer however a subscription to a conspiracy theory, but it is an acknowledgement that there were numerous forces impacting, often in a quite serendipitous fashion, on the course of policy evolution. Treasury and SSC though significant, were among many such forces.

Right from its election in 1984 the Labour Government was strongly influenced by the ideological position of Treasury. Indeed a high proportion of senior Cabinet members (Roger Douglas, Richard Prebble, David Caygill) were either finance Ministers or Ministers with close associations to that portfolio. "Well you had the Prime Minister and three very senior ministers. I think the junior person, the most junior ranked person of those four was David Caygill. He ranked seventh in the Cabinet and was arguably the most influential in some respects. You had four of the top seven Ministers in Government who were driving Treasury's agenda. Now gradually later on it

was the Minister of State Services who also got caught up in that as well." Russell Marshall also mused, "If you were cynical you would say that Muldoon lost the 1984 election, or David Lange won it, and that he gave it to Roger Douglas who gave it to Treasury. The 1984 election became the platform for Treasury to have a much greater role in the government of the country and eventually they got into the social area." (Marshall, Interview, 1991). Treasury's drive for a reduction in interventionism, user pays, and an increased economic efficiency was complemented by the activities of SSC. They focussed on the machinery of governance and developed structures to explore checks and balances that could handle the redistributed power. "Overall the Treasury reinforced the SSC position with its neo-Friedmanite ideology, and together they formed a very effective bloc." (Macpherson, 1989, p.33). Certainly Treasury were well placed to monitor and litigate issues relating to Education.

During Russell Marshall's time as Minister of Education it became increasingly apparent that there was a problem over the respective jurisdictions of the Departments of Education and Labour. A situation had developed where a lot of post school training was done in Polytechnics and some was done under the Labour Department's jurisdiction. Probably this arrangement had been influenced by overseas developments, particularly the ideas of the British Manpower Services Commission, that saw training as an activity separate from Education. In any event it was seen as a problem by Russell Marshall. "There was a slow tortuous toing and froing process and Treasury started wheeling its agenda" (Marshall, Interview, 1991). The caucus committee objected to the slowness of movement on the issue so Russell Marshall in his capacity as Chairman of the Cabinet Social Equity Committee picked it up and suggested that a special Cabinet Committee be established.

This suggestion resulted in the formation of the Cabinet Ad Hoc Committee on Employment and Training being formed. This Committee which comprised Kerry Burke (Minister of Employment), Koro Wetere (Minister of Maori Affairs), Russell Marshall (Minister of Education), Anne Hercus (Minister of Social Welfare and Minister of Women's Affairs), and was chaired by Richard Prebble (Minister of Pacific Island Affairs and Associate Minister of Finance). The Committee was serviced primarily by Treasury who also had officials in attendance at the Committee's meetings. Also reporting to this Committee was another Committee on Training that was chaired by Mark Prebble, a senior Treasury official.

The extent of the influence of Treasury can also be adduced by the tactics they employed with Cabinet. "You would make a decision at a Cabinet Committee which might be adverse to Treasury. That paper would go to Cabinet the following Monday and then, at the last minute, Treasury would have another go at it. Lange would allow them to table another paper dissenting from the view of the Cabinet Committee and wanting to relitigate it. Sometimes they won. Having had an issue debated once they were forever coming back and having another go. They were like that. They never slept." (Marshall, Interview, 1991) Marshall illustrates this further with a reference, this time to his responsibilities as Minister of Conservation and how events were overtaken by the corporatisation process. "I had done all this careful consultation process and all the rest of it and we were taken over by a much larger agenda. It was ~~as~~ juggernaut and Treasury got into the driver's seat pretty early on." (Marshall, Interview, 1991).

From quite early on in Labour's term in office Treasury advanced the argument that the state was paying for the education of students who often

later became high earning professionals. The argument was, that while the state was contributing to assist people to gain qualifications that might ultimately allow those people to earn high incomes, the benefit from the state's intervention was going to those students in the long run. Treasury concluded therefore that it was entirely reasonable for parents or the students to make a 'reasonable contribution' to their education as they were the ones who gained the eventual benefits. This debate over the private and public good was an important one picked up by Gary Hawke, and it was the forerunner of the controversy over student loans that beset Phil Goff, and the voucher system that was to be touted, ironically, by Ruth Richardson. This was however not the only shape of Treasury's influence on educational policy making. "I have been told that the Secretary of Treasury told Lange that he wanted me out of Education, because I was spending too much money. Lange tried very hard to persuade Palmer to be Minister of Education before he decided to take it on himself." (Marshall, Interview, 1991).

The extent of Treasury's concern over Education policy was further demonstrated in Government Management : Brief to the Incoming Government 1987, Volume II Education Issues. In this 294 page document Treasury expressed their belief that their analysis,

"suggests that substantial elements of current government expenditure are, at best, ineffective when viewed in terms of the equity and efficiency concerns that justify such expenditure. Hence, there is a danger that further public expenditure in some areas of education will serve only to increase inequality and inefficiency. In the public area, debate does not seem to have been well focussed on the underlying issues and dilemmas facing the development of education policy. This brief attempts to

open out the issues for the Government in order to lead to more constructive consideration of the best way forward."

(Government Management, Vol II, Preface).

What the publication of this document, amongst the other things, achieved, was to substantially alter the tenor of the debate. The debate in education became a debate couched in economic terms and as such it created an economic framework that had its own language and paradigm. The economists view, albeit from a particular branch of economics, became the dominant view because it was able to capture the ground of the debate. "The ground was swept out from under Education's feet. We were getting into essentially cost benefit analysis of education when we should have been having cost effectiveness analysis, which is a much broader concept. What people were doing was focussing on the direct. For instance they were talking about what benefits had come from education. They were seen to be the immediate benefits in that, therefore they were the ones that tended to be captured by individuals, because higher salaries were paid to them once they got a qualification. If you look at the cost effectiveness issues you go much broader." (Barker, Interview, 1991).

This radical Treasury blueprint for Government Management of Education was produced at a time when Treasury no doubt felt quite confident. Roger Douglas was their Minister and a very powerful figure in Cabinet. It allowed them to capture the ideological and policy making high ground and it had a great impact on the way New Zealand society thought about issues. The tenor of its arguments were later reflected in the Picot Report (Haultain, 1989) and all subsequent educational reforms. As has already been suggested, this may ironically have provided a stimulus for the development of counter arguments and alternatives. Barker, (Interview, 1991), suggests that there was a

realisation about the disempowering effect the language of economics had on those people who were unfamiliar with it. As a consequence people like him set out to acquire an understanding of it. The knowledge gained by this exercise Barker contends, put those who had it in a position of considerable power with Treasury. "It meant I was able to wheel and deal with them on their terms. My aim in most respects was to question their perspective. I had to understand it clearly enough to know that they had made certain philosophical pre-suppositions that I didn't agree with. One of their philosophical pre-suppositions for instance is, that individuals are selfish and aim to maximise their personal gains, but there is also plenty of evidence for altruism in service." (Barker, Interview, 1991). Treasury had a world view that was structured around individuals rather than groups or societies. Their view was packaged in the purportedly neutral language of economics. This supposedly objective characteristic however belied the enormous ideological position behind it. It was however, overwhelming and persuasive for many people. Hence people like Barker may have been advantaged in countering the avalanche of policy making based on such notions. While, as has been already examined elsewhere in this report, there is some evidence to show that there is some validity in this argument, the extent to which it is true and remains to hold good, especially with a National Party Government, will be determined as the events of the next year or two unfold. There can however, be little doubt, that the notions of market forces and its accompanying ideology are still a force to be reckoned with in shaping policy. Whether there is still the resolve, identified by Mcpherson in the House and Cabinet to continue with the creation of,

"a sophisticated set of checks and balances that would embed responsiveness as a norm of professional and administrative practice"

(Mcpherson, 1989, p.111)

and how such a resolve might be applied to or reflected in the operations of the country's qualification system has yet to be fully determined. The ground however may well have been set.

## More Issues

While many influences have already been discussed both in this section and elsewhere, there are others, still not of course a definitive list, but factors that may have had an impact. Space and available information preclude exploring them and the related issues in other than a rather cursory fashion.

Personalities often have their own impact on policy. This is nothing to do with any plan or strategy but may occur in unpredictable ways. The relationship between senior officials in the Labour and Education Departments were probably influenced, apart from traditional and territorial factors, by their respective personalities and how they perceived one another. The respective Ministers of Education over the time most of the developments took place, Merv Wellington, Russell Marshall, David Lange and Phil Goff all brought with them strong personal characteristics that alienated some, yet drew support from others. There were a whole range of people who were 'key players' in the development of the policy. The list is a long one, but it takes only a small amount of imagination to envisage how circumstances may have

evolved differently, had different people with different relationships and personalities be involved. Would the visit of Tom McCool have had the impact that it did had he been replaced by someone else? Had Ian Young not been ill during a critical stage in the final phase of policy development would matters have emerged differently? Did some people's perceptions of Lynn Scott hasten the demise of the BoS? Such questions are of course in the realm of conjecture but they do serve to illustrate the point that personalities, while perhaps often only marginally influential on the main direction of reform, can have a modifying effect on detail and speed.

The Picot Report had its influences on policy, but the operation of Picot may also have been of influence on the relationship between the Taskforce and outside groups. These relationships in turn may have had their impact on the recommendations made by Picot. There did seem to be some contradictions in the relationship between the Picot group and others. "The Department of Education had very little to do with the Picot Report. Treasury has much better contact. The people doing most of the servicing were Maurice Gianotti, Marijke Robinson (SSC) and Simon Smelt (Treasury). Maurice was under firm instructions that he was not to consult around the Education Department. He was having to keep himself sealed from the Department. Basically the whole report came as a surprise to the Department not just the qualifications bit." (Prebble, Interview, 1991). This view is confirmed by David Lawrence's view, "Picot did not confer with anyone in the tertiary area. His advisory officer was a former primary school teacher who knew nothing about the tertiary area, and out of the blue came this National Validation Authority. It was absolute news to the continuing education division and to some extent discredited Picot in their view." (Lawrence, Interview, 1991). Comments by Russell Marshall confirm that there may also have been deficiencies in the

relationship between Picot and the Department of Education. "I suspect that if you talk to Mark Prebble and Marijke Robinson you will find the genesis of this more comprehensive authority began in discussions with the Picot Taskforce. Where that came from I don't know. It may have come from Treasury, but I don't know. I don't think it came from the education network as a whole either, because if it had I would have picked it before then. I think I would have picked it because of the way I set up my own exercise in all of that, which leads me to believe that Treasury with its own frustrated agenda with the Universities, may well have started it." (Marshall, Interview, 1991). These views do two things. They indicate the strength of the Treasury influence and also the weaknesses of the relationship between Picot and the Education Department.

The nature of this relationship is however seemingly contradicted by the views of Maurice Gianotti. Gianotti, who was Chief Executive to the Picot Taskforce, was seconded to that position, but remained on the Education Department payroll. Gianotti stated, that while the relationship was, "remote to say the least," and "there was no special relationship between the Department of Education and the Taskforce", the Department of Education "was given personal instructions by Bill Renwick, the Director General of Education, to provide information and support to the Taskforce. A note was sent out by the Director-General early on directing that the Taskforce be given all the assistance and resources they needed. The Taskforce never experienced any difficulties with the Department and always got any information it asked for. The Taskforce worked in ground floor rooms of the Department of Education buildings and their activities would not have been very obvious to most people working in the Department." Gianotti refutes

Prebble's suggestion about instructions for Gianotti not to consult. "I was absolutely not under any such instructions!" (Gianotti, Interview, 1991).

While this evidence may seem to be contradictory it is probably not that clear cut. There is, perhaps with the benefit or distorting effect of hindsight, a perception about the structured, negative nature of the relationship. It certainly would not have been in Treasury's interests to have Education too involved nor would it have been encouraged at a political level. The Department on the other hand may well have been largely oblivious to the significance of what was happening. They had seen vast streams of reports come and go, often with negligible impact. The unions, who might have been expected not only to show great interest themselves, and also to stimulate Departmental interest, had other matters to preoccupy them, including the State Sector legislation. Gianotti noted that there was very little interest in the activities of the Taskforce while they were meeting, and that the Taskforce even "had to persuade the teacher unions to attend meetings with them." (Gianotti, Interview, 1991).

In any event, had there been a different or closer relationship between the Taskforce and Education groups, perhaps either the outcomes of the Picot Report may have been different, or the Education groups may have been better and more rapidly equipped to deal with them.

Among other factors that are identifiable are the Universities and their perceptions and reactions. This area was complicated by financial and control issues, to which qualifications issues would have been peripheral. There is evidence that the Universities were concerned about the motives of Treasury, and that Treasury had a longstanding concern about government expenditure

on Universities. To what extent did the relationship between Geoffrey Palmer, who not only chaired the Cabinet Social Equity Committee, but who was Deputy Prime Minister, and later Prime Minister impact on qualifications policy? Certainly Phil Goff acknowledges that Palmer was put under a lot of pressure by the Universities (Goff, Interview, 1991). There was a suggestion that Palmer and Clarke in particular were susceptible to the need to try to ensure maximum voter support from the University sector in the forthcoming general election. They were both lobbied very heavily.

Mark Prebble believed that Palmer also had a role as one of the key politicians influencing qualifications policy. In particular he attributes the compulsory sections of the policy to the efforts of Palmer. Prebble believes that Palmer felt that there was too much at risk to make it entirely voluntary and that Palmer was, "reacting to what he saw as some rabid Treasury marketism, and he didn't realise that what he was doing was having the potential for straight jacketing things more than it needed to be straight-jacketed. We never got a chance to talk Palmer through it, he just brought down the main officials paper at the end of 1988 and they had the Ministerial discussion without officials present and barged them through." (Prebble, Interview, 1991). The other issue that Palmer was undoubtedly influential in resolving was to do with the powers of the Qualifications Authority. This was changed dramatically between the draft legislation as presented in the Education Amendment Bill 1990 and the Act as it was eventually passed. "Now Section 260 of the Act, is the mark of Geoffrey Palmer." (Lawrence, Interview, 1991). "Geoffrey was certainly a key figure in that final thing, but it was primarily a drafting thing." (Hawke, Interview, 1991).

Palmer also exercised a strong influence over the Hawke Report. The Report was commissioned by the Cabinet Social Equity Committee that was chaired by Palmer. "We were established by a Cabinet minute and essentially the organisation was done by Geoffrey Palmer who was Deputy Prime Minister and who chaired the Cabinet Social Equity Committee. It was done by Geoff and Phil Goff who was Associate Minister of Education. Of course it all had to be cleared with David Lange as Minister of Education rather than as Prime Minister. It was however very much under the control of Geoff for procedural things..." (Hawke, Interview, 1991)

There were also the Board of Studies, its performance and relationship to teacher groups, particularly to the PPTA as well as the personality of Lynn Scott and her relationships, particularly with senior Department of Education officials. The alacrity of policy implementation was one of high speed which of course was in accordance with Roger Douglas views on policy implementation. This allowed little time for consultation nor did it permit time to look at such details as the practicalities of implementation. The information on New Zealand's supply of technological skills as outlined in Certech: The Supply of Technological Skills to a Changing Economy and Certech : The Secondary Tertiary Student flow 1979 - 1986 and the implications for a changing economy would also have had an effect.

There were then a raft of influences that each had a role in determining the eventual shape of qualifications policy. While each factor is of some individual significance, it is their combined power to effect policy, often in an arbitrary fashion that is more important. Despite acknowledging this as a valid observation it is still possible to identify elements that had greater influence.

There can be little doubt that without the political climate of the time, the political will to instigate such reforms would have remained weak.

## **PART V**

### **Summary and Conclusion**

This part comprises one chapter in which this thesis is summarised and an attempt made to draw the various threads that have been exposed during this analysis together. As has been mentioned earlier this is not an easy task and any summation of this type runs a risk of omitting or unduly simplifying the whole policy making process. The major concern in the following chapter is however to deal with those issues raised in the title of this thesis and to concentrate on providing an answer to them.

## Chapter 22

### Conclusion

A characteristic error of educational reformers in the twentieth century, as McCulloch points out, has been to assume that policy edicts will lead directly to the results they intend. (McCulloch, 1990, p. 65). One of the issues this study has sought to clarify has been the extent to which this generalised observation is true for qualifications policy as it has recently developed.

New Zealand education has been fraught for a long time with an inherent contradiction. It has characteristically been in pursuit of the new and innovative, yet at the same time has often remained doggedly determined to cling to the traditional, especially those mores imported from the British education scene. This phenomenon is allied with a pattern of announcing significant change then often failing to attain the claimed advantages in classroom practice.

There is a strong temptation to ascribe the development of policy to a particular force or influence. Such a tendency is problematic. In the first instance such a conclusion can be seen as, or used in a way which imputes to some people, aspirations or intentions with which they would not wish to be associated. It can also be used pejoratively to establish nominal links with conspiracism, and hence be exploited as a means to discredit the argument and its proponents. Furthermore, by extrapolation, it may be possible to infer from the policy process a coherence of vision that is in excess of that which actually existed. There is too, a risk of underestimating factors such as the role

of pragmatism, personalities and accident in influencing both the development and justification of educational policy. Undue emphasis on such explanations may also have somewhat counter-productive consequences.

Policy is largely the product of a political process. It is also intrinsically concerned with the transmission of values as well as selecting or excluding people from social or occupational positions. Policy making is not therefore either a neutral or a value free activity. Consequently policy research and analysis must be a form of political action. As such it is inherently capable of becoming an agent either of domination or emancipation. Even the so-called non-aligned approaches with their tacit acceptance of the legitimacy of the existing system, effectively adopt by default, a political position. It is therefore unrealistic to have expectations that the policy analyst will escape or remain beyond the reach of values and politics. Policy analysis should however, not only have an empirical base, but also aspire to be socially critical in order to fulfil its emancipatory potential. In this context this emancipatory potential refers to its ability to affect future policy-making. The hope being that future policy-makers will be able to learn and benefit from this sort of analysis so that they can improve the policy making process with which they are involved. In this way policy analysis itself becomes a part of the policy making process. It is then, of necessity, going to be value-laden and political in nature. The notion that policy analysis is strictly scientific, dispassionate and value-neutral is an illusion. All research is inevitably influenced by the beliefs and assumptions of the researcher.

While it has not been a matter that has been the subject of special attention in this thesis there is a thread that has run consistently, but relatively unobtrusively, through much of the developments of this particular policy.

This thread is one concerning individuals, their personalities, relationships and conflicts. These factors have had a significant influence on the formation of qualifications policy as they very likely do in other policy making as well. This whole area of the role of individuals, their exertion of power and influence, the cohorts, cliques, and networks they form and develop, constitute an aspect of the policy making process that has the potential to be a fruitful area for further research.

The widespread acceptance of an idea or explanation does not require that every one is convinced at all times, it is sufficient for only enough people to be convinced enough of the time. In order to remain dominant however, an idea must be supported and propagated by that critical mass. It requires then, a degree of assent that can, at least in part, be assured by preventing the formation of a coherent counter-argument. One way in which this can be achieved by is to discredit the alternatives. This can be done by embracing arguments that may be neither serious nor particularly convincing, but which have the power to discredit critics. Resorting to the labelling of commentators as 'conspiracists' may well be an example of such a discrediting process. Certainly this research found no evidence to support any notion of 'conspiracy' although there were undoubted agendas that were either driving or facilitating change.

As mentioned earlier there is an irony in the way policy-makers in Education have often striven for the 'new' and yet so often failed to achieve the associated goals. This irony may well be further extended by the heavy dependence the new qualifications structure puts on modularisation as the harbinger of an improved future in education. While this idea has essentially been imported, based on a British and particularly a Scottish model, it is not

really new. Modularisation has been around in one form or another for perhaps a century or so. Despite this, there continues to be an absence of research in epistemology or learning theory to provide an adequate rationale for its adoption. Much of the argument in support of modularisation has been based on suppositions drawn from common sense culture. Its implementation is readily manipulated to achieve goals that are pre-eminently managerialistic, while its advocacy is marked by a recourse to its virtues as a means of improving cost-efficiency, flexibility and consumer-choice. In such instances the strength of its support and direction is drawn more from a managerial than an educational paradigm. Indeed in its broadest sense the notion of credit transfer, which is a major justification for modularisation, is essentially a market mechanism. On the one hand it is designed to extend purchasing power yet, on the other, to promote consumer control.

The thrust for modularisation is also accompanied by a drive for competency based assessment. The essence of such an approach is a concentration on 'outcomes'. There is, as a consequence, great emphasis on measurable behavioural change with consequent implications for the status of 'doing' as opposed to 'knowing'. The danger in this is that the focus will be such that the process becomes one of training rather than education. Another aspect is the propensity for the orientation of such an approach to assimilate further characteristics of scientific management with its tantalising, but deceptive assumptions, about the ease and convenience of the compartmentalisation of knowledge, its static nature and its ready measurability.

As with any curriculum change, the most critical factor in the process is the teaching staff. The way they go about selecting, developing and implementing "units of learning" will be paramount in determining whether the ensuing

curriculum is genuinely educative. Many teaching staff, particularly those in tertiary institutions, are well versed in the content of their subject specialities. Their comprehension of the nature of knowledge, and its relevance to classroom practice may however be very limited. The need then, more than ever, will be to have teaching staff who possess knowledge that is built into the way they look at their teaching task. Moreover they must be able to use that knowledge about the nature of the teaching-learning process to design teaching plans and apply pedagogies appropriate to the needs of their students. The mere possession of such knowledge without application in practice would not only be meaningless, but also ironically symptomatic of the very type of process that ought to be avoided. If modularisation leads to a deskilling of teachers with the subsequent atrophy of teaching skills, then the desirability of it as an essential ingredient in the qualifications structure must be called into question

The most compelling aspect of the paradox which is at the heart of this thesis is the development of a policy, that superficially at least, seems to be contrary to the expressed intentions of politicians and many policy reformers. Specifically it concerns a centralising trend during a period characterised by a dismissal of centralisation and a strong advocacy of devolution. As this discussion has revealed however, the contradiction is not merely a paradoxical quirk of the policy-making process. It has been accompanied by a devolution of responsibility and accountability whilst simultaneously control has been retained centrally. This is a result of the operation of the twin imperatives of a democratic requirement for participatory decision-making coinciding with an economic imperative for tighter controls over public expenditure. The associated rhetoric about devolution provides a convenient ambience of legitimation which assists that prime political aspiration, namely the retention

of power. Added to this is the political bonus that the locus of the legitimation problems is diverted away from central government to the providers of educational services.

The tension between the two major aspects of the teaching-learning process, assessment and curriculum has been explored. A frequent perception of their relationship involves concern about the problems associated with an assessment driven curriculum. Despite the discourse and debate over the relationship between those two factors, tension is nonetheless a likely by-product when responsibility for each is assigned to separate agencies. In this instance essentially the Ministry of Education has been assigned curriculum responsibilities and the NZQA the corresponding responsibilities for assessment procedures. As is true for the management of the educational agencies involved, so too there is evidence of a centralising trend in relation to curriculum. Any such pattern would provide a suitable foundation for developments currently being discussed as part of the new national curriculum initiatives.

While much of policy-making is serendipitous and ad hoc in nature it cannot be assumed that the process, though evolutionary in character, is neither value-free nor entirely arbitrary. Education policy is infused with pressures from economic, political and ideological sources, each producing circumstances capable of yielding contradictions. The result is the production of a site for struggles among competing groups as well as individuals for domination, for economic or political advantage and prestige. As this study has endeavoured to disclose, policy cannot be divorced from interests, conflict, domination or from justice or equity considerations. Furthermore discontinuities, compromises, omissions and exceptions also exert influences,

sometimes of considerable significance. The process of policy making is frequently opportunistic, sometimes unsystematic and, at least occasionally, irrational. As a consequence it is a process that is, at times, unpredictable, unwieldy and certainly complex. It would be rash to attribute education policy in general, or the Qualification Authority policy in particular, simply to a direct response to dominant interests. Perhaps it is better understood or explained as a response to a complicated and heterogeneous configuration of elements which includes residual, and emergent as well as the currently dominant influences.

Although there are some strong features of evolution evident in the development of the Qualifications policy, that is not a full nor a fair reflection of how it happened. Its genesis, though one with historical roots, was essentially a recent phenomenon and the change too rapid and radical to be attributed solely to evolutionary influences. The political and ideological climate which had changed so dramatically in New Zealand created a suitable environment for this change. It is also true that its emergence has been characterised by paradox. Whether however, it will herald the bold, bright, new environment that the rhetoric of its advocates suggests it will bestow, remains to be seen. Qualifications are after all, essentially a structural device for social control, and as such, may ultimately be unlikely to contribute the kind of solutions that are the essential ingredients of progress. The extent of its success is likely however to be strongly affected by the prevailing dominant ideological forces within New Zealand. It is the nature, direction and extent of these forces that will ultimately determine the progressive qualities of the reconstruction of the qualifications policy in New Zealand.

This thesis has then not only questioned the progressive nature of the reconstruction of the qualifications policy, but it has also highlighted the dominance of a positivist managerialistic ideology and its associated agenda for change. No evidence was found of any 'conspiracy' or 'master plan', though there may have been occasional cases of collusion between individuals pursuing common objectives. The critical aspect that is really central to the whole thesis is the position of the locus of control which may not have moved as the rhetoric indicates, away from centralised authority. Much of this policy was serendipitous in nature and certainly many factors were influential in shaping the nature and direction of change. A noteworthy instance of one of these influences is that of individuals, the 'key players' in the policy making 'game'. Their roles, though not always immediately obvious, played a substantial part in the determination of this policy.

While it was not the intention of this thesis to be speculative, it has revealed some underlying tensions that have been evident from the genesis of this policy that still remain problematic. A major one is the tension between two major paradigms. One is reflected in the views and requirements of a managerial, technological and instrumentalist approach to educational policy with its focus on matters like accountability and the devising and measurement of learning outcomes. The second is that of the educationalist with its concern for the nature of knowledge, fairness and the development of the individual. This tension combined with those inherent in the issue of curriculum as well as the need to maintain control centrally yet give responsibility to the local level gives rise to serious contradictions. The proposed national qualifications framework, as an example of one of the first major policy developments since the establishment of NZQA demonstrates that these tensions remain unresolved.

The new environment for qualifications then does represent a radical reconstruction, it is certainly paradoxical in nature and its progressive qualities are problematic.

## PART VI

### Tables, Glossary, Appendices, Sources and Bibliography

This, the final part of this thesis, provides supporting material that is either too bulky or is otherwise not suited to include in the body of the thesis but which still provides useful supporting information.

A separate section headed 'Sources' has been included because much of the research for this thesis depended on information contained in unpublished documents. The 'Sources' section lists, in alphabetical order by the author or organisation that produced it, all those documents used during the preparation of this thesis. Most of them were received from interviewees who had some material in their personal files, some came from the Cabinet Office following an official request for information and others were located as a result of telephone calls to people likely to have such material. This is perhaps especially significant as no one body had an archive of the relevant material. Indeed it may well be that large 'chunks' of institutional memory have been lost already, a cost of the radical restructuring of many government departments.

The bibliography, includes all the published material cited in references in the thesis as well as some other material that was found useful for background information.

## Table 1

### Participation in Post-Compulsory Education and Training in New Zealand

The following table gives comparative participation rates in post-compulsory education.

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PARTICIPATION RATES				
	16 Years	17 Years	18 Years	19 Years
Australia	77.3	59.2	42.0	37.4
Austria	87.1	83.7	76.5	45.6
Belgium	86.5	75.0	57.0	43.0
Canada	88.6	71.6	42.1	30.0
Denmark	76.0	68.0	61.0	50.0
Finland	87.5	75.4	58.8	34.5
France	83.9	68.9	45.2	30.0
Germany	92.1	89.3	71.9	45.9
Italy	69.1	70.3	51.3	29.4
Japan	94.0	84.0	-	50.0*
Netherlands	97.8	84.7	62.8	43.7
New Zealand	74.4	46.5	32.6	30.9
Portugal	39.2	35.0	34.5	27.8
Spain	53.4	50.1	37.1	27.5
Sweden	87.4	78.4	44.7	23.5
Switzerland	85.9	81.6	73.1	52.8
United Kingdom	68.0	52.8	37.0	28.5
United States	94.3	87.1	54.7	40.9

- Not available  
\* Estimated

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Source: OECD table; based on enrolment rates in full and part time education in 1984

**Table 2**


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**Percentage of secondary School Students retained to Upper levels of the  
Secondary School, by Form Level**

<i>Form Level</i>	<i>1965</i>	<i>1975</i>	<i>1985</i>	<i>1989</i>
Seventh Form	8	13	17	32
Sixth Form	29	46	54	69
Fifth Form	67	80	86	91

Full-time students only based on third form entry

Source: Education Statistics of New Zealand, Department of Education

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(Stewart, 1990, p.14)

### Table 3

The following table illustrates how the aims of the new "Learning for Life" system demonstrate the inherently contradictory nature of this policy development.

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AIMS OF THE NEW SYSTEM

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<u>Devolutionary</u>	<u>Centralising</u>
To give institutions greater independence and freedom to make operational and management decisions	To balance the increased financial freedom of institutions with the need for proper accountability for expenditure of public funds
To improve the responsiveness of institutions to their communities	To establish a unified approach to the recognition of academic and vocational qualifications
To give improved access to tertiary institutions for groups now under-represented in the sector	To ensure the maintenance of education and training standards while streamlining the processes for people to progress between sectors in order to gain qualifications. (* Establishment of NZQA and ERO)
To provide more places for students in tertiary institutions	To achieve better access to comprehensive and detailed career information and career guidance, for people of all ages. (* Establishment of the centralised agency Quest Rapuara)
	To have one organisation (the Ministry of Education) responsible for co-ordinating and integrating policy and for allocating resources and setting priorities in the post-compulsory education and training sector. This includes the labour market training schemes of ACCESS and Apprenticeship previously under the Department of Labour.

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Italics added for purposes of emphasis. \* Added for explanatory purposes  
 (Learning for Life Implementation Kit, April 1990, p.3)

**Table 4****Policy Developments**

Significant Documentary Milestones in the Development of the  
National Qualifications Authority Concept

<b>Publication Date</b>	<b>Short "Title"</b>	<b>Full Title</b>
1943.12	Thomas Report	The Post-Primary School Curriculum
1956.03	Parkyn Report	The Post-Primary Curriculum and the School Certificate Examination with Particular Reference to the Position of Latin
1959.12	Hughes Parry Report	Report of the Committee on New Zealand Universities
1962.07	Currie Report	Report of the Commission on Education in New Zealand
1971.10	Horlor Report	Report of a Working Party on Technical and Industrial Academic Awards
1973.12	Lawrence Report	Report of the Educational Development Conference Working Party on Improving Learning and Teaching
1973.12	Nordmeyer Report	Report from the Educational Development Conference Working Party on Organisation and Administration
1976.05	McCombs Report	Towards Partnership: Report of the Committee on Secondary Education
1978	John Hercus (Chairman)	Technical and Vocational Education: Report of a Committee of the New Zealand National Commission for UNESCO
1981	Karmel & Renwick	Curriculum 80s Number 2 "Education and Working Life"
1984		The Report of the Working Party on the Board of Studies: "Proposal for a Board of Studies"
1984.07	Treasury Briefing papers	Economic Management
1985.04	Coad/Lawrence Review	The Review of the Authority for Advanced Vocational Awards and the NZ Trades Certification Board

1985.05	J A Ross (Chairman)	First Report of the Committee of Inquiry into Curriculum, Assessment, and Qualifications in Forms 5 to 7: Implications of the Removal of the University Entrance Examination from Form 6
1985.08	Hercus/Young Report	Report on the Technical Institute Grants Committee Proposal
1986.06	J A Ross (Chairman)	Learning & Achieving (Second Report of the Committee of Inquiry into Curriculum, Assessment and Qualifications in Forms 5 to 7))
1987.02		The Curriculum Review
1987.03		Tertiary Education in New Zealand: (* Issues and Comment * Have Your say)
1987.03	Probine/Fargher Report	The Management, Funding and Organisation of Continuing Education and Training
1987.08	Treasury Briefing Papers	Government Management
1987.09		Achievement Post-School Planning Committee Report on Post-Compulsory National Certification
1987.09	Shallcrass Report	Report of the Interim Advisory Group on Non-formal Education
1987.10	Watts Report	New Zealand's Universities: Partners In National Development
1987.11		Department of Education Report on the Formation of a National Validation Body to the Minister and Associate Ministers of Education
1987.12	David Lawrence (author)	Alternatives to Universities in tertiary Education: The Department of Education's report to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development on New Zealand's non-university sector.
1988.02		Report on Submissions to the Tertiary Reviews
1988.03	Kerr/Young Report	Joint Report to the Associate Minister of Education and Minister of Labour: Formation of a National Vocational Qualifications Body
1988.04	Picot Report	Administering for Excellence
1988.06	Blandy Report	Reforming Tertiary Education in New Zealand
1988.06	Richardson Report	Towards a Fair and Just Society

1988.07	Hawke Report	of the Working Group on PCET
1988.08		Tomorrow's Schools
1988.11	Barker Report	Report of the Officials Overview Group on the Hawke Report on Post-Compulsory Education and Training
1989.02		Learning for Life I
1989.03		Learning for Life terms of reference
1989.05	David Hood (Chairman)	Report of the Learning for Life Working Party: Setting Up of the National Education Qualifications Authority Establishment Board. (Phase I Working Party)
1989.08		Learning For Life II
1989.09		Assessment for Better Learning
1990.02	Yuill Report	The Review of Polytechnic Education in Wellington
1990.03	Stewart Report	Tomorrow's Standards: The Report of the Ministerial Working Party on Assessment for Better Learning
1990.04	Lough Report	Today's Schools
1990.07		Education Amendment Act
1990.12	Sexton Report	New Zealand Schools: An Evaluation of Recent Reforms and Future Directions
1991.03		Designing the Framework: A Discussion Document About Restructuring National Qualifications

## Table 5

### Board of Studies

Membership - August 1988

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LYNN SCOTT, Wellington Chairperson	MIKE MURTAGH, Wellington, Universities Entrance Board
PETER ALLEN, Taupo, Post-Primary Teachers' Association	RORY O'CONNOR, Wellington, Department of Education
ROD BROWNING, Lincoln, Principals of Secondary Schools	HELEN PATTERSON, Wellington, Post-School Certification Authorities
STAN DUNCAN, Dunedin, Employers	ROSE PERE, Gisborne, Maori People
LEOPINO FOLIAKI, Auckland, Pacific Island people	JOHN REYNOLDS, Tokomaru Bay, Rural people
ARCH GILCHRIST, Wellington, Department of Education	LINDA SISSONS, Wellington, Trade Union movement
DEAN HALFORD, Palmerston North, Secondary School Boards Association	CLAIRE STEWART, New Plymouth, Parents of secondary school students
ANN HARTLEY, Birkenhead, Primary Education	BIDGE SMITH, Wellington, Tertiary students
SHONA HEARN, Auckland, Post-Primary Teachers' Association	NICHOLAS TARLING, Auckland, Universities Entrance Board
TE HEMARA MAIPI, Huntly, Tertiary students	JOHN TAYLOR, Auckland, Private Schools
ROSEMARY MIDDLETON, Gisborne, Tertiary Institutes	

## Table 6

### NZQA Board

<u>Name</u>	<u>Background</u>
Sir James Stewart	Chair of NZQA. Formerly Principal Lincoln University College. Chair of the Ministerial Working Party on Assessment for Better Learning. Chair of the Learning for Life Working Party on Student Loans
Derek McCormack	Formerly President, Association of Staff in Tertiary Education. Represented the Teacher Associations on the NEQA Working Group.
John McCarthy	Director, Wellington Regional Employers Association
Denford McDonald	Deputy Chair of NZQA. Managing Director, Mitsubishi Motors
Marina Hughes	Associate Director, Christchurch Polytechnic. Chair of Learning for Life Working Group on Iwi Authorities, Special and Private Institutions
Lynn Scott	Director, Teacher Support Services. Represented the Advisory Bodies on the NEQA Working Group. Chair of BOS. Former Principal of Hamilton Girls High School.
Stuart Johnston	Assistant Vice-Chancellor, Victoria University of Wellington. Consultant to the NEQA Establishment Unit. Represented the Providers on the NEQA Working Group.
Colin Macintosh	Former Principal of Rangiora High School, member Canterbury REAC
Tupae Pepe	Liaison Tutor, Manukau Polytechnic
Gay Williams	Executive Director, New Zealand Nurses' Association

## Table 7

### NATIONAL SECONDARY STANDING COMMITTEE

Mr Colin McIntosh	- Chair of Standing Committee. Member NZQA Board. Ex-Principal Rangiora High School
Mr Ken Wilson-Pyne	- Director, secondary teachers training programme, Christchurch College of Education
Mr John Taylor	- Headmaster of Kings College, Auckland.
Professor Nick Tarling	- Professor of History, Dean of the Faculty of Arts, Assistant Vice-Chancellor, University of Auckland.
Mr Pat Heremaia	- Principal of Hillary College, Otara, Auckland
Ms Rahera Shortland	- HOD - Maori, Auckland Girls Grammar School
Miss Rosemary Middleton	- Chief Executive Officer, Tairāwhiti Polytechnic
Dr Terry Crooks	- Director and Senior Lecturer, Higher Education Development Centre, University of Otago. Member of the Ministerial Working Party on Assessment for Better Learning (ABLE)
Mr Mark Barrow	- HOD - Science, Tamaki College. Former alternate member of BOS
Ms Marian Hobbs	- Principal, Avonside Girls High School

- Ms Marilyn Davies
- Education Advisor, New Zealand Employers Federation. Former secondary school teacher.
- Mr Ian Baldwin
- Deputy Principal, Southland Boys High School. Link co-ordinator
- Ms Claire Stewart
- Chair Board of Trustees, New Plymouth Girls High School. New Plymouth District Councillor. Former Parent representative on BOS
- Ms Pefi Kingi
- Education Advisor, Auckland College of Education

## Glossary of Terms

AAVA accreditation	Authority for Advanced Vocational Awards the process of determining whether an <u>institution</u> meets prescribed education or training standards (eg facilities, staff qualifications ...) (Submissions to Tertiary Review p.152)
AJHR assessment	Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives of New Zealand The process of checking or measuring the attainment of students.
ATTI	Association of Teachers in Technical Institutes (later ASTE)
AUT Board of Studies	Association of University Teachers The establishment of the Board of Studies was recommended by the First Report of the Committee of Inquiry into Curriculum, Assessment and Qualifications in Forms 1 to 7 (May 1985). The BOS was established by legislation passed in June 1987 and held its first meeting in February 1988. The Board of Studies was an independent body, separate from the Department of Education and the Minister. The Board's function was to consider and make recommendations to the Minister of Education concerning secondary curriculum, secondary syllabuses and guidelines, the assessment of secondary students, awards that were or might have been made to secondary students, and the subjects and prescriptions for those awards. The Board was officially disestablished with the setting up of NZQA in July 1990.
BOS	Board of Studies.
BOT certification	Board of Trustees The issuing of a formal document or statement certifying that a person has satisfactorily completed a course of study or attained a given qualification.
CLANZ CNAA	Community Learning Aotearoa/New Zealand Council for National Academic Awards. British Council established in 1964 with powers to award degrees, diplomas and certificates to people who have successfully pursued courses of study approved by the Council at educational establishments other than universities. Successor to the National Council for Technological Awards.

Continuing Education	Education, including vocational education, provided for people who are no longer required to attend school and who are not pupils in any secondary school, but not including education at any University or College of Education.
CSU	Combined State Unions
DACUM	Develop A Curriculum
ETSA	Education and Training Support Agency. A Crown agency set up by the Education Amendment Act 1990 to administer the Access Training Scheme, the Apprenticeship Scheme, the Primary Industry Cadet Scheme, and such other activities and programmes relating to education or training as the Minister of Education determines.
evaluation	The process of checking the effectiveness of the content and teaching and assessment procedures of a course.
FE	Further Education
IDC	Industries Development Commission
INNZ	Information Network of New Zealand
ITB	Industry Training Board
Lifelong Education	The whole span of deliberate education at all ages, from pre-school through to an including continuing education, viewed as an integral whole.
modularisation	The process of converting programmes and course into modules or units of learning
module	A package of learning material. Also now often referred to as a unit of learning.
MoE	Ministry of Education
MSC	Manpower Services Commission
NAAB	National Academic Awards Board. One of three distinct sub-agencies recommended for establishment by the Hawke Report. It was to be authorised to validate degree level courses at any institution. It was also to develop guidelines for the use of academic terms such as "bachelor", "master", "doctor" and "diploma". NAAB was to operate on a cost recovery basis.
National Certificate	
NEQA	National Educational Qualifications Agency. The Hawke Report recommended the establishment of NEQA as a small body of part-time members that would be essentially a co-ordinating body for three distinct sub-agencies: NVQB for vocational qualifications, SEQB for qualifications in secondary schools, and NAAB for degree level courses. The NEQA Boards were to be concerned with specifying national standards, evaluating courses

proposed by providers and endorsing claims that met those specified national standards. NEQA was to be distinct from providers of educational services, and from the Ministry of Education. It was not to be concerned with curriculum development, nor to be concerned with allocating resources. The NEQA Boards were to be authorised to accredit providers to run courses leading to national qualifications. NEQA was envisaged as a "federal" organisation in which the some powers were to be located in the component parts. The principal concern of NEQA and its component boards was to be with the outcome of educational services.

NUS	Non University Sector
NVQB	National Vocational Qualifications Board. One of three distinct sub-agencies recommended for establishment by the Hawke Report. It was to be authorised to validate vocational qualifications. The Hawke Report proposed that NVQB absorb the public support that was provided for the Trades Certification Board and the Authority for Advanced Vocational Awards.
NVQB	National Vocational Qualifications Board. Suggested by the Departments of Labour and Education as a replacement for the Trades Certification Board and the Authority for Advanced Vocational Awards
NZEF	New Zealand Employers Federation
NZEI	New Zealand Educational Institute
NZQA	New Zealand Qualifications Authority. The Crown agency set up by the Education Amendment Act 1990 to establish a consistent approach to the recognition of qualifications in academic and vocational areas.
NZTAT	New Zealand Technology Advancement Trust
NZVCC	New Zealand Vice Chancellors' Committee
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PCET	Post-Compulsory Education and Training. Defined in Learning for Life as a wide-ranging activity covering leaning in formal institutions, on-the-job training, self-motivated learning in non-formal settings, and informal acquisition of knowledge and understanding. It refered to all courses of study available to people over the age of 15. The minimum school leaving age has recently been raised to 16.
PPTA	Post Primary teachers Association

PSET	Post-School Education and Training
PSRA	Public Scholarship and Research Agency. Recommended in the Hawke Report that the reform of the PCET system should include the creation of a Public Scholarship and Research Agency (Hawke, p.8)
PVE	Pre-Vocational Education
QUEST Rapuara	The Career Development and Transition Education Service which was set up as a Crown agency by the Education Amendment Act 1990.
REAC	Regional Employment and Access Council
registration	The issuing of a formal document or statement certifying that a person has complied with all the requirements to be recognised and recorded as qualified in a stated vocational field.
RSA	Royal Society of Arts
SCORITE	Standing Committee on Relationships in Tertiary Education
SCOTVEC	Scottish Vocational Education Council
SEQB	Secondary Education Qualifications Board. One of three distinct sub-agencies recommended for establishment by the Hawke Report. It was to be authorised to validate qualification in secondary schools. The principal client of SEQB was to be the Ministry of Education and Training.
SSC	State Services Commission
TCA	Technicians Certification Authority (forerunner of AAVA)
TCB	Trades Certification Board
Tertiary Education	Post secondary school education
Tertiary Research Board	A Crown agency set up by the Education Amendment Act 1990 to make grants of money to institutions for the carrying out of specific research projects, to monitor such research, and to grant scholarships and fellowships for research or study.
TIA	Technical Institutes Association
TNA	Training Needs Analysis
TOP	The Open Polytechnic (formerly The Technical Correspondence Institute)
	Training Opportunities Programme. A programme of learning units that will provide entry into the National Certificate (To replace Access).
TRB	Teacher Registration Board
TVEI	Technical and Vocational Education Initiative
UGC	University Grants Committee
validation	The process of determining whether a <u>course</u> meets prescribed educational or training standards (eg level, content...) (Submissions to Tertiary Review p. 152)

VEA	Vocational Examining Authority (proposed by NZEF)
VGCCA	Vocational Guidance and Careers Advisory Agency. Later to become known as the Career Development and Transition Education Service or QUEST Rapuara.
VPRU	Vocational Prescription Review Unit
VPU	Vocational Prescription Unit (proposed by NZEF)
VTC	Vocational Training Council

## Appendix A

### REGISTRATION AUTHORITIES AND EXAMINATION BOARDS IN NEW ZEALAND

#### EXAMING AUTHORITIES IN TECHNICAL INSTITUTES IN 1987

Advertising Institute of New Zealand  
Agricultural Chemicals Board  
Agricultural Pest Destruction Council  
Bankers Institute of New Zealand  
Booksellers Association of New Zealand Inc.  
Building Surveyors' Institute  
Chartered Institute of Transport  
City and Guilds of London Institute  
Clerk of Works Registration Board  
Clothing Institute of New Zealand  
Conjoint Board for Radiography  
Council of Engineering Institutions  
Craftsman Training Foundation  
Dairy Factory Managers Registration Board  
Dental Association of New Zealand  
Department of Education  
Electricians Registration Board  
Engineering Associates Registration Board  
Export Institute of New Zealand  
Greater Wellington Retailers' Association  
Industry Training Boards of the Vocational Training Council

Institute of Building Inspectors  
Institute of Chartered Secretaries and Administrators  
Institute of Fire Engineers  
Institute of Fire Engineers, Britain  
Institute of Marketing  
Institute of Personnel Management  
Institute of Production Engineers (U.K.)  
Institute of Welding  
Insurance Institute of New Zealand (Inc.)  
International Airline Transport Association  
Life Underwriters' Association of New Zealand  
Marine Department  
Medical Laboratory Technologists' Board  
Medical Radiation Technologists' Board  
Mining Board of Examiners  
Ministry of Transport  
Ministry of Transport, Civil Aviation Division  
Motor Vehicle Salesman Registration Authority  
National Hydatids Council  
National Radiation Laboratory  
National Roads Board  
Non-Destructive Testing Association  
Noxious Plants Council  
Nursing Council of New Zealand  
New Zealand Authority for Advance Vocational Awards  
New Zealand Dental Association  
New Zealand Fire Brigades Institute  
New Zealand Institute of Engineering Technicians

New Zealand Institute of Local Authority Administration  
New Zealand Institute of Management  
New Zealand Institute of Purchasing and Supply  
New Zealand Institute of Quantity Surveyors  
New Zealand Institute of Valuers  
New Zealand Law Society  
New Zealand Railways  
New Zealand Society of Accountants  
New Zealand Society of Customs Agents  
New Zealand Trade Certification Board  
New Zealand Turf Culture Institute  
Occupational Therapy Board  
Pharmaceutical Society of New Zealand  
Physiotherapy Board of New Zealand  
Pitman Examinations Institute  
Plumbers Registration Board  
Podiatry Board  
Purchasing Officers' Association  
Quantity Surveyors' Registration Board  
Real Estate Institute of New Zealand  
Royal New Zealand Institute of Horticulture  
Royal Society of Health, New Zealand Examinations Board  
Technicians' Certification Authority  
University Entrance Board  
Work Study Engineers

(Department of Education, "Report on the Formation of a National Validation Body", 1987).

## Appendix B

### Questions for use During Formal Interviews

#### 1 Historical Factors

- 1.1 Would you outline the sequence of events that lead up to the formation of the New Zealand Qualifications Authority in the Education Amendment Act of July 1990.
- 1.2 At what times did the most significant changes to policy occur?
- 1.3 At what point did the policy that led to the formation of the New Zealand Qualifications Authority really begin?
- 1.4 What were the discussions that were in progress at the time of the Probine-Fargher Report? (November 1986 to March 1987).
- 1.5 The Picot Report refers to a "National Validation Authority" whereas the Hawke Report refers to the "Qualifications Agency" and the Qualifications/Awards Boards. What is the significance in this change in terminology?
- 1.6 What conflicts if any were there between government departments and other agencies over the qualifications authority policy? Why did they develop and how were they resolved?
- 1.7 What overseas models or developments had any influence on policy development?
- 1.8 What was the significance in the evolution of the name of the Qualifications Authority? In particular what is the significance of the removal of the word "education" from the name? (NEQA to NZQA)
- 1.9 What were the major changes that occurred between Learning for Life Two and the passing of the Education Amendment Act? What were the major reasons for these changes?
- 1.10 What consideration was given to the speed of implementation of this policy?

#### 2 Control Issues

- 2.1 Who were the people you consider were most influential in determining and shaping the policy that ultimately resulted in

the formation of the New Zealand Qualifications Authority? In what ways did they exercise this influence?

- 2.2 What factors do you consider were most influential in determining the nature of the qualifications authority policy?
- low rate of participation in post secondary and vocational training
  - high proportion of the population with no formal post-secondary qualifications
  - the state of the New Zealand labour market
  - New Zealand's economic position, especially the need to ensure New Zealand's technological competitiveness
  - the growth in unemployment
  - the changing curriculum needs of secondary schools, especially in the post-compulsory area.
  - the performance of the Board of Studies
  - the political climate in New Zealand (Rogernomics and the focus on restructuring and the associated rapid pace of change...)
  - the transition to work role of post-compulsory education and training
  - the policy making capabilities of various government departments
  - the desire to encourage fee-paying overseas students to study in New Zealand
  - social issues such as the increased number of women in the work force and their lack of representation in many trade and technical vocations and the poor representation of Maori in both the higher qualifications and certain vocational areas.
  - lack of integration in the delivery of education and training. Systems that have grown in an uncoordinated way with agencies with overlapping interests and ill-defined roles and functions.
  - the array of organisations responsible for what was taught eg universities, technical institutes, community colleges, secondary schools, Trade Certification Board, Authority for Advanced Vocational Awards...
  - attitudes to the assessment and moderation procedures used for School Certificate.
  - the relative expansion in the service sector at the expense of the primary and manufacturing sectors
  - public perception of educational and vocational qualifications
  - pressure from overseas (demands of the qualification market).
- 2.3 To what extent did this policy evolve and to what extent was it directed or controlled?
- 2.4 The New Zealand Employers Federation expressed a preference for the establishment of a National Certification Authority rather than a national validation authority (Report on Submissions to the Tertiary Reviews). What was the nature of the Employers Federation concern, and why was this preference disregarded?
- 2.5 To what extent does the New Zealand Qualifications Authority increase or decrease government control over educational matters? How did the relevant aspects of this part of the policy develop?
- 2.6 What was the dominant conceptual or ideological framework or paradigm that influenced policy developments? What allowed this force to predominate?
- 2.7 In Learning for Life Two the government departed significantly from the Hawke recommendations. The emphasis moved from the sector boards with the NEQA board as a "federal"

organisation as proposed by Hawke, to the NEQA board as the central controlling body. Why did this happen?

- 2.8 What conflicts if any do you see in the essentially centralised nature of the New Zealand Qualifications Authority? Especially given the criticism in the Picot Report of "Overcentralisation of Decision Making". What attention was given to this issue during policy making?
- 2.9 Stuart Sexton (1990, pages 31-32) states "That too much control has been retained centrally." He continues to describe "political economy considerations" that he argues were not given adequate heed by the reformers with the result that not only were the decentralising intentions of the reformers but also their intentions to reduce the size of the bureaucracy thwarted. To what extent if any, was the formation of NZQA a part of this trend? What factors or forces either encouraged or discouraged such a tendency?
- 2.10 Sexton (1990, page 46) expresses the following view. "Despite the small size of New Zealand's population, it seems to be highly desirable for there to be at least two, if not more, independent providers of public examination and the attendant qualifications, thereby creating competition in validating agencies and no objective standards upon which to judge the value of such qualifications." What consideration was given to this argument during policy development?

### 3 Curriculum Issues

- 3.1 Why were curriculum matters separated from qualifications matters? (This was one of the concerns expressed by the Board of Studies at the Qualifications Authority proposals) How can this be reconciled with the effect that NZQA has on the modularization of the post-compulsory curriculum? How does this fit with the Tomorrow's Standards recommendation that schools should have the flexibility to allow students in any year of secondary education to attempt national awards? (p. 43) Tomorrow's Standards also states, "It is the interweaving of curriculum, good teaching, and assessment that ensures quality of learning" (p.16). How was the lack of clarity concerning the role of the Qualifications Authority vis-a-vis the Ministry of Education in connection with the need for effective linkages between curriculum and assessment in the secondary area resolved? (refer page 36 section 8.2.11 of the report of the Phase 1 Working Party)

- 3.2 Why was the Board of Studies so short-lived? Why did the Hawke Report favour the retention of the Board of Studies in a modified form (4.12.6 p.68)? What lessons were learned from the Board of Studies experience that influenced the qualifications authority policy? What developments took place after the Hawke report that decided the fate of the Board of Studies?
- 3.3 Given that New Zealand secondary education has been regarded largely as a preparatory and general form of education how was this position reconciled with the potentially conflicting role for a Qualifications Authority that has jurisdiction in the secondary area as well as the vocational and academic areas of education?

#### 4 Equity Issues

- 4.1 What consideration was given during policy development of the impact of a user-pays or cost recovery basis of operation of the Qualifications Authority on its equity objectives?
- 4.2 What consideration was given during policy formation to equity based objectives? How were any such objectives prioritised and what forces were most influential in shaping them?
- 4.3 How were the apparent conflicts between the demands for equity on one hand and the economic pressure for cost-recovery on the other balanced or reconciled?
- 4.4 In 1944 the Thomas Committee claimed " Reform depends in the last analysis on the existence of a public which will think of education less as a means of individual advancement, and more as a means of creating an educated community". To what extent was this view shared by those involved in policy development and what actions were taken to address the issue of the perception of New Zealand society of the function of credentialism?

#### 5 The Universities

- 5.1 There is a reference in the Picot Report that indicates that it envisaged a validation authority to cover "all non-degree courses, except those offered by universities" ( p 88). What were the major factors that influenced the change between the Picot and Hawke Reports to extend the authority to include all academic awards?

- 5.2 Neither the Watts Report nor the Probine-Fargher Report favoured polytechnics being able to award degrees. (Watts page 123, Probine-Fargher pages 19 to 20). By the Hawke Report opinion had changed. Why was this?
- 5.3 What were the major factors that influenced the provision in Section 260 of the Education Amendment Act 1990 "Exercise of certain powers of the Authority" that give the Vice-Chancellors Committee authority to exercise the powers of the Qualifications Authority in so far as they apply to universities?
- 5.4 What special attention was given to the role of Colleges of Education as providers of qualifications? How was their role related to the activities of the universities (academically oriented) and the polytechnics (vocationally oriented)?
- 5.5 To what extent were the forces now urging the government to establish a Tertiary Education Commission evident in the formation of the Qualifications Authority policy and what role did they play?

## 6 Issues to do with Standards

- 6.1 Why was the Tomorrow's Standards Report's recommendation that "all fourth form students each year be assessed on important basic skills, using tasks and procedures developed and administered on a national basis" not included in the responsibilities assigned to the New Zealand Qualifications Authority? (The report states that "the National Educational Qualifications Authority (NEQA) could be the most appropriate organisation to administer this testing programme") (p.22)
- 6.2 What consideration was given during the development of this policy to the existence of a social belief that credentials in the vocational area are inferior to those in the academic area? If this was a factor, what adjustments to policy were made and from where were they initiated?
- 6.3 The Watts Report favoured the strengthening of the UGC and also the replacement of the Curriculum Committee with an Academic Programmes Committee. The Hawke Report recommended "that the University Grants Committee be disestablished" (page 14). What forces shaped the initial Watts Report view and what happened to produce the change evident in the Hawke Report?

## 7 Political Issues

- 7.1 What consideration was given in policy development to protecting the Qualifications Authority from "pressure group politics"?
- 7.2 To what extent were these policy developments educational, political, economic, or managerial in nature or purpose?
- 7.3 The Hawke Report, on page 55, in reference to the interdepartmental proposal states that "members would be 'reflective' of, rather than 'representative' of industry, community, and educational interests." What is the background to this reference and how significant is it in relation to this policy development? The issue is also evident in the Report of the Phase 1 Working Party on the Establishment of the National Education Qualifications Authority which raises it in section 4.17 on page 12.
- 7.4 To what extent did Treasury pursue the target of 100% cost-recovery as an appropriate target for NVQB? (As mentioned in section 4.6.9 of the Hawke Report, p.57). What were the reactions of the other groups represented during policy development?
- 7.5 Given the prevalent acceptance by politicians of the managerialist ethic that competition leads to improved performance and efficiency, how can this be reconciled with a policy development that disestablished organisations that had significant roles in post-compulsory education and training qualifications? (Board of Studies, Authority for Advanced Vocational Awards, Trades Certification Board, University Grants Committee, Universities Entrance Board, Department of Education, and the Vocational Training Council). (Refer page 41 Report of the Phase 1 Working Party).
- 7.6 Given that the government of the day was pledged to encourage free enterprise and extend parental choice is there an inconsistency between this position and its willingness to impose a qualifications structure that has arguably had significant impact on curriculum autonomy and curriculum content?
- 7.7 Habermas (1970) discusses technocratic rationality, which is a form of political rationality in which the ends and means are separated. This approach determines the ends or objectives with it being merely a contingent matter to ascertain the most

efficient means for reaching those ends. To what extent was such a rationality evident during this policy development especially with regard to those aspects that separated curriculum from qualifications?

## 8 Professional

- 8.1 What was the extent of the role of practising professional educators in the development of qualifications authority policy?
- 8.2 What consideration was given to the effects of the proposed changes in policy on the day-to-day work load of educational administrators and classroom teachers in New Zealand?
- 8.3 What consideration was given to the effects of the status and power of the Qualifications Authority on educational values such as intellectual independence, imagination, personal initiative and professional autonomy?
- 8.4 What consideration was given to the effects of the implementation of the Qualifications Authority policy on the commodification of education? A particular aspect might be the possible commodifying effect of modularization.

## 9 Expressions of Personal Opinion

- 9.1 What aspects of the policy if any would you have liked to evolve differently?
- 9.2 What aspects of the role of the New Zealand Qualifications Authority do you regard as being the hardest to fulfil or achieve?

## Appendix C

### Supplementary Questions to Ask David Hood

- 1 How did the relationships between secondary schools and the tertiary education area, particularly the Polytechnics, influence Qualifications policy?
- 2 What account has been taken of the need for an extended period of general education in the development of the qualifications policy?
- 3 What were the nature of the relationships between secondary schools and VTC, AAVA and TCB?
- 4 After the submissions on the Hawke Report what was the nature and quality of consultation in the ensuing policy development?
- 5 Given the comparatively short period from "Learning for Life I" (February 1989 to the passing of the Education Amendment Act (July 1990) was sufficient attention able to be given to the implications of the changes and were the people involved able to be sufficiently reflective and objective or disinterested in influencing developments?
- 6 Given the wide sweeping reforms that the Teacher Unions generally had to grapple with do you consider that the PPTA and ATTI were effectively able to participate and monitor developments in qualifications policy from say mid 1988 and on?
- 7 When Phil Goff became Minister of Education developments occurred very rapidly. Were there adequately qualified people with sufficient time to properly brief the Minister on policy developments?
- 8 Ian Young was off the scene after the publication of the Hawke Report because of illness. How significant was his absence in terms of the way qualifications policy developed?
- 9 How relevant is the relationship between the Departments of Labour and Education in determining the lack of a coherent policy on qualifications for ACCESS trainees?
- 10 What is the role of the New Zealand Qualifications Authority Board in influencing policy developments? Is it for instance able to debate with or advise the Minister of Education? What consideration was given to this aspect of the Board's role during the policy developments prior to July 1990?

- 11 Given the widespread functions of the Qualification Authority as described in Section 253 of the Act why was the Apprenticeship Act not modified to pass the responsibility for Apprentice qualifications to the Qualifications Authority? (I understand that ETSA currently has that jurisdiction)
- 12 The Hawke Report, Section 4.6.4, page 55 states "Accreditation and validation would be voluntary". To what extent has this intention changed and what were the forces that influenced any such changes?
- 13 I have observed a recent trend for tutors to spend significant periods of time in administrative work to do with course validation and organisational accreditation. The amount of activity in this regard has almost certainly increased. This may have positive effects, but it also may detract from the practical teaching work that these people can undertake. What consideration was given to the effects of the developments in qualifications policy on the people at the "chalk face"?
- 14 The Picot Taskforce was commissioned by the Ministers of Education, Finance and State Services while the Hawke Working Group was commissioned by the Chairman of the Cabinet Social Equity Committee. What was the reason for this and what significance can be attached to it?
- 15 Given that the culture of teaching has a highly individualistic quality with teachers tending to centre their working lives on the affairs of their own classrooms with all the implications that has for educational innovation, what consideration was given to this factor in determining qualifications policy? (The dilemma faced in this regard is what method of innovation to use. A school centred approach might increase teacher ownership and with it the likelihood of change being accepted, but risk that the scope of the change will not be great. A top-down reform that may by contrast be far-reaching in scope, but have little impact at the classroom level where teachers, protected by their classroom isolation, may be able to resist its implementation).
- 16 The Picot Report refers on page 71 to "a single, national validation authority for non-degree courses and national examinations in secondary and tertiary institutions". It further expresses support for such an initiative and explains that such an authority would undertake the functions that were at that time carried out by TCB, AAVA, and the Board of Studies. This seems much more radical than any of the ideas that had come out of either the Department of Education or the Department of Education. Where did this notion come from?

## Appendix D

### Supplementary Questions

#### I Maurice Gianotti

- A What was the nature of the relationship between the Picot Committee and the Department of Education?
- B On page 71 Section 7.4.2 the Picot Report states, "We were informed that discussions are in progress to establish a single, national validation authority for non-degree courses and national examinations in secondary and tertiary institutions". Where did this information come from?
- C Section 3.2 of the Picot Report deals with "Overcentralisation of Decision Making". In this section the following points are made:
- ...in the New Zealand education system virtually all power comes from the centre (3.2.1)
  - Centralisation of decision making also creates problems of information and incentives in relation to the decision maker.(3.2.2)
  - Another feature of an overcentralised system is that decision making tends to be slow (3.2.3)
  - A highly centralised system is particularly vulnerable to the influence of pressure group politics. (3.2.4)

- The more centralised the system, the more important it is to have muscle at the centre. Those who have not, become disadvantaged. (3.2.6)

How did the Picot Committee reconcile this attitude with its support for a "single, national validation authority" (page 71), which would seem to be a centralising move.

- D What consideration was given to the likely affects of course modularisation on the quality of education? What attention was given to the potential problems of commodification, deskilling, and teacher workload? (This question relates to Section 7.4.3 of the Picot Report, "The objective of national validation must be to develop opportunities for students to attain recognised qualifications by accumulating modular courses and credits that may be available from any sector. We strongly support a system similar to the Scottish 16+ arrangement - one that contains modules, or short units of study, which lead to the award of a single national certificate. ..." page 72)
- E Why did the Picot Committee feel it necessary for the Qualifications Authority to be separate from the Ministry of Education and the providers of educational services?
- F I understand that while you were working with the Picot Committee you were under firm instructions that you were not to consult around the Education Department. Is this true? If so, who issued the instructions and why would they have done that? Does the fact that this perception exists fairly reflect the nature of

the relationship that existed between the Department of Education and the Picot Committee?

- G What were the factors that influenced the Picot Report to recommend the abolition of the BOS? What heed was given to the curriculum implications of including the activities of the BOS, AAVA and TCB within one national validation authority? (pages 71 and 88)

## Appendix E

### Supplementary Questions

#### I Phil Goff

- A Why was the Apprenticeship Act 1983 not amended with the Education Amendment Act 1991 to transfer the responsibility for certification of apprentices completing their apprenticeship time from the Apprenticeship Committees to the New Zealand Qualifications Authority?
- B Why did David Lange assume the role of Minister of Education at the beginning of the second term?
- C What impact did that change in portfolio responsibilities have on Qualifications policy?
- D What were the respective roles of Helen Clarke and Geoffrey Palmer in shaping the qualifications policy as it related to the Universities in the period immediately prior to the passing of the Education Amendment Act 1990?
- E The Hawke report considered there was still a place for the Board of Studies, but by Learning for Life BOS had been eliminated. What were the factors that influenced that change?

- F Why was the name National Educational Qualifications Authority (NEQA) changed to New Zealand Qualifications Authority (NZQA)?
- G To what extent did the increasing likelihood of the Government losing the forthcoming election affect the pace of change in education in the few months immediately preceding the election?
- H Do you now feel that you were receiving good advice from a sufficiently representative group of people during your last few months as Minister of Education?

## Appendix F

19 Martin Grove  
Normandale  
Lower Hutt

Dear

I am now engaged in research for my thesis for a Master of Educational Administration Degree (Massey University). My research topic is the policy developments that resulted in the formation of the New Zealand Qualifications Authority. It is my intention to document not only the events, but also to unveil the motivation and other forces that were influential in shaping this policy. I am therefore, in general terms seeking to answer the following main question. "What was going on, and what were the forces and factors that influenced the way this policy developed?" The main research methods I will use are interviews and document analysis.

I have identified you as one of the "key players" in this area of policy development. I would therefore be very grateful if you would consent to an interview with me on this topic. I have attached to this letter a list of questions which I have put together to give you an indication of the areas I am interested in and the more specific types of issues to which I am seeking answers. **It is not my intention to ask you every question**, but I have grouped the questions into nine broad categories which represent the general thrusts of my enquiries. These questions should also be useful to you in guiding and initiating your thinking. The main value of the interview should come from the ensuing discussion.

Should you consent to an interview, and with your permission, I would like to tape-record it. The tape recording will complement the notes I make during the interview and will also serve as a check against my recollection of what was said. I will send you a printed copy of the material from the interview that I might use as part of the thesis. This will allow you to check it for accuracy and any matters that you may consider "sensitive". When I do this I will request your express consent for me to use the "checked" material. This will include provision for you to indicate any material which I may use, but not necessarily attribute to you.

If you wish to discuss this matter with me further I can be contacted at home, telephone (04) 694 717 or at work, the Central Institute of Technology, telephone (04) 277 089 extension 8749, facsimile (04) 276 350.

My supervisor for the thesis is Associate Professor Dr John Codd, Education Department, Massey University. John can be contacted at Massey University, telephone (063) 69 099, facsimile (063) 505 611.

Also enclosed with this letter is a form on which you could indicate your willingness to be interviewed and some dates and times that you will be available.

It is my intention to have the interviews completed by 31 July 1991.

I would be most obliged for your assistance with this research and look forward to an opportunity to meet with you.

Yours sincerely

Stuart Selwood

## Appendix G

### Response to a Request from Stuart Selwood for an Interview on the Policy Developments Preceding the Formation of the New Zealand Qualifications Authority

Please delete the sections below that do not apply and return the completed form in the enclosed stamped addressed envelope.

\*\*\*\*\*

1 I am happy to be available for an interview as described in your letter. I suggest the following dates and times as alternatives on which the interview might take place. I understand that you will contact me to discuss and confirm the arrangements.

Date: \_\_\_\_\_ Time: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_ Time: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_ Time: \_\_\_\_\_

I understand that I will have an opportunity to check the material obtained from the interview for accuracy and matters that I may consider sensitive before it is written up as part of the research report.

2 I may be available to be interviewed as described in your accompanying letter but I would like to discuss the matter with you further.  
Please contact me by telephoning \_\_\_\_\_

3 No, I am sorry I will not be available to be interviewed.

I can be contacted by telephone on the following number/s:

\_\_\_\_\_

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_

## Appendix H

### Response to a Request from Stuart Selwood for an Interview on the Policy Developments Preceding the Formation of the New Zealand Qualifications Authority

It would be much easier if I could interview you in Wellington. This may however not be convenient with you. If you are willing to be interviewed in connection with my research I would be grateful if you would also indicate where the interview could take place.

Please delete the sections below that do not apply and return the completed form in the enclosed stamped addressed envelope.

\*\*\*\*\*

- 1 I am happy to be available for an interview as described in your letter.

*It will be possible for an interview to take place in Wellington.*

*It will not be convenient for the interview to take place in Wellington, but I am happy to be interviewed in \_\_\_\_\_*

*It will not be convenient to be interviewed in Wellington, but I am happy to be interviewed over the telephone. My telephone number is \_\_\_\_\_*

I suggest the following dates and times as alternatives on which the interview might take place. I understand that you will contact me to discuss and confirm the arrangements.

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Time: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Time: \_\_\_\_\_

I understand that I will have an opportunity to check the material obtained from the interview for accuracy and matters that I may consider sensitive before it is written up as part of the research report.

- 2 I may be available to be interviewed as described in your accompanying letter but I would like to discuss the matter with you further. Please contact me by telephoning \_\_\_\_\_

- 3 No, I am sorry I will not be available to be interviewed.

I can be contacted by telephone on the following number/s: \_\_\_\_\_

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_

## Appendix I

19 Martin Grove  
Normandale  
Lower Hutt

Dear

Further to my interview with you on , I am pleased to enclose a set of notes that are based on the recording I made during our meeting.

Would you please check over the print out to:

- 1 Ensure that the information I have recorded is accurate to the best of your knowledge.
- 2 Ensure that I have retained the sense and meaning that you intended.
- 3 Indicate any matters that I may use in my report but not attribute to you
- 4 Indicate any matters that you do not wish me to use.
- 5 Indicate any omissions

Please feel free to mark the printout accordingly.

I fully appreciate the size of the document I have sent. I do not of course propose to use all the material. I am however concerned to get facts correct and also to ensure that the context is clear. Please don't feel obliged to correct punctuation unless it affects meaning.

Thank you for the documents that we discussed at our meeting. They arrived two days ago.

Should there be any thing you would like to discuss with me please call me at CIT telephone 277 089 extension 8749 or at home telephone 694 717.

I would appreciate it if you would return the notes to me in the enclosed envelope as soon as possible.

Many thanks for your assistance.

Yours sincerely

Stuart Selwood

## Appendix J

### Recognition of Achievement and Qualifications

(An extract from Technical and Vocational Education)

- Recognition of all forms of achievement involve more wide-ranging criteria than those involved in recognition of qualifications. On the other hand it is a matter of concern to note that a large proportion of our tradesmen do not possess trade qualifications and, in a considerable number of trades, technical qualifications are not pre-requisites for practice, e.g. commercial carpentry. At the same time, it should be acknowledged that when such unqualified tradesmen are employed, their employer takes into account their level of ability and the extent of their practical experience which have resulted in acquired skills which may compensate for lack of qualifications.
  
- The issue of certification and registration of tradesmen and technicians calls for a serious re-appraisal in New Zealand. The necessity to obtain technical qualifications before permission to practise is gained produces problems for universities and technical institutes. When a degree, diploma or certificate is required for registration purposes, there is a real danger that the content of the curriculum will be dictated by the registration body without regard to the educational objectives of the course and the qualification. Hence, registration bodies can be a major restraint on curriculum change and there is the possibility of conflict

between the right of industry to define and determine its training needs and the right of educational institutions to determine the most effective educational means to meet those needs.

- Registration bodies may also exercise undesirable restraints on the mobility of the individual. By rigid adherence to curriculum requirements, registration bodies prevent individuals from making a transition to a related area of employment, thereby denying an individual the opportunity of upward mobility. The unfortunate victim is forced to participate in a game of educational snakes and ladders whereby his attempt to gain a new qualification will require him to make a rapid descent back to a starting point which takes no account of his previously acquired skills and experience.
  
- In New Zealand there are over 60 examining bodies for qualifications attainable by examination in universities, technical institutes, community colleges and secondary schools. Discussions have been held between the Vocational Training Council and the Government with a view to reducing the number of examining authorities. That such a reduction is necessary is unquestioned but the extent to which this reduction should be carried out is debatable.
  
- The Trades Certification Board has successfully adapted its procedures to meet the changes required by the development of extended trade training within the technical institutes. The Technicians Certification Authority, however, would need radical

and extensive reconstruction before it could adapt to a larger role. In the area of commercial education, a co-ordinating committee has made an impressive effort to derive common elements or modules from the syllabuses of examining bodies and thus provide more rational structures based on New Zealand requirements, thus reducing the influence of overseas examining bodies, such as City and Guilds, ACIS., British professional bodies and institutes. The increase in common elements in examination syllabuses has increased the availability of technical classes in smaller centres.

- The Committee believes that a national accreditation authority should be established with functions distinct from the Technicians Certification Authority and the Trades Certification Board. This body should have the function of establishing criteria and standards such as those recommended by UNESCO and the accreditation of particular courses in particular institutions. High priority should be accorded this recommendation, particularly in the field of commercial and management education.
- Confusion over diploma and certificate courses available in New Zealand is a matter of concern. In Canterbury, a special committee of the four tertiary institutions has been established to investigate this area. The report of this committee to the Tertiary Education Liaison Committee in Canterbury is available to SCORITE (Standing Committee on Relationships in Tertiary Education) and other interested groups.
- Much could be accomplished by rationalisation of the structure of these courses, the awards, their validation, the accreditation of

the teaching institution and the nomenclature attached to the award. It is a matter of concern that a significant number of such qualifications are available through government departments, for example the Diploma in recreation and Sport; the array of teacher's qualifications from the Department of Education; and qualifications from hospital schools, police training schools, farm training institutes, etc.

- Achievement is not synonymous with qualifications; it also implies experience but this is a factor for which it is often difficult to gain recognition. The changing relationship between work educational and work in the modern society, the need for a second chance and continuing education for adults and the desire to acknowledge relevant work experience all require that admission to programmes in technical and vocational education should be permissible to those without the necessary pre-requisite formal qualifications but who possess significant experience. Furthermore, in many instances such entries should be approved with significant course exemptions.

(Hercus, 1978, pp. 15-17.)

## Appendix K

### VALIDATION AND CERTIFICATION OF EDUCATION AND TRAINING

#### Suggested Approach

An appropriate system of validation and certification may assist in achieving the public interest goals of credentials which are readily transferable, reliably signal quality and cost no more to obtain than necessary. It is suggested this may be achieved in relation to the State's activities if:

- a validation and certification are dealt with separately from the state funding as the latter relates to the achievement of objectives through the provision of (access to) education and training rather than mechanisms for certification; accountability, expertise, incentives and consultation that are appropriate to funding issues may not be appropriate to validation or certification issues;
- b certification is dealt with separately from validation; the former necessarily closely involves providers and hence, if certification and validation are run together, there are substantial dangers of provider capture leading to dangers of inflating study requirements, shutting out alternative providers etc;
- c certification is left as a matter for providers; they carry it out themselves or arrange for another body - not the validation authority - to do it for them; (in practise this occurs at present, e.g. parents who home educate children but use the State's school certificate examination);
- d validation is optional and contestable; for their certificates to be marketable, most certifying bodies will need to obtain validation and hence meet the standards of an appropriate validation authority;
- e validation relates to the setting of standards for outputs rather than inputs; failing this provider, student or employer interests may act through the validation process to create inflexibilities or inflate the costs (subsidised by the state) of the inputs required to obtain the output: there will be lack of clarity in objectives and existing methods of obtaining outputs could become underwritten whilst erecting barriers to alternative methods of provision (eg reducing contestability between apprenticeships and other methods of obtaining trade certification);

- f the reach of any validation authority is not restricted to specific areas, eg secondary education, apprenticeships etc; this is for the related reason to (e); different sources of provision may provide alternative means of obtaining the same broad goal (eg a qualification for non-academic 18 year olds) or may interconnect in building up a broader qualification or set of qualifications (eg a degree); particularly for the 15-20 year olds who are non-academic, existing institutional divisions greatly restrict the range and flexibility of education and training on offer by creating institutional barriers; only validation which does not impose pre-conceived structures or barriers will ensure that the most appropriate range of provisions can emerge.
- g There is a wide range of academic to vocational certification to be covered and the range of educational to training interests whose confidence in validation will be sought; hence the validation authority may well have to contain separate units dealing with eg vocational education but these units should be subsumed under an overriding authority (see f);

The preceding analysis suggests that there may be some government role if it is directed at acting as a referee between the various student, employer and provider interests and at ensuring that the interests of disadvantaged students or potential students and alternative providers are adequately reflected in a validation body. Because of the presence of government funding of education and training, appropriate validation may not readily emerge through normal, competitive mechanisms. Hence, government may usefully support an independent, broad ranging and output oriented validation body. Such a body could help meet both equity and efficiency concerns by: being open to alternative sources of provision, eg those more appropriate to the needs of the disadvantaged, and preventing any "ghettoization" of eg Access credentials.

As validation substantially benefits students, employers and providers by reducing their transaction costs and increasing consumption of education and training, they could all contribute to its funding. The need for any longer term state support is arguable. More limited or input oriented validation or validation embroiled with certification would tend to reflect the interests of particular groups rather than any broader interest and hence would provide no case for government assistance. Such limited purpose validation bodies may emerge in any event.

### Conclusions

Hence, Treasury would broadly support the Department of Labour's approach on the NVQB paper, subject to the following:

- a validation authority should go wider than validation of vocational qualifications to avoid creating a two tier system or difficulties in building up cross-credits or other connections between vocational and non-vocational courses (which might prove highly popular with students and employers if allowed to emerge);
- a validation authority should not necessarily become involved in "accreditation of providers"; providers who certification meets the validation authority's standards should have those certificates validated, those who do not, should not; given this basis, ex-ante validation agreements between the validation authority and certification bodies may emerge but such "accreditation" should not deal in inputs; exceptionally, brand new providers or courses might be provisionally validated on the basis of an assessment of course design etc.

Given a limited government role, it may not be appropriate for the validation authority to "report" to a particular Minister but rather for normal accountability procedures to apply in respect of any government grants etc provided to it. Exact funding and accountability lines might usefully await the emergence of a clearer picture of the structure of the State's bureaucracy post-Picot and post-Hawke.

(Report from The Treasury to the Acting Minister of Finance, dated 25 May 1988, pp. 4-5)

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